

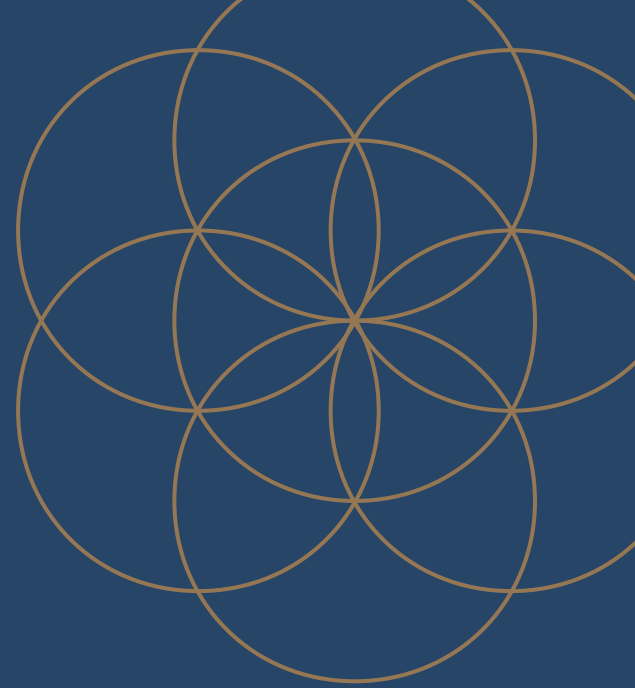
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Cooperative Economics Research Guide

For graduate students, faculty, and community
researchers

UCSB BLUM CENTER

DR. U.S. AWASTHI INITIATIVE IN
COOPERATIVE ECONOMICS



Cooperative Economics Research Guide

Revised edition, October 2026

The Dr. U.S. Awasthi Initiative in Cooperative Economics
UCSB Blum Center on Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy
University of California, Santa Barbara

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About the Initiative

The Dr. U.S. Awasthi Initiative in Cooperative Economics at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB) Blum Center supports faculty, graduate, and community research on the principles, practice, and prospects of cooperative enterprise in California, the United States, and the world. The Initiative carries the name of Dr. U.S. Awasthi, Managing Director and Chief Executive Officer of the Indian Farmers Fertiliser Cooperative (IFFCO). Under his leadership, IFFCO became a global leader in fertilizer production and expanded into insurance, rural telephony, rural retail, and special economic zones. Dr. Awasthi earned a degree in chemical engineering from Banaras Hindu University in 1967 and, before joining IFFCO's leadership, headed Pyrites, Phosphates and Chemicals Ltd. and Rashtriya Chemicals & Fertilizers Ltd. He co-authored *Fertiliser Industry in India*, holds an honorary doctorate from the Indian Institute of Chemical Engineers, and serves as an honorary visiting professor at the Indian Institute of Technology Delhi. In 2020 he became the first person from the cooperative sector named to the "50 Most Influential Indians" list compiled by Fame India, PSU Watch, and Asia Post.¹

The International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) counts about three million cooperatives with more than one billion members, and estimates that cooperatives employ or provide work to 280 million people, about 10 percent of the world's employed population. The 300 largest cooperatives and mutuals reported a combined turnover of \$2.79 trillion in 2023.²

3 million

cooperatives worldwide

1 billion+

cooperative members

280 millionpeople employed, about 10
percent of world employment

\$2.79 trillionturnover of the 300 largest
cooperatives, 2023

Researchers will find here a working definition of cooperative enterprise, a typology with current examples, open research questions, a chronology from 1752 to 2025, a directory of research organizations and data sources, and a bibliography with annotations on key works. Works marked with a dagger (†) make good starting points for readers new to the field.

1. UCSB Blum Center, "About," Dr. U.S. Awasthi Initiative in Cooperative Economics, accessed October 14, 2026, <https://blumcenter.ucsb.edu/initiatives/cooperative-economics/about>.

2. International Cooperative Alliance, "Facts and Figures," accessed October 14, 2026, <https://www.ica.coop/en/cooperatives/facts-and-figures>; ICA and Euricse, *World Cooperative Monitor 2025*.

