ARTICLE

Mutual Aid and COVID-19 in London: Understanding Community Resilience

Awino Okech* **and Wadeisor Rukato****

Available online: 31 March 2025

Keywords: COVID-19; Public health, Community Resilience; Structural Inequality; Mutual Aid

1. INTRODUCTION

As COVID-19 spread across the world in 2020 its impact in Europe was felt through lockdowns across Italy, France and the United Kingdom (UK). Lockdowns meant loss of income for those who were considered non-essential to organisational operations while transport, health and social care workers were considered essential and therefore exposed to the health risks associated with COVID-19. It soon became clear in the United Kingdom that Black people, and people of colour generally, were more likely to be infected by Coronavirus due to their role as frontline workers across many sectors[1].

The disproportionate impact of coronavirus on Black communities and communities of colour can be understood against the structural inequalities that create economically dispossessed communities by virtue of the decisions governments make in inadequately investing in what are viewed as underserved areas[2]. Socio-economic deprivation is a key determinant of health status in all communities. In the UK, Black people and people of colour were also more likely to live in high-density housing and multi-generation households, as well as serve as essential workers, thus rendering them more exposed to contracting coronavirus[3].

Additionally, three key concerns were raised by feminist scholars about COVID-19 mitigation measures[4]. The first was increased invisible unpaid care work for women in addition to jobs outside the home. Secondly, the rise in violence against women since shelters could no longer guarantee socially distanced and sanitised conditions for women fleeing domestic violence. Finally, the mental health impact of lockdowns. The absence of an effective government response generally meant that

* Professor of Feminist and Security Studies in the Department of Politics and International Studies at SOAS University of London. She is also the founding director of the Feminist Centre for Racial Justice
** Independent researcher and former African Leadership Centre Peace and Security Fellow.
[1] Narayan, Agrawal, Bundervoet, Davalos, Garcia, Lakner, Gerszon Mahler, Montalva Talledo, Ten, and Yonzan*, "COVID-19 and Economic Inequality: Short-Term Impacts with Long-Term Consequences".
[2] Office for National Statistics "Why have Black and South Asian people been hit hardest by COVID-19?"
[3] Ibid
[4] İlkkaracan, and Memiş. "Transformations in the Gender Gaps in Paid and Unpaid Work under the COVID-19 Pandemic: Findings from Turkey."; Hsu, and Henke. "The Effect of Sheltering in Place on Police Reports of Domestic Violence in the US."; Seck, Encarnacion, Tinonin, and Duerto-Valero. "Gendered Impacts of COVID-19 in Asia and the Pacific: Early Evidence on Deepening Socioeconomic Inequalities in Paid and Unpaid Work."; Stevano, Mezzadri, Lombardozzi, and Bargawi. (2021). "Hidden Abodes in Plain Sight: The Social Reproduction of Households and Labor in the COVID-19 Pandemic."

disadvantaged communities turned inward to collective strategies – mutual aid - to survive despite the state.

This policy brief assesses the emergence, role and politics surrounding mutual aid programmes in London during the COVID-19 pandemic. It draws on in-depth interviews with 10 people involved in mutual aid in London neighbourhoods between 2020 and 2022. This policy brief offers three main findings:

i. Mutual aid organisations mediated the trust deficit between the state and historically marginalised communities due to longstanding structural inequalities that lead to asymmetrical service provision in communities across London.
ii. Pre-existing community-based organisations in Afrodiasporic communities were central were central to community survival and resilience as the COVID-19 pandemic spread and lockdown measures were instituted.
iii. The agility of mutual aid organisations made them relevant for addressing the varied material, psychological or institutional needs of community members.

Mutual aid especially in Black communities and communities of colour are an important mechanism for sustaining communities and mitigating service provision gaps due to structural inequalities generated by absent or poorly functioning local government.

