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Revisiting the Past, Laying the Ground for the Future: Echoes of the COVID-19 Pandemic in the History of Education in Brazil Revisiter le passé, préparer le futur : les échos de la pandémie de la COVID-19 dans l'histoire de l'éducation au Brésil Revisando el pasado, lentando las bases para el futuro: ecos de la pandemia de COVID-19 en la Historia de la Educación en Brasil

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Article abstract

One of the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic worldwide was the interest of different segments of society in revisiting the impacts and measures adopted in previous pandemics. In Brazil, it was no different; much was discussed and published, for example, about education. In the first year of the pandemic, in 2020, with the suspension of in-person classes, Brazilian magazines and newspapers published articles exploring experiences in previous health crises. This article aims to identify whether and how the context of the COVID-19 pandemic has impacted recent discussions and research on the history of education in Brazil. Specifically, it intends to explore whether the health crisis triggered connections between the history of education and environmental issues. The study is based on an analysis conducted on Brazilian news websites and academic journals on the history of education.

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Revisiting the Past, Laying the Ground for the Future: Echoes of the COVID-19 Pandemic in the History of Education in Brazil

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Abstract

One of the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic worldwide was the interest of different segments of society in revisiting the impacts and measures adopted in previous pandemics. In Brazil, it was no different; much was discussed and published, for example, about education. In the first year of the pandemic, in 2020, with the suspension of in-person classes, Brazilian magazines and newspapers published articles exploring experiences in previous health crises. This article aims to identify whether and how the context of the COVID-19 pandemic has impacted recent discussions and research on the history of education in Brazil. Specifically, it intends to explore whether the health crisis triggered connections between the history of education and environmental issues. The study is based on an analysis conducted on Brazilian news websites and academic journals on the history of education.

Keywords: history of education in Brazil, COVID-19; pandemics, press articles, academic journals, environmental issues

Revisando el pasado, lentando las bases para el futuro: ecos de la pandemia de COVID-19 en la Historia de la Educación en Brasil

Resumen

Uno de los efectos de la pandemia de COVID-19 a nivel mundial fue el interés de diferentes segmentos de la sociedad por revisar los impactos y medidas adoptadas en pandemias anteriores. En Brasil, no fue diferente; Se discutió y publicó mucho, por ejemplo, sobre educación. En el primer año de la pandemia, en 2020, con la suspensión de las clases presenciales, revistas y periódicos brasileños publicaron artículos explorando experiencias de crisis sanitarias anteriores. Este artículo tiene como objetivo identificar si el contexto de la pandemia de COVID-19 ha impactado las discusiones e investigaciones recientes sobre la historia de la educación en Brasil y cómo lo ha hecho. En concreto, se pretende explorar si la crisis sanitaria desencadenó conexiones entre la historia de la educación y las cuestiones medioambientales. El estudio se basa en un análisis realizado en sitios web de noticias y revistas académicas brasileñas sobre historia de la educación.

Palabras clave: historia de la educación en Brasil, COVID-19, pandemias, artículos de prensa, revistas académicas, cuestiones medioambientales

Revisiter le passé, préparer le futur : les échos de la pandémie de la COVID-19 dans l'histoire de l'éducation au Brésil

Résumé

L'un des effets de la pandémie de COVID-19 dans le monde a été l'intérêt manifesté par différents segments de la société pour revoir les impacts et les mesures adoptées lors des pandémies précédentes. Au Brésil, ce n'était pas différent ; beaucoup de choses ont été discutées et publiées, par exemple sur l'éducation. Au cours de la première année de la pandémie, en 2020, avec la suspension des cours en présentiel, les magazines et journaux brésiliens ont publié des articles explorant les expériences des crises sanitaires précédentes. Cet article vise à identifier si et comment le contexte de la pandémie de COVID-19 a eu un impact sur les récentes discussions et recherches sur l'histoire de l'éducation au Brésil. Plus précisément, l'objectif est d'explorer si la crise sanitaire a déclenché des liens entre l'histoire de l'éducation et les questions environnementales. L'étude est basée sur une analyse menée sur des sites d'information brésiliens et des revues universitaires sur l'histoire de l'éducation.

Mots-clés : Histoire de l'éducation au Brésil, COVID 19, pandémies, articles de presse, revues académiques, questions environnementales

Introduction

During the music festival Power our Planet, held in June 2023 in Paris, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, President of Brazil, gave a powerful speech in which he mentioned the commitment to preserving the Amazon rainforest. Lula spoke of the responsibility of rich countries in supporting this agenda. In an excerpt widely reproduced in the press, the President stated: "The Amazon is a sovereign territory of Brazil, but, at the same time, it belongs to all humanity. And, for this reason, we will make every effort to keep the forest standing."¹ Lula assumed the presidency for the third time in January 2023 after highly contested elections held in October 2022.² On the agenda of his electoral campaign, environmental protection was one of the most prominent issues, and his stance on the environment gained him considerable international support.

I begin by addressing the environmental protection discourse of the Brazilian President elected in 2023 in contrast to the previous government's position. It is important to describe the context in which the pandemic occurred in Brazil during the presidency of Jair Bolsonaro, who was in office between 2019 and 2022.

During the pandemic, the Bolsonaro government made national and international headlines for its denialist stance. It has even been described as the "government of death"³ for its position on the health crisis, which led to Brazil being one of the countries with the highest mortality rate from COVID-19. However, it also made international headlines and raised concerns among governments and organisations in other countries for neglecting environmental issues such as the increasing deforestation of the Amazon rainforest and for its disregard for the genocide of Indigenous peoples.

¹ See, e.g., Pedro Rafael Vilela, "Lula calls for rich countries to fund forest protection," Agência Brasil, June 23, 2023, <https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/en/internacional/noticia/2023-06/lula-calls-rich-countries-fund-forest-protection>; Paloma Varón, "Paris: Lula é aclamado por 20 mil pessoas ao falar sobre a Amazônia em frente à Torre Eiffel," RFI, June 22, 2023, <https://www.rfi.fr/br/brasil/20230622-paris-lula-%C3%A9-aclamado-por-20-mil-pessoas-ao-falar-sobre-a-amaz%C3%B4nia-em-frente-%C3%A0-torre-eiffel>; Maria Carolina Marcello and Peter Frontini, "Rich nations must pay for historic environmental damage, says Brazil's Lula," Reuters, June 23, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/sustainability/rich-nations-must-pay-historic-environmental-damage-says-brazils-lula-2023-06-22/>.

² Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva served two consecutive terms as President of Brazil between 2003 and 2011.

