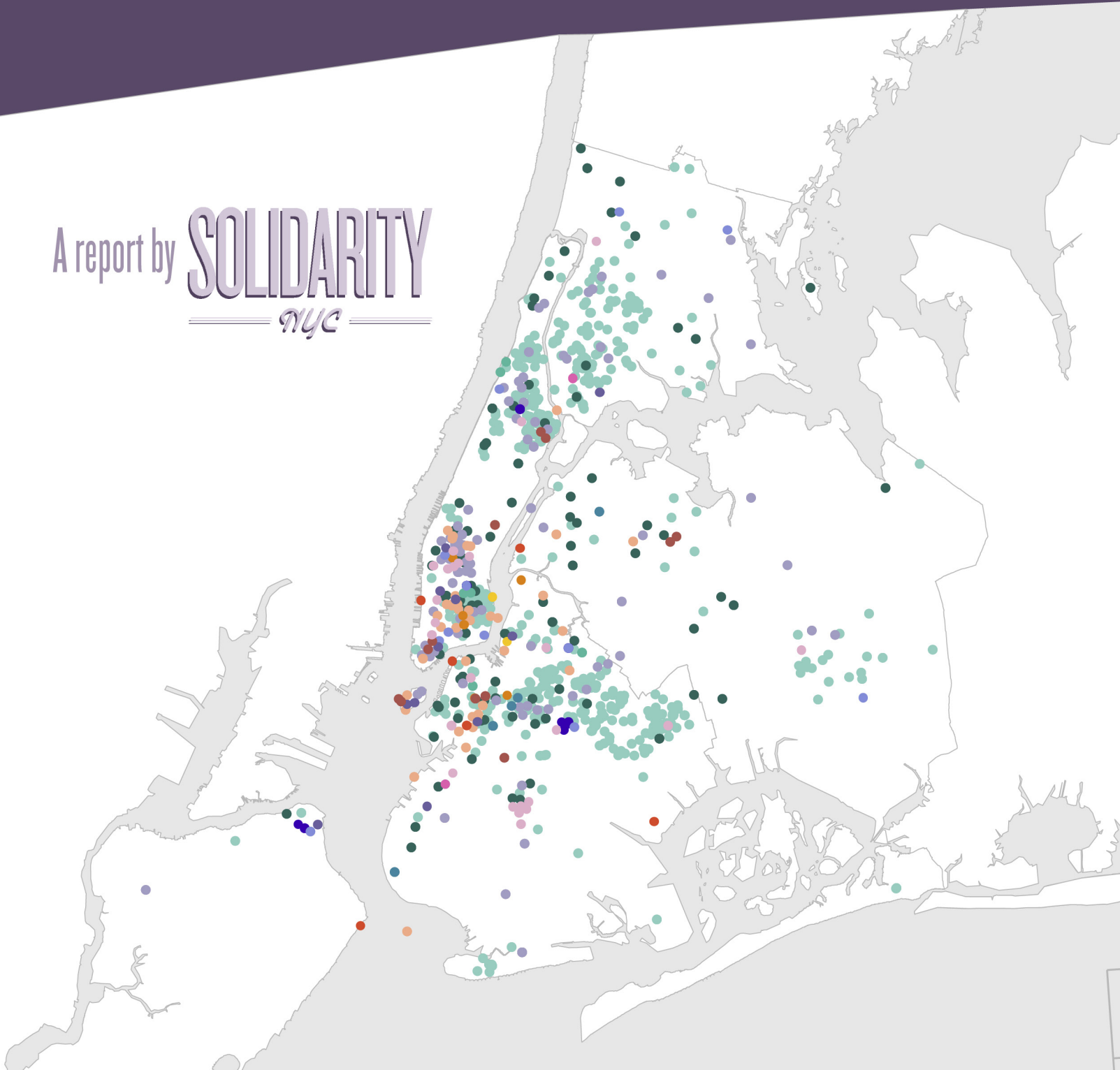


GROWING A RESILIENT CITY:

Possibilities for Collaboration in New York City's Solidarity Economy

A report by **SOLIDARITY**
nyc



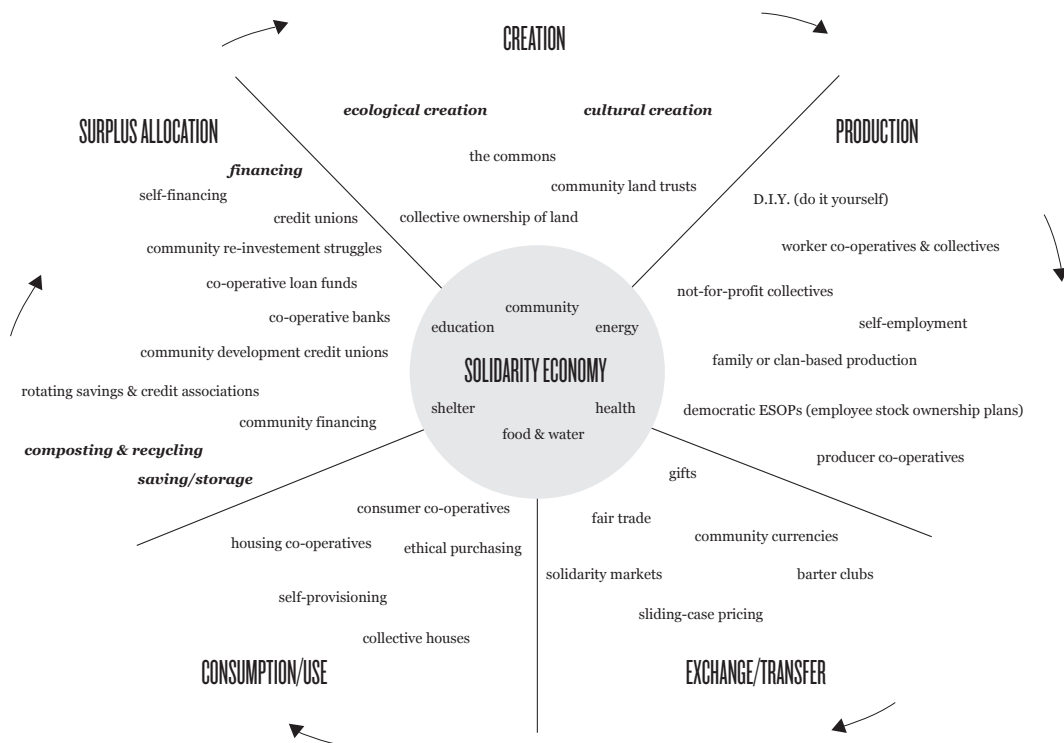
Preface

You are holding in your hands a unique document. It is the product of hundreds of hours of work over a nine month period by more than a dozen volunteers. Research rarely takes this form, but when it does it is a community effort. It is in all ways a labor of love.

The people who contributed ideas and shared insights as interviewees are all first responders to the crises that confront our communities. They are a group whose wisdom is rarely collectively tapped. In seeking out this wealth of knowledge and experience, we found a pragmatic vision for New York City grounded in values of cooperation, mutualism, ecological sustainability, social justice, and democracy. They are building another world even as our current system attempts to render them invisible. We hope this report will provide a glimpse of the many ways this work is taking place in our city.

The people behind this project, referred to internally as the Deep Listening and Movement Building project, are all members of SolidarityNYC (www.solidaritynyc.org). SolidarityNYC formed out of a desire to understand what “another world” might look like. We started with the diagram below and charted a course across New York city’s five boroughs.

Using a sector-based approach we slowly filled in a map of the city’s solidarity economy, discovering networks or groups and doing our best to attend their meetings to learn firsthand what was happening and who was involved. The more we learned the more excited we became about this other world co-existing with what people usually consider “The Economy”--the dominant way of doing things in American society.



(Image credit Ethan Miller)

In the process of mapping, we began dreaming big about how a solidarity economy movement in our city might look. We began sharing that dream with others and organizing our map. We experimented with short films as a way to express the humanity behind abstract economic ideas and created a curriculum to help explain how the solidarity economy works to a new generation awakened by the Occupy movement. We kept our projects small, but we let our vision grow.

