# **Pandemic and Narration**

Covid-19 Narratives in Latin America

Edited by

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**Series in Politics** 



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This book is dedicated to our families and friends in Latin America. We thank you for all the videocalls and the love we shared while self-isolating half a world away.

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# **List of Acronyms**

ANVISA Health Regulatory Agency, Brazil

CAVEI Comité Asesor en Vacunas e Inmunizaciones, Chile

CCSS Caja Costarricense de Seguro Social, Costa Rica

CDA Critical Discourse Analysis

CEM Centros de Emergencia Mujer, Peru

COE Comité de Operaciones de Emergencia, Ecuador

CPC Confederación de la Producción y del Comercio, Chile

ENDES Encuesta Demográfica y de Salud Familiar, Peru

FDA Food and Drug Administration, US

GBV Gender-Based Violence

ICU Intensive Care Unit

ILE Interrupción Legal del Embarazo

IMF International Monetary Fund

INEC Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, Ecuador

IVE Interrupción Voluntaria del Embarazo

LASA Latin American Studies Association, US

MAGA Ministry of Agriculture, Guatemala

MEP Ministerio de Educación, Costa Rica

MIMP Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables, Peru

Minsal Ministerio de Salud, Chile

MSP Ministerio de Salud Pública, Ecuador

NeMLA Northeast Modern Languages Association, US

PCI Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry, Brazil

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PUC Pontificia Universidad Católica, Chile

SenRed Socorristas en Red, Argentina

Seremi Secretarías Regionales Ministeriales, Chile

STF Supreme Federal Court, Brazil

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organization

UNICEF United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

USAID US Agency for International Development

WHO World Health Organisation

# **About the Authors**

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Latin American, and particularly Southern Cone, literature and music dealing with discourses of political, social, or cultural resistance to oppression.

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# Introduction

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When the Covid-19 pandemic started in early 2020, we —the editors of this volume— were more than 9200 kilometres away from our family homes. As Ecuadorian scholars living and working in the UK, we followed the spread of the virus in Latin America as closely as in the country where we reside. We devoured every bit of information we could find coming from there, never forgetting that we were here instead. In our minds, there meant a familiar world that we could only be told about by our relatives, friends, the news and social media. Their stories, first-hand accounts, reports and updates on how the health crisis unfolded in Ecuador merged with our own pandemic experience in London. Words about isolation, self-distancing, xenophobia, violence, illness and death shaped the world our loved ones inhabited and resonated with us, creating a feeling of companionship and knitting a sense of distanced commonality. We realised that we never understood more clearly or felt so vividly that —as Michel Foucault concluded in reading Jorge Luis Borges— "before the imminence of death, language rushes forth" (54). Our experience suggested that we could tweak Foucault's idea to fit the pandemic context we survived: in the Covid-19 crisis, narrative rushed forth. Foregrounding the role of narrative in the making sense of a devastating health crisis motivates and shapes this volume.

This collection of essays emerges by shedding light on the fact that, as the SARS-CoV-2 virus spread, infecting and killing millions worldwide, everyday life continued to be told across Latin America. That is, it continued to be narrated. Narrating was not only a form of sharing the details of a new experience but also a way of constructing a novel reality. Every story, reflection and description acted as a thread weaving factual, fictional or hybrid versions of an unfolding crisis. And in a world full of uncertainty, narrative also filled the gaps. While pandemics are not new to the history of humanity, Covid-19 affected a hyperconnected world (Medina Cordova, "Microcuentos" 40) where accounts about the virus's origin, symptoms and characteristics could travel faster than the virus itself. For many, first came the story and then came the health crisis.

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At the early stages of the pandemic —when there was little knowledge about an effective treatment, a shortage of protective equipment, no vaccines had been developed and it was uncertain how fast a successful one could be produced and distributed—misinformation thrived in social media; misinformation often led to fear and panic, evoking negative emotions, which, in turn, contributed to the spread of the virus (Oyeyemi et al. 455, 459).

By 2020, Latin Americans had no fresh memory of a virus spreading so fast, affecting so many people and causing so many hospitalisations. Some of them may have heard stories about infectious disease epidemics like the Ebola outbreak affecting West Africa (2014-2016) or witnessed Zika spreading in the Americas and the Pacific region (2014-2017). Others may have remembered the pain of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 1980s or feared the much more recent Influenza A (H1N1) outbreak in 2009. However, Covid-19 had a different timeline and reach. It took only three months to pass from a "pneumonia of unknown cause" reported in Wuhan in the Hubei Province, China, in December 2019 to the moment when the World Health Organisation (WHO) declared a pandemic in March 2020.

