Studies in Global Social History

Editor

Marcel van der Linden (*International Institute of Social History,
Amsterdam, The Netherlands*)

Editorial Board

Sven Beckert (*Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA*)

Philip Bonner (*University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg, South Africa*)

Dirk Hoerder (*University of Arizona, Phoenix, AR, USA*)

Chitra Joshi (*Indraprastha College, Delhi University, India*)

Amarjit Kaur (*University of New England, Armidale, Australia*)

Barbara Weinstein (*New York University, New York, NY, USA*)

VOLUME 28

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/sgsh

A Global History of Consumer Co-operation since 1850

Movements and Businesses

Edited by

Mary Hilson

Silke Neunsinger

Greg Patmore

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Left (women in shop with shopping carts): Shop interior with instructions about self-service, Sweden 1948. The text on the poster reads: "Take a basket or a trolley. Help yourself to what you want. Pay at the exit."
Right (man below flags): KF exhibition "Without Borders", organized in conjunction with the ICA congress in Stockholm, 1957.
Both images are used with kind permission by the Swedish Labour Movement's Archive and Library (Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek).

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <http://catalog.loc.gov>
LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2017016925>

*This book is dedicated to the memory of Ian MacPherson (1939-2013)
and to the memory of Michael Prinz (1952-2016)*

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1874-6705
ISBN 978-90-04-33654-4 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-33655-1 (e-book)

Copyright 2017 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and Hotei Publishing.
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.
Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Printed by Printforce, the Netherlands

Contents

Acknowledgements	XI
List of Illustrations	XIII
List of Abbreviations	XVII
Notes on Contributors	XXII

Introduction

- 1 A Global History of Consumer Co-operation since 1850: Introduction 3
Mary Hilson, Silke Neunsinger and Greg Patmore
- 2 Co-operative History: Movements and Businesses 17
Mary Hilson

SECTION 1 *Origins and Models*

- Origins and Models: Introduction to Section 1 51
Mary Hilson
- 3 Rochdale and Beyond: Consumer Co-operation in Britain before 1945 59
Mary Hilson
 - 4 The Belgian Co-operative Model: Elements of Success and Failure 78
Geert Van Goethem
 - 5 History of Consumer Co-operatives in France: From the Conquest of Consumption by the Masses to the Challenge of Mass Consumption 99
Simon Lambersens, Amélie Artis, Danièle Demoustier and Alain Mélo
 - 6 Consumer Co-operation in the Nordic Countries, c. 1860–1939 121
Mary Hilson

- 7 Canadian and US Catholic Promotion of Co-operatives in Central America and the Caribbean and Their Political Implications 145
Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens and Catherine C LeGrand

- 8 African American Consumer Co-operation: History and Global Connections 176
Jessica Gordon Nembhard

- 9 A Co-operative Take on Free Trade: International Ambitions and Regional Initiatives in International Co-operative Trade 201
Katarina Friberg

SECTION 2

Challenges to Democracy – State Intervention

- Challenges to Democracy – State Intervention: Introduction to Section 2 229
Silke Neunsinger

- 10 German Co-operatives: Rise and Fall 1850–1970 243
Michael Prinz

- 11 The Rise and Fall of Austria's Consumer Co-operatives 267
Johann Brazda, Florian Jagschitz, Siegfried Rom and Robert Schediwy

- 12 Consumer Co-operatives in Portugal: Debates and Experiences from the Nineteenth to the Twentieth Century 296
Dulce Freire and Joana Dias Pereira

- 13 Consumer Co-operatives in Spain, 1860–2010 326
Francisco J Medina-Albaladejo

- 14 The Experience of the Consumer Co-operative Movement in Korea: Its Break off and Rebirth, 1919–2010 353
Kim Hyungmi

- 15 Consumer Co-operatives in the People's Republic of China: A Development Path Shaped by Its Economic and Political History 379
Mary Ip and Kay-Wah Chan

SECTION 3

Challenges to Business

- Challenges to Business: Introduction to Section 3 409
Greg Patmore

- 16 Managing Consumer Co-operatives: A Historical Perspective 413
Greg Patmore and Nikola Balnave

- 17 Patterns, Limitations and Associations: The Consumer Co-operative Movement in Canada, 1828 to the Present 431
Ian MacPherson

- 18 Rochdale Consumer Co-operatives in Australia and New Zealand 456
Nikola Balnave and Greg Patmore

- 19 Consumer Co-operation in a Changing Economy: The Case of Argentina 481
Mirta Vuotto, Griselda Verbeke and María Eugenia Castelao Caruana

- 20 Fighting Monopoly and Enhancing Democracy: A Historical Overview of US Consumer Co-operatives 507
Greg Patmore

- 21 Affluence and Decline: Consumer Co-operatives in Postwar Britain 527
Corrado Secchi

SECTION 4

Consolidation

- Consolidation: Introduction to Section 4 551
Mary Hilson

- 22 Going Global. The Rise of the cws as an International Commercial and Political Actor, 1863–1950: Scoping an Agenda for Further Research 559
Anthony Webster, John F Wilson and Rachael Vorberg-Rugh

- 23 **Consumer Co-operation in Italy: A Network of Co-operatives with a Multi-class Constituency** 584
Patrizia Battilani
- 24 **Consumer Societies in Switzerland: From Local Self-help Organizations to a Single National Co-operative** 614
Bernard Degen
- 25 **From Commercial Trickery to Social Responsibility: Marketing in the Swedish Co-operative Movement in the Early Twentieth Century** 642
Pernilla Jonsson
- 26 **Building Consumer Democracy: The Trajectory of Consumer Co-operation in Japan** 668
Akira Kurimoto
- 27 **Against the Tide: Understanding the Commercial Success of Nordic Consumer Co-operatives, 1950–2010** 698
Espen Ekberg

Conclusion

- 28 **Conclusion: Consumer Co-operatives Past, Present and Future** 729
Silke Neunsinger and Greg Patmore

Bibliography 753

Index 827

Acknowledgements

This volume has been a long time in preparation and the editors owe many thanks to all those who have helped us along the way. The project was first discussed at meetings held at the Swedish Labor Movement Archives and Library in Stockholm in November 2009 and subsequently at the University of Sydney in November 2010, the Department for World Cultures at Helsinki University in August 2011 and the Department of Scandinavian Studies at UCL in October 2011. Costs for these meetings were supported by the Swedish Labor Movement Archives and Library and by grants from Riksbankens Jubileumsfond and Vetenskapsrådet. We are also grateful to the institutions who hosted us for their support and practical help. A generous grant from Riksbankens Jubileumsfond allowed us to hold a larger conference, "Towards a Global History of Consumer Co-operation", at ABF-huset, Stockholm, 2–3 May 2012.

We would like to thank our editors at Brill Jennifer Obdam, Wendel Scholma and Judy Pereira; and also Ingalill Söderqvist and Jonas Söderqvist for their help preparing the index. We would also like to thank Lars Gogman, archivist at the Swedish Labor Movement Archives and Library, for helping us with the illustrations.

Throughout the project the editors have been assisted by a small steering committee and we warmly thank Nikola Balnave, Akira Kurimoto, the late Ian MacPherson, Sigismundo Bialoskorski Neto, Linda Shaw and Marcel van der Linden for excellent co-operation. Giovanni Carissimo gave us invaluable bibliographical assistance during the early stages.

We would also like to thank all of the following who have attended meetings, presented conference papers and contributed comments on earlier drafts of the papers: Peder Aléx, Adrian Bailey, Stefan Berger, Bhaswati Bhattacharya, Holger Blisse, Natalia Burnasheva, Eric Calderwood, Suleman Chambo, Niels Finn Christiansen, Jenny Clegg, Keri Davies, Andreas Eckert, Paulo Fontes, Billy Frank, Ellen Furlough, Rekha Ramesh Gaonkar, Esther Gicheru, Torsten Lorenz, Tito Menzani, Ann-Catrin Östman, Rita Rhodes, Vincente Sanz Rozalén, Robert Schediwy, Joel Stillerman, Shelton Stromquist, Suroto, Hikaru Tanaka, Tony Webster and two anonymous reviewers from Brill, in addition to those named above.

Ideas for the project were also discussed at the Swedish History Conference in Gothenburg, May 2011; the European Social Science History Conference in Glasgow, April 2012; "Mainstreaming Co-operation" conference in Manchester, July 2012; World Economic History Conference in Stellenbosch, July 2012; workshop "Consumer Co-operatives in Portugal: Ideas, Experiences and International Connections" in Lisbon, November 2012. We thank all those who took

part for their comments and especially Lex Heerma van Voss and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk for sharing their experience of organizing collaborative projects in global history with us.

Mary Hilson would like to thank colleagues at the Department of Scandinavian Studies, UCL; the Department of History and Ethnology, Jyväskylä University, where I worked on this project during a period as guest researcher in spring 2014; and the Department of History and Classical Studies, Aarhus University.

Silke Neunsinger would like to thank her colleagues at the Swedish Labor Movement Archives and Library and colleagues at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam for their support.

Greg Patmore would like to thank colleagues at University of Sydney School of Business (formerly the Faculty of Economics and Business) and the Co-operative Research Group in the School for the support for this project.

Finally, we dedicate this work to the memory of our colleagues and contributors Ian MacPherson (1939–2013) and Michael Prinz (1952–2016). Ian was an outstanding co-operative scholar and activist, known to many throughout the world not least for his work in drafting the ICA's Co-operative Statement of Identity in 1995. From the very beginning Ian has been a tremendous source of support, encouragement and wise advice to all who have been involved in the project. We are honored to be able to include in this volume the paper Ian wrote for our Stockholm conference on the co-operative movement in Canada, with the kind permission of his family. Michael Prinz was an important supporter of this project. His knowledge of the German co-operative movement and the co-operative movement more generally has been of great value to us.

