Scenarios of social isolation during the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Marcos Paulo Ferreira de Góis | Leticia Parente-Ribeiro | Paulo Cesar da Costa Gomes | Rafael Augusto Andrade Gomes | Thomaz Menezes Leite | Leonardo José Iorio | Gabriela Leles Amaral | Igor Ribeiro da Silva Campos | Beatriz Brum Domingues Dettmann | Lohanne Fernanda Gonçalves Ferreira | Patricia Luana Costa Araújo

Department of Geography, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Correspondence
Marcos Paulo Ferreira de Góis, Department of Geography, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Cidade Universitária, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
Email: marcospfgois@gmail.com

Funding information
National Council for Scientific and Technological Development; Foundation for Research Support of the State of Rio de Janeiro

Abstract
This work analyses the construction of social isolation as a public problem during the first wave of COVID-19, drawing on experiences in Rio de Janeiro which, in addition to being one of the country’s major cities, had among the highest mortality rates in Brazil in 2020. We consider both the legal measures enacted by government agencies to contain the contagion and media coverage on the effects of these measures at the local level. The results show that, in the absence of compulsory confinement measures, urban public spaces were deployed both by government agencies and the media in a process by which social isolation was framed as a public problem. Legal measures affected daily patterns of movement, mobility, and sociability, and intervened in the dynamics of central urban functions and in access to and use of public spaces. Media reports gave voice to levels of public agreement or disagreement with regulations and emphasised the significance of legal measures to contain the spread of the virus. Public spaces are at the core of debates about compliance with legal measures to enforce social isolation because they are privileged places where social issues become visible and problematic material expressions of relationships between citizens and the law.

KEYWORDS
legal geography, media coverage, new coronavirus, public problem, public spaces, scenarios

1 | INTRODUCTION

Since December 2019, the spread of COVID-19 (SARS-CoV-2) has changed the daily lives of millions of people around the world. The virus spreads quickly through direct human contact and prolonged indirect contact in closed or crowded spaces (Kucharski et al., 2020; Li & Dai, 2020; Shigemura et al., 2020). Given the urgency of this health crisis, prompt action was crucial to halt the spread of the contagion, and initial responses during the first phase of the outbreak had an experimental and socially contested character. Strategies recommended by the World Health Organization (WHO) to contain the pandemic included physical (also called social)
distancing, hand sanitation, and associated hygiene measures related to touch.

When adopted by local governments such measures were, however, adjusted to local contexts and to the social debate regarding the type and degree of restrictions to be directed at the population. In Brazil, where competencies related to public health policy are shared across federal, state, and municipal governments, conflicts arose about how to deal with the characteristics and scope of measures to fight COVID-19. Moreover, a debate about the effectiveness and impacts of those measures took place in the Brazilian public sphere, focusing not only on the economic effects of the suspension of business activities but also on how individuals reacted. Such issues were described and evaluated by state agencies, the media, and social networks.

Between February and July 2020, the expression “social isolation” was employed by public authorities, the media, and the public to refer to the set of non-pharmaceutical measures associated with physical distancing, such as lockdowns, suspension of business activities, and restricted access to certain urban areas, among others. To assess the outcomes of the measures implemented, government agencies also monitored “social isolation rates” (based on measures of population mobility and reporting of large gatherings).

This article analyses how social isolation was constructed as a public problem in Rio de Janeiro during the first wave of the pandemic. The research has been guided by the following questions: how have public authorities attempted to reorganise the daily relations of proximity and individual mobility through legislation, especially in urban areas? How has media coverage framed the effects of and responses to these legal measures?

2 | CONTEXT

Coronavirus entered Brazil through its biggest cities and state capitals, such as São Paulo, Brasília, Manaus, and Fortaleza and then spread to the countryside and regions (Cândido et al., 2020). Rio de Janeiro was also a point of entry and diffusion for the disease. With 6.7 million inhabitants, the city had also registered among the highest COVID-19 mortality rates in the country by the end of 2020 (Ministério da Saúde, 2020).

The rise in hospital admissions and deaths in Rio de Janeiro began in mid-April, and the intensity of the spread seems to have been positively correlated with the length of time individuals spent in closed spaces, especially public transportation, hospitals, and other health facilities (Marino et al., 2020). In the first stage, COVID-19 hit health professionals, care workers, professional drivers, delivery workers, and other “essential” workers extremely hard, while those in outer suburbs reported a rapid increase in case numbers as well.

