

## Episode 9: Organized Money II: Economic Democracy & the Solidarity Economy

**Unidentified** [00:00:05] Hi, my name

**Speaker 1** [00:00:06] is Luke Bretherton, and this is the Listen Organize Act podcast, which focuses on the history and contemporary practice of organizing in Democratic politics. This is the second of two episodes focusing on the relationship between money, politics and organizing in the previous episode. I discussed how to hold politicians, government officials and corporate business leaders accountable for how they use or distribute money, as well as how to fund the work of organizing. The question I'm going to focus on in this episode is how to organize money so that it fosters the flourishing of where we live and work through generating different kinds of institutions and ways of building wealth in a community to those that dominate the existing economy. I discuss how and why democratic forms of economic production and investment and democratic ways of structuring work and ownership are needed to address economic inequality, issues of racial equity and the need for environmentally attuned ways of doing business to discuss what's sometimes called the solidarity economy. I talk to Philippe Wicker and Mollie HomeStreet about the imaginative ways they're organizing money and how this work is embodied in a particular form of economic democracy. The Cooperative Molly is the executive co-director for the Industrial Commons, founder of the worker owned Co-operative Opportunity Thread's and the co-founder of the Carolina Textile District, Philippe Organizer's at the intersection of cooperatives and financial investment and is the co-founder of the Community Purchasing Alliance, which is affiliated with the Industrial Areas Foundation. Prior to that, he was a community organizer for 10 years and they both bring a wealth of experience to this discussion. So join me now as I talk to Philippe embolic about organized money, economic democracy and the need for a new cooperative commonwealth.

**Speaker 2** [00:02:13] Molly Phillipi, it's fantastic to have you on the list and organize podcast. Really appreciate you taking the time to be with me today. So I'm just going to kind of kick off getting a little bit of background on the two of you just to give us a sense of the kind of work you're both doing. So, Philippe, if I start with you, can you tell me a little bit about the Community Purchase Alliance and what it does and how you came to be involved in it and some of the ways you are trying to kind of reimagining, kind of reimagine how to fund the work of organizing?

**Speaker 3** [00:02:47] Yeah, the community purchasing Alliance emerged in a conversation I was having with Martin Trimble about 10 years ago, and he was very keen on earned income strategies for organizing. How could we help all the churches, synagogues, congregations and schools we organize make better decisions on all of their purchasing, real estate, finance, investment decisions? And could we do that as a cooperative to actually have some kind of bulk purchasing benefit together? And that's what's involved. We've actually formed a cooperative now about eighty five member owners making better decisions together and really building that market intelligence. Who are the best providers? Who are the ones that better align with our values? Is there a black owned business locally that we could use for janitorial, for utility purchasing? And that's kind of how I got to know. Mollie was realizing she was producing mask's at the beginning of the pandemic and realized all of our schools and churches also needed to purchase PPE. So really, it's this interesting dynamic where we're bringing community organizing for metter if 60 percent of our profits go back to Metro. I have this interesting royalty agreement we have, but the vision for it really came from my frustration as an energy consultant not being able to see

energy decision makers value climate and long term sustainability as part of their decision making. So how do we organize utility bills, people that make those decisions to see themselves as participating in a market? And I think the regulated regulatory infrastructure, the United States is very state centric for utilities. And so could we build enough market power by organizing all the faith institutions, educational nonprofit institutions in Washington, D.C., and approach enough market power to shift that environment? So it's all about organizing money is the vision, but really making smarter decisions together.

**Speaker 2** [00:04:29] So that kind of basic move there is you get enough institutions together. They then kind of pool their resources to bulk buy energy in this case, or it could be other things like janitorial services or things. And then that in the sense you're that you're then taking the kind of savings of that and using that to fund organizing. But then also you're building relationship that's kind of relational work and organizing work going on between the coalitions. Is that right? And can you just expand a little bit on that?

**Speaker 3** [00:04:59] Yeah, you hit on it. Well, it's all the facilities contracts that all of our institutions have, and we're helping them find higher performing providers, usually minority and locally owned businesses. And we're trying to build a vehicle for social change. That's much bigger, though. And so we're trying to tackle the bigger systemic questions that are often out of reach for any individual actor on their own. And so we're kind of blending the best of broad based community organizing, the better, best of the power analysis, realizing that market power is vital in shifting markets, but also recognizing that we can be through our purchases, make savvier decisions for institutions and often saving money offer and lowering risk. And so by making better decisions just for our own institutions, we're being better stewards of our own kind of institutional context, but together able to tackle some of the more intractable social environmental challenges and this particular racial justice, racial equity has become a priority for our membership and realizing that it's hard to go spend a few hours finding the best black owned IT provider out there. But if you can have somebody that's part of the cooperative call around a 10 or 20 other organizations and do they have a black owned provider? And sure enough, they do and then have that information source together. We build preferred vendor lists and we could all make better decisions informed by the collective. And so it's organizing all of our economic decision making together to be more insightful. And then we can more strategically negotiate with providers, for example, who are the energy companies that do finance energy efficiency investments, who are the solar companies that provide that piece of things. So that's what we're doing.

**Speaker 2** [00:06:27] But so that's an interesting thing there where we tend to think about we do the organizing work or ministry work over here. We've got to kind of work of education in the school or worship in the church. And then we have a whole bunch of things like we've got to pay bills, we've got to fix the roof, we've got to, you know, keep the lights on and work out how to pay the bills. But that side of stuff, that side of the ledger, as it were, isn't thought of as actually itself a kind of realm of potential organizing work and social change. But actually, what you're pointing to is literally how we saw our coffee through to how we pay our utility bills itself, can do transformational work in the community. And more broadly, that's that's that's fascinating, but Molly, just turning to you, can you tell me something then of the what you're doing and how you came to develop it in your vision for it, particularly the kind of opportunity thread's initiative and how that connects into the Carolina textile district?

