


## **MOURNING AND SENSITIVE HERITAGE: CASE STUDIES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL**

 <https://doi.org/10.56238/arev7n3-103>

**Submitted on:** 02/12/2025

**Publication date:** 03/12/2025

**Michel Kobelinski and Karina Ramacciotti**

---

### **ABSTRACT**

**INTRODUCTION:** The COVID-19 pandemic caused health, social, and economic impacts, leaving deep traces in the collective imagination and in the way societies around the world experienced grief and preserved their memories. Many people resorted to pandemic diaries, recording their experiences, fears, and anxieties. These shared writings have become powerful tools for expressing emotions, processing loss, and creating unique historical records of this global crisis.

**Keywords:** Collective mourning. Sensitive heritage. COVID-19 pandemic.

## INTRODUCTION

The COVID-19 pandemic caused health, social, and economic impacts, leaving deep traces in the collective imagination and in the way societies around the world experienced grief and preserved their memories. Many people resorted to pandemic diaries, recording their experiences, fears, and anxieties. These shared writings have become powerful tools for expressing emotions, processing loss, and creating unique historical records of this global crisis.

Public memorials – permanent and temporary – emerged as extensions of these individualized and shared efforts, resulting from the loss of mobility, functioning as spaces of manifestation, emotional rebalancing, and a sense of freedom. They also cultivated the hope that the horror of contagion, the fragility of the body, and the fear of death would end. The new symbologies attributed to them helped people deal with human losses, alleviating some of the pain and anguish, but also arousing a feeling of revolt by connecting personal stories to the social milestones of the pandemic. The generalized crisis exposed the structural inequalities that permeate contemporary societies, evidencing how ideas, knowledge, and practices related to health care, memory, and the contestation of government actions were appropriated and interpreted.

In Buenos Aires, the government of President Alberto Fernández was questioned for the "careless" way in which it fought the pandemic, since the data presented were alarming (Reuters, 2022). In addition, the president was pressured by the population and the justice system to impose isolation decrees while promoting social gatherings at Quinta de Olivos without wearing a mask, not complying with the very decrees he had signed, such as Social, Preventive and Mandatory Isolation.

In *the March of the Stones*, porteños honored their loved ones who died as a result of the disease and protested against the administration of President Alberto Fernández. Fig. 1 The public manifestation of pain and suffering was called through social networks on August 16, 2021, with the participation of hundreds of Argentines. They carried banners with messages of support and solidarity with the families of those affected by the pandemic and stones with the names of deceased loved ones, depositing them next to the Equestrian Monument to General Manuel Belgrano. The *La Marcha de Las Piedras Monument Bill* defined that the stones would be in the Plaza de Mayo, being protected by the Cultural Heritage of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, "under the terms provided for in Law No. 1,227, art. 4, inc. b". In Mar del Plata, for example, a moving tribute to the victims of

COVID-19 was held, with the fixing of 504 flags on Bristol Beach, to draw attention to the growing number of cases and deaths caused by the pandemic (Voa News, 2020).

Idea of Deputy Emmanuel Ferrario (PRO) to relocate and build a memorial to the victims of Covid-19 in Parque Florentino Ameghino, where the old Sud Cemetery operated, which housed the victims of the cholera and yellow fever epidemics, between 1867 and 1872, faced strong resistance from the residents of the Parque Patrícios neighborhood, who argue that the work would affect the historical and archaeological value of that place. Fig.2 and 3. The justification for this project revolved around the revitalization of the southern zone of Buenos Aires, whose characteristic is to concentrate health-related activities. For the residents, the place that was a cemetery should not be changed, out of respect for the memory of the 15 thousand dead buried there.

In this chapter, we adopt the conceptual and methodological assumptions of public history, oral history, and connected histories to analyze emblematic and sensitive situations in Argentina and Brazil, during and after the pandemic.<sup>1</sup> Our objective is to understand how memorial practices related to grief and nursing care were mobilized, connecting local experiences to global dynamics, and highlighting, in a concise way, some implications of a political, psychosocial, and cultural nature.

The *Marcha das Pedras* memorial has become a space for activism, uniting practices of mourning, the right to memory, freedom, and social justice. Meanwhile, community isolation in the neighborhoods of Villa Azul and Villa Itatí (May 2020) revealed the deep structural inequalities that made it difficult to adopt basic measures to prevent COVID-19, such as the lack of drinking water and precarious housing conditions. The articulation between community agents and health teams revealed significant challenges, such as local resistance and the need to adapt health recommendations to regional realities, while exposing the duality in the perception of security forces, seen by some as protection and by others as state violence. These aspects, even today, reinforce the urgency of public policies sensitive to community and territorial specificities.

The post-pandemic study *Contemporary Public Memorials: Public Feelings of Duel from Covid-19 in Plaza de Mayo* analyzes the impacts of *the March of the Stones* in Buenos Aires. The research highlights the transformation of public space into a place of

<sup>1</sup> Based on Subrahmanyam (2016), we analyze the transnational flows between Brazil and Argentina, highlighting how memories, sensitive heritage, crises, and the violence associated with the Covid-19 pandemic influenced cultural and political dynamics in different contexts and temporalities.

collective memory, where emotional, cultural, and political-performative practices converge, involving both tourists and residents.

In southern Brazil, the public opinion survey *Meu Coração Pópol*, conducted during the pandemic, explores the connections between past and present by addressing the memories of the typhus epidemic in Cruz Machado-PR, in 1911, and the Covid-19 pandemic. The community narratives highlighted the unequal impact of health crises on vulnerable populations, the relevance of public health care, and the need to preserve historical, social, and linguistic links.

The cases investigated highlight the complexity of the dynamics of circulation and appropriation of knowledge and practices related to health, the negligence of the State, and the role of memorial activism, highlighting how local experiences are articulated with global dynamics. In this context, public memorials, new ways of experiencing grief, and health care during and after the pandemic emerge as expressions of cultural and historical interaction on a global scale.

In light of this, this chapter explores how part of the porteño, "conurbana" and Brazilian communities experienced and expressed grief in this period. We investigate how the audiences covered by the research use public memorials, activism practices, and personal narratives to symbolize the absence and presence of loved ones, reflecting personal, social, political, cultural, and emotional dimensions. We examine how these practices interact with structural inequalities, exposing tensions related to public health, collective memory, and contesting government actions. These questions are central to understanding the intersection of grief, activism, and resistance, as well as to analyzing how local experiences dialogue with global dynamics in contexts of crisis.

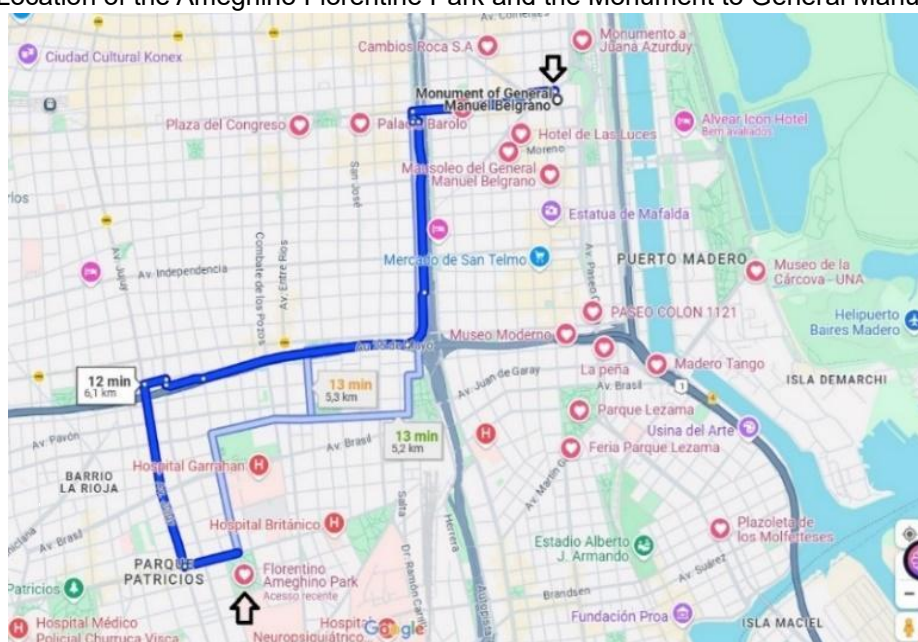
**Figure 1.** March of the Piedras in Plaza de Mayo, September 4, 2021. ©Roberto Fiadone, available under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 license



**Figure 2.** Florentino Ameghino © Park 2023 in Michel Kobelinski.



**Figure 3.** Location of the Ameghino Florentine Park and the Monument to General Manuel Belgrano.



**Source:** ©Google Maps, 2023.

## STONY REASONS, VOLATILE EMOTIONS

Public history practices are key to deepening political sensitivities and public feelings of mourning in the recent history of Argentina and Brazil. First, monuments and memorials are examples of history for audiences, simply because the past transpires in them as a discursive and visual reality. At the same time, these landmarks provoke both contemplation and public manifestation about them. Secondly, they can be considered as "image artifacts" girded by social practices, values, or desire for memory, feelings, and



reflections, which, in most cases, become understandable, meaningful, and public in a given historical culture (Santiago Júnior, 2021, p. 94; Riegl, 2014).