SECTION 1

Defining Cooperative Enterprise

The International Cooperative Alliance, which has set the global standard since its founding in 1895, defines a cooperative as “an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise.”³ Members, not outside investors, own the enterprise. They finance it, govern it through one-member, one-vote elections, and receive its benefits, whether as goods and services, wages, or a share of surplus returned in proportion to their use.⁴

People form cooperatives to obtain what markets fail to supply or supply only at prices they cannot pay: credit in rural districts banks ignore, electricity on farms utilities would not wire, groceries in neighborhoods chains abandoned, housing near campuses where rents outrun student budgets. Economists call such gaps market failures, situations in which private markets misallocate resources through monopoly power, missing information, or the absence of a profitable buyer or seller.⁵ Cooperatives also redistribute income, since members rather than shareholders capture the surplus.

Scholars and practitioners use “cooperative economics” for a wider field than incorporated cooperatives. Jessica Gordon Nembhard, a political economist at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, includes mutual aid societies, buying clubs, and collective land ownership; Thomas M. Hanna and Marjorie Kelly of the Democracy Collaborative include community land trusts, public banks, and employee stock ownership plans (ESOPs) under the heading of community wealth building.⁶ The Initiative works across this full range.

Values and Principles

The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers, a cooperative store founded by weavers and other workers in Rochdale, England, in 1844, wrote the operating rules from which the modern principles descend. The ICA formally adopted the Rochdale Principles in 1937, revised them in 1966, and replaced them in 1995 with the Statement on the Cooperative Identity, which remains in force.⁷ The

3. International Cooperative Alliance, “Statement on the Cooperative Identity” (1995), <https://www.ica.coop/en/cooperatives/cooperative-identity>.

4. Jonathan Michie, Joseph R. Blasi, and Carlo Borzaga, “Introduction and Overview,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Mutual, Co-operative, and Co-owned Business*, ed. Michie, Blasi, and Borzaga (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), xxiii.

5. On cooperatives as responses to market failure, see Jessica Gordon Nembhard, *Collective Courage: A History of African American Cooperative Economic Thought and Practice* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 1–2.

6. Nembhard, *Collective Courage*; Thomas M. Hanna and Marjorie Kelly, “Community Wealth Building: The Path towards a Democratic and Reparative Political Economic System” (Washington, DC: Democracy Collaborative, 2021).

7. Hagen Henry, “Co-operative Principles and Co-operative Law across the Globe,” in Michie, Blasi, and Borzaga, *Oxford Handbook*, 39.

1995 Statement names six values (self-help, self-responsibility, democracy, equality, equity, and solidarity) and four ethical commitments (honesty, openness, social responsibility, and caring for others). It sets out seven principles:

- 1. Voluntary and Open Membership.** Cooperatives admit all persons able to use their services and willing to accept the responsibilities of membership, without gender, social, racial, political, or religious discrimination.
- 2. Democratic Member Control.** Members set policy and make decisions. In primary cooperatives each member holds one vote; elected representatives answer to the membership.
- 3. Member Economic Participation.** Members contribute capital equitably and control it democratically. They allocate surplus to develop the cooperative, build reserves, return benefits to members in proportion to their transactions, or support other activities they approve.
- 4. Autonomy and Independence.** Members control the cooperative. Agreements with governments, lenders, or other outside parties must preserve that control.
- 5. Education, Training, and Information.** Cooperatives educate members, elected representatives, managers, and employees, and inform the public, especially young people and opinion leaders, about cooperation.
- 6. Cooperation among Cooperatives.** Cooperatives work together through local, national, regional, and international structures.
- 7. Concern for Community.** Cooperatives work for the sustainable development of their communities through policies their members approve.

The 1995 revision added the fourth and seventh principles; the 1966 revision had added the sixth.⁸

8. International Cooperative Alliance, "Statement on the Cooperative Identity."

SECTION 2

Types of Cooperatives

The University of Wisconsin Center for Cooperatives sorts cooperatives into five types by who holds membership.⁹

Type	Members	Examples
Consumer	People who buy the cooperative's goods or services	Food cooperatives, credit unions, housing cooperatives, rural electric cooperatives
Worker	People who work in the enterprise and govern it	Worker-owned manufacturers, cab companies, home care agencies
Producer	Farmers, fishers, or artisans who market or process their output together	Dairy, fruit, and grain marketing cooperatives
Purchasing or shared services	Businesses or institutions that buy together	Hardware retailers, independent pharmacies, universities
Multi-stakeholder	Two or more of the classes above	Food hubs linking growers, workers, and buyers

Credit unions are consumer cooperatives that provide financial services. ESOPs differ from worker cooperatives: an ESOP trust holds shares on employees' behalf, and voting power may follow share ownership rather than the one-member, one-vote rule.