**Speaker 4** [00:07:28] Sure, happy to do that, and thank you so much for having me be part of these conversations. So I grew up here in western North Carolina. I am born and

raised. I had the opportunity and the privilege to go to Duke University. And when I came back, there was a really high unemployment in my community. We are still the furniture maker capital of the US and one in three people are working in manufacturing where I live. So this is kind of the heart, heart and soul of a lot of what we're doing in textiles and furniture. So while at Duke, I had had some good allies like my friend Bishop, and who had helped and taught me and we had done a lot of work in Latin America. And so I had become more familiar with models of economic development from microenterprise. And it was funny coming back to my community because it almost felt like some of these places in the global south where so many people's jobs have been decimated. So coming back in, I was also part of not necessarily at the exact same time, but earlier part of the unionizing campaign of just supporting that through a really unprecedented group of indigenous workers own indigenous workers that organized here in North Carolina. There's a book about them called *The Mayor of Morganton*. And they had come and they had organized with very little support. But the main folks that had supported them was the Catholic Church. So it was really interesting to see, like the one the folks that would stand up and support them. Where was the priest and the folks? There were a right to work state. So it's very hard to organize here. So when that organizing, unfortunately, the union decertified, which I think is really a whole nother conversation about how we need organized labor and how hard it has been to have organized labor and the structures that have been built to intentionally keep folks unorganized. So in the face of that, I became really interested to say, well, how else can folks get organized? And so I had the really good fortune to meet Frank Adams, who was one of the founders of the Highlander Education Center. And he said, well, come sit in my living room, but I'll tell you what I know, which was just a beautiful invitation

**Speaker 2** [00:09:43] for those who don't know how to fix that. It was key both in the from the 30s onwards, in both the initial union organizing work and then later in the civil rights movement and does talk about popular education in a later episode. And there they've been a kind of key site for particularly in the south, the Appalachian region, that both union organizing, civil rights organizing and kind of broader organizing initiatives among all sorts of different communities. So I just don't know

**Speaker 4** [00:10:11] that's putting some of this is just like embedded in us, thankfully. And we forget to go back and tell those stories. But Frank invited me and Frank has since passed, but he invited me into his living room. He's like, well, you should start a factory. And I thought, well, what the hell, I didn't know any better. I know now what I know. But, you know, long story short, ah, we started opportunity threads, so we organized in the worker center and found workers that had some consciousness about wanting a different workplace. And we also had a market. So a company that wanted to work with us. And we started with just a handful of workers, people taking off overtime and after hours. And we started Opportunity Thread's, which is now grown from we were one little sewing machine into just a closet, basically. And now we've bought our own factory through with help from the Self Help credit union. Again, another great way to how we mobilize wealth and hold it in the hands of multiple generations. And so we're up to almost over 70 workers now in this plant will probably be up to one hundred this year. But so that is an employee owned company that's really focusing on sustainable textiles, I think is really important also that we think about not separating out the planet profits and people that they can live together. So we started the opportunity threads and they kind of became a model and we started the Carolina textile district as a way for small producers to come together. So we talk about being big by being small together, very much what Filipa is doing with churches. We're trying to do it with small producers so that we can leverage more of the marketplace and we can also leverage opportunities and services. We're even looking at shared insurance

now. So how can we make jobs better for folks? So out of the out of this one cooperative, we built really an industry cooperative. And then out of that, we've got a fiber one, C three, because we said, ha, there's something to this. So we kind of did it backwards. We built the businesses, built the networks, and now we're building the fiber one C three to many, many more businesses and have opportunities and wealth more locally in our communities right today.

**Speaker 2** [00:12:07] So we've kind of Philippe's work sits at one end, classically cool kind of consumer cooperatives where you organize in this, in his case, institutions into a kind of body of of organized consumers. So you can then kind of affect the market and affect that community through that inside of. Yours is a worker cooperatives and then how they kind of form together the site of production and distribution. Can you just explain a little bit more about what is a worker? Cooperatives might be unfamiliar to a lot of folk.

**Speaker 4** [00:12:42] Sure. And I think this is why Philippe calls like this. And if I were just good friends, I think what we're talking about is a cooperative, this economy, and that there's a whole opportunity for how people can come together and share resources and share wealth and pass that on that and pass it on to the next generation. And not just about the wealth, but I think that's kind of the heart of a work around. Cooperative is is kind of one member, one vote. So you're thinking about governance, management and the economy, the ownership of that. It's also different by state. So we're thinking structurally. So here in North Carolina are some of our cooperatives are organized as L.L.C. is. A lot of cooperative structure is based on agricultural cooperatives like the nineteen thirties. And so we need some updated policy. That's something we're all working to do that can bring folks together. That's not to say you don't have a management structure. We're not collectives necessarily, although sometimes cooperative smart ups start out very small and they're collectively organized. But we do have a management structure, we have a governance board. But the whole idea is that you have one member, one vote versus a corporation where you're going to have kind of unequal representation. And then the whole idea is that the money that's put in and the profits that are made are distributed back out to the community based on the effort that the workers are putting in. So this is not wealth that's leaving our community. This is wealth that's scaling and staying in our community.

**Speaker 3** [00:14:06] And look, what's so powerful about what Molly was just saying there is that the Industrial Commons is actually a collection of multiple cooperatives and social enterprises of opportunity thread's. The worker cooperative with primarily the Mayan Guatemalan immigrant workers is there's one in the Kerlin. A textile district is a producer cooperative of many more. And so when we were sourcing mask's from them, we were sourcing both from opportunity threads, but also Carolyn, a textile district, which is a collaborative lots of small producers. And they also have several other social enterprises, cooperatives that are part of this ecosystem working together. But one of the big challenges in cooperatives is, is organizing the money for that. Right. And then the philanthropy from that. They're building some really interesting pieces where they will see new cooperative ventures from the funds that they're paying back those initial loans of initial enterprises and they're being successful. And I think what's crazy is that Mollie's building is one that's having so much success that it's more cooperatives and more success. And they're kind of seeding each other, but they're involved a very high level of transactions right now.

**Speaker 4** [00:15:02] I think the other thing is a new economy is so overwhelming to think about and we need to think about these doorways in. And I think the lovely thing about the Carolina textile district is some of those folks in the Carolina textile district, which is this

network of small producers coming together that have done really some extraordinary things, which I'm happy to talk about in a little bit. But some of those are cooperatives. Some of those are what we call a conversion. So they're starting to think about this transition more to a cooperative form for a lot of reasons. A lot of that is for succession. A lot of that is just people not wanting to one person to bear the brunt of so much decision making. A lot of it's for the sustainability, but there are a lot and lot in some of those folks that are in the textile district are not cooperatives either. But I think there's a lot of doorways in to a new economy that we want to bring about. And I think these industry producing cooperatives are ways to do that.

