Emergent agency in a time of Covid

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11 Emergent agency in a time of Covid

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Introduction

So-called 'critical junctures' – wars, economic shocks and other emergencies – often play a pivotal and catalytic role in bringing about change. Previous pandemics such as the Black Death or the Spanish Flu have been major political and social tipping points. Could Covid follow suit? This question was the subject of a global research initiative.[1] Although crisis-inspired, the resulting research agenda has long-term value for civil society and organisations keen to understand and strengthen the influencing power of civil society.

The outbreak of a global pandemic was unprecedented in the contemporary era, with government, organisations and businesses needing to adapt repeatedly to challenging and mutating events. Across the world, people have been responding to the pandemic at a local level by acting, organising and learning. Press reports and experiences such as those that found their way to the blog 'From Poverty to Power'[2] showed that huge changes were taking place in the nature of civil society due to their responses to the pandemic.

Most early analysis concentrated on the health impact and state response (or lack of it). What was missing was a more bottom-up look at how individuals, communities and grassroots organisations were responding. What kinds of patterns could be identified in this 'emergent agency'[3] – the responses it triggers among low-income, excluded communities around the world? How can others support and amplify this work? What is its long-term impact – new organisations, new politics, or new options that others can support?

The answers to these questions can help identify important opportunities and rare silver linings from an otherwise catastrophic historic event. They can help us understand how better to support civil society not only through emergencies but also in day-to-day operations. They can give insight into structural

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issues, informing development initiatives and donor practices, and amplifying impact through scaling efforts and influencing, thus setting the future direction for international non-governmental organisations (INGOs), civil society organisations (CSOs), policymakers, and civil society actors aiming to 'build back radically better' from the pandemic.[4]

To answer these questions, the Atlantic Fellows for Social and Economic Equity of the London School of Economics[5] funded the Oxfam research project 'Emergent Agency in a Time of Covid'. The research involved extensive literature review (Nampoothiri and Artuso, 2021), in-country research (the Philippines, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Nigeria), and nine thematic clusters on social movements, women's organisations, faith organisations, education, HIV/aids, children and youth, livelihoods, informality and the state, and peace building. This chapter describes the patterns of emergent agency identified by these efforts. Core themes are discussed, concluding with four research priorities.

Context, forms, pathways

Path dependency and political framing

At the outbreak of the pandemic, most governments in the global North responded by imposing strict lockdowns on movement and travel. But for many parts of the global South such strategies were inadequate or not feasible. Self-isolation, stay at home, sanitise/wash hands were difficult or impossible in high-density communities, including refugee camps and low-income settlements. People with lower incomes, including minorities, women and youth, were hardest hit, mostly due to their reliance on face-to-face and precarious jobs. The restrictions on INGOs meant that support based on external actors or linkages stopped. This immediately shifted reliance to local expertise, with an accompanying shift to local networks, knowledge, leadership and resources.

Civic responses were influenced by national histories of social organisation and self-help, state effectiveness, the nature of the social contract, and what was happening politically, socially and economically as the pandemic struck. An upsurge in Mexico's feminist movement in 2019 morphed rapidly into a Covid-19 online organisation (Alfaro, 2020). In India, Delhi's response was shaped by pre-Covid-19 protests against the Citizen Amendment Act and National Register of Citizens legislation, which were widely perceived as undermining Muslim citizenship. In Nigeria, the End SARS protest over police

Table 11.1   Roles, relationships and forms of agency identified in case studies

Nature of state responses	Forms of civil society interactions	Forms of emergent agency
- Effective - Absent - Kleptocratic - Repressive - Populist	- Spotting gaps but largely secondary to state mechanisms - Self-help delivery - Resisting and replacing state mechanisms	- Direct service delivery (independent, co-opted, or in conjunction with state) - Advocacy to improve state response - Resistance to state attack or theft

brutality that had started in 2017 resurfaced in September 2020 with protest mobilisation via social media.[6]

Path dependence also shaped the evolution of individual forms of collective action. In some places, new initiatives emerged, usually as forms of self- or mutual help; in others, existing CSOs repurposed their work in response to the pandemic, seeking to juggle the competing demands for practical help ('service delivery') and political action/advocacy.