9. University of Wisconsin Center for Cooperatives, "What Is a Co-op?," <https://uwcc.wisc.edu/about-co-ops/>.

SECTION 3

Cooperatives in California and the Central Coast

California hosts some of the oldest and largest cooperatives in the country, and UCSB students founded two that still serve Isla Vista.

- **Isla Vista Food Cooperative**, Isla Vista. UCSB students and Isla Vista residents founded the store in 1972. Members bought its Seville Road building in 2012 through a community fundraising campaign. The Isla Vista Community Services District now funds 166 household memberships for local addresses.¹⁰
- **Santa Barbara Student Housing Cooperative**, Isla Vista. A student-run housing cooperative serving Santa Barbara City College and UCSB students. <https://www.sbcoop.org/>
- **Golden 1 Credit Union**, Sacramento. One of the largest credit unions in the United States. <https://www.golden1.com/>
- **Rainbow Grocery**, San Francisco. A worker-owned grocery in the Mission District. <https://rainbow.coop/>

In 2015 the California Legislature passed the California Worker Cooperative Act, Assembly Bill 816, introduced by Assembly Member Rob Bonta. Governor Jerry Brown signed it on August 12, 2015. Before the act, California worker cooperatives had no legal form of their own and often incorporated as consumer cooperatives. The act created a worker cooperative designation within the state Corporations Code, defined worker-members as the cooperative's patrons, and eased limits on raising capital from community investors.¹¹

10. Isla Vista Community Services District, "Isla Vista Food Cooperative Community Membership Program," <https://islavistacsd.ca.gov/isla-vista-food-cooperative-community-membership-program>; *Daily Nexus* (University of California, Santa Barbara), January 2018, <https://dailynexus.com/?p=80359>.

11. Cal. Assembly Bill 816, ch. 192, Stats. 2015; National Cooperative Business Association CLUSA, "Governor Brown Signs California Worker Cooperative Act," August 17, 2015.

SECTION 4

Selected Cases

Organized by type. Researchers should confirm current status before relying on any entry.

Consumer Cooperatives

- Recreational Equipment, Inc. (REI), Kent, Washington. <https://www.rei.com/>
- Adams-Columbia Electric Cooperative, Friendship, Wisconsin. <https://www.acecwi.com/>
- Federación Nacional de Cooperativas de Ahorro y Crédito del Ecuador (FECOAC), Ecuador. <https://fecoac.org/>
- Institución Financiera Cooperativa Coopeuch, Chile. <https://www.coopeuch.cl/>
- Grupo Sancor Seguros, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Paraguay. <https://www.sancorseguros.com/en>
- Awach Savings and Credit Cooperative Society, Ethiopia. <https://www.awachsacco.com/>

Worker Cooperatives

- Union Cab Cooperative, Madison, Wisconsin. <https://www.unioncab.com/>
- Isthmus Engineering and Manufacturing, Madison, Wisconsin. <https://isthmuseng.com/>
- Equal Exchange, West Bridgewater, Massachusetts. <https://equalexchange.coop/>
- Cooperative Care, Wautoma, Wisconsin. <http://www.cooperativecare.us/>
- North Wind Renewable Energy, Stevens Point, Wisconsin. <https://www.northwindre.com/>
- Mondragon Corporation, Basque Country, Spain. A federation of worker cooperatives founded in 1956. <https://www.mondragon-corporation.com/en/>
- Evergreen Cooperatives, Cleveland, Ohio. A network of employee-owned businesses launched in 2008 by Cleveland hospitals, universities, and foundations. <https://www.evgo.com/>

Employee ownership, for comparison: Bob's Red Mill, Milwaukie, Oregon, is 100 percent employee-owned through an ESOP rather than organized as a worker cooperative. <https://www.bobsredmill.com/employee-owned>