**Speaker 2** [00:15:51] So one of the things that's come through in what Bethune's saying, there is talk a lot and talk about how we think about democracy as ordinary folk having some say and control over their living and working conditions. But we tend to think about that more broadly in a kind of small D democratic sense of kind of affecting the community where you live or, you know, questions around police reform or whatever it is. I think what you've both highlighted there is thinking about it what's often called economic democracy or how do we kind of democratize the workplace and how we actually make distribute and consume things and goods and services. And here I think this is a very underdeveloped imagination for the role of democratization in terms of how decisions are made in the workplace, of how we imagine the kind of structures of production and distribution and things. So can you just on that note, I mean, you've mentioned there the industrial commons. Molly, can you say a little bit more about what the Commons means to you and why that's a kind of resonant or significant term, both something about the work of the industrial commons, but more broadly, that vision at the center of it of the Commons.

**Speaker 4** [00:17:13] So the Commons is usually borrowed from environmental language about there is just this right, we all have these rights to spaces. No one should own one. The grasslands, no one should own the forest. It should be there for everyone. And so I think what we're pushing it to is kind of that that paradox of industry and economy should also be owned in a much more open way and there should be more exchange. Right. So that's the whole idea of taking kind of what we borrow from from the natural world, which teaches actually so much about the economy. And that's why I love talking about the economy in terms of ecosystems, because so many of our answers are right before us. And the beauty of the natural world. And we need to think about how do we translate so much of that integration into things that are often feel inaccessible to us, which are these economic models. And we think, oh, that's someone else's job to figure it out, but it is so much what affects our lives. So I think that was where we really came forward with this idea of the industrial commons is more and more being people being able to participate and understand the economy of their lives, which is what we all do and we all work. So how do we think about to your point about having more say in the work you are doing, but also more if a job is being built on your back, more participation? And what happens to that profit or even the ability to say that this is enough profit and we need to do something else with it. And so that's why, again, we love to use the word not just worker owners, but worker stewards, because many of the businesses that we will be building will be put in trust so you can never sell them. You are building something towards a future that you are you may not even see yourself. So that's another way in which we're trying to really structurally hold wealth in our communities and come out of generational poverty.

**Speaker 2** [00:19:03] So the Commons there is this sense of, you know, whether it's fisheries, forests, that you had rights of foraging in the forest or fishing in the rivers or the sea. And actually it's there in ancient Roman law, in the Justinian code as well from the sixth century. But this sense then that you've got a a resource that we all in which we all

depend and that everyone is contributed to, it's a kind of cultivation. And if and if there's an attempt to kind of monopolize ownership, we all suffer. But if there's a sense in which we've all got a contribution to make to its upkeep and that we all depend on it, and it's a very strong idea. You've put that in the industrial commons because we tend to think of commons as either grasslands or forests or fisheries or the air. And there is a sense in which there's all this knowledge in forms of work, in your case, in the textile industry, which is shared by all these people, and that that knowledge as a kind of knowledge commons and a set of practices and understandings and skills, and that that is part of what's being organized there in these working collectives, that that knowledge is coming together and being pooled and shared and everyone can benefit from it.

**Speaker 3** [00:20:25] Yeah, one piece I'll build on there is one of the training pieces that Molly uses, you know, is about workers having agency autonomy and understanding the business decisions that are making. Right. And that's something we also do at the community purchasing allowances for financial transparency of all decisions, for salary transparency so that every person is understanding the management of the business. So you talk about everyone's contributions. We're only able to contribute when we have the knowledge and the insight of what are the big things that make the business work and kind of open book management. And there is this move to democratize our economic institutions and our businesses. And I think co-operatives and especially, you know, some of the ones Mollie's pioneered. Ah, I think at the forefront of how we think about making decisions, more thoughtful decisions together that balance most affected communities, the environment and where we are today and our live realities day to day.

**Speaker 4** [00:21:13] And I think the Commons is about stewardship and it also is about boundaries, because the comment there, there's Ehnes to things. And so I think it's. It is about the stewardship of whether this is an economy that we're all moving forward or I've had enough, let me give let me give something else. And I just think for the environmental imperative that needs to be in everything that we're doing. So I think one thing we're really trying to do in the industrial commons, as with any cooperative that we create, there is an environment that there's a human imperative to it and then there's an environmental imperative to it. So I think it's really important that there's a new economy we're trying to manifest and bring into. Life isn't pitting people against the planet, but we can really say the solutions that we have need to to be a strong relationship between people and workers and environmental solutions that we can we can solve together. All right.

**Speaker 2** [00:22:04] So I want to I want to link this this work of economic democracy and the very powerful picture you've both been portraying here of the role of cooperatives in that as a kind of a way of imagining differently the workplace and what we do with money. There's been a big focus in community organizing on how to secure money from the state or from private corporations. Now at its point of origin. And if going back to the kind of 30s and 40s, organizing was also focused on bringing institutions together to do things for themselves or in the UK, we call it kind of DIY ethos, do it yourself ethos. And this was kind of helping institutions keep money in the local communities, provide resources, produce things in the local in the local communities and employment opportunities. They're independent of either the state or kind of large private corporations. Can you can you just tell us a bit about how you see the role of cooperatives anchoring money in a particular place and doing that kind of relational work in a community,

**Speaker 4** [00:23:18] as you are speaking? It made me think of just the story, and I think that's also an economic development. It's often what you hear about recruitment. So we're often told this there's this outside person that's going to come in or this outside entity,

usually in the form of some large corporation that's going to come in and it's going to cure all our problems, which usually is what happens. But I remember and that's, I think, the advantage of living in the community. I've lived here my entire life and hope to stay. But thinking about like this big Caterpillar plant came around and I remember when it came and now it's gone. Even in the span of like 19 years, I think it came and it got every tax incentive under the sun and now it's gone and all those jobs are gone. And that investment. Wow. And in the meantime, we at some point we will have had as many jobs as Caterpillar. I think we're close to like one hundred and twenty jobs. And I think the Caterpillar plant was like one hundred and seventy. So you think about having gotten really small, no tax incentives. We have gotten a lot of really wonderful grant tours like Catholic Campaign for Human Development, which I want to just give a shout out to. We have had that type of investment that you think about, just the splash that was made for this one big company and now it's gone. And they had they supported all these small, locally rooted businesses. You would have had that capital, that knowledge, that leadership, all of that would have been invested in that same amount of time. In fact, I think we've grown our plant to over 70 workers and less time than they have done that. So that was just an aside, as you are telling all of that really wonderful, wonderful background. So I think that's

