

Notes

Introduction: Worry and Hope

- 1 United Nations, “Academic Impact. #WorkforUN: Language Professionals,” no date, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.un.org/en/academic-impact/work4un-language-professionals>; United Nations, *Declare War on this Virus – UN Chief on the Coronavirus Covid-19*. Speech by António Guterres, UN Video (March 13, 2020), accessed July 22, 2022, <https://videos.un.org/en/2020/03/13/declare-war-on-this-virus-u-n-chief-on-the-coronavirus-covid-19-13-march-2020/>.
- 2 World Health Organization, “About WHO,” no date, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.who.int/about>; World Health Organization, “WHO Director-General’s opening remarks at the media briefing on COVID-19 – 11 March 2020,” March 11, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.who.int/director-general/speeches/detail/who-director-general-s-opening-remarks-at-the-media-briefing-on-covid-19--11-march-2020>.
- 3 United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, *Global Humanitarian Response Plan COVID-19. United Nations Coordinated Appeal April-December 2020*, March 28, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.unocha.org/sites/unocha/files/Global-Humanitarian-Response-Plan-COVID-19.pdf>.
- 4 Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 67.
- 5 Debora MacKenzie, *Covid-19. The Pandemic that Never Should Have Happened, and How to Stop the Next One* (London: Bridge Street Press, 2020), 217.
- 6 Alex de Waal, “New Pathogen, Old Politics,” in *Thinking in a Pandemic. The Crisis of Science and Policy in the Age of Covid-19*, eds. Deborah Chasman and Joshua Cohen (Cambridge, MA: Boston Review; London: Verso, 2020), 47.
- 7 Sara Ahmed, *What’s the Use?* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2019), 3; John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin Books, 1972).

- 8 Raymond Williams, *Keywords. A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana Press, 1976), 15 and 14.
- 9 Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 159–160.
- 10 Judith Butler, *The Force of Nonviolence. An Ethico-Political Bind* (London and New York: Verso, 2020), 16. Judith Butler's book on the pandemic came out in November 2022, when this book was in the final stages of production. The book description on the publisher's website states that the book explores how the pandemic compels us to ask fundamental questions about our place in the world and that it offers an account of interdependency. See: Judith Butler, *What World Is This? A Pandemic Phenomenology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2022).
- 11 Butler, 16.
- 12 Judith Butler and Athena Athanasiou, *Dispossession: The Performative is Political* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), xi.
- 13 Butler and Athanasiou, 40.
- 14 On the concept and method of listening to images see: Tina M. Campt, *Listening to Images* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2017).
- 15 Butler and Athanasiou, 40.
- 16 Donna J. Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis, MN and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 4; Donna J. Haraway, "SF: Science fiction, speculative fabulation, string figures, so far," *Ada: A Journal of Gender, New Media, and Technology* 3 (2013), (2013), accessed July 22, 2022, <https://adanewmedia.org/2013/11/issue3-haraway/>.
- 17 See: bell hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014). See also: Jasmin Zine, "Reading Muslim Women and Muslim Women Reading Back: Transnational Feminist Reading Practices, Pedagogy and Ethical Concerns," *Intercultural Education* 18, no. 4 (2007): 271–280.
- 18 Joan Tronto and Berenice Fisher, "Toward a Feminist Theory of Caring," in *Circles of Care: Work and Identity in Women's Lives*, eds. Emily K. Abel and Margaret K. Nelson (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press 1990), 40.
- 19 See for example: Hannah Arendt, "Man: A Social or Political Animal," in *The Human Condition* (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press 1998 [1958]), 22–28.
- 20 Tronto and Fisher, 40.

- 21 Nancy Fraser, “Contradictions of Capital and Care,” *New Left Review* 100 (July/August 2016), 99. Fraser was one of the many critical voices on the left who spoke publicly about care in pandemic times and brought a perspective rooted in social reproduction theory to the public discussion. See for example: Nancy Fraser, “The Left and the Pandemic,” podcast, September 22, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://mosaik-blog.at/the-left-and-the-pandemic-nancy-fraser/>. *Mosaik*, operating out of Vienna, is a blog based on solidarity counteracting the turn to right-wing politics and authoritarianism. Contributors come from civil society organizations, social movements, political parties, science, and culture. *Mosaik* is funded solely through reader donations.
- 22 Robert F. Service, “You may be able to spread coronavirus just by breathing, new report finds,” *Science* (April 2, 2020), accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.science.org/content/article/you-may-be-able-to-spread-coronavirus-just-breathing-new-report-finds>. *Science* dates back to 1880 and was originally started with seed money from Thomas Edison and later financial support from Alexander Graham Bell. In 1944, ownership was transferred to the *American Association for the Advancement of Science*.
- 23 I first introduced the idea of new global international care order in my essay “Care Feminism for Living with an Infected Planet”, which was published as part of a 2020 series of corona essays, offered to the public on the website of Academy of Fine Arts Vienna and then further elaborated on this idea in two more essays published the same year. See: Elke Krasny, “Care Feminism for Living with an Infected Planet,” Academy of Fine Arts Vienna (April 2020), accessed July 22, 2022, https://www.academia.edu/43164537/Care_Feminism_for_Living_with_an_Infected_Planet; Elke Krasny, “Staying with the Crisis. A Feminist Politics of Care for Living with an Infected Planet,” *Escritura e Imagen* 16 (2020): 307–326; Elke Krasny, “In Sorge Bleiben: Care Feminismus für einen infizierten Planeten,” in *Die Corona-Gesellschaft. Analysen zur Lage und Perspektiven für die Zukunft*, eds. Michael Volkmer and Karin Werner (Bielefeld: transcript, 2020), 405–414.
- 24 I am grateful to conversations with feminist scholar of care Riikka Prattes and her untiring commitment to and insistence on care as knowledge.
- 25 I follow the notion of “the Enlightenment figure Man” as introduced by feminist anthropologist Anna Tsing. Anna Tsing, “Earth Stalked by Man,” *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 34, no. 1 (2016): 3.