Yet despite its unique nature, the Covid-19 crisis also resonated with crises past. Valero and Zárate argue that learning from previous epidemics like the socalled Spanish flu in 1918, the development of tuberculosis across the twentieth century and cholera in the 1990s contribute to understanding the effects of a health crisis from social, economic and cultural perspectives (2). Greene and Vargha add that by recounting the narratives of past pandemics, historians contribute to comprehending the dynamic of a crisis. Historical narratives provide examples of how pandemics behave, with some of them acting, for example, as "a bag of popcorn popping in the microwave", where the tempo of visible case-events begins slowly, escalates to a frenetic peak, and then recedes to a point where it is eventually contained (Greene and Vargha). Nonetheless, being a fraction of the information circulating on the news cycles and in social media during the pandemic, historical precedents gave little comfort to people searching for certainty in the present. Looking at the past might have offered ideas and expectations about what was happening and what could happen. However, evidence-based discourses had to compete with rumours and conspiracy theories spreading in real time, leaving people overflown with personal and collective, truthful and fictional stories.

We put together *Pandemic and Narration* to help understand what happened in Latin America during the health crisis. However, the reach of our contribution is not limited to the region—we hope to impact the global record of the pandemic by becoming a point of reference for thinking about Covid-19 in a light that deviates from the quantitative approaches that dominated ways of reflecting about the virus. We propose to see narrative as a departing point to

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have a closer look at the experiences of people enduring their pandemic lives, societies struggling with violence and inequality and political discourses trying to explain the unravelling of the state and its health system. Our focus is on personal and collective stories shared across different media, including the news and political discourses, but also music, poems, short stories and hybrid forms of telling. We consider the Covid-19 crisis a crucial moment when narrative demonstrated its capacity to explain, create and reconcile the realities that unfolded after the arrival of the virus. In a context of lockdown where people could not experience life as before, were threatened by an invisible virus and found themselves constrained by the dearth of information about the nature of the disease it caused, narrative emerged to co-opt people's attention.

Through the voices of those in positions of power, including the former presidents Jair Bolsonaro (Brazil) and Donald Trump (US), denialist narratives influenced policies and social attitudes towards the virus (Cueto et al. 4). Conspiracy theories created xenophobia towards Asian communities (*Covid-19 Fueling Anti-Asian Racism*; Huang et al. 683). People wishing to contribute with messages of hope by calling home a safe space made invisible the horrors of violence against women within households (Al-Ali 336–337; Peterman et al. 15). At the same time, voices protesting inequality and systemic violence emerged to denounce old and new injustices (Donoso et al. 344). Messages of care and solidarity circulated worldwide, shattering cultural and linguistic barriers. Everyday struggles burst into stories to make sense of the new world and share unique experiences defining it.

Making sense of the new reality was a priority for people enduring the health crisis, as disruption was not only located in changes such as the lockdowns or the use of face-covering but in the sense of time itself. Writing shortly after the declaration of Covid-19 as a pandemic, Jordheim et al. argued that coronavirus altered the order of time: "the present moves faster, the past seems further removed, and the future appears completely unpredictable". The best people could do to reorient themselves, the authors suggested, was to counteract the feeling of a world out of sync by creating "new rhythms, new shared times" through gestures like applauding healthcare workers from balconies at collectively agreed times. In this volume, we propose to see individual and shared narratives as elements that vitally contributed to redrawing the world and helped people to sync with the new rhythms of life.

The essays gathered here analyse narrative in literary and non-literary responses to Covid-19 in Latin America. We aim to help build a comprehensive understanding of the experience by exploring narratives produced in different circumstances across the region. Therefore, this volume assembles chapters looking at the news, government reports, political speeches, NGO communications and social media. These resources provide a window into narratives meant to be

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consumed collectively and whose goals ranged from (dis)informing, persuading, agitating and controlling to calming and reassuring. A different type of narrative production emerged from the arts, as evidenced by other essays also available here. Accounts from literature and music offer more intimate perspectives, sharing personal and reflective views of what happened in countries like Peru or Ecuador, thereby enabling contextually specific understanding of what happened in the world in the time of Covid-19.

