Doing empirical work during a pandemic: socio-legal research experiences in Latin America in the course of the COVID-19 outbreak

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Abstract:

This paper discusses the challenges and opportunities of carrying out empirical work during the COVID-19 pandemic. By these means, it aims to contribute to the yet incipient analyses of how the circumstances created by the global spread of the SARS-CoV-2 virus, such as government restrictions on gatherings and mobility, impacted social research practice during 2020. For this purpose, the article presents two experiences of qualitative socio-legal fieldwork at graduate degree level, carried out during the early months of the COVID-19 outbreak, one in Brazil and the other in Colombia. In doing so, it also emphasizes particularities of the pandemic response in Latin America. Our central arguments are (i) that the flexible logic that characterizes qualitative research practice allowed for creative solutions to the problems posed by COVID-19, and (ii) that careful examination and heightened sensibility were needed to deal with the novel ethical dilemmas that arose during this process.

Keywords:

Empirical research, COVID-19, qualitative methods, sociology of law, Latin America.

Resumen:

El presente artículo analiza los desafíos y oportunidades de realizar un trabajo empírico durante la pandemia de COVID-19. De esta manera, pretende contribuir a los emergentes estudios sobre las formas en que las circunstancias creadas por la propagación global del virus SARS-CoV-2, tales como restricciones gubernamentales a reuniones sociales y a la movilidad, impactaron la práctica de la investigación social durante 2020. Para tal fin, el artículo presenta dos experiencias cualitativas de trabajo de

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campo socio-jurídico a nivel de posgrado, realizadas durante los primeros meses del brote de COVID-19, una en Brasil y otra en Colombia, enfatizando las particularidades de la respuesta a la pandemia en Latinoamerica. Nuestros argumentos centrales son (i) que la lógica flexible que caracteriza la práctica de la investigación cualitativa permitió la creación de soluciones creativas a los problemas planteados por COVID-19, y (ii) que, para abordar dilemas que surgieron durante el desarrollo de las investigación aquí descritas, fue necesaria una examinación compleja y sensible de la coyuntura.

Palabras clave:
Investigación empírica, COVID-19, métodos cualitativos, sociología jurídica, Latinoamérica.

1. INTRODUCTION

In 2020, the global community bore witness to the rapid and deadly spread of the Coronavirus Disease 19 (COVID-19), an illness caused by a new strand of coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2) identified just a few months previously, in the city of Wuhan, China. As their health systems struggled to cope with the high demand created by the rising cases of COVID-19, a majority of countries implemented lockdowns or restrictions on movement and gatherings, hoping to contain the virus through social distancing. This context has engendered deep consequences at the societal level, influencing everything from commerce supply chains to social organization and political processes.

The pandemic also impacted to a large degree the academic fields of humanities and social sciences, in ways we are only beginning to understand. While new research agendas arose as part of the effort to make sense of the socioeconomic aspects of the global health crisis (Donthu and Gustafsson, 2020; Jandrić, 2020), even investigations of topics seemingly unrelated to COVID-19 had to adapt their methodologies to times of uncertainty, disrupted validity implications and closed facilities (Dodds and Hess, 2020; Fell et al., 2020).

Hoping to contribute to this nascent body of knowledge on how the pandemic has affected social research practice, this paper presents two experiences of empirical work in the field of the sociology of law that took place in the initial months of the pandemic in Latin America. The first of these focuses on police culture's interaction with legality and was conducted in the city of Porto Alegre, located in southern Brazil; the second one was carried out in Bogotá, the capital city of Colombia, and had as its main concern the daily experiences of discrimination faced by Venezuelan migrant women. Despite their very different subject matters, both studies relied on qualitative empirical data and, thus, had their execution heavily influenced by the pandemic and the local measures taken to contain it.

Generally speaking, the Latin American response to COVID-19 was marked, at first, by a promising early introduction of mitigating measures. However, this quick action in the beginning of the outbreak came to be undermined by pre-pandemic factors. For instance, the high rates of informal employment and/or sub-employment found in most south American nations, combined with their simultaneous shortcomings in social protection, made respecting quarantines unfeasible for many citizens, while testing and contact-tracing initiatives suffered from insufficient financial resources (Benítez et al., 2020). The

prevalence of chronic medical preconditions associated with poverty, the action of populist governments, and the complex internal political dynamics of these countries also contributed to worsening the situation, so that, by June 2020, Latin America was effectively a hotspot for COVID-19 cases and deaths (Pablos-Méndez et al., 2020).