Between March and July 2020, mortality rates were higher in neighbourhoods with a higher percentage of elderly people in the population (Alves et al., 2016), such as Copacabana, in the South zone, and São Cristóvão and Bonsucesso, in the North zone, but also in the neighbourhoods located in the city’s fastest growing region, the West zone (Figure 1).

The rapid spread of cases in all regions of the municipality, the uneven death rate for COVID-19 in different neighbourhoods, and the sharp decline in social isolation rates from early June 2020 onward were important factors in defining the problematic situation (CyberLabs, 2021). As such, they have provided the empirical basis for the formation of the public problem under examination here.

3 | METHODOLOGY

As proposed by Gusfield (1981), a problematic situation becomes a public problem when its definition, organisation, and evaluation come to be mediated institutionally through distinct social agents. Such mediations encompass not only actions and measures employed to address the problem but also the means of delimiting and orienting the discussion regarding it. Also, in the process of constituting a public debate on a given problematic situation, new actors are invited to participate, which brings to light contradictions and oppositions, in addition to new efforts to define and implement solutions to the problem.

To understand the construction of social isolation as a public problem during the first stage of the COVID-19 outbreak in Rio de Janeiro, we focused on two main aspects: (1) legal measures that define, regulate and establish the means of monitoring it; and (2) media
coverage about the effects of those measures and the public’s responses to them.

Regarding the legal measures, a brief digression on Brazil’s institutional context is warranted. Brazil’s political and administrative organisation comprises the federal government and federal entities, which include 26 states and a federal district and 5,570 municipalities. In matters such as public health, education, and public security, these entities may be attributed exclusive or shared responsibility. In March 2020, a conflict between the federal government and states and municipalities was brought before the Supreme Court, where it was ruled that the authority of the federal government did not curtail the concurrent competence of the states, federal district, and municipalities to implement legal and administrative measures to confront COVID-19 (Soares, 2020).

Two dimensions related to those legal measures were analysed for this study. The first considers their distribution during the first few months of the outbreak. We adopted epidemiological weeks as the unit for quantification of legal acts to compare their temporal distribution with those of the other variables analysed in this research.

The second concerns the spatial dimension of the measures. Laws are spatially oriented or have a spatial scope; they focus on places and try to control behaviours at specific locations (Blomley, 2003; Valverde, 2011). We therefore performed a textual analysis of the legal measures to elucidate their spatial logic, including their spatial scope, the places that they targeted and their intended effects on the population’s collective behaviour patterns.

For this article, we considered laws and decrees enacted between 6 February 2020 and the first week of July. The start is the date of the first federal law that defined the “measures that might be adopted in facing the public health emergency of global importance due to the coronavirus” (Federal Law 13.979), and the second marks a month after the first measures of “flexibilisation” were adopted in the municipality of Rio de Janeiro. From a total of 380 legal acts issued by the three levels of government that dealt with the containment of COVID-19, we identified 64 that involved measures related to social isolation and that affected the municipality.

For the analysis of media coverage, we initially conducted a search on Google News using the keyword social
isolation. From those results, we investigated how the media framed the debate, highlighting the places and behaviours that were exhibited in news reports to describe it. According to Entman (1993), a frame delimits a problematic situation, locating occurrences and organising the principles that will be used for its discussion. Our aim, therefore, has been to analyse the statements in the media discourse regarding social isolation to understand the meanings constructed, especially in relation to the scenarios of exposure to the problematic situation.

Media coverage of social isolation has appeared in newspapers and, above all, on online news platforms. In fact, collectively the media remain among the most important agents for broadcasting debates and for framing topics, narratives, and meanings attached to the themes reporters and editors decide to cover. Among them, there is also an acknowledged level of care, intention, and selectivity in choosing what should or should not be discussed in relation to a social problem, such as that involved in the measures adopted to halt the spread of COVID-19.

Based on a survey carried out from February 2020 to the time of writing, which included 273 news reports, we managed to identify 216 instances dealing with social isolation. The quantitative analysis of these reports was organised in a database, in which temporal and spatial dimensions were favoured.