Mary Hilson, Silke Neunsinger and Greg Patmore
Aarhus, Stockholm and Sydney, May 2017

Consumer Co-operatives in Portugal: Debates and Experiences from the Nineteenth to the Twentieth Century

Dulce Freire and Joana Dias Pereira

This chapter seeks to deepen the current state of knowledge concerning Portuguese consumer co-operatives. The analysis is focused on the period between the first legislation on co-operatives promulgated in 1867 and the fall of the dictatorship in 1974. Portugal is not considered an example of success in consumer co-operation. Instead, successive generations of co-operators have stressed the difficulties experienced in developing a sustainable and integrated co-operative movement. This interpretation has also been adopted in the historiography.¹ It has been argued that the debility of the national co-operative movement is partly explained by feeble industrialization and the low proportion of the working class within the Portuguese population. The crisis of liberalism in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, conservative reaction, and the rise of fascism and the implementation of a corporative and authoritarian state in Portugal also need to be considered. Finally, the bicephalous character of Portuguese industrialization and urbanization – with significant development only in Lisbon and Porto – prevented the creation of a national network.

Further research revealed, however, that co-operatives played an important role in a significant number of local communities, together with other grassroots associations. Focusing on the Portuguese case, we use transnational comparisons to help achieve a broad understanding of the influence of political processes on the development and global diffusion of consumer co-operatives. Historically, the rise and the development of a *third sector* can only

* This chapter is part of the research project “Portuguese Agriculture: Food, Development and Sustainability (1870–2010)” at ICS-Universidade de Lisboa, funded by Fundação para Ciência e Tecnologia (PTDC/HIS-HIS/122589/2010; <http://www.ruralportugal.ics.ul.pt>).

** This chapter is part of the research project “Portuguese Agriculture: Food, Development and Sustainability (1870–2010)” at ICS-Universidade de Lisboa, funded by Fundação para Ciência e Tecnologia (PTDC/HIS-HIS/122589/2010; <http://www.ruralportugal.ics.ul.pt>).

1 Granado, *Co-operativas de consumo em Portugal*.

be understood as part of a global phenomenon related to the expansion of capitalism, state construction and civil society initiatives. As this analysis covers a long period, which was marked in Portugal by different political regimes and the impact of several economic crises, the chapter aims to explore the relationship between consumer co-operatives, capitalism and the state, within these complex historical conjunctures.

The concept of civil society will be used to provide a perspective on voluntary civic investment in autonomous associations, their historical meanings and political impact. In the Tocquevillean tradition, the concepts of civil society and social capital tend to be related to processes of popular political integration in analyses of the *third sector* or *voluntary sector*. The European scholarly tradition, however, has stressed the dissident and autonomist dynamic of associations and social movements. Despite the ambiguity of these concepts, their analytical validity has been demonstrated in studies relating civil society to the construction of the modern state, drawing attention to social organizations and their repertoires, trajectories and social and political impact.²

We will consider co-operatives as collective actors and their structures as containers of social capital based on trust, inherited from ancient craft and communal solidarities. Their evolution cannot be understood other than within the general political process, since liberalism, reformism, conservative reaction and authoritarianism powerfully shaped collective action and organizational resources.

The chapter is divided in two parts. In the first part, we consider the role of political elite inspired by nineteenth century philanthropic values, who imposed a top down dynamic on the development of co-operatives. Rescuing the original theoretical construction of the concept of social capital, we analyze co-operative relationships as a resource likely to be appropriated by different actors.³ As will be shown, while co-operatives were containers of social capital within communities and in a national public sphere, they were also appropriated by subordinate agents as a means of resistance against the market economy and state strategies, especially during economic crises and repressive political regimes.

As we will illustrate, growing state intervention in the economic and social spheres, which accelerated during the First World War, instigated the trans-local articulation and politicization of the co-operative movement. Like other national contexts where the outcome of the crisis of liberalism was an authoritarian regime, the Portuguese case provides insights into how the state's

2 Rotberg, *Patterns of Social Capital*, pp. 5 ff.

3 Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital”, pp. 241–58; Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory*.

inability to integrate the demands of civil society induced its politicization and polarization, leading to the fall of democracy.⁴ The regime forced most associations, like friendly societies or unions, into official corporatist structures. As economic societies, however, co-operatives preserved a relative autonomy, even though they were kept under government surveillance.

In the second part of the chapter, the intention was to complement an analytical reading of co-operation with empirical data related to the concrete experience of Portuguese consumer co-operatives. Unfortunately official statistics are scarce and unreliable and thus do not allow a precise characterization, while the gap in research also leaves unanswered questions. Nevertheless, the information available on the location of co-operation, the involvement of different social groups and the organizational forms that were adopted allows us to complete this essay with a deep grassroots analysis, also drawing on the best known case studies.

As has been observed for several different national contexts, such as Britain,⁵ consumer co-operatives in Portugal were rooted in neighborhood networks and emerged particularly in working class socio-spatial contexts, such as the emerging industrial belts of the two main Portuguese cities Lisbon and Porto. Empirical studies and theoretical discussions have pointed out the importance of spatial networks as a fundamental tool to understand the relationship between the uncertainty of the everyday life of working class families and the different strategies adopted to deal with it.⁶ These could diversify into informal networks of mutual aid or the foundation of a consumer co-operative.⁷ Social capital theory, understood as the ability of individuals to act collectively and create networks, allowed historians to trace the line which connects traditional solidarities with the nineteenth century popular associations and the workers' movement, showing how ancestral networks of trust are the containers of collective action.⁸

We also intend to highlight some common points observed between the Portuguese case and the shared history of the international co-operative movement.⁹ We will show how Portuguese co-operative legislation was related to the international discussion on state intervention in social questions. We will also analyze the transnational diffusion of ideas or cases and show how different models were imported and adapted in different sociopolitical

4 Edwards et al., *Beyond Tocqueville*, pp. 7 ff.

5 Robertson, *The Co-operative Movement and Communities*.

6 Pereira, *A Produção Social da Solidariedade Operária*.

7 Savage, "Space, Networks and Class Formation".

8 Rotberg, *Patterns of Social Capital*, pp. 5 ff.

9 Werner and Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison".

conjunctures.¹⁰ Observing how transnational ideas and projects were received by Portuguese co-operatives, we can present an overview of how co-operatives were embedded in community practices. Finally, we focus on the efforts of Portuguese co-operators to establish relations with international organizations. With these contacts they wished to upgrade proposals and know new experiences that could promote the development of co-operatives in Portugal.

Co-operative Ideals: Debates and Proposals in the Era of Liberalism, 1867–1933

Modern co-operative values were disseminated in Portugal from the second half of the nineteenth century, following the initiative of the Rochdale pioneers and the revolutions of 1848. Political elites, intellectuals and workers sought to foster the creation of co-operatives in various economic and social spheres. Between the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first thirty years of the twentieth, co-operative initiatives were strongly disputed by social and political agents seeking to transform Portuguese society.

On 2 July 1867 the first legislation on co-operatives in Portugal was promulgated. This recognized "spontaneous and free association, ...the co-operation of individual wills and forces, based on mutuality or reciprocity of services." Until then, the only formula for the recognition of working-class associations was mutualism. The so called Basilar Law, one of the first statutes in the world to recognize co-operatives, was inspired by the Rochdale pioneers and the development of the co-operative movement in Europe and was intended to change this reality.

The 1867 legislation was compatible with the nineteenth century liberal philanthropic movement inspired by Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier. The law gave legal existence to "societies organized with variable and indeterminate capital, for an unlimited number of partners, with the objective of assisting each other by developing industry, credit and domestic economy." Government leaders believed that workers' associations could prevent the labor unrest arising from industrial progress. The Basilar Law on co-operatives falls within the broader process of the emergence of social legislation in Portugal. The law made a distinction between employers and workers, as well as recognizing the existence of conflict between capital and labor.¹¹

¹⁰ Gueslin, *L'invention de l'économie sociale*, p. 16.

¹¹ *Colecção de documentos acerca de sociedades co-operativas* (Collection of documents related to co-operative societies), Lisboa 1871.

Within this context the government sought to encourage the moderate current of the labor movement. It instructed one of their organizations – Centro Promotor de Melhoramentos das Classes Laboriosas (Central Organization for the Improvement of the Working Classes) – to distribute a collection of laws, opinions and models of official statutes. In January 1872 the organization published a manifesto in which it “advises countryside and city workers to embrace each other fraternally and to constitute a national society of class solidarity, forming co-operatives of consumption and production.”¹²

Among the liberal elites were some outstanding intellectuals who promoted the social role of civil society. The most prominent of these in the second half of the nineteenth century was Costa Goodolphim. He was the author of the most important works on welfare and associations¹³ and also a key activist in the international political arena, representing Portugal in several international congresses, like the Congrs scientifique international des institutions de prvoyance in 1878, and as an honorary member of many different voluntary associations and federal structures in Europe. However, Goodolphim stressed the influence of his predecessors as the “true apostles of co-operatives”, such as the intellectual and philanthropist Sousa Brando and the founder of the Partido Socialista Portuges (PSP, Portuguese Socialist Party) Jos Fontana.¹⁴

The impact of the Paris Commune and industrial development during the second half of the nineteenth century provoked a rupture in the Portuguese working class movement, giving rise to a radical current which turned away from the collaborationist philanthropic tradition. In 1872, following the outbreak of the first strikes, the workers’ movement was divided. A second trend emerged from an integration of the original liberal and democratic current with republicanism, which resulted in the PSP. In the same year date, the Centro Promotor de Melhoramentos das Classes Laboriosas was replaced by the Associao Protectora do Trabalho Nacional and the Fraternidade Operria (Workers’ Brotherhood). The newspaper of this second association, *Pensamento Social* (Social Thought), already conveyed the Marxist conception of class struggle.