³ References to Bolsonaro's government as "government of death" were frequently used in social media, the press and public demonstrations. See, e.g., Vinicius Torres Freire, "Ruína menor da Amazônia mostra como Bolsonaro era o governo da morte," *Folha de São Paulo*, November 9, 2023, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/colunas/viniustorres/2023/11/ruina-menor-da-amazonia-mostra-como-bolsonaro-era-o-governo-da-morte.shtml>; News Agencies, "Brazil passes 500,000 COVID deaths as anti-gov't protesters rally," Aljazeera, June 19, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/6/19/brazil-passes-500000-covid-deaths-as-anti-govt-protesters-rally>.

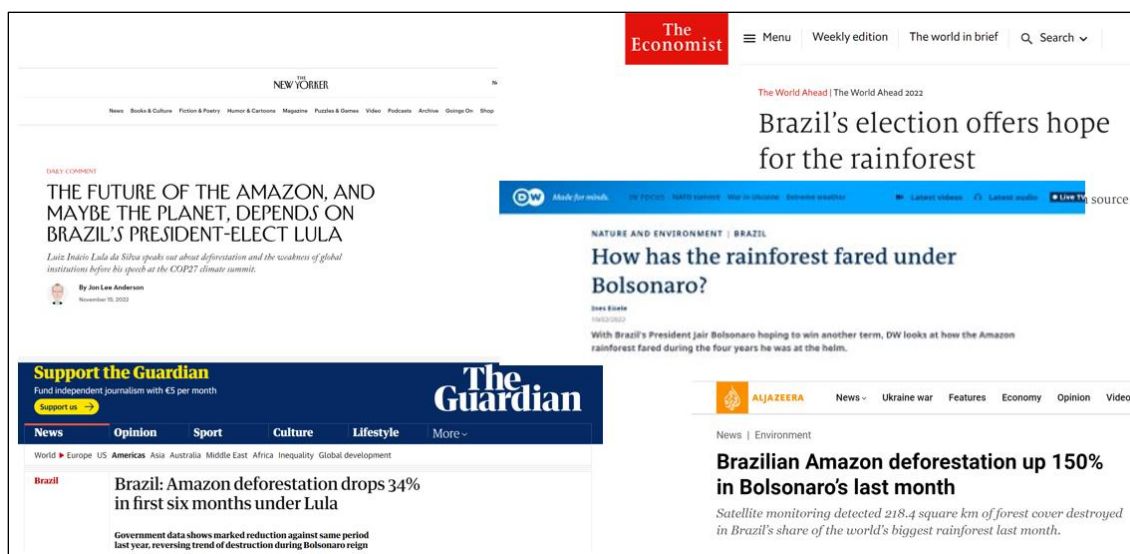


Fig. 1. Environmental issues in Brazil made international headlines.⁴

Tracing the political landscape in Brazil during the pandemic provides tools to better understand its impact on education and the resonances among the community of historians of education in Brazil.

In this context, this article aims to identify *whether* and *how* the context of the COVID-19 pandemic has affected recent discussions and research into the history of education in Brazil. More specifically, it seeks to explore whether the health crisis triggered connections between the history of education and the history of environmental issues. The article is based on the notion of appropriation, drawing on theoretical tools from communication studies.⁵

Some guiding questions were: What changes in the perception of school spaces/models can be identified in the news when revisiting past experiences in response to the COVID-19 health crisis? To what extent are recent discussions on

⁴ Starting at the top right, clockwise: Sarah Maslin, "Brazil's election offers hope for the rainforest," *The Economist*, November 8, 2021, <https://www.economist.com/the-world-ahead/2021/11/08/brazils-election-offers-hope-for-the-rainforest>; Ines Eisele, "How has the rainforest fared under Bolsonaro?," *Deutsche Welle*, February 10, 2022, <https://www.dw.com/en/how-has-the-amazon-rainforest-changed-under-jair-bolsonaro/a-63211783>; AFP, "Brazilian Amazon deforestation up 150% in Bolsonaro's last month," *Aljazeera*, January 7, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/1/7/brazilian-amazon-deforestation-up-150-in-bolsonaros-last-month>; Associated Press in Rio de Janeiro, "Brazil: Amazon deforestation drops 34% in first six months under Lula," *The Guardian*, July 6, 2023, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jul/06/brazil-amazon-deforestation-lula?CMP=share_btn_url; Jon Lee Anderson, "The future of the Amazon, and maybe the planet, depends on Brazil's president-elect Lula," *The New Yorker*, November 15, 2022, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/the-future-of-the-amazon-and-maybe-the-planet-depends-on-brazils-president-elect-lula>.

⁵ Roger Chartier, *A mão do autor e a mente do editor* (São Paulo: UNESP, 2014).

environmental issues incorporated into these reinterpretations? (How) do these elements impact research on the history of education and academic debates?

To answer these questions, I mapped reports in both traditional media and academic outlets and journals specialising in the history of education. This exploratory study seeks to identify resonances of the COVID-19 pandemic in the work of historians of education during the health crisis and possible short- and medium-term research trends.

First, I introduce an overview of how historical journals addressed the pandemic during and after the period and the presence of discussions on environmental and ecology issues. Second, I explore publications from the mainstream and scholarly press to identify (re)interpretations of the school space in response to the pandemic. I then present the data collected in journals specialising in the history of education to identify whether and how the COVID-19 pandemic was addressed between 2020 and 2023. I conclude by indicating some possible developments.

History (of Education), Pandemics and Ecology

During and after the COVID-19 pandemic, several studies were published – in the form of individual articles, collections and books – on its impact on education. The many publications of this nature worldwide make up a vast, diverse bibliographic corpus, and it is beyond the scope of this article to map them.

In the field of history of education, it is worth highlighting "Histories of the Past and Histories of the Future: Pandemics and Historians of Education", a collection of articles co-edited by Ian Grosvenor and Karin Priem and published in a special issue of the journal *Paedagogica Historica* in 2022. The novel approach of this publication and the fact that it largely shaped the questions raised in this article make it particularly worth mentioning here. Composed of 14 articles, including an introduction, the issue brings together authors from different countries whose discussions range from epidemics in the 17th century to the "Spanish flu" and the COVID-19 pandemic. The articles respond to the challenge posed by the editors of the special issue to (re)consider the relationship between education and pandemics.

