

BRIEFING NOTE N°3



MAY 2020

COVID-19: ARE WE FACING A 'GLOBAL SOCIAL CRISIS'?

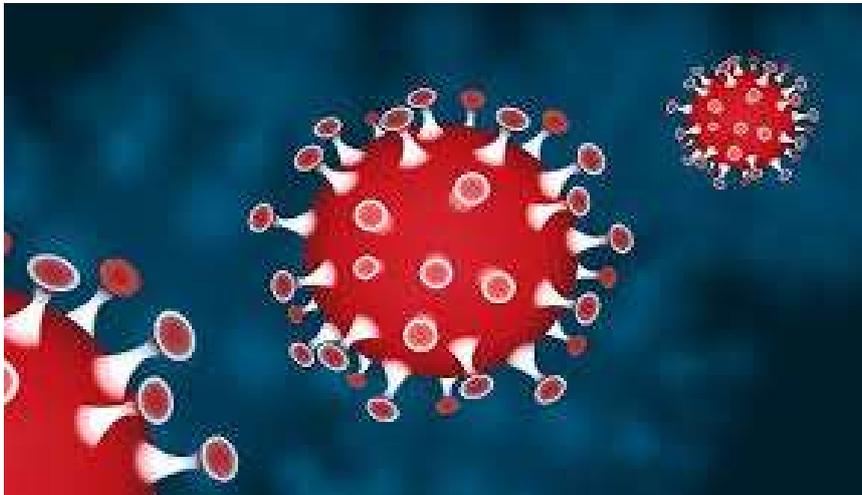
PRÉAMBLE

As it has done regularly in the past, in connection with complex, multi-factor and potentially long-lasting crises, Groupe URD has begun to:

- Share lessons from previous major health crises (see: https://www.urd.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/20200402_Crises-sanitaires_FINAL-2.pdf)
- Establish a 'real-time evaluation observatory' in order to produce synthesis reports, analysis and recommendations about the crisis.

This Briefing Note is the COVID Observatory's third output. It outlines our understanding of the current crisis and its specific implications in terms of social cohesion. It will regularly be updated and complemented with contributions on a number of topics:

- Health;
- Food and economic security;
- Migration and mobility;
- Etc.



Groupe URD produces strategic documents in connection with a convention with the French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs (Crisis and Support Centre and the General Directorate for Globalisation) and the French Development Agency (AFD). These focus on topical issues in the aid sector, and help to improve the quality of operations before, during and after crises. The content of these documents is the sole responsibility of the authors.

INTRODUCTION

When Antonio Guterres announced the creation of a new global fund to help developing countries overcome the socio-economic consequences of the pandemic and lockdown policies, he did so in the name of the United Nations' 'raison d'être'. In a similar vein, during the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) 'virtual' meetings in the spring, the economist, Gita Gopinath, warned of the effects of the recession that is taking shape: "If the crisis is badly managed and it's viewed as having been insufficient to help people, you could end up with social unrest,"¹

There is no longer any doubt that the shock wave caused by the epidemic will not be limited to the health sector, and that the crisis cannot be solely interpreted in terms of public health: it is a systemic and global crisis with roots and consequences in all sectors of society, whether economic, political, financial, etc. In addition to highlighting the extreme vulnerability of health systems, it has revealed the fragility of societies in general, as well as the fact that they are interconnected and interdependent. It has revealed the nature of social relations and accentuated inequalities. All around the world, the fact that several billion people have been living in lockdown conditions is already sowing the seeds of a social crisis that could revive or trigger large-scale popular unrest, particularly in countries where the majority of the population live from hand to mouth. Though, at first sight, it might seem that the management of the pandemic has pushed protest movements out of the picture, it could also help to reshape social movements in general. In many places, new forms of solidarity are emerging, while at the same time, whether online or on the ground, pockets of 'social resistance' are preparing the protest movements of tomorrow. From the red rags of Colombia to the Hirak movement in Algeria, civil society movements are adapting and blooming, sometimes fueled by anger, and others by solidarity; these may be signs of profound upheaval to come.

Lastly, beyond the emergency support that needs to be provided to health systems in the most fragile countries, the pandemic raises questions about the capacity of the aid sector to cope with this type of systemic crisis. Between reinforcing social safety nets as a key means of responding to shocks and supporting local governments and civil society organisations of all kinds, the crisis has shown that localised responses are needed, both here and abroad. And it has shown, more than ever, the crucial need to adapt these responses to the specific characteristics of the social fabric in each context.

