

16. Bullsh*t Jobs: Nonprofits Edition with Dean Spade

TRANSCRIPT

Title Intro: This is Sad Francisco.

Toshio Meronek:

Dean Spade is here for a conversation on how nonprofits act as mouthpieces for rich people. Dean has been a huge positive influence on me since we met, and his most recent book *Mutual Aid* isn't two years old yet, but it's already been translated into many languages. Dean, thank you for what it is I hope your first visit to Sad Francisco.

Dean Spade:

Thank you for inviting me.

Toshio Meronek:

In the 1960s, the FBI started funding nonprofits on the Left. And this is documented really well in the book "The Revolution Will Not Be Funded," which is a book that everyone should read. And they describe in the book how the FBI's COINTELPRO operation literally sent in agents to groups like the Black Panthers and student groups pushing for Ethnic Studies departments at UC Berkeley and SF State. In addition to infiltrating groups that the government felt threatened its power and legitimacy by sending people to join these groups, it started secretly funding nonprofits that it wanted to gain some power in, leading to the great big web of NGOs and nonprofits that today we know as the nonprofit industrial complex. You gave a talk and it was called "Should social movement work be paid?" at Barnard recently. And there were a lot of people in the audience who were clearly not happy about it. But first, could you start us off, actually, by talking a little bit about how you personally came to question the role of nonprofits in social movements.

Dean Spade:

I worked at one place where part of how I formed my critique of like the role of nonprofits, and also my desire to try to change when I was working in nonprofits changed how they worked. Internally, I was working in, like, various Poverty Law organizations in New York City in the early 2000s. And seeing white male EDS, executive directors that had this kind of power, where a lot of them were basically elites who were like, buddy-buddy with the different foundation heads, and they could kind of like, fund or not fund, various projects. It just was like, deeply hierarchical, and not like, a lot of people of color working there or a lot of women that work there, and those that were were doing the actual work - probably most predominantly women of color, but the decision making about, like, what parts of this work would thrive and which parts would be cut, and who would be fired, all were happening from above. It just was like, just like a company, or any business, which is like the opposite of feminist. You know, I had a basic understanding of, like, feminist collectivities, like, a feminist wanting to run things horizontally and have that as in particular, being a kind of, like, set of wisdom and experience from women, women of color collectives, and people I knew, you know, we ran various other things that were not nonprofits in those ways, you know, more or less formally, but, you know, trying to make decisions in a way that everybody got a say, so that we all got along, and we all implemented it. And, and then I was in these spaces where people who had law degrees were above people who didn't, you know it was just all these, it was just like, "Oh, this is kind of like a business, especially because I was often doing

this in places that were doing legal services to low-income people, it was just like a law firm, but instead it does this other type of law, but a lot of the, like, format of like, what paralegals--how paralegals are treated, or how investigators are treated or how lawyers are treated and who's paid what... And so I guess I was in some situations in which there was a vibe of like, once a year, we're all going to go do something fun together or something. There was a little bit of that kind of corporate family building, but more like a quiet patriarchy in which there really is like a dad who's like, you know, has favorites and you know, different kinds of nepotism, you know, just all that stuff that comes when you create what I would call illegitimate authority. Illegitimate authority is like, "Why are you my boss?" You know what I mean? Like, why should you make decisions and not me, or like, why can't we all make decisions if we're all doing the work? Like, why would you decide what's happening. And you're like, "Oh, I'm hiring my girlfriend to do this or I'm firing this person because they mentioned a union," or like, whatever. So I think I have seen that in various places and then I've worked with a lot--supported a lot of people, working in those jobs. A lot of my former students or there are a lot of other, you know, organizers trying to figure out "Oh, wow, like, is there something good we want to do inside this place? And it's worth being here and trying to stir it up in how decisions are made, or is it--or do we want to like--should I leave this job, "How should I - how should I work to get by doing organizing I want to do, is and when, if--can the nonprofit can be a vehicle for that and I also spent 17 years in the Sylvia Rivera Law Project where the focus there was trying to use the nonprofit form but be a collective, be horizontal. Be tied to organizing in a different way. And just a million experiments with like, what about the nonprofit makes it hard? Is there any potentiality? Or possibility? What kinds of things do our communities need? That makes it a little easier if somebody's working that job full time, so they can be at all those courts and hearings and things? Like, what's the downside of that, you know, like, really trying to... and then I've worked with a lot of other groups that have tried to - where people have some funding and are a nonprofit trying to implement some of that stuff like trying to make the decision making horizontal or trying to just resist those nonprofit norms. And it's really hard.