#### Narrative and Affect

The chapters following this introduction broadly coincide on two main standpoints to approach the Covid-19 crisis: on the one hand, understanding narrative as essential to human beings, building on Fisher's "narrative paradigm"; and on the other, acknowledging affect and emotion as powerful elements to relate, communicate and interact during a time of crisis, in line with Gibbs' work on affect theory and the ubiquity of contagion in the contemporary world ("After Affect" 186). On narrative, Fisher reminds us that different root metaphors have been put forth to represent the essential nature of human beings: Homo Faber, Homo Economicus, Homo Politicus and Homo Sociologicus. To that list, he proposes the incorporation of Homo Narrans by arguing that the idea of human beings as storytellers "holds that symbols are created and communicated ultimately as stories meant to give order to human experience and to induce others to dwell in them in order to establish ways of living in common" (63). This paradigm resonates with the manifold ways contributors to this volume engage with narrative as an emerging thread weaving a new type of life. Moreover, Fisher proposes that narrations are "historical as well as situational" (58) and stories or accounts compete to satisfy the demands of narrative probability and narrative fidelity. The demand for stories explaining the world alongside the existence of conflicting accounts was a given in the first months of the Covid-19 pandemic, as the research in this volume shows. Academics, scientists, politicians and the general public consistently tried to draw pictures of what was happening by narrating it.

As mentioned above, in a crisis, narrative rushes forth. Even before people started to explain what living during the Covid-19 pandemic meant, audiences rushed to engage with pandemic fiction. In March 2020, news outlets reported a surge in demand for movies and books about pandemics. Steven Soderbergh's film *Contagion* (2011) became the second-most popular movie on iTunes in the US (Lindahl), and Albert Camus' novel *La Peste* (1947) sold 2,156 times in the UK, almost ten times more than in February 2019 (Willsher). Song and Fergnani explain that in the early stages of the pandemic, artistic productions reflected fears of infectious disease outbreaks and contributed to envisioning where and how they may occur, their consequences and complexities (11). Elements like

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the plot of the stories having three phases —emergence, transmission and termination— soothed people's unease as they appeared to provide an insight into what was happening in the real world (9).

Affect theory also underpins this project. As much as stories bind us, we similarly understand how fear, anger and hope resonated between individuals and groups in the crisis. Building on Tomkins's work, Gibbs explains that affect is part of a larger cognitive system that does not operate on the commandcontrol principles usually assumed in discussions of cognition but rather as a series of distributed functions, "which include affect, sensory perception and memory" ("Contagious Feelings"). In that sense, Gibbs continues, affect calls forth ideas and attitudes with which it has become associated in the individual's inner world. However, this does not mean that affect is restricted to the individual. After all, Tomkins reminds us that "no affect is an island" (216). Gibbs argues that bodies can catch feelings as easily as they catch fire (or a virus): "affect leaps from one body to another, evoking tenderness, inciting shame, igniting rage, exciting fear — in short, communicable affect can inflame nerves and muscles in a conflagration of every conceivable kind of passion" ("Contagious Feelings"). In this light, affect theory provides a reference framework enabling us, first, to see affect as a drive to action emerging from individuals and communities, and second, to recognise affect's power to bind people and connect them with their surroundings.

During the pandemic, creating a narrative —in an art form, as personal storytelling, as bits of information in the news or as a political instrument—was a form of explaining and understanding events unknown. As native Spanish speakers, we started thinking and discussing what it meant to *vivir la pandemia*, to live through the pandemic; that is, not to be distant observers of an unravelling crisis but to be immersed in what was unfolding. Reflecting on living through the pandemic was an exercise to explore what was changing within us and our surroundings. We noticed that our day-to-day was full of stories we told ourselves in intimate, introspective ways and stories we told others that could be similar or very different from the formers. We bring those stories and the act of telling them to the spotlight. Hence, we focus on narrative, which we understand broadly and interdisciplinarily.

We narrate everything; thus, narrative is everywhere, and we all engage in it. Narrative, Roland Barthes famously argued when discussing its universality, comes in an infinite variety of forms and "it is present at all times, in all places, in all societies; indeed narrative starts with the very history of mankind; there is not, there has never been anywhere, any people without narrative; all classes all human groups, have their stories" (237). Given its presence in almost all human discourse, narrative certainly played a role in what is arguably the biggest story of the twenty-first century (so far, at least): the Covid-19

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pandemic, which killed more than six million people in little more than two years and rapidly became a major global challenge.