¹ "Pandemic could trigger social unrest in some countries: IMF", *Reuters*, 15 April 2020.

1. INCREASED SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIVISIONS: THOSE WHO HAVE THE LUXURY OF BEING ABLE TO LOCK DOWN AND THOSE WHO DON'T

*"Give us food for our children, and we will stay at home!"*² (Russia) or *"We would rather die of the coronavirus than of hunger"* (Lebanon): these are examples of the cries of anger that have resounded in recent weeks all around the world. They have revealed the economic and social divide caused by restrictions to movement and lockdown measures. The United Nations has warned that almost 8% of the world's population could descend into poverty due to the economic effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. For the first time since 1990, poverty could rise globally, threatening Goals 1 and 2 of the Sustainable Development Goals for 2030 ('No poverty' and 'Zero hunger').³

FROM SOLIDARITY TO THE ANGER OF THOSE WHO LIVE FROM HAND TO MOUTH: THE CASE OF COLOMBIA

In Medellin, as was the case in numerous other regions in Colombia, red rags began to be hung out of windows from the beginning of the lockdown period (25 March) as a distress signal sent by those who could no longer feed themselves. In a country where 47% of the active population works in the informal sector, these red rags are becoming a sign of inequalities that the coronavirus has exposed⁴. The 15 billion dollar aid plan launched by the government, which includes loans, money for the poorest people and funding for the health system, does not seem to have put an end to the protests. Demonstrations, pillaging of supermarkets and concerts of pots and pans have become a daily occurrence that the riot police are trying to control. More generally, there is a risk that the whole south-American sub-continent will be affected by extreme poverty. The UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) forecasts that regional GDP will fall by 5.3% due to the impacts of COVID-19. If growth falls to this extent, the number of people in the region living in poverty and extreme poverty could rise by 29 million and 16 million respectively⁵.

- At the community level, social organisations and community leaders are providing food aid to the most vulnerable people, and are disseminating public health messages. With a broad network throughout Colombia, and notably in the areas that are potentially the most at risk, these grassroots organisations play a central role in the response and help to establish mutual help networks between neighbours that could potentially last.

FROM THE PARIS SUBURBS TO THE TOWNSHIPS OF JOHANNESBURG: TENSION IN THE OUTSKIRTS OF CITIES

The outskirts of major cities are among the most fragile areas in relation to the crisis. First of all, because washing hands with soap and water (WHO's main recommendation) can be very complicated in a context where access to a limited number of water points is restricted due to the lockdown measures: in Africa, for example, 56% of the urban population is concentrated in slums or informal settlements and only 34% of households have access to basic facilities to wash their hands⁶. Also, because we know that population density combined with the precarious living

² *En Russie, des manifestations virtuelles contre le coronavirus*, RFI, 24 April 2020.

³ Study published on 8 April by the United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER).

⁴ *En Colombie, les chiffons rouges de la faim*, *Courrier International*, 18 April 2020.

⁵ *COVID-19 : l'impact sur la pauvreté implique de changer de modèle, selon l'ONU*, UN Department for Global Communication, 4 May 2020.

⁶ *COVID-19 : ce que fait l'ONU pour les populations des bidonvilles*, UN Department for Global Communication, 21 April 2020.

conditions in slums is a major factor in the propagation of the virus. Here, too, the pandemic and the consequences of how it is managed are heightening inequalities and exposing the most vulnerable people to further tension, as was seen during the recent food distribution in the Kibera slum in the Kenyan capital on 10 April, which ended tragically.

- Slums and the outskirts of cities are “used to being neglected by the state”⁷. They are also areas where mutual help networks have been established over the decades by associations, youth groups, and religious and community leaders. For example, in one of the biggest favelas of Sao Paulo, due to the inhabitants' capacity to self-organise, with some support from NGOs, they have been able to implement a significant response to COVID-19: schools transformed into health centres, the setting up of a remote medical service and the distribution of hygiene kits, etc.

In the outskirts of Paris, new international organisations came in to help provide emergency food aid and water. In addition to providing assistance to migrants, the *Fondation de l'Armée du Salut* increased its response capacity to distribute food aid in slums, such as in Ivry-sur-Seine (Val-de-Marne), and in Rom camps. “It was a humanitarian situation like in Africa”, said Gilles Pineau, the organisation's Deputy Director⁸.