There are, of course, risks in Western researchers seeing the pandemic through Western eyes (as a once-in-a-lifetime health disaster) rather than understanding its relative importance elsewhere, especially in places with higher levels of endemic insecurity. For example, in Somalia, it was widely perceived as only the third most important disaster after drought and locusts (personal communication with Amy Croome, 18 August 2020), and in India, basic poverty-related survival was more urgent. However, by mid-2021, this lower priority was shifting, with more contagious variants of the disease alarmingly accelerating the pandemic in lower-income countries and communities, as rich countries vaccinated their way out of the pandemic and the centre of gravity of the disease moved South, like HIV/AIDS, 20 years earlier.

Much of the civic response was shaped by state actions (Table 11.1). This may have offered additional power and authority, particularly to faith organisations, customary authorities, or women's rights organisations that held relationships of trust with communities to which authorities needed access for Covid-19 responses.

In conflict-affected places, the state is often absent or predatory, with community groups used to being first responders. Covid-19 has reinforced that role. In

many countries, the government's belated response led CSOs to produce and distribute personal protection equipment (PPE) and food.

Forms of civil society response

The diversity of individual and group efforts to respond to Covid-triggered needs has been massive. They varied in scale, origin, and purpose, tactics and repertoires. As needs and opportunities shifted, efforts pivoted and snowballed. The levels and scales at which civil society responded ranged from one-on-one practical support to global advocacy. Individually, mutual aid groups sprang up across the globe in urban neighbourhoods, villages and refugee camps. Elsewhere pre-existing groups ramped up their work, including providing additional support to widows, migrant workers and those at risk of domestic violence. National and global alliances were a common form of scaling, given the range and reach of efforts needed.

Emergent and adaptive

While some responses were novel, others were rooted in existing organisations or groups. The more 'emergent' responses have occurred where previous efforts were non-existent or inadequate, with a void left by the state/government. Many responses, however, came from existing groups that pivoted away from advocacy or scaled up their work to cover growing needs.

Social movements are a major form of emergent popular agency.[7] In principle, social movements are distinguished from other kinds of emergent agency in that they are conflictual, normally representing a conflict with the state, corporations or dominant groups. This can create particular difficulties in the relationship with some donors, states and INGOs. Emergent social movements are a fluid form, however, and in some cases may be met with engagement, concessions, or co-option by the state, or may institutionalise themselves into NGOs, charities or other forms. These complexities were heightened during the pandemic, which was consistently marked by restrictions on people coming together in informal ways and disruption to 'normal' social movement activities. Pleyers (2020) noted that social movements focused around five roles that we also saw in the Emergent Agency cases, namely: public protests (where feasible); defending workers' rights; mutual aid and solidarity; monitoring policymakers and popular education.

Purposes

Most responses were initially focused on *meeting practical survival needs*. With the loss of normal sources of income, food, healthcare, and education, finding alternative channels of service delivery became urgent. Food drives were organised in Kibera (Kenya) by a new network of activists.[8] Low-income, urban women became central to food delivery in the Philippines, providing them with both income and nourishment (Dionisio and Palanca, 2020). Local healthcare delivery needed alternatives when normal access to medication, PPE or qualified healthcare became impossible. In Somaliland, Siraad, a feminist collective, stepped in to reduce elite capture of supplies by hand delivering PPE to local women (Abidiaziz, 2021).

Providing safety and emotional support emerged as a second purpose. Increases in domestic violence were widely reported, with women trapped in confined physical spaces for extended periods with men venting pent-up frustrations on family members (Harvey, 2021). Feminist activist collectives used social media to create support networks for victims of domestic violence. In Mexico, Las del Aquelarre Feminista, an existing feminist collective, opened an emotional support phone line for victims of domestic violence, with pro bono professional therapists and secret codes for those unable to contact 911 directly (Alfaro, 2020). In China, a new feminist activist WeChat support group (Bao, 2020) created an anti-domestic violence campaign with the Rural Women Development Foundation that garnered the support of several thousand people in just a few hours (Bao, 2020).

Countering misinformation about the virus spawned media-related responses. For example, the Siraad Initiative in Somaliland realised the effects of misinformation and saw how quickly fake news spread (Abidiaziz, 2021). Many Somalilanders, including women working in the market places that the Siraad Initiative was targeting, thought the pandemic was a simple flu. People ignored Covid-19 regulations, so the initiative worked to eradicate misconceptions. The control of digital spaces became an arena for young digital activists. To curb misinformation and quell panic in South Africa, two recent graduates of the University of Cape Town established the Coronapp, a tool to centralise pandemic-related information (Bernardo, 2020).