The gods send disasters to people, Foucault remarked by reflecting on Homer's epics, so that people can tell of them (53). In Latin America, there is so much to be told about Covid-19. People and communities in the region survived and endured death, loss and grief. Yet, at the same time, they gathered strength from solidarity and witnessed the materialisation of continued yet renewed frustrations about social injustice and inequality. This edited collection engages with the narratives of the crisis; narratives created to inform, make sense, give testimony, denounce, manipulate, support or heal. We believe that our intimate and shared realities are constructed by the stories we create, consume, share and interiorise to make our own. After all, as narrative theorists have taught us, "we do not have any mental record of who we are until narrative is present as a kind of armature, giving shape to that record" (Abbott 3). Our very definition as human beings, Peter Brooks argues, "is very much bound up with the stories we tell about our own lives and the world in which we live" (19). Narrative, therefore, becomes our frame and window to explore an uncertain (pandemic) world.

Charles Rosenberg describes epidemics as social phenomenon and points out how they have a dramaturgic form. Epidemics, Rosenberg notes, "start at a moment in time, proceed on a stage limited in space and duration, follow a plot line of increasing and revelatory tension, move to a crisis of individual and collective character" (3). Part of accepting the existence of an epidemic is "the creation of a framework within which its dismaying arbitrariness may be managed. Collective agreement on that explanatory framework may be seen as the inevitable second stage in any epidemic" (5). Negotiating that framework requires creating and sharing stories.

Sharing stories, however, is a double-edged sword. Narrative contributes to making sense of reality, healing and memory-building at individual and collective levels. Nevertheless, it could also be a weapon of disinformation, manipulation and fearmongering. Inquiring into narrative signifies bringing together perspectives that look at many different phenomena unified by a shared focus on what has been said about Covid-19. We mean this in a broad sense. That is, the contributors of this collection build on humanities and the social sciences approaches not only to reflect on how the pandemic has been discussed or represented in stories specifically about it; they also explore how the virus found its way to discourses across all aspects of the life experience of society. Narrative, in this sense, refers to literary creation —fictional and non-fictional— that emerged from Latin America's pandemic reality and, at the same time, refers to the communication of political propaganda, vaccination campaigns, feminist demands and community practices born in this context.

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Narratives that go beyond literature and circulated as part of political, economic, health and social discourse caught our contributors' attention because they helped shape frameworks to understand, interact with and question the experience of living through and surviving the pandemic.

This volume's focus on narrative provides an alternative source to reflect on Latin America's Covid-19 experience. Alternative to death tolls, infection rates, weekly cases, vaccination counts and the plethora of statistics that illustrated the gravity of the situation in the build-up to, during and after the peak of the crisis. While they are essential to understanding the situation, numbers only tell part of the story. A comprehensive picture of the pandemic can only be achieved when we engage with the stories created and told around the virus. Health is no stranger to narrative, and neither is Latin America, a region whose nations have historically been constructed in the pages of their literature. Building on Doris Sommer's work on Latin America's national romances, Medina Cordova explains that "during the late 1800s and the first half of the twentieth century, after most of the region gained independence from colonial powers, novels became a way to build national imaginaries for the newly created nations" (Imagining Ecuador 7). In the early republican years of Latin American countries, writers were often close to the political powers of the time and, in many cases, they were also politicians themselves, serving as presidents, ambassadors or holders of a myriad of public offices; they were often in a position from where the personal views that their writings reflected could become national projects.

In Latin America, therefore, narrative is crucial for understanding, representing, moulding and constructing reality. Furthermore, as Ángel Rama insightfully explained, the "construction" of the region is not only limited to the intellectual production of the elites, but historically, it is a reflection of context, culture and history pushing for "massive efforts of vast societies to construct their symbolic languages" (4). The narratives from the Covid-19 crisis are not foreign to these efforts to find shared elements to make sense of pain, grief, trauma and hope for a different future.

