The idea of a “new normal” has become a common discursive trope within the United States, the direct result of the COVID-19 pandemic (see Figure 1). What “new normal” denotes is dependent upon users’ cultural contexts, but what it connotes is a widespread belief that humanity is living through a historic moment – one in which life will not be the same afterwards. In invoking this language, often folks are referring to larger structural transformations, such as economic or political shifts, but, just as often, they are referring to the ways in which they live their day-to-day lives.

While there are many ways to understand this “new normal” – both as a lived experience and as a way of framing this experience – oral history is among the most powerful methods for documenting this change. In spring 2020, as the COVID-19 pandemic spread throughout the world, oral historians, public historians, and curators across the globe responded by creating and participating in oral history projects. 1 The information that they have collected, and continue to collect, provides valuable insights into how COVID-19 has transformed our daily lives.

In March 2020, as the director of the Arts & Humanities Institute at Indiana University – Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI), I worked with a team of researchers to develop the COVID-19
Oral History Project (C19OH) to document and archive the lived experience of the COVID-19 epidemic. Just a couple weeks earlier, it had become clear that our university was moving all of its courses online after spring break. I had been teaching Digital Public History, an introduction to digital humanities for our graduate students. The focus of the second half of the course was on a project that I had developed with students in previous years, A Frankenstein Atlas, a literary atlas and historical geographic information system (HGIS) project. In previous semesters, I had included oral history as a component of this course, but this semester I had swapped it out to focus more teaching time on HGIS.

With the rapid spread of COVID-19 in the United States, I knew we were entering a historic moment, and it seemed to me that my pedagogy should reflect it—especially considering this was a graduate-level course on public history. As a teacher, though, I had reservations about imposing an entirely new curricular focus halfway through the semester, a near universal challenge for educators in spring 2020 (see Lee and Springer’s essay, also in this section, for more reflections on that process). So I reached out to my students and asked them if they wanted to continue the course as outlined in the syllabus, or if they might be interested in switching the course to an oral history project. The answer was unanimous: they wanted to pursue work that responded to the pandemic.

When my students and I started the project together, we didn’t all realize the implications of our choice. Of course, we understood the importance of creating an archive that helped to preserve the lived experience of the COVID-19 pandemic, but what we didn’t realize was how important it would become for those of us involved in the project. Students found that this work was a way to stay grounded even as they lived through the stresses and strains of self-isolation and the new world of online education. In our final meeting of the semester, they noted the importance to them in connecting their academic work to the world beyond. Several stated that they could never have concentrated on their coursework if we had not linked it to the pandemic. The new curriculum took on relevance and value to each of us even as it preserved the goals of the course—i.e., to introduce students to the theory and practice of digital humanities in the public context. In effect, the work of oral history connected students’ day-to-day lives to their work as public historians-in-training. In grounding us in the moment, our scholarship reflected what other oral historians of crises have observed in their own work. While narrating stories often provides people with a useful framework for working through the traumas and disruptions of crisis, participating in dialog with interviewees also transforms the interviewer. In our course, this intersubjectivity meant that scholarly engagement became a social practice that provided at least a few of the student researchers a semblance of agency and a connection with others during a time of crisis.
Methods and Project Development

C19OH is inspired by the “rapid response collecting” approach that has been used in the public history and museum context for decades – primarily as a way to collect the stories, material culture, digital creations, and ephemera of historical events. Professional organizations and institutions have increasingly recognized the importance of developing rapid response collections and policies to guide their work. In February 2018, The Public Historian published a series of essays that highlighted the importance of rapid response collecting in its “Roundtable: Responding Rapidly to Our Communities.” And the Victoria and Albert Museum has even devoted a portion of its galleries to rapid response collecting.