With this context as background, this article narrates and discusses the impacts of COVID-19 on the design of the two research initiatives outlined above. Furthermore, it seeks to demonstrate how the dynamic decision-making, the emphasis on context and the recognition of subjective perspectives as valid data, which characterize qualitative research (Bryman, 1989; Mason, 2002), contributed to transforming the challenges for empirical inquiry posed by the pandemic context into insightful, innovative opportunities for data collection.

The paper begins, in Section 2, with an exposition of the qualitative study on police culture conducted in Porto Alegre, Brazil, between April and June 2020, exploring how social restrictions led to the adoption of alternative and virtual methods. Section 3 details the practical and ethical difficulties of conducting a feminist ethnography with vulnerable migrant women in Bogota, Colombia between May and July 2020, amidst a scenario of harsh and, at the same time, volatile social restrictions that greatly impacted their daily lives. Each of these sections is narrated in first person to allow for a more accurate report of the researchers' experience. The final section concludes by outlining some reflections and considerations that resulted from the experience of carrying out empirical research during the contemporary COVID-19 pandemic.

2. CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESEARCH IN BRAZIL DURING SEMI-QUARANTINE

Brazil's current president, Jair Bolsonaro, became known internationally for the offhand way in which he spoke of COVID-19 even at the height of the crisis, as well as for his public discrediting of preventive measures (The Lancet, 2020). Despite the federal government's lack of action, many Brazilian governors and mayors readily enacted local plans for containing the spread of the virus. Actual prohibitions on circulation were, nevertheless scarce: officials instead launched strong stay-at-home campaigns and closed down all non-essential commerce and public services. Such measures stayed in place well through the first semester of 2020, even as popular support waned and social distancing directives became the object of intense political polarization (Caponi, 2020).

These were the circumstances that set the scene for the first empirical inquiry discussed here: a study on the relations between police culture and legal institutions, proposed as the concluding project for my Master's degree (Goldani, 2020). Aiming to contribute to the academic understanding of how police officers perceive, rationalize and react to law's role in their work (Dixon, 1997), my original research design combined semi-structured interviews with patrolmen/women as well as non-participant observation of criminal court hearings in which the former interacted with legal actors. But how to adapt such methods to a context in which in-person meetings were a taboo and state institutions were either operating remotely or with strictly essential personnel?

A key starting point was embracing the notion that qualitative research design is characteristically dynamic, fluid and reflexive, so that it allows for decisions to be taken in

response to practical issues. As long as the emerging choices are in line with the overall methodological strategy and epistemological assumptions, adaption is not only acceptable but commendable (Mason, 2002). Such were the principles that I used to craft solutions to the challenges posed by COVID-19.

The first challenge was that the pandemic seemed, by means of its limitations of public service functioning, to have made research access to criminal justice institutions even harder than usual. In the case of Porto Alegre's police units, all buildings were closed, phones went mostly unanswered and no one replied to emails. As a consequence, it proved necessary to adopt a personal contact approach to sampling, capitalizing on the sources I had available. In this sense, my interviewees ended up being recruited with the help of a professor from my former Law School, who put me in touch with another former student of hers: a low-rank police officer that had taken Law classes to complement his professional training. He then put me in contact with four other friends from the police, who had also attended or were currently enrolled in Law Schools. Similarly, as will be discussed, my later access to court hearings was guaranteed with the help of a sponsor reached through personal connections.

Concerning the interviews, the main modification was that they were conducted through videoconferences. Although online interviewing methods can sometime offer interesting advantages, it is also important to explicitly acknowledge that they may entail limitations in relation to nonverbal communication, privacy and access (Dodds and Hess, 2020). In my case, the main issues were that virtual contact made officers' nonverbal cues and body language harder to interpret, and connection problems regularly interrupted communication. This is especially relevant considering that the goal of a semi-structured interview format is precisely to create a conversational dynamic that only minimally constrains the scope of responses (Bryman, 1989, p. 124).

The impact of the pandemic on the conduction of the observational component of the research design was much more pronounced. Initially, I had chosen criminal court hearings as an observation setting not only because they are, in the Brazilian system, a central site of interaction between the police and the law, but also because they are easily accessible to scholars or onlookers in general. COVID-19 changed this.