On the other hand, between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this "desire for memory" came up against criticism of the profusion of statues in public spaces. In this shift from the sacred to the personal and public, the past evoked around memorials and statues was related to the strengthening of the ideals of national identity, led by historicist thought and its influences on history, literature, art, and architecture (Lowenthal, 1985; Santhiago Júnior, 2021).

Memorials and statues have no intrinsic meanings. They are attributed to social practices, that is, by those who interpret them and manifest themselves through rituals and commemorations or even through protests. Its origins can be traced back to the societies of the *Ancien Régime*, where it was a privilege of saints and kings, and therefore had a sacred character. However, the monumental practice that was introduced in Latin America came from the time of its rise and greater popularization in Europe. This means that it was born from a practice in which the public effigy had already been extended to individuals who were not considered sacred, "subjects whose merit was personal (not inherited) and lay (not canonized)", as Agulhon explains (1994, p. 125)

The COVID-19 pandemic triggered reflections and protests permeated by intense pain and suffering, aggravated by the impossibility of saying goodbye to the deceased, which gave rise to an unprecedented form of activism, simultaneously memorial and patrimonial. The *March of the Stones*, linked to the historical monument of General Manuel Belgrano – a symbol of history and national identity – expressed sensibilities deeply connected to the old popular uprisings, articulating mourning, public memory, and political contestation. In this way, the devastating impacts of the pandemic have extended beyond physical health and into the psychological, social, and cultural domains.

The necessary isolation and quarantine measures, while key to controlling the spread of the virus, have resulted in an atypical and particularly traumatic grieving experience for many people. The impossibility of performing farewell rituals, such as wakes and traditional burials, due to restrictions on social contact and agglomerations, exacerbated the grieving process and resulted in demonstrations of the most varied orders around the world. These rituals, individual or public, have a therapeutic function and are fundamental for the beginning of the physical and emotional healing process.

In Argentina, the management of the health crisis and the clandestine parties, involving President Alberto Fernández and the Minister of Economy, Sergio Massa, during the period of confinement, became the focus of scathing criticism in Plaza de Mayo and Quinta dos Olivos, when more than 100 thousand deaths were already counted. In the March of the Stones, which took place on August 16, 2021, the porteños honored their loved ones and protested against government management with messages of solidarity with the families affected by the pandemic and stones with the names of the deceased, deposited at the Equestrian Monument to General Manuel Belgrano, in the courtyard of the Casa Rosada.

The pandemic has highlighted and amplified existing inequalities, generating protests and reflections on how different societies and governments have dealt with the health crisis, health policies, and their consequences for citizens. Protests (here understood as activism) often reflect intense collective pain and discontent with institutional responses to the pandemic, as well as the search for justice and accountability. The intensification of social conflicts expanded with the debate on the permanence of tributes in the Plaza de Mayo, proposed by the legislation (Law No. 1,227), and the controversy surrounding their relocation to the Florentino Ameghino Park, reflecting the tension between governance, communities, and political groups.

Therefore, monuments can mobilize audiences for contestation and, ultimately, for violent activism, in addition to promoting social segregation, discrimination, and perpetuation of historical narratives. In general, its elements are disseminated in political actions, simultaneously creating different meanings (Rowntree & Conkey, 1980, p. 460), in addition to evoking meanings of the past, or even references to memory and oblivion (Glassberg, 2001, p. 6; Nora, 1993). Monuments are not isolated structures in the urban context, but part of structures of feeling, thinking, and performing in public and for the public, to overcome psychological, temporal, and spatial barriers. In this sense, *Memorial Mania* (Doss, 2011, p. 27), brings together the obsessive desire to give meaning to existence, remember, commemorate, and materialize our relationship with people and events of the past. These petrified emotions frame the impossibility of full reconciliation with the object of desire because remembering and monumentalizing are incapable of encompassing the totality of human experience.

Memorials are useful for understanding how different societies deal with sensitive issues, reflecting mutual influences and cultural adaptations. Whether temporary,

vernacular memorials, spontaneous sanctuaries, or performative memorials, they can highlight how practices related to mourning and commemoration are disseminated and reinterpreted in various cultural, memorial, historical, and identity contexts. Through transnational interactions and cultural and political flows, for example, we can understand part of the dynamics that lead to the creation and interpretation of monuments and memorials, as well as the social, political, and emotional implications associated with them.

## **TRIBUTES AND PUBLIC MOURNING**

In Argentina, with the beginning of isolation measures in March 2020 to contain a still unknown virus, health professionals were classified as "essential". Authorities promoted prevention campaigns with slogans such as "Stay at home" and "Stay in your neighborhood", which had uneven results. In the first months, patients and family members recognized the importance of the work of these professionals, both for assistance and for mediating communication within the health system and with family members.

Between 2020 and 2021, the media recognized and celebrated the work of health professionals. In April 2020, shortly after the declaration of the National Emergency and Social Isolation, tributes were paid to those who lost their lives. Discourses on the pandemic have often compared the epidemic crisis to a war, portraying nursing staff as fighters on the "front line" and in the "trenches" against the virus. These war metaphors, centered on values of courage and sacrifice, presented professionals as heroes. Eduardo, head of nursing in Mendoza, reinforces: "We are at war. On the front line are we, the nurses, who receive the patients, take the vital signs and ask all the questions of the case" (La Nación, 2020).

The recognition of the "essential" work of these health teams was manifested in gestures such as applause at 9 p.m. on the balconies of several buildings, performances by military bands in hospitals, and the delivery of gifts by associations. Open letters and opinion notes on social media and in the press were also used to raise awareness about health work and calls for care (Ramacciotti: 2023, 29). Laura Cortés, a doctor in Buenos Aires, expressed herself forcefully in a letter published in April 2020: "I don't need it, I don't want any more applause, they annoy me." She highlighted the need for respect and the provision of adequate equipment for the safe work of health professionals.

With the increase in contagions, demonstrations of gratitude to health personnel decreased, as they came to be seen as potential transmitters of the virus, especially



nursing professionals. Manifestations of discrimination included cases in which they were denied access to buses. In addition, restrictions on public transport have forced many to resort to taxis, bicycles, or their vehicles, increasing costs and travel time.

In the vaccination campaigns against COVID-19, health professionals were recognized and, at the same time, faced aggression and conflicts. Vaccination began in December 2020 with the first doses of Sputnik V, prioritizing health workers and security forces. With the arrival of vaccines from other laboratories (AstraZeneca, Pfizer, Moderna, CanSino, and Sinopharm), as of May 2021, the pace of vaccination was accelerated, coinciding with the increase in cases and deaths. For nurses, being vaccinated has brought more safety at work, reducing the impact of infection. Nursing professionals played a crucial role in immunizing extensive and unequal areas, such as images on social networks of nurses vaccinating emotional people. Yanina, a nurse in Buenos Aires, narrated the case of a young woman who, after losing her parents to Covid-19, was panicked and hesitant to get vaccinated. With patience and dialogue, Yanina managed to reassure her. This campaign, marked by fears and misinformation, turned into a political and social event, where emotions took center stage, reflecting the difficulties and profound impact of the pandemic (Ramacciotti and Gilligan, 2022).