2. METHODOLOGY

This policy brief is based on a phenomenological study[5] of Afro-diasporic communities in London designed to understand the mutual aid approaches that mitigated the impact of COVID-19. Phenomenology focuses on understanding social and psychological phenomena from the perspectives of those involved in an issue[6]. We focussed on the lived experiences of people involved in mutual aid initiatives. London is chosen given the haphazard and slow government response to COVID-19 as well as the documented disproportionate vulnerability for Black communities and communities of colour[7]. The root causes of this disproportionate impact are due to:

> *"Endemic processes of direct and indirect racist societal exclusion operating across generations limiting people's access to good-quality housing, education, employment and healthcare, each of which operate to produce health and economic disadvantage independently and are also mutually reinforcing".*[8]

This pilot study was conducted over five months between April to August 2022. We drew on purposive sampling to identify the primary participants based on those who "have had experiences relating to the phenomenon to be researched"[9]. Social media networks were also used to determine the most prominent mutual aid programmes led by Black communities in the UK. Through these networks, snowballing was used to engage groups that did not name themselves as mutual aid programmes or were not part of these social media networks. Snowballing is a method of expanding the sample by asking one informant or participant to recommend others for interviewing. In relation to sample size, we initially aimed for 20 participants, though Creswell and Boyd recommend 10 as enough to reach saturation for a phenomenological study[10].

We therefore conducted in-depth qualitative interviews with 10 participants to capture a rich understanding of the inter communal and individual role mutual aid plays in building and sustaining marginalised communities in times of crisis. Of the 10, there were two men and three women from African and Caribbean heritage. In addition, we spoke to three white women, two were British and one of French citizenship, one Black British man and one British man of Asian heritage. Two women of African heritage lead community-based organisations and fell within the 50 - 60 age group. One Black man of Caribbean heritage is a long-standing leader of a community group, and the final African man is a member of his local church community. They both fell within the 60 - 70 age group. The rest of our six participants who fell within the 20 – 40 age group were involved in founding and participating in mutual aid groups and community support initiatives which emerged in their communities because of COVID-19.

[5] This pilot study was made possible by a grant from the African Leadership Centre's small grants programme. This paper would not be possible without the contributions of the research participants who gave their time.
[6] Welman and Kruger, *Research Methodology for the Business and Administrative Sciences,* 189.
[7] Karlsen and Nelson, Staying "One Step Ahead of a Racist": Expanding Understandings of the Experiences of the Covid-19 Pandemic Among People from Minoritized Ethnic Groups Living in Britain
[8] Ibid
[9] Kruger. *An introduction to phenomenological psychology,* 150
[10] Creswell, *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions,* 65 & 113 and Boyd. Phenomenology the method, 93–122

3. MUTUAL AID: HISTORY AND CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES

Mutual aid has a long and varied history. Its practices can be seen in efforts to organise collective care within communities, often in response to sudden or ongoing crisis, and connected to an expansive vision for societal change. It is seen in community responses to climate crisis, in efforts to support workers on strike, in disability justice groups, renters' unions, the Black Panther's survival programmes, prisoner-led health care initiatives and many more. Fundamentally, mutual aid is a "collective coordination to meet each other's needs, usually from an awareness that the systems we have in place are not going to meet them"[11].

In 1902, the Russian geographer and anarchist theorist, Peter Kropotkin in the book *Mutual Aid*, argues that "the tendency of people to help one another reciprocally, in a spirit of solidarity, was a greater factor in human evolution than competition"[12]. In this seminal text, Kropotkin argues that "humans best evolve through forms of cooperation"[13].