Producer Cooperatives

- Ocean Spray Cranberries, Lakeville-Middleboro, Massachusetts. <https://www.oceanspray.com/>
- MBG Marketing (The Blueberry People), Grand Junction, Michigan. <http://www.blueberries.com/>

- Organic Valley (CROPP Cooperative), La Farge, Wisconsin. <https://www.organicvalley.coop/>
- Q Artist Cooperative, Madison, Wisconsin. <https://qartistscooperative.com/>

Purchasing and Shared Services Cooperatives

- Ace Hardware, Oak Brook, Illinois. <https://www.acehardware.com/about-us>
- Carpet One Floor & Home (CCA Global Partners), St. Louis, Missouri. <https://www.carpetone.com/>
- Independent Pharmacy Cooperative, Sun Prairie, Wisconsin. <https://www.ipcrx.com/>
- E&I Cooperative Services, Melville, New York. <https://www.eandi.org/>

Multi-Stakeholder Cooperatives

- Weaver Street Market, Carrboro, North Carolina. <https://www.weaverstreetmarket.coop/>
- Cooperation Jackson, Jackson, Mississippi. <https://cooperationjackson.org/>
- Odua Cooperative Conglomerate, Ibadan, Nigeria. <https://oduacooperativeconglomerate.coop/>
- Fifth Season Cooperative, Viroqua, Wisconsin. <http://www.fifthseasoncoop.com/>
- Wisconsin Food Hub Cooperative, Wisconsin. <https://wifoodhub.com/>

Agricultural Federations

- Indian Farmers Fertiliser Cooperative (IFFCO), New Delhi, India. Founded in 1967, IFFCO links about 35,000 member cooperatives. The ICA's *World Cooperative Monitor 2025* ranked the Gujarat Cooperative Milk Marketing Federation (Amul) first and IFFCO second among the world's 300 largest cooperatives by turnover relative to national GDP per capita.¹² <https://www.iffco.in/>
- Mauritius Cooperative Agricultural Federation, Port Louis, Mauritius. <https://mcafcoop.com/>
- Federation of Southern Cooperatives/Land Assistance Fund, East Point, Georgia. Twenty-two cooperatives founded the Federation in 1967; in 1985 it merged with the Emergency Land Fund. It provides land retention assistance, cooperative development, and advocacy to Black farmers, landowners, and cooperatives across the rural South.¹³ <https://www.federation.coop/>

Historical Black Mutual Aid and Cooperative Organizations

- Free African Society, Philadelphia, founded 1787 by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones.
- Independent Order of Saint Luke, Maryland and Virginia; led from 1899 by Maggie Lena Walker, who founded the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank in 1903.

12. ICA and Euricse, *World Cooperative Monitor 2025* (Brussels: ICA, 2025).

13. Federation of Southern Cooperatives/Land Assistance Fund, "About Us," <https://www.federation.coop/about-us>.

- National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association, Tennessee, led by Callie House.
- Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union, founded in Houston County, Texas, in 1886.¹⁴

14. Nembhard, *Collective Courage*, 21, 240.

SECTION 5

Open Research Questions

Scale and democracy. Can cooperatives grow without ceding control to managers? Which governance devices, such as federations, delegate assemblies, or capped pay ratios, have preserved member control as enterprises expanded, and which have failed?

Law and public policy. How do state cooperative statutes, tax treatment under Subchapter T of the Internal Revenue Code, and municipal procurement shape which cooperatives form and survive? What followed California's 2015 Worker Cooperative Act?

Finance. Where do cooperatives find capital when they cannot sell equity to outside investors? How have the National Cooperative Bank, community development financial institutions, and revolving loan funds filled that gap?

Conversion and succession. As owners of small businesses retire, under what conditions do employees buy them through worker cooperatives or ESOPs, and what happens to wages and job retention afterward?

Race, gender, and exclusion. How have Black, Latino, Asian American, and Indigenous communities used cooperation against exclusion from credit, land, and markets? How did white planters, lenders, and legislatures suppress those efforts? Where have cooperatives themselves reproduced exclusion?

Empire and development. British, French, and Japanese colonial officials promoted cooperatives as tools of administration. How did colonial subjects adopt, reject, or repurpose them, and what did postcolonial states inherit?