#### A Narrative Lens

This volume foregrounds the value of narratives to enrich the understanding of our contemporary experience. Following an interpretivist and qualitative approach, we move away from objective and dispassionate perspectives to fully embrace how experience is subjective, multiple and often contradictory. Patterson and Monroe highlight that narrative requires agency, a viewpoint and an order created by the narrator; in that sense, narrative cannot be voiceless or contextless as "the speakers create the context to be analysed by drawing in what they consider relevant cultural influences" (316). Narrative is thus vital

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to grasp social crises and their aftermath. In this volume, our contributors highlight how civil society responded to the pandemic but also call attention to how politicians used narrative to manipulate and evade responsibilities. Analysing Covid-19 records is a mechanism for understanding community experiences, politics and policies because:

Humans not only tell stories to evoke emotion, but we also make arguments based on evidence to support our viewpoints. Through this same narrative construction process, policy actors build stories which they use to inform, influence, and evaluate policies. All policy narratives presumably have some goal of influencing policy outcomes or decisions (Crow and Jones 233).

Not only narratologists, literary and Cultural Studies scholars but also behavioural and cognitive scientists as well as economists, among others, have reflected upon the value of narrative, pointing to its role in providing unique perspectives and contextual insight. Behavioural and cognitive scientists, for example, have studied the relationship between narrative and health for decades, often asking if good stories can make people healthier. In this area, Ramírez-Esparza and Pennebaker have discussed the "appeal" of narrative for psychology and psychotherapy research, arguing that "in our gut, we all 'know' that constructing good stories is emotionally healthy" (218). Although they alert about the need to define what constitutes narrative, discern how it is causally linked to wellbeing and determine its relevance to therapeutic processes both within and between cultures, their principle is that writing stories about emotional upheavals results in improved physical and mental health "at least at the aggregate level" (218). If, as Ramírez-Esparza and Pennebaker posit, linguistic features like using positive emotion words can be healing, how should we regard language choices to describe the SARS-CoV-2 virus? One prominent example, of course, is the war lexicon that public health officials, physicians, politicians and the press relied on for depicting the "fight" against Covid-19 worldwide. The contributors to this volume explore their voices and those of the communities they addressed to reveal what we can learn from their selection of words that cannot be learnt otherwise.

Tropes about the economy were another profoundly influential driver of discourse during the health emergency. And economics, many scholars have demonstrated, can be approached through narrative too. In the 1990s, the New Economic Criticism helped to make visible an "emerging body of literary and cultural criticism founded upon economic paradigms, models and tropes" (Osteen and Woodmansee 2), consciously attempting to bridge disciplines as far apart as literary and economic theory. More recently, Robert J. Shiller has argued in favour of studying "narrative economics", which proposes that

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stories, particularly those that "go viral", can drive major economic events. Although Shiller's book was originally published in 2019, right before the start of the pandemic, his vocabulary is remarkably similar to that many of us use to talk about coronavirus. With the term "narrative economics", he refers to the "word-of-mouth contagion of ideas in the form of stories" and "the efforts that people make to generate new contagious stories or to make stories more contagious" (xvii). Shiller's point is that some stories, like viruses, can jump from mouth to mouth so notoriously that they become capable of provoking significant impacts on economic behaviour. His original examples of economic narratives, contagious stories that could change how people make economic decisions, include the rise of Bitcoin. Yet the paperback edition of Shiller's book, released in 2020, already identifies the Covid-19 pandemic as a source of narratives that will have economic effects over time. With this book, we hope to contribute to unpacking such narratives in Latin America.

Our work dialogues with scholarship concerned with interrogating language to help elucidate the multi-layered and uneven impacts of Covid-19 on peoples, communities and the world. In this area, a modern linguist like Catherine Boyle explains that "we know from our literary, cultural, linguist and historical research that words like war, conflict, contagion, invasion, fear, sanity and cleansing inhabit the ways in which we articulate our responses —collective and subjective—to moments of crisis" ("Worldmaking in the Time of Covid-19"). Having a clear understanding of these articulations is vital in volatile geopolitical situations like the pandemic, when misunderstanding, xenophobia and violence became global currency in a world where global, however, "does not in any way signify equality in experience" (Boyle, "Poor Connection" 180).