Porto Alegre's central courthouse has 17 criminal courts, each normally holding hearings several times a week. All of these sessions are public, except if the case in trial is deemed sensitive by the magistrates. This usually only happens in cases that involve minors or sexual violence, which still leaves a great number of criminal hearings public.

However, the courthouse's premises were closed in March 2020 and remained inoperative throughout April. By May, urgent hearings had started to happen again but, as part of the measures put in place to minimize the risk of contagion, only authorized persons were allowed to access the building. There were projects to move the sessions online but, at this point, they were still evolving at a slow pace. Perhaps due to this stressful situation of transition court workers were facing, my formal requests to watch the hearings that were happening, either in person or remotely, did not receive satisfactory responses. It was only with the help of a sponsor, contacted by means of my own personal networks, that it was possible to gain some kind of access to the criminal courts.

My sponsor worked as a court clerk for a criminal judge stationed at a smaller county, four hours away from Porto Alegre, in which urgent hearings had already been moved to an online platform. This application, created by the local Judiciary, generated "virtual courtrooms". Prosecutors, lawyers and witnesses could then join these from their phones or computers at home, or in some cases, if they did not have the necessary equipment or connection, from a conference room in that city's courthouse. As the cases deemed urgent were precisely those in which the accused were serving preventive imprisonment, defendants joined from conference rooms set up in the local prisons.

With the intermediation of my sponsor, I acquired consent from this particular judge to observe these virtual hearings, on the condition that my research activities did not interfere with the logistics of the sessions. This was evaluated to be the case for trials that involved a high number of witnesses: because these should only remain in the virtual courtroom for the duration of their depositions, there would be too many people joining and exiting the videoconference, so that the presence of an additional observer could create confusion or compromise the connection. Additionally, there was also an agreement not to cite names, situations or other circumstances that could compromise confidentiality.

The virtual courtroom was an extremely interesting – and unusual – observation scenario. It looked and functioned like a Skype conference between numerous people, and this digitalization seemed to reduce the formal feeling of court proceedings. An intern of the court coordinated the entry and exit of witnesses, but there was often difficulty in making sure they were properly connected. The legal professionals themselves sometimes had trouble with the equipment and had to exit and reconnect. These "technical issues" frequently caused delays in the trials: there were lapses of time in which participants would repeatedly ask each other "can you hear me? I can't hear anyone" and so on. There was also a sense of doing whatever was necessary to make the hearing happen, even if this involved creative solutions like video-calling the witness on a phone and holding it up to the camera.

This exemplifies that, if on the one hand COVID-19 complicated access to classical empirical sources, on the other hand, it also confronted scholars with entirely new fields and forms of doing research. Digitalized court hearings appeared only incidentally in this particular study; nevertheless, they raise a number of questions that are, in their own right, of interest to sociologist of law. What is it like to attend your own trial from a prison conference room? Does this affect the defendant's rights? How does the reduced formality created by the virtual scenario impact depositions and judgments?

The situation of a virtual legal setting also raised specific ethical issues. Consent, for instance, was negotiated only with the host of the videoconference: the judge. Of course, even in regular (physical) settings, it is difficult to gain informed consent from all participants (Mason, 2002, p. 101), and, because Brazilian law defines court proceedings as public acts, the formal authorization to enter a normal courtroom would also only depend on the presiding judge. It has to be considered, however, that, in spite of the identification of participants provided by the virtual platform, the lack of physical presence may have made the other participants less aware that research was being conducted. Besides this, as I was instructed by the judge not to manifest myself in any occasion, I had no means to explain to anyone present what I was doing. This means that

I effectively lost whatever control I could have normally had over the role I assumed in the setting; in fact, my identification on the virtual platform described me simply as a student, which leaves unclear if the parties were aware that I was conducting research rather than simply observing to learn about procedures (a common practice in Brazil's undergraduate Law courses).