Housing and land. How do limited-equity housing cooperatives and community land trusts compare with deed-restricted rental housing in keeping homes affordable over decades? What would a student housing cooperative at scale require on the Central Coast?

Platforms and new sectors. Can drivers, freelancers, and care workers build platform cooperatives that compete with venture-funded firms?

Crisis and formation. Cooperative formation rose in the 1930s, the 1970s, and after 2008. Which conditions drive these waves, and why do some cohorts of cooperatives last while others dissolve?

SECTION 6

Chronology

Scholarship on cooperative history has concentrated on Europe and the United States; this chronology reflects that emphasis, and entries from Asia, Africa, and Latin America mark places where the record needs further research.¹⁵

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 1752 | Benjamin Franklin and fellow members of Philadelphia's Union Fire Company found the Philadelphia Contributionship, a mutual fire insurer and the earliest recognized cooperative business in the United States. ¹⁶ |
| 1787 | Richard Allen and Absalom Jones found the Free African Society in Philadelphia, a mutual aid society for free Black Philadelphians. |
| 1831 | Paris carpenters form a producers' association, an early model for French workers' cooperatives. ¹⁷ |
| 1844 | Weavers and other workers open the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers store in Rochdale, Lancashire. Their rules become the basis of the Rochdale Principles. |
| 1848 | After the February Revolution, Paris workers form some 225 producers' associations while the provisional government opens the Ateliers nationaux (National Workshops) to employ the jobless. ¹⁸ |
| 1850 | Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch founds a credit association for artisans in Delitzsch, Saxony, a forerunner of urban cooperative banks. |
| 1862 | Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen founds a rural loan society in Anhausen, near Neuwied; a second society at Heddesdorf follows in 1864. Raiffeisen societies become the model for rural credit cooperatives in Europe and beyond. ¹⁹ |

15. Vera Zamagni, "A Worldwide Historical Perspective on Co-operatives and Their Evolution," in Michie, Blasi, and Borzaga, *Oxford Handbook*.

16. Lynn Pittman, "History of Cooperatives in the United States: An Overview" (Madison: University of Wisconsin Center for Cooperatives, 2018), 2.

17. Zamagni, "Worldwide Historical Perspective," 102.

18. Zamagni, "Worldwide Historical Perspective," 102.

19. Ulrich S. Soénus, "Raiffeisen, Friedrich Wilhelm," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 21 (2003).

-
- 1880s** Black farmers organize the Colored Grange in Tennessee (1880), the Negro Farmers' Alliance in Arkansas (1882), and Colored Agricultural Wheels across the South. On December 11, 1886, sixteen Black farmers found the Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union in Houston County, Texas; by 1891 it claims more than one million members.²⁰
-
- 1882** Dairy farmers in Hjedding, in western Jutland, open Denmark's first cooperative dairy. Cooperative creameries soon spread across Denmark and Scandinavia.²¹
-
- 1895** Delegates at the first International Cooperative Congress in London found the International Cooperative Alliance.
-
- 1900** Japan passes its first law regulating cooperatives, the Industrial Cooperative Law.
-
- 1916** Physician James Peter Warbasse founds the Cooperative League of the USA, today the National Cooperative Business Association CLUSA International.²²
-
- 1922** Japan's cooperative movement reaches three million members; authoritarian governments later curtail it.²³
-
- 1923** The ICA holds the first International Day of Cooperatives.
-
- 1930** About thirty young Black Americans, led by journalist George Schuyler and organizer Ella Baker, found the Young Negroes' Co-operative League in December. Chapters develop cooperatives in several cities.²⁴
-
- 1930s** Unemployed workers build barter and labor-exchange networks, the self-help cooperative movement, most active before the New Deal.²⁵
-
- 1935** President Franklin D. Roosevelt creates the Rural Electrification Administration by executive order. Its loans finance rural electric cooperatives across the country.
-
- 1937** The ICA's Paris Congress formally adopts the Rochdale Principles.
-
- 1938** Mountaineers in Seattle found the Recreational Equipment Cooperative, today REI.
-

20. Nembhard, *Collective Courage*, 21, 240.

21. Zamagni, "Worldwide Historical Perspective," 103.

22. Nembhard, *Collective Courage*, 12; National Cooperative Business Association CLUSA, "NCBA CLUSA History and Timeline," <https://ncbaclusa.coop/about-us/our-history/>.