Within systems that produce continual crisis and harm, mutual aid offers a means of collective survival and care. Crucially, it involves a commitment to addressing power imbalances and patterns of domination, both within interpersonal relationships and communities and in society. The 'mutuality' of its name signals this commitment to non-hierarchical organising; unlike systems of charity and philanthropy, in which the power structure between 'helper' and 'helped' remains intact, mutual aid recognises our interdependence, the ways in which we are all implicated in each other's fates. For Cindy Milstein:

> *"Mutual aid necessitates intricate, complex relationships as well as harmonious differentiation to achieve such reciprocal exchange […] It points to new relations of sharing and helping, mentoring and giving back as the very basis for social organisation. Mutual aid communalises compassion, thereby translating into greater "social security" for everyone – without need for top-down institutions. It is solidarity in action, writ large, whether on the local or global level."*[14]

The organisational infrastructure of mutual aid programmes consists of self-organised networks with low bureaucracy creating faster and easier connections than bureaucratic organisations, giving them greater speed, flexibility, and connectedness. They also effectively mobilise internet technology and social media, such as Google Docs, Facebook, and Twitter to spread news, garner donations and mobilise volunteers.[15]

Mutual aid is about 'solidarity not charity' and seeks social change through direct action rather than reform (Spade 2020). Through mutual aid, autonomous social bonds and communities are rebuilt away from commodified power relationships. Mutual aid initiatives and communities tend to subvert existing hierarchies between established humanitarian organisations and the distinctions produced between beneficiaries and donors. Mutual aid programmes can therefore be understood as a political intervention in an environment in which the mutuality between all sections of society and the state is missing, with only some sections of society able to capitalise on state resources and therefore be viewed as full citizens. The construction of communities on the margin as at "risk" as some scholars have argued is seen as the state's way of redistributing welfare due to structural inequalities based on class, gendered and racialised others[16]. Yet, it is state failures that lead to communities becoming at "risk" and subsequently setting up associations, loose networks and community-based organisations on which governments come to rely during crises such as COVID-19.

Across the UK, 900 local groups were established to provide support to people during the COVID-19 outbreak. By mid-May 2020, there were more than forty groups in London, organised into hundreds of sub-groups and there were over 1000 throughout the UK[17]. Our findings below illustrate the sporadic nature of some of these groups which reflects the very nature of mutual aid; temporary – emergent based on need. This means that the number of active mutual aid groups that developed due to COVID-19 will have reduced drastically. We note that the sporadic nature of these groups is also closely aligned with the racial make-up of

[11] Spade, *Solidarity Not Charity: Mutual Aid for Mobilization and Survival*

[12] Genderloos, *Anarchy Works*

[13] Milstein. 'Prologue: Cracks in the Wall'. *Rebellious Mourning: The Collective Work of Grief*, 56.

[14] Milstein, *'Prologue: Cracks in the Wall'. Rebellious Mourning: The Collective Work of Grief,* 56-7

[15] Garber, *Occupy Sandy Hacks Amazon's Wedding Registry (in a Good Way*

[16] Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*; Neocleous, *Resisting Resilience. Radical Philosophy*

[17] Freedom News; Lynch and Khoo, *Coronavirus: Volunteers Flock to Join Community*
Support Groups

groups that were set up primarily as volunteer services rather than a response to systemic inequalities which were only exacerbated by COVID-19. Consequently, we observe the value of pre-existing community networks that took on COVID-19 response as part of their ongoing, deep community organising work. We argue that the trust engendered by these groups is based on their longstanding trust building investments over time, which are informed by the absence of properly funded and effective government services for marginalised communities.

4. KEY FINDINGS

4.1 Community organisations as mediators

Community-based organisations that have been involved in mutual aid activities for decades were distinct. The Afro-diasporic research interlocutors we spoke to highlight the fact that many of the groups they were part of have much longer histories in their communities. The work of these organisations is broad, spanning providing translation services for members of the community who do not speak English to interventions around crime and safety.

These organisations stand apart from groups that emerged specifically around COVID-19 and whose origins can be traced through the creation of WhatsApp and Facebook groups. The demographic within these recently emergent groups is also much younger, demonstrating where social media has served as a critical movement building conduit. Research interlocutor B below notes how media coverage contributes to making invisible pre-existing community networks because of how the language of mutual aid is deployed by some groups and not others:

> *"[…] then there's also something about like, which […] types of groups become visible. […] Previous community organizations would've been carrying on similar practices that might have existed before not called mutual aid. So, when you Google mutual aid groups in London, they won't come up but have been doing […] similar things both during the pandemic and, and before the pandemic. Um, but then [it is] also interesting to see the British media coverage of mutual aid practices and their emergence during the pandemic."* - Research interlocutor B

The question of origins and history matters for the impact of mutual aid groups, as will be illustrated later, because of the levels of community trust and pre-existing relationships that community-based organisations can and could trade on during the COVID-19 crisis.