- 26 World Health Organization, “14.9 million excess deaths associated with the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 and 2021,” May 5, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.who.int/news/item/05-05-2022-14.9-million-excess-deaths-were-associated-with-the-covid-19-pandemic-in-2020-and-2021>.
- 27 Haraway, *When Species Meet*, 3.
- 28 Haraway, 71.
- 29 Donna J. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble. Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2016), 2.

Chapter 1: We Are at War

- 1 United Nations, “Declare War on this Virus – UN Chief on the Coronavirus Covid-19,” speech by António Guterres, in the UN Video Repository, March 13, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://videos.un.org/en/2020/03/13/declare-war-on-this-virus-u-n-chief-on-the-coronavirus-covid-19-13-march-2020/>.
- 2 United Nations, “Declare War on this Virus,” March 13, 2020.
- 3 United Nations Secretary General, “Transcript of the Secretary General’s virtual press encounter on the appeal for global ceasefire,” March 23, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/press-encounter/2020-03-23/transcript-of-the-secretary-generals-virtual-press-encounter-the-appeal-for-global-ceasefire>.
- 4 United Nations Secretary General, “Transcript,” March 23, 2020.
- 5 United Nations Secretary General, “Transcript,” March 23, 2020.
- 6 Alex de Waal, *New Pandemics, Old Politics: Two Hundred Years of War on Disease and its Alternatives* (Cambridge: Polity, 2021), 2.
- 7 Stephanie Foote and Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, “Introduction: Climate Change/Changing Climates,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Environmental Humanities*, eds. Stephanie Foote and Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2021), 2.
- 8 Cynthia Enloe, *The Curious Feminist. Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004) 3, quoted in Annick T.R. Wibben, “Introduction: Feminists Study War,” in *Researching War: Feminist Methods, Ethics and Politics*, ed. Annick T.R. Wibben (New York and London: Routledge, 2016), 4.

- 9 António Guterres, “Remarks at 2019 Climate Action Summit,” September 23, 2019, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2019-09-23/remarks-2019-climate-action-summit>.
- 10 Guterres, “Remarks,” September 23, 2019.
- 11 In December 2013, Emile Ouamouno, a small child who lived in a village in the forests of southeast Guinea, died of Ebola after playing in the hollow of a fruit tree which was home to fruit bats, from which the zoonotic virus can be transmitted to humans. Ouamouno is considered the first victim of the 2013–2016 Ebola epidemic. Frank M. Snowden, historian of medicine with a particular focus on epidemics, explains that the spillover had a “complex gestation”, which we have to understand as part of the Anthropocene condition. Contrary to the common media portrayal of the “forested region” where Ouamouno played in a tree close to his home, as “virgin forest” or “remote”, these forests had been thoroughly globalized and were “deeply integrated into world markets from the closing decades of the twentieth century through thick and overlapping networks of trade, investment, mining, logging, and agrobusiness.” Snowden explains that the “areas where Ebola outbreaks have occurred since 1976 map perfectly onto the geography of deforestation in Central and West Africa.” Before the arrival of agrobusiness, which after excessive land grabbing and deforestation transformed the land into large-scale oil palm plantations, the “bats normally roosted high in the forest canopy, far from human activities.” Because of capitalist forestry, the bats’ homes, humans, and bats were forced into closer proximity to one another. See: Frank M. Snowden, “SARS and Ebola,” in *Epidemics and Society: From the Black Death to the Present* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2020), 474–481.
- 12 I capitalize “Man” and “His” following feminist anthropologist Anna Tsing, who introduced this strategy of capitalization of Man as a feminist analytic to mark patriarchal dominance under the banner of modern Enlightenment. The latter represents the materialization of power through the hegemony of the idea of Man and the realities of colonial sexist and racist capitalism that were created and supported by Enlightenment modernity. See: Anna Tsing, “Earth Stalked by Man,” *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 34, no. 1 (2016): 3. *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* was started in 1973 at the Department of Social Anthropology at Cambridge University. Since 2020, the journal is Open Access as part of the BerghahnOpenAnthro initiative. Berghahn books is a global publisher of academic books

founded by Marion Berghahn in 1994 and operates out of New York and Oxford.

- 13 United Nations, *Declare War on this Virus*, March 13, 2020.
- 14 Steven Erlanger, "Macron Declares France 'at War' With Virus, as E.U. Proposes 30-Day Travel Ban," *New York Times*, March 16, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/16/world/europe/coronavirus-france-macron-travel-ban.html>. For a political theoretical analysis see: Matthias Lehtinen and Tuukka Brunila, "A Political Ontology of the Pandemic: Sovereign Power and the Management of Affects through the Political Ontology of War," *Frontiers in Political Science* (July 28, 2021), accessed July 22, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2021.674076>. *Frontiers in Political Science* is a peer-reviewed interdisciplinary journal with a focus on the theory and practice of governments and political systems. It provides open access to all of its research publications. It is part of *Frontiers Media*, operating out of Lausanne since 2007.
- 15 As stated in the introduction, the formation of international organizations, institutions of global political and economic governance, institutions of international law as well as intergovernmental fora almost always took place in response to conditions of crisis. The history of the G20, which focuses on global economic growth and the global financial system, perfectly illustrates that this intergovernmental forum is a crisis-response institution. The G20 was formed in response to the global economic crisis in the late 1990s. Over the 1990s, a series of deep crises affected a number of countries including Finland, Sweden, Mexico, Thailand, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, Japan, Russia, Brazil, and Turkey. In 1999, the intergovernmental forum of the G7 Group of Seven including Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States, which had been founded in response to the economic crisis of the 1970s oil shock, decided to expand its forum to 20 members. The G20 Group of Twenty includes the following countries: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States, along with the European Union. The 2008 global financial crisis escalated the G20 to summit level. For a detailed chronological account and theoretical analysis of the international relations in this informal forum that presents a new model of global crisis response and governance through leader