Placing urban development at the heart of public policy:
the EUROsocial programme and the COVID-19 crisis

Since 2005, this regional cooperation programme between the European Union and Latin America aims to reduce inequality, improve levels of social cohesion and reinforce institutions in nineteen Latin American countries. Since the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis, EUROsocial has established a new laboratory, 'Informal settlements and social housing: COVID-19 impacts and answers'. The aim of this project is to encourage the sharing of experiences in real time to improve the emergency response, and, in the medium term, to promote structural change in the way inequality and urban poverty are managed. Among the ideas that have emerged to overcome the COVID-19 crisis is the need to reactivate the economy by creating jobs, for example in developing infrastructure for housing. These would be part of integrated urban development programmes, and would take into account issues of sustainability, inclusion, and the resilience of cities and their outskirts.

2. INCREASED RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNITY-BASED DIVISIONS?

SOCIAL NETWORKS BEHIND GROWING ISLAMOPHOBIA IN INDIA AND SRI LANKA

The epidemic hit India at a time when the social climate had already deteriorated significantly (violence between Hindus and Muslims in late February). Since lockdown began – the largest in the world – on 24 March, Muslims have been accused of being responsible for the epidemic by some authorities and part of the population. The accusations are specifically aimed at a congregation living in a Muslim enclave in the capital. Violent hashtags targeting the Muslim community have become increasingly common on social networks, and 'No Muslims!' posters have appeared in some villages. In Sri Lanka, Muslims have been singled out and accused of spreading the virus. Here too, the stigmatization is taking place in a climate where there was already a lot of tension, little more than a

⁷ “On est habitués à être négligés par l'État” : la mobilisation des favelas du Brésil face au Covid-19, *Le Monde*, 8 May 2020.

⁸ *Comment les associations d'aide aux sans-abris gèrent la crise du Covid-19*, *Slate*, 23 April 2020.

year since the Easter attacks by a local Islamist group affiliated to ISIS. According to certain observers, President Gotabaya Rajapaksa is using the crisis to strain relations between the communities and establish an authoritarian regime (he has just dissolved the Parliament).

- At the community level, solidarity movements have also emerged both in India and Sri Lanka, acting as a counterbalance in an extremely tense political context. In Kerala (India), new community-based networks, sometimes linked to political parties, have been created to distribute food and basic necessities to older people and poor families living in their neighbourhoods. Community kitchens have been set up in different regions of the country to prepare meals for those in need. These initiatives are spread out over the territory, and it is still too early to know whether they will last in the long term. However, certain observers already see them as representing the possibility of a new, solidarity-based form of community organisation in this divided, caste-based society.

MARGINALISED REFUGEES IN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST⁹

Though the restrictions to movement have been difficult for the whole of the Lebanese population, already faced with a serious economic crisis, they have been all the more difficult for the Syrian and Palestinian refugees living in camps. Their living conditions have deteriorated due to a curfew that applies solely to them. In 21 municipalities (among which 18 are located in the Bekaa Valley where more than a third of the country's refugees live), the nocturnal curfew has been extended till 1pm for the refugees. Though the mayors say that they are worried that the overpopulation of the camps will help to spread the epidemic, Human Rights Watch has described the measures as 'discriminatory'¹⁰, raising the question of equal access to healthcare for the refugees. Not to be outdone, Europe has also faced criticism from Human Rights Watch, which has said that 'xenophobic' voices have been raised in Greece (notably on the islands) stigmatizing refugees by suggesting that the health threat comes primarily from them. Other organisations, such as Médecins sans Frontières (MSF) continue to warn that there will be a disaster if the virus takes hold in migrant camps, a possibility that is currently being ignored.

IN LEBANON, SOLIDARITY DESPITE COMMUNITY-BASED TENSION

Having already been weakened by the ongoing economic crisis and by the demonstrations against corruption within the political classes, the Lebanese government has had difficulty finding its place in the response to the COVID-19 crisis. Though the country has been relatively spared by the virus, it appears to have benefited the traditional political system based on religious affiliation and cronyism. Indeed, religious leaders and their parties have successfully mobilized the generosity of the Lebanese people, channelled funds and delivered a considerable amount of assistance. The capacity to respond to the crisis has even become a springboard for future political and electoral success. For example, Hezbollah's Islamic Health Committee was among the first to deploy medical teams and disinfect public spaces, notably in the Bekaa Valley. The other political forces (the Shiite movement, Amal, CPL, etc.) have all done the same, via their affiliated civilian organisations (NGOs, associations, etc.). According to the Researcher, Loulouwa Al-Rachid, this has resulted in "an undeniable fragmentation of the country similar to that of the civil war (...). Parastatal groups have assumed the prerogatives of the forces of law and order, putting up barriers and implementing controls (taking people's temperature) when people enter and leave their enclaves"¹¹.