This collection stands out for its originality in bringing together new perspectives on pandemics through the lens of the history of education, emphasising the potential of an ecological approach. Similar initiatives were not identified in other international journals beyond one-off articles. Specifically in South America – especially Brazil –,⁶ there is a noticeable scarcity of historical studies on the impacts of pandemics/epidemics on

⁶ This has been observed in surveys carried out in connection with the project "Educação e Pandemias (séculos XX e XXI): um estudo a partir de acervos on-line e fontes digitais" (DIRPE/PSFE N° 044/2022), which comprises subprojects investigating different pandemics and epidemics in Brazil and their impact on education, and as part of the source collection process for the "Education & Pandemics Archive" website available at <https://www.ische.org/education-and-pandemics-archive/#/>.

education, and the little available information often appears in short paragraphs in more general historical studies and articles on the history of medicine/health.

If studies on the impact of different health crises on the history of education are scarce and show significant gaps, then what can we say about studies in the history of education that address environmental issues or even engage in dialogue with environmental history?

In practice, "nature" and its connection with education is a topic that has already been explored in the historiography of education in different countries, mainly related to educational reforms in the first half of the twentieth century or pedagogical reform initiatives that think of nature as an "educational tool". One of the most recent ISCHE Books of Abstracts⁷ testifies to the existence of such studies, with the term "nature" being used more frequently and also terms like "ecology" and "environment" becoming more prominent. How these themes/terms have been used and when they started appearing more often are questions yet to be studied in more depth.

Following the ISCHE 2018 conference, *Paedagogica Historica* published a special issue on "Education and Nature", which "shows both the advances and differentiation of the historiography of education in questions related to nature and natural phenomena and also a series of problems to be faced". In the introductory text, the editors mention the different possibilities of addressing the theme "including the analytical insights of history of science, environmental history, and the different historiographical turns related to constructivist theories" that together have overcome a "romanticised perspective". Here, one may ask whether the context of the COVID-19 pandemic stimulated these new "analytical insights" on how nature is treated by the history of education.⁸

The following sections will explore whether environmental and ecological issues became a focus of the history of education in Brazil as a result of the pandemic. However, a quick look at Brazilian environmental education journals can provide clues as to how other fields have approached the topic from a historical perspective. It is worth highlighting "Environmental Education and the Covid-19 Pandemic", a themed issue published by the journal *Ambiente & Educação* in 2021, in which two articles deal with the Anthropocene and environmental crises.⁹

⁷ Imre Garai, Beatrix Vincze, and Zsuzsanna Polyák, eds., *Histories of Education and Reform: Traditions, Tensions and Transitions. Abstracts, ISCHE 44* (Hungarian Reform Pedagogical Association, 2023).

⁸ Marcelo Caruso, Sabine Reh, and Eckhardt Fuchs, "Education and Nature," *Paedagogica Historica* 56 (1–2) (2020): 1–8, DOI:10.1080/00309230.2020.1747505.

⁹ Gustavo Ferreira da Costa Lima, and Lucas Passos Tomaz, "A Pandemia, O Antropoceno E a educação Ambiental: Reflexões Para Um cenário De Policrises," *Ambiente & Educação: Revista De Educação Ambiental* 26, no. 2 (2021): 47-71; Luciana Marcon, and Maria Lúcia Castagna Wortmann, "'Nós não Vivemos No Mesmo planeta': Como a Ausência De Um Mundo Comum Afeta As Crises sanitária E ecológica No Contexto Brasileiro," *Ambiente & Educação: Revista De Educação Ambiental* 26, no. 2 (2021):190-215.

Without intending to go into detail but providing some data to understand how the field of history of education in Brazil has appropriated the discussions arising from the pandemic, a look at journals in related areas may give some perspective.

There is the case of the journal *História, Ciências e Saúde*, linked to the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation, which in 2021 inaugurated the section "Covid-19 Testimonies", containing "expanded versions of the texts about the coronavirus that appeared on our social media sites. Almost all of them were written by historians of health."¹⁰ In 2023, the journal published a special issue on the COVID-19 pandemic in Latin America.

Some history journals addressed environmental issues under various different headings such as environmental history, sustainability and global crises. One example is the *Revista Brasileira de História*, which, in 2023, published a set of articles in the *RBH debates*¹¹ section under the theme "What Does History Have to Say about Sustainability and the Current Energy Crisis?", the result of a discussion panel held in 2022.¹² It is interesting to note that, unlike the journal *História, Ciências e Saúde*, the *Revista Brasileira de História* did not create a special section to address COVID-19 or publish a dossier on the issues analysed. However, it published dossiers on "Denialism and Uses of History" in 2021 and "Confronting Eugenics: New Perspectives and Approaches" in 2023, both of which have introductory texts that refer to the pandemic.

History of Education and the Pandemic through the Lens of Traditional Press Outlets and Academic Journalism

Some recurring themes regarding the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic on Brazilian education were remote learning and new technologies, the impact of social inequalities on access to education, learning deficits – especially concerning literacy –, challenges in returning to in-person classes, and adaptations to the school space.

The historical dimension was also present in the broad range of themes. There was renewed interest in various sectors of society in revisiting previous pandemics to understand their impacts and the measures adopted.¹³ In Brazil, it was no different.

¹⁰ Marcos Cueto, "Nuevas Instrucciones a Los Autores Y El Futuro Del Artículo Científico En Ciencias Humanas," *História, Ciências, Saúde-manguinhos* 28, no. 1 (March 2021): 7–9, <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-59702021000100001>.

¹¹ "RBH Debates" consist of debates with guest historians held by the Brazilian History Association (ANPUH) on its YouTube channel on topics that impact society and could benefit from the input of the historian community. The presentations are turned into articles and published in a section with the same name in *Revista Brasileira de História*, ANPUH's official journal. This section first appeared in the journal in 2022.

¹² Andrea Slemian, "Uma Nota Sobre Os Textos E as Seções Das Revistas Acadêmicas Na Área De História," *Revista Brasileira De História* 43, no. 92 (2023): 7–12, <https://doi.org/10.1590/1806-93472023v43n92-02>.

¹³ Ian Grosvenor and Karin Priem, "Histories of the Past and Histories of the Future: Pandemics and Historians of Education," *Paedagogica Historica* 58 (5) (2022): 581–90, DOI:10.1080/00309230.2022.2093612.

During the first year of the pandemic in 2020, with the suspension of in-person classes, Brazilian magazines and newspapers published articles exploring previous health crises, giving rise to multiple perspectives and (re)interpretations.¹⁴ This was a practice widely adopted by both journalists and academics from different fields, via official press channels or personal profiles on social media, reflecting the digital age in which we live.

It is important to note that mass communication has undergone significant transformations in recent decades, with legacy media (newspapers, magazines, radio, television) being joined by the Internet, especially the advent of what has become known as Web 2.0, characterised by the emergence of social media. Such changes have meant new forms of scholarly dissemination that bring both harm and benefits.¹⁵ Academic communication is not exempt from the impacts of these transformations. "The way a researcher conveys information depends on the medium employed, the nature of the information, and the intended audience. As these change with time, so do the formulation and packaging of the information."¹⁶ With the COVID-19 pandemic, new actors and forms of scholarly communication/dissemination, both formal and informal, could be observed, including in the field of (history of) education.