It has been humbling to work with both the interviewees and the researchers who made up this project. Due to the collaborative nature of our process we've found ourselves trying to contain many voices, which means this report sometimes says "we think" or "our work" rather than "participants identified." We hope you won't find this too confusing, but will appreciate our efforts to better understand our solidarity economy as simultaneously participants, researchers, activists, and strategists. We are grateful to be part of your efforts to grow a more resilient, secure, and equitable city. To all who make NYC's solidarity economy thrive, this is our love letter to you.

SOLIDARITY
— *NYC* —

Introduction

When Sandy hit New York City, few were surprised to find that the divides and crises already prevalent in our communities resulted in limited access to resources, power, and well-being in the wake of the storm. While the mass media may have portrayed New York as unprepared for climate change, most who work for social change were keenly aware of just how vulnerable our communities are. When the cameras marveled at self-organization and the rapid response of community organizations (while the large nonprofits, corporations, and government faltered), Sandy became just the latest crisis for many who daily serve as first responders for their communities. The death count remained low, but only because social change workers mobilized.

Unfortunately the post-Sandy landscape isn't the only crisis we face. As we seek to build more equitable, democratic, and ecologically sustainable communities we must also address the structural forms of oppression which have historically divided our neighborhoods and social movements. In order to move beyond stemming the tide, to grow a resilient and secure city, our institutions and organizations tasked with shaping NYC's communities must grow in strength and number. And we know we must do so in a manner that respects and values every individual and every blade of grass-- to create an economy for people and the planet. All of the participants in this project agreed with that assessment.

There are, however, serious questions as to how this is to be accomplished, which leads us to this moment. ***What will we build together?***

This report seeks to begin answering this question and the many others that flow from it.

Participants from across sectors described the challenges and conditions their organizations face as well as the possibilities they see for a collaborative movement focused on ***grassroots economic development***. We've summarized their answers here in five sections:

I. Growing Visibility

II. Strengthening Our Organizations

III. Building Economic Power

IV. Building Political Power

V. Structures for Collaboration

Many individuals spoke about common misunderstandings, as well as a lack of awareness and visibility where solidarity economy organizations are concerned. This often hampers their efforts to connect with consumers, neighbors, policymakers, and funders. Quite a few had innovative ideas for how we could work together to address this. These are included in **Section I: Growing Visibility**.

Concerns about the capacity and viability of our organizations, including funding, technical assistance, administration, labor, and space issues also weighed heavily in participant answers when asked about limitations to growth. These are summarized in **Section II: Strengthening Our Organizations.**

Many participating organizations produce goods and services that could be linked to create value chains, enhancing communities' collective wealth. Such strategies would directly benefit the members of our organizations and the local economies within our communities, while generating surplus wealth we could repurpose for additional grassroots economic development. These strategies are summarized in **Section III: Building Economic Power.**

While not everyone interviewed was directly involved in advocacy, most touched on city, state, and federal policies directly impacting their work. Many are also tied to social movements and seek stronger connections between community economic development and politically engaged groups. Envisioning what would be required to develop political power to achieve favorable policies and scale our efforts was a topic of great interest. These insights and suggestions are summarized in **Section IV: Building Political Power.**

Finally, while all participants acknowledged a desire to collaborate, there were also different experiences with collaboration and questions about what it might mean to work together. A few had concrete suggestions for that work, collected in **Section V: Structures for Collaboration.**

I. Growing Visibility

We're all engaged in storytelling, but rarely do we tell the solidarity economy story collectively or with a common language and shared vision. In one interview after another, participants told us the greatest challenge is making our work visible, and educating communities and elected officials about what we do. Stories have power because they help people determine what is possible. To prove to our city and the dominant "Economy" story that we offer viable solutions, we must work together to share our narratives and visions.