⁹ See the future Briefing Note by the COVID-19 Observatory on population displacement.

¹⁰ Lebanon: Refugees at Risk in COVID-19 Response, *Human Rights Watch*, 2 April 2020.

¹¹ *Le Liban face à l'épidémie du COVID-19 : Une catastrophe de plus ?* Loulouwa AL-RACHID, *Éditoriaux de l'Ifri*, 22 April 2020

THE CENTRAL ROLE OF RELIGION-BASED SOLIDARITY AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS IN SAHELIAN COUNTRIES

Ramadan began on 23 April. Though it is usually a period when social relations are strengthened, this year it is taking place at a time when there is both uncertainty and social distancing. In countries where there is a large majority of Muslims, social distancing measures were widely contested by a section of the population even before Ramadan began. In Niger, many young people immediately demonstrated against the banning of collective prayers in the mosques. Other countries in the sub-region, such as Mali, chose to keep religious premises open, partly because they were afraid of sparking protests. This shows the importance of religious institutions, and the important role that religious leaders can play, for example, in disseminating health messages within the population. In Senegal, religious brotherhoods are playing a major role in terms of community-based solidarity. By encouraging the faithful to give donations (the General Calife of the Mouride Brotherhood, Serigne Mountakha Mbacké, gave 200 million CFA francs to the Senegalese state), and through their actions directly delivering assistance, religious brotherhoods and institutions are playing a key role in the response.

3. WILL SUSPENDED SOCIAL CONFLICTS AND REVOLTS GROW?

Though the coronavirus prevented protest movements from occupying streets and public squares for a time, the gradual easing of lockdown conditions that is taking place in the majority of countries in the world could see their return, particularly as the economic consequences of Covid-19 are extremely harsh for those who are poorest. All around the world, governments are wary, including in France where the Central Territorial Intelligence Service is concerned that there might be a radicalization of protests in the weeks following the end of lockdown.

INEFFECTIVE CEASEFIRE APPEALS AND PEACEKEEPING FORCES WHO HAVE 'STAYED THE COURSE'

The UN Secretary General's appeal for a global ceasefire to allow belligerents to focus their efforts on fighting COVID-19, which he called the 'true fight of our lives', has only been partially heeded. In the days following the appeal, several armed groups made it known that they intended to suspend hostilities temporarily, such as the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), the Southern Cameroons Defence Forces (SOCADEF) and the National Liberation Army (ELN) in Colombia. But, overall, the appeal appears to have had little impact in conflict zones. Worse still, in the Sahel, terrorist groups seem to be taking advantage of the COVID-19 pandemic to intensify their attacks and increase their coordination capacity, according to a recent report by the UN Secretary General.¹² This issue is of particular concern in the Liptako Gourma region where, according to the same report, the "impact of the pandemic on the capacity of the inter-army and international forces to conduct operations in the months ahead is difficult to determine at this stage and should be carefully and continually evaluated".

In the meantime, UN peacekeeping missions are adapting to the new issues raised by COVID-19 and are organising their work on the basis of four main areas: 1) supporting local efforts to halt the spread of the virus; 2) protecting UN personnel; 3) implementing social distancing measures within missions to ensure that they can continue to work without becoming vectors of the virus; 4) continuing to pursue their objectives¹³.

¹² *Des groupes djihadistes au Sahel exploitent la pandémie pour intensifier les attaques*, AFP, 9 May 2020.

¹³ UN peacekeepers must stay the course, Atul Khare and Jean-Pierre Lacroix, *United Nations COVID-19 Response*, 29 April 2020.

PROTEST AND SOLIDARITY: THE REACTION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Hong Kong, Chile, Algeria...: lockdown measures have succeeded where governments were failing in terms of ending demonstrations and large-scale protests. But have restrictions on movement and emergency conditions weakened the resolve of opponents to government policies? Though the scenarios vary and it is difficult to predict how robust these movements will be in the future, there are signs of continued vitality. Some have been transformed from protest to solidarity movements, without losing their spirit of dissent.