The hope brought by the vaccine was accompanied by political and social conflicts. Denunciations of privileges, such as the "VIP Vaccination" at the Ministry of Health, generated intense criticism and led to the resignation of Minister Ginés González García in March 2021. This scandal, combined with tributes on murals, photographs, and the release of balloons, highlighted the tensions in the management of the pandemic.<sup>2</sup> Amid the vaccination campaign and criticism, President Alberto Fernández presented, in 2021, a bill for the training and development of nursing, highlighting the central role of the category in the pandemic: "There are two hundred nurses who have given their lives in this time [...] I only have my recognition left" (Fernández, 2021). The law, sanctioned in April 2023, focused on training and increasing professionals but failed to address historical demands, such as multi-employment. The act, although symbolic, was not perceived as an effective reparation for the pain of family members and workers in the sector.

<sup>2</sup> See the communication pieces "La enfermera" by Fabricio Heider (2020), based on the short story "El último caso" by Julio Nadeo (Kilómetro Cero Magazine, 17/07/2021); Pandemic: gestionar lo desconocido, from the Ministry of Health of the Province of Buenos Aires; and "Coronavirus, los rostros de la ciencia", produced by TECTv, CONICET and the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation. In addition, the urban murals in the health center of Córdoba stand out.

The disclosure of privileges in the vaccination campaign in March 2021 generated scandals and criticism, aggravated by the circulation of photos of the birthday party of Alberto Fernández's partner in the middle of the same year, which intensified public discontent. In August, the Plaza de Mayo became the stage for the *March of the Stones*, an event in memory of those who died from COVID-19 and a protest against the government. Called by social networks, the marches honored loved ones who, due to health restrictions, did not have funeral ceremonies. Religious elements and political posters against Alberto Fernández coexisted in these demonstrations, where the health team, especially nurses, was also remembered. (Fig. 3 and 4).

**Figure 4.** Tributes to nurses, March of the Stones Memorial - Monument to General Manuel Belgrano. © Karina Ramacciotti, n.d.



**Figure 5.** Tributes to nurses 2, March of the Stones Memorial - Monument to General Manuel Belgrano. © Karina Ramacciotti, s.d.



## MARCH OF STONES, SENSITIVE HERITAGE

The research *Contemporary Public Memorials: Public Feelings of Duel from Covid-19 in Plaza de Mayo* (2023) sought to understand the contestation of this movement through practices of an emotional, cultural, and political-performative nature.<sup>3</sup> The study covered tourists from Latin America, including Brazilians and Argentines. The interviews reveal the awakening of reflections on grief and memory, as well as new behaviors in public spaces. To do this, we started from two collaborative fronts. In direct interactions, participants were informed about the historical, political, and cultural context of the monument and were encouraged to spontaneously share their own experiences on the topic. The short videos that resulted from these informal and unscheduled meetings were posted on social networks (Instagram and YouTube). Indirect interactions were made possible through stickers with QR Codes applied to the monument's glass protection. Through this feature, viewers were faced with an explanatory video in Spanish that encouraged visitors to send texts, audio, or videos.

**Figure 6.** Instagram, montage: @michelkobelinski. Field research *Contemporary Public Memorials: Sentimientos Públicos de Duelo a Partir del Covid-19 en Plaza de Mayo*, 2023.



The public interviews consider the *Marcha das Pedras Memorial* as a sensitive monument (Santhiago, 2021), that is, as a space or place of memory associated with

<sup>3</sup> In this work, we will not analyze these data. The research was carried out during a sabbatical leave in Buenos Aires, in the second half of 2023, as a result of the Scientific Cooperation Agreement signed between the State University of Paraná (UNESPAR) and the Universidad Nacional de Quilmes (UNQ). The objective was to establish network research and promote approximations between the Graduate programs in Public History in Brazil and Argentina (Kobelinski, 2023).



events of pain, suffering, segregation, violence, or death, which carries historical and social significance, generally linked to the preservation of collective memory and the reparation of historical injustices (Carvalho, Meneguello, 2020). In this sense, this "place of memory" (Nora, 1993) emerged as an example of collective mourning, active memory, and political contestation. Therefore, its educational and contested role is not ruled out, since this monumental device involves human rights, although it also faces ethical tensions related to its interpretation, visitation, and safeguarding.

The Brazilians interviewed highlight how the *Marcha das Pedras* monument not only transcends national borders but also requires historiographical practices aimed at the resignification of mourning and intercultural dialogues. These reports, coming from different regions of Brazil, reflect the emotional, political, and cultural complexity that involves human existence.

Zilanda, a nurse from Belo Horizonte – MG, who lost a sister in the pandemic without performing the farewell rituals, sees the *Marcha das Pedras* monument, a space of collective mourning. He pays tribute to the victims of Covid-19, but opens gaps to remember cultural barriers and problems related to exclusion, which can dim some tributes: "There are so many people who died, perhaps without having a monument, but who find here a way to express this mourning, such as the victims of femicide, whose stones are also being placed here, I heard it".

Mirian, a nurse and colleague of Zilanda, who worked on the front line of the pandemic in Brazil and lost six family members, expresses her gratitude for sharing her grief. She also highlights the essential role of health professionals and the importance of recognizing humanitarian efforts [Argentina and Brazil] during the health crisis: "So, my feeling is one of gratitude for understanding that it is possible to express this grief collectively. I am a nurse, I lost six relatives and saw many friends lose their lives to COVID-19. While you were at home, we were in the fight against this virus."

Glauber, a health professional, identifies the monument as a political manifestation that causes impact and promotes reflection. He notes that each stone represents a life interruption, leading visitors to confront the reality of human losses. And the narrative emphasizes that such monuments have the power to generate discomfort not only in passersby but also in the authorities, by reconfiguring public spaces with new meanings attributed by civil society:

I find this type of monument interesting, first because it draws attention, it makes an impact. And it causes me strangeness and, at the same time, reflection. Because as soon as I saw the stones from afar, I was trying to understand what it was. And as soon as I got closer, I was able to understand, I saw by the dates. And, as I am in the health area, we understood that it had something to do with the pandemic. So, this type of monument is important. It exists in the public space because it is a way for people to manifest their pain, their suffering. At the same time that I see each of these stones, I understand that behind them there are people, there are stories and there are lives that have been reaped.

Bárbara, from São Paulo-SP, highlights the materiality of the monument and its ability to symbolize both the absence and the presence of those who have departed. She notes the coexistence of tributes to the victims of the pandemic with urban interventions aimed at the memory of missing persons, such as the case of Tehuel de la Torre.<sup>4</sup> This overlapping of memories highlights the complexity of public spaces as places of symbolic dispute and the importance of staying alive and debating urgent social issues: "Each rock, each piece, represents a life, a person who existed. Keeping this in such a central and meaningful space is something that stands out, because it reflects not only what was, but also what it continues to be for those who stayed: the absence, the missing piece in people's lives."

Lázaro (Santo André-SP), in turn, recognizes the legitimacy of the monument as a form of memorial protest but questions the permanence of the stones in a public space intended for leisure. He suggests the creation of a specific place to honor the victims, so that the message is not lost, but also does not interfere with the daily experience of the space. His position reflects the dilemma between the need to remember and the management of public spaces.

I am impressed to see the amount of stones here, which caught my attention a lot, as they are conveying a message. I have some difficulty understanding why they should stay here since this is a beautiful, public, leisure space, where we should live moments of joy and sadness, but not be stuck only in certain situations. I think that when the stones were placed here, it was perfect, all right, but maybe a space could be created that would remember this so as not to fall into oblivion; They could be removed from here and taken to a more suitable place, but that would not fall into the oblivion of the population.

<sup>4</sup> Tehuel de la Torre, a 21-year-old Argentine transgender man, disappeared on March 11, 2021 after leaving for a job interview in San Vicente, Buenos Aires. Violent crime is suspected, as his belongings were located and two suspects were arrested. His body was located in October 2023. The case highlights violence against transgender people and the ongoing search for justice (Page 12, 2024).



Among Argentines, Bruno, de Pilar, expresses the need for collective awareness about the magnitude of the losses caused by the pandemic. There is no doubt that the monument should be in a public space for everyone to see and reflect on what happened and that something similar does not happen again. Her perspective reflects the universality of grief and the importance of spaces that allow collective awareness: "We have to be aware of everyone who has died, we must see why we must know what happened. It's very sad to lose a loved one, I hope it doesn't happen again, because it was something that separated the world."