Toshio Meronek:

I worked at nonprofits for a little under 10 years. I remember going into interviews with some quip about how my values ran so deep in alignment with the nonprofits that I hoped that one day, my job wouldn't exist. Like that was the point. I mean, that would still hold true today, like I'm in the movement work that I do, I do it because I hope that the world changes. I think this is probably not an uncommon way to think about going into the job. But then once you're in the job, like, it gets lost in the crush of this corporate structure.

Dean Spade:

I think there's two levels on most of our analysis, like there's - and I see this in - I love that book you know, that book "The Revolution Will Not Be Funded," I agree with you that everyone should read that book. It's just like, there's kind of nothing like it, it has so much wisdom in there, in so few pages from so many different thinkers. And so many different struggles, it's really helpful. But there's like the level of the conversation in that book, like the way that nonprofits are designed as a response to the revolutionary uprisings of the 60s and 70s, the way the nonprofit sector emerges and flourishes is all about funding work, that won't get to the root causes. So it's just work, that's going to be like, depoliticize services where you're just like, I see new clients every day, there's some people in this crisis, but we're, there's nothing we're doing that's going to actually stop this crisis. Like, we're not closing prisons with this work, we're helping people with reentry, or we're, you know, like that kind of stuff, which needs to be done, our communities need to support everyone in crisis, but the way nonprofit work

is done, like separates services from root causes and organizing, or it's policy work that's about like, you know, like tinkering with the system to make it look more inclusive, or whatever, and it stays the same. So that's like the problem where you're like, fuck, I've got this job in this nonprofit. And I feel like I'm in a hamster wheel. And we are - everyone here is in it. And we're frustrated. We do want people to get these things, or we're hoping these little changes will do things. But we're also like, kind of have to be in denial about how like, not deep this transformation is. So that's like happening on the structural level, like why the nonprofit job is so unsatisfying. And then there's the like, lived personal level, like what happens when we take our work and nonprofitize it? So I talked to a lot of mutual aid groups in the last - especially in the last three years, that started during COVID, and the uprising, the George Floyd-Brianna Taylor uprising, that are like should we become nonprofits? On the one hand, we're getting these donations, and we're buying people tents and we're buying people - we're paying people's rent or whatever, and we don't want to have to pay taxes on this. And we're getting, you know, hung up there. Or we wonder if we could do more if we had a couple people who were staffers or whatever. And then on the other hand, it's like, as soon as you enter that realm, you have to do all this, like, very formal paperwork, that just automatically changes who's holding the bag, like people who want to do that, or can do that. And that often is people who have like, certain kinds of access in certain kinds of personalities, and it sometimes just creates, whether or not you mean it to, illegitimate authority inside the people who can jump through those hoops. Or it creates like surveillance on your work that you don't want. So then it's like, oh, well, we also think we should just like help this person cross a state line to get away from this relationship, or we also think we should hold this person's gun for them or whatever it is that you think would help make your community safer. And then like, oh, maybe we shouldn't because we're a nonprofit now, like conservative decisions start happening, or it's like, oh, yikes, you know, now, Toshio and Dean are both working here as staff and they're relying on this org for their health care. And our main funder wants us to switch gears and really focus instead on this issue, I guess we should because Toshio and Dean need it. So like, you just get entangled in things. And it's like, I think, like really, really, really like lovely, wonderful people who really want to change the world, we all still get entangled in this because it's like, it's a really smart system of containment for our work both at the kind of macro level of like, what's going to be funded to happen and at the like, day to day level of how you get kind of recruited into essentially running a business and relying on that. And whenever I share these things, these kinds of ideas, which I end up sharing them a lot with people, because I'm just like, hey, like, this is the pattern. I'm not like, I'm not telling you what you should or shouldn't do, but just like, look out, these are things people keep reporting, and people are like, you know, get really mad, like at that event that I just did recently people got really, really mad, like, "How are you gonna tell me not to get paid for this?" And I'm like, "All I'm saying is this stuff might happen and we haven't figured out a way around it." Like it doesn't mean don't do it. Like I think a lot of people are like, "Okay, we're gonna we're gonna mess with it. Nothing's perfect. And we're gonna like keep in mind all these dangers and we're trying to find ways, methods of creating accountability around this that let us know when to cut and run, when to break the rules, we're going to try to have an ethic of rule breaking even while we're in, we're even while we're choosing to go inside a system, it's got some rough rules." And there's something really amazing about making sure a lot of our work, remains autonomous and doesn't enter the system. And that's hard for people to imagine, because in the time that you and I have been alive, the narrative has been that all all activists work will go through the nonprofit, right? And so people have to do a lot of imagining to like, oh, wait, what's it like to just do this work? Like, because we want to together and people have been much more responsive and relevant and change when we need to, and break up our group when we're having conflict and in two groups if that's better. Instead of being kind of locked down. I also see people just getting in fights over the pile of money and the followers. Because once you