Starting with the challenges raised by the pandemic for education and revisiting past experiences, references were made to school architecture, open-air schools and the Brazilian hygienist movement. Discussions focused on the impacts of COVID-19 on Brazilian education, explored international and Brazilian experiences since the beginning of the 20th century and speculated on solutions for the present and possible changes for the future.

But the discussions did not always go back so far in time. It was also common to address the changes in the school model imposed by the pandemic from a present-day perspective, comparing the format of schools before and during the pandemic and predicting what would happen after it. Different conceptions of school space emerged in these discussions, from the typical classroom in a building to the classroom integrated into the external space and the virtual classroom.

The practice of revisiting of past experiences in education to reflect on the present was found more frequently on websites linked to educational institutions or scholarly outlets, where interviews with professors/researchers in history or history of education and architecture were more common. In the mass media, references to proposals that

¹⁴ Angelo Van Gorp, Eulàlia Colleldemont, Inês Félix, Ian Grosvenor, Björn Norlin, and Núria Padrós Tuneu, "What Does this Have to Do with Everything else? An Ecological Reading of the Impact of the 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic on Education," *Paedagogica Historica* 58, no. 5 (2022): 728–47, DOI:10.1080/00309230.2022.2053555.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Manuel Castells, *O poder da comunicação* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2013); Lucia Santaella, "As Ambivalências da Divulgação Científica na Era Digital," *Boletim GEPEM* no. 75 (2019): 7–17.

¹⁶ Arthur Jack Meadows, *Communicating Research* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1998), 1.

emerged during the pandemic and that may shape the new format of schools in the future were more frequent, but not necessarily connected to past experiences. I will explore some examples to illustrate these differences. They will serve as a counterpoint to consider how these themes resonate specifically in academic publications, addressed in the next paragraph of this essay.

The first example is an article published in the digital version of the journal produced by the São Paulo State Research Foundation, *Revista Pesquisa FAPESP*. With the title "Healthy spaces" and the opening statement "The knowledge acquired during past pandemics, especially long-term ones, can help us face the current one," the article features interviews with university professors of architecture and history of education to explore architectural proposals from the past that can be revisited in the present and affect the way we think about post-pandemic architecture.¹⁷



Fig. 2: Open-air activities. Bruno de Pierro, "Healthy Spaces," *Revista Pesquisa FAPESP* 296 (2020).

¹⁷ Bruno de Pierro, "Healthy Spaces," *Revista Pesquisa FAPESP* 296 (2020), <https://revistapesquisa.fapesp.br/en/healthy-spaces/>.

The article states:

"It is also possible to develop future scenarios in which homes, schools, hospitals, and other public buildings are built or adapted to reduce the risk of spreading new epidemics. Architects and urban planners are revisiting concepts that allowed for a connection between architecture and public health in the last century."¹⁸

With regard to education more specifically, we find references to open-air schools, including experiments in São Paulo in the 1930s. These schools, while promoting health, also enabled an exploration of scientific concepts through contact with "nature".

The association between education, public health and architecture has been the subject of several studies by Brazilian researchers over the past two decades. Topics have included changes in the school model, practices incorporated from the hygienist movement and pedagogical innovations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such studies have been revisited, and experts have been interviewed as a strategy for thinking about schools during and after the pandemic.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the hygienist movement took shape in Brazil and significantly impacted the organisation of school spaces and school practices. It influenced the design of school buildings, furniture, physical education and hygiene measures. These measures were aimed at supporting public health and building a civilised nation to ensure the country's progress. At the beginning of the twentieth century, with the circulation and appropriation of the principles of the New School movement, new practices were incorporated, mainly in early childhood education. Concerns about adequate health conditions in schools and their impact on children's bodies continued from the nineteenth century onwards. Other characteristics also emerged, including an emphasis on outdoor activities and greater integration of children into "nature". It is worth noting that Brazil was undergoing a process of industrialisation during this period, and education focused on preparing for life was seen as key to progress and a civilised nation.¹⁹

The second example comes from an article published on the website of *MultiRio*, a municipal multimedia company linked to the Municipal Department of Education of the

¹⁸ De Pierro, "Healthy Spaces."

¹⁹ See, e.g., Heloisa Helena Pimenta Rocha, "Entre a ortopedia e a civilidade: o higienismo e educação do corpo no Brasil," *Historia de la Educación*, Salamanca, España, no. 28 (2009): 109–134; André Dalben and Henrique Mendonça da Silva, "Sol e ar fresco no combate à tuberculose: experiências de educação ao ar livre no Rio de Janeiro (1910-1920)," *Cadernos CEDES* 40, no. 112 (2020): 218–32, <https://doi.org/10.1590/CC232227>; Marcus Levy Bencostta, "Os regulamentos para a construção dos edifícios escolares públicos no Brasil," *Educação em Revista* 37 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1590/0102-23401>; José Gonçalves Gondra, "Medicina, Higiene e Educação Escolar," in *500 Anos de Educação No Brasil*, ed. Eliana Marta Teixeira Lopes, et al. (Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2000); André Dalben and Kátia Danailof, "Natureza urbana: parques infantis e escolas ao ar livre em São Paulo (1930-1940)," *Revista Brasileira de Ciências do Esporte* 31, no. 1 (2009): 163–77.

City of Rio de Janeiro.²⁰ Entitled "COVID-19 in the Context of the History of Education and Public Schools", the text revisits the transformations of the school model over time, mainly with the creation of public education systems from the end of the nineteenth century, through the proposals of the New School movement in the early twentieth century and criticisms of the school model in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries:

The schooling model implemented in the 19th century – characterised by learning strategies, teaching methods, assessment of academic performance, grades, attendance, tests and the fragmentation of time into hours/classes – permeated the daily school routine of the 20th and 21st centuries and was only drastically interrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic: teachers lost their territory (the classroom), the time between students and teachers became unsynchronised (deregulating schedules), the requirement for school attendance disappeared due to the difficulty of accessing technology (exposing social inequalities), the curriculum and forms of assessment became more flexible... In short, the coronavirus disrupted the education system's organisation in Brazil and worldwide.²¹

The text used publications by historians of education as its source material. It focused on the existing school model, the criticisms it had faced, which came to the fore during the pandemic, and new possibilities for thinking about the school space and educational practices. It is not clear whether the author is a journalist or an educator. The text reads like an essay, and thus differs in style from the previous article in *Revista Pesquisa FAPESP*.