Antonella, from Buenos Aires, sees the monument as a way to remember the impacts of a world crisis. She points out the strategic location in front of the Casa Rosada, indicating that the memorial serves as a direct message to the government about the lives lost during the previous term. Antonella counter-argues the relocation of the stones, as the *Plaza de Mayo* is the place where they can remain more exposed and visible to everyone: "I like the idea; I believe it is a way of remembering the impact that a global health crisis has caused. It's not just about the pain of families and those affected individually, but also about showing the world what happened during this critical time."

Maria, a history teacher in Salta, reflects on the fear of death, the presence of the monument to the victims of COVID-19 in the *Plaza de Mayo*, in front of the Government House, the global impact of the pandemic, and the initial challenges faced by governments and scientists. She questions the location of the memorial, a historic space often used for demonstrations that could damage the *Marcha das Pedras Memorial*. In this argument, the dilemmas between the historicity of the square and heritage activism are identified. In this case, as the *Plaza de Mayo* is a place of political demonstrations, the interviewee proposed the creation of another place for the aforementioned monumentalization, highlighting the tensions between the need to preserve memory and the conservation of historical spaces in the face of iconoclastic heritage activism:

It caught our attention to see the engraved stones because in Salta we are surrounded by this material, which is very common for us. Therefore, seeing them in another city was something remarkable. As we approached, we realized that they were engraved with names and, when reading the information, we understood that they were victims of Covid-19. The pandemic was terrible and affected the whole world. I lost family members to Covid-19, including my father, which was extremely painful. At first, we all felt very afraid, because we didn't know what it was about or how to act. I believe that this will not be the last pandemic. We have already faced others, such as yellow fever and polio, which have also caused many deaths, especially of children. However, with the development of vaccines, we have been able to overcome them. With the world becoming increasingly globalized and

connected, I believe we now have more experience and resources to deal with future crises. With the learning from this pandemic, I believe that we will be more prepared to face similar situations in the future.

In the same direction, Marcelo, from Buenos Aires, supports the presence of the monument in the *Plaza de Mayo*, stating that people have the right to demonstrate in the way they consider appropriate and the government's respect for protecting the space, despite acts of vandalism. It is a legitimate form of public expression of pain and collective memory, despite the existence of contrary views: "I believe that people have every right to demonstrate; Turning this into a public space seems to me to be an excellent idea. I am happy that the government has respected this space, protecting it with glass and keeping it preserved."

It should be clarified that during the celebration of Loyalty Day (10/17/2021), protesters trampled and removed stones and photos that made up the memorial to the victims of COVID-19, generating indignation and repudiation, especially on social networks, marked by the hashtag #Miserables and #DevuelvanLasPiedras. Politicians such as Horacio Rodríguez Larreta and Mario Negri, as well as journalists and writers, expressed outrage at the disrespect for the memory of the victims and the suffering of their families. The actions of celebration and vandalism evidenced political polarization, especially in the context of the celebrations promoted by the Peronist government (Infobae, 2021).

This intersection between local experiences and universal suffering reflects heterotopic connections, as conceptualized by Foucault (2009) when demonstrating how symbolic spaces can articulate public memories at multiple levels and contexts. These narratives lead us to the concept of "memory mania", highlighting the contemporary desire to materialize and resignify traumatic events through monumentalization. Considering the cases described, this process seeks to integrate local and global experiences, connecting different temporalities and regions to an unprecedented crisis in history (Doss, 2011; Douki, Minard, 2024).<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Douki, Minard (2024) understand that connected history overcomes compartmentalizations and reveals connections that help to understand local contexts and their interactions at other scales: "Connected history has a different goal: to tear down the compartmentalization between national histories and 'cultural areas' in order to shed light on modes of interaction between the local and regional level on the one hand and a supra-regional level that can sometimes be global on the other hand".

## ISOLATION IN THE VILLAS ITATÍ AND VILA AZUL NEIGHBORHOODS<sup>6</sup>

Social, Preventive, and Mandatory Isolation (ISPO) was maintained more strictly and for longer in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires and the metropolitan region of the Province of Buenos Aires, due to the persistence of high rates of confirmed cases per inhabitant, especially until November 2020. In the Villa Azul and Villa Itatí neighborhoods, respectively located in the neighborhoods of Quilmes and Avellaneda, the first records of coronavirus emerged in the week of May 20, 2020. In response, authorities at different levels have implemented community lockdowns to contain the spread of the virus. In the City of Buenos Aires, access to popular neighborhoods occurred at the end of April, while in the metropolitan area, the circulation of the virus took longer to reach peripheral regions.

The sociodemographic characteristics of the populations of the neighborhoods of Azul and Itatí stand out for their material living conditions, such as inadequate infrastructure and labor inequalities. In the first case, 75% of the dwellings use black cesspools or sewage pits, more than 60% do not have a flush toilet, and 95% lack piped gas. Electricity and water connections are irregular, and about 20% of households do not have drinking water, forcing families to resort to public taps. These conditions made basic self-care measures unfeasible during the pandemic, such as regular handwashing, highlighting the deep inequality in the living conditions and urban infrastructure of these communities. As for the employment situation, 73% of men have paid work, while only 31% of women in popular neighborhoods are employed. Of these, only 10% have registered work, in contrast to 24% of men. Paradoxically, 64% of households in these neighborhoods are headed by women (Observatory of Gender and Public Policies, 2020).

With the implementation of ISPO, 42.6% of households faced labor difficulties, such as job loss and worsening contractual conditions. Earnings fell by 49.3% in 2020, with the most severe reduction among households with a lower level of education (57.1%) (INDEC, 2020). Given the precariousness that already exists in the Villa Itatí and Villa Azul neighborhoods, it is likely that the loss of income has exceeded the national average. Under these conditions, the ASPO guideline, #fiqueemcasa, became difficult to follow. Studies in the metropolitan region (North) show that, due to housing precariousness and limited access to services such as drinking water, social isolation was unfeasible within homes. The street, seen as an extension of the home, became essential for sociability,

<sup>6</sup> This section addresses aspects of the article by Karina Ramacciotti, Gabriela Nelba Guerrero and Cllara Gilligan "El aislamiento comunitario en Vila Itatí y Villa Azul"; see Ramacciotti et al (2023, p 205-220).

especially for children and adolescents, limiting the scope of sanitary measures (Maceira et al., 2020).

In April 2020, the Ministry of Social Development, in partnership with social movements, launched the program "O Bairro Cuida do Bairro", adapting the slogan #fiqueemcasa to #fiqueemseubairro. The strategy aimed to adapt isolation to areas without sufficient domestic infrastructure, expanding circulation to the community space. Prosecutors and nurses began to travel through the neighborhoods, accompanying risk groups, disseminating preventive measures, and distributing safety and hygiene items. These actions were carried out in coordination with canteens, lunch cooks, and community centers, ensuring food supply (Amaya Guerrero and Guerrero, 2021).

At the end of May 2020, the first cases of COVID-19 were registered in the Villa Azul neighborhood, more than two months after the first case was detected in the City of Buenos Aires. In a few days, more than seven people tested positive, leading the Health Secretariats of Quilmes and Avellaneda, with support from the Ministry of Health of the Province, to carry out active searches for suspected cases. The high positivity rate suggested a wider circulation of the virus. Faced with precarious living conditions and the impossibility of home isolation, the authorities adopted a strategy of community isolation as a health response to the Coronavirus outbreak.

Community isolation was instituted after the first cases were confirmed. The first task of the health teams was the active search for symptomatic people. According to Juan (2021), a physician interviewed, the situation reflected the severity of the pandemic:

It was going from house to house and bringing a person. In an hour, we had twenty people to take the test. The Municipality of Quilmes transported them directly to the National University of Quilmes (UNQ) to carry out the isolation there. The feeling in the face of the size of the number of cases was: We arrived late. Two days later, while the operation continued with the tests, a higher level intervened and decided to completely isolate the neighborhood.