institutionalize something, there's something for people who like have even more conflict around, that's more entrenched, whereas if neither of us are getting paid for it, we can be like, Hey, we don't want to work together, right now. We're gonna go... You know what I mean? It might be good. Maybe there's an important political difference that, we should have two groups doing different methods and experiments around at the same time, ideally, still being kind to each other. But like, I just feel like, anyway, this kind of thing where people get really mad when they hear this critique or really defensive, it's because there's a desperation like, how do I do this work that I want to do? And the answer to that is just like, these are the conditions in capitalism, where it's like, I don't know. Yeah, we all seem to need to have some kind of income some for some people, the answer is trying to reduce your expenses and live collectively, to some people the answer a squatting, for some people, the answer is get a job that's paid as much as possible per hour for it and do it a few hours a week, like, like, people do a million people experiment. I'm working in the nonprofit then I got fired for breaking the rules. Now I'm working as a babysitter. Now I'm working at a nonprofit, like, you know, you've done all of that too, like now I'm dogwalking like - we've... there's not an answer to how to live in capitalism. But the assumption that the nonprofit needs to become a successful way for us to destroy capitalism, and you know, the prison state and whatever, is just like, we have to interrogate it like it's so obvious, you know...

Toshio Meronek:

The state is the reason for the problem in the first place. And so how does it make sense that you need to be legitimated by the problem causer by getting this 501c3, in order to solve said problem. You do give like some alternatives to nonprofits in movements. Could you talk about the alternative that you've termed in the past, 'attack and steal.'

Dean Spade:

Yeah, I was moved by this critique, I read of reparations in which the authors of the critique and we can link in the notes or whatever the authors of the critique, were kind of juxtaposing an approach to social change that's like about beg and compromise versus an approach that's about 'attack and steal.' And I'd also just been teaching in my law and social movements class all about maroon society and teaching that wonderful book "Dixie be Damned," and teaching Victoria Vicki Osterweil's book "In Defense of Looting," which talks about maroons, and many other materials, there are some really great comics about maroons. Anyway, just teaching about maroon society and about people specifically in the Great Dismal Swamp and people who, you know, escaped slavery and lived nearby in a swamp and attacked slave plantations and stole from them and disrupted them and burned them. And in like neoliberal society, the message is that if you want to make change, you need to beg and compromise. It's all about like, get jobs on the inside, go be a progressive prosecutor, go work for ICE and change it, go work for the military and change it, climb some ladder, and then when you hit the top, you'll be able to change things. It's like, it's a vision of change. It's all about elites running things, it doesn't question that. And that tells us all, it's a respectability politics thing, like you need to be the kind of person who could get such jobs and you could be considered reasonable by the people who are - whose illegitimate authority dominates and destroys our lives. And what's missing in that analysis, of course, is like that real change happens when people disrupt stuff and make the conditions that are ongoing impossible for the people who are dominating, you know, and like, that is the attack and steal vibe. And so it's like, I think it's just for me that - that juxtaposition, it's, it feels very naked and blatant the difference in our society, and I just see how much people I know have been - and I've, you know, been subject to this thinking like, Oh, our job is to, like, convince the elites, if we could just convince people with the right social media posts or with the right article in The New York Times, it's just like, as if it's a moral problem. And if we could

just convince the elites, they will - or even with the right protest, they will open the prisons or they will like, stop poisoning the air and water or something. And it's like, no, they know exactly what they're doing. There's actually an antagonism here. It's a system of domination that's working very, very well and has only increased, like the wealth divide and control of all of us and all the land during our lifetimes. The police budgets have grown like every, you know -

Toshio Meronek:
They're studying, yeah.