- level summits, see: John R. Kirton, *G20 Governance for a Globalized World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).
- 16 World Health Organization, “WHO Director General’s remarks at the G20 Extraordinary Leaders’ Summit on Covid-19 – 26 March 2020,” accessed August 19, 2021, <https://www.who.int/director-general/speeches/detail/who-director-general-s-remarks-at-the-g20-extraordinary-leaders-summit-on-covid-19--26-march-2020>.
 - 17 Interpressnews, “WHO Director-General: We are at war with a virus that threatens to tear us apart,” *Interpressnews*, March 27, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.interpressnews.ge/en/article/106515-who-director-general-we-are-at-war-with-a-virus-that-threatens-to-tear-us-apart-if-we-let-it/>. InterPressNews was founded in 2000 in Georgia with the stated aim of providing accurate, balanced and objective information.
 - 18 John Cadham, “Covid-19 and Climate Change,” *Center for International Governance Innovation* August 24, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.cigionline.org/articles/covid-19-and-climate-change/>. The Canada-based Center for International Governance Innovation was founded in 2001 and created through a \$30-million endowment, including \$20 million from Jim Balsillie and \$10 million from Mike Lazaridis, co-CEOs of Research in Motion (BlackBerry). Two years later, this think-tank received match funding from the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. This independent Center for International Governance Innovation produces peer-reviewed research with the aim of providing a basis for policy innovation in global issues at the intersection of technology and international governance.
 - 19 The moving of viruses from one species to another is called a spillover event or spillover infection. In 2013, science writer David Quammen, who warns that ecological disruption causes spillover, published a book-length investigation on how human diseases originate in animals. See: David Quammen, *Spillover. Animal Infections and the Next Human Pandemic* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013).
 - 20 The founding of this global health organization in 1948 responded to the aftermath of World War II. Its constitution had been adopted by the International Health Conference held in New York in 1946.
 - 21 Deutsche Welle, “World Health Assembly: UN chief says globe is ‘at war’ with COVID,” *Deutsche Welle*, May 24, 2021, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.dw.com/en/world-health-assembly-un-chief-says-globe-is-at-war-with-covid/a-57638308>. Deutsche Welle is a German, state-owned

- international broadcaster, which was founded in 1953. Deutsche Welle broadcasts in 32 languages.
- 22 World Health Organization, "The Seventy-Fourth World Health Assembly closes," May 31, 2021, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.who.int/news/item/31-05-2021-the-seventy-fourth-world-health-assembly-closes>.
 - 23 Joshua Kretzer, *Resolve in International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 1.
 - 24 Trisha Greenhalgh, "Will Evidence-Based Medicine Survive Covid-19," in *Thinking in a Pandemic. The Crisis of Science and Policy in the Age of Covid-19*, eds. Deborah Chasman and Joshua Cohen (Cambridge, MA: Boston Review; London: Verso Books, 2020), 145.
 - 25 Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, eds. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 85.
 - 26 Clausewitz, 75.
 - 27 Constanza Musu, "War metaphors used for Covid-19 are compelling, but also dangerous," *The Conversation* (April 8, 2020), accessed July 22, 2022, <https://theconversation.com/war-metaphors-used-for-covid-19-are-compelling-but-also-dangerous-135406>. *The Conversation* was started in 2011, is available in English, French, Spanish and Indonesian. Operation out of Melbourne, this network of not-for profit media outlets publishes, news, academic research, analysis, and opinion pieces.
 - 28 Alex de Waal, "New Pathogen, Old Politics," in *Thinking in a Pandemic. The Crisis of Science and Policy in the Age of Covid-19*, eds. Deborah Chasman and Joshua Cohen (Cambridge, MA Boston Review; London: Verso, 2020), 47. *Boston Review* is a quarterly that was originally founded as *New Boston Review* in 1975. Operating as a non-profit, the *Boston Review* co-published *Thinking in a Pandemic* with Verso Books, a left-wing publishing house, which was founded in 1970 by the *New Left Review* and has offices in London and New York.
 - 29 Simon Tisdall, "Lay off those war metaphors, world leaders. You could be the next casualty," *Guardian*, March 21, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/mar/21/donald-trump-boris-johnson-coronavirus>.
 - 30 Lawrence Freedman, "Coronavirus and the language of war," *New Statesman* (April 11, 2020), accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.newstatesman.com/science-tech/2020/04/coronavirus-and-language-war>. *The New Statesman* is a London-based cultural and political journal that dates back