In this stage, the Provincial Security Forces and the Civil Defense of the two neighborhoods also participated. For the residents of Villa Azul, the situation was changing day after day and was experienced as an emergency never faced. Patricia (2021), a nurse working there, vividly recalls, two years later, the day-to-day events:

On a Thursday they came to the neighborhood to do a Detect operation and cases began to appear.<sup>7</sup> They realized that, out of ten tests, eight were positive. On Friday, they came back, because it seemed that they were unable to cover the entire area. On Saturday, when I came back from work, I saw people with their clothes (white overalls, caps). I thought, 'Oh, maybe they're not done going through it all yet.' Sunday was the pinnacle. I got home after work, had breakfast with my mother, and went to sleep. I woke up at four in the afternoon, with helicopters flying overhead, truck bombs, people disinfecting, ambulances, sirens, and firefighters. It was a war zone. There was no other way to describe it. It was very impactful. That day, I called work and said, 'I don't know if I'll be able to get out of here.' I managed to present my professional card. But the next day, when everything was already closed, they made me sign a document saying that I could not leave.

In the Villa Azul neighborhood, only three accesses remained open, all under surveillance by the Security Forces, where clothes and shoes of people authorized to circulate for emergency reasons were disinfected with quaternary ammonium, and hands sanitized with 70% alcohol, in addition to the obligation to present an identity document. Internally, circulation was allowed (Espósito et al., 2021), a situation that lasted from May 25 to June 8, 2020. During and after this period, the Detect program, coordinated by the Ministry of Health, was maintained for the active search for symptomatic people. The teams, composed of residents, health promoters and nurses equipped with PPE, carried out the tests in mobile health units, with results delivered within 24 hours by doctors from the Primary Health Care Centers (CAPS) and laboratories of the Covid-19 network.

People with risk factors or moderate symptoms were referred to hospitalization, with transfers organized by the Emergency Medical Care System (SAME), which also provided medication. The management of the beds, distributed among different hospital units, required coordination between the municipal, provincial and national levels. Some patients were referred to provincial hospitals, such as Dr. Isidoro Iriarte (Quilmes), Dr. Eduardo Wilde (Avellaneda), and Dr. Eduardo Oller de Solano (Quilmes), as well as units in Almirante Brown, Berazategui, and private clinics for those who had health insurance (Espósito et al., 2021). People who tested positive but had no symptoms or risk factors were told to isolate themselves at home. For those without adequate housing conditions, extra-hospital Health Isolation Centers (CIS) were created, aiming to interrupt the chain of contagion within families and in the community. The main CIS worked at the National University of Quilmes, in adapted rooms due to the suspension of face-to-face classes,

---

<sup>7</sup> Detect (Strategic Testing Device for Coronavirus in the Argentine Territory) is a health strategy promoted and funded by the Argentine Ministry of Health. Launched in 2020, its objective was to search, test and guarantee care to anyone diagnosed as a suspected and/or confirmed case of coronavirus. To this end, active search and testing operations were developed for federal-level populations. (Ministerio de Salud, 2020).



receiving more than 1000 people throughout 2020. Other centers were installed at the Recreation Center of the Union of Plastic Workers and Employees and at the San Jorge School, both in Quilmes. Patrícia (2021) recalls that, around the corner from her house, in the Primary Health Care Centers (CAPS) in the Villa Azul neighborhood, "people waited with their backpacks and bags to be taken to the isolation center. That was the most impactful thing: seeing one ambulance after another passing by."

Home visits included guidance for people to avoid leaving the neighborhood and follow health recommendations. The teams composed of health professionals, promoters and volunteers also identified social needs, distributing kits with food, clothes, hygiene items, medicines and phone cards, prepared the day before. Julieta, a nurse who worked in the neighborhood, reports the challenges of this work: "The social situation, in the middle of a pandemic, is very discouraging. They could not comply with the care measures that we ourselves were informing... If you say that 'the only way not to spread the virus is to wash your hands' and these people don't have water, then how do you do it?" (Julieta, 2021).

Maria (2021), a health promoter, describes the difficulties faced in closing the neighborhood: "People wanted to go out to work; some lived off what they earned that day... we reinforced the articulation with the CAPS and Social Development to guarantee the shipment of goods. The neighborhood was closed, but there was never a shortage of food. People were able to protect themselves, calm about being able to feed their children."

This complex scenario lasted about 14 days, during which time the number of symptomatic people began to fall, although three residents hospitalized during isolation died (Espósito et al., 2021). After the end of this stage, the presence of the Security Forces was withdrawn, but control and testing actions remained active.

Julieta highlights the need to adjust measures to local realities, highlighting the essential role of state agents in the practical implementation of public policies. As Sarabayrouse (2011) points out, the State is not just a set of regulations; it is "effectively embodied in the people who compose it", who, with their daily practices, update and transform these policies (Soprano, 2015: 17).

## CONSEQUENCES OF COMMUNITY ISOLATION

On June 8, 2020, with fewer confirmed cases and a low positivity rate, the authorities ended the phase of strict community isolation, allowing circulation outside the perimeter of the neighborhoods, although territorial teams continued to act. Faur and Pita

(2020) analyzed the impact of the presence of the Security Forces during isolation in popular neighborhoods of the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area, noting that "the police officers deployed in the neighborhoods... they do, to a large extent, what they know how to do: control, give orders, suspect; in addition to forcing and/or trying to impose authority", which generated "more fear than tranquility". Juan (2021), remembers the scenario of those days: "No one entered or left. There were police, gendarmes, military... The police were constantly present. It was the safest moment in the neighborhood. There was a big apparatus, it was almost like a movie: everyone in astronaut suits" The participation of the Security Forces during isolation was perceived differently. For some, it represented care; for others, it was synonymous with too much violence" (Faur and Pita, 2020). Assusa and Kessler (2020) point out that the police presence, although it guaranteed compliance with isolation in some cases, also resulted in reports of abuse and institutional violence against young people from popular neighborhoods. These perceptions reflect structural inequalities, and it is likely that Juan's view of the period as "the safest time" differed from those of other residents.

Community isolation in the Villa Azul neighborhood was effective in containing the outbreak, with only 15% of the population exposed to the virus, while in other popular neighborhoods this rate reached 53% (Espósito et al., 2021). Lethality was also lower than the national average. For Julieta (2021), a nurse in the region, the biggest learning was to adapt to adverse conditions: "We have to do what we can with what we have at the moment". Juan (2021) highlighted that, even after the operation, the installed capacity in the health center was maintained, allowing the continuity of the tests: "Then, there were two or three people a day, at most ten. It has not had such high numbers again. It was a job well done."

The Health Isolation Centers, such as those of the National University of Quilmes and the Colegio San Jorge, were reused for the vaccination campaign that began in December 2020. Many professionals involved in isolation were hired again, such as Patrícia (2021), a nurse from the Villa Azul neighborhood, who joined the vaccination teams and carried out tests and awareness campaigns. Despite the precariousness of temporary contracts, Patrícia valued the opportunities and training offered: "I feel that they are valuing me. It's enriching."

The territorial experience reinforced primary care, strengthening the bonds between residents and health teams. "The connection with the neighborhood was different. You

know the people, they know your name," said Juan (2021) Julieta (2021) also noted the positive impact of proximity to residents and teamwork, where health promoters, already familiar with the neighborhoods, facilitated contact with families. Perelmiter and Arcidiácono (2021) highlight that the presence of community leaders was essential to open the doors of the houses, reducing the fear caused by the presence of personnel protected by PPE.

The home visits also registered social needs and broadened the vision of the professionals. Burijovich (2022) observes that the work in these territories exposed the agents to complex situations, requiring a comprehensive approach to the communities and greater interdisciplinary communication. The management of emotions was another challenge: "People were grateful, but also afraid, just like us. The presence of the Security Force [Gendarmerie] bothered some, but we tried to be patient and explain why it was necessary" (Julieta, 2021).