Additionally, due to the exceptional circumstances of the pandemic, attorneys, especially those who were acting as designated public defenders, often did not have a chance to talk with the imprisoned defendants before hearings, so that they used the virtual courtroom to have strategic chats before proceedings began. The judge and prosecutor would exit the videoconference at these times and communicate by instant messaging with the attorney so as to know when to return. Without this means of direct contact with the magistrates, it was not so easy for me to leave and return the application. The alternative I found was mute the audio during the duration of these conservations, and turn it back on when the return of other participants signaled the private moment between lawyer and client was over. No visual elements perceived in such exchanges were counted as data.

These situations point to the necessity of revising and adapting research ethics discussions when dealing with the new realities created by the pandemic. Besides the more widespread use of digital methodologies, other topics worthy of discussion include how to deal with vulnerable groups and their potential exposure to disease and sanctions in the midst of this unprecedented health crisis. This was an issue faced in the empirical study described in the next section, in which conducting fieldwork posed ethical questions and debates that were not necessarily new but that acquired novel dimensions in the presence of generalized uncertainty, insecurity and lack of social protection.

3. FEMINIST ETHNOGRAPHY IN COLOMBIAN LOCKDOWN

Officially, the COVID-19 crisis started in Colombia on Friday, March 6th of 2020, when the first case was confirmed in the country. By this point, cases had already been reported in the neighboring countries of Brazil, Ecuador and Panama. After the situation acquired the status of pandemic, Colombia's president declared a national quarantine that was supposed to last three weeks: nobody, except for essential workers, was allowed to go outside, public transportation was shut down and the police was required to fine any person that didn't comply with these restrictions. Under these circumstances and believing that this lockdown would be resolved in 3 weeks, I submitted the project of my Master's thesis research (Zuluaga, 2020) and decided to just wait for things to "go back to normal" to start conducting my fieldwork. After all, what are just 3 weeks amidst a global pandemic?

My research project was developed having three elements in consideration: (i) that Colombia has been a main destination for Venezuelan migrants – by the end of April of 2020, 1,82 million Venezuelans were living in the country, of whom 46% were classified as women (ii) that street vending is a big source of income for these migrants, as their access to formal, regularized and stable labor is extremely limited: unemployment rates go up to 20,9% of migrants, and informal labor goes up to 46% (USAid, 2019), and, finally (iii) that in Colombia, since the 2017-2018 presidency campaign, there is a

generalized negative perception towards Venezuelan migration, that manifests itself through discriminatory practices in both the macro level institutions and media – and in the micro level – personal interactions and work spaces.

My perspective approached migration as a sociocultural process mediated by ideologies, institutions and practices, so I decided to focus my analysis on the understanding of everyday practices. I believed that the collection of data on these specific practices would provide tools for understanding the social systems migrants are immersed in, the discriminative practices they are victims of within those systems and the effects of all these in their settlement processes, while also accounting for the specific realities of Latin-American societies. Likewise, and aiming to bring gender into the discussion about migration, I conceptualized gender as the social and cultural ideals, practices and displays of masculinity and femininity (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, p. 31), and argued it was a determinant – among others such as race, nationality and sexual orientation – in people's lives and possibilities.

These elements and notions guided my study, focusing particularly on migrant women's processes of settlement, for I argue discrimination has clearly gendered aspects that manifest when discriminatory practices target exclusively women. Addressing these gendered aspects is an attempt to make migrant women's realities visible, in order to narrow the gap between men and women-based literature and promote further research on the matter.

Considering that I decided to use everyday practices as an arena of analysis and migrant women working in informal jobs as collaborators of my research, I chose narratives as its main source of data, steering my study to a qualitative design, theoretically oriented as an inductive exercise and constructed with an ethnographic method.

Methodologically, I adopted a grounded theory approach along with a method based on feminist ethnography. These two elements combined generated a particular kind of research, especially focused on the data, its ways of collection, its moments of analysis and theorical sampling. The analysis of data transformed some of my initial questions and guided the construction of theoretical categories which steered the next recollection to more specific aims. In this sense and luckily, my research was always designed with an adaptative quality, in hopes of being able to adjust my focus and goals to the reality I was encountering.

After the established initial 3 weeks of quarantine, restrictions were extended for 3 more weeks and did not get any looser. According to the news – my only connection with the outside work at the moment – the streets of the entire country were deserted and, for almost two months, activities outside were almost non-existent. Nonetheless, regulations got progressively looser after May 25 and more people were allowed to go out. Street vending was slowly reactivated; however, and as it is usual with this practice, there were no real regulations on the matter. Nobody knew if street vendors could and should be outside and, considering that the police had been given special faculties to control people's ability to be out, the environment was rather hostile and uncertain.