Additionally, the role of established community networks and collaboration *vis a vis* newly established groups were raised by research interlocutor D below. They note the attendant focus on visibility driving engagement rather than a focus on the solidarity that is meant to be inherent in the establishment and therefore the work of these groups:

> *"See that we were overlapping […] I think there was quite a lot of resistance between each of the groups on how they did particular things. And of course, like that lack, even though the irony of the fact that it is meant to be called solidarity, the lack of solidarity meant that I think now probably most of those groups don't exist in the same way."* - Research interlocutor D

These tensions contributed to the dissipation of the emergent groups, unlike pre-existing organisations whose history of working has led to clarity about the importance of collaborative work as evidenced by research interlocutor C below:

> *"So, we are part of the Wilsden Green hub and […] then within that hub, there are so many organizations who could […] could help, who you could access on that day, with all the things that have to do with law and other […] organizations."* - Research interlocutor C

The collaborative approach to the COVID-19 response as outlined above, is in part informed by the demographic make-up of the groups leading community mutual aid. Where groups largely consist of affected and historically marginalised groups in society, there is greater effort to work across differences and harness collective resources. The impetus for this collective action is informed by a deeper understanding of state negligence and the fact that COVID-19 was part of a longer continuum in which these communities would be ignored. On the other hand, this does not seem to be the driving focus of groups largely initiated by white middle-class people who wanted to volunteer and help during the COVID-19 crisis.

Finally, the dissipation of emergent groups based on "doing good" further illustrates the importance of structural analysis - even if not named as such - that influences why community groups that act as critical brokers with state services exist. It can be argued that emergent groups saw themselves as serving an isolated need generated by COVID-19 rather than intervening in long term systemic exclusions in the society.

4.2 Agility and Mutual Aid Responses

Discussions with our research interlocutors also illustrated the important role that mutual aid groups played in working with schools around agile educational approaches that considered the technological access disparities within their communities. As research interlocutor C below illustrates, they ensured that schools could provide equitable access to education, without children who came from homes where there were limited technological devices being disadvantaged.

The ability of mutual aid groups to mediate the space in this way illustrates the mutuality between these groups and service providers - which in this case are schools. It also highlights that in contexts where language was a barrier, it impacted parents' ability to negotiate directly with the school. Consequently, the longstanding role of community groups as language justice brokers became critical as shown below by research interlocutor A:

> *"[…] we have to communicate with the schools as well, to at least change the timing […] we ask them if they could do […] nine o'clock for one child and then 10 o'clock another one, you know, so that they can at least share what they have. Five children. You don't have five, five tablets in one family. It could only be one or two."* - Research interlocutor A

It is evident in the instance above that mutual aid was not simply about financial and material resources but also about the intangible resources. In this case, mitigating further material disenfranchisement to education by negotiating for equitable access based on access needs. In addition, research interlocutor A further illustrates the role mutual aid groups played in procuring technological devices for families where these were in short supply in large families.