**Speaker 2** [00:24:51] that's a that's a

**Speaker 4** [00:24:51] story question.

**Speaker 2** [00:24:53] That is the story. I think that's a very important point you just made, because there's a key story that we could think about baseball stadiums or, you know, these kind of big development projects, state sanctioned with big tax cuts that are supposed to bring investment into a community. But but they're often themselves. You know, if we look at over a decade long or two decades long themselves move out to the next place. And there's always this threat. You've got to keep low wages, wages low. You've got to kind of give the tax incentives to keep that money in place. And what the contrast you're drawing there is growing, in a sense, from in a more organic rooted way. Actually, the money, the people, the resource stays the knowledge of all of that, the skills base expertise stays in that community over a much longer duration and does much more creative wealth creation in that community. And I think that's a very you're right. This kind of messianic figure of the big development project or the big factory or the big processing plant, that itself is actually often quite temporary. And I think where we need to be much more alert to these kinds of stories and the kind of different ways they're operating in the kind of contrast with the kind of work you're sorry, but yes, you're going to

**Speaker 4** [00:26:12] talk about this that we don't want to get big. I mean, I think our hope would be like we've started to keep the the metrics of the amount of wealth our co-operatives are generating and circulating. And it's upwards of like 15 to 20 million dollars a year that's we're starting to generate. So if you can invest in these companies over time, they become to that scale. And I think that's what we'll start to see it. We'll start to see the tipping. And I'll I'll just say it. I'll be the first to say my heart is the cooperative economy. But we really, again, thinking about lots of doorways in. And so we talk even broadly about employee ownership. That can include a form called an ESOP where the employers are owning the stock of that company. In fact, the largest employer in our community is one hundred percent ESOP there, an old weaving mill that was started by Italian immigrants. So I think there's a whole continuum that's really, really exciting and some kind of family owned businesses to ESOPs to work around cooperatives, to these industry cooperatives, where people are often coming together in a cooperative form that I think there's just so

much creativity out there for models of what a new economy can, can, can create. And I think, again, what Philippe said so nicely earlier is the industrial comments is kind of this anchor organization that helps to hold a lot and thinking about promoting it, even social cooperatives, too. And I really love the work of our friends up the mountain. That bolded email, which is like organizing community. And they're doing a lot around early childhood cooperatives and mobile home park organizing. And we just bought a huge plot of land in the middle of our town. That was a form of brownfield that we're going to be turning into just community land that will be put into a trust for future organizing. So I think there's this whole range of opportunities that these doorways and I think was so interesting in manufacturing as you have this idea of a supply chain. So getting back to your question with a supply chain, which I think as people of faith and as people in this work, we change that word around that from other doing a lot of other good work from folks like the Aspen Institute thinking about that as a value chain. So if you can take some of these traditional economic structures and you can infuse them with values and people that understand what is enough and what is really good strategy, we can leverage markets. And so I think what's interesting is using a value chain, which is kind of just traditional supply chain, but creating relationships and creating shared resources there. So that's what we did during PPY with the Carolina textile district as we were able to get some resources from some of our funders. So we use our fiber one C three, which is just another structure out there, which is another tool for driving justice and equity. We had a fiber one C three that was able to buy all these raw materials that all these small producers could never have done on their own. We were able to get the testing done and be able to to kind of figure out the back end of it. And then through that, we were able to kind of synchronize all of these small producers staying open. And we were able to, in a four or five month period of time, pay out two million dollars, which have kept a lot of these people working. And a lot of these folks didn't have to shut their doors. So this is just a model of how a small industry producing cooperative could streamline a lot of services and keep people working and keep doors open, and that it's because our supply chain went from a supply chain to a value chain and a very relational but leveraging market forces. We were people needed and we met that. We met that that demand. So we put the demand to the side. We have to understand the demand in the markets very, very deeply.

**Speaker 2** [00:29:35] So just for the not knowing US based listeners, if we went through things like a charitable legal

**Speaker 4** [00:29:41] thing,

**Speaker 2** [00:29:42] but just kind of want to go back to a little bit of what some of you said earlier. Molly, can you just say a little bit about the organizing work out of which the work you're doing, you talk before about the worker center and so that the work will now subsequently doing itself, had roots in a bit of organizing work. And I think it'd be helpful just to create this link between community organizing and the kind of economic kind of work you're saying if you could just explicate that that that process, if you like.

**Speaker 4** [00:30:15] Sure. So I think it is. I mean, organizing mobilize, it's all about wanting a change in a different world. Right. And so I think I really don't want to take credit for any of that. I was really kind of a someone that was in a company and watching that process of our the incredibly brave people that organized our chicken processing plant, many of them who were not English or Spanish speakers. And they stood up for what they knew was right. And a lot of that was the going to door to door in the House meetings. And unfortunately, I think it was the system of being in a right to work state that allowed that did not help that process be come to fruition of where it could really create the change where it

wanted to. But it was like, OK, so what doorway does that open up? And can folks own their own factories? If they can't organize them through a union, can they own them? And that's again where we said, OK, let's start again in the same way with a small group of workers that started this co-op in one sewing machine with one contract that then I think it was supported a structured well. And because I think we are in what's called an industry cluster. So we didn't just. In any industry. We had people that had the skill, we did a lot of what we might call asset mapping, we knew what our assets, where we knew what we had capacity for, what we knew, what was their demand for. It's not like we threw a good business out the window, but I think that really helped us organize what we had very, very well. And then from there, there's just other other organizing. Right now we're organizing more social cooperatives where people are coming in to say, you know, any child care, I need space. One of the we're now in a hundred and forty thousand square foot old factory that was sitting here. So we're taking over this factory here and doing those social cooperative's industry cooperatives and all sorts of cooperative form of people coming together. So I think it does how to take this critical mass of something being successful and then that critical mass can drive all these other economic opportunities. So the first other cooperative cooperative and I think one of the ones that Philippe was referring to is there's a huge need for textile waste. There's all this textile waste of cuttings out there. And it was a big issue in our plant because our plant opportunity thread's is upcycling or cutting and remaking almost 70 thousand t shirts every week. For a company called Project Repat, it's a significant upcycling entity. And so we had all this textile waste left over and it's like, well, we can put it in the landfill or we can find something much more interesting to use from it. So that's where one cooperative, the need of one cooperative form the cooperative. And then we had all these cooperatives and we needed a bookkeeping cooperative. It's like, well, let's start looking in cooperatives, like filling out instead of Guen. Like you're the that's the like waiting for someone to come and figure it out for. It's like, no, now we have enough capital and you start to reach kind of a critical point of where you can start to generate so much of this, much like a forest ecosystem starts to support itself.