## MEMORIES OF SECLUSION (BRAZIL)

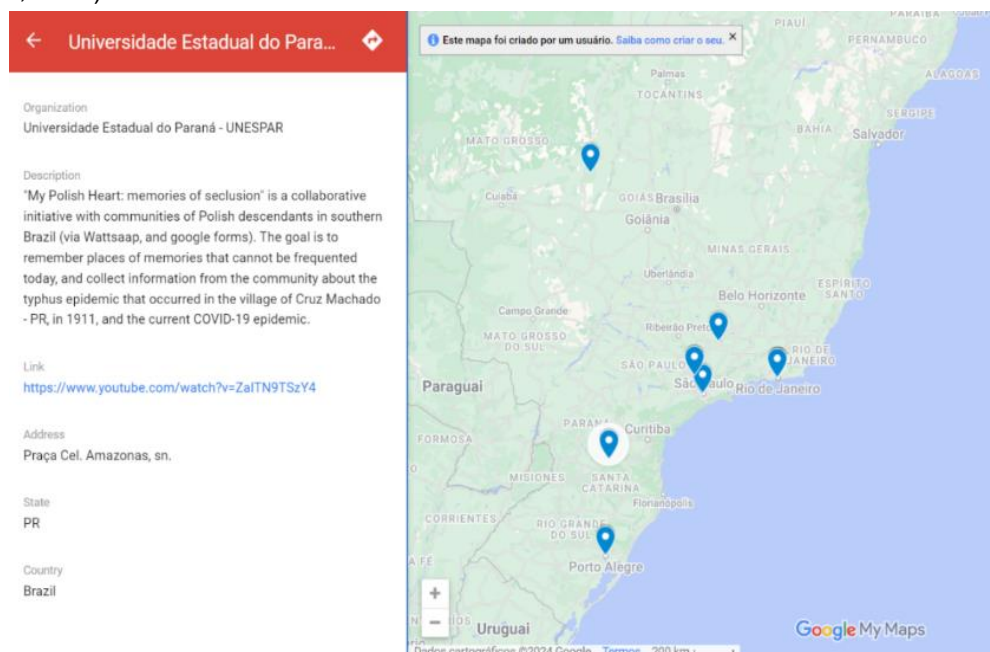
The Covid-19 pandemic has triggered a series of initiatives aimed at documenting and preserving unique and globally connected experiences. The International Federation of Public History (IFPH) and the *Made By Us initiative* stood out in this context, mapping projects that sought to collect and archive everyday accounts, personal stories, artifacts, and memories. The central objective of these actions was to create a collection for future generations to understand the depth and complexity of this unprecedented historical moment (Cauvin, 2020). Figure 7 In this context, the research *My Polish Heart: Memories of Seclusion*, carried out with communities of Polish descendants in southern Brazil through WhatsApp and Google Forms, sought to revisit places of memory inaccessible during the Covid-19 pandemic and collect information about the typhus epidemic that affected Cruz Machado (PR) in 1911, drawing parallels with the contemporary scenario of health crisis.<sup>8</sup>

In the online event *What can public history do in the pandemic?* the need to document and understand multiple human experiences was found (Santhiago, Luchessi, Nicolazzi, Afanador-Llach, 2021). Anitta Lucchesi (2021), for example, highlighted that

<sup>8</sup> The survey, carried out in April 2020, had 18 participants, of which 11 were female (61.1%) and 7 male (38.9%), aged between 11 and 57 years, most of whom had a level of education. According to Bielenin-Lenczowska and Niewiadomski (2021, p. 6928-6929), My Polish Heart was an initiative linked to the Władysław Reymont Literary Club, developed from collaborations carried out through the YouTube channel History in Public Spaces. For more details, see the bibliographic references.

"Public History is now, perhaps, being more commented on because of the issue of the pandemic, as a form of response by historians". This perspective is deepened by the argument that human experiences are plural, both due to social inequalities and the varied responses presented by different social groups.

**Figure 7.** My Polish Heart Project, 2020. In the center, the project developed in the State of Paraná. Source: Cauvin, IFPH, 2020)



The history and public memory of the community of Cruz Machado are marked by health crises. Taking into account the seclusion caused by the pandemic, we thought about the meaning of the Ethnographic Museum of Polish Immigration for the research participants.<sup>9</sup> Among the possible perceptions, the museum, more than a simple accumulation of old objects with no apparent use, was conceived as a symbolic artifact transcendent to its materiality, becoming a powerful agglutinator of meanings (Pomian, 1984).<sup>10</sup> The museum is considered a link between the short, medium and long term (events, conjunctures and structures), strengthening the identity and affective bonds of the community over time, establishing connections between the visible and the invisible

<sup>9</sup> The Ethnographic Museum of Polish Immigration, managed by the Polish-Brazilian Association Father Daniel Niemiec, located in the district of Santana, in Cruz Machado (PR), was inaugurated in 1995 by the local community with the aim of preserving the historical memory of Polish immigrants who settled in the region in 1911.

<sup>10</sup> Pomian analyzes the relationship between utility and meaning in objects, exploring the opposition between these dimensions, the attribution of value, and the conflicts that arise from different perspectives. In any case, objects are conceived as symbolic mediators; however, they can perform multiple functions, especially when linked to digital technologies and the new cultural meanings produced.

through shared narratives. It is worth remembering that, although musealized objects can arouse subjectivities in visitors, they can lead to other interpretations:

My mother is the granddaughter of immigrants. It was great to take her and my daughter to the museum, as my mother 'translated' the museum for my daughter as a child. It was wonderful. As a History teacher, it was great to take my students to think about how they can promote places of memory in their city (Anonymous, 2020).

It should be noted, in the argument of this research participant, the intergenerational role of learning in a public space — temporarily inaccessible — as a bearer of cultural meaning, which in that context, acquired new interpretative layers, transcending personal and professional experience by reinforcing the feeling of belonging and commitment to cultural preservation.

This perspective reinforces the idea that public memory is fundamental for the construction of cultural identity and the feeling of belonging. According to Maria José Afanador-Llach (2020), during the pandemic, "users cease to be passive consumers of information and become active producers of content" and, in this way, historians are "dealing with primary sources different from what we were used to". Therefore, valuing the cultural legacy at a time marked by the threat to human existence reinforces the essential role of Public History in mediating dialogues with audiences, especially in the context of digital humanities.

The research revealed that the memory of the typhus epidemic in Cruz Machado, which occurred in 1911, remains alive in the narratives of the participants as a tragic moment, of suffering and state violence, which victimized many Brazilians. The local literature, produced in co-authorship, contemplates the Rio do Banho Cemetery as a reference for mourning: "The need to bury with dignity the victims of the merciless typhoid fever, made any land become the first cemetery, [...] a relic, as it houses the remains of the first inhabitants of Cruz Machado" (Otto et al., 2019, p. 64).

Estimates of the number of deaths during that epidemic vary between hundreds and even two thousand deaths, reflecting both the divergences between historical sources and the persistence of fanciful oral memories (Iarochinski, 2011). The mythical figure of the pharmacist Antiocho Pereira emerged in public memory for his capacity for selflessness and personal sacrifice:



When they arrived in Brazil, the immigrants settled in a precarious way, without infrastructure, hygiene and medication. Typhus was the disease that affected immigrants here in Brazil. It killed many Poles and the tragedy was only not greater thanks to the doctor Antiocho Pereira who sacrificed himself to help this population (Anonymous, 2020).

The historical-cinematographic staging in *The Hero of Cruz Machado* (2011) portrays as a backdrop, a public history produced by the community of Polish descent itself. According to Iarochinski (1999), the pharmacist Antiocho Pereira, who graduated from the medical school of Rio de Janeiro, served the community, however, this action only occurred in 1918. The fictional plot, based on the typhus epidemic of the early twentieth century, was remembered by the participants. They recognized the initiative as fundamental to preserve and disseminate local history, arousing interest in Polish culture and regional history: "It is an important initiative, a record of the memories of the place, of the suffering experienced by immigrants in the face of adversity on arrival and with typhus" (Anonymous, 2020). However, some criticism has been directed at possible historical inaccuracies or distortions in the narrative, highlighting the importance of distinguishing fiction from reality. This concern reflects the discussion about the responsibility of historians to combat disinformation and promote historical literacy in a context marked by the abundance of data and the circulation of unverified facts, often disseminated by audiences. In this scenario, historians face the challenge of constructing rigorous historical interpretations (Afanador-Llach, 2020). The hero's narrative built around Antiocho Pereira transcends historical homage and assumes a critical and reflective role on social, cultural and cinematographic issues.