- to 1913 and was historically connected to the Fabian Society, a British socialist organization.
- 31 Constanza Musu, “War metaphors used for Covid-19 are compelling, but also dangerous,” *The Conversation* (April 8, 2020), accessed July 22, 2022, <https://theconversation.com/war-metaphors-used-for-covid-19-are-compelling-but-also-dangerous-135406>.
- 32 Musu, “War metaphors,” (April 8, 2020).
- 33 Musu, “War metaphors,” (April 8, 2020).
- 34 *Una Voce di Agamben*, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.quodlibet.it/una-voce-giorgio-agamben>. The Italian publishing house Quodlibet was founded in Macerata in 1993 by a group of students of Giorgio Agamben with a focus on philosophy.
- 35 Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, trans. George Schwab (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 7
- 36 Schmitt, *Political Theology*, 13.
- 37 Giorgio Agamben, *Where Are We Now? The Epidemics as Politics*, trans. Valeria Dani (Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 9.
- 38 Agamben, 49 and 41. I am well aware of the historical imperial, colonial, fascist, racist, and sexist violence of Western medicine, which forms part of a cruel hierarchy of bodies and can be understood as one expression of the ongoing war on the marginalized and disenfranchised. My argument here is concerned with an emergent ideology of freedom as a new-old ethics of supremacist carelessness and reckless hyper-individualism.
- 39 Agamben, 49 and 41.
- 40 Agamben, 49 and 41.
- 41 World Health Organization, “Infodemic,” accessed July 22, 2022, https://www.who.int/health-topics/infodemic#tab=tab_1.
- 42 Carlo Salzani, “Covid-19 and State of Exception: Medicine, Politics and the Epidemic State,” The Paris Institute for Critical Thinking, March 12, 2021, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://parisinstitute.org/depictions-article-covid-19-and-state-of-exception-medicine-politics-and-the-epidemic-state/>. The Paris Institute for Critical Thinking was founded in 2018. This non-profit and volunteer-run organization pushes back against the massification and corporatization of university education and aims to create a public space for education in the humanities and arts. Seeking ultimately to make access to their educational offers free by having a membership-based structure, their enrollment fees go directly to their instructors to ensure fair payment.

- 43 Salzani, March 12, 2021.
- 44 Darren Loucaides, Alessio Perrone, and Josef Holnburger, "How Germany became ground zero for the Covid infodemic," *openDemocracy*, March 31, 2021, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/germany-ground-zero-covid-infodemic-russia-far-right/>. *openDemocracy* is a UK-based political website that seeks to foster and promote democratic debate. Its funding is provided by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Open Society Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, among others.
- 45 Lydia Gall, "Hungary's Orbán Uses Pandemic to Seize Unlimited Power," *Human Rights Watch*, March, 23, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/03/23/hungarys-orban-uses-pandemic-seize-unlimited-power>. Human Rights Watch was founded in 1978. This international non-governmental organization with headquarters in New York refuses any government funding. It currently comprises 450 people of over 70 nationalities.
- 46 Council of Europe, "Secretary General writes to Viktor Orbán regarding Covid-19 state of emergency in Hungary, Council of Europe," March 24, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/-/secretary-general-writes-to-viktor-orban-regarding-covid-19-state-of-emergency-in-hungary->.
- 47 Council of Europe, "Secretary General writes to Viktor Orbán," 2020.
- 48 ICNL and ECN L, *Covid-19 Civic Freedom Tracker*, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.icnl.org/covid19tracker/>.
- 49 Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 199.
- 50 Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor*, 59.
- 51 Lyndon Baines Johnson, "First State of the Union Address," delivered January 8, 1964, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/lbj1964stateoftheunion.htm>.
- 52 Sontag, 59.
- 53 de Waal, "New Pathogen, Old Politics", 31.
- 54 See: Hirsch Ballin, Ernst, Dijstelbloem, and Huub, de Goede, Peter, "The Extension of the Concept of Security," in *Security in an Interconnected World. Research for Policy*, eds. Ernst Hirsch Ballin, Huub Dijstelbloem, and Peter de Goede (Cham: Springer 2020), 19.
- 55 Snowden, *Epidemics and Society*, 467 and 469.
- 56 Omer Bartov, "Man and the Mass: Reality and the Heroic Image in War," *History and Memory* 1, no. 2 (Fall-Winter 1989), 99. The double-blind peer-

- reviewed journal *History and Memory. Studies in Representation of the Past* is edited by the School of Graduate Historical Studies at Tel Aviv University. Founded in 1989, it covers the study of historical consciousness and collective memory and has counted Saul Friedländer and Dan Diner among its editors.
- 57 Jill H. Casid, "Handle with Care," *The Drama Review* 56, no. 4 (Winter 2012): 125. *The Drama Review* was founded in 1955 and, since 2021, the quarterly journal is published by Cambridge University Press. Promoting an expanded understanding of drama, the journal includes analyses of performance and ritual in relation to politics and everyday life. Richard Schechner has been highly influential to the direction of the journal.
- 58 Carla Macchiavello, "Caring, Curiosity and Curating. Beyond the End," *Seismpolite. Journal of Art and Politics* (July 1, 2015), accessed July 22, 2022, <http://www.seismpolite.com/caring-curiosity-and-curating-beyond-the-end>. *Seismpolite* is a Norwegian-English quarterly. It was launched in 2011 and is published by the Arts Council Norway. The focus is on art-making worldwide, with a specific interest in how artists respond to local political situations.
- 59 Haraway, *When Species Meet*, 36.
- 60 Erin Manning, "Review of Posthuman and Political Care Ethics for Reconfiguring Higher Education Pedagogies," accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.routledge.com/Posthuman-and-Political-Care-Ethics-for-Reconfiguring-Higher-Education/Bozalek-Zembylas-Tronto/p/book/9780367619060>.
- 61 Heinz Steinert, "The Indispensable Metaphor of War: On Populist Politics and the Contradictions of the State's Monopoly of Force," *Theoretical Criminology* (August 1, 2003) accessed July 22, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1177/13624806030073002>. The journal *Theoretical Criminology* was established in 1997 and focuses on criminological theorization based in empirical and theoretical approaches in relation to developments in social, cultural, and political theory. It is published by the global academic publisher SAGE publications.
- 62 PBS News Hour, "WHO report finds nearly 15 million deaths associated with Covid-19 worldwide," May 5, 2022, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/who-report-finds-nearly-15-million-deaths-associated-with-covid-19-worldwide>.
- 63 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, "WILPF's approach: Feminist Peace," accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.peacewom>