**Speaker 3** [00:33:02] One piece I'll add to that Luke is that Mali has recently organized a tour of the world of other cooperative ecosystems in other parts of the country, in the Basque region of Spain, Mondragón in northern Italy, in Quebec. And I've been surprised to realize recently how many established the cooperative form is around the world. Over three billion people are part of a different kind of cooperatives globally. And even in the United States, there's one hundred million of us that are part of a credit union or electric co-op and realizing that there's established forms of cooperative that have huge penetration. But I think there's also these emerging ones that I think Mully is a great example of. I think KPA is an example of that are emerging from the kind of racial wealth gap that we see as such an important problem today. And we talked about, you know, the two ways I see to build wealth, the homeownership and real estate, and there's the business ownership. But so often the business ownership requires you to be the entrepreneur. The cooperatives offer that to be a part of an entity that grows over time, that grows that wealth more and more broadly. And I think she mentioned ESOPs. You mentioned worker cooperatives that are existing there. I think that's what we're trying to drive toward at the community purchasing plans. We recognize that we can help buy from employee owned companies and we can drive that market by creating that demand. And so the more demand we have, organize our institutions, the more we can say we will give preference and our selection process to employee owned janitorial companies. And we've seen a lot of those kind of emergent in D.C., New York, Boston in many parts of the country. And so just realizing how powerful when we get organized and even more locally rooting things to our local governments, we can put pressure on them to kind of help

create the vehicles that CPA has become. So CPA makes it easy to find locally. Local businesses find it easy to find the terms of an agreement that will make that relationship more reciprocal. And we come alongside small property owners to help navigate conflicts and challenges with service providers that inevitably always arise. And that's kind of our work. I'm going way

**Speaker 4** [00:34:57] to dispel this idea of scarcity, like there's just not enough, right? And I think people coming together, they're bringing their knowledge. They're bringing their own resources. I think that's often in these communities where they're marginalized. It's like you just don't have enough. So you have to wait on someone else to bring that to you. And I think this is the whole spirit of like we do have a lot we have a lot of knowledge. We have a lot of skills in communities like ours. There's a lot of infrastructure that's just latent. And so I think the whole spirit of co-operative ism is like you are stronger together and there's structures in which to do that. And there's lots of forms of capital. We often tend to focus on one form of capital. There's actually eight forms of capital and some of those are social and some of those are knowledge and some of those are identity and some of those are culture. And it's really I think the cooperative form also honors all of those different forms of of wealth and and knowledge and the multiple forms of capital as well.

**Speaker 2** [00:35:52] So to building on that money I've mentioned earlier part of the work, how the work developed. They did a kind of asset mapping of the area and the kind of knowledge of textiles in North Carolina. I think this historic kind of textile industry that they were reviving. Could you say a little bit about what are some the kind of ways congregations can or other local institutions can kind of do that asset mapping and tend to think and can think creatively about assets? They have and what then they can then put them to work in different kinds of ways and, you know, for example, we might think about plant or property or even, you know, clergy with retirement funds, these we don't tend to think of these as assets that can do kind of organizing work in our communities. So can you just say a little bit about that process of how do we think about asset mapping and then the kind of work we could do creatively off the back of that?

**Speaker 3** [00:36:50] Yeah, it's a great question, Luke. And I think we always need to start with that asset mapping in communities. And I've been thinking a lot about that recently as we're trying to build new cooperatives in Cleveland and Chicago and Boston. And so we're just trying to build relationships. And so the fundamental tool of the relational meeting is vital to hearing for where the talent, where the energy, where the creative ideas, where the people that want to kind of propel forward movement. And so we're the way we think about mapping a community is, you know, who are the institutions that are eager to act on some of their values in a more proactive way. And I think often that is our congregations. Often that is our schools that have local social reality through their fundamental reality in the community. And either the disinvestment of the community or the nature of the kids' needs in the school. It's clear then the question is to proposition those leaders to say, what are you going to do about that? How do you access the fundamental art of an agitation which is listening, deeply developing a relationship, and then from that relationship, casting a vision of how they could work together with others in their community that have a similar analysis of the challenge. And so we kind of think about those key leaders as coming together of that steering team, that group that will then say, OK, we have a shared analysis or a shared set of challenges that we're each facing in our own respective ways. But there's some commonality to it. And we could see the need for a shared vehicle to exist and then going to ask people that have some kind of capital to invest here. And I think recognizing that can come from each of us and cooperate as we often take a little bit of capital from everybody. Then who are the people that really want to hustle to make this

happen? It takes a lot of grit and hard organizing work to make these things come into being. And so who has enough grief and anger, frustration enough, but also enough patience and sense of humor to kind of bring their own vision to the table, but also bring their own hands and labor to the work. And I think weaving together those different assets of the people that have that kind of perspective and willingness to kind of put their heart and soul into the work, as well as the institutions that are ready to kind of roll up their sleeves together. It takes a certain kind of person to organize all that together. But I think that's the fundamental art that we identify, that kind of leadership and talent, our communities, and that's what we're looking for.

**Speaker 2** [00:39:01] It strikes me listening to you that that is the center, which is a different kind of power analysis that you've got. Often we use a power analysis to think about what's the ask to go and get you the state actor to do what you've just laid out is, in a sense, go through that same process of one to one's house meetings, working out what are the resources in the community, the talent, the leadership, and then how do we draw on that to engage in forms of wealth creation or reorganizing how our money is being generated and keeping that in the community. Now, that's that's fascinating. So to Molly, Tony, to a moment. So this sense that part of the fruit of your work is this way in which you're you're generating kind of locally rooted wealth that connects people and places, and you've both spelled out this very compelling vision of cooperatives as ways of doing that. And you've called there for much, but for much broader canvas. What are some of the other ways in which that kind of work is going on? And I mean, I've come out of the context where fair trade is a different often tied into cooperatives, but are there other and there are other kind of approaches to this work outside of the cooperative movement.