The PSP tried to cover all the workers’ organizations and included representatives of co-operatives in its first central council elected in 1876. For socialists, co-operatives were understood to play a leading role as “islands of peace” in the current exploitative society and would provide the foundations of a new

12 De Sousa, *O Sindicalismo em Portugal*, p. 35.

13 Goodolphim, *A Associao, historia e desenvolvimento das associaes portuguesas*; Goodolphim, *A previdncia*.

14 Goodolphim, *A previdncia*, p. 43.

social order. Unlike the liberal philanthropists, socialists advocated “the exclusion of owners and their representatives from workers’ societies... in order to avoid domination and servitude.”¹⁵ The co-operatives were designed as means of action for the proletariat, intervening either politically or through strikes.

The agenda of the third national socialist conference in June 1901 included the specific question of “how to raise the party’s co-operatives and guide them in socialist ideals”. Socialists advised that the profits of co-operatives should have three uses: the promotion of socialist propaganda, working class education and the creation of funds to help disabled workers.¹⁶ Until the early twentieth century, co-operatives were thus closely related to workers’ associations, believing in the associative principle as an instrument of social emancipation. This postulate encouraged the general working class movement and was also at the root of other platforms, such as the Grupo de Propaganda Social (Social Propaganda Group), which brought together socialists, anarchists and “pure” syndicalists under the banner of unity and political neutrality. This project gained significant moral and material support from co-operatives. Nevertheless, co-operatives continued to be linked to the trade union movement, as demonstrated by the holding of the first syndicalist and co-operative congress at the premises of the most important Lisbon co-operative, Caixa Econmica Operria.¹⁷

Simultaneously, however, an ideological current defending the autonomy of the co-operative movement was becoming increasingly influential. The political ties connecting co-operatives to socialists, anarchists and syndicalists were being progressively blurred. As Srvulo Correia, Rebelo de Andrade and other authors have observed, co-operatives became associations open to all consumers, politically and religiously neutral.¹⁸

Several factors contributed to these changes in the co-operative movement. From the beginning of the twentieth century republicans fought for the hegemony of urban popular sociability against socialists, anarchists and syndicalists, spreading the ideas of the Nmes school co-operator Charles Gide whose work was first translated into Portuguese in 1908.¹⁹ In Gide’s conception of co-operation, sovereignty belonged to the consumers who would lead a social and economic transformation through three stages: ruling distributive trade, extending co-operatives to industry and, finally, to agriculture. In this

15 Nogueira, *Resumo Histrico dos Congressos*, pp. 13 ff.

16 Nogueira, *Resumo Histrico dos Congressos*.

17 Pereira, *Sindicalismo Revolucionrio*, pp. 42 ff.

18 Correia, *O sector co-operativo portuges*, pp. 44 ff.

19 Gide, *As sociedades co-operativas de consumo*.

way it would become possible to extinguish profit. Portuguese co-operators, such as João Henrique Ulrich and Emygdio Fernando da Silva, emphasized in their articles and speeches the importance of "establishing the fair value of things" and "suppressing the constant concern for profit" or "controlling production and distribution of goods".²⁰ These arguments gained significance in the context of the First World War, stressing the social function of consumer co-operatives.

After the war, socialists attempted to take control of the consumer co-operative sector. In September 1919, the PSP agreed to give co-operatives a central role in the campaign against the profiteers. Socialists mobilized to try to influence the co-operative movement and connect it to the mutual aid associations, the other mass organizations under their control. The party sought to set in motion a political movement, arguing that "co-operation is a means of socialism" seeking to challenge the leading role of capital in distribution. In this sense, socialist proposals were based on the co-operatives' role as price regulators, for which they demanded state support.²¹

The foundation of the Federação Nacional das Co-operativas (FNC, National Federation of Co-operatives) in 1920, as the first organization seeking to co-ordinate consumer co-operatives, mirrored this eclectic amalgam of ideological tendencies in the co-operative movement. The Federation was supported by very different and in some cases antagonistic social and political agents. Nevertheless, the co-operative movement sought to play an important political role in the exceptional context of the economic and social crisis of the 1920s. At the first co-operative congress, in June 1921, the FNC's president stressed the movement's role as a "fruitful, fair and great achievement of man against the brutally creative, expansive, dominating and transforming action of capitalism," defending consumers from the "oligarchy of profiteers". The president wished for the political and religious independence of the movement in order to ensure the "economic, moral and national emancipatory conversion of Portuguese society."²² But the Federation had a short life, ceasing its activities in the mid-1920s.

It is important to emphasize the support of the state for this initiative. In fact, as in other national contexts, it was during and especially after the war that the Portuguese authorities showed real intentions of promoting the movement as a way to mitigate the serious problem of shortages. Indeed, it

²⁰ Andrade, *Co-operativismo em Portugal*, p. 20.

²¹ *O Combate: Órgão do Partido Socialista Português*, September and October 1919.

²² Call for the 1st Co-operative Congress, 1921. Arquivo Histórico-Social. Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa.

was noted that the "public authorities view with sympathy the emergence of an institution that could help them combat the cost of living."²³ In 1921, the president of FNC was even invited to join the government. The invitation was refused, but the FNC took part in an official committee to study the economic situation.

In the years following these proposals were prevented by economic crisis and the increase in unemployment, in parallel with the rise of conservative political tendencies. It is important, however, to emphasize their historical relevance. The attempt to extend state intervention in economic and social spheres with the support of civil society has been tried in other areas, for example by implementing general social insurance through friendly societies. This was a radically different path from the one imposed by the authoritarian regime, which liquidated voluntary associations in order to extend state control of economy and society.

The Era of Dictatorship, 1926–1974

The military coup of 28 May 1926 changed the course of national politics with a severe impact on civil society, which lasted until the Carnation Revolution of April 1974. During these decades, the country was ruled by two dictatorships: a military dictatorship (1926–1933) and a kind of fascist corporatist state called *Estado Novo* (New State, 1933–1974).

Despite the many limitations imposed by the military dictatorship, the years before the consolidation of *Estado Novo* in 1933 were particularly favorable to the diffusion of co-operative ideas and many voluntary associations were able to maintain some of their activities. This renewed interest was rooted in external and internal factors. Among the first, the impact of the Great Depression from 1929 was particularly relevant. The deep economic crisis, making visible the negative effects of the capitalist system, stimulated the search for alternatives to the prevailing organization of economic activities. In the Portuguese context, the intense political disputes that characterized these years gave opportunities to the co-operative movement to gain relevance in the strategies of some of the political and social agents who were seeking to impose themselves. For example, before it was banned in 1933 the PSP created a committee to monitor the co-operative movement and the party's newspaper continued to provide information about co-operatives.

²³ "A obra da Federação Nacional das Co-operativas", in *A Acção Co-operativa*, 6 January 1923, pp. 1–2.

With the new political constitution of 1933 and the consolidation of the dictatorship, Estado Novo began to create an extensive network of corporate bodies. Corporatism, denying the existence of class struggle, did not recognize the contradictions between labor and capital. The corporatist institutions, presented as a platform which harmonized the interests of employers and workers, became the main institutional intermediary between state and society. The supporters of the dictatorship also disputed and sought to appropriate co-operative proposals, integrating them into the doctrine and corporative system of the regime. In the 1930s corporatism was presented as an alternative to economic and social organization – a third way between capitalism and socialism – in which co-operatives could play an important role.

From 1933 onwards, the parties were outlawed, the press censored, the voluntary associations strongly persecuted and most working class organizations forcibly closed. Trade unions and other associations were banned and replaced by dozens of corporatist institutions controlled by the state. Legally, consumer co-operatives could continue to exist because they were not considered associations but commercial societies, formed in accordance with the commercial code of 1888, which was not amended by the Estado Novo. Despite the legal framework that allowed co-operatives to continue their economic and social functions, any suspicion of political activities could be considered subversive enough to cause the compulsory closure of an institution. It became obvious that the authoritarian Estado Novo was not compatible with the democratic and emancipatory values of the co-operative movement. Despite the restrictions imposed by the dictatorship, it is still not known how each organization sought to preserve co-operative principles. Nor is much known about the fate of most of the 336 consumer co-operatives recorded in 1926.²⁴

The Estado Novo regime had no interest in fostering a co-operative spirit, but sought to use co-operatives in order to impose the authoritarian system. The functions of co-operatives were discussed, for example, at a national assembly session in April 1937.²⁵ In this session, the Portuguese situation was analyzed in comparison with the existing institutional systems in countries such as Switzerland, France and Italy. The regime favored the producer co-operatives related to agriculture. The main concern of the state was not to promote the participation of small producers, but only to control the prices charged by various economic agents, especially merchants.²⁶ In that, co-operatives could play

24 Granado, *Co-operativas de consumo em Portugal*, p. 53.

25 One of the sessions took place on 10 April; *Diário das Sessões da Assembleia Nacional. I Legislatura (1935–1938)* (Lisboa, 1937).

26 Baptista, *A política agrária do Estado Novo*.

a useful role within the corporatist system. Corporatists argued that this system would ensure an efficient coordination of the network of co-operatives.

The dictatorship encouraged the creation of new co-operatives, particularly in productive subsectors dominated by small farms producing wine, fruit, milk and olive oil. This co-operative network, greatly expanded after the Second World War, was always dependent on corporatist institutions and its activities were limited by its position in the economic and political custody of the dictatorship. Before the fall of the regime in 1974 there emerged about 400 co-operatives involved in activities associated with agriculture production.²⁷

In practice the co-operative movement was divided into two spheres of action between 1933 and 1974. The co-operatives linked to production were subject to strict government approval through the ministry of economy and were controlled by the interest groups that supported the dictatorship. In contrast, the consumer co-operatives that remained, covered by the commercial code of 1888, were influenced by different strands of opposition to the dictatorship that sought to keep alive the original co-operative spirit.

With the consolidation of the dictatorship and the destruction of the network of free popular associations, consumer co-operatives and the democratic values that they represented were to be defended by several groups resisting authoritarianism. One group gathered around the journal *Seara Nova* (New Harvest), which since 1921 had included some of the most renowned Portuguese intellectuals from various political tendencies, including republicans, socialists, anarchists and communists. From the military coup of 1926 this movement was seen as a front to fight the dictatorship. Several co-operative enthusiasts belonged to this group, among them António Sérgio, intellectual and politician, who became the leading theoretician and booster of Portuguese co-operatives.²⁸ In 1937, members of this group translated Charles Gide's co-operative program into Portuguese and published it in the *Seara Nova* collection with a foreword by Antonio Sérgio.²⁹ In the same year a small book written by this author was also published under the title of *Introdução ao actual programa co-operativo* (Introduction to the current co-operative program),³⁰ which follows the text published in the preface to Gide's work.