- en.org/why-WPS/solutions/integrated-approach. The beginnings of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom can be traced back to the International Congress of Women held in The Hague in 1915. The name was chosen in 1919, and today this non-profit non-governmental organization, which has a United Nations Office in New York, works for permanent peace. WILPF presents one of many examples of feminist activism within the structures of the United Nations. See: Wikipedia: "Women's International League for Peace," Wikipedia, last edited July 30, 2021, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_International_League_for_Peace_and_Freedom.
- 64 Andrew Smiler, *Is Masculinity Toxic?* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2019). Smiler's book is part of the London-based publisher Thames and Hudson's series The Big Ideas. The books in this series are described as primers for the 21st century, offering introductions to some of the most complex and densest concerns of our time and intended for a general audience. Themes addressed include capitalism, democracy, gender, and space.
- 65 Smiler, 13.
- 66 Julia Moses, "Social Citizenship and Social Rights in an Age of Extremes: T.H. Marshall's Social Philosophy in the Longue Durée," *Modern Intellectual History* 16, no. 1 (April 2019): 155–184. The journal *Modern Intellectual History* is published by Cambridge University Press and focuses on the history of ideas through analysis of the context and reception of texts published since the mid-seventeenth century.
- 67 Joan Tronto, *Caring Democracy. Markets, Equality, and Justice* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2013), 26.
- 68 Tronto, 25.
- 69 See: Richard Bean, "War and the Birth of the Nation State," *The Journal of Economic History* 33, no. 1 (March 1973): 203–221, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-economic-history/article/abs/war-and-the-birth-of-the-nation-state/420A5525071101201C94B49FB7ABE8DA>. *The Journal of Economic History* was founded in 1941. It is published by Cambridge University Press and characterized by quantitative and statistical approaches.
- 70 De Waal, "New Pathogen, Old Politics," 33.
- 71 María Cristina Santana, "From Empowerment to Domesticity: The Case of Rosie the Riveter and the WWII Campaign," *Frontiers in Sociology* 1 (2016), accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fsoc.2016.00016/full>. *Frontiers in Sociology* is part of an interdisci-

- plinary, community-based publishing platform founded in 2007 by the two neuroscientists Henry and Kamila Markram. Based on a model of private investment and article processing charges, *Frontiers* provides an open access model. In 2016, *Frontiers in Sociology* was launched as the first social-sciences journal of the Frontiers open science platform.
- 72 Wikipedia, “Home front during World War I,” *Wikipedia*, last edited July 17, 2021, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Home_front_during_World_War_I.
- 73 Isabelle Geuskens, “Introduction,” in *Gender and Militarism. Analyzing the Links to Strategize for Peace*, eds. Isabelle Geuskens, Merle Gosewinkel, and Sophie Schellens (The Hague: Women Peacemakers Program, 2014), 4.
- 74 Judith Butler, *Precarious Life. The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London and New York: Verso, 2004), xii. Ella Myers focuses on the questions of ethics and the ontological dimensions of vulnerability in her chapter on “Levinasian Ethics, Charity, and Democracy”. See: Ella Myers, *Worldly Ethics. Democratic Politics and Care for the World* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 85–110.
- 75 Judith Butler, *Frames of War. When is Life Grievable?* (London and New York: Verso 2009), 43.
- 76 Butler, *Precarious Life*, 31.
- 77 Butler, *Frames of War*, 43.
- 78 Tronto, *Caring Democracy*, 72.
- 79 Achille Mbembe, “The society of enmity,” *Radical Philosophy* (Nov/Dec 2016), accessed July 22, 2022, https://www.radicalphilosophy.com/article/the-society-of-enmity?fbclid=IwARoTy4cfy-DgS_oRazPdKhYdPxdpKrERkk48WJ-bIi32HRED5xGHqnG1-k. *Radical Philosophy* is a left-wing journal that began as a self-publishing endeavor in Britain in 1972. The bimonthly academic journal continues to operate outside of corporate publishing and appears three times per year in print form, but also makes freely available online all its content including all its back issues.
- 80 On the erosion of sleep see, for example: Jonathan Crary, 24/7. *Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*. (London: Verso, 2014). Rob Nixon has provided an example of lack of sleep combined with lack of access to light for studying at night: Niger Delta villages where children, for decades, had no access to electricity for studying at night, while above their communities Shell’s gas flares created toxic nocturnal illumination. Too dark for education, too bright for sleep: modernity’s false dawn. Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and*

- the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 42.
- 81 Anna Tsing, “Earth Stalked by Man,” *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 34, no. 1 (2016): 3.
- 82 See: Elizabeth Povinelli, *Geontologies. A Requiem to Late Liberalism* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2016), 18.
- 83 Povinelli, 48.
- 84 In the context of living with an infected planet caused by the historical consequences of Man’s exceptionalism, which define the hierarchical scale of care, it is relevant that Povinelli observed that the virus precisely draws into question the distinction between “Life” and “Nonlife”. See: Povinelli, *Geontologies*, 19.
- 85 See: Anna Tsing, “A Feminist Approach to the Anthropocene: Earth Stalked by Man” (Helen Pond McIntyre ’48 Lecture at Barnard College, November 10, 2015), accessed July 22, 2022, <https://vimeo.com/149475243>; Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature. Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1980).
- 86 Tsing, “A Feminist Approach to the Anthropocene” (November 10, 2015).
- 87 Merchant, 271.
- 88 See: Merchant, 1980.
- 89 Paul J. Crutzen and Eugene F. Stoermer, “The ‘Anthropocene,’” *Global Change Newsletter* 41 (May 2000): 17–18. *The Global Change Newsletter* is the quarterly newsletter of the International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme, IGBP, which is sponsored by the International Council for Science. In 2009, it changed its name to *Global Change Magazine*.
- 90 Jeff Tolleason, “Why deforestation and extinctions make pandemics more likely,” *Nature* (August 7, 2020), accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-020-02341-1>. *Nature* is a peer-reviewed British weekly scientific journal, which was started in 1869. The focus of the articles is on science and technology.
- 91 Ella Myers, *Worldly Ethics. Democratic Politics and Care for the World* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 6.