**Speaker 4** [00:40:18] So Philippe mentioned our ecosystem tour so we couldn't board the plane to Italy as much as we wanted to. So we said, well, we'll bring Italy to the zoo. It wasn't as exciting, but we still are holding out. One day we'll get there. But I think that was

**Speaker 3** [00:40:34] the vision for me. It was very exciting.

**Speaker 4** [00:40:38] It was really wonderful. I think we often as Americans like, goodness knows, the first thing we need to know is we don't have all the answers often, though, we think we do or what should we do. So I think we really wanted to look at these more equitable economic systems that had been built outside of the US kind of paradigm. So that's where we stand, that we're based in these cooperative scaled capitalist models, many of which have been built over time. Right. So like you look at Italy and, you know, over one hundred and eighty years and but it is compelling in the lifetime of of a really wonderful Catholic priest that started an dragone, that that was really done in a lifetime. I think that's also encouraging as it's somewhat daunting. It's also encouraging. So we did look at Mondragón and Finland and. Back in South Korea and all of these really interesting emerging economies to see what was coming up, and one of the ones, particularly as we were doing some reflection last week, was around Quebeckers, which is just really looking at the social enterprise, like kind of the social economy. So expanding, if you're asking me, like, where do you expand from? I think you expand from the cooperative economy to this social economy where people are really looking at the triple bottom line, which is another way to kind of say people profit and planet. And so I think there are some really, really good businesses out there. Again, if we're thinking of these equitable doorways that are not asking people to choose between people profit and planning and profit being taken within reason. Right. But you want sustainability within these businesses so that they continue the effort that's put into making them content continue on. So I think there is a broader lens of just like the social economy. Could you just

**Speaker 2** [00:42:13] say a little bit more about the triple bottom line? There might be a term people aren't familiar with, something where that comes from and what that, you know, you get the Handey people planit places. But to spell that out a little bit more, because I think it's a very strong idea and we can look at specific examples of that in this movement to be cool. Yes. Companies and those kinds of things. Because you just both until you get just a little bit more about that idea, I think that expands out in a very kind of real way, some of the thinking that's going on in this direction.

**Speaker 4** [00:42:45] Sure, I mean, I think it's about like how do we define success and I think often businesses define success on how much money it can make on the backs of other people often, you know, and that's how our stocks are determined. It's like, oh, it's been great because all these during a pandemic, all these companies have gotten so much richer. And that's like that's just devastating to think about that. Like someone was saying how much Jeff Bezos makes like a second. And it's more than most people are making, you know, in a month or two months. And so you think about this term of success is like it's just profits. And so what this is adding to the conversation is actually no, it's about people and it's also about environmental impact as well. So it's not just determining or evaluating the success of a business on how profitable it is. It's saying profits have a place because it's important that the business can maintain longevity and sustainability, but they need to be put in the right place. And the benefit to people, whether they're getting equity, whether they're getting leadership, whether whatever it is that they're getting, that there needs to be a benefit to that person. That's to the people that are helping to generate that wealth and that there also needs to be a metric there. And then we shouldn't be doing anything if it's not based on equity. It's not based on environmental sustainability. So that there's also a metric that's around the sustainability of what's being produced and that either whether that's reducing carbon or creating good products that are helping solve problems out there for the environment, it's really thinking of the business from a much more holistic way and kind of using that traditional language of, well, what's the bottom line? And saying we're adding people and we're adding our planet to the bottom line to round up that conversation.

**Speaker 2** [00:44:17] And so they would there would be something, the actual auditing and I know this kind of development of how do you actually audit business on each of those bottom lines and how that kind of working together. And I think that, as you say, the kind of metric element like how do we actually have a bring a sense of evaluation of it because it gets beyond the kind of greenwashing problem or the espousing and having nice pretty videos that ExxonMobil has of dolphins and stuff. You know, there's actual there's actually a kind of strong evaluation of Luke. Is this actually general unknowability?

**Speaker 4** [00:44:50] I think that's come up in a lot of your other podcasts, like power and accountability. So it allows so whether the auditing is about accountability, whether that's a living wage or a fifty dollar minimum wages or benefits, like there is this transparency that then leads to a level of accountability.

**Speaker 3** [00:45:05] So what of the accountability mechanisms that I found most interesting was some of how Morgan Simon, who was a lead impact investor, she wrote a book called Real Impact of the New Economics of Social Change. And she was also a pioneer in these three transform finance principles that I feel like one of the problems we've gotten into in the finance community, impact investing even is like we're so focused on how do we monetize or how do we track everything, all of the metrics and even that we've kind of led to a reductionist approach to what we try to track. And I think it's the

intention is right accountability. But I think even in how we design and I've been working with a bunch of religious investors motivated by Catholic social teaching and trying to integrate Catholic social teaching into their investment portfolios to be more bold and an embodiment of legacy. And these documents that integrate an integral ecology and integral human development, a common good ethic. And we've kind of tried to translate that in a few principles and a few questions that you can ask. You go about this. And then the first principle is like, how do you engage communities in the design, governance and ownership of the enterprise? Right. And I think it's so fundamental to kind of ask the question. There's a case study she writes about uncommon. Cachao is a coffee company and fair trade is good, but the direct trade is even better. And she goes to talk about was the local farmers in Central America engaged in the process? And were they sharing in the upside? Oftentimes they bear all the risk. And so how do we think about sharing that in the actual governance and ownership of the entity and the investment? The second piece is like adding more value than we extract. I think from the investor perspective, so often we're just extracting. I think what I've come to realize is our whole economy is just fundamentally extractive right in its nature because we put capital's interests above all other interests. We're minimizing all the other stakeholders. The public traded company were trying to maximize the wealth. So I feel like I have to divest all of our money from the fundamental extractive nature of the dominant enterprise system. In the third piece is we need to fairly distribute the risk and the reward associated between communities, entrepreneurs and investors. I think so often investors get all the upside in communities and entrepreneurs take on all the risk. And I think a fair distribution Morgan Simon talks about is like you have to actually invest as much in your social education, which is about understanding the social reality, which is about that popular education. And so I'm getting more into my finance world that I've been in recently. But that's where I'm spending my time organizing now is how do we organize capital? How do we organize the money of our institutions that we hold in endowments that is here to perpetuate the building as it is. But I think we're realizing the real estate is now underutilized. So how do we rethink what the purpose of. That is and I think the new signs of the times are asking us to ask harder questions and do our own mapping of where the economic power really lies and how do we organize that for change.