As government responses to Covid-19 started to target civic space, responses started to include *protest* and *advocacy*. In the DRC, opportunistic police sometimes found themselves violently expelled by largely spontaneous citizen action. The violent imposition of lockdown rules by Uganda's 'Local Defence Units' triggered widespread criticism and resistance (Green and Kirk, 2020).

In Jos, Nigeria, crowds stormed government warehouses where food and other Covid supplies were held without distribution.[9]

Four types of advocacy efforts can be identified. Two types were in response to the centralisation and militarisation of pandemic responses, which led to violence and human rights violations. Some responses focused on *defending rights*, with some cases producing relatively quick 'wins' including the dropping of coercive legislative proposals in Bolivia (CIVICUS, 2020b). Advocacy responses elsewhere aimed to *hold the state to account*, for example through investigations of police violence (Kenya) (CIVICUS, 2020b). A third kind of advocacy focused on a more *structural response* to meet practical needs, such as policy change to improve digital access in low-income settlements or to deal with the explosion of domestic violence. Finally, there was *normative advocacy* to change social views, notably on gender-based violence.

Digital access, of course, became crucial for many aspects of life during the pandemic, the need for which has itself spawned new responses. Fundraising became digital for efforts such as the Kibera food drive (see above), as for organising of protests. Not only was digital a means for advocacy, but it also became its focus. For example, social movements in Argentina began to advocate for better connectivity, with a bill presented to Congress to guarantee free internet access in low-income settlements.

The need to strategise differently around civil society responses generated further initiatives, including creating opportunities to regroup and build new capacities. Specific training emerged in technical areas, including the use of online tech, IT security and social media, as well as the practicalities of scaling up organising, creative actions, internal democracy and diversity, or seeking funding or legal advice. South Asia Women's Foundation in India pivoted from its default of face-to-face reflections, strategising and mobilising to working entirely online.[10] This was not without its pitfalls. For example, in Mumbai, huge pockets of the population had no access to cell phones. It took the Foundation time to replace service delivery and engagement with virtual means.

Repertoires and tactics

Responses took many forms. Typical repertoires included coalition-building, online activism, symbolic events and 'happenings', street protest, and documentation, for example, of social need as an advocacy tool with state providers. More practical approaches included disseminating hand washing instructions and countering misinformation about how the virus is (not) spread.

Some forms of agency, including protest, were cultural. The lyrics of popular songs were changed to protest-related content or practical instruction. In Mozambique, the popular band GranMah released 'Esta nas tuas Mãos' ('it's in your hands'), a video with advice on handwashing techniques and alternatives to handshakes.[11] Documentaries were created, books and special issues written, interviews given, and YouTube videos posted.

Expansion and innovation

Hallmarks of the response were more (entrepreneurial) creativity, creative collective non-violent responses, and a step change in digital organising.

Entrepreneurial creativity was much needed and started early on. Across the 24 states of India a little over 65,000 rural women, part of around 15,000 self-help groups, produced over 20 million masks by 12 April (*Economic Times*, 2020). These groups were spread across the length and breadth of the country, so this decentralised production model created easier logistics for delivery to local hospitals and customers (Green, 2020).

Some businesses emerged more slowly. In the Philippines, Veggies for Good started as a family humanitarian response and then grew into a social enterprise (Dionisio and Palanca, 2020). It brought agricultural produce to quarantined residential households by mobilising low-income women and displaced male labourers and using social media platforms to match supply and demand. One year on, its day-to-day operations were handled by urban low-income mothers, connecting vegetable farmers directly to consumers in Metro Manila.

Despite the restrictions, activists found a multitude of peaceful ways to speak out, make visible and denounce or demand. In Palestine, in April 2020, feminists organised balcony protests with pots and pans against the surge of gender-based violence during the pandemic. In Singapore, young climate activists from the Fridays for Future global school strike movement held solo protests in April 2020 due to the country's restrictive laws on peaceful assembly (CIVICUS, 2020a). In Brazil, in June 2020, human rights groups put up 1,000 crosses paying tribute to Covid-19 victims on the lawn in front of key government buildings, calling out the denialism of President Jair Bolsonaro (CIVICUS, 2020c).