23. Zamagni, "Worldwide Historical Perspective," 111.

24. Nembhard, *Collective Courage*, 22, 242.

25. Clark Kerr, "Productive Enterprises of the Unemployed, 1931–1938" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1939).

1946	Students found the North American Student Cooperative League, reorganized in 1968 as North American Students of Cooperation (NASCO).
1956	Graduates of a technical school founded by Father José María Arizmendiarieta open Ulgor, the first of the Mondragon cooperatives, in the Basque Country of Spain.
1964	Kenya establishes the Kenya National Federation of Cooperatives, today the Cooperative Alliance of Kenya.
1966	The ICA's Vienna Congress revises the principles and adds cooperation among cooperatives.
1967	Twenty-two cooperatives found the Federation of Southern Cooperatives. In India, farmers' cooperatives found IFFCO.
1972	UCSB students and Isla Vista residents found the Isla Vista Food Cooperative.
1978	The United States Congress passes the National Consumer Cooperative Bank Act, creating the National Cooperative Bank.
1993	Three incarcerated men in Puerto Rico form Cooperativa ARIGOS; the government amends cooperative law to permit prisoner cooperatives. ²⁶
1995	The ICA's centennial Congress in Manchester adopts the Statement on the Cooperative Identity, adding autonomy and independence and concern for community to the principles.
2001	After the December uprising against austerity, Argentine workers occupy and run shuttered factories, and neighborhood assemblies spread under the banners of <i>horizontalidad</i> and <i>autogestión</i> .
2004	Worker cooperatives found the United States Federation of Worker Cooperatives in Minneapolis.
2008	Cleveland hospitals, universities, and foundations launch Evergreen Cooperatives.
2012	The United Nations observes the first International Year of Cooperatives. On October 31 the ICA General Assembly in Manchester adopts the Blueprint for a Co-operative Decade. ²⁷

26. Bobby Sullivan, *Revolutionary Threads: Rastafari, Social Justice, and Cooperative Economics* (New York: Akashic Books, 2018), 150.

2015 Governor Jerry Brown signs the California Worker Cooperative Act.

2025 The United Nations observes the second International Year of Cooperatives, proclaimed by the General Assembly in 2023 and 2024. In December the General Assembly resolves to hold an International Year of Cooperatives every ten years.²⁸

27. International Cooperative Alliance, "ICA Unveils Plan to Guide Co-ops into Their Strongest Growth Phase," press release, October 31, 2012.

28. United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 78/175 (December 2023); Resolution 78/289 (June 24, 2024); Resolution 80/182 (December 15, 2025).

SECTION 7

Research Organizations and Data Sources

Data and Statistics

- *World Cooperative Monitor*, ICA and the European Research Institute on Cooperative and Social Enterprises (Euricse). Annual rankings and data on the 300 largest cooperatives. <https://monitor.coop/en>
- Democracy at Work Institute, worker cooperative sector data and research. <https://institute.coop/>
- National Cooperative Business Association CLUSA International. <https://ncbaclusa.coop/>

Research Centers

- University of Wisconsin Center for Cooperatives. <https://uwcc.wisc.edu/>
- Initiative for Cooperatives and Civic Innovation (ICCI), University of California, Davis. Supports cooperatives, employee-owned companies, and public-benefit corporations with financing, governance support, and market access; held its global launch event at UC Davis in April 2026. <https://grandchallenges.ucdavis.edu/challenges/reimagining-the-land-grant-university-for-the-21st-century-beyond/icci/>
- Canadian Centre for the Study of Co-operatives, University of Saskatchewan. <https://www.usaskstudies.coop/>
- European Research Institute on Cooperative and Social Enterprises (Euricse). <https://euricse.eu/>
- The Democracy Collaborative. <https://democracycollaborative.org/>
- The Next System Project. <https://thenextsystem.org/>

Federations and Networks

- International Cooperative Alliance. <https://www.ica.coop/en>
- United States Federation of Worker Cooperatives. <https://www.usworker.coop/>
- North American Students of Cooperation (NASCO). <https://www.nasco.coop/>
- Federation of Southern Cooperatives/Land Assistance Fund. <https://www.federation.coop/>