So much of why things don't get done is that people don't think they can. In Argentina, the first recovered factories took years to happen, but people who saw it happen and saw it worked, they were able to take over factories in a matter of weeks. It wasn't just because the workers believed: it's also because the judges believed, and the government believed, and the police believed, and the neighbors next door believed.

--Brendan Martin, The Working World

Participant ideas for growing visibility of the solidarity economy movement:

- *Joint ('umbrella') marketing*
Cross-advertising, joint online marketing, and shared branding to drive more customers to our businesses and citizens to our initiatives.
- *A referral system or informational clearinghouse*
One-stop shop for resources on NYC's solidarity economy.
- *Online interface*
Outward-facing database for potential members, customers, funders, or volunteers to learn more; to share contacts and markets with each other; to connect organizational needs and offerings.
- *Collaboratively produced media*
Media projects that tell the story of our work and its impact, whether in the form of videos, articles, songs, posters, maps or other visuals -- drawing on our shared design/visualization skills and media tactics.
- *Shareable project documentation*
Document and share our successes, challenges, and processes, so that we can make our projects replicable and learn from each others' experience.
- *Shared language, messages, brands*
There seemed to be significant interest in this, though there were no concrete proposals about exactly which language could be most effective.

- *University partnerships*
Cooperative business education, solidarity economics courses, internships, and research partnerships would benefit many sectors.
- *Popular education workshops and events*
Sharing knowledge and stories through innovative and accessible community events.

II. Strengthening Our Organizations

Solidarity economy organizations are complex organisms that are more than the sum of their parts. Making progress on political and economic goals often contends with day-to-day challenges. These vary from group to group, but many participants described significant administrative hurdles to varying degrees in the interviews: substantial funding gaps; low or zero pay and benefits; securing physical spaces for work to take place; administering grants; paying taxes; confusion as to whether or how to incorporate as nonprofits, co-operatives, LLC's, etc; monitoring and evaluating programs; and keeping track of collaborators, clients, and money. While this work is not glamorous, all of these “inward facing” or internal organizational challenges deserve our attention. Improving these can make “outward facing” (the substantive, mission-driven) work more effective.

I think there's always the challenge of not having enough money. I mean to be more than self-sufficient without grant money. We are self-sufficient, but we don't have the resources that we need to have, we don't have the capacity that we need to have, that we really need to do everything that we would really like to do. [...] We would love to have branches and more spaces to serve members all over the city. Even one more branch, one more place in the city... and it's just very difficult.

--Linda Levy, Lower East Side People's Federal Credit Union

Participant ideas for growing solidarity economy organizations:

Funding

- *Create jointly managed loan fund(s) and incubation programs to support Solidarity Economy projects*
Our organizations could collaborate together to raise these funds, both by collectively seeking government funding as well as by soliciting donations and investments from allied individuals and organizations.
- *Invest surplus or profit into credit unions and/or cooperative loan funds, which can then be lent back out to organizations in our communities*
Investing in economic development ourselves builds greater cohesion, bridges a financing gap, and grows economic power.
- *Set up loan funds for specific regions or communities, so they can be governed locally*
Community security requires community control of resources, including finances.

- *Advocate to remove the legal obstacles that currently restrict our ability to finance our organizations via credit unions and crowd-sourced funds*

As the capacity of organizations -- and interest in their work -- grows, we come up against rules and regulations that hamper our ability to grow stronger. These could be useful opportunities for broad-based political messaging and education of elected officials at multiple levels, and offers an opportunity to network with our peers across the country.

Labor

- *Use shared “crowd-resourcing” to recruit volunteers and alleviate burnout*
Some groups have already begun experimenting with matching volunteers with projects in need of assistance.

- *Share co-op member labor*
Expand or replicate Park Slope Food Coop's program, in which PSFC shares its labor surplus by allowing members to work for allied organizations and businesses.

- *Utilize timebanks and barter networks to meet needs for specialized skills or services*
Timebanks, such as TimebankNYC, enable both individuals and organizations to exchange skills and services without the use of money. Barter networks for individuals already exist in NYC but in other cities they are utilized for businesses as well.