**Speaker 2** [00:47:55] I think it's a brilliant point that making the point about accountability and shared risk. Obviously, in the contemporary economy, the question of credit and debt is key like that. That is the whole finance capitalism kind of operates on debt. And we're asked to be our houses, our education kind of places. We live as debt leverage, instruments, businesses themselves. It's not about the widgets they produce. They themselves are kind of debt leverage instruments. And often then the risk is all borne either by the investor or the worker, not by the investors, by the workers or the or the entrepreneur and the banks. The investor don't buy any of the risk and often kind of get the the greatest share of the wealth that's made off the back of that. And I think that sense of there's both that kind of triple bottom line accountability, but also the restructuring of how credit and debt relations are organized so that there's genuine shared risk. And I think that leads to different kinds of judgment making, economic judgment making when you've got that shared risk and then also then the shared sharing of the wealth that comes out of that and wealth understood in a much more holistic way as a body was was saying that I think is a very key kind of underlying dynamic that's often missed in these kinds of discussions. But I just want to ask you both to reflect a little bit more then on this question of how economic how is your involvement in this kind of work reshaped your understanding of democracy with a small D.. How do you how do you both now think about democracy more broadly and the work you're doing is connected to that? Well, if I begin

**Speaker 4** [00:49:37] with you, you know, when I think about democracy, I think about participation so that the person who's for whom this decision is going to affect their life, they have some input into it in some form or the other. And I think when we do it well, it's transformational. And so I think, you know, hopefully through a cooperative economy, then decision making and democracy is really kind of the lifeblood of it. And from the moment, you know, from all the decisions all along the way and for me, I think it's not just one thing you do. It's not just about voting. It's about really participation and participatory practices that that allow the flourishing of of a just economy.

**Speaker 3** [00:50:21] I love that. Personally, I think what you said about participation there resonates very deeply beyond cultural experience, building CPA, where we realize that decisions made at the most appropriate lowest level. You know, subsidiarity is a principle. And the way we actualize that is actually a process called the advice process. That self-management kind of theory kind of helps guide, but fundamentally to those most affected by the decision should be ones leading the decision making process and should seek advice from other parties. And so one thing we've done in the past couple of years is I, as the executive director, realized two years ago, I made a set of really poor decisions. And by my own kind of view on viewpoint of the problem wasn't holistic. And I think I don't think I realized that my blind spots and my biases until colleagues helped draw my attention to it. And I lost the trust of a lot of my colleagues in the process. But in kind of going through a conflict resolution process, a circle process, I was able to realize I can make better decisions when I have other people alongside me making the decisions with me. And so we've built kind of a shared decision making process facilitated by Elumelu, a great online decision making tool, a worker cooperative out of New Zealand. But it fundamentally gives transparency to all of our decisions and it kind of pushes decision making to the different committees and circles. And so we actually modified so S.A.C. self management system internally where we have groups of people that have domains and aims and they're held responsible. And so it allows us to distribute leadership to a level that's most engaged with the membership or the vendors or the problems. And then we have to come together to kind of seek the bigger long term vision and challenge ourselves to see have a deeper self awareness of where we are in the community and to express that longer term leadership is great.

**Speaker 2** [00:51:58] Tying that to the ancient Roman legal principle of that that which affects all should seek the consultation of all. Exactly the foundation of the parliamentary system in radicalize in the 17th century. That's a nice tie in there to the to the kind of ancient kind of many ways the animating principle of of of democracy itself. So I just want to think a little bit kind of turn now to think more broadly. There's this is kind of move in organizing where there's quite strict segmentation between what's called the market sector, the civil sector or third sector and the state sector. And this is kind of put forward in kind of some of the kind of popular education teaching stuff that circulate in organizing circles. In what ways? This is an unhelpful. Approach to dividing up our political economy and does it create an overly segmented picture, how might we kind of reimagine? Is it does it make sense to say we've got the civil society over here and, you know, the market sector and economy over here, and then there's the political state sector over here. Are they all bleeding into each other? Other ways? We need to kind of reimagine each of these sectors as it's kind of doing economic work, civil work, political work in every one of those sectors. Philippe, begin with, you know, Molly, kind of if you have reflections on that.

**Speaker 3** [00:53:20] That's a great question. I think it's the world as it is and the world as it should be, and I think I feel like we're needing to do deeper integrative thinking about what we need from each sector. And I think we obviously need to build party, build power

in the third sector to have enough power to be able to negotiate with the market sector in the public sector. And I think it is vital to that's a helpful construct. And I think in some ways to understand why we build power and the way we do in organizing. But I think fundamentally to to move where most of the power exists today is in the market part of our our world and recognizing how much we need to bend that space. And so I think that to me, cooperatives offer an alternative. I think maybe a more helpful construct. I realized recently, as the institute has put together this social movements, ecology, what are the theories of change that are operative? And I think there's the personal transformation, third of the world. Then there's the structure organizing third of the world, which can be broken down into mass protest movements, structure, organizing an inside game. All that is kind of changing dominant institutions. And that's one theory of change. And then I think cooperative's for me and the alternatives, we need an alternative vision of the economy, how to organize ourselves. And I think that's what I think we're trying to build, is create those alternatives. And I think those are the theories of change that I think about. That's a more helpful framework that I use more recently.

**Speaker 4** [00:54:36] So I'll pull it another ecological word, which is we think a lot about the edge effect is where often. Ecosystems are the most resilient is when they're touching each other because it forces diversity, and so things often do need their silos for certain reasons, but it's often where the most critical, innovative thought comes is when there's intersectionality or where supposed, you know, kind of these silos of thought or practice are intersections often where they need to be forced to be or where they're pulled out to be to create intersectionality. So I think it's often on the edges of things where they create the most opportunity because we can't just say like we're going to create this new economy because we're all living in the one we're in. Right. So I think that's what we have to look for, those entry points where new new growth can happen and where we need to leverage systems and where those systems need to be forced to think about intersections. And so I would just add that

**Speaker 2** [00:55:41] I really like the idea of the kind of point of fusion or the at the edge and how that generates new thinking and the kind of different way you think about it carefully. Now, one of the things I found helpful is this notion of a civil economy and where you've got the it comes out of some Italian economists and they that's been quite influential Catholic social teaching of the past decade. But the sense in which we tend to think about market actors just doing economic work, and of course, that's in a sense a lie. If you take a corporation like Amazon or Apple or even the small business, they're having a civic impact that they're having as they're shaping the political life around them in certain ways. And they're having a social impact. They're kind of affecting how, you know, whether it's from working hours through to how much they're paying people. That has social kind of impact as well. And likewise, government agencies are employers. They're shaping both the kind of how social life is being lived through policy decisions and that kind of structuring markets as well. And so in each of these areas and what we've just been discussing, whether it's churches or NGOs or whatever they can, they're market actors as well. They're not just kind of producing civic goods. And so we need to think about every of all of these areas as having a civic, a social and then economic dimension and then be more intentional about that kind of work. And a more creative along the lines of the kind of political bottom line we talk about before, of how do we see any kind of institutional form producing civic, social and economic goods under either destructive or generative work it's doing and along those axes, as it were. So is that I find that kind of opened up a different way of imagining the kinds of institutions we have, whether it's a university or a government department or, you know, a processing plant, a poultry plant or whatever. It is not thinking about it in these very siloed way. So it's just