While much rapid response collecting tends to focus on material culture, anthropologists have demonstrated the value of rapid response ethnography in times of crisis. For example, anthropologists released the “Ebola Response Anthropology Platform” in October 2014 as a way to work with clinicians to create more effective responses to outbreaks. Likewise, oral history practitioners have long conducted interviews during moments of crisis. Among the most notable of these projects was The September 11, 2001 Oral History Narrative and Memory Project, based at the Columbia University Oral History Research Office under the direction of Mary Marshall Clark and Peter Bearman. The work of this project was, in part, the impetus behind the Oral History Association establishing a fund for pursuing oral history in the context of emerging crises in 2005. A more recent example of this type of oral history work is Liz Skilton’s Recent Louisiana Disasters Oral History Project, which responds to gun violence and climate change disasters.

In the first phase of our project (2020–2023), we are focused on building out the archive. This consists of two elements. First, the archive will create a collection of narratives from hundreds of individuals in order to represent the broadest range of experiences possible. To achieve this aim, we are developing a series of training modules for professional researchers, students, and the general public who wish to participate in collecting. Second, the project will identify a core group of individuals whom we can revisit and with whom we can create a longitudinal data set of experiences that demonstrate experiential change over time.

When we first began conceiving of this work, our plan was to use both our campus library and GitHub as repositories, housing the administration of the project at the IUPUI Arts and Humanities Institute. However, in the process of reaching out to potential partners, we connected with The Journal of the Plague Year: A Covid-19 Archive (JOTPY), which is directed by Mark Tebeau at Arizona State University (ASU). JOTPY’s purview was broader than C19OH in that it collected images, audio histories, videos, flyers, memeo, and more. Both projects had similar intentions – to work with an extensive network of scholars and citizen archivists in the best traditions of shared authority, to serve as collaborative hubs, and to make our work as
widely available to scholars and the public as possible. JOTPY had already done an impressive job of developing a network of archivists and scholars, and, recognizing the value of mutually supporting a larger collecting effort, we agreed to merge our resources so that C19OH would curate the oral history components of JOTPY.

Weeks later, in May 2020, the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media at George Mason University agreed to provide the IT infrastructure for JOTPY, moving the entire archive to an Omeka-S build on their servers. ASU continues to serve as the administrative hub for JOTPY, linking curatorial teams across the country that collect in collaboration with each other. In addition to uploading all of its oral histories to JOTPY, C19OH curates all oral histories submitted to JOTPY (including those not collected by C19OH). This has included developing the metadata schema and public interface for oral history within JOTPY as well as aligning its grant-writing and organizational framework with the overall collective vision of administrators and curatorial teams associated with JOTPY.

Working with other oral historians involved in the JOTPY and C19OH projects, including Victoria Cain, Claire Tratnyek, Rebecca Wingo, and Jim McGrath, we began discussing the need for oral history training materials that could be used in the classroom and beyond. We recognized the potential of C19OH to co-create the archive not only with professional researchers and students but with broader publics as well. Inspired by a range of historical examples and scholars such as the History Workshop Movement and the writings of Paulo Freire, we are developing educational materials on the methods, ethics, and values of oral history so that community members can participate as citizen archivists. Among these materials is an open source oral history training library that will have modules targeted to different experience levels. There will be a short onboarding module for those with experience in oral history or ethnography. There will be modules targeted towards undergraduate and graduate level training, including advanced modules on research ethics and best practices as well as modules focused on working with vulnerable populations and indigenous communities. Eventually, there will be modules for K-12 teachers who might want to use oral histories in their classrooms and a module for individuals not affiliated with an educational institution but who want to participate as citizen archivists. These asynchronous modules are being developed with subject matter specialists and refined with community partners and will be available as open access modules in Canvas for the Fall 2020 semester.

The second stage of the project will begin in 2023. Assuming that projected timelines for the creation of a vaccine, treatments, and testing on a global scale are roughly accurate, the immediate public health crisis will be over. However, the effects of SARS-CoV-2 are much more than a public health crisis. Taking cues from new materialist anthropologies, environmental sociologists, and historians of the environment, the C19OH project is conceptualizing COVID-19 as more than a virus – a biophysical thing in the environment. COVID-19 is entangled in human
sociocultural systems. It was able to emerge as a global agent in human society because of the specific economic, political, and technological conditions of late modernity. Through this emergence, it has transformed these conditions. It has reshaped cultural norms, socioeconomic systems, and political power across the planet. Understanding COVID-19 from a historical point of view means seeing it as more than a virus. It entails understanding COVID-19 as a biophysical-sociocultural complex – one in which the entwined dynamics of nature and culture require a broadened analytical framework in which studying the longer term transformation of human systems are central to understanding COVID-19 as historical agent and event. From the point of view of C19OH, this means that an oral history of the pandemic requires researchers to collect oral histories well after political leaders declare the end of the pandemic. The transformed conditions of everyday life are, in fact, part and parcel of the pandemic itself.