From the 1930s the role of consumer co-operatives in the constitution of a national and international co-operative movement became more consistently

27 Freire, "Co-operativas"; Baptista, *A política agrária do Estado Novo*; Silva, "Co-operativas de Portugal".

28 Leite, *Boletim Co-operativista*.

29 Gide, *O programa co-operatista*.

30 Sérgio, *Introdução ao actual programa co-operativista*.

theorized. On the one hand, this type of association was not a target for the controlling actions of the dictatorship, thus allowing the democrats to maintain spaces of sociability. On the other hand, the works of Charles Gide and Georges Fouquet became more widely disseminated and discussed, due to the influence of António Sérgio, who had had contact with these authors during his exile in France. The reflections of António Sérgio were changing, but the consumer co-operatives had always been at the center of his conception of a social model.

In 1937, when the effects of the Great Depression were still fresh and the Spanish Civil War threatened the regularity of supply in Portugal, António Sérgio stressed the role of consumer co-operatives in allowing the suppression of profit and pursuing distribution instead of selling.³¹ Consumer co-operatives could suppress profit and stimulate the expansion of co-operatives in all areas of economic activity. The creation of a co-operative retail warehouse, a co-operative federation and a wholesale would extinguish intermediary profit. By promoting the creation of industries and the distribution of goods at the cost of production, co-operatives could abolish industrial profits. By acquiring land, engaging in agricultural production and distributing goods through the members, the movement could eliminate land profit. Finally, by founding banks, financial gain could be eliminated. In this system there was no selling, so there was no profit, promoting low prices and abundance. The consumer co-operatives could end wars and economic conflict. If basic needs were met, the human spirit would be free to focus on reflection, arts, science and literature. For António Sérgio, the consumer co-operatives were the key instrument for social change, since they met basic material needs and performed educational duties – such as the diffusion of fraternal spirit and initiative to solve problems – essential for the expansion of democratic values.

In the context of political dictatorship, consumer co-operatives had at least one advantage: without policy interventions, integrated in the environment of capitalism but outside the state, they would be allowed to begin solving problems immediately “through the free initiative of co-operative members, and so in a calm, peaceful, essentially creative and experimental form: suppressing the danger of creating a class of bureaucrats who tyrannize the rest of the population.”³² Defending these ideas after the Second World War, António Sérgio became one of the main leaders of the consumer co-operative movement.

In his book *Confissões de um co-operativista* (Confessions of a Co-operativist), published in 1948, António Sérgio reaffirms his view of the co-operative

31 Sérgio, *Introdução ao actual programa co-operativista*, p. 12.

32 Sérgio, *Introdução ao actual programa co-operativista*, p. 17.

movement as a “more perfect civilization, in which the reality of state intervention and economic planning is reconciled with the freedom of workers’ control and with the existence of the initiative of consumers.”³³ In his view, the co-operative movement reflected the “people’s march to emancipation”, which should be based on an institutional and economic domestic organization. Sérgio proposed the creation of an economic congress of the Portuguese people. The economic plans for the whole nation would be integrated into a global master plan, outlined by a council chosen by the Universal Co-operative Confederation or the International Co-operative Alliance (ICA). Trade between the nations would be managed by the co-operative federation, through the international co-operative bank and the co-operative wholesale society.³⁴ For António Sérgio, and for many of his followers, these ideas were utopian in the sense that they were prospective ideas.

The group that gathered around António Sérgio and met regularly at his home promoted theoretical discussion and activities related to consumer co-operatives. In 1951, the group started the publication of the *Boletim Co-operativista* (Co-operative Bulletin). Four years later, they constituted the UNICO-OPE União Co-operativa Abastecedora (co-operative wholesale). Many of these initiatives were developed on the threshold between legality and illegality, which led to the arrest of some activists, including António Sérgio, and they brought together various political tendencies such as socialists, republicans, communists, anarchists and social Catholics to reinforce the democratic front that had fought against the dictatorship since the end of Second World War.

By the mid-1950s, Charles Gide’s dream of the co-operative republic was becoming more and more criticized. It was stressed that business objectives outweighed the co-operative values. In 1958, Henrique de Barros, agronomist and a member of the António Sérgio group, published a study attacking these projects of universal co-operative organizations. He considered that agricultural production businesses belonging to consumer co-operatives were functionally similar to private companies.³⁵ His approach contributed to raising theoretical obstacles that hindered integration of production and other kinds of co-operatives created since the Second World War into the wider movement.

The theoretical debates and the growing number of new specialized co-operatives led António Sérgio to review the initial proposals. He abandoned his previous conceptions, adopting the theory of a complete co-operative

33 Sérgio, *Confissões de um co-operativista*, p. 11.

34 Sérgio, *Confissões de um co-operativista*, pp. 14–5.

35 De Barros, *Alguns problemas da estrutura agrária portuguesa*.

sector. Although there were other interpretations of the role of co-operatives in Portuguese society, the proposals and initiatives inspired by António Sérgio (who died in 1969) dominated the debate until the 1974 revolution. In fact, after the revolution many changes occurred in the Portuguese co-operative movement. For example, the UNICO-OPE was extinct and replaced by other federations aiming to frame the explosion of consumer co-operatives that emerged with democracy.³⁶ In 1976 the Instituto António Sérgio do Sector Co-operativo (António Sérgio Institute for the Co-operative Sector) was established and in 1980 a co-operative code, the specific legislation for co-operatives, was published. The influence of Henrique de Barros was crucial for both initiatives. Some of these new initiatives that became possible in a democratic system were closely related to the debates and experiences developed during the previous decades of dictatorship.

The Trajectory of the Portuguese Co-operative Movement, 1867-1974: The Era of Liberalism, 1867-1933

In this part of the chapter, we examine the development of co-operatives from the perspective of social movement research. In our analysis, we found that competition among republicans, socialists, anarchists and communists empowered the co-operative movement, because it implied the involvement of different social and political groups. In some periods and socio-spatial contexts, popular participation in the advance of consumer co-operatives can be interpreted as a bottom up movement, since its development turned out to be rooted on a complex mobilization process.³⁷

The lack of empirical evidence and its fragmentation hinders the analysis of the co-operative sector in Portugal. The available information is scarce and contradictory, preventing a rigorous description of the chronological evolution from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards and their spatial and sectoral distribution. Still, the primary sources and published studies indicate that consumer co-operatives have always been the most numerous economic societies based on mutual aid.

As other studies on other southern European contexts in this volume show, the emergence of consumer co-operatives was deeply linked to other forms of worker association, such as friendly societies or trade unions. This can be

36 The number of consumer co-operatives grew from 193 in 1974, to 310 in 1976 and 417 in 1978. The total number of co-operatives grew from 950 in 1974, to 1743 in 1976 and 2715 in 1978. Silva, "Co-operativas de Portugal", p. 281.

37 McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention*.

interpreted as a reflection of their relationship to the ancestral ties that bound manual workers and that were reconfigured after the dissolution of the typical structures of the ancien regime, such as corporations. The role of consumer co-operatives in the evolution of these old solidarities is noteworthy, however. If the mutual aid societies, producer co-operatives and even the early unions were marked by a strong corporative heritage, reflected in their exclusive character, consumer co-operatives tended to assume a more inclusive role. In fact, monographic studies in Portugal show that the integration of different strata was achieved mainly by this type of association.³⁸

There was a significant proliferation of co-operatives after the publication of the 1867 law, but it is likely that prior experiences existed. In 1883, 53 co-operatives were known by the national authorities. Most of them (about 32) operated in Lisbon or on its outskirts, while 10 were established in Porto, the second largest city located in the north of the country. The remaining co-operatives were distributed between the other major cities – Coimbra, Évora and Setúbal – and on the islands of Madeira and the Azores. A considerable part of the co-operatives had a clear class identity, visible in designations such as "popular", "workers", "laborious" or "poor". In the first decades of their existence most of the 17 co-operatives devoted to consumption also had a credit component. The vast majority of production co-operatives was found in Lisbon, while the consumer and credit co-operatives were disseminated throughout the country.

Some of the co-operatives were run or supported by industrialists or land-owners, whose beneficiaries were their workers, as exemplified by the co-operative society Lezírias do Tejo e Sado. There were also societies created by members of intermediate social strata: civil servants and technical staff, among others. Others were promoted by military personnel after the law of July 1886. In 1889 there were 25 military co-operatives with a total of 579 members.³⁹

As stated above, consumer co-operatives tend to be more inclusive than other forms of nineteenth century associations. Nevertheless, corporatism persisted among certain professional groups. The Co-operativa de Consumo dos Oficiais do Regimento de Cavalaria (Co-operative of Cavalry Regiment Officers) included only military personnel of that group. The management of these societies often reflected professional hierarchies, for example in this case the general meetings were always chaired by the most senior officer.⁴⁰ Later, military personnel had their own military co-operative, housed in a building

38 Pereira, *A produção social da solidariedade operária*.

39 *Diário do Governo*, 30 April, Lisboa, 1883, pp. 1021-2.