The temporal dimension involved the quantification of news reports in online media, according to epidemiological weeks. We then sought to ascertain whether there was a temporal correlation between the enactment of legal measures and the statements produced by the media to frame the public problem of social isolation. Regarding the spatial dimension, we identified the categories that were used by the media to describe the effects and responses to the legal measures and we also mapped those descriptions according to the spatial units employed by the media to geographically qualify them.

From the set of reports gathered from online media, it became apparent that various formats and styles of image were used including maps, graphs and timelines and, of them all, photography and photomontages stood out as visual forms and devices most often used in media debates about social isolation during COVID. After selecting the photographs, we analysed them based on the visual methodology developed by Gomes (2013) to identify the scenarios that they depict. This scenario analysis methodology enables researchers to identify the places represented in an image and the ways in which those places are depicted; the behaviours exhibited by the social actors who are present; and the meanings assigned to the relation between places and behaviours. At time of writing, we had processed 400 images related...
to the scenarios presented by the media to frame the public problem of social isolation in relation to legal measures.

4 | RESULTS

Between February and July 2020, more legal measures to ensure social isolation were enacted at the municipal level (34/64) than at state (22/64) and federal (8/64) levels, and across all governmental levels (59/64), there was a predominance of measures enacted by executive power. We also noted an increase in the enactment of legal measures in March and a tendency towards stabilisation from May, with growing emphasis on the role of municipal executive power (Figure 2).

As for the types of measures, throughout March, legal acts that would define and situate measures that would later be adopted by different levels of government were enacted. Among those acts, we highlight those that define the characteristics of measures aimed at fighting COVID-19, such as isolation and quarantine, and those that declare public health emergencies and public calamities relevant to respective jurisdictions of the federative entities (Figure 3). Data show a coordination across government levels, both in temporal terms (enactment dates) and in terms of the content and vocabulary employed. For instance, measures enacted by all three levels of government between February and March 2020 adopted the same definitions of isolation and quarantine contained in the International Health Regulation, agreed at the WHO 58th General Assembly on 23 May 2005. According to that regulation, isolation means the “separation of ill or contaminated persons or affected baggage, containers, conveyances, goods or postal parcels from others in such a manner as to prevent the spread of infection or contamination.” According to the same regulation, quarantine means the “restriction of activities and/or separation from others of suspect persons who are not ill or of suspect baggage, containers, conveyances or goods in such a manner as to prevent the possible spread of infection or contamination” (WHO, 2005).

Emergency and public calamity decrees are especially important legal acts in this context, insofar as they install spatial-temporal situations of exceptionality, bestowing on public agencies, and particularly the executive branch, the authority to temporarily suspend certain basic public rights, such as freedom of movement and association. From March 2020, the federal government began to adopt guidelines for the so-called flexibilisation of normative acts, while, at state and municipal levels, measures to reopen previously suspended or restricted activities began in June that year (Figure 3).

Data also show important differences regarding the substantive content of normative acts issued by different levels of government. The federal executive branch

---

FIGURE 3 Timeline of normative acts for social isolation in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, February–July 2020
prioritised editing decrees and ordinances aimed at establishing restrictions on entry by foreigners into the national territory (through frontier control posts, ports, and/or airports). Federal executive power also defined “essential activities and public services,” which, according to Federal Decree 10.282, of 20 March 2020, are “indispensable in attending to the community’s unpostponable needs,” and whose exercise and functioning should be preserved during the public health emergency. This latter decree was altered five times during the period of analysis and, in May 2020, included 57 modalities of public service and activities considered essential (including religious activities, lottery houses, beauty parlours, barbershops, and gyms).

The main normative instrument enacted by the executive state power in Rio de Janeiro was a decree that “deals with the measures for confronting the propagation of the novel coronavirus (COVID-19), in consequence of the health emergency situation.” That instrument was altered 13 times between 13 March and 6 July 2020. The focus of the social isolation measures contained in that instrument are the suspension of activities, such as events, classes, cinemas, theatres, tourist venues, and beach-going, among others, and restrictions to business operations for bars, restaurants, malls and gyms, among others. The measures also covered the temporary suspension of interstate and intermunicipal passenger transportation, the latter focusing on metropolitan regions. Since 19 July 2020, the same decree has been altered to authorise, selectively, how business activities and establishments could reopen, practice, and function, and to define the rules for the internal reorganisation of such spaces and the physical distancing behaviours expected of users, including mandatory use of masks.