Using this framework, we are working from the position that the second stage of the project will extend through 2030. Over this period, we intend to continue to build the archive with stories from new and returning contributors. With the continued focus on a diverse, equitable, and inclusive archive, our expectation is that analysis of the archive will generate valuable critical narratives about disparities in our economic and public health systems, in our social support systems, and in our political institutions. Likewise, we expect that the archive will offer social histories of community resilience, reform, and radicalism. By creating an archive focused on socioeconomic, cultural, and political experiences over the next decade, we are optimistic that it will provide valuable insights into the larger structural day-to-day inequities in the modern world – offering up a history that has a role to play in critiquing dominant narratives.

**Toward an Ethics of Practice**

As we have moved through the early months of the project, we have encountered multiple complex questions with which we have had to reckon. These questions concern the purpose of archiving itself, how research practices transform the archive, and for whom the archive exists. Why are we collecting, and how can we balance the impulse to archive with the very real trauma that interviewees have experienced and are experiencing? How can we ensure that our research practices are not perpetuating archival silences? How can our research actively work against historically constituted structures of power in the process of archiving? How can we make sense of our data in ways that are inclusive and also adapt our collection practices to better account for inclusivity in our data? And finally, how can we allow for equitable access to our materials? At the core of these questions are concerns deeply rooted in ethical perspectives that draw from professional standards and codes of practice but which often require context-specific responses, worked out with interviewees and negotiated through regular conversations among project leaders and research team members. As a consequence, our research is also an ongoing exercise in applied ethics, responsive to the constantly changing nature of the
pandemic as well as the ways in which people experience it differently given their life experiences and social contexts.

We began the COVID-19 Oral History Project grounded in the belief that it is the responsibility of historians to witness and record during moments of historic transformation. Not only does the work serve future generations, it can play an important role in helping communities as they attempt to comprehend, converse, narrate, and create memory about individual and collective trauma. Mary Marshall Clark’s scholarship at the Center for Oral History at Columbia University, for example, has demonstrated the many ways that thoughtfully conceived and executed rapid response oral histories can serve the communities with which we work.

Working as historians during moments of crisis – when so many lives are at risk and so many people are living with so much insecurity and potential loss – amplifies the importance of historical work. In these moments, the responsibility to witness and record is a participatory action that has the potential to serve our communities in social, cultural, political, and emotional ways – both in the short and long terms. The stories that historians collect during an unfolding crisis captures the dynamism and turmoil of the moment. Acts of telling and retelling help people make sense of their lived experiences. As individuals begin to share their experiences with each other, they take the transitory and liminal and begin to make meaning and construct narratives. 13

But it is in moments such as these when our professional and ethical standards are particularly important. Every interview requires a different set of actions premised on our ethical frameworks. Working in a moment of crisis reminds us that each person we interview is an individual – with different experiences, emotional responses, beliefs, social positions, etc. Working with an individual who has lost a family member requires deep empathy and care. Those working with undocumented immigrants and workers who fear retribution from their employers have to be especially cautious to protect the identities of interviewees – not just by keeping names anonymous but working with interviewees to ensure that no identifying information finds its way into the public record. Interviewing an individual from a historically marginalized community means recognizing the historical inequities that have been perpetuated by unequal power dynamics – often by exploitative institutions, such as universities, that have focused on extraction rather than mutual benefit.