40 *Estatutos da Co-operativa de Consumo dos Oficiais do Regimento de Cavalaria* n° 5, Lisboa, 1883.

donated by the government and considered for all purposes an official institution of public utility.⁴¹

Most consumer co-operatives were however located in urban and industrial areas, they were multi-purpose and linked to friendly associations and trade unions. Among these can be named the Caixa Económica Operária (Workers' Savings Bank), founded in Lisbon in 1876, with 810 members in 1889 and an impressive headquarters built by its partners. It had a library with over 900 titles and housed "solemn sessions, concerts and brilliant soirées, where the working class gives clear evidence that civilization is a reality today."⁴² In Portugal's other industrial city the Casa do Povo Portuense (Porto People's House) was founded in 1900 and had grown to nearly 10,000 members by 1930. The Porto People's House worked both as a co-operative and as a friendly society. The grandiosity of its headquarters, similar to the Caixa Económica Operária in Lisbon, was a source of pride for the organized working class.⁴³

Part of the nineteenth century consumer co-operatives became bankrupt, contributing to hindering the growth of the movement and leading co-operators actively to seek solutions to the existing problems. In the opinion of Costa Goodolphim, the greatest difficulty facing consumer co-operatives was poor management capacity.⁴⁴ However, the main problem affecting the whole movement was the lack of cohesion and the consequent isolation of small co-operatives. This was one of the issues discussed by the 30 co-operatives present at the co-operative congress held in January 1894. Activists defended the need to converge all efforts in a united movement, which would require the promulgation of specific legislation and advised the creation of a federation to promote connections between all co-operatives. However, these proposals were not implemented and most of the problems identified in the late nineteenth century persisted.⁴⁵ It should be stressed that, by the end of the nineteenth century, the major obstacle to the expansion of the movement was the preference for investment in production co-operatives, which were considered more in line with socialist ideals, despite the greater success of the consumer co-operatives. As Table 12.1 demonstrates, this would change during the first decades of the twentieth century, when there was a significant outbreak of consumer co-operatives. During dictatorship this tendency inverted as the progress of production societies overcame that of consumers' associations.⁴⁶

41 *Estatutos da Co-operativa de Consumo Militar*; Lisboa, 1909.

42 Goodolphim, *A Previdência*, pp. 65-6.

43 Goodolphim, *A Previdência*, pp. 65 ff.

44 Goodolphim, *A Previdência*.

45 Macedo, *Co-operativismo*, pp. 29-30.

46 Silva, "Co-operativas de Portugal", pp. 233-304.

TABLE 12.1 *The Portuguese co-operative movement*

Year	Number of co-operatives	Number of consumer co-operatives
1889	29	21
1921	421*	—
1930	271	210
1974	950	193

* Official data do not distinguish typologies, but according to several authors consumer co-operatives were dominant in this period.

SOURCE: GOODOLPHIM, *A PREVIDÊNCIA*, P. 50; BARBOSA, *MODALIDADES E ASPECTOS DO CO-OPERATIVISMO*, PP. 206-16; SILVA, "CO-OPERATIVAS DE PORTUGAL", P. 281.

As the movement's political and ideological orientation changed during the early twentieth century there was a resurgence in consumer co-operation, especially in more industrialized regions such as Lisbon and Porto. The deficiency of the statistical data does not allow a more rigorous characterization of this expansion, but a survey conducted in the late 1920s provides some quantitative evidence. The major co-operatives were located in Lisbon and were streamlined by professional groups employed in the tertiary sector or by military personnel (working in banks, postal and telegraph services, in the army and navy). In Porto, the largest co-operatives were linked to civil servants and construction workers.

The other co-operative members did not correspond to a specific professional group, as for example in the case of the Porto People's House. In the late 1920s, as in the nineteenth century, names including the words "working class" and "popular" continued to dominate.⁴⁷ With the exception of these examples, the movement was characterized by modest projects, based on ancient ties of solidarity and mutual aid. The detailed study of the social bases of co-operative founded in the suburbs of Lisbon during this period reveals the hegemony of the working classes, but also traces of informal social networks of migration and trade.⁴⁸ As illustrated in Figure 12.1, the preponderance of small scale societies pointing in the same direction were mainly in face-to-face relationships that structured these organizations.

These associations involved different social strata and pursued several aspirations, projects and forms of management. Despite their diversity, it is possible to define two main features already noted in this analysis: the movement was

47 Barbosa, *Modalidades e Aspectos do Co-operativismo*, pp. 207-17.

48 Pereira, *A Produção Social da Solidariedade Operária*.

FIGURE 12.1 Consumer co-operatives according to number of societies and membership, in Portugal, 1930

SOURCE: BARBOSA, *MODALIDADES E ASPECTOS DO CO-OPERATIVISMO*, PP. 207-17.

divided between worker co-operatives and other professional groups. The first type, though economically weaker, was dominant. Among other projects, co-operators aimed to create libraries, schools for members and their families and also to assist members unable to work. They could also provide support to associates, such as canteens, soup kitchens and labor exchanges, among others. In most cases the vision of social emancipation was implicit, but sometimes statutes clearly refer to aims such as "to protect in general all the **working** classes" or "to contribute to propaganda useful to the interests of the **producing** classes."⁴⁹ In these cases, text could specify the promotion of conferences, lectures, readings, soirées or propaganda sessions.

In most of the cases the essential factor in the emergence of the movement was collective effort. The construction of the co-operative Almadense is reported thus:

After three months of paying fees and gathering together in the same place, where we had a carpenter as desk, we felt the need to own a home. At last we rented a shop on Garret street... And so it was beautiful to see the eagerness with which all worked in the preparations of the society: ... the ones who knew less about these things, were building rough shelves, while the more educated were in charge of writing... To pay the costs of

49 *Estatutos da Co-operativa de Consumo de Alcântara*, Lisboa 1896, p. 10.

installing the Co-operative it was decided that each of us would contribute with a small amount.⁵⁰

38 years later, "the co-operative was established in its beautiful building, divided into seven sections, the service being made by 27 members of the 300 that are currently part of the co-operative and without remuneration of any kind."⁵¹

Although it is clear that professional solidarities are the basis of much of the known examples, the exceptions reflect the aspiration to interclass collaboration. For example, the statutes of the Co-operativa de Consumo do Funchal in Madeira promulgated the reconciliation of capital and labour, and even considered that "the institutions founded on the co-operative principle are designed to restore the harmony of divorced classes." This association was established by eight medical doctors, 30 landowners, two members of the armed forces, five members of the church, two professors, 13 civil servants, one employee, one lawyer, one judge and five politicians.⁵²

In some cases, there were significant reconfigurations over time. For example, the profiles of the leaders of a consumer co-operative founded in the outskirts of Porto city deeply changed during this period. Founding members in 1892 were employers and well paid employees but in 1932 the board of directors included on a tailor, a smelter and a locksmith.⁵³ Other examples of this kind of processes, in which workers moved into the leadership of consumer co-operatives, demonstrate the growing social appropriation of these organizational structures by lower social strata. To illustrate this, let us remember also philanthropic initiatives which became associations with a clear class identity. In the Lisbon suburbs, a few co-operatives were created in the major factories with the employers' support. In the period of social unrest of 1917-20 these societies helped workers to resist during long term strikes.⁵⁴

Both the Basilar Law of 1867 and the commercial code of 1888 required these societies to be democratically administered. All bodies were elected by secret ballot. The members elected to the management and supervisory boards were responsible for managing the society's accounts. The general meeting was the

50 José da Costa Leal, um dos fundadores em entrevista ao *Almadense*, 6 de Janeiro de 1929, p. 3.

51 «O 38º aniversário da fundação da S. Co-operativa Almadense», *O Almadense*, 6 de Janeiro de 1929, p. 3.

52 *Estatutos da Co-operativa de Consumo do Funchal*, 1875, pp. iv-v.

53 *Estatutos da União Familiar Operária de Consumo e Produção de Ramalde* (Porto 1917 and 1932).

54 Pereira, *A produção social da solidariedade operária*, p. 256.

highest co-operative organ. In this meeting all members who fulfilled their obligations were eligible to participate and vote. The restrictions that prevented the eligibility of members were related to gender, age or literacy.

As regards the division of profits co-operatives were divided. Some distributed the surplus to the shareholders, others to the partners, in proportion to their annual consumption. The mixed solution was dominant, where part of the income was distributed according to capital and the other by consumption. The proportions were quite distinct, and, once again, the border was established between workers' co-operatives and societies destined for more privileged social strata. The latter favored the shareholders while the first type encouraged the consumers. With time these fields got more defined: a considerable proportion of the co-operatives established in working class areas distributed their surplus between the reserve fund, social projects such as economic houses and the consumers. The co-operatives founded by members of the elite tended to distribute profits only in proportion to the capital invested.

The 1894 aspiration to form a federation finally materialized in the 1920s. The initiative came from Andrade Saraiva, member of the labor ministry, and began to develop in 1919. Mobilization in the Lisbon area and the drafting of the statutes was undertaken by five co-operatives in the municipality of Almada, an important working class community in the capital's industrial belt. In order to mobilize the rest of the country, a co-operative federal board was created and a newspaper called *O Informador* (The Informer) was published, which reported on the work in progress to create a national structure. The great assembly, which approved the establishment of the Federação Nacional das Co-operativas (FNC) was held in July 1920 at the headquarters of the employees' association. Despite the efforts to mobilize support, official data show that only 167 of the 365 existing co-operatives were federated in the 1920s, a majority of which were working class associations.

The first co-operative congress organized by the FNC was held in Lisbon over three days in June 1921. The main concerns were focused on two directions, internal organization and the international framework. On the first point, it was reaffirmed that co-operatives were one of three types of workers' associations. The movement distinguished itself from trade unionism or mutualism by its specific purpose: the suppression of intermediaries in the distribution of goods. Another concern expressed in the FNC's journal, *Ação Co-operativa* (Co-operative Action) was fundraising. The FNC argued that co-operatives should use their profits for the spread of education, the establishment of production workshops and other initiatives bringing greater efficiency to co-operativism.