By this point, I did not know where to conduct my research: the places I had thought could be spots for observation and contact where not available anymore. With very little

hope, I decided to go outside for the first time in almost two months and see what was happening. Interestingly, after going outside for a couple of days, the idea that everyone was home and that streets where completely empty started to fade away: a country with 47% percent of its citizens working in informal conditions (DANE, 2019) was not a perfect place to stay home and press pause on work, especially when said work was not adaptable to a virtual setting. Street vending was happening, even though scattered around and in smaller quantities. Street vendors went out to work, taking the risk of being fined or punished by police officers – in fact, a high number cases of police brutality against street vendors during this period were reported (Revista Semana, 2020).

I talked to a couple of vendors that worked near my house, who explained that staying home was not an option for many: if going out to hustle was a risk, so was following quarantine and being without money. From this contact I met my first collaborator. After some interviews, she told me about La Favorita, a neighborhood downtown where a lot of Venezuelan street vendors live and where "COVID is not happening". I decided to attempt a better inspection of La Favorita and contacted Hugo, a Christian missionary, friend of a friend, who had been working in the neighborhood for nearly four years.

Hugo is part of a protestant church located inside La Favorita, where several Venezuelan migrants, among other believers, read the bible and discuss moral issues. The church also helps them with basic necessities such as food, toilet tries and merchandise to sell on the street. Hugo and I discussed the possibility of me visiting the church and set the date for my visit: June 1ˢᵗ.

Planning out fieldwork in the given circumstances was complex. I realized that what my first collaborator had said was accurate: contrary to what I had believed at first, things in La Favorita were pretty much normal. People could not afford to stay home, especially considering that in the neighborhood the main source of employment is street vending, which offers no guarantees of protection for sickness or incapability of working. Besides working, I also learned that people were gathering in Hugo's church, against governmental guidelines, not just for religious purposes but because that space was a place in which women could meet other migrants, socialize, find support groups and get economic aid.

I started to reconsider the ethical aspects of my research and how this fieldwork could be perceived as irresponsible or too risky. Aiming for a feminist research that was already questioning certain practices in academia just added more pressure. According to some literature, (Abu-Lughod, 1990; Craven & Davis, 2013; Esguerra, 2019; Harding, 1991; Stacey, 1988) a feminist researcher, as I strive to be, must go through a moment of reflection to consider the limitations and downsides of the ethnographic method when used with women participants. Ideally, this reflection will acknowledge and find ways to diminish damaging and exploitative aspects of ethnography – namely, the creation of otherness¸ power exercises and exploitation of knowledge. But the restrictive conditions and the risks of getting a contagious disease just added more questions about the disadvantages I could potentially put my collaborators in and how my research could potentially harm them.

After some thought, I decided to move forward with my project, having always in mind the possibility of reformulating my methodology and looking for ways to adapt to the new

conditions. In fact, I was ready, even, to finish my study the first day if I felt it was not going to be safe for my collaborators. On June 1ˢᵗ, I met Hugo directly in La Favorita, at the church's cultural center. We got there five minutes before the day's activities started (6pm) and most attendees were already arriving and going through some improvised disinfection protocols. He briefed me on the church's principles, told me he informed two women about my visit and advised me to interview them that same day. He then proceeded to introduce me to some of my future collaborators. We talked that night and I detailed my research goals and approaches, emphasizing their role in it and my ethical concerns.

The women I interviewed, Hugo and his wife explained that, since the beginning of the quarantine, they have never stopped going to the church's cultural center. Women needed the services the church provided and, therefore, the church's staff adapted to the circumstances, opening with just half capacity and making the use of facemasks mandatory. They encouraged me to assist to the sessions and to have individual interviews with women that wanted to contribute to my work, always keeping our masks on and using corners of the church with little flows of people. Everyone kept talking about how life goes on, even during these uncertain circumstances, and promoted adaption as a survival exercise. I decided to go for it and conducted my fieldwork and interviews for a whole month.

From the beginning of July, restrictions of mobility became stricter and more localized, meaning that certain neighborhoods or areas had more restrictions than others, one of these being La Favorita. This time around and for four weeks, the church was closed, and it was no longer a place that would allow me to meet with my collaborators. Kindly, most of my collaborators offered to meet me in other places but I decided to, instead, find ways to do our interviews online.