Dean Spade:
We need to actually see them as our opponents and sometimes I've given speeches in recent years and used the word 'our opponents' and people have been like, why are you saying that? I think we should love those people and I'm like, I can abstract like, I love all people and animals, and when you are hurting people I love, I don't need to lead with thinking about how you're thinking and how I can convince you to get in between you and the person you're trying to hurt that I love, or whatever.

Toshio Meronek:
Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Dean Spade:
Yeah, so just like, what is it about us that's been kind of like, demobilized around an attack and steal, and then just we're looking at 2020 and how people's more disruptive tactics like, get the goods, you know, in the sense that like, you can really see that social transformation happens more when people's tactics are turned up. And it's not that those are the only tactics and I obviously I heavily advocate for mutual aid which is which can be at... It's very attacking steel, it can be very much like, we're gonna squat places, we're gonna give people medicines that are considered illegal or you know, can it can be very law-breaking. And it can also be like, we're going to change a bunch of diapers to help people, like with child care during this meeting, or while they have to go to court. I mean, you know, can be - it has a lot of types of care in it that are more or less law-breaking or more or less, you know, explicitly threatening to order or whatever - so it's not the that we the only tactic we have is attacking and stealing, but if the ethic is attacking and stealing, I think we will succeed more.

Toshio Meronek:
A backlash: It shows those are tactics that were working in 2020 in unoccupied the tactics, people were using, were causing fear, and the elite, and they had to kind of stamp them out.

Dean Spade:
Part of their stamp out is like sending the Feds into Portland or whatever, to hurt people and disappear them. But also, it's like, all this federal funding now, both for more policing, and for nonprofits to supposedly do like restorative justice projects, because there's like, a quick move to nonprofitize and to say that the solutions have come to hire, you know, women of color police or to, you know, like, the solutions are all these "inclusion," and a lot of these, like, very sketchy "community support of our radical projects," methods that are - and if we can't see through that, if we really like, "Oh, no, why would our opponents fund our work, something might be funny here," instead it's just like, "Oh, wonderful. Now, a few more people in our community will be hired to..." Sometimes the things groups

are doing with those monies are useful. But there's definitely some kind of constraint there, that money is coming from our opponents.

Toshio Meronek:

I've been working in media for 20 years or so. Always having like a corporation in back buying the ads, of course, there's going to be deference given to whatever that corporation represents. If Chevron is buying all the ads, of course, they're not going to talk about issues related to climate change. It just seems like a really direct and obvious connect. There's a myth that you're privileged if you can do liberation work without getting paid. Why is this a myth?

Dean Spade:

Yeah, this is something I hear people say a lot. There's, like real over-media-representation of privileged people doing social justice work, like people - like one of the ways of dismissing the revolutionary period of the '60s and '70s, is to pretend it was just like some college students having some protests instead of being like, "Oh, my God, there was like this massive kind of organizing and huge, huge riots summer after summer, and the sheer numbers of people who put so much on the line again, and again, and again, and all of these disruptions." And so that's the thing that like the media loves represent, like, well-meaning liberal, like, privileged people doing good, because that's the charity model. And so what's missing there is that of course, all social movements across all time have been done by like, people who have had the most skin in the game, like people who wanted and needed change, because they were dying. That's who takes the biggest risks like peasants, essentially, you know, like, that's who rises up against power, and that's who also, like, does the most like dangerous kinds of risk-taking for change. And it's often people with more privilege who want to do a more insider strategy or strategy that's less uncomfortable for them or for others. But that really gets turned around. I hear people from all walks of life make the accusation that social movement work is only for those with privilege. And that unpaid work is only for those with privilege, where in reality, if you're getting paid for social movement work, you probably are closer to privilege and power, because you were able to somehow frame your work - not every single person, but more people, are getting - especially - the more you're getting paid to do social work, the more likely you're closer, like you're the person with a degree, you're the person who can write the grant, you're the person who they - who they believe is trustworthy with their money, and will really make the difference and believes in the right policy. And so it's just like the complete inverse of the reality of how social movements have always worked. And who has taken the risks in them. I just think that like the fantasy that we will all get paid... I mean, you know, when I did when I did that talk recently, and I posted on, you know, I posted on social media, like announcements about talk, and the talk was titled "Should social movement work be paid?" The number of people who responded to those posts being like, "Absolutely, can't wait to hear what Dean Spade has to say about this." And I'm like, the answer is, whether we want it to or not, it's not going to be, like why would our opponents pay for us to destroy their piles of wealth, and their jails and prisons and their systems of extraction? If we are getting paid for it, there might be something conscribed, circumscribed about the work or it might be like a temporary fluke. I mean, I think what's frustrating about it too, part of the lie of the nonprofit is that a few special people, do-gooders, will go work at nonprofits and they'll solve our societal problems like poverty and racism or whatever. And the rest of us, our job is just to donate and maybe to go to the Women's March once a year, or something like that, and to just kind of be demobilized, and most people have never heard of, or can't think about grassroots work that's not nonprofit-y now. Even though they, if they thought about, they're like, Oh, I've heard of the Montgomery bus boycott. And like, tons and tons and tons and tons and tons of working class Black women somehow making transportation happen for