This volume is also in conversation with research analysing how writers and artists provided testimonies and reflections on their Covid-19 experiences while they were living them alongside their audiences. We echo Medina Cordova's call for paying attention to how literary responses to the virus form a body of writing whose analysis "can afford us a unique opportunity for contextually understanding what drove the transformations we are seeing now, as well as the transformations we are yet to witness" ("Narrating a Global Crisis" 111). Some of our contributors interrogate such a body of writing to reveal alternative ways of seeing and understanding the virus and uncover what it can tell us about what comes after once the pandemic is entirely over. In this sense, our work resonates with the ideas put forward by the Pandemic Fictions Research Group, whose members have discussed how the crisis discourse of the pandemic permeated into fictional productions and constituted a new corpus that they named "Corona Fictions". Corona Fictions, the group remarks, "not only distil the importance of human connection, touch, and freedom to move

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outside, but also indicate the willingness for social change after the lockdown" (Pandemic Fictions Research Group 336).

The essays in this collection reveal social change once the virus is at bay as a theme traversing Covid-19 narratives in Latin America. How the need for social change was narrated during the crisis and how governments and other institutions communicated with the communities that demanded it is within the scope of our inquiry. Therefore, we are also in dialogue with research that examined how governments deployed strategic messages to further their political agendas as the coronavirus outbreak intensified. In this area, Espinoza Carvajal has brought attention to how the Ecuadorian government heavily featured the word "gender" in its campaigns to combat violence against women during lockdowns but failed to support victims of abuse adequately (Espinoza Carvajal 9). The government's words, she argues, amount to very little if the state is unprepared for meaningful intervention. In the essays that follow, in contrast, words are capable of speaking louder than actions. The contributors to this volume demonstrate that narrative played a critical in shaping our experience of the pandemic.

#### Covid-19 in Latin America

Latin America was one of the regions most affected by the Covid-19 outbreak. It faced an unmatched catastrophic toll—by March 2022, the region reported approximately 15% of cases and 28% of deaths worldwide (Schwalb et al. 409). This is an exceptionally high percentage considering that the region represents only 8.4% of the world population (Designal y letal 6). The situation became more challenging than elsewhere due to lack of social protection, limited health infrastructure and nearly 60% of informal employment, which made social distancing often impossible to respect (COVID-19 in Latin America and the Caribbean 2). The rate of contagion, combined with the lack of infrastructure, contributed to the collapse of health systems in Manaus, Brazil (Ribeiro da Silva and Pena 2) and Guayaquil, Ecuador (León Cabrera and Kurmanaev). In these two cities, images of people queuing outside hospitals, unable to find a bed, became a dramatic portrait of the crisis. The pain of people in Manaus, Guayaquil and other communities across the region was memorialised and circulated worldwide through images of overflowing morgues, mass graves and corpses on the streets.

Understanding the experience of Covid-19 as narrated in Latin America contributes to demystifying phrases blasted when the virus started to circulate, like the assumption that people around the world were enduring the same storm. A localised review of the crisis provides more than a reflection; it contributes to understanding the material and practical meaning of enduring a global health crisis. Yet attention to Latin America has been scarce. Anne-

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Emanuelle Birn argues that, in this and other pandemics, the region was "viewed by historians, journalists, and policymakers in the Global North as a hapless victim, collaterality, or curiosity —a colourful, almost fictional, afterthought that is derivative of, secondary to, and irrelevant to the main theatre of action" (355). The perspective criticised by Birn ignores the region's historical understanding of pandemics and how health actors have long engaged in destiny-forging actions based on local and regional knowledge, approaches, and exchanges that have enabled varieties of resistance and solidarity in epidemic and endemic times alike (364).

Knowledge emerging from the region contributes to understanding Latin America's experience in relation to other parts of the world and the particularities within its territory, peoples and communities. Across Latin American countries, Marcos Cueto explains, there were different patterns of governmental response. However, three similarities emerged: negligence in the management of resources, a tendency towards disregarding the life of ageing and racialised populations and political use of the pandemic to attack political opposition (Cueto, 00:23:24–54). Considering the impact of the pandemic on people in the region and around the world, understanding Covid-19 from the narratives that emerged from different voices enduring the crisis is a priority of our analysis of the crisis, the study of the region, and the possibility of learning from a unique experience of endurance and survival.

This edited collection brings together multiple perspectives on what happened during the peak of the crisis in Latin America and how it intersected with long-standing problems within the region. Our contributors tell stories of communities in Chile, Argentina, Guatemala, Mexico, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela and Costa Rica. Their analyses remind us that crises are shaped by history and local context but can also resonate with experiences beyond national borders.