Teaching and Public Media

- *Beyond the Bottom Line*, documentary on worker cooperatives, Headlamp Pictures. <http://headlamppictures.com/worker-coops>
- TED and TEDx talks on cooperatives:
 - Melanie Shellito, “Why the Cooperative Model Is a Revolution.” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yrPdRg9kumM>
 - Benoit Molineaux, “Let’s Create Our Own Cooperative Economy.” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E9wKDoX2_Q4
 - Julia Hutchins, “How Cooperative Businesses Can Answer Tough Business Challenges.” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PzSw6OsEP9Q>
 - Jim Brown, “How to Stop Poverty: Start a Worker-Owned Cooperative.” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LFyl0zz2yqs>
 - Regan Muir, “The Housing Revolution: How Housing Co-ops Can Provide a Better Future.” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zhXirVAstYA>
 - Michelle Lopez-Dohrn, “Growing Community through a Food Co-op.” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lgGkigiukw8>
 - Anu Puusa, “The Case for Co-ops, the Invisible Giant of the Economy.” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4nCJRrNTlus>

SECTION 8

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SECTION 9

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

W. E. B. Du Bois, ed., *Economic Co-operation among Negro Americans* (1907). Du Bois and his Atlanta University collaborators surveyed Black churches, mutual aid societies, insurance societies, banks, and cooperative businesses from slavery through 1907, producing the first systematic study of Black cooperative economic life.

Clark Kerr, “Productive Enterprises of the Unemployed, 1931–1938” (1939). Kerr, later president of the University of California, wrote his Berkeley economics dissertation on the self-help cooperatives unemployed Californians organized during the Depression. He drew on field observation and extensive quantitative data on membership, production, and state and federal aid.

Marina Sitrin, ed., *Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina* (2006). Sitrin interviewed participants in the movements that followed Argentina’s December 2001 uprising against austerity: unemployed workers who blockaded roads to bargain with the state, neighborhood assemblies that organized food and services, and workers who occupied and ran factories their owners had shut. The interviews document *horizontalidad*, the participants’ term for organizing without hierarchy.

Secondary Sources

Jessica Gordon Nembhard, *Collective Courage* (2014). Nembhard traces African American cooperation from the antebellum period to the present, arguing against earlier accounts that stressed the failures of Black cooperatives. She shows that Black communities built cooperatives in response to market failure and racial discrimination, and that white planters, lenders, and officials repeatedly suppressed them. The book moves through three periods: mutual aid in the Reconstruction, Populist, and Progressive eras; deliberate cooperative development from 1917 to 1975; and late twentieth- and twenty-first-century cooperatives. It remains the standard history of the subject.

John Curl, *For All the People* (2nd ed., 2012). Curl, a longtime member of the Heartwood Cooperative Woodshop in Berkeley, surveys cooperation and communalism in America from colonial settlements through the present. He treats worker, consumer, and agrarian cooperatives and intentional communities as one tradition of alternatives to wage labor. His own participation in the movement informs the interpretation.

Joseph G. Knapp, *The Rise of American Cooperative Enterprise* (1969) and *The Advance of American Cooperative Enterprise* (1973). Knapp, a longtime economist with the United States Department of Agriculture’s Farmer Cooperative Service, wrote a two-volume institutional history of American cooperatives from 1620 to 1945, with particular depth on agricultural marketing and purchasing cooperatives.

Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons* (1990). Ostrom, who received the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 2009, challenged the assumption that common-pool resources such as fisheries, forests, and irrigation systems require either state control or privatization. From case studies in Switzerland, Japan, Spain, and the Philippines, she identified design principles by which resource users have governed shared resources themselves over centuries.

Steve Leikin, *The Practical Utopians* (2005). Leikin examines the cooperatives that Knights of Labor members and other Gilded Age workers built to answer low wages, job insecurity, and the loss of craft skills, and explains why most failed under pressure from employers, creditors, and courts.

George Cheney, *Values at Work* (1999). Cheney, a communication scholar, studied how Mondragón's worker cooperatives kept or lost their founding commitments to solidarity, participation, and equality as they grew and centralized. He found that competitive pressure tied worker participation increasingly to customer demands, a shift he calls the "marketization of employee participation."