Chapter 2: Serving at the Frontlines

- 1 Concurrently with the pandemic outbreak and pandemic developments, researchers began to collect and collate data comparing policy responses

- and measures taken by governments to slow the spread of the virus around the world. One such example, ongoing at time of writing, is the *Covid-19 Government Response Tracker* by the Blavatnik School of Government and the University of Oxford. Covering more than 180 countries to provide information on data to decision-makers and citizens, the project's aim is "aiding efforts to fight (sic!) the pandemic." See: Covid-19 Government Response Tracker, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.bsg.ox.ac.uk/research/research-projects/covid-19-government-response-tracker>.
- 2 Kristalina Georgieva, "Transcript of Kristalina Georgieva's Participation in the World Health Organization Press Briefing," *International Monetary Fund*, April 3, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2020/04/03/tr040320-transcript-kristalina-georgieva-participation-world-health-organization-press-briefing>. The International Monetary Fund is a United Nations specialized agency and an international financial institution. It was funded at the Bretton Woods Conference in July 1944. The aim of this conference was to regulate the international monetary and financial order in the aftermath of World War II.
 - 3 Chris Giles, "Global economy set for sharpest reversal since Great Depression," *Financial Times*, April 3, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.ft.com/content/19d2e456-0943-42fc-9d2d-73318ee0f6ab>; Associated Press, Deccan Chronicle "Coronavirus pandemic has brought world economy to a standstill: IMF," *Deccan Chronicle*, (April 3, 2020), accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.deccanchronicle.com/business/economy/030420/coronavirus-pandemic-has-brought-world-economy-to-a-standstill-imf.html>. *The Financial Times* is a British daily newspaper, which was established in 1888. Operating out of London, it is owned by Nikkei Inc. and The Financial Times Group. Nikkei Inc. is a Japanese media company focusing on newspaper publishing. It dates back to 1876. The Financial Times Group publishes news on business. This media company dates back to 1888. *The Deccan Chronicle* is an Indian English-language daily newspaper, which dates back to the 1930s and is currently owned by Samagrah Commercial Pvt Limited, an Indian Non-Government Company, which was registered in 2018.
 - 4 Ahmed Gurhan Kartal, "World on Standstill: Covid-19 deals major blow to life as we know it," *Anadolu Agency*, March 23, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/health/world-on-standstill-covid-19-de>

- als-major-blow-to-life-as-we-know-it/1775711. *Anadolu Agency* is a Turkish state-run news agency operating out of Ankara. It was established in 1920.
- 5 See for example: Amelia Cheatham et al., “The Year the Earth stood still,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, December 7, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.cfr.org/article/2020-year-earth-stood-still-covid-19>. The Council on Foreign Relations is a membership organization operating out of New York. This think tank and publisher was founded in 1921. In the 1930s, the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation began to largely fund the Council of Foreign Relations.
- 6 Williams, *Keywords*, 15.
- 7 Among many others: International Domestic Workers Federation, <https://idwfed.org>; International Council of Nurses, <https://www.icn.ch>; Nurses International, <https://nursesinternational.org>; Território Domestico, <https://www.facebook.com/territoriodomestico/>; Women’s Global Strike, <http://womensglobalstrike.com>; women strike – Transnational Social Strike, <https://www.transnational-strike.info/article/tag/women-strike/>.
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- 9 Karl Marx, *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy. Volume 1: The Process of Capitalist Production* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co, 1887), xix.
- 10 Marx, *Capital*, 1887, 412–13, quoted in Mark Dickman, “Marx’s Metaphor,” *Redwedge* (November 12, 2014), accessed July 22, 2022, <http://www.redwedgemagazine.com/essays/marxs-metaphor>. *Redwedge* magazine is a socialist publication with a focus on the intersection of art and political struggle from a radical perspective. It was started in 2012 by comrades of the ISO, International Socialist Organization –US, which was dissolved in 2019.
- 11 Marx, 549.
- 12 Laura Sjoberg, *Gendering Global Conflict. Toward a Feminist Theory of War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 171.
- 13 Sjoberg, 171.
- 14 The notion of *sentipensar*, feeling-thinking, was described by Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals Borda as part of Indigenous epistemologies of communities in the Caribbean coastal region of Colombia. See: Orlando