The next example is the article published on the *Terra* news website: "Outdoor classes gain space to avoid contagion and excessive use of screens." The standfirst summarises, "Intended for students from preschool to high school, activities in various subjects can occur both outside the school and in squares and parks."²²

Unlike the article published in *Revista Pesquisa FAPESP*, the article on the *Terra* portal does not refer to researchers or university professors. In this case, the interviewees are educational managers or those linked to civil organisations, as well as an architect. An article with a similar structure is published in *Folha Vitória*, an online newspaper in Espírito Santo state. The article "Outdoor classes help prevent COVID-19 contagion and encourage a new routine" features interviews with parents, primary

²⁰ Márcia Pimentel, "A COVID-19 no contexto da história da Educação e da escola pública," *MultiRio*, March 15, 2021, <https://www.multirio.rj.gov.br/index.php/reportagens/17099-a-COVID-19-no-contexto-da-hist%C3%B3ria-da-educa%C3%A7%C3%A3o-e-da-escola-p%C3%BAblica>.

²¹ Pimentel, "A COVID-19 no contexto da história da Educação."

²² Priscila Mengue, "Aulas ao ar livre ganham espaço para evitar contágio e uso excessivo de telas," *Terra*, February 20, 2021, <https://www.terra.com.br/noticias/educacao/aulas-ao-ar-livre-ganham-espaco-para-evitar-contagio-e-uso-excessivo-de-telas,aad95c70257cf3776c624a6ac74101770bdnx6te.html>.

school professionals, civil organisations, and a university professor.²³ In the article, Freinet is mentioned by two interviewees, one of whom is a university professor:

"The professor and doctor at the Education Center of the Federal University of Espírito Santo (UFES), Marcelo Lima, explains that the concept of outdoor classes is not new; it was created by the French pedagogue Célestin Freinet (1896-1966), with the objective of stimulating students."

The articles in both *Terra* and *Folha Vitória* refer to "contact with nature" through outdoor classes as a counterpoint to the traditional classroom and a form of freedom from closed spaces in the period of social isolation during the pandemic. Nature is therefore seen as an important element of children's well-being.

Although it does not refer to past experiences – except for the brief mention of Freinet –, it is interesting to note that the main arguments presented in the articles in *Terra* and *Folha Vitória* for the inclusion of outdoor classes are very similar to the hygienist discourses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which determined the characteristics of a healthy space, including good ventilation and lighting, and pointed to the physical ills that could affect children if they were confined to unhealthy school spaces.

The four examples above illustrate some of the most common characteristics identified in the press. However, whether based on the past to consider measures for the present or exploring initiatives implemented during the COVID-19 pandemic to design future measures, no connections were observed between school architecture, hygiene and environmental issues.

Journals Specialising in the History of Education

I mapped the topics covered between 2020 and 2023 in three Brazilian publications specialising in the history of education, intending to explore possible resonances of the health emergency in academic production. I specifically looked for references to the COVID-19 pandemic and, more broadly, to pandemics/epidemics and ecological issues.

The journals were chosen based on their longevity and relevance in the field, as well as the frequency of publication. It is worth noting that all are open-access publications. The search tools of each journal were used with keywords such as "pandemic", "epidemic", and "covid" for an initial mapping.²⁴ Each volume and its articles were also analysed in search of related themes, such as "health issues", "hygiene" and "school architecture".

²³ Thaiz Blunck, "Aulas ao ar livre ajudam a evitar contágio da COVID-19 e estimulam nova rotina," *Folha Vitória*, March 1, 2021, <https://www.folhavitoria.com.br/geral/noticia/03/2021/aulas-ao-ar-livre-ajudam-a-evitar-contagio-da-COVID-19-e-estimulam-alunos-na-nova-rotina>.

²⁴ The journals' search tools were not always efficient, which led us to also use the in-page search function for each article.

In addition to the articles, the editorials were also analysed. The sections outside the main body of a publication (e.g. the introduction or preface to a book) are significant textual devices revealing what the author or editor wants to give visibility to and directing the reader's gaze and attention.²⁵ However, editorials have specific characteristics as they are published in periodicals and can refer to current events.

The journal *Revista História da Educação* (RHE), whose first issue dates back to 1997, is a publication by the Rio Grande do Sul Association of Researchers in History of Education (Asphe). Since 2019, it has been published in a continuous format.²⁶ The 2020 editorial was published in January, before COVID-19 was declared a pandemic. However, its inclusion in this analysis helps to identify common elements in the set of editorials analysed. The editorial mentions the challenges ahead and emphasises the journal's relevance:

Given the difficult times the country is facing, which affect all Brazilians in different ways, the Human Sciences are also affected by the lack of public resources to promote scientific production. What lies ahead seems bleak to us and will demand a lot from all of us. However, we are firmly committed to keeping the journal active as an exercise in resistance to ensure its preservation and continuity.²⁷

The 2021 editorial was also published at the beginning of the year (February 2021). There were still no direct references to the pandemic, and the editorial's tone reiterates the journal's importance, referring to "a present time that brings us so many threats and insecurities"²⁸ and emphasising the relevance of history as a school subject and the threats of its fragmentation.

Published on 29 March, RHE's 2022 editorial is the first to directly refer to the COVID-19 pandemic:

2022. We are beginning a new year amid the COVID-19 pandemic, which has been causing the loss of many lives worldwide since 2020, even with the hope of mass vaccination. More than a health crisis, we are living at a time that is exacerbating global problems involving ecological issues, technological contradictions, the deepening of national and global inequalities in access to basic and minimum

²⁵ Maria Rita de Almeida Toledo, and Marta Carvalho, "A Tradução de John Dewey na Coleção Autoral Biblioteca da Educação", *Educação & Sociedade* 38, no. 141 (2017): 999–1015, <https://doi.org/10.1590/ES0101-73302017157307>.

²⁶ The *Revista História da Educação* is available at <https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/asphe/index>.

²⁷ Dóris Bittencourt Almeida, Terciane Ângela Luchese, Tatiane de Freitas Ermel, and Chris de Azevedo Ramil, "Entre a Experiência E a Expectativa: Percursos E Desafios Da Revista História Da Educação," *Revista História Da Educação* 24 (janeiro, 2020): e99657, <https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/asphe/article/view/99657>.