Sharryn Kasmir, *The Myth of Mondragón* (1996). Kasmir, an anthropologist, compared workers at a Mondragón cooperative with workers at a nearby conventional firm and found that cooperative members participated less in union and political life than the cooperative's reputation suggested. Read alongside Cheney.

Janelle Cornwell, "Worker Co-operatives and Spaces of Possibility" (2012). Cornwell, a geographer, conducted participant observation and twenty interviews at Collective Copies, a worker-owned print shop in Amherst, Massachusetts. She argues that the cooperative grew according to its members' experiences and desires rather than a drive to expand.

Nikolay Kamenov, "Imperial Cooperative Experiments and Global Market Capitalism" (2019). Kamenov challenges the account in which cooperation spread outward from Rochdale to Europe and then the colonies. Through a case study of cooperative policy in India from 1900 to 1950 and its adoption in West Africa, he shows that cooperative knowledge moved through networks connecting India, Africa, and Europe, and that cooperatives helped shape colonial commodity markets.

Mo Moulton, "Co-opting the Cooperative Movement?" (2022). Moulton studies the British Co-operative College, which trained students from across the empire between the 1920s and 1960s. Colonial officials promoted cooperatives as schools of citizenship, but some students, including Egyptians and later Sierra Leonean, Malawian, and Ghanaian leaders, used the training to build national development programs.

Joey Power, "Individualism Is the Antithesis of Indirect Rule" (1992). Power shows that British officials in colonial Malawi promoted cooperatives to channel an emerging African commercial class into state-supervised commerce under indirect rule, and that many Malawians rejected them. Power's sympathy for African entrepreneurship shapes the argument; the article remains a useful case of cooperatives imposed from above.

Bruno Jossa, "Marx, Lenin and the Cooperative Movement" (2014). Jossa, an economist, reads Marx's *Capital* and Lenin's 1923 essay "On Cooperation" to argue that both regarded producer cooperatives as compatible with, and useful to, a transition beyond capitalism.

Jonathan Michie, Joseph R. Blasi, and Carlo Borzaga, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Mutual, Co-operative, and Co-owned Business* (2017). Forty-two chapters in eight parts cover theories of member ownership, its history in the United States and worldwide, sector studies, governance, twelve national case studies including Mondragón and cooperatives in the Global South, and future prospects. The handbook offers the most comprehensive single reference in the field.

Martin Parker, George Cheney, Valérie Fournier, and Chris Land, eds., *The Routledge Companion to Alternative Organization* (2014). Contributors examine organizational forms outside the investor-owned corporation, from worker cooperatives and credit unions to fair trade networks, household production, and open-source software, organized under work, exchange, and resources.

Marina Sitrin, *Everyday Revolutions* (2012). Sitrin's follow-up to *Horizontalism* analyzes the occupied factories, neighborhood assemblies, and unemployed workers' movements of post-2001 Argentina, their roots in earlier popular movements, and their relationship to the state.

Bobby Sullivan, *Revolutionary Threads* (2018). Sullivan, a musician in the Washington, DC, punk scene, connects cooperative economics to the Rastafari critique of capitalism. He surveys cooperation from precolonial America through abolition and the 1970s, with sections on Rastafari cooperatives in Jamaica and communal practices in Africa.

Richard C. Williams, *The Cooperative Movement* (2007). Williams argues that cooperatives can operate inside market economies, in both wealthy and developing countries, and can make markets fairer rather than replace them.

J. Lloyd Lill Jr., "Cooperative Ventures in the United States" (1984). Lill attributes the growth of worker-owned firms after 1970 to demand for workplace democracy, unemployment, worker buyouts during plant closures, and publicity about successful firms. He surveys responses from unions, managers, economists, the Catholic Church, and Protestant writers.

Thomas M. Hanna and Marjorie Kelly, "Community Wealth Building" (2021). Hanna and Kelly, of the Democracy Collaborative, define community wealth building as a coordinated network of cooperatives, community land trusts, public enterprises, and anchor institutions that place land, labor, and capital under community control, and trace its roots to postwar civil rights and economic justice movements.

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