Space

- *Coordinate the purchase or rental of common space*
Many organizations are engaged in this already through the Commons, the Brecht Forum, 33 Flatbush, and the Movement Space Project.
- *Coordinate the reclamation and organization of public spaces*
Occupy Wall Street attempted this in public parks, and 596 Acres utilizes this method for the development of community spaces in unused public land in NYC neighborhoods.
- *Utilize community gardens as community spaces*
Many community gardens are democratically operated community spaces accessible to a larger use, such as meetings and events.

Collaborative Administration

- *Shared health insurance*
Members, staff, and volunteers all suffer from our broken healthcare system and share a need for innovative community solutions.
- *Shared professional staff, such as lawyers, accountants, or policy researchers*
Because our groups often do not have funding for these services in-house, developing a collective or network of these specialists can help ease these burdens.
- *Shared software*
Many organizations (596 Acres, Park Slope Food Coop, and Glocal.coop) have developed proprietary software they are willing to share, while others require common office applications that can be bundled to save money.
- *Shared info-desk and phone number*
Many organizations do not have the capacity to staff an info-desk or phone for their organization all the time, but could share this responsibility with other organizations.
- *Shared database*
Inward-facing online data system to share contacts related to funding opportunities, media contacts, business services, or technical assistance.
- *Gang run printing*
This is a printing technique where a number of print projects are arranged on the same sheet in order to reduce both the costs of print and the amount of paper required. OccuPrint is already doing this kind of printing, and suggests that more organizations could save money by collaborating in this way.

Technical Assistance

- *Collaborate to prepare and deliver member education and capacity building trainings for our organizations*
Topics could include cooperative governance structures, collective decision-making, fundraising strategies – any topics that might be useful to a broad swath of us.
- *Organize trainings and skillshares open to anyone in our organizations or the public*
Almost every organization mentioned some kind of workshop they would be eager to provide – training that could help people start new organizations or build capacity in the work they're already doing.

III. Building Economic Power

Almost everyone spoke of their desire to grow the market and audience for their products and services. There was widespread acknowledgement we would like to produce, purchase, consume, and exchange within our acknowledged solidarity economy as a way to generate wealth and additional support for grassroots economic development work. Expanding beyond the solidarity economy community -- to access new markets, pools of volunteers, or resources -- was also discussed. Many acknowledged such economic growth can have political consequences, as economically secure organizations and individuals are in a better position to advocate for themselves and participate in a political process.

“I think it would be really fascinating for co-ops across NYC to use each other. For the cleaning co-op to clean at the food co-ops. And the food co-ops to provide cleaning products to the cleaning cooperatives. And for the childcare co-op to take care of the children of other co-op members. So there’s no gap in collaborating and having a tight way of cross-marketing together. This has happened in small ways, but not enough.”

--Vanessa Bransburg, Center for Family Life

Participant ideas for building economic power:

- *As organizations, we can keep our money within the solidarity economy by purchasing, investing, and providing services to each other*
Creating “value chains” is a common practice to build the economic vitality of a community, and many participants expressed an interest in working with each other to establish these mutually beneficial agreements for purchasing.
- *Use an online interface to identify opportunities to create agreements with each other*
The Data Commons Project and US Solidarity Economy Network hope to create national databases for this purpose and a local NYC effort could be linked to such platforms to support the development of both regional and national solidarity economies.
- *Develop a broad-based movement orientation for community development*
Many of our communities are underserved by existing corporate development but our solidarity economy institutions are not linked to community organizations resisting corporate development. New markets could be tapped with the sole design of supporting our communities rather than generating wealth for shareholders of for-profit “community development”.
- *Participatory Budgeting*
Collaborate to provide training on cooperatives and the solidarity economy in participatory budgeting processes, so more of those community-controlled funds may be directed towards solidarity economy initiatives.

- *Facilitate buying clubs for coop-produced products*
Buying clubs, or consumer co-ops designed to buy and distribute products in bulk, could be created for all cooperatively produced items, and need not be limited to food buying.
- *Link community-controlled food production with local markets*
Community-controlled food production in NYC is primarily focused on community gardens, which are designed as a democratic shared resource that can be used for food production. Linking this production to local markets through CSA's, consumer co-ops, and farmer's markets like those in East New York and the South Bronx was of interest to participants involved in the food movement.