²⁸ Dóris Bittencourt Almeida, Terciane Ângela Luchese, Tatiane de Freitas Ermel, and Chris de Azevedo Ramil, "2021: O Tempo, a história E a Pesquisa". *Revista História Da Educação* 25 (fevereiro 2021): e111653, <https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/asphe/article/view/111653>.

conditions for survival, the intensification of geopolitical tensions and other events, such as the spread of fake news, the denial of science and many prejudices. These are times of much knowledge, technology and, paradigmatically, of denialism that makes us think about how essential it is to reaffirm the urgency of Education as a common and public good.²⁹

Over six pages, the editorial not only mentions a series of events celebrated in Brazil, such as the bicentennial of independence, but also how historians of education could reflect on pressing issues. In this regard, it cites the article by Nóvoa and Alvim on the COVID-19 pandemic, published in the previous volume of the journal, which I will discuss below.

The 2023 editorial, published on 28 April 2023, mentions "post-pandemic challenges" with no further references to the pandemic. In January of that year, the inauguration of president-elect Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva was held, and was referred to in the editorial as follows: "The year 2023 is also a period for the reconstruction of a democratic environment, with freedom and appreciation of the University, especially in our country's scientific and educational sphere."³⁰

The role of academic journals in this context (including RHE itself) is reinforced, echoing previous editorials.

The Brazilian journal *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* (RBHE) is the official publication of the Brazilian Society of History of Education (SBHE) and has been published since 2001.³¹ It adopted a continuous publication format in 2018. The 2020 editorial, published in November of the same year, already mentions the pandemic in its title, "2020 in the History of Education: 20 years of RBHE, 100 Years of UFRJ and Year of COVID-19 Pandemic."³² While analysing the pandemic context intertwined with the political context, it also retraces the journal's trajectory and relevance:

Unfortunately, the celebration of two decades of RBHE's existence takes place amid a dark time, permeated by dramas of very different natures. During a health crisis that undermined the world in 2020, inflicting the need for social isolation and many other prevention routines, we are experiencing a political crisis in Brazil, accentuated by the result of the last presidential elections in 2018, with an agenda composed of a series of measures aimed at suppressing and/or reducing the rights of children,

²⁹ Dóris Bittencourt Almeida, Terciane Ângela Luchese, Tatiane de Freitas Ermel, and Chris de Azevedo Ramil, "Efemérides De 2022 E História Da Educação, As Nossas 'causas'," *Revista História Da Educação* 26 (março 2022), <https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/asphe/article/view/e122836>.

³⁰ RHE, Editoria, "Pesquisas em História da Educação, possibilidades e contribuições". *Revista História Da Educação* 27 (2022), <https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/asphe/article/view/132106>.

³¹ *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* is available at <https://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/rbhe>.

³² Alicia Civera Cerecedo, Ana Clara Bortoleto Nery, Cláudia Engler Cury, Evelyn de Almeida Orlando, and José Gonçalves Gondra, "2020 Na História Da Educação," *Revista Brasileira De História Da Educação* 20, no 1 (2020): e139, <https://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/rbhe/article/view/56539>.

young people, workers and citizens of the most diverse backgrounds; as well as denying the value of science. This crisis has been producing strong repercussions on society, education, culture and the economy, highlighting a government project that ignores the value of life and acts against it daily, especially concerning the most vulnerable. In 2020, the Brazilian Journal of History of Education celebrates its 20th anniversary, therefore, amid crises already producing regrettable effects, such as the number of infections and deaths resulting from the coronavirus pandemic. This event requires a difficult and redoubled effort from all of us to understand this moment in its historical process.

Of all the editorials analysed, this is the one that delves most deeply into the impacts of the pandemic in different areas and provides a reflection on the current situation. It mentions the educational implications, the effects on research, the cancellation or postponement of history of education events, and the closure of archives. Regarding the political scenario, it highlights that:

On a political level, we live in a state of tension and alert in the country. The political crisis has a major impact on Science, with a drastic reduction in resources and a consequent reduction in funding for research and journals, in addition to attacks of other types.

The 2021 editorial reflects on the role of history/history of education as the bicentennial of Brazil's independence approaches and the challenges that education and research face.³³ With the same tone as the previous editorial and differing from the other journals analysed, RBHE reflects on the various developments of the pandemic.

Amid current events, in which we are experiencing a pandemic that has changed our lives in all its dimensions, the cruel pedagogy of the COVID-19 virus, as Boaventura Sousa Santos (2020) said, has forced us to take some urgent actions, it is not the only issue to be faced. In the political and scientific spheres, we are challenged to rethink our practices, strategies, tactics, and actions, expanding knowledge from the point of view of both its production and dissemination. We can say that scientific knowledge has never circulated as much as it does now when life has led us to change our space for debate, going beyond the boundaries of academia, on a much larger scale, through virtual technologies.

The editorial also considers that the "consequences of the pandemic on the ways of life and work of historians of education have yet to be seen", drawing attention to the signs of a more significant impact on the productivity of female academics and possible

³³ Alicia Civera Cerecedo, Ana Clara Bortoleto Nery, Cláudia Engler Cury, Evelyn de Almeida Orlando, and José Gonçalves Gondra, "A RBHE a Um Passo Do Bicentenário Da Independência E No início De Uma Nova década". *Revista Brasileira De História Da Educação* 21 (1) (2021), e190. <https://doi.org/10.4025/rbhe.v21.2021.e190>.

repercussions on the articles received by the journal. Covering various aspects, it mentions possible changes related to "thematic and theoretical-methodological perspectives". In this regard, it adds that:

This also forces us to abandon the usual ways of seeking information and analysing sources. Perhaps it is a time for more theoretical reflection or statistical analysis.

Perhaps our view of the past will also change in light of what we observe today, when two of the fundamental axes of school culture are disturbed: time and space.

In its 2022 editorial, RBHE starts by reflecting on the bicentennial of Brazil's independence, the relevance of printed matter in Brazil throughout its history, and finally RBHE itself and the content made available in that volume. Unlike the two previous editorials, which were marked by reflections on the pandemic and the political situation, this one is more focused on the characterisation of the volume. The same occurs with the 2023 editorial, which, in addition to characterising the volume itself, including quantitative data, begins by reporting on new sources of funding for the journal and the challenges of sustainability for academic journals, especially in the field of humanities.

The last journal analysed, *Cadernos de História da Educação* (CHE), is a publication linked to the Federal University of Uberlândia, launched in 2002.³⁴ Since 2021, it has adopted the continuous publication format. None of the CHE editorials mentions the pandemic. The editorials follow the same structure, presenting a quantitative summary and describing any dossiers and special articles, which would explain the lack of mention of events such as the pandemic.