In Algeria, the civil movement that had shaken the country since 22 February 2019 – the Hirak movement – decided to put their actions on hold due to the coronavirus. The now famous Friday demonstrations have been suspended. Some believe that this will lead to the end of a movement that was already too diverse to be powerful. But others have observed a capacity to adapt that says a lot about its ability to transform itself in the future. “The coronavirus will not kill the Hirak movement, but will expose the problems of the health sector” claims the sociologist, Yamina Rahou, a researcher at the Social and Cultural Anthropology Research Centre (CRASC) in Oran. In the past few weeks, young people from the Hirak movement have taken action in the poorer neighbourhoods of Algiers, disinfecting building entrances and shop shutters as part of the “health mobilization”, while also hoping to start marching again as soon as possible. On Sunday 10 May, the anti-regime demonstrations started again in Tizi Ouzou in Kabylia to denounce the summoning of young Hirak activists by the police.

In Latin America, citizens (and particularly young people) who have expressed anger with their governments have mobilized in recent weeks to provide vulnerable people with assistance. What stands out in their actions is the speed with which they have organized, based on horizontal and agile forms of organization and their effective use of social networks. In Colombia, for example, students “covered their mouths again, but this time to be in the front line in providing assistance, by organising collections of food, protective gear and tests for neighbourhoods that state aid does not reach”.¹⁴

And in Lebanon, on 27 March, the symbolic dismantling of the tents on the two main squares of the protest movement (Martyrs Square and Riad al-Solh Square) does not appear to have put an end to the ‘17 October’ revolutionary movement. On social networks, the hashtag “we’ll be back for you...” has continued to mobilise people and has brought together a solidarity network providing assistance to the most fragile sections of the population (taxi drivers, homeless people, etc.). With lockdown conditions having been lifted, the Lebanese people, who have been further impoverished by the crisis, have launched a new episode of the movement, ‘Thawra II’: demonstrations and riots have already resumed in Beirut and Tripoli, with the army using firearms in response.

4. THE INTERNATIONAL AID SECTOR: RESPONSE AND PERSPECTIVES

“The pandemic is more than a global health emergency. It is a systemic human development crisis, already affecting the economic and social dimensions of development in unprecedented ways”¹⁵ (UNDP)

Though there is still a great deal of uncertainty (how big will the crisis be on the African continent? how will societies absorb the economic shock ? ...), the brief overview above shows the extent to which the crisis transcends the health

¹⁴ De la protesta a la ayuda, *El País*, 6 May 2020.

¹⁵ COVID-19 and human development: Exploring global preparedness and vulnerability, *UNDP*, 29 April 2020.

sector and is heightening certain societal problems that are a source of inequality and have led to popular protests. Regardless of how the situation evolves, and beyond the emergency assistance that needs to be provided to the most fragile countries (in terms of health and food security), the crisis raises the question of the international aid system's capacity to significantly reinforce social fabric and the resilience of individuals and societies. In an extremely politicized context, where there are increasing demands for equality and social justice, the sector will need to look at ways of renewing its relations with civil society.

THE NEED TO REINFORCE SOCIAL SAFETY NETS

To make sure that the economic and social impact of the crisis does not cause more deaths than the epidemic itself, the international response should increase support to protection systems for the most vulnerable people. The COVID-19 epidemic has shown the need for welfare states and the need to support social safety systems to help communities and individuals cope with shocks while reducing the need for specific humanitarian programmes. The lessons learned from previous pandemics, such as the outbreaks of Ebola, underline the importance of social measures in managing a crisis and the subsequent recovery, in addition to medical operations. The Global Humanitarian Response Plan fully takes this factor into account, and recommends that, whenever possible, "Social safety nets are expanded for the most vulnerable to the pandemic".¹⁶ In low-income countries where systems are limited, measures aimed at informal workers could be effective.

- Since the beginning of the epidemic, there have been calls for ambitious budgetary and social protection measures to be put in place. In late March, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) called for an emergency universal minimum income to be introduced for those whose livelihoods have been affected by the crisis. In a second report, the OHCHR's Independent Expert on Foreign Debt and Human Rights recommended that the ad hoc and temporary measures that were being taken in connection with the COVID-19 response should gradually evolve towards reinforced, universal protection systems, with a particular social focus.¹⁷
- More specifically, the World Bank called on public authorities to broaden the eligibility criteria of their existing social protection programmes to include the most vulnerable people, notably migrants, and to establish new protection measures, for example, via cash transfer programmes.
- Currently, many humanitarian organisations appear to be extending/modifying their existing cash programmes, particularly when the context is favourable, by moving from in-kind assistance to cash transfer programmes (thus avoiding the need for people to gather in distribution sites)¹⁸.