- Fals Borda, *Una sociología sentipensante para América Latina* (Bogota: Clacso and Siglo de Hombre Editores, 2009).
- 15 For keyimage as an analytical concept see: Elke Gaugele and Elke Krasny, "Von Figurationen der Verfolgung. *Der Sklavenmarkt* von Jean-Léon Gérôme (1866) im rechtsextremen Wahlkampf der AfD," in *Rechte Angriffe – toxische Effekte. Umformierungen extrem Rechter in Mode, Feminismus und Popkultur*, eds. Elke Gaugele and Sarah Held (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 129–159.
 - 16 This book is interested in the pandemic gaze and the politics of pandemic vision under Covid-19 conditions, but the analytical framework of the pandemic gaze is, of course, useful to analyzing the visuality of other pandemics and endemics.
 - 17 On the concept of the working classes as the caring classes see: David Graeber, "Caring too much. That's the curse of the working classes," *Guardian*, March 26, 2014, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/mar/26/caring-curse-working-class-austerity-solidarity-scourge>.
 - 18 Stuart Hall, "A 'Reading' of Karl Marx Introduction to the Grundrisse," *Centre for Cultural Studies* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham 1973), 7.
 - 19 Hall, 7.
 - 20 Londa Schiebinger, "Why Mammals are Called Mammals: Gender Politics in Eighteenth-Century Natural History," *The American Historical Review* 98, no. 2 (April 1993): 382–411. *The American Historical Review* is an academic journal, which was founded in 1895 and is published by the American Historical Association.
 - 21 Schiebinger, 409.
 - 22 Care scholar Riikka Prattes focuses her feminist inquiry on questions of care, masculinity and knowledge. Riikka Prattes, "I don't clean up after myself: epistemic ignorance, responsibility and the politics of the outsourcing of domestic cleaning," *Feminist Theory* 21, no 1. (2020): 25, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700119842560>. *Feminist Theory* is a peer-reviewed journal in the field of women's studies. Initiated in the year 2000, the journal is published by Sage Publications, a global academic publisher, founded in 1965 in New York, and currently operating out of California.
 - 23 Tronto, *Caring Democracy*, 72ff. According to Tronto, the military protection of the nation as the duty of men gives men what she calls the protec-

- tion pass so they do not have to perform care, which was historically seen as the sole responsibility of women.
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 - 27 Regina Titunik, “The myth of the macho military,” *Polity* 40, no. 2 (2008): 137–63, quoted in Rebecca Tapscott, “Militarized masculinity and the paradox of restraint: mechanisms of social control under modern authoritarianism,” *International Affairs* 96, no. 6 (November 2020): 1565–1584, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiaa163>. *Polity* is the journal of the Northeastern Political Science Association. It has been published quarterly since 1968 by the University of Chicago Press.
 - 28 Covid-19 lockdowns, accessed July 22, 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/COVID-19_lockdowns.
 - 29 See: Falko Schmieder, “A Time-Out for Some Self-critical Reflection. ‘All the wheels shall stand still,’” *Goethe Institut*, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.goethe.de/prj/sti/en/mit/22780732.html>. The Goethe Institut is a non-profit cultural association promoting the study of the German

language and promoting cultural exchange. The first Goethe Institut opened in Athens in 1952. Today, there are 159 institutes worldwide. The refusal of workers to work continues to present a powerful threat to capitalist economies. The refusal to perform paid and unpaid care work has also been understood as a powerful threat, and is, of course, much harder to implement, as those who go on strike simultaneously have to ensure that essential care and vital functions are not at risk. One may think, here, of the historical example of the 1975 Icelandic Women's Strike and of contemporary global women's strikes. As the pandemic lasted, a growing global movement of nurses and health workers engaging in waves of strikes and holding protests emerged. See for example: Sorcha A. Brophy et al., "Heroes on Strike: Trends in Global Health Worker Protests during Covid-19," *Accountability Research Center*, April 2022, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://accountabilityresearch.org/publication/heroes-on-strike-trends-in-global-health-worker-protests-during-covid-19/>. The Accountability Research Center is an action-research incubator based in American University's School of International Service. It is funded by, among others, the Open Society Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation and EducationOutLoud.

- 30 See: Jonathan Crary, 24/7. *Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* (London: Verso, 2014).
- 31 Associated Press, Deccan Chronicle, "Coronavirus pandemic has brought world economy to a standstill: IMF," *Deccan Chronicle*, April 3, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.deccanchronicle.com/business/economy/030420/coronavirus-pandemic-has-brought-world-economy-to-a-standstill-imf.html>.
- 32 Medline Plus, "Viral Infections," accessed July 22, 2022, <https://medlineplus.gov/viralinfections.html>.
- 33 Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York, Penguin Books, 1976), 275.
- 34 Marx, 272.
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- 38 Beata Mostafavi, “Moms on the Frontline,” *Michigan Health*, May 8, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://healthblog.uofmhealth.org/lifestyle/moms-on-frontline>. This blog is run by Michigan Medicine at the University of Michigan.
- 39 Joanna Soszyńska-Budny, *Analysis of Critical Infrastructure: Impact of Operation Processes and Climate Change* (Cham: Springer, 2021), 52.
- 40 European Commission, “Critical Infrastructure,” accessed July 22, 2022, https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/pages/page/critical-infrastructure_en. The European Commission is the executive of the European Union and was founded in January 1958.
- 41 U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “Advisory Memorandum on Ensuring Essential Critical Infrastructure Workers’ Ability to Work during the Covid-19 Response,” August 10, 2021, accessed July 22, 2022, https://www.cisa.gov/sites/default/files/publications/essential_critical_infrastructure_workforce-guidance_v4.1_508.pdf. The United States Department of Homeland Security is responsible for public security and was founded in November 2002. It is similar to ministries of the interior in other countries.
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- 43 Helena Hoffmann and Mina Draganska for the European Parliament, “Revaluation of working conditions and wages for essential workers,” January 2022, accessed July 22, 2022, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2022/703344/IPOL_ATA\(2022\)703344_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2022/703344/IPOL_ATA(2022)703344_EN.pdf). The European Parliament is one of the legislative bodies of the European Union and was established in March 1958.
- 44 Lindsay M. Monte and Linda Laughlin for the Social, Economic and Housing Statistics Division at the U.S. Census Bureau, “Essential, Frontline & High Risk: How Covid-19 Prioritized Low-wage Workers while Heightening their Disadvantage” (paper presented at the Population Association of America April 6–9, 2022), accessed July 22, 2022, <https://>