An analysis of the editorials in the journals RHE, RBHE and CHE indicates three predominant communicative purposes: 1) opinions, 2) discourse from the journal about the journal, and 3) presentation of the articles that appear in the edition.³⁵ Comparing the editorials of the three journals between 2020 and 2023, CHE is the only one that does not refer to the pandemic, maintaining the characteristic of focusing on a description of the volume itself and a presentation of the articles that appear in the edition. Although RHE and RBHE are similar in that they refer to current situations, including mentions of the pandemic, they differ in how they do so. While RHE is much more subtle, making more generic references to the pandemic and the challenges faced in the Brazilian context, RBHE presents longer editorials that refer more directly to the impacts of the pandemic on research and education, on daily life, in addition to making direct references to the political situation. Both include opinion and discourse from the journal about the journal, but opinion is much stronger in RBHE than in RHE. Another difference arises from the publication dates of the editorials. RBHE makes a first

³⁴ Journal available at <https://seer.ufu.br/index.php/che/index>.

³⁵ Omar Sabaj, and Cristian González, "Seis Propósitos Comunicativos Del Discurso Del Editor De Las Revistas Científicas", *DELTA: Documentação De Estudos Em Lingüística Teórica E Aplicada* 29, no. 1 (2013): 59–78, <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-44502013000100003>.

reference to the pandemic in 2020, with the editorial published at the end of the year, and includes elements to analyse the impacts. However, the fact that RHE publishes its editorials at the beginning of the year does not explain why the first reference to the pandemic only appeared in 2022.

Even though the emphasis is different, RHE and RBHE share concerns about attacks on education and research related to the political situation. The editorials refer to the political context of Jair Bolsonaro's government, which was marked by denialism and attacks on public education and research.

It is useful to situate the editorials in the context of the political situation in Brazil. Bolsonaro took office in January 2019, and throughout his term there were reports of deforestation, fires and Indigenous genocide. COVID-19 was declared a pandemic by the WHO in March 2020, and the period of social isolation ran from 2020 to 2021. The year 2022 was marked by Bolsonaro's political campaign for president and attempted reelection. Lula took office in January 2023, and an attempted coup occurred. Knowing these details clarifies what the editorials are about, what was implied, and why the pandemic is not the central issue or sometimes fails to be mentioned amid the many other challenges.

According to Charbonnier, ecological thinking is always linked to political ideas and values.³⁶ The attacks on democracy and difficult times outlined in the editorials refer to an authoritarian government and a political context that invested in destruction on several fronts, including science and "nature" or the "natural" environment.

When considering the references to the pandemic in the content of each volume of the analysed journals, it is necessary to consider the time required to produce an article and go through the editorial process. It is understandable that all three journals barely contain any references to the pandemic in their 2020 volumes.³⁷

For example, in the 2020 issue of RHE, there is a single reference to the pandemic in an introductory text to a dossier. It is worth noting that all articles were submitted before March 2020, including the editorial, except for the introduction to the dossier, which was written last after the articles had been reviewed. Introductory texts to journal issues, reviews and interviews are textual genres that are different from academic articles and generally require less preparation time, which would explain why references to the pandemic appear in these publications.

It is possible to classify the references to the pandemic found in RHE, RBHE and CHE into three appropriation categories. 1) Impacts on research: closure of archives and difficulty in accessing sources and resources to continue research; 2) Scientific events: cancellation or postponement of several events/conferences, including those on the history of education; and 3) Context: as a starting point for the discussion proposed

³⁶ Pierre Charbonnier, *Affluence and Freedom: An Environmental History of Political Ideas* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2021).

³⁷ One reference was found in RHE and one in RBHE.

in the article, generally focusing on structural problems. In all three categories, the mentions are brief, sometimes limited to a footnote.

The only article that specifically addresses the pandemic was published by RHE in 2021, "COVID-19 and the End of Education: 1870 – 1920 – 1970 – 2020", authored by Antônio Nóvoa and Yara Cristina Alvim.³⁸ The exceptionality of the article is evident considering that it is the only one included in what the journal calls a "Special Section" and that the process between submission, approval and publication was very short.³⁹ The only article that addresses environmental education is found in the 2022 volume of the same journal, but it was written by Spanish authors about the context of Spain during the 1970s.⁴⁰

No articles addressed other pandemics or epidemics and their impacts on education. Although the term "epidemic" appears in some articles in the three journals, these are occasional mentions, often appearing only once in the text, inserted in paragraphs that summarise the context studied.

Of the journals analysed, no calls for special issues were identified that were in any way a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. Such calls could have motivated researchers to produce articles revisiting themes already consolidated in the historiography of Brazilian education from new perspectives or even addressing the COVID-19 pandemic.

The analysis of these three specialised journals provides some clues as to how the pandemic will affect the writing of the history of education. However, it is also necessary to consider publications in other journals in the field of education or even foreign publications. One example is the article by Sônia Câmara and Ariadne Ecar published in the special issue of *Paedagogica Historica* in 2022,⁴¹ in which the authors discuss the impacts of the Spanish flu on education in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, as reported in newspapers.⁴² Furthermore, the interview conducted by Honorato and Nery with historians of education from different countries about "the importance of the History of

³⁸ Antônio Nóvoa and Yara Cristina Alvim, "COVID-19 E O Fim Da educação: 1870–1920–1970–2020," *Revista História Da Educação* 25 (2021): e110616, <https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/asphe/article/view/110616>.

³⁹ The article was submitted on January 12, 2021, approved on January 25, and published on February 22 of the same year.

⁴⁰ Manuel Ferraz Lorenzo, Cristian Machado Trujillo, and Juan Rodríguez-Hernandez, "Estrategias políticas Internacionales En 'Educación ambiental'. España 1970-1980," *Revista História Da Educação* 26 (2022), <https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/asphe/article/view/118322>.

⁴¹ The Special Issue theme was "Histories of the Past and Histories of the Future: Pandemics and Historians of Education", co-edited by Ian Grosvenor and Karin Priem, <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/cpdh20/58/5>.

⁴² Sônia Câmara and Ariadne Lopes Ecar, "The Spanish flu epidemic in the press: health and education in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (Brazil) in the years 1918–1919," *Paedagogica Historica* 58, no. 5 (2022): 610–25, DOI:10.1080/00309230.2022.2069472.

Education in research and in addressing issues inherent to the COVID-19 pandemic" illustrates possible directions that research can take.⁴³

One example of a discussion related to environmental issues is the collection "Education and Nature in Historical Perspective: Outdoor Life, Health and Hygiene", published in the Brazilian education journal *Cadernos CEDES* in late 2020⁴⁴ but organised before the pandemic. This collection at least shows signs of some themes related to the environment/ecology within the history of education, although it is still very marked by the anthropocentric dimension and frequently addresses the hygienist movement.