IV. Building Political Power

Our ability to build economic power is also directly related to building political power. When our organizations and efforts meet with success and popularity, they often do so despite an unfair political and regulatory environment. Our work is often constrained by policies that hinder our ability to help one another grow, and tap into larger pools of resources. To counter this, many spoke of a need to push for policy changes at the various levels in which we operate: from the local community boards and city government to national and international governments and organizations. Many suggested that an effective way to accomplish this would be to increase the linkages between organizing/social justice/community based organizations and cooperative businesses.

It is an uphill struggle to get economic development where we get at least equal footing, if not a preference. But, you know only a piece of it of it is getting it, but the other parts are fighting for it, and going to the city council with the same bill year after year and educating those people. That has an impact--maybe even a bigger impact [than the laws themselves]. And, building allies that say “yeah we need this we need this financing to be available for all sorts of co-ops” or “you know we need a commissioner of co-ops in the city”.

--Andy Reicher, Urban Homesteading Assistance Board (UHAB)

Participant ideas for building political power:

- *Lobby days and phone banking to support each other's desired legislative changes*
Many types of organizations, from worker cooperatives to credit unions, face barriers to growth and financing and an unequal playing field at the local, state, and federal levels. This was often articulated most specifically in reference to lending practices for Community Development Credit Unions, crowd-sourced funding for startups, and the protection of community gardens--all areas where groups have organized advocacy efforts.

- *Craft an alternative economic development agenda together: use this to lobby for federal, state, or local government funding and/or push local/state elected officials on our issues*

The New York City Council Progressive Caucus has been exploring putting together an alternative economic development platform for the next NYC mayor in 2013/2014. This is a key lobbying and political education opportunity.

- *Advocate for an office on the local, state, and national level focused on our work, i.e. ‘Office of Co-op Activities’*

For example, the Democracy Collaborative, a think tank in Maryland that helped start the Evergreen Cooperative project in Cleveland, has advocated for a federal office in the White House for Community Wealth Building.

- Mobilize solidarity economy organizations in support of direct actions and campaigns of social justice organizations*

Our ability to support each other's campaigns will be noticed in the media and at the governmental level, and will earn respect and prominence for our respective political agendas.
- Integrate solidarity economy initiatives into spaces shared with movement organizations (such as in the nascent Movement Space Project)*

Building power requires spaces in which we can organize ourselves. By sharing spaces, we will likely find greater intersections in our work, and build our ability to act in alliance with one another.
- Collaborate with community organizations to develop and fight for economic development frameworks that address displacement due to economic and/or environmental injustice*

Community organizations are often focused on the impacts of conventional development projects in their neighborhoods. We can partner with them to advance community wealth strategies within projects and focus attention on projects solely designed for community-controlled economic development using existing solidarity economy infrastructure and institutions.
- Coordinate ways that services, resources, trainings, and skills from solidarity economy enterprises (i.e. catering, copies, daycare, etc.) can be even more available and accessible to movement groups*

Many communities are interested in utilizing solidarity economics but struggle to partner with existing organizations or develop new ones. Strengths and skills are enhanced, and weaknesses lessened, when we connect our technical knowledge with those doing movement building, base-building, and organizing in our communities.

V. Structures for Collaboration

Individuals shared many hopes and concerns about cross-sector solidarity economy collaboration. Everyone we spoke to had stories of both successful and painful forms of collaboration, and they each brought the wisdom of those experiences to the discussion. People were concerned about the limitations of funding or capacity, while some worried we might get lost in ineffective governance structures. People had varying opinions on whether we needed another organization or just better organization amongst ourselves. They also expressed widespread enthusiasm and interest in a stronger solidarity economy, and all recognized their organizations could directly benefit from connecting with others in this field.