> *"Some of them helped large families which was also hard. 'Cause some of the families, families, don't even have access to computers. Maybe they have, […] the mom is mobiled and, and the other five, all the five children don't even have a phone, and the schools were online maybe at the same time at 10 o'clock. So, what could you do? So, after that I accessed some laptops or tablets also, and to at least provide to those families who could not afford."*- Research interlocutor A

It is evident that community-based structures were critical interlocutors particularly with communities that have been historically marginalised and would be forgotten during the lockdown period. It is clear, as research interlocutor F highlights below, that a range of triangulation mechanisms were critical to identifying who was missing in the support system as well as ensuring that support was tailored to specific needs rather than a generalised response:

> *'So we were looking at ways to […] catch people that were falling through the gaps, that perhaps hadn't completed, you know, their sign on or had had maybe a more zero hours contracts and had kind of exhausted their food bank quota for, for that period or perhaps weren't able to make use of the food provided by food bank for dietary or whether it be medical dietary requirements, or what they would consider to be a normal meal. So, we kind of, we partnered with schools and families were identified and put forward by schools, who were, you know, in need of additional support. In the beginning we prepared food hampers based on a selection of recipes and encouraged the recipients to put forward their own recipes.'* – Research interlocutor F

The efficacy of these organisations as intervenors was rooted in longer histories of trust building informed by decades of investments in relationship building by these organisations. Trust in the context above was strengthened by a vacuum in government led interventions before the COVID-19 moment and heightened by COVID-19 responses or lack thereof. Secondly, we see the role that community-based organisations play in inviting agility from service providers such as schools based on a deeper understanding of the needs of multi-generational and ethnically minoritised households. However, we can't discuss the frontline role of community-based organisations without surfacing what appears to be the absence of the state and an underpinning mistrust of state services and responses. In the section that follows we uncover through the voices of our interlocutors the role of state mistrust in mutual aid processes.

4.3 (Mis)Trust and the Government

It was evident from the conversations with all our research interlocutors that one of the greatest impacts of the mutual aid work during the pandemic was community strengthening. The lockdown across the United Kingdom heightened isolation and vulnerability for those without immediate family, those on social welfare as well as people with pre-existing health conditions. As research interlocutors A and E note below, it was the basic action of human connection and relationality that mattered the most:

> *"There were a lot of people who just said, thank you for talking to me today, you know? […] just thank you for having a conversation with me. Some people went by themselves, they live by themselves. So, imagine just staying in a home by yourself for six weeks or a couple months on end."* – Research interlocutor A

> *"Uh, so it was elders, it was so many elderly people. A lot of people who had never, ever accessed any kind of social support before. So, there were always a lot of preambles when they were asking for help, but because they'd been completely abandoned by their families or whoever couldn't help."* - Research interlocutor E

Community building in all cases relied on established trust or building trust:

> *"We have a lot of trust within the communities that we are really working with. That trust is to be built on. Really. There are times that you really need to stop […] but then you remember someone who just left a message or call you and then say to you, yeah, you're, you're really helping me so much."* - Research interlocutor C

The level of trust highlighted above in community-based organisations does not exist when it comes to the state. The COVID-19 experience made more visible what is a historically fraught relationship between marginalised communities and the state:

> *"I mean, also the thing about the COVID context is that […] there is so much, um, fear of the state and the state's collusion […] conspiracy theories or dispositions towards the state. But in that context, specifically of a pandemic, that's come out of nowhere that felt maybe geopolitical, um, a vaccine that, you know, lots of people didn't want to take […]."* – Research interlocutor A

These groups were historically set up as an important intermediary between communities and what is experienced as absent, unresponsive, and under-resourced local government services. Consequently, COVID-19 was yet another crisis that they stepped into as part community support work. As research interlocutor A below highlights:

> *"I feel like when it comes to, again, this is just my opinion. When it comes to formal state structures, for instance, it's very hard to put your faith in formal state structures when you feel like they're not for you. […] We don't have a lot of faith in formal structures or formal governing, anything to do with, we see politics and we think, […], the prime minister's not really for us. He doesn't really care. We see the NHS (National Health Service) and we're like, why do we pay when we don't get the support we need?"* - Research interlocutor A

The absence of the state, evident in the local government's lack of cultural competence as outlined above, creates a trust vacuum with communities. This view is further reinforced by research interlocutor C and F below who speak to the exclusions that were evident both in the language initially used to communicate to minoritised communities as well as equitable distribution of resources for community-based organisations:

> *"I just didn't have too much to say from frustration. It was just frustration. They didn't come to us people. Didn't all, all those COVID-19 wash your hands. Um, half distance. Got masks and all that basic was not in the language people would understand."* - Research interlocutor C

> *"But this question of ease of access particularly for small, tiny organizations being a hurdle kind of a block. For lots of smaller organizations and perhaps primarily or more, more tending to be, um, organizations run by or for, um, people of colour. Um, and as, and I think. That's why as part of the response and part of the bid was the idea of, for each of the neighbourhoods there being, a part of money that would be made available to the residents of the neighbourhood to put forward, um, projects."* – Research interlocutor F

Additionally, in an environment in which governments globally were expanding access to citizen data through track and trace applications, the insistence on sustaining General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR) rules in a context where there was lack of effective support in council estates raises questions about the tension between data protection and sustaining lives by providing support. Interlocutor E below speaks to the complexity of trying to offer support to people in need in a council estate because of state regulations which nationally had been loosened as part of the global responses to containing the spread of COVID-19:

> *"Cause GDPR, so people […] like we can't tell you. But each building tends to have a custodian. So, we talked to the custodians and just sort of said, um, look, who are the people who are not gonna be able to get out the house? And he was like, I'm just gonna tell you their names. I mean, it was just insane how hard it was. And we tried flyering and people like you're not*

allowed to distribute flyers but eventually we got there and then we sort of buddy people up. So, we had enough volunteers and enough people who were self-isolating. So, I sort of put them into pairs and I did this all over WhatsApp. And then basically just shopped for people nonstop for about six months. So we just went to the supermarket and that's all we did. We just went to the supermarket. We ran a big WhatsApp group and we had two lines, one was called when help was needed. And one was just sort of discussion and then it would come up oh, someone in this block needs to pick up a prescription." - Research interlocutor E

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Trust community-based organisations: It is evident from the above pilot study that community organisations were critical in supporting communities of colours through a range of practical resource interventions, including as mediators with service providers such as schools and local councils. It therefore follows that community organisations should continue to be better resourced because their ability to work effectively during a global pandemic where there was a lot of fear, distrust and isolation was the result of long-term trust building work.

2. Resolve the unequal distribution of state resources: Beyond being closer to minoritised groups, the critical role of community-based organisations in the COVID-19 response was also informed by longer term exclusionary practices by the state that has led to a high number of minoritised groups in frontline service roles and a racialised experience of the health system that has led to deep distrust in governments. This was very evident in the reluctance of minoritised communities to take vaccines not only due to disinformation but also due to longer histories where racialised communities have been targeted for health experiments[18]. Trust between the state through local councils can only occur by redressing the factors that have led to exclusion, which in this instance are made stark by resource scarcity targeting minoritised communities.

3. On mutual aid initiatives and crisis response: Some of our interlocutors in this pilot study illustrated how the mushrooming of volunteer groups which eventually morphed into mutual aid groups revealed similar patterns to those found in the global development industry. Their experiences were illustrative of the predominance of white people seeking to do good without an awareness of the structural inequalities that become evident in who becomes visible and therefore gets access to resources as part of a response to the global pandemic. In addition, the failure to account for structural analysis means continuing to marginalise the most affected groups due to a generalised approach to crisis response. While most of these groups have dissolved leaving the long-term community organisations to continue to do sustainable work in their communities, there is a reckoning required in relation to 'do-gooder volunteerism" evacuated of structural analysis during moments of crisis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Beck, U. (2002). Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity. New York: Sage.

Boyd C.O. 2001. Phenomenology the method. In Munhall P.L. (Ed.), *Nursing research: A qualitative perspective* (3rd. ed., pp. 93–122). Sudbury, MA: Jones and Bartlett.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions.* Sage Publications, Inc.

[18] Rhodes, *Race and Medical Experiments: What's the Truth*

Freedom News. (2020). COVID-19 Mutual Aid Groups: A List. https://freedomnews.org.uk/covid-19-uk-mutual-aid-groups-a-list/.