On the second point, the relations of the Portuguese federation with its foreign counterparts, the promotion and the intensification of international economic co-operation were the main concerns. For the Portuguese, the ICA, its wholesale and its various national federations should become the main regulators of international transactions, prices and exchange rates. Since the nineteenth century, co-operative activists had expected that the international co-operative system would replace speculative trading. This was an issue that regained relevance in the economic context of the First World War and the years following. This was one of the utopian visions that Portuguese co-operators shared with their European counterparts despite the difficulties they had in agreeing with the international movement.⁵⁵ However, since the formation of the national movement came late to Portugal, so too did international integration, despite the propaganda of some authors about the importance of an "inter-co-operative union".⁵⁶

In fact, only "late and by indirect means" did the national co-operative federation come to know about the circular released by ICA in 1923 on an International Day of Co-operators in the first Saturday of July, with the motto "Co-operators of the world, unite!" Nevertheless, solemn sessions were organized in Portugal in 1923 and the following year, involving several structures and political agents. As has been noted, however, crisis and dictatorship wiped out the associative movement. It should be stressed that one of the nationalists' impositions on the associations converted to corporatism was the prohibition of international contacts and affiliations.

During Corporatism, 1933–1974

After the military coup of 1926, the participants in the co-operatives tried different strategies to sustain the initiatives of the movement. One way was to seek to give them some international legitimacy. For example, in July 1930 the socialist journal *República Social* (Social Republic) published the manifesto of the ICA and the Co-operative Committee of the PSP urged all Portuguese co-operatives to propagandize actively its content. However, as we noted before in this analysis, the consolidation of the dictatorship in 1933 imposed a legal and

55 1st Co-operative Congress Thesis, 1921. [In Espólio Pinto Quartim. Arquivo Histórico e Social, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa]. <http://www.ics.ul.pt/ahsocial/?doc=31809898552&ctmid=2&mnid=1&ln=p&mm=6>.

56 Da Silva, *Co-operativas de Consumo*, p. 36.

political framework which conditioned the co-operative movement for many decades.

The action of the dictatorship took three main directions. First, the state took possession of the most appealing co-operative sectors, the financial and the agricultural. The financial sector had expanded since the legislation of 1911, with hundreds of agricultural credit co-operatives formed throughout the country. Following the Great Depression, the finance minister forced these local co-operatives to submit to large financial institutions controlled by the state: in 1930, the Caixa Nacional de Crédito (National Credit Bank) and from 1969 the Caixa Geral de Depósitos (General Deposits Bank). From 1933, the few co-operatives that existed to process and store agricultural products were subject to corporations created by the state for the more important economic subsectors. In some cases, co-operatives were integrated into the corporatist system, as happened with the Adega Co-operativa de Colares (winemaking co-operative) near Lisbon, established in 1931. In other cases, they disappeared. The creation of new co-operatives linked to agriculture was under the strict control of corporations, a position which intensified after Second World War. Thus, the state could intervene directly in the choice of board members and in the management of dozens of co-operatives related to the production and distribution of wine, olive oil, fruit and milk.⁵⁷

Moreover, state action also limited co-operative operations in other areas. Some sectors were excluded from co-operative activity, to be reserved for a combination of private initiative and corporatist organization. These included socially and politically sensitive sectors, such as that for cereals production and trades linked to the manufacture and sale of bread, or sectors that were economically relevant and interesting for the elites, such as manufacturing, construction, services, electricity and water.⁵⁸ Co-operatives also became subject to new rules, which required the revision of their statutes. In some cases, especially those of military and civil service co-operatives, the statutory changes imposed made these societies more hierarchical and heavily tutored by the state.⁵⁹ The legislation published in 1933 (decree number 22513) advised co-operatives to engage only in transactions between co-operators, removing

tax exemptions when they also covered other consumers. The state thus sought to meet the demands of the traders who considered co-operatives to be unfair competitors. This obligation also provided the dictatorship with access to information which could be used for political repression, such as who actually economically supported consumer co-operatives or the names of members.

Finally, the repression of individuals and the lack of freedom of association intensified during the 1930s and in the following decades. In 1933, many associations belonging to socialist and other progressive streams amended their bylaws so that they could become co-operatives. The reason was that these societies, under the commercial code of 1888, were excluded from the regime's attempts to illegalize other kinds of collective organizations. During the decades of dictatorship many of these organizations continued to be guided by the principles that inspired the free associations of the mid-nineteenth century: voluntarism, democratic management and mutualism. The democratic management of consumer co-operatives survived during the dictatorship, helping to strengthen the sense of exceptionalism and turning these structures into "schools of opposition". Besides their economic activities, consumer co-operatives fostered very diverse initiatives in the spheres of culture, education and health, which could be included in an alternative circuit of resistance to Estado Novo.

As happened in other authoritarian regimes,⁶⁰ however, the repression and the legal framework contributed to destroy the capital of trust that was being built especially in growing urban communities. This affected the consolidation of the entire co-operative movement. Partial data collected in the 1950s indicated that the number of consumer co-operatives had not increased, even though there had been an expansion in the number of members and the volume of sales. Consumer co-operatives demonstrated strong tendencies to isolation as political organizations developed strategies to control these organizations.⁶¹ In these decades, the most important was the Portuguese Communist Party. It developed clandestine activities and had many supporters among the workers of the industrial belts of Lisbon and Porto, where the highest number of consumer co-operatives survived.

It was after the end of the Second World War that the most important initiatives to enhance the activities of the consumer co-operatives were carried out. In some cases, activists returned to unification strategies that had been tested since the late nineteenth century. The first attempt was the creation of the Conselho Central Co-operativo (Central Council of Co-operatives) in

57 Freire, *Produzir e beber*; Freire and Truninger, "Poached Pears in Wine"; Baptista, *A política agrária do Estado Novo*.

58 Freire, Ferreira and Rodrigues, "Corporativismo e Estado Novo"; Rosas, *O Estado Novo nos anos 30*.

59 *Estatutos da Co-operativa dos funcionários públicos e militares do distrito de Huíla* (Co-operative of the Civil Servants and military from the Huíla district) in *A Co-operativa*, Luanda 1933, pp. 3-22.

60 Poulsen and Svendsen, "Social Capital and Market Centralization".

61 Silva, "Co-operativas de Portugal", p. 270.

1948, which had a short life due to financial and ideological factors.⁶² From 1950, however, António Sérgio assumed an increasing importance by stimulating discussion and action which highlighted the economic, social and cultural rights of consumer co-operatives and by supporting concrete initiatives to strengthen the Portuguese movement.

From 1950, the regular publication of the *Boletim Co-operativista* allowed the dissemination of knowledge about international co-operative activities and co-operative initiatives in Portugal and reflections on the possibilities of co-operation under the dictatorship. Different ideological tendencies including socialists, anarchists, communists and social Catholics were present on the editorial board of the *Boletim*. Thus it was possible to maintain the plurality of the debate that had marked the early decades of the movement, and also to allow the representation of the different consumer co-operatives that remained active. For the promoters of the *Boletim*, diversity should not act as a factor of division, but rather help to strengthen the unity of the movement. António Sérgio, and the group that supported him, wanted to create a national institutional framework that would make the movement more cohesive and economically stronger.

A major objective of the promoters of the *Boletim* was precisely the reorganization of the FNC. In the early 1950s, it was recognized that only a small number of co-operatives were willing to join this type of organization, but it was believed that these would be "the nucleus of a national association of consumer co-operatives, with a central wholesale warehouse buying directly from producers."⁶³ As this central wholesale warehouse would buy large quantities, it could negotiate lower prices and thereby benefit the shareholders of small co-operatives. In order to give practical meaning to the theory, the Junta de Compras de Lisboa and the Junta de Compras do Porto (Shopping Boards of Lisbon and Porto) were created. These boards bought and distributed goods to the co-operatives' members. Their experience in the first years led their supporters to believe that it would be even more beneficial to create a single national organization. Therefore, in 1955, five co-operatives in Lisbon and its surroundings founded UNICO-OPE, which became the Portuguese representative in the ICA.

However, these second level co-operative objectives were not merely economic. UNICO-OPE aimed to promote and foster co-operative ideals and education, to unite co-operatives and defend the interests of consumers, to organize joint buying, to acquire the means of production, to obtain state

⁶² Granado, *Co-operativas de consumo em Portugal*, p. 56.

⁶³ *Boletim Co-operativo*, n°1, 1951.

subsidies for consumer co-operatives, to study the resolution of Portuguese problems and to collaborate with foreign co-operative movements.⁶⁴ UNICO-OPE tried to accomplish these missions over the twenty years 1955-75.

The process of federating small local co-operatives was slow and uncertain, however. Successive articles published in the *Boletim* concern some of the difficulties found during the federal proceedings. These difficulties can be systematized in two main points. First, the creation and survival of co-operatives was closely linked to the commitment of their members, sometimes under conditions of great risk, to guarantee the economic and cultural activities of these societies. On the other hand, by integrating into a national organization, the members lost some autonomy in the management of the co-operative. This was even more relevant for the co-operatives where the majority of the members, often linked to the Portuguese Communist Party, did not agree with the political orientation of UNICO-OPE, where republicans and socialists were in the majority. Second, the UNICO-OPE wholesale was not in fact the most useful option to supply a small co-operative. It was necessary to take into account the diversity of products and transport costs and, furthermore, the fact that stockholders from conventional trades were often linked by kinship and friendship with co-operative members and could be able to offer more advantageous global conditions.

It was known that the difficulties found in Portugal were similar to those existing in other countries. The British, French and Scandinavian co-operative movements were known and discussed by the Portuguese co-operators. For example, in 1956, Fernando Ferreira da Costa, one of the promoters of the *Boletim*, published a detailed book on the history of the English co-operative movement since Rochdale. The author stressed the concessions that each small co-operative made in favor of the strengthening of national co-operative ideals and practices.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, rather than enumerating problems, Portuguese activists sought co-operative solutions. They considered that the isolationist spirit prevailing among co-operatives limited UNICO-OPE's financial and organizational consolidation and delayed the advance of the Portuguese movement.

These difficulties became even more noticeable from the 1960s, as profound social changes such as rural exodus, rapid industrialization, urban growth and migration affected Portuguese society and increasing interdependence linked the Portuguese market to the European commercial channels. In order to meet successfully the changing profile of urban consumers and market rules,

⁶⁴ *Boletim Co-operativo*, n°28, 1956.