While not everyone related to the idea of a citywide movement based on the values and practices of solidarity economics, all recognized the importance of growing not only our initiatives but also our political power to win policies which favor our work. Many also spoke of the need to build across race and class lines and to ground our efforts in communities most impacted by oppressive economic practices, and to find a balance between established groups with strong funding connections and grassroots groups operating without consistent or adequate support.

There is a lot of work ahead to establish both trust and shared language for the work we're doing together. We all have things we can offer and requests to make of the group. The hope of SolidarityNYC organizers is that in convening these conversations we can begin to better understand both opportunity and liability, so that any shared visioning is grounded in candid communication about organizational conditions and individual experience. We're all working for a city that is more humane and just, more cooperative, equitable, and better suited to the needs of our communities. The intention is to find the joy inherent in building this new world together.

I think the biggest challenge is just resources. Collaboration demands a lot of time. The elected officials and their offices that we're working with are overworked, the organizations we're working with are overworked and its just really demanding of people. So we need to temper our aspirations a bit with reality. We'd like to collaborate more, but there are some things that we don't have the capacity to decide collaboratively or decide at all, and that have to be left to the future. Each year we'd like the process to be better. The first year's not going to be perfect, the second year's not going to be perfect, no year's going to be perfect. You do what you can each year, and you improve it the next year along the way.

--Josh Lerner, Participatory Budgeting NYC

Participant ideas and proposals for ongoing structures of collaboration:

- *Organize a coalition or network under the umbrella of existing organizations*
Create new programs within existing 501(c)3 organizations to coordinate collaboration (National Federation of Community Development Credit Unions, Urban Homesteading Assistance Board, and Neighborhood Economic Development Advocacy Project all expressed a willingness to play this role).
- *Create a new organization to facilitate collaboration*
Create a citywide trade association comprised of all of our organizations (a cooperative or solidarity chamber of commerce) or a political coalition to mirror the activities of corporate organizing bodies.
- *Develop a collaborative “think tank” dedicated to policy research and advocacy, and draw on academic partners’ support in doing policy research*
Research on many forms of solidarity economy practices is growing, but the research remains disconnected. Practitioners, organizers, and scholars could collaborate locally, regionally, or nationally to forge a research agenda that is timely, practical, and answers key questions that are being asked on the ground.
- *Create a regular forum to share best practices, resources, and strategies*
Many participants cited the difficulty in accessing shared knowledge or communicating with others in the solidarity economy. A regular skill-share or trouble shooting initiative would build relationships between startups and established organizations, young people and seasoned practitioners, and offer opportunities to build richer and more strategic initiatives through the application of collective wisdom.
- *Joint Staffing*
To support capacity building at an administrative level, one participant suggested finding joint staff or volunteers who would support our collective efforts. One example is the AmeriCorps VISTA program.

VI. Conclusion

A recognition and embrace of our interconnectedness is at the heart of solidarity economy theory and practice. Participants in this listening and building process provided insights into how this interconnectedness plays out in their organizations, as well as their individual political analysis. Rather than offering an either/or perspective on social change--with “building alternatives” placed at the opposite end of the spectrum from “oppositional” and advocacy work--participants expressed support for deepening the ties between those who work on all points on this spectrum. This attitude is essential to developing a broad movement to support our work and is a significant strength of the groups interviewed.

There is also a widespread recognition that we must engage in a variety of tactics to explore cultural change within organizations and our communities. All agreed the proliferation of solidarity economics in New York City would require collaboration--and all felt this was a worthy goal--but participants underscored that respect for difference must be central to these efforts. A hallmark of solidarity economy initiatives is community control, and a culture of inclusion, which embraces democratic and bottom-up design. Our differences span not only identity but also practice, and an important strength of these initiatives is a willingness to innovate and apply creative solutions to community problems. Any collaboration will require the same spirit and culture of innovation and inclusion to succeed.

New York’s solidarity economy is full of diligent pragmatists committed to the belief that communities can solve problems through cooperation. The real question, now, is one of scale. How can we cooperate across our differences, from networks of credit unions to CSA’s, applying our values to grow our collective efforts?