The American Anthropological Association’s statement of ethics is particularly apropos in the current context. Their first principle – echoed by Jennifer Cramer’s title in this volume – follows that of physicians: “do no harm.” 14 What this means for an oral historian in the midst of this crisis is context dependent, but at the core of practice we have to be particularly focused on the needs of those sharing their stories. It is here that guidance from the Oral History Association is
beneficial. Its statement of ethics positions historians and archivists in a “web of mutual responsibility” to ensure “the narrator’s perspective, dignity, privacy, and safety.”

The oral history archive can demonstrate how this meaning-making changes over time, elucidating this historical process at multiple scales: the individual experience, the community experience, the regional, the national, and even international experience. Likewise, these oral histories can record the “things-that-are-forgotten” – the day-to-day phenomena, observations, and reflections that disappear during the process of memory making. Recording oral histories as events are unfolding helps historicize both the act of memory and the act of forgetting.

Acts of memory and forgetting are embedded in historically constituted structures of power, and archives play significant roles in reproducing and/or challenging these structures. As so many scholars have demonstrated, the archive is a tool of memory, of forgetting, of giving voice, of silencing. Historically, archives have preserved the voices of the powerful and silenced the voices of the vulnerable and the marginalized. Ostensibly working in the interests of objectivity and positivistic research, archival collections more often have formalized narratives that have served the interests of white supremacy, patriarchy, and settler colonialism.

As so many scholars have recognized, working against these historically constituted structures of power is difficult, and we have seen this in C19OH. As of mid-May, there are two primary ways that we have collected C19OH-affiliated oral histories: through classroom projects (at multiple universities in Midwest cities) and through a core team of faculty and graduate student researchers who meet at least weekly via Zoom and communicate regularly over Slack. Both teams have been charged with collecting basic demographic information of their interviewees. With over ninety full-length oral histories completed, we have been able to begin analyzing this data.

In terms of racial and ethnic demographics of interviewees, the data skewed strongly to individuals who are “Non-Hispanic White or Euro-American.” This was particularly true among oral histories initiated by students, who were also largely “Non-Hispanic White or Euro-American.”

While we did not have demographic data about race/ethnicity for all interviewees, the data set we did have suggested that as many as ninety percent of the students’ interviewees were “Non-Hispanic White or Euro-American.” It was clear that there was a flaw in our methodology – at least in the classroom context. The data was not skewed because courses had ignored issues of race/ethnicity. The problem was that classroom discussions did not necessarily translate into practice.
The core team has begun discussing both the reasons for and responses to this experience. Among the reasons has been course design, which had to be done ad hoc in the middle of a semester. Simply put, the requirements of rapidly moving courses online, while transforming syllabi at the same time, meant that there were gaps in the curriculum. Preparing for course-based oral history research in fall 2020 has provided us the opportunity to rethink our approaches and integrate best practices developed in the context of social justice pedagogy. Faculty involved with the project are working together to develop classroom practices that produce outcomes that align more closely with our goals for the project. Among these solutions is an exercise in which students need to identify the silences that their research was producing – at multiple times throughout the semester. Another approach is to build relationships between courses and ongoing community-engaged projects. In this model, students are linked to community organizations, which then help connect students to interviewees. A third approach has students graph their social networks using widely available social network analysis tools. In this self-reflexive exercise, students are required to analyze the ways in which their social networks reflect or do not reflect broader social demographics. We hope that integrating some or all of these reflexive activities into syllabi will help foster consciousness-raising among students and ultimately transform practice.

The situation with the core team of researchers was quite different. As demonstrated in Figure 2, this group’s interviewees come from a wider cross-section of society. This chart does not represent all of the interviews. The small number signifies a challenge in collecting demographic data in international research. For example, among the interviewees not included in the graph, eight came from Costa Rica. Carmen Coury, an assistant professor in history at Southern Connecticut State University who conducted these interviews, has noted that concepts of racial and ethnic identity are particularly fraught in the context of Costa Rica, making discussions with interviewees about their own racial and ethnic identity problematic. Moreover, since concepts of ethnic and racial identity vary from place to place, the demographic categories that we have used for the United States – and have served as our base categories – are not always useful in other contexts. While the research team is collecting demographic data as a tool to better understand the archive we are creating, we are also working on better methods of collecting demographic data that serve the needs of researchers and scholars.