The municipal executive power, in turn, established measures to fight COVID-19 by means of the decree 47,282 from 21 March 2020, which was amended 20 times until 26 June 2020. Among the rules concerning social isolation, we highlight changes in functions of public streets and the suspension of work at municipal public schools and activities at places that host leisure and cultural activities.

In May 2020, an additional municipal decree restricted the movement of vehicles and people in commercial centres in the city’s neighbourhoods, suspended the operation of commercial activities in the favelas—except for the food trade, and established new restrictions for access to the beachfront. In early June 2020, the municipal government published a “plan to resume activities,” in which phases were outlined to reopen both commercial establishments, according to different economic sectors, and selected public spaces, including the beachfront (Valentin et al., 2020).

In terms of media coverage, data gathered from online news sources show an uneven distribution of the number of news reports on the effects and responses to

**FIGURE 4** Media reports on the effects of legal measures on the population. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, March–June 2020
legal measures throughout the period. The largest peaks were observed during weeks when new measures were enacted. Reports of people’s behaviours of noncompliance with social isolation regulations, which make up 65% of the total records, were more intense in May and June 2020, when the municipal government announced the plan (Figure 4).

In approximately 30% of all reports, there was at least one mention of specific neighbourhoods. A significant number describe effects of and responses to legal measures in the beachfront neighbourhoods of Rio de Janeiro, mainly Copacabana (cited 26 times), Barra da Tijuca (20), and Ipanema (19). Also, despite initial warnings about how coronavirus would rapidly spread in favelas, only a few reports mentioned Cidade de Deus (7), Maré (6) and Complexo do Alemão (3) (Figure 5).

Although administrative units function as guides for organising the content of news reports, other expressions and categories were employed to locate or establish distinctions within them. The geographical patterns we identified in media reports also stood out in the 400 images collected for the study. Again, neighbourhoods such as Copacabana, Ipanema, Leblon, and Barra da Tijuca were significant for observing the effects of and reactions to social isolation measures (Figure 6). Their centrality is related to how a beachfront emergency or calamity scenario involving failures to socially isolate was constructed as a public problem. Downtown and the West zone were identified in images of commercial areas and public transport, albeit less often. Favelas and working-class suburbs appeared less and are poorly represented in media discourses and images of clandestine parties or of criminal agents refusing to adhere to legal measures (Figure 7).

To express the representativeness of each type of image published in the media, a tree map graph was created that quantifies the records by the types of places depicted in them. Through qualitative analysis of the image content, we sorted out seven types of locations: (1) beachfront and seaside (160/400); (2) street vending (80/400); (3) commercial and shopping centres (65/400); (4) public transport (26/400); (5) bars and restaurants (19/400); (6) cemeteries (10/400); and (7) favelas (5/400).

**FIGURE 5** Media reports on the effects of legal measures on the population by neighbourhood. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, March–June 2020
Thirty-five images were excluded because they did not reach 1% of the total. The colour pattern of the graph has been replaced by exemplary images representing each category.

Content analysis of the images shows that beaches are presented by the media as a scenario for the discussion of social behaviours during the pandemic. Street commercial areas and shopping centres constitute scenarios for discussion about the effects of the pandemic on the economy, highlighting problems of bankruptcy and unemployment. Less frequent, images of bars and restaurants act as a counterpoint to images of cemeteries and workers in public transport during the first wave of the pandemic.

5 | DISCUSSION

When analysing the content of the legal measures that affected the municipality of Rio de Janeiro, it became apparent that no compulsory confinement measures were implemented in relation to domestic spaces, neighbourhoods, or stipulated areas. On the contrary, the underlying logic of social isolation measures was to directly and indirectly affect individual and collective behaviour. According to Valverde (2005), this logic corresponds to what distinguishes municipal from other forms of regulation. Also according to Valverde, the role of municipal authorities consists, above all, in regulating activities and people by exercising control over access to and use of selected areas or places. In other words, it is a type of regulation that targets public spaces to act on, influence and shape people’s behaviours.

We also suggest that legal measures for social isolation in Rio de Janeiro followed a logic underlying Christaller’s (1933) central-place theory. For instance, the selection of activities that comprised the list of services deemed essential meant that the government was able to reorganise people’s mobility patterns in the city, mainly in the first few months of the pandemic, by deactivating the central functions of particular streets or entire areas.