an entire city of Black people, like actually, you do know stories about unpaid, huge amounts of unpaid work, you know, The, you know, farmworkers movement, whatever. But most of us think, at this point that social justice is either a career or like a spectator sport. And that is so successful that that story, all the media coverage of social movements, stuff is so skewed and supports all the myths that are demobilizing, like someone else will do it, or it's too or those people are too dangerous and wild, you know, any part of that. And so, I feel like there's just this like thing of like, what we really need is to help each other see, and imagine what autonomous organizing looks like, especially in places like the US I think, in other places in the world, this is - this is less - has been less, kind of, locked down in this narrative. This particular form of nonprofitization seems like really, really, really strong here, which makes sense, because it's the belly of the beast, and they really, really need to like keep a tight control and there was such a strong learning about that incendiary moment in the '60s and '70s.

Toshio Meronek:

Right, in kind of like, the West Coast capitols. And so you have a situation where it's like: The value of the labor that you've put into this project for the movement that you're super passionate about - the value that's perceived, it follows, or is somehow associated with, yeah, money, or people could buy into some some myth that if you are not getting paid, conversely, it's like, a less valuable role that you're playing in the work.

Dean Spade:

Yeah, people feel important when they get a grant or an award. I mean, I think that's like that thing of how can we see, oh actually, that you're being drafted into, you know, like, who's drafting you into what when they give you that award?

Toshio Meronek:

We were talking about this last night, about how, for example, politicians getting \$300 in gift cards to change, like their vote, on an issue. In some cases, it's not even like the amount of money but it - it is, like you said, like, that recognition by power, that gets people off. And has people like making these decisions that don't align with their own interests, and certainly not the interests of people that they're meant to represent whether they're the CFO of a nonprofit, or a politician or what have you.

Dean Spade:

Or even not being paid, like people being appointed to some city committee, people feel important. And then that's - and then they're like, tokenizing, you, or being like, Oh, look, we have somebody from this community who's, who's here with us. And therefore, this is a legitimate conversation about how to solve the problem. Like, I think the ways in which we all have essentially, like really intense mommy, daddy issues about power. And then we, you know, what we really need is to figure out how can we meet those needs for recognition and belonging in our communities instead of - because right now all of us are turned in capitalism, white supremacy and patriarchy towards like, an upward look, we're like, we want - to be assured by that, we, you know, unconsciously believe that's more legitimate. We think that will be safer and more well, if that thing recognizes us or supports us. And it's like, it's such a - we just get bought off.

Toshio Meronek:

Was there like a kind of a surprising response to the talk that you gave that we'll link in the show notes?

Dean Spade:

I would say that that talk was the most, it was the most like, intense - like the chat, you know, we have the chat on in those, when I do those events at Barnard, we stream it through YouTube, it's the best way for us to have like the ASL logistics and captioning logistics and stuff work well. So there's a live YouTube chat happening, which I really like. And people tend to like, people tend to really kind of make community in the YouTube chat. And it's nice, and people can kind of say that they're here and see their friends there and give responses and ask questions and stuff. And that chat was the most kind of critical and intense of any event that I've ever done, which was really interesting to me that this is a live wire for people. People were saying a range of things. Like that I as a white person shouldn't be making these critiques. People were saying, you know, hey, I work at a nonprofit, it's run by black women. People were saying, How can you be saying this, to me, this makes my work impossible as a disabled person, if you tell me I shouldn't get paid. It was really interesting. There was a lot of like, strong feelings. I felt like you know this is the question people have asked me the most, since my book about Mutual Aid came out. I was like, I'm gonna do a 45-minute lecture on this, you know, it can't, can't hurt to answer this question for a bunch of people at once to tell my take on it, and also to do a critique of wage labor, which I think is often missing in this conversation to be like, our goal as movements is not new wage jobs like the wage the wage relation itself, we are trying to get rid of, and trying to get rid of capitalism and extraction, whatever, I just wanted to put that frame on it because there's - like that sometimes gets lost, you know, the forest for the trees or whatever. I was surprised by how intense the chat was, and a lot of people told me they found the chat upsetting, which I thought was interesting. To me, it said, Oh, wow, we really need to have this conversation, that there's this much strong feeling and difference between us. And I think it's great when people say what they're thinking, because maybe that's part of them, getting to let in the ideas at all is to first be like, Dean, you're completely wrong. You know, I hope that that's part of also being curious about what I'm saying it could include thinking I'm completely wrong, like, that's part of how we all learn together is by responding to each other's stuff and having strong feelings. And that's fine, but I felt like, just surprised. I was like, there's so many other things that I have said that over the course of - you know, what was most like, Toshio, it was most like, when in the early 2000s, when I would give anti-marriage talks. And people would be like, come to their campus for like, oh, there's gonna be a gay events and there's gonna be a trans speaker and then be like, blown away that I was saying things against marriage and be like, stand up and be like, how dare you try to take my children away from me. And I'm just like, I just don't think this is a good strategy for our movement. But I don't want your kids to be taken away from you. And also, I don't think that like, this is a good way to achieve that from, you know, whatever, for so many reasons. But, but it was, it was a little bit like that, like even talking about this is a threat. And someone said at the beginning of this, of the chat on this event, these are very dangerous ideas. And I was like, How can these ideas be very dangerous, just like, the repeated experience of our communities in the nonprofit? There's so much evidence of this, there's so - there's even so much, you know, shared thinking about this in books like the Revolution Will Not Be Funded. But yeah, people really feel it. And I think it's because of a sense, a deep sense that this is the only option for them. And so I feel like the answer to this, like one of the main answers is that in our social movement groups, and in our friend circles, we need to study social movements, and look at how huge numbers of people have made change in which nobody was getting paid. How does organizing work? How have people accomplished mass movements, or really intense covert action or really smart strategies autonomously? And how have we been robbed of being able to imagine that and it doesn't - there's - this is not about absolutes. It might be strategic, sometimes people that work in nonprofits, like none of us have a job that's not complicated. Like, every - if you're if you're making money and a wage, somebody's being exploited or extracted from, like you, the earth, other workers, like it's the nature of

capitalism, so it's not about like trying to find a perfect way to be, it's just about being like, Huh, we're working on a project. If we go in this direction with it, what might the costs and benefits be if we go in this - like, just like sharing our wisdom based in experience of like, what tends to happen with this structure, and being open to like, the possibility that something we've been trying isn't working or that the conditions changing, it's not working now, like, that's the flexibility that doing autonomous organizing allows is being able to like shift and change over time. And I think that like that the nonprofit kind of prevents that and keeps like the work less relevant or gets kind of like, rigid and stuck in certain strategies. Our goal is to like achieve these liberatory transformations. And that means being very uncomfortable all the time. We're already very uncomfortable because the world's like, really horrible. And I'm just I'm a little surprised that this conversation seemed like, much, much more threatening to people than like talking about, like, ending prisons or ending the military.

Toshio Meronek:

Yeah, I mean, and part of it, it does seem like I guess for a lot of people, it does feel like so close to home because people have worked in nonprofits, people have gotten married, same, you know, the weirdness that you were on the receiving end of, for a lot of those conversations around marriage. They obviously made it dent, because now it feels just a lot easier if you have a different point of view, anyone who works at a nonprofit needs to watch these videos and just question whether or not what you're doing is feeding into the problems that your nonprofit's trying to address. So check out the videos. Also check out the the modern classics, Normal Life as well as Mutual Aid out now. Thank you so much, Dean.

Dean Spade:

Thanks for having me.

Toshio Meronek:

Sad Francisco is a podcast produced by Caitlin Wood and Toshio Meronek. If you like the show, please go to patreon.com/sadfrancisco. See you next time in Sad Francisco.