⁶⁵ Costa, *O movimento co-operativo britânico*.

UNICO-OPE stressed the necessity of integrating structures and also of professionalizing the co-operatives' management. In 1964, JW Ames was invited to help design and implement an action plan regarding the reorganization of the Portuguese co-operatives. The author of the book *Co-operative Sweden Today*, edited in 1956, was presented in Portugal as a prestigious Swedish co-operator.

The so called Ames Plan established a merger strategy to run over two or three years, which would constitute a national organization based on regional services. The first phase of the Ames Plan was intended to promote joint purchasing. The second phase, which included the creation of a "service centre", started in the late 1960s with the foundation of the supermarket network called Domus. Supermarkets and the concept of self-service were a novelty in Portugal. This plan was based on the Swedish experience and recognition that consumer co-operatives needed to become more efficient to face successfully competition from large retail chains which were beginning to operate in Portugal. Local reactions to the implementation of the plan were diverse. UNICO-OPE often had to face opposition from co-operative members who disagreed with the mergers, and also complaints from grocers who feared the competition of the supermarkets.

Attempts to implement the Ames Plan generated enormous tensions in the consumer co-operative movement. The reaction of the members of the Co-operativa Piedense allows us to understand some of the factors that led to the failure of the Ames Plan. This society, established in 1893, was firmly embedded in its community. It combined economic activities with cultural, educational and healthcare provisions and it had a considerable urban and rustic heritage. It was one of the five UNICO-OPE founders in 1955 and used its wholesale for its supplies. In 1965 it ceded its own land to build a regional UNICO-OPE warehouse. But with the advance of the merger process, a group of members disagreed with their loss of autonomy over managing the assets and deciding on activities to be undertaken. Opposition sprang up when it was suggested that the co-operative bakery should produce bread for other co-operatives in the Lisbon area. The management was accused of delivering Piedense co-operative to UNICO-OPE and several projects became impossible. In recent interviews, members continued to stress the strong ties of identity which related "their co-operative" to the community as a factor preventing the formation of broad consensus about the fate of Piedense co-operative in the 1960s.⁶⁶ These same factors also seem to explain the reaction of other co-operatives to the merger proposals.

⁶⁶ Simões, *Memórias e Identidades*, pp. 28–30.

In 1973 Portugal had 132 consumer co-operatives,⁶⁷ of which about 100 were associated with UNICO-OPE. To streamline the activities of consumer co-operatives, UNICO-OPE had developed a network of services that included several affiliates, regional warehouses and supermarkets. However, many of the old difficulties persisted as co-operatives continued to take autonomous decisions. Co-operators continued to ignore the behavioral changes occurring in urban areas, where greater social and occupational diversification re-configured taste and sociability, seeking instead to preserve the older popular identity of the societies. UNICO-OPE faced several problems regarding the presentation of its services to co-operatives and also financial and organizational difficulties. Some leaders advocated the creation of a co-operative bank to help the consumer co-operatives facing the intense competition of private economic groups, benefiting from state protection and progressively conquering the national market. After more than a century of activity, several authors considered the Portuguese consumer co-operatives to be a movement in crisis,⁶⁸ although the 1974 revolution opened an auspicious phase for the co-operative movement, allowing the creation of more than 300 consumer co-operatives in a few years.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter advocates an approach to national consumer co-operative history from the perspective of the "dynamics of contention", whereas, throughout the history of Portugal, co-operation in the sphere of consumption was mainly a strategy to resist speculation, exploitation and political oppression.⁶⁹ We have attempted to relate the development and dissemination of co-operatives as a social movement to state politics, economic and social intervention. From 1867, when the first law concerning co-operatives was approved, until 1974 when the 48 years of corporatist dictatorship ended, we observed the discussion and diffusion of co-operative ideas and the conflicts within political parties and unions over the movement's ideological hegemony in interaction with the general political process.

First we sought to illustrate how, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries an assortment of anti-monarchical streams, responsible for Portuguese political modernization, gained political hegemony over the

⁶⁷ Granado, *Co-operativas de consumo em Portugal*, p. 55.

⁶⁸ Granado, *Co-operativas de consumo em Portugal*; Silva, "Co-operativas de Portugal".

⁶⁹ McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention*.

co-operative movement, as over most associations and popular neighborhood networks. We stressed that, along with the mutual and trade union movements, co-operatives experienced considerable expansion and institutional recognition during the First Republic (1910–1926), benefiting from an exceptional political opportunity structure.⁷⁰

The impact of the European revolutionary crisis in Portugal after the First World War translated into an intense and broad wave of strikes, which brought the social question onto the political agenda. For the first time, political powers acknowledged co-operatives as a solution to the subsistence crisis that had plagued the country since the war began, supporting their development and validating their political identity. The sharpening of the economic, social and political crisis in the 1920s was responsible for the decay of the First Republic. In this scenario, the co-operative movement played a significant role against the conservative wing and the rise of fascism.

After 1926, the enforcement of corporatism suppressed the autonomy of the workers' and popular associations, disrupting the progressive expansion and articulation that these structures had known in the democratic period. In the 1930s, the rise of fascism led to the violent reconfiguration of popular associations. However, among the workers' associations, consumer co-operatives preserved greater autonomy in response to corporatist organization. Diverse sectors of the political opposition acted within these organizations which offered opportunities for civic participation at a grassroots level.

As an expression of civil society, the co-operative movement has always sought to preserve ideological pluralism and democratic values. These aims became particularly problematic during the long period 1926–74 during which the country was ruled by a fascist dictatorship. For nearly 50 years, consumer co-operatives worked on the threshold between legality and illegality. They occupied the space left vacant by the state and the state allowed them to continue to fulfil their economic functions. However, the regime also proscribed cultural activities and pursued and arrested the leaders and members of the movement, affecting its everyday activities. The dictatorship eroded the social capital which was indispensable for the promotion of the associations. The Estado Novo imposed rules limiting the horizontal and vertical advance of the Portuguese co-operative movement and leading co-operatives to develop several mechanisms to enable them to survive. These strategies saved many co-operatives and contributed to the consolidation of opposition to the dictatorial regime, but they seem to have affected the consolidation of co-operative values and the organizational strengthening of the co-operative network.

Furthermore, consumer co-operatives aimed to provide basic products at low prices, thus contributing to the policy of controlled prices imposed by the state (which usually fixed a minimum acquisition price at the point of production and a maximum price for consumers) and to compete with local businesses. However, Estado Novo did not intend to subvert the profit chain as co-operative theorists aspired to do, but merely to limit the projects of traders, thus preventing social unrest and political instability. The policy of low prices for commodities was related to low wages, also strictly controlled by the state. The wage level of workers became one of the most important comparative advantages offered by Portugal during the twentieth century, which contributed to the rapid industrialization and strong economic growth that followed the Second World War. Consumer co-operatives may have functioned as an instrument used by the dictatorship to contain discontent and contention in districts that were socially and politically sensitive, such as the working class communities surrounding the main industrial cities.

If national political process had a major role shaping the trajectory of the movement, then transnational contacts and relations were also important. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, Portuguese co-operatives had studied the ideas and initiatives of other national co-operative movements. They also examined some co-operative experiences developed in neighboring countries and participated in the transnational structuring of civil society, representing Portugal in several international meetings and congresses.

The main theorists knew about various theoretical co-operative streams. It seems that the first initiatives were inspired by the Rochdale pioneers, but in the following decades the French, Belgian and Scandinavian experiences became more popular. Standing in the periphery, rather than as a producer of models, Portugal imports innovations developed elsewhere. This process, which required mechanisms to adapt foreign models to national particularities, induced constant debates and uncertainties about the effectiveness of external solutions. The extent to which these initiatives successfully configured the creation of a specifically Portuguese model is still unclear.

To complement the overview of the co-operative movement, in the second part of this article we offered some observations on the grassroots of the movement. Despite the lack of empirical data we attempted to trace some general guidelines for further investigation through a range of different and representative case studies.

Considering the popular interest in associations as a historical phenomenon, we recall the historiographical debate that discusses the continuities

⁷⁰ Mann, *Forging Political Identity*, pp. 6–11.

between ancient and modern forms of association.⁷¹ Similarly to what Linda Shaw observes in Africa, traditional historiography in Portugal devalued pre-modern social ties.⁷² Better known case studies provide evidence that social capital accumulated through medieval and modern professional associations and community networks was used by the co-operative movement.⁷³ With major developments within the communities of poverty and place⁷⁴ and in some cases with the support of friendly societies and unions, it is clear that the co-operative project appropriated ancient networks of kinship, neighborhood and craft.

The geography of consumer co-operatives in Portugal shows how their origin lay in the imposition of industrial social relations. The analysis of their social bases, functions and practices highlights how occupational ties and neighborhood solidarities were interconnected in their development. However, if the rhythm and geography of the expansion of consumer co-operatives were deeply linked to processes of industrialization and urbanization, it is necessary to remember that until the 1960s, agriculture was the major economic activity in Portugal and the deruralization of the largest cities (Lisbon, Porto and Setúbal) was only completed in the late twentieth century.

Thus, for many decades, consumer co-operatives developed in a context of slow and scattered industrialization on small settings located around major cities. Rurality and urbanity, agriculture and industrial production, were closely connected in such spaces and several generations of workers that migrated to these clusters maintained traditional ties with the countryside. As often happened during the Great Depression and the oil crisis of the mid 1970s, these ties provided food and financial aid, mitigating the negative effects of capitalist crisis.

In brief, our understanding of the evolution of the co-operative movement can be pursued through a relational framework, namely the one which relates the diffusion of industrial social relations to the political opportunity structure.⁷⁵ The development of industrial social relations induced the development of consumer co-operatives, even if we stressed continuities linking them to ancient crafts and communal ties. The conversion of these networks into

formal associations was part of a global strategy to deal with the insecurity associated with wage labor.⁷⁶

The political opportunity structure of state democratization and modernization, from the diffusion of a primitive social reformism (1867) to the end of the First Republic (1926), allowed the dissemination of these organizations. Conservative reaction and the imposition of an authoritarian regime changed this juncture completely. Self-protective strategies could only be abandoned in 1974, when the April revolution opened a new favorable political opportunity structure.