## PARALLELS BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT

The preservation of narratives, during and after the pandemic, involves global discussions about the role of the historian in contexts marked by collective trauma (Abrams, 2010). Considering Brazil, Nicolazzi (2020) raises questions about which memories would be highlighted in the future and how historians could contribute so that stories and memories, despite being painful, would not be forgotten: "Perhaps a possible suggestion for this is to think about the memories of the victims... [...] Are we becoming documentalists of the contemporary? Is this our contribution to posterity? Are we the ones who should record the event in the heat of the event?" (Nicolazzi, 2020).

On a local scale, but with links to Polish anthropology, the analysis by Bielenin-Lenczowska and Niewiadomski (2021) highlights the persistent challenges and new possibilities in the preservation of Polish culture and language in southern Brazil, especially during health crises that profoundly impact social, linguistic, and cultural practices: "It is estimated that approximately ten immigrants, daily, were fatal victims of this terrible disease, the greatest tragedy recorded in the Polish diaspora in Brazilian territory (Bielenin-Lenczowska and Niewiadomski: 2021, p. 6922). In this case, from the comparison between the typhus outbreak (1911) and the Covid-19 pandemic (2019-2023), parallels were drawn that illuminate both the resilience of communities and the limitations imposed by the historical and social context.

In this approach, these health crises expose structural vulnerabilities that profoundly affect communities of Polish descent, highlighting both the precariousness of social conditions and the challenges to cultural preservation. In the case of typhus, the unsanitary conditions and overcrowding faced by Polish immigrants in Cruz Machado facilitated the spread of the disease, while the Covid-19 pandemic, despite scientific advances, brought similar challenges, such as social isolation and the spread of misinformation. Both crises impacted cultural and linguistic practices, limiting the transmission of the heritage language in family and community contexts. However, the pandemic has also revealed new possibilities through digital technology, enabling cultural revitalization through online events and innovative initiatives. Despite this, the heritage language continues to face significant barriers due to the lack of institutional recognition and the predominance of Portuguese in daily interactions, highlighting the need for hybrid strategies to balance cultural preservation with contemporary challenges.

The appreciation of these cultural productions reflects the strong sense of collective identity and the relevance of narratives built from the meanings of existence in moments of seclusion or confinement, as well as the desire for freedom and overcoming adversity. In this sense, Public History plays a crucial role in the active documentation of the present moment, acting as a mediator between individual experiences and the construction of a collective memory that encompasses multiple voices and perspectives, often framed by the feeling of mourning of loved ones. At this point, the historian does not necessarily need to go to the archive, as it can constitute "his own archive of the pandemic". In this case, the antagonistic perspectives were perpetuated: "there is the positive side that people have easier access to information... but how this large amount of information is also working and

favoring discourses that are not so positive" (Lucchesi, 2020). And, in fact, the incorporation of digital technologies and collaborative methodologies has expanded the reach of these initiatives, despite inequalities in access and digital gaps, which have promoted a form of exclusion.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Covid-19 pandemic has turned out to be a catastrophic event that has profoundly affected the ways societies experience grief, memory, and social engagement. In this chapter, we examine how different communities in Argentina and Brazil have responded to these challenges, using memorial practices and collective actions to express their pain, claim rights, and question government measures against a backdrop of global crisis.

The *March of the Stones* emerged as a powerful symbol of shared mourning and political protest, converting public spaces into places of active memory and sensitive heritage. The testimonies collected highlight the capacity of memorials to cross national borders and promote intercultural dialogues, underlining the importance of historical approaches that redefine grief and encourage social justice.

In the communities of Villa Azul and Villa Itatí, the pandemic has highlighted deep inequalities that have made it difficult to implement basic health measures. Collaboration between local residents and health professionals has shown the challenges of adapting health recommendations to specific contexts and revealed contrasting perceptions about the presence of security forces, seen by some as protection and by others as state coercion. This experience highlights the urgent need for public policies that take into account community and regional particularities.

In southern Brazil, the research *My Polish Heart* showed how memories of the typhus epidemic of 1911 still resonate in local narratives, drawing parallels with the current situation. These stories emphasize the unequal impact of health crises on vulnerable groups and the importance of maintaining historical, social, and cultural ties to strengthen community resilience.

The examples analyzed demonstrate the complexity of the interactions between knowledge, memory practices and activism, showing how local experiences are linked to global movements. Public memorials and new ways of experiencing grief emerge as

significant expressions of resistance and social change, symbolizing both the absence and presence of loved ones in various dimensions.

By utilizing approaches from public history, oral history, and interconnected perspectives, we deepen understanding of multiple human responses to the pandemic. These methodologies have made it possible not only to record part of the effects of the crisis, but also to reinterpret grief and memory as tools for solidarity and citizen participation. Ultimately, the experiences highlighted highlight the capacity of communities to transform pain into collective action, reinforcing the importance of memorial practices that promote reflection, inclusion, and equity in challenging times. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), the Covid-19 pandemic spread in December 2019 and, in May 2023, it was declared that it was no longer a public health emergency.

## REFERENCES

1. AGULHON, M. *Histoire vagabonde*. Ethnographie dans la France Contemporaine. Paris: Gallimard, 1994.
2. ASSUSA, Gonzalo; KESSLER, Gabriel. Reactivación de desigualdades y vulneración de derechos en tiempos de pandemia. In: BOHOLAVSKY, Juan Pablo (ed.). *COVID-19 and human rights: the pandemic of inequality*. Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2020.
3. BIELENIN-LENCZOWSKA, Karolina; NIEWIADOMSKI, Sônia Eliane. Polish language in Brazil in times of pandemic: new possibilities and limitations. *Fórum Linguístico*, Florianópolis, v. 18, n. 4, p. 6920-6934, Oct./Dec. 2021. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5007/1984-8412.2021.e81088>. Accessed on: 13 nov. 2024.
4. CARVALHO, Aline; MENEGUELLO, C. (Orgs.). *Thematic dictionary of heritage: contemporary debates*. Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 2020. 271 p. ISBN 9786586253276. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.7476/9786586253696>. Accessed on: 18 nov. 2024
5. CAUVIN, Thomas. Mapping Public History Projects about Covid-19. *Ifph.hypotheses.org*, 24 Apr. 2020. Available at: <https://ifph.hypotheses.org/3225> . Accessed on: 13 nov. 2024.
6. CORDOBA. Urban murals in the health center. Available at: <https://x.com/MuniCba/status/1373728093454622720/photo/1>. Accessed on: 16 nov. 2024.
7. CORONAVIRUS: la dura carta de una médica a los políticos: "No quiero más aplausos". *La Nación*, 22 Apr. 2020. Updated on Sep 10. 2022. Available at: <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/sociedad/coronavirus-dura-carta-medica-politicos-no-quiero-nid2357158/>. Accessed on: 13 nov. 2024.
8. DHAR, Parul Pandya (Ed.). *Connected Histories of India and Southeast Asia: Icons, Narratives, Monuments - Celebrating Thirty Years of ASEAN-India Relations*. ASEAN-India Center (AIC), Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), 2022.
9. DOSS, Erika. *The emotional Life of Contemporary Public Memorials: Towards A Theory of Temporary Memorials*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008.
10. DOUKI, Caroline; MINARD, Philippe. *Global History, Connected Histories: A Shift of Historiographical Scale?*. *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, v. 54, n. 4, 2007. Available at: <https://www.cairn.info/revue-d-histoire-moderne-et-contemporaine> Accessed on: 17 nov. 2024.
11. El Heroísmo de los enfermeros, la primera línea en la lucha contra el coronavirus. *La Nación*, Sociedad, 5 Apr. 2020. Updated on Sep 9. 2022. Available at: <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/sociedad/el-heroismo-de-los-enfermeros-la-primera-linea-en-la-lucha-contr-el-coronavirus-nid2347858> . Accessed on: 13 nov. 2024.