**Speaker 3** [00:57:49] I couldn't agree more Luke. I think what you bring up there about with civil economy offers is it it helps for me. It helps return to economic theory and how our economic theory constrains us with neoclassical economics, reducing us to a certain set of starting points about rationality and perfect information and markets that we aren't seeing the bigger picture and political economy and sensible economy, an important school of thought in kind of alternative economics. It helps integrate more, more holistically and more creatively. And I think without turning to alternative schools of thought, we aren't able to critique where we are and how we got here and where we go from here. And I think the civil economy paradigm integrates so much. And I think there's institutional there's radical feminist. There's so many different schools of thought and economics that contribute to a more thick, rich understanding of just the fundamental logic is, is everything a cause and effect? Can it be reduced to an econometric model that we can actually assess? And then that's the starting point of all of modern finance. Right. And so I think unless we realize that things can be overdetermined and like the current pandemic isn't just the result of one thing, it's the result of so many things. Right. I think the challenges we face as humanity over the next few decades, I think are going to be determined by so many different factors. And I think we have to draw on different schools of thought. And so I'm so glad you point to civil economy and Bruneians among me. And I think Kate Ray Worth Andonov Economics helps us see more clearly some of the limitations of our current economic theory. And I think that's what Pope Francis is inviting economists and entrepreneurs and all people of goodwill to help construct a new economic theory that integrates the reality where we are with our environment, the reality of the poor, the cry of the Amazon. We have to think all about that in the context of our own spiritual conversion. I think if we're not thinking honestly about our own change internally, it's hard to do the difficult work of integrating theory and practice,

**Speaker 4** [00:59:42] which is why I don't think from the other end it's really important. Like organ. Positions like ours, we don't have programs, it's this is economic work as well, so you need to have also the mayor of the grassroots organizing at scale around economy as much as institutions thinking about the integration of of civic measures and the civil economy and things like that. I think it's also important that we see ourselves as economists as well. And not just that coming from institutions, but if you're a worker and a worker cooperative that's building and an industry cooperative and your children are being cared by a child care cooperative and you're building on a land that's I mean, you have created transformation and you are forging and bringing to life this new kingdom of a new economy. And so I think it's really important that economists are not just people in institutions, but that there's ownership of even that word from a grassroots aspect as well.

**Speaker 2** [01:00:39] No, absolutely. Absolutely. So to merely just kind of trying to close if I caught you in a kind of utopian mood and in organizing Luke about the kind of movement

**Speaker 4** [01:00:49] from always in a utopian mood like Phillipine, I text about say these things, though.

**Speaker 2** [01:00:58] So if you if this kind of movement into the kind of world, the world as it is, but it's helpful to kind of cast vision about the world as it should be. How would you like painting a picture of the world as it should be if we could scale up all these collective ecosystems, have a kind of reimagining what would be a kind of bigger picture of a transformed, humane, ecologically attuned economy that you would you would picture? How would you communicate something of that vision to.

**Speaker 4** [01:01:34] So I want to I want to go back just a little bit about, you know, there's this really lovely I love the description of the feeding of the five thousand from the gospel of Mark, because I think it tells us how you do it. Right. And I so it says that Jesus ordered them to get all the people to sit down in groups on the green grass. So they sat down in groups of hundreds and 50s. And what I love about this is like it's it's about organizing. It's how you organize. And I love that the grass is named as green. It was it like this Baron Hill. It's like there it is like this. It's in this environmentally rich place. And I love thinking about how people self organized because then when you self organized in this way and fifties and hundreds and then that got you to thousands, you will be able to overcome this concept of scarcity. There's only a little bit here for all of us to take. There's only two loaves and fishes or whatever it was. And it's actually when we've organized in that way, we're able to receive this bounty that that is around us. So, you know, I think a lot of metrics. I think we really have this pathway for upwards of ten thousand people over a ten to fifteen year time frame being organized and both worker cooperatives through other forms of democratic ownership, like ESOPs, but then through other social cooperatives and through networks. So I think what we're really thinking about is where we are not from a spiritual or conceptual idea of living in scarcity or fear. We're also have overcome through equitable ways institutional racism and white supremacy because we're weese integrating new structures that are thinking about that from the beginning, not as an afterthought. I think we're also thinking of a place where communities are thriving, where young people don't feel like the only way out is to leave, where they see self development and we see certainly a planet that is thriving alongside us. But my hope would be some place like West North North Carolina in general is the next Mondragón love of the world.

**Speaker 2** [01:03:43] I love the kind of rootedness you've given there that it's western North Carolina. It's not that, you know, it's it's we can go to this very specific place with its own rich histories and its own cultures and traditions and new cultures and traditions emerging within it, coming together in the vision you've just just sketched for us. I think it's wonderfully poetic and rich. But Philippe, I just want to give you something to say on that.

**Speaker 3** [01:04:09] I mean, one of my visions is that Mali is one of 20 to 50 different co-op entrepreneurs I've met in the United States that are building all kinds of ecosystems. I think hers is one of the most developed. But I think my vision is that we have ecosystems in every part of every kind of corner of this country and of this world that are mapped together. And I loved their big because they're small and decentralized and learning from each other and learning from ecology and rich creation that we have around us to learn from.

**Speaker 2** [01:04:37] Philippe, Molly, thank you so much for being with me on the list and organize that podcast was a wonderful discussion that will inspire many to follow in your efforts. Thank you.

**Speaker 4** [01:04:46] Thank you so much.

**Speaker 1** [01:04:53] Thank you for joining me for this episode of the Listen Organize Act podcast in which I explore the relationship between money, politics and organizing and the role of economic democracy and cooperatives in generating a more sustainable and equitable future, one in which money does creative work in building wealth embedded in our communities rather than simply extracting wealth from where we live and work. This podcast is a collaboration between the Industrial Areas Foundation and the Keenan Institute for Ethics at Duke University. And as with other episodes, there'll be suggestions for further reading, which you can download in the show notes on the website. That's

ormondcenter.com backslash Listen, Organize, Act podcast. Do sign up at the website for news about events and resources related the podcast or to send me questions. For now, let me say goodbye and I hope you join me next time as I continue this journey through the different elements of community organizing and how it embodies a distinctive vision of Democratic politics.