⁷⁶ Savage, "Space, Networks and Class Formation".

⁷¹ Putman et al., *Making Democracy Work*.

⁷² Shaw "Casualties inevitable".

⁷³ Pereira, *A Produção Social da Solidariedade Operária*.

⁷⁴ Yeo, "Labour and Community", p. 3.

⁷⁵ Mann, *Forging Political Identity*.

Notes on Contributors

Amélie Artis

PhD, is associate professor in economics at Sciences Po Grenoble. She is director of the masters programme in social economy and researcher at the PACTE Laboratory (CNRS). Her research includes organization studies (co-operatives and associations), the history of economic thought, financial and banking questions and local development. She analyses the evolution of co-operatives in the economic system, between continuity and renewal with historical and institutional approaches at the core of her research.

Nikola Balnave

is a senior lecturer in the Department of Marketing and Management and a member of the Centre for Workforce Futures at Macquarie University. For the past decade she has conducted historical research on consumer co-operatives in Australia and New Zealand. She is the President of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History.

Patrizia Battilani

is professor of economic history. She sits on the scientific board of the Postgraduate Master in Economics of Co-operative Enterprises at the University of Bologna. She has published extensively on economic and business history, covering subjects such as the evolution of co-operative enterprises and the transformation of welfare systems in Europe. Recently she published with H Schroeter *The Cooperative Business Movement, 1950 to the Present* (Cambridge University Press 2012) and with G Bertagnoni "The use of social networks in marketing: the Italian co-operative experience", in the *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* (2015).

Johann Brazda

studied economics and philosophy at the University of Vienna. Since 1997 he has been professor teaching at the University of Vienna and the Humboldt University Berlin. He is involved in many international research projects concerning the changing structures of co-operatives and has numerous publications.

María Eugenia Castelao Caruana

has a PhD from the Universidad de Buenos Aires. She is a research fellow at the Centro de Estudios de Sociología del Trabajo, at the Facultad de Ciencias

Económicas, Universidad de Buenos Aires. Her research is in the field of sociology of organizations, covering subjects as diverse as employment, membership, networks and effectiveness of social economy organizations.

Kay-Wah Chan

is a senior lecturer in law in the Faculty of Business and Economics, Macquarie University. His research interests are in Japanese and Chinese law and legal systems, particularly law and society.

Bernard Degen

is a social and economic historian working at the Department of History, University of Basel. His main research interests are in industrial relations, social policy and social democracy and the history of the city of Basel. His recent publications include *Gegen den Krieg. Der Basler Friedenskongress 1912 und seine Aktualität* (with Heiko Haumann et al. eds, 2012) and *Zimmerwald und Kiental. Weltgeschichte im Kanton Bern* (with Julia Richers, eds, 2015).

Danièle Demoustier

is an economist working at the Institut d'Études Politiques de Grenoble. She is the author of *L'économie sociale et solidaire. S'associer pour entreprendre autrement* (Editions La Découverte, 2003).

Espen Ekberg

is a researcher at BI Norwegian Business School in Oslo. He has written extensively on the post-war development of consumer co-operatives in Western Europe. Recent publications include "Confronting three revolutions: Western European consumer co-operatives and their divergent development, 1950–2008", *Business History* 54, 6 (2012), and "Organization: top down or bottom up? The organizational development of consumer co-operatives, 1950–2000," in Patrizia Battilani and Harm G. Schröter (eds) *The Cooperative Business Movement, 1950 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens

is professor of history at California State University, Northridge. Her research interests include religion, indigenous communities and gender in Guatemala and Peru. She is co-editor with Virginia Garrard-Burnett and David Orique of the *Oxford Handbook of Christianity in Latin America* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming), "The Maya Catholic Cooperative Spirit of Capitalism in Guatemala: Civil-Religious Collaborations, 1943–1966" in *Local Church, Global Church: Catholic Activism in the Americas before Vatican II* ed. S J C Andes and

J G Young (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 2016) and *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission in Peru, 1943–1989: Transnational Faith and Transformation* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012).

Dulce Freire

has a PhD in economic and social history from the New University of Lisbon (2008). She is currently research fellow at the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, where she is the co-ordinator of the project "Portuguese agriculture: food, development and sustainability 1870–2010". She is the author of several articles and books, including *Produzir e beber. A questão do vinho durante o Estado Novo* (Lisbon, 2010); with Daniel Lanero, eds., *Agriculturas e innovación tecnológica en la Península Ibérica (1946–1975)* (Madrid, 2011); with Pedro Lains, eds., *An Agrarian History of Portugal (1000–2000)* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

Katarina Friberg

is researcher at the Stockholm Center for Civil Society Studies, Stockholm School of Economics. Previously she worked at the Institute of Contemporary History, Södertörn University, Stockholm. She has researched the topic of co-operation since 1998 and her publications include *Workings of Co-operation* (Växjö University Press 2005), and contributions to *The Hidden Alternative: Co-operatives Past, Present and Future*, (Manchester University Press 2011) and *The Co-operative Business Movement 1950 to Present* (Cambridge University Press 2012).

Jessica Gordon Nembhard

PhD, is a political economist and professor of Community Justice and Social Economic Development in the Department of Africana Studies at John Jay College, City University of NY. Author of *Collective Courage: A History of African American Cooperative Economic Thought and Practice* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), she is also an affiliate scholar with the Centre for the Study of Co-operatives, University of Saskatchewan and an affiliate scholar at the Center on Race and Wealth, Department of Economics, Howard University.

Mary Hilson

is professor of history at the School of Culture and Society, Aarhus University. Until 2015 she worked at the Department of Scandinavian Studies, University College London. Her research interests include the history of consumer co-operation in the Nordic countries and she is currently working on a study of the Nordic countries in the ICA, 1890s–1940.

Kim Hyungmi

is director in chief, iCOOP Co-operative Institute, South Korea. Her main research themes are ethical values in the economy, the history of the co-operative movement in the Korean peninsula, and the Fair Trade movement. Her latest work is *The Handbook of Keywords on Co-operative* (co-editor), Alma Publishing, Seoul, 2014.

Mary Ip

is a lecturer at the School of Taxation and Business Law, UNSW. Her main research interest is in Chinese consumer legal protection and Chinese consumer co-operatives. She adopts an interdisciplinary and comparative approach for her study.

Florian Jagschitz

is scientific assistant at the Department of Co-operatives, University of Vienna. His main focus is the history of Austrian co-operatives. He is also involved in scientific work for the Research Society for Development and History of Consumer Co-operatives (FGK).

Pernilla Jonsson

is associate professor in economic history at Stockholm University. She has published on marketing and retailing in Sweden in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as on organizational and financial strategies in social movements. A recent book is *Gendered Money, Financial Organization in Women's Movements, 1880–1933* (Berghahn 2012), with Silke Neunsinger.

Akira Kurimoto

is professor at the Institute for Solidarity-based Society, Hosei University, Tokyo and Director of the Consumer Co-operative Institute of Japan, Tokyo. He has researched the international comparison of co-operatives and is the author of 'The Institutional Change and Consumer Co-operation: Japanese vs European Models', in *Consumerism versus Capitalism?* (2003) and editor of *Toward Contemporary Co-operative Studies: Perspectives from Japan's Consumer Co-ops*.

Simon Lambersens

is a graduate in history and politics of the Université Pierre Mendes France. He is a researcher at the research laboratory ESEAC (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Grenoble). His many fields of interest include social history, urban policy

and socioeconomic change. Recent publications include "Les coopératives et mutuelles lyonnaises et grenobloises: des solidarités ancrées historiquement et territorialement", in Christian Guinchard, ed., *Coopératives et mutuelles* (forthcoming) and with A Artis and D Demoustier, "L'ESS dans l'accès à la consommation alimentaire : renaissance, mobilisation d'acteurs et modes de structuration", in Higélé and Lhullier, eds., *L'économie sociale et solidaire face aux défis de l'innovation sociale et du changement de société* (2014).

Catherine C LeGrand

is associate professor of Latin American history at McGill University in Montreal. Her research interests include Latin American rural history, Catholic connections between Canada and Latin America, and Catholic development thought and practice of the mid-twentieth century. She is co-editor of *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations* (1998), and author of "The Antigonish Movement of Canada and Latin America: Catholic Co-operatives, Christian Communities, and Transnational Development in the Great Depression and the Cold War," in *Local Church, Global Church: Catholic Activism in the Americas before Vatican II*, ed. by S.J.C. Andes and J.G. Young (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 2016).

Ian MacPherson

(1939–2013) was an outstanding co-operative scholar and activist. He founded the Centre for Co-operative and Community-Based Economy at the University of Victoria in Canada and played an important role in the developing the ICA's Co-operative Identity Statement (1995). One of his major works is *Each for All: A History of the Co-operative Movement in English Canada, 1900–1945* (1979).

Francisco J Medina-Albaladejo

has a PhD in Economic History from the Autonomous University of Barcelona and is Assistant Lecturer at the University of Valencia. His main current research lines are the agricultural and consumer co-operative businesses and their relations with the industrialization of the food sector and the development of the Nutritional Transition in Spain.

Alain Mélo

is a historian specialising in co-operatives among other topics. He is the author of *Fruitières comtoises. De l'association villageoise au système productif localisé* (Editions FDCL, 2012).

Silke Neunsinger

is associate professor in economic history and director of research at the Labour Movement Archives and Library in Stockholm. She is the editor of the Swedish labour history journal *Arbetarhistoria* and has published extensively on feminist and global labour history and methodology, especially comparative history and *histoire croisée*.

Greg Patmore

is professor of business and labour history at Work and Organisational Studies in the University of Sydney Business School. He has worked with Nikola Balnave on the history of