At the same time, the effectiveness of legal measures depended on how visible and comprehensible they have

---

**FIGURE 6** Images published in online media related to social isolation measures. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, March–June 2020

Authors: Beatriz Dettmann, Patrícia Araújo and Rafael Gomes
Support: Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ); CNPQ and FAPERJ
Cartographic databases: IBGE and Data Rio
Source: Newspapers (O Globo and Extra)
been (Machado & Parente-Ribeiro, 2019). Therefore, they also targeted highly visible location—mainly public spaces and particularly the beachfront—as a testing ground for public policies intended for the whole city. In fact, while the municipal government manages public health services as a system of administrative regions, the measures adopted to contain the coronavirus contagion focused on specific areas, sometimes as generic as squares, parks, beaches, and street commercial areas.

When reporting the effects of government measures aimed at social isolation and the reactions of the population to them, the media systematically employed several geographical categories that substantially and consistently influenced and even organised social imaginaries of and daily life in the city. Those categories were the same as those targeted by the legal measures.

The media framed the public problem of social isolation by focusing its reports on citizens’ behaviours in relation to legal measures. Accompanying images showed transgressive behaviour by portraying how people disrespected those legal measures for social isolation. Photomontages juxtaposing crowded and empty spaces were employed to highlight the dichotomy between compliance and transgression in places with clear symbolic significance for the population that strongly convey the visibility of the populations’ behaviours and actions.

Overall, then, media coverage was highly supportive of social isolation measures, and reporters and editors selected exemplary cases to demonstrate the effects of such measures on the daily life in the city using two complementary narratives. The first sought to denounce possible transgressions against the measures using scenes of public demonstrations and exposing acts of disrespect or noncompliance with the guidelines. By highlighting the effects of social isolation measures on the city’s landscape, the second showed closed, empty places and people’s adherence to measures to enforce social isolation.

Returning to the terms used by Gusfield (1981), the images we have considered clearly helped to build a moral drama between protagonists and transgressors in
scenarios in iconic public places for the dramatisation of acts that show compliance and its opposite. Those scenarios are understood here as places of public exposition of a social problem.

6 | CONCLUSION

Our initial analyses of the construction of the public problem of social isolation in Rio de Janeiro show that a rich geographical vocabulary was employed by the authorities, the media, and the general public. The legal measures adopted across governments sought to change daily patterns of movement, mobility, and sociability by directly intervening in the dynamics of central urban functions as well as in the access to and use of public spaces.

The media also framed the public problem of social isolation according to a geographical imaginary deeply intertwined with iconic public spaces such as beaches and street commercial areas, and it has played a significant role in social life during COVID. Media reports have used such places, and narratives and images about them, to express the public’s agreement or disagreement with legal measures to contain the spread of the virus.

It is not by chance that public spaces are at the core of the debate about whether or not to comply with legal measures aimed at promoting social isolation. They are privileged places where social issues become visible, and thus, come to be public problems. They act as arenas to discuss, enforce, and resist legal measures; they are scenarios for public interventions and demonstrations; and they are spaces in which to (re)imagine our cities as the material expression of complex relationships between the public and the law.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank the members of Territorio e Cidadania research group that assisted in the collection of the data used in this study. We would also like to thank the Foundation for Research Support of the State of Rio de Janeiro (FAPERJ) and the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq) for funding the research. We also thank the two anonymous reviewers whose comments helped improve and clarify this manuscript.

ORCID

Marcos Paulo Ferreira de Góis https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3197-1566
Leticia Parente-Ribeiro https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1185-4517

Paulo Cesar da Costa Gomes https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8354-4991
Rafael Augusto Andrade Gomes https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3971-5121
Thomaz Menezes Leite https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8850-9191
Leonardo José Iorio https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4088-6120
Gabriela Leles Amaral https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0277-5972
Igor Ribeiro da Silva Campos https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1760-3548
Beatriz Brum Domingues Dettmann https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8555-8190
Lohanne Fernanda Gonçalves Ferreira https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0425-8060
Patricia Luana Costa Araújo https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0606-4887