The Internet has been the main arena of social interactions during the lockdowns, so that programs devoted to online chatting and video calling have never been more important. In theory, our interviews should work normally on a screen. However – and this is a key element to be considered with online research – the global online penetration rate is of only 63%, which means that 37% of the population has no Internet access at all (Internet World Stats, 2020). Globally, access to computers is not universal and it is highly connected to economic resources and closeness to technological facilities. Some of my collaborators did not enjoy that access.

Figuring out how to solve this problem of access wasn't that hard in my particular experience, as I could afford to buy some internet for all of my collaborators' phones and, as we live in the capital city, access to power and working networks is not a common issue. Soon, most of my collaborators and I started to have interviews online, through a WhatsApp video-call. As they all knew each other from the church, I proposed a collective interview, to which they agreed. In total, I conducted five individual and one group interview through this media. During these virtual interviews, I discussed personal, intimate, and sometimes traumatic situations connected to discrimination, vulnerability and uprooting.

This experience of interviewing was interesting. As was remarked on the first section, the possibility of identifying nonverbal cues, relevant to sociological analysis, was reduced to

the frame of a camera. However, in my particular case, interviewing my collaborators' in the comfort of their homes while also subtracting the possible awkwardness of having a stranger or unfamiliar person in one's house, provided a frame of interactions that I believe gave my interlocutors more control over the situation. This dynamic made my strategy of using their narratives as a guideline to my own research process and methodological decisions work a lot better, as my collaborators felt comfortable steering our conversations towards the topics they considered more relevant. Dodds and Hess (2020) reported similar benefits, finding that the non-intrusive quality of online interviewing helped vulnerable groups feel safer and more comfortable during service research.

In this sense, as we continue to wait for the health situation to improve and are again dealing with the possibility of lockdowns, many things have been adapting to this unprecedented reality, including academia. At this point, it is certain that the scope of the Internet as an arena of social interactions is a lot larger than it was a year ago. In the field of research and academic work, methods such as online learning are now thought out comprehensively, with what I would say is an intention to stay. The Internet as a place and object of research offers immense amounts of information, interactions and subjects that are worth exploring and utilizing.

Research conducted during lockdowns is proof of the possibilities today offered through social technologies. However, it is also testament to the importance of remembering and constantly considering the special needs of vulnerable communities and individuals throughout investigative work. In the current crisis, it is important to stress that the access to all the things that make social restrictions easier to cope with, from healthcare and social protection to an Internet connection, is not yet universal – even if, in the case of virtual media, it may feel like it is. As we adapt our world of learning and researching to a socially-distanced reality, the key takeaway may be to remember that marginalized groups are the most likely to, on the one hand, be excluded from yet another, digitalized, sphere of society and, on the other, suffer the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic.

4. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Most qualitative methods guidelines, be they about ethnographies or specific techniques for interviewing and observation, advise the researcher to remain open to modifying her design according to the circumstances or data that come up during empirical work. Nevertheless, adapting to the unprecedented health crisis and the ensuing socioeconomic chaos that the world has seen in 2020 may not have been quite what methodology scholars and their manuals had in mind. The budget and time limitations associated with any kind of research that is conducted at a graduate degree level makes the task harder for emerging scholars. In this working paper, we have tried to describe our experiences of empirical data collection in Latin America under the conditions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as outline some of the insights they led to.

In short, we can say that conducting research during this pandemic has been an opportunity to develop creative and innovative ways of doing empirical work. Scholars have been obliged to find "new ways to do old tricks", particularly by making smart use of

the digital methodologies available in a time of limited to none social contact with interlocutors. However, designing and executing studies during COVID-19 has also required willingness to engage in careful ethical considerations about the possible implications of using specific methods or engaging with certain communities in such a complicated period. When adapting a research design to a virtual environment, it is essential to have clarity in conceptualizing and describing how this affects data and conclusions. Besides, and most importantly, a heightened sensibility is necessary when dealing with subjects who may be exposed to the multiple hardships created by the pandemic, such as sickness, unemployment or repression for breaking quarantine rules. Finally, researchers must remain attentive to the new lessons that will certainly arise as the pandemic and its effects linger over time.

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