Concurrent with our efforts to build an archive and design research practices that result in a database representative of the many experiences of COVID-19, we have also been focused on making sure that the archive is widely available. When C19OH was established, we started from the premise that open access and open source are an inherent good – a position that accords with the OHA’s principles of stewardship – i.e., providing “equitable access to the final interview.” Particularly encouraged by the work of Jack Dougherty and Candace Simpson, we hoped that all interviews would be open source and open access with a Creative Commons
Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License. This would ensure that interviewees retained copyright but would allow users of the archive to reproduce and use the interviews in non-commercial projects. But, of course, not all oral histories can have this license – or should have this license. In this age of misinformation and memes, there are individuals who would take these materials and use them to do harm – perhaps remixing or misrepresenting them. Likewise, remembering that oral history research cannot be removed from the historical structures in which it exists, a “share alike” approach to the life stories and community narratives of individuals from groups who have experienced the extractive and exploitative histories and legacies of settler colonialism, enslavement, and white supremacy should not be the default. Because of this, we redesigned the forms to include a broader range of licenses (from a selection of Creative Commons licenses to a more narrow custom license that grants reproduction rights only to C19OH), all of which still ensure that copyright remains with the interviewee.

In sum, it is in response to the scholarship of activists and theorists of critical race studies, decolonization, feminism, and queer studies that the C19OH core research team and its advisory board continue to focus and refine our efforts on diversity, equity, and inclusion – collaborating with communities of color, LGBTQI+ communities, immigrant communities, and indigenous communities so that these narratives are substantively represented in the archives. This work entails drawing on our preexisting relationships with community partners to co-create project designs that speak to a broad range of concerns. It also means that we are developing guidance for educators who wish to integrate oral histories of COVID-19 into their curricula, and that all current grant writing for C19OH focuses specifically on funding sub-projects to facilitate work with historically marginalized communities.

The “New Normal”

Over the first six weeks of the project, the C19OH research team created over ninety oral histories that offer a lens into the lived experience of the pandemic and reflect the complexity of experiences related to the so-called “new normal.” It is not the aim of this essay to synthesize this data, but I offer two examples below to demonstrate the ways in which oral histories are essential records in charting how people both conceptualize and operate in the emerging “new normal.”

A common element in the interviews has been the deep concern of interviewees about the people in their communities – and the ways in which they are engaging with their neighbors. Take, for example, the experience of Jason Boulds, a Walmart worker from a small city in Indiana. Reflecting on the risk of getting sick that he faces in going to work every day, Boulds worried about the way that the pandemic had altered his interactions with others and the steps he needed to take in order to prepare in case he got sick:
I’ve been thinking about it for the last four weeks to the point where I’m afraid to get too close to anyone or touch anybody. Typically when people sneeze or cough, I don’t think nothing of it. But now, I’m noticing on impulse I might look at the person a little differently, wondering if they’re sick with a virus, or if it’s just a dry throat or allergies . . . I know I shouldn’t be reacting that way, but it’s kind of . . . I have to, because of this virus happening . . . that’s why picking up more hours for where I could get ahead of rent and bills just in case I’m out for two or so weeks, that way I know I have nothing to worry about. 21

Despite the danger of his job – even as the lack of a social safety net forces him to take on more hours at work – what emerges from Boulds’s story is a deep empathy for other humans and a worry that the virus is changing the way he sees other people.

Like Boulds, Teboho Klaas, a pastor of an AME congregation outside of Johannesburg, South Africa, has extensive interactions with members of his community. In his interview, Klaas expressed his concerns over the ways in which the virus had altered social life. As a pastor, one of his primary responsibilities is caring for the families of the recently deceased, and he explained how the pandemic had transformed long-standing funerary practices. Not only had the government mandated that burials take place within three days, disrupting a calendar in which most burials took place on weekends, but it limited gatherings to no more than fifty people, all of whom needed to sign a register that would be turned over to officials. These regulations upended cultural practices and social interactions and had unintended economic effects for families.