Most striking in civil society response was *the acceleration of digital uptake and innovation*, which led to new and in some cases, more relevant forms of action. Lockdowns and social distancing left many people homebound, with the economy, service provision and (many) relationships requiring digital

means. Innovative civil responses included the distribution of free solar radios in Kenya that allowed children without internet access or electricity at home to continue studying while schools were closed (Rioba, 2020). Digital spaces enabled many movements, organisations and communities to mobilise people, advocate for change, raise resources, brainstorm and strategise, enabling faster and more efficient organising with new opportunities for coalition-building (Nampoothiri and Artuso, 2021). Social media influencers, musicians, poets, painters, social and political activists, and television and sports stars used their talents and social platforms to reach out to millions of people.

Cross-cutting reflections

Across this enormous diversity of responses, five themes stood out: the agility of local responses, trust as the basis for social action, the rise of coalitions, the reality of exhaustion, and the downsides of digital innovation and expansion.

Going local

In the pandemic, local presence came up trumps. Communities were able to overcome the challenges faced by larger organisations that could no longer bridge physical distances. With their knowledge of local communities, these networks and organisations were able to develop new strategies for service delivery, setting up multiple forms of mutual aid. This was exemplified by Indian communities and self-help groups – particularly involving women producers – connecting local farmers and consumers to achieve self-sufficiency, mapping vulnerability in their villages to use government budgets to provide medicines and food to those in need (Kothari, 2020). In the Brazilian *favelas*, where many inhabitants lack digital access and online media, grassroots media organisations used banners in busy spaces and other personal messaging to stress hygiene and social distancing guidelines (Cavalcante, 2020).

Much of the funding for grassroots/non-state actors in the pandemic came from local/non-aid sources, including *zakat*, or contributions from the middle classes or Diasporas. Local organisations created simple, low-budget solutions (e.g. the Philippines pantry movement; see Dionisio et al., 2020) and introduced online and other forms of fundraising. Post-pandemic, could this accelerate the shift away from reliance on international aid to domestic funding sources for activism, perhaps backed by smaller pots of more agile, localised aid, such as Religions for Peace?[12]

New leaders stepped up with little or no prior experience, partly due to the increased prominence of youth activism and surging activity among informal groups and networks. This new leadership may be another lasting legacy of the pandemic – a new generation of leaders forged in and shaped by the Covid-19 crisis.

Shaped by trust

When the normal flow of relationships is interrupted, whether by physical isolation, state repression, or sudden poverty, people fall back on the reciprocity and security of their trusted networks – family, friends and allies – to get things done amid adversity. Covid acted as a wedge, heightening the importance of existing trust networks in some settings, and of the political uses of distrust in others (Kenny, 2021).

Trust between individuals and institutions became an invisible shaper of events. In El Salvador, the evangelical churches negotiated with the *maras* (gangs) to get access to the poorest barrios to distribute food and help – many gang members had parents in those churches. By contrast, the Roman Catholic Church negotiated directly with national authorities, where their bonds of trust lie.

Broader social trust shapes the public legitimacy of institutions and their ability to persuade people to do the right thing (e.g. on vaccination or self-isolation). According to the Rona Foundation, a Kenyan widows' organisation, 'they [widows] have become the pillar, the place where people go for help. We are the ones holding society together.' As trust became the currency of response, Covid exposed the varying degree of legitimacy and connectedness of civil society organisations.

But trust is not simply inherited or static. The responses to Covid and other political events constantly create, destroy and redistribute trust across society. New links of trust were created as new coalitions were built, generating new political and social capital for change, for example when trust built through service delivery transformed into opportunities for advocacy. 'In Mexico, feminist collectives, such as the hacktivist group Luchadoras, coordinated discussions and debates on how the measures implemented to control the pandemic simultaneously reflected and aggravated socio-economic, political, geographic and gender inequalities' (Alfaro, 2020). Despite social distancing, emotional bonds and trust were built by sharing life stories, 'building community in the shape of new collective digital memory'.