- www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2022/de mo/sehsd-wp2022-08.pdf. The U.S. Census Bureau, established in 1902, is an agency of the U.S. Federal Statistical System, which is tasked with producing data on the American population and economy.
- 45 Brad Lander, “New York City’s Frontline Workers,” March 26, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://comptroller.nyc.gov/reports/new-york-city-s-frontline-workers/>. The Comptroller of New York City is an office that was established in 1801. The comptroller is the city’s chief financial officer and auditor.
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- 47 MacKenzie, 203.
- 48 MacKenzie, 203.
- 49 See: Dirk Witteven and Eva Velthorst, “Economic hardship and mental health complaints during Covid-19,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America PNAS* 117, no. 44 (October 12, 2022), accessed October 30, 2022, <https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.2009609117>. The *National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* is a private non-profit organization of researchers with current members electing new members. It is not funded by the U.S. government. It dates back to 1863 and resulted from an Act of Congress approved by Abraham Lincoln.
- 50 Department of Defense Dictionary and Associated Terms, (United States Joint Chiefs of Staff: Washington D.C. 1987), 238. The Department of Defense was founded by Harry S. Truman in 1947, it is an executive branch department of the federal government.
- 51 Adrienne Bernhard, “Covid-19: What we can learn from wartime efforts,” *BBC*, May 1, 2020, accessed August 19, 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20200430-covid-19-what-we-can-learn-from-wartime-efforts>. BBC, the British Broadcasting Corporation, is the public owned national broadcaster of the United Kingdom. It was founded in 1922.
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- 57 David Higgins, “Apocalypse/Extinction,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Environmental Humanities*, eds. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Stephanie Foote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 122.
- 58 Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka for UN Women “Op-ed: Women Working on the Frontline,” December 23, 2020, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/12/op-ed-ed-phumzile-women-working-on-the-front-line>. UN Women was established in 2010 by the United Nations General Assembly and is the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women. It is governed by a multi-tiered intergovernmental governance structure.
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- 60 Sanket Jain, “India’s healthcare workers are busting misinformation on WhatsApp,” *The Verge*, June 17, 2021, accessed June 3, 2022, <https://www.theverge.com/22535642/covid-misinformation-india-asha-whatsapp>; See also: The Model Micro Plan for containment of local transmission of Covid 19 by the Indian Government: <https://www.mohfw.gov.in/pdf/ModelMicroplanforcontainmentoflocaltransmissionofCOVID19.pdf>. *The Verge* is an American technology news website, which was founded in 2011. It is owned by Vox Media. Vox Media Inc. is a mass media company,

- founded in 2011 by American businessman James Philip Bankoff and technologist Trei Brundrett.
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 - 62 UN Women, "In Photos: Women on the front lines of COVID-19 in India," August 17, 2021, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/multimedia/2021/8/photo-essay-women-on-the-front-lines-of-covid-19-in-india>.
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- 69 Wichterich, "Protection and Protest," 2021, 163.
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- 71 Wichterich, 164.
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- 74 Jugal Purohit, "COVID-19 India health workers' families fight for compensation," *BBC*, September 22, 2021, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-58621933>.
- 75 Sanket Jain, "The Care Workers of Rural India are Ready to Strike," *Nation*, July 5, 2022, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.thenation.com/article/world/india-asha-protest-covid/>. *The Nation* is an American biweekly magazine that was originally founded by abolitionists in 1865.
- 76 EngenderHealth, "EngenderHealth Congratulates ASHA Workers for Winning the Global Health Leaders Award-2022," accessed June 3, 2022, <https://www.engenderhealth.org/article/engenderhealth-congratulates-asha-workers-for-winning-the-global-health-leaders-award-2022>. EngenderHealth is a non-profit organization operating out of Washington DC. It was founded in 1937 and focuses on sexual and reproductive health. EngenderHealth is active in twenty countries in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Its founder was Marian Stephenson Olden, a eugenics activist, who was active in the sterilization movement.
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- 78 Extractivism is the ideology behind extraction, which satisfies the resource needs of a growth-centric capitalist economy and is one of the main causes of today's climate collapse. Care extractivism is the ideology behind care extraction and can be seen as one of the main reasons behind the total and sometimes even fatal exhaustion of care workers.
- 79 Priyamvada Kowshik, "Women Warriors versus Covid," *Times of India*, April 23, 2022, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/women-warriors-versus-covid/articleshow/81293316.cms>. *The Times of India*, TOI, was founded in 1838. Today, this daily newspaper is the largest selling English-language daily worldwide, with more than 3 million copies sold every day. It has been owned since 1838 by the The Times Group, which is owned by Bennett, Coleman & Co Limited, which is owned by the Sahu Jain family.
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Chapter 3: Feminist Recovery

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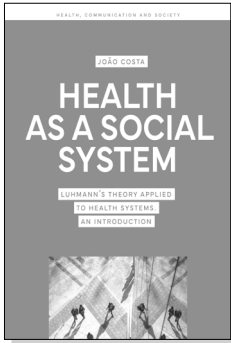
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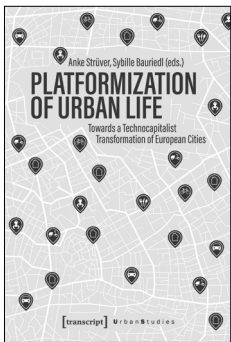
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