12. FAUR, Eleonor; PITA, María Victoria. Police logic or ethics of care: coronavirus, aislamiento y políticas de control. *Amphibia*, 2020. Available at: <https://www.revistaanfibia.com/logica-policial-etica-del-cuidado/> . Accessed on: 8 nov. 2022.
13. FERNÁNDEZ, Alberto. *Lectures by the president of the Nation*, Alberto Fernández, in the presentation of a project of law for the training and development of the nurse, in the Casa Rosada Museum. Casa Rosada - Presidency, June 18, 2021. Available at: <https://www.casarosada.gob.ar/informacion/discursos/47865-palabras-del-presidente-de-la-nacion-alberto-fernandez-en-la-presentacion-de-un-proyecto-de-ley-para-la-formacion-y-desarrollo-de-la-enfermeria-en-el-museo-de-la-casa-rosada> . Accessed on: 13 nov. 2024.
14. ESPÓSITO, Melina; BUSTOS, Sabrina; CARDONETTI, Leandro; PUEYO ALVARADO, María José; LATORRE, Berenice; PARRILLA, Luis; KREPLAK, Nicolás; KONFINO, Jonathan. *Community Islam as a strategy for mitigating a COVID-19 outbreak: the case of Villa Azul*. Global Health Promotion, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 114-121, 2021
15. FOUCAULT, M. *Le corps utopique, les hétérotopies*. Fécamp (Fr.): Lignes, 2009.
16. GARCÍA DE GARCÍA, Diego Mariano. *Proyecto de Ley, Creación del Monumento "La Marcha de las Piedras"*. Legislatura de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Vamos Juntos, 13 set. 2021.
17. GLASSBERG, David. *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001.
18. HEIDER, Fabricio. La enfermera. 2020. Based on the short story "El último caso" by Julio Nadeo. *Kilómetro Cero Magazine*, 17 jul. 2021. Available at: <https://x.com/MuniCba/status/1373728093454622720/photo/1>. Accessed on: 10 nov. 2024.
19. IAROCHINSKI, Ulysses. *Saga dos Polacos: a polónia e seus imigrantes no Brasil*. Curitiba: Ed. Dom Quixote, 2011.
20. INFOBAE. *Marcha de las Piedras: emoveos actos en Plaza de Mayo y en Olivos en memoria de los muertos por el COVID-19 en Argentina*. 2021. Available at: <https://www.infobae.com/sociedad/2021/08/16/marcha-de-las-piedras-emotivos-actos-en-plaza-de-mayo-y-en-olivos-en-memoria-de-los-muertos-por-el-Covid-19-en-argentina/>. Accessed on: 01 nov. 2024.
21. INFOBAE. *Vandalizing the memorial that retreats to deaths by COVID-19 during the march of the Day of Lealtad: demonstrators caminaron sobre las piedras y rompieron photos of deceased personas*. Infobae, 17 Oct. 2021. Updated: 18 Oct. 2021. Available at: <https://www.infobae.com>. Accessed on: 01 nov. 2024.
22. KOBELINSKI, Michel. *My Polish Heart: Memories of Seclusion! (My Polish heart: memories of seclusion!)*. History in Public Spaces Channel. YouTube, 24 Apr. 2020.

Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZaITN9TSzY4> . Accessed on: 16 nov. 2024.

23. LA NACION. Marcha de las Piedras en Plaza de Mayo: "Si las sacan, volem con el triple". LA NACION, Politics, 4 Sept. 2021. Available at: <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/politica/comienza-la-segunda-marcha-de-las-piedras-en-plaza-de-mayo-bajo-la-consigna-reclamo-homenaje-y-nid04092021/> Accessed on: 21 nov. 2024.
24. LOWENTHAL, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
25. MACEIRA DANIEL, OLAVIAGA, Sofía, IÑARRA, Valeria. *The reorganization of health services: Provincial experiences in the health management of the COVID-19 pandemic in Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Fundar, 2021.
26. MINISTRY OF SALUD. Detect: Strategic Testing Device for Coronavirus in the Territory of Argentina - Covid-19. Available at: [https://apps.who.int/gb/COVID-19/pdf\\_files/04\\_06/Argentina.pdf](https://apps.who.int/gb/COVID-19/pdf_files/04_06/Argentina.pdf) . Accessed on: 18 nov. 2024.
27. MURILLO, Euge. ¿Qué sería hacer justicia por Tehuel? *Página/12*, Buenos Aires, 19 jul. 2024. Available at: Article URL. Available at: <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/753186-que-seria-hacer-justicia-por-tehuel> Accessed on: 20 Nov. 2024
28. NORA, Pierre. *Between memory and history: the problematic of places*. Projeto História, São Paulo, n.10, p.7-28, dez.1993.
29. THE HERO OF CRUZ MACHADO. *RPCTV, Casos e Causos*. Directed by: Guto Pasko. Production: GP7 Cinema. [S.l.]: YouTube, 2010. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VWgiAAVylZk> . Accessed on: 13 nov. 2024.
30. PAN AMERICAN HEALTH ORGANIZATION. WHO declares the end of the Public Health Emergency of International Concern related to Covid-19. 5 May 2023. Available at: <https://www.paho.org/pt/noticias/5-5-2023-oms-declara-fim-da-emergencia-saude-publica-importancia-internacional-referente> . Accessed on: 16 nov. 2024.
31. OTTO, Helena Brzozowski et all. *Cruz Machado: pequena, gran ciudad*. Rio de Janeiro: Autografia, 2019.
32. POMIAN, Krzysztof. Collection. In: *Einaudi Encyclopedia*. V. 1 (Memory-History). Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1984. p. 51-86
33. RAMACCIOTTI, Karina. *Study, care and complain*. The Argentine infirmary during the Covid-19 pandemic. Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2023.
34. RAMACCIOTTI K., Gilligan C. Communication in the health area of Argentina in times of Covid-19 pandemic. *Cuadernos Iberoamericanos*. 2022; 10(2):104-120. (In Esp.) <https://doi.org/10.46272/2409-3416-2022-10-2-104-120> .

35. REUTERS COVID-19 TRACHER, July 15, 2022. Ministry of Health, Argentina. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/graphics/world-coronavirus-tracker-and-maps/pt/countries-and-territories/argentina/>
36. RIEGL, A. *The modern cult of monuments: its history and its origin*. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2014.
37. RON. Concurso Puertas intervenidas en cuarentena. Buenos Aires, 2020. Available at: <https://muralesbuenosaires.com.ar/2020/05/15/puerta-cuarenta-concurso-de-puertas-intervenidas-en-cuarentena/> . Accessed on: 16 nov. 2024.
38. SANTHIAGO, Ricardo; LUCHESSI, Anita; NICOLAZZI, Fernando; AFANADOR LLACH, Maria José. *What can Public History do in the Pandemic?* Webinar. [S.l.]: 26 jul. 2021. (Closed event)
39. SANTIAGO JR., Francisco das Chagas Fernandes. From São Paulo to Charlottesville: Tearing down and questioning monuments as cases of political iconoclasm in public history. In: Rogério Rosa Rodrigues; Viviane Trindade Borges. (Org.). *Public History and History of the Present*. 1ed. Rio de Janeiro: Letra e Voz, 2021, v. 1, p. 122-144.
40. SANTHIAGO, Ricardo. Raising the fourth wall: Oral history and public interviews. *Ibero-American Studies*, v. 47, p. e37272, 2021.
41. SARRABAYROUSE OLIVEIRA, Maria José. Legal Strategies and Political Processes in the Activism of Human Rights: The Case of the Judicial Morgue. *Lex Humana*, v. 3, n. 1, Journal of the Faculty of Law, Catholic University of Petrópolis (UCP), Brazil, 2011.
42. SOPRANO, Germán. The State at the extremes: contributions of Hispano-colonial historiography and the anthropology of the politics of the State study in the twentieth century. *Estudios Sociales del Estado*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 5-25, 2015. Available at: <http://estudiossocialesdelestado.org/index.php/ese/article/view/18> . Accessed on: 25 May 2023.
43. SUBRAHMANYAM, Sanjay. Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia. *Modern Asian Studies*, v. 31, n. 3, p. 735-762, 1997. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org>. Accessed on: 17 jan. 2016.
44. VOA NEWS. Popular Argentina Beach Becomes Site of Memorial to Coronavirus Victims. October 09, 2020 2:08. Available at: [https://www.voanews.com/a/covid-19-pandemic\\_popular-argentina-beach-becomes-site-memorial-coronavirus-victims/6196924.html](https://www.voanews.com/a/covid-19-pandemic_popular-argentina-beach-becomes-site-memorial-coronavirus-victims/6196924.html)