In Somalia, for the Hormoud Women's Forum, in Barwaaqo internally displaced persons (IDP) camp, trust had to be earned. Despite being elected by their community, the 20 women in the forum were unable to convince the IDP community about Covid-19 prevention protocols:

> Distrust in the leadership groups and rumours that the groups were receiving monetary compensation from external agencies for their work initially led the Barwaaqo community to not take C-19 prevention seriously. … The women's group tenaciously knocked on people's doors to advise on social distancing and to distribute the [donated] masks and soap … As time passed and the effects of the pandemic started to affect Barwaaqo, the community started to become more open to the [Forum's] work. (Abidiaziz, 2021, pp. 1–2)

Building coalitions

The pandemic acted as a social glue, pushing networks of activists and organisations to connect and work collaboratively, building coalitions within civil society and with businesses to organise larger-scale and more coordinated responses. In India, a coalition of 30 NGOs called Rapid Rural Community Response to Covid-19 helped address this issue at scale. Over six million families across 12 states and a network of over 10,000 women's self-help groups collected data about the most vulnerable and worked alongside local governments and others to provide immediate shelter, food and medical help (Bamzai, 2020). The Delhi Relief Collective – a loose association of NGOs and individual volunteers – used social media platforms to generate data and a rights-based discourse around the impact of the lockdown on informal and migrant workers, get media and political attention, and advocate for emergency welfare measures (Mohanty, 2020).

Coalitions also allowed different groups to come together to offer multiple and complementary responses. Initiatives such as 'Cape Town Together'[13] or 'Frena la curva'[14] ('brake the curve') blurred the lines between formal and informal civil society, with activists, organisations, communities, entrepreneurs and urban 'laboratories' organising community-led responses that raise awareness, build solidarity, and provide essential services.

In some contexts, coalitions broke with the norm. In South Africa, civil society groups were not in the habit of working together on common agendas according to Kelly Gillespie (Sitrin and Sembrar, 2020):

> There have been post-apartheid attempts at coalition building. … Often they fall apart because there was not something specific to work on. What is most interesting about this pandemic is the organic emergence of working groups around particular issues. … There is something about the time of crisis and the possibility that the

coalition has afforded to have people sit down and actually work together regardless of their differences. (Sitrin and Sembrar, 2020, pp. 110–13)

Going digital unevenly

The shift to digital can create opportunities for inclusivity and connectivity, speed, and scope of organising. With online spaces opening up in both work and everyday life, global distances are suddenly reduced, and circulation of information is faster than ever. Going digital meant opportunities for youth leadership. Civil society and the aid sector experimented with new practices made possible by the new digital spaces. For example, the default of peace builders had been face-to-face conflict resolution. But in the pandemic, many organisations embraced online approaches, with spaces evolving to become more inclusive.[15]

But the shift to digital has its downsides. With digital adoption comes growing need for digital literacy, and internet and technology access. This exacerbates pre-existing divides and increases isolation of certain groups. The digital divide is intersectional, with gender, income, age and geography jointly determining who has access and literacy to reap the benefits. This has exposed the need for greater civic action around this issue (Bülow, 2020; United Nations, 2020).

Deepening exhaustion and stress

Romanticising the everyday heroes who gave time and energy to feed, comfort, earn, and care belies the deep exhaustion and stress that many experienced. While grassroots efforts and organisations can and do step into the breach for a few weeks or even months, after 18 months many people were exhausted. Financial worries grew as income opportunities reduced or stopped. Emotional stress was often related to care and leadership responsibilities – additional and heavier responsibilities with less support to meet them. Many took over responsibilities held by others, such as grandparents taking care of children, or parents taking over education. Stress was further exacerbated in contexts with multiple crises, for example conflict and floods in the DRC and the February 2021 coup in Myanmar.

The pandemic led to sharp rises in gender-based and domestic violence, with only marginal policy response (Harvey, 2021). In India, partner organisations of the South Asia Women's Foundation India reported that prolonged periods of being homebound led to more aggressive demands by men, causing huge stress and deep shame.[16]

Leaders had the stress of needing to find new strategies that could not be face-to-face, yet could not always rely on digital substitutes, and at times faced new forms of backlash. In all cases, they had new duties of care to other responders, including creating spaces for stressed volunteers to share their emotions.

Questions from the Covid spotlight

The pandemic has shone the spotlight on how structural inequalities combine to create and amplify layers of suffering (Berkhout et al., 2020). But it has also revealed the enormous diversity and creativity of local action. It seems likely that the civic system will emerge from the pandemic expanded and revitalised, albeit with the dangers of burnout and exhaustion. We suggest four research priorities that could offer civil society and its allies realistic inspiration.

Making visible and staying loud

Civic action has become locally even more critical, diversified to meet needs. It has been very vocal in exposing the dire structural shortcomings of lack of social security and growing inequalities, worsened by the economic consequences of the pandemic. This sparked healthcare protests (Sharkawi and Ali, 2020), labour protests (Brecher, n.d.), women's solidarity networks (Alfaro, 2020), and food riots (*New Straits Times*, 2020). As Pleyers (2020) observed, 'The COVID-19 outbreak is a battlefield for alternative futures'. He notes an optimism among progressive intellectuals and movements about the opening of opportunities to build a fairer world which, he cautions, must be tempered by assessing their impacts. Our findings strongly endorse this view.