However, when we leave the historical approach behind and look at Brazilian journals on education, environmental education and even an autobiographical research journal, the number of articles that associate education and COVID-19 is significant, and topics such as new methodological proposals for remote teaching, uses of technologies, inequality of access and even emotional issues appear frequently.

Therefore, it is not that the pandemic has not been addressed by researchers in the field of education and that there have been no publications during the health crisis; there have been plenty of them. What can be seen is that the topic was seldom addressed by historians of education, at least in the form of published articles, within the time frame analysed.

Returning to the editorials of history of education journals, they bring up the COVID-19 pandemic to problematise the context of publication, but they also go further. In addition to the impacts of the pandemic on society, education and inequalities, the political dimension represented by the government's attacks on education and research is often raised. There is also an acknowledgement that the pandemic will affect how the history of education is written, with access to digital archives cited as an example. The ecological aspect is mentioned in only one of the editorials, which lists all the challenges that emerge beyond the pandemic and mentions "planetary problems involving ecological issues".⁴⁵

One possible interpretation is that the political dimension, represented by the Brazilian government's inaction in the face of the health crisis and attacks on research and education, gained prominence in discussions among researchers in the history of education and overshadowed other issues such as the environmental crisis. But regardless of the causes for the near absence of references to environmental issues, what we see when observing how the pandemic was covered on both academic and mass communication websites and in the scholarly journals on the history of education analysed in this article is that an anthropocentric view still predominates, with an

⁴³ Tony Honorato and Ana Clara Bortoleto Nery, "História Da Educação E COVID-19," *Acta Scientiarum. Education* 42, no. 1 (2020): e54998, <https://doi.org/10.4025/actascieduc.v42i1.54998>.

⁴⁴ The special issue is available at <https://www.scielo.br/j/ccedes/i/2020.v40n112/>.

⁴⁵ Bittencourt et al, "Efemérides De 2022," 1.

emphasis on hygiene practices and/or in which "nature" is seen as a teaching tool or an element to be handled to guarantee the health of individuals.

Final remarks

Many of the discussions about the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on education in Brazil are similar to what was published in the press in other countries and in academic publications specialising in the history of education. The practice of revisiting the past to understand current measures is something that was observed throughout and after the pandemic. However, there are also some particularities in the Brazilian case.

It is worth noting that during the pandemic, Brazil was under a denialist government that, instead of implementing and encouraging health measures to combat the pandemic, gave rise to efforts in the opposite direction. Brazil was one of the countries with the highest number of deaths from COVID-19. However, the government's denialist stance was not limited to the pandemic and extended to the denial and destruction of the rights of minorities and more vulnerable groups as well as a lack of interest in environmental policies, which raised concerns at international level. Political issues undoubtedly had repercussions among educators, including the community of historians of education.

At this point, one might wonder how the COVID-19 pandemic will change the way Brazilian historians of education produce history. The discussion of environmental history in conjunction with the history of education is still an aspect that has barely been addressed. But possible developments may include growth and consolidation of the history of emotions, which has been gaining ground in recent years. This perception is reinforced by the variety of digital records produced in Brazil throughout the pandemic, such as memory repositories, based on individual initiatives or research projects linked to different Brazilian universities.⁴⁶

This "determination of institutions and agencies to actively collect data on people's experiences of living with COVID-19 so as to capture the present for the future generations", already noted by Grosvenor and Priem, deliberately creates historical sources in the present for future researchers.⁴⁷

Another potential shift in Brazilian history of education is a greater focus on childhood history, with the availability of sources that reflect children's "voices", a challenge for research before the 20th century. From a broader perspective, the records collected during the pandemic enable a new emphasis on a "history from below".

The production of records in digital format leads to another observation, namely the increasing use of digital sources and online collections as part of the writing of the

⁴⁶ See, e.g., the projects "Arquipélago de memórias," <https://sites.google.com/ufg.br/arquipelagodememorias> and #memóriascovid19, <https://memoriascovid19.unicamp.br/>.

⁴⁷ Grosvenor and Priem, "Histories of the Past."

history of education. Even though no change was noted in the themes of the articles in the history of education journals analysed between 2020 and 2023 (although it is a period that I consider too short for such changes), it is clear that the pandemic and the period of isolation have affected the use of online archives and significantly increased access to digital resources. Therefore, one of the most visible consequences of the pandemic is the greater visibility of digital history and the urgency to discuss its epistemological, methodological and ethical implications.⁴⁸

Digital records of individual and collective experiences produced during the pandemic, taken as medium and long-term historical sources in Brazil, open the possibility of rethinking the relationship between school and environment from a post-anthropocentric dimension, as proposed by Priem, perhaps intertwined with the history of emotions.⁴⁹

An article in the 2024 volume of RBHE, which analyses the permanence of elements of school culture by comparing the Spanish flu pandemic in 1918 and the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, may indicate how other researchers will appropriate the topic.⁵⁰ However, only over time, as we move further away from the pandemic's turmoil, will it become more evident how the Brazilian community of historians of education will respond to it. Yet Meadow's discussion on scientific communication may provide some clues. As mentioned, the internet has affected how scientific communication and dissemination work, and the "digital turn" has been posing specific challenges to historians.⁵¹ Nonetheless, despite the rapid developments that academic communication has undergone due to new means of communication, how it is organised today still reflects decisions made in the past, and "the basic characteristics of researchers and their community change slowly".⁵²

⁴⁸ Digital history was the theme of the 2024 edition of the Brazilian Conference on the History of Education. This is the main national event in the field of history of education in Brazil.

⁴⁹ Karin Priem, "Emerging Ecologies and Changing Relations: A Brief Manifesto for Histories of Education after COVID-19," *Paedagogica Historica* 58, no. 5 (2022): 768-780. DOI: 10.1080/00309230.2022.2075230.

⁵⁰ The article was published in September 2023 but included in the 2024 volume. Carla Oliveira, Rayane Jéssica Aranha da Silva, and Tania Maria Serafim, "Pandemias E infância," *Revista Brasileira De História Da Educação* 24, no. 1 (2023): e296. <https://doi.org/10.4025/rbhe.v24.2024.e296>.

⁵¹ See, e.g., Anita Lucchesi, "Por Um Debate Sobre História E Historiografia Digital," *Boletim Historiar*, no. 2 (2014), <https://periodicos.ufs.br/historiar/article/view/2127> and Giliard da Silva Prado, "Por Uma história Digital: O ofício De Historiador Na Era Da Internet," *Revista Tempo E Argumento* 13, no. 34 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.5965/2175180313342021e0201>.

⁵² Meadows, *Communication Research*, 245.

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