The idea for this volume developed from two virtual panels in 2021 as part of the annual conferences of the Northeast Modern Languages Association and the Latin American Studies Association. The conversations in both spaces — which brought together scholars from Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, the US and the UK— centred around the need to interrogate the multiple ways in which the pandemic was narrated in Latin America, when lockdowns across the globe had the majority of us confined to our homes. Back then, our goal was to foster interdisciplinary dialogues that contributed to understanding the collective and subjective responses to Covid-19 in a region where the health emergency interacted with structural long-standing frailties. Continuing that spirit of the exchange nurtured in 2021, this volume posits that comprehending the global crises gripping Latin America requires paying attention to the stories crafted and circulated in pandemic times. The essays in the upcoming pages do that precisely.

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In Chapter 1, Rojas and Sarkela take us to March 2020, when Chile was in its fifth month of demonstrations against systemic inequality, government corruption, police violence and the lingering vestiges of Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990). When Covid-19 arrived, none of the other social problems disappeared. Instead, they overlapped with the health crisis. Before the new and uncertain scenario, artists responded with music. Rojas and Sarkela analyse two songs engaging with the musical tradition of the Chilean New Song, resonating with the emotions and memories of the dictatorship past while also engaging with current feelings of contemporary disenchantment and frustration. Contrasting with the narrative of hope and despair presented by musicians, the government crafted another message, one that could fit their political agenda. In the next chapter, Bauer, Claudio and Pablo Villalobos argue that the Piñera administration described the vaccine rollout as technical and apolitical to advance its political agenda in a context of low approval ratings, ongoing protests and upcoming elections. Using a database of quotes from political, medical and public health experts in Chile, the researchers unpack the creation and deployment of a political discourse that positioned the vaccine rollout as one of technical innovation and efficient trade designed to favour the administration's image.

Brazilians also endured the challenging situation of politicians using their power to craft messages favouring only their political agenda. In Chapter 3, Terto Neto, Guimarães de Oliveira, Rodrigues Castro and Castro Neves eloquently ask one straightforward question: why did Jair Bolsonaro adopt a denialist rhetoric about Covid-19, early treatment and the use of vaccines? They build on Critical Discourse Analysis to explain how the former president's and the government's discourses created an agenda to deconstruct democratic institutions and advance a populist extreme right programme. Moreover, they explain that the discursive representation of the pandemic, social distancing and vaccination were strongly linked to political intentions to delegitimise democracy.

The pandemic fed ongoing political tensions and social unrest. It deepened Latin America's inequality and affected already weakened communities, disproportionally impacting vulnerable groups like immigrants, women and indigenous peoples. Immigrants and other minorities faced barriers "in accessing regular health services due to inadequate information, the absence of culturally appropriate care, or insufficient legal provisions" (Bojorquez et al. 1243). For women, access to reproductive health and support in cases of violence deteriorated. In Chapters 4 and 5, Zielińska and Happ discuss women's positions in Peru and Argentina, respectively. Zielińska examines the variety of patriarchal discourses with regard to gender-based violence during the pandemic in Peru, highlighting how the state contributed to victim-blaming narratives. On the other hand, Happ traces the experience of people who had abortions with the

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support of feminist activists in Argentina during the first months of the outbreak. Analysing the narratives created by those who experienced abortions, her work proposes, offers a chance to trace the construction of feminist identities in challenging contexts like the Covid-19 crisis.

Narrative could also mean support, guidance and hope. Romero's and Brown's contributions (Chapters 6 and 7) show how what was weakened and broken by the pandemic could be restored by literary creation. Romero argues that in Latin America, a region with a long history of economic precarity, poetry helps build a shared sense of belonging to a collective whole. His work remarks that when the spread of the disease overlaps with racism, inequality and other social injustices, it makes visible fractures within society. Still, it is in that scenario that poetry acts as what represents collective identities and moves beyond fragmenting discourses. Brown finds a similar community-building power in her analysis of Pasajeras: Antología del cautiverio (2020), a female compilation bringing together poems, essays, diary entries, reflections and images created during lockdown by 60 Venezuelan women scattered around the world. Her chapter explores the significance of various aspects of *Pasajeras*: creating an all-female anthology in a male-dominated literary culture; countering the isolation not just of the lockdown but of Venezuela's ongoing social and economic crisis; and crossing borders between the physical book and the digital. The anthology suggests that, for the participating writers, creating in the middle of a quarantined reality was a form of salvation.