> Question 1. Under what conditions will pandemic-triggered activism have sustained impact on the long-term crises of inequality and injustice? For example, will gender inequality be redressed with bold policy responses given the heightened attention to the under- and unpaid care economy and gender-based violence?

New social contract

The pandemic has acted like a political pressure cooker, pushing the relationship between citizens and states in different directions. It has created new actors, changed power dynamics and rewritten relationships between the state

and civil society. These relationships remain in a state of flux. If civil society is playing a larger and more prominent role in meeting citizens' immediate needs, people's views and expectations of their governments may change, with expectations shifting to new, non-state actors. Governments could, therefore, become overseers and coordinators, rather than service deliverers.

> Question 2. With civil society stepping in to supplement, coordinate or implement the delivery of services, in which ways and contexts and on what issues will this become a longer term change?

Creative disruption or back to before?

Covid-19 has accelerated some trends and innovations. The restriction on movement and economic repercussions have forced civil society to rethink its strategies and modes of action, with opportunities being seized to push through new practices. For example, removal of the intermediary role of health centres has made direct delivery of anti-retroviral drugs possible, a longstanding request by users in South Africa (SOS Project, 2020). Internet reach and data affordability are becoming recognised as basic needs, with initiatives to reduce the cost of access in urban peripheries and install Wi-Fi equipment in rural areas and in indigenous territories.

> Question 3. Which civil society innovations – tactics, alliances, priorities – will be sustained and why? What will determine which emergent groups will stay or fade away? With the fault-lines of society so sharply illuminated, how will advocacy priorities be (re)combined with service delivery and with what benefits or limitations?

Digital natives

The pandemic has led to a revaluation of forgotten or undervalued parts of society: local networks, youth, digital connectivity, and alliances/coalitions. There are signs of a potential 'youthquake', building on their generational advantage as 'digital natives'. A likely irreversible shift online has occurred, with implications for repertoires, the politics of organising, and the social contract. This phenomenon not only serves progressive movements, of course, and is also evident in and enabling more reactionary responses.

> Question 4. Will the explosion of digital activism prompt a long-term shift in power and leadership? How will the nature of grassroots digital activism resemble or differ from that of educated elites?

As Covid-19 persists, and morphs into a many-faceted post-Covid world, civic groups will continue to evolve. Those who started by meeting basic needs may become more politically active; advocacy organisations that have moved into service delivery may stay there or revert. There are multiple implications for allies and funders. In particular, where power shifts accidentally in the right direction, through Covid-enforced localisation, do not be tempted by a return to business as usual but find ways to nurture the inspiring work that exists.

NOTES

1. See https://afsee.atlanticfellows.org/covid19-rapid-response-fund.
2. See https://oxfamapps.org/fp2p/category/emergent-agency/.
3. Agency was defined as 'the capacity of an individual or group to actively and independently choose and to affect change'. Agency can be progressive or negative. It can be in the direct interest of the agent, or proxy agency seeking to help others. It can propose or resist change. That definition was intentionally broad to help look beyond formal politics, aid and civil society organisations to a wider spectrum of grassroots action by individuals and informal groups.
4. 'Build back better' was first coined in the United Nations' Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (United Nations, 2014). Adding 'radical' reflects the widespread understanding that pre-Covid conditions excluded billions of people who deserve more than a return to the former unjust and elite-favouring status quo.
5. See https://afsee.atlanticfellows.org.
6. SARS refers here to the infamous Special Anti-Robbery Squad, which constantly abuses Nigerian citizens.
7. This umbrella term includes overlapping, but not identical, terms like protest, resistance and community-based organising.
8. See https://kibrafooddrive.co.ke/awards.php.
9. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zE95eYz7OfU.
10. Discussions in the Women's Rights Organisation cluster.
11. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yhp9GrYD7Ak.
12. See https://www.rfp.org/multi-religious-humanitarian-fund/.
13. See https://capetowntogether.net.
14. See https://frenalacurva.net/.
15. From discussions in the Peacebuilding cluster.
16. From discussions in the Women's Rights Organisation cluster.

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