REFERENCES

Alves, D., Barbosa, M., Caffarena, E., & Silva, A. (2016). Caracterização do envelhecimento populacional no município do Rio de Janeiro: Contribuições para políticas públicas sustentáveis. Cadernos de Saúde Coletiva, 24(1), 63–69. https://doi.org/10.1590/1414-462X201600010272
Blomley, N. (2003). From “what?” to “so what?”: Law and geography in retrospect. In J. Holder & C. Harrison (Eds.), Law and geography, current legal issues (Vol. 5). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Candido, D. S., Claro, I. M., de Jesus, J. G., Souza, W. M., Moreira, F. R. R., Dellicour, S., Mellan, T. A., du Plessis, L., Pereira, R. H. M., Sales, F. C. S., Manuli, E. R., Thézé, J., Almeida, L., Menezes, M. T., Voloch, C. M., Fumagalli, M. J., Coletti, T. M., da Silva, C. A. M., Ramundo, M. S., ... Faria, N. R. (2020). Evolution and epidemic spread of SARS-CoV-2 in Brazil. Science, 369(6508), 1255–1260. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.abd2161
Christaller, W. (1933). Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland: Eine ökonomisch-geographische Untersuchung über die Gesetzmäßigkeit der Verbreitung und Entwicklung der Siedlungen mit städtischen Funktionen (1st ed.). Jena: Gustav Fischer.
Cyberlabs. (2021). Evolução diária do isolamento social na cidade do Rio de Janeiro. Cyberlabs. https://blog.cyberlabs.ai
Entman, R. M. (1993, December). Framing: Toward a clarification of a fractured paradigm. Journal of Communication, 43(4), 51–58. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x
Gomes, P. C. C. (2013). O lugar do olhar: Elementos para uma geografia da visibilidade [The place of the gaze: Elements for a geography of visibility]. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil.
Gusfield, J. (1981). The culture of public problems: Drinking-driving and the symbolic order. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Kucharski, A., Russel, T., Diamond, C., Liu, Y., Edmunds, J., & Funk, S. (2020). Early dynamics of transmission and control of COVID-19: A mathematical modelling study. The Lancet: Infectious Diseases, 20(5), 553–558. https://doi.org/10.1016/S1473-3099(20)30144-4
Li, Y., & Dai, Z. (2020). Analysis of geographically anomalous 2019 novel coronavirus transmission in China. *Journal of Geographic Information System, 12*(1), 96–111. https://doi.org/10.4236/jgis.2020.122006

Machado, A. B., & Parente-Ribeiro, L. (2019). Indagando os “modos de ver” da política urbana: O problema público do crescimento urbano na cidade do Rio de Janeiro. *GEOgraphia, 21*(46), 32–47. https://doi.org/10.22409/geographia2019.v21i46.a28590

Marino, A., Klintowitz, D., Brito, G., Rohnik, R., Santoro, P., & Mendonça, P. (2020). Circulação para trabalho explica concentração de casos de COVID-19. Labcidade. https://polis.org.br/noticias/circulacao-para-trabalho-inclusive-servicos-essenciais-explica-concentracao-de-casos-de-covid-19

Ministério da Saúde. (2020). Painel de monitoramento COVID-19. Plataforma IVIS. http://plataforma.saude.gov.br/coronavirus/covid-19/

Shigemura, J., Ursano, R., Morganstein, J., Kurosawa, M., & Benedek, D. (2020). Public responses to the novel 2019 coronavirus (2019-nCoV) in Japan: Mental health consequences and target populations. *Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences, 74*(4), 281–282. https://doi.org/10.1111/pcn.12988

Soares, E. (2020). Brazil: Federal Supreme Court confirms concurrent powers of federal government, states, federal district, and municipalities to fight COVID-19. Global Legal Monitor/Library of Congress Law. https://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/brazil-federal-supreme-court-confirms-concurrent-powers-of-federal-government-states-federal-district-and-municipalities-to-fight-covid-19/

Valentin, J. L., Prudente, J. V., Parente-Ribeiro, L., & Lins-de-Barros, F. (2020). Effects and challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic on the beach economy: The case of the tents business in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. *Revista Costas, 2*(2), 263–286. https://doi.org/10.26359/costas.2102

Valverde, M. (2005). Taking ‘land use’ seriously: Toward an ontology of municipal law. *Law Text Culture, 9*, 34–59. https://ro.uow.edu.au/ltc/vol9/iss1/3

Valverde, M. (2011). Seeing like a city: The dialectic of modern and premodern ways of seeing in urban governance. *Law and Society Review, 45*(2), 277–312. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5893.2011.00441.x

World Health Organization. (2005). *International health regulations* (2nd ed.). WHO Press.