For many, salvation from the virus was directly connected to adapting to the new life precipitated by the pandemic. Limiting human contact, working from home and wearing face-coverings became common behaviours that were soon recognised as staples of the so-called "new normal" we all had to acknowledge and adapt to. The contradictory meanings of the new normal in Ecuador are interrogated in Chapter 8. Espinoza Carvajal and Medina Cordova reflect on the Covid-19 experience of Guayaquil, the economic capital of the Andean country, to contrast official and non-official narratives about what the new normal conditions of living fully meant in Ecuador. They note that while the Ecuadorian government related the new normal with sanitary measures to cut the transmission chain of the virus, cultural responses reminded us of the everyday violence underlying life in Guayaquil before and during the outbreak, which structures normality, be that old or new.

Stories build frames of reference to decode the world. In Latin America, religious myths discussing sin, death and punishment have been present in the way people talk about the effects of the disease. French's contribution (Chapter 9) looks at the influence of historical prose in the constitution of pandemic narratives today, arguing that the ideological frameworks of epidemic forces of divine destruction and capital sin found in early modern Latin American texts

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persist in contemporary narratives of the crisis. Focusing on media discourses, she offers examples such as a 2020 news article where a Mexican bishop is quoted suggesting that Covid-19 was divine punishment for abortion, euthanasia and sexual diversity. French posits that "early teachings" laid the foundations for future epidemiological narratives and continue to be used as a lens for understanding world events.

The stories we hear about the pandemic transform how we talk about it. In her work about Costa Rica (Chapter 10), Coury refers to interviews to discuss how narratives integrate into how informants described their pandemic experiences. Narrators expressed their thoughts on how the pandemic impacted their jobs, the broader economy, their understanding of government responsibility and their interpersonal relationships. These oral testimonies, the author explains, encompass many pandemic experiences and perspectives and a salient concern all narrators shared about the widening, deep-rooted socioeconomic inequities within Costa Rican society and between the Global North and the Global South. In the final chapter, Mercadal zooms in on the pandemic experience of Guatemala, where historical problems of violence, inequality, poverty and corruption made Covid-19's impact catastrophic. Mercadal's work analyses three public narratives —that of a polarised government, the Church's leadership, and community groups—as they emerged through social and news media to reflect on how the citizenry's trust in the government worsened without efficient planning and transparency.

#### Conclusion

This collection provides a Latin American perspective to reflect on a global crisis. It highlights the importance of situating knowledge and experience in the bounds of time and space. While the pandemic affected the whole world, not everyone experienced the same inequalities or survived the same circumstances. As our contributors explain, the experience of women in Argentina was not the same as the experience of women in Peru, nor the political tensions in Chile were the same as in Costa Rica or Guatemala. However, even within difference, this volume contributes to thinking about resonance; that is, to see a glimpse of similar structural problems and anxieties that affected the region across different cases—thereby, we open the possibility to see communicating vessels with other experiences in the Global South and provide insight on the world from a regional point of view.

The contributors to this volume stress the pre-pandemic structural problems of the countries studied and how historical and political contexts contributed to the worsening of the health crisis. The crisis generated by the pandemic did not start in a vacuum. It affected communities with long-lasting and normalised forms of social injustice. The pandemic stirred up what looked "normal",

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contributed to the unrest of vulnerable groups and catalysed public discontent with government and states. In this sense, Covid-19 disclosed overlapping inequalities and built over them. Focusing primarily on the crisis' first two years (2020-2022), this collection opens the possibility of exploring what happened during the early stages of the pandemic and questions what is happening in its aftermath, when the days of people dying outside of hospitals have become a memory for most.

This volume shows how communities pleaded for a different future but also lived the disquiet of foreseeing a future where the normal was a continuity of the pre-pandemic time, with the same old social injustice and discontent. We anticipate that narratives of recovery and restoration will overpower those of pain and struggle, and "normality" will bury again some of the inequalities that shape the catastrophic impact of Covid-19 in Latin America. While we attempted to engage with pandemic experiences across Latin America, our contributors can only analyse evidence from a few places. The focus on narrative, nonetheless, allows us to follow the traces of a somewhat shared experience, narrating the local but connecting with the regional and global experience.

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