You probably know how already, because if you’re part of New York City’s solidarity economy you likely practice it everyday: listening to each other, making agreements, and ensuring accountability. This report places many hopeful scenarios and ideas before you, but it should be considered an invitation to dialogue rather than a recommendation. Consider it a snapshot of not just what is, but what could be. Another New York is possible. Let us work together to realize it.

Appendix A: Notes on Process

We selected participants primarily within SolidarityNYC's network but sought to ensure both organizational and individual diversity. We targeted 11 sectors and sought 2-3 organizations from each. We ended up with 30 interviews. Not everyone responded and sat for an interview (for a full list of contacts and interviews see Appendix B), but we did attempt to create a representational sample of the communities involved. We recognize that there are many important organizations working within this new economy that we left out; this project was not meant to be comprehensive. Each individual was asked a series of questions designed to determine how their organization operates in the solidarity economy, what their needs are, what resources they have to share, the kind of collaboration they currently engage in and would like to build, and their vision for building political and economic power for the solidarity economy.

*In some cases due to capacity we took shortcuts--for example, we interviewed the Center for Family Life's co-op developer about their co-op incubation rather than each of the co-ops individually. We often targeted people who were involved in multiple organizations so we could learn about several organizations in a single interview and save time. Since we conducted this project entirely as volunteers and without any other resources for transcription, travel, equipment, or labor, there are plenty of areas where we would benefit from going into greater depth. **(If you are interested in supporting this work let us know.)***

We've sought to remain as neutral in our interviewing as possible and worked with a team of academic partners and researchers to shape this process so it was both participatory and accountable. Many of us are active in the solidarity economy, however, and some editorializing did occur. We recognize this project is not merely about research, but about sharing insights and knowledge, and is designed as part of a much larger movement building process. We encourage questions about our methodology or strategies, and encourage you to consider this work not a traditionally "objective" research paper but instead a tool to facilitate a deeper conversation.

Deep Listening Project Volunteers (by last name)

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Solgil Oh

Joshua Stephens

Appendix B

Interview Participants

Lower East Side People's Federal Credit Union: Deyanira del Rio and Linda Levy	NYC Co-op, A Bookkeeping Collective, and 152 Washington: Sarah Snider
National Federation of Community Development Credit Unions: Pam Owens and Elizabeth Friedrich	3B: Dave Ferris and Matthew Keesan 596 Acres: Paula Segal
Participatory Budgeting Project: Josh Lerner	NYC Community Gardens Coalition and Kingsborough Community College Farm: Mara Gittelman
Milk Not Jails: Lauren Melodia	Park Slope Food Coop: Joe Holtz
Third Root Community Health Center: Jacoby Ballard	Bushwick Food Coop and NYU Student Food Coop: Kayla Santoussosso
Center for Family Life: Vanessa Bransburg	The Working World: Brendan Martin and Ethan Earle
OWS Screenprinting: David Yap and Julie Goldsmith	ioby: Erin Barnes and Brandon Whitney
Occuprint and Just Seeds: Jesse Goldstein	Rock Dove Collective: Maryse Mitchell-Brody
Not An Alternative/No Space: Beka Economopoulos	Housing Works: Adam Blackman
Meerkat Media Collective: Zara Serabian-Arthur and Jay Sterrenberg	East River Development Alliance Federal Credit Union: Bishop Mitchell Taylor
Urban Homesteading Assistance Board: Andrew Reicher	Paper Tiger: Patricia González Ramírez In Our Hearts Collective: Rebekah Schiller and Rocco Fama
OurGoods and Trade School: Caroline Woolard	I Love Food Co-op: Phil Shipman and Joshua LaTour
TimebanksNYC and Brooklyn Timebank: Jessie Reilly	The Brooklyn Commons: Melissa Ennen
Movement Space Project and South Elliott Houses: Lucas Shapiro	
Ganas Community: Michael Johnson	

Appendix B

Invited Participants

North Star Fund NYC Doula Collective

Apple Eco-Cleaning Bethex Federal Credit Union

Green Worker Cooperatives Black Women's Blueprint

Greene Hill Food Co-op La Familia Verde Garden Coalition