Garber, M. (2012). Occupy Sandy Hacks Amazon's Wedding Registry (in a Good Way). The Atlantic. https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2012/11/occupy-sandy-hacks-amazons-wedding-registry-in-a-good-way/264543/.

Gelderloos. P. (2010). *Anarchy Works*. https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/peter-gelderloos-anarchy-works

İlkkaracan, İpek and Emel Memiş. (2021). "Transformations in the Gender Gaps in Paid and Unpaid Work under the COVID-19 Pandemic: Findings from Turkey." Feminist Economics 27(1–2). DOI: 10.1080/13545701.2020.1849764.

Hsu, Lin-chi and Alexander Henke. (2021). "The Effect of Sheltering in Place on Police Reports of Domestic Violence in the US." Feminist Economics 27(1–2). DOI: 10.1080/13545701.2020.1830145.
Google Scholar

Karlsen, S. I., & Nelson, R. (2021). Staying "One Step Ahead of a Racist": Expanding Understandings of the Experiences of the Covid- 19 Pandemic Among People from Minoritized Ethnic Groups Living in Britain. *Frontiers in Sociology*, 6, 1-14

Kruger, D. (1988). *An introduction to phenomenological psychology* (2nd ed.). Cape Town, South Africa: Juta.

Lynch, P., & Khoo, A. (2020). Coronavirus: Volunteers Flock to Join Community Support Groups. BBC.com. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-51978388.

Milstein, C. (2017). 'Prologue: Cracks in the Wall'. *Rebellious Mourning: The Collective Work of Grief*. Ed. Cindy Milstein. AK Press. https://disaster-sts-network.org/sites/default/files/artifacts/media/pdf/rebellious_mourning_-_cindy_milstein.pdf

Narayan, A, Alexandru Cojocaru, Sarthak Agrawal, Tom Bundervoet, Maria Davalos, Natalia Garcia, Christoph Lakner, Daniel Gerszon Mahler, Veronica Montalva Talledo, Andrey Ten, and Nishant Yonzan*, (2022). "COVID-19 and Economic Inequality: Short-Term Impacts with Long-Term Consequences". Policy Research Working Paper 9902. Poverty and Equity Global Practice & Development Data Group. Last accessed 6th September 2024

Neocleous, M. (2013). Resisting Resilience. Radical Philosophy, 178(6). Available at: https://www.radicalphilosophy.com/commentary/resisting-resilience.

Office for National Statistics (ONS), (2020) "Why have Black and South Asian people been hit hardest by COVID-19?" Last accessed 6th September 2024

Rhodes, S. (2022). Race and Medical Experiments: What's the Truth. Channel 4 Documentary. Last accessed 6th September 2024

Seck, Papa A., Jessamyn O. Encarnacion, Cecilia Tinonin, and Sara Duerto-Valero. (2021). "Gendered Impacts of COVID-19 in Asia and the Pacific: Early Evidence on Deepening Socioeconomic Inequalities in Paid and Unpaid Work." Feminist Economics 27(1–2). DOI: 10.1080/13545701.2021.1876905.
Google Scholar

Spade, D. (2020). Solidarity Not Charity: Mutual Aid for Mobilization and Survival. Social Text, 38.1(142), 131–151.

Stevano, S, Alessandra Mezzadri, Lorena Lombardozzi, and Hannah Bargawi. (2021). "Hidden Abodes in Plain Sight: The Social Reproduction of Households and Labor in the COVID-19 Pandemic." Feminist Economics 27(1–2). DOI: 10.1080/13545701.2020.1854478.

Van Manen, M. (1997). Phenomenological pedagogy and the question of meaning. In D. Vandenberg (Ed.), *Phenomenology & education discourse* (pp. 41-68). Johannesburg, South Africa: Heinemann.

Welman, J., & Kruger, S. (1999). *Research Methodology for the Business and Administrative Sciences*. Oxford University Press Southern Africa.