Once a person dies, one of the things is the home or place of the deceased would be flooded by people showing concern. That’s what would happen under normal circumstances . . . what I saw last week was the family did not allow people to step inside the house. So they kept them inside the yard of the house. They gathered with them there and they spoke there.

And it was shorter visitations than normal. So with people, who just come, stop to express their solidarity with the bereaved, and have to leave. Even as they come in, a register of who stepped into the yard needed to be kept, which is something so unfamiliar with people . . . So, basically throughout that process of three days or so, one of my . . . I needed to be with their family, so that when I depose my affidavit, everything has been agreed between me and the family.

But there are advantages . . . in terms of some shifts that have happened since then. One of the biggest problems in South Africa over time has become, has been, how expensive funerals have become. And so with the shortening of days of mourning before the person is buried or cremated . . . you know before it used to be, there’s been
spending of money around just those days waiting for the day of the funeral and cooking for people making, baking cakes, to receive people, when they come. So, so it became the burden of the bereaved family to cater for people who keep coming in and out. Relatives would come and stay . . . it’s the family that’s responsible to almost give people meals that would include meat, and sometimes choices of meat, chicken. Well, fish is not a very common thing around here in terms of culture. Certainly, we eat, you know, cow meat and chicken would be the most popular. They would have actually slaughtered a cow . . . So what has now happened as a result of the advent of regulations to prevent infections is that families no longer spend as much. They only spend for themselves . . . And on the day, it’s only 50, the regulations basically say, 50 people in a safe place for the funeral until, whether the person is buried or cremated. 50 people. And after that, the rest should dismiss, so only the family would then go back to the house. And, the meals that are prepared would have been prepared by the family, for the family. So in a sense, the cost that accompanied the burial of the deceased, in a sense were reduced, have been reduced. 22

As a pastor during a pandemic, Klaas has a social position that exists at the nexus of state and civil society. Because of this, he can observe the ways in which high-level decision making is playing out on-the-ground, suggesting the potential of oral histories to reveal broader patterns that have policy implications.

These two snippets illustrate some of the ways in which COVID-19 has impacted how people think about themselves in relation to each other, how they interact with each other and participate in our economic worlds, and how regulation and surveillance of disease transform cultural practices. The excerpts, each from the COVID-19 Oral History Project, provide examples of the diverse range of experiences and phenomena that oral history can document – and the value of narrative as a mode for understanding this historic moment.

The “new normal” of COVID-19 is an evolving process to which individuals and communities will continue respond and narrate for years to come. As this process unfolds, our social, cultural, economic, and political systems will continuously transform. The day-to-day experiences of the pandemic will alter as cultural practices, customs, economies, municipal protocols, and supply chains evolve. And the stories individual communities tell about these experiences will transform in accordance with social interactions, shifting ideological frameworks, and personal experiences. Responsive oral histories that document these changing narratives and experiences over time are essential tools in ensuring that the historical record reflects not only broad societal changes but the multi-varied personal experiences of this historic moment.
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Additional information

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Notes


2. Our project emerged at the same time that other Covid-19 archiving projects around the country were being established, including oral history projects at Brown University’s Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research on Women and the NYC Covid-19 Oral History, Narrative and Memory Archive through Columbia University’s INCITE and Oral History Archives.


7. See, for example, the articles in Mark Cave and Stephen M. Sloan’s edited volume, Listening on the Edge: Oral History in the Aftermath of Crisis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).


21. Jason Boulds, interview by Stephen Good and Regan Steimel, April 7, 2020, The Cov19 Oral History Project, IUPUI Arts and Humanities Institute, Indianapolis IN.

22. Teboho Klaas, interview by Shonda Gladden and Emily Leiserson, April 11, 2020, The Covid-19 Oral History Project, IUPUI Arts and Humanities Institute, Indianapolis IN.
Race/Ethnicity of Interviewees in Interviews Collected by Researchers Outside of the Classroom Context (n=11)

Race/Ethnicity of Interviewees in Interviews Collected by Students for Coursework (n=50)