WORKING MORE WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENTS: FOR 'PEER-TO-PEER' LEARNING

As in every crisis, local governments are on the front line, playing a pivotal role between communities and the health authorities, while making sure that public services continue to function normally. It is clear that, in order to take action rapidly and mobilise community-based organisations, it is crucial to work in close collaboration with local authority networks who are also the best placed to implement prevention and risk management policies within their territory. Though the issue of aid localization has been on the international agenda since the commitments of the Grand Bargain were made, there is still a lot that can be done to make a response "as local as possible", such

¹⁶ Global Humanitarian Response Plan COVID-19, United Nations Coordinated Appeal, April-December 2020, *UNOCHA*.

¹⁷ COVID-19 : *Appel urgent pour une action fondée sur les droits de l'homme en réponse à la récession économique*, Juan Pablo Bohoslavsky, *United Nations Special Rapporteur for the OHCHR*, 15 April 2020.

¹⁸ CVA in COVID-19 contexts: guidance from the CaLP network, 23 April 2020.

as the development of clear operational protocols and guidelines for joint action by NGOs and local governments, and also for joint action between different local governments. The African countries who have recently experienced epidemics (Ebola) no doubt have lessons and innovative initiatives to share.

- There have also been examples of solidarity between territories during the COVID-19 response: a large number of elected representatives from local governments in France, members of Cités Unies France who have been involved in cooperation projects with African countries for a number of years, have decided to launch a new solidarity fund. Contributed to by French local authorities, it aims to support African local authorities during and after the crisis, and promote the sharing of experience between peers.

LIVE LEARNING EXPERIENCE: BEYOND THE OUTBREAK¹⁹

CGLU, Metropolis and Un-Habitat launched a 'live learning experience' with local and regional governments on 25 March 2020. It is built around three blocks: 1) To create a virtual and living community, a safe environment, to share experiences of crisis management and protection of the commons through series of virtual exchanges on specific topics related to the role of public service delivery between cities and partners; 2) To make available online resources for local governments and allow for the active sharing of materials, strategies, and protocols by members and partners around the world to help others succeed and rapidly scale up the fight against the virus; 3) To develop briefings or guides together with UN-Habitat and other partners in response to the needs of local governments and on the basis of new learnings of local authorities when preparing and responding to Covid-19 and in support of the social and economic recovery later.

WHAT OPPORTUNITIES DO THESE NEW FORMS OF SOLIDARITY BRING, AT HOME AND ABROAD?

The crisis has confirmed that new forms of solidarity are emerging. These are sometimes remarkably effective, are often on the front line and are capable of mobilising large numbers. Despite their diversity, these movements show how dynamic civil societies are all over the world. They are also a sign of what may lie ahead: the increasing politicisation of solidarity networks. Whether in Lebanon, with the major role played by civil society organisations affiliated to the different political parties, in Mexico, where cartels distributed food, or in Colombia and Chile where former activists/protestors established mutual help networks, the solidarity that we have seen appears to come with social demands and/or political objectives. It often has its roots in civil society organisations with a social agenda, and though it is too early to predict how long these movements will last or to understand their precise nature, the aid sector needs to start considering what kind of partnerships it could establish with them, if any. At a time when reinforcing civil society is an important part of all programmes, we need to start analysing them in order to have a better idea of how the social fabric is evolving in the countries where the aid sector is present. We also need to think about alliances and capacity building, and about what players to support, and with what goal in mind. There are no doubt pitfalls and political manipulations to avoid. The best way to support very local initiatives that aim to bring about social change no doubt still needs to be invented. Nevertheless, we need to be proactive regarding these new partnerships, and be more audacious, so that the crisis 'benefits' those who desire change and becomes an opportunity that allows them to change their forms of organization and allows us to rethink ours.

¹⁹ Live learning experience #BeyondTheOutbreak : www.uclg.org

Lastly, as was the case already with the 'migrant crisis' in Europe in 2015, the pandemic has again highlighted European fragility and the fact that humanitarian aid can also be required here. In France, for example, Action contre la Faim, Handicap International, Médecins du Monde, Plan International and Solidarités International launched an unprecedented appeal for donations to fight the epidemic. In Italy, Canada and Spain, MSF staff helped the health authorities with the response to the pandemic. In these relatively new operational contexts, innovative partnerships have begun to take shape. In France, organisations from the social sector and from the humanitarian sector worked together to help migrants, homeless people and the very poor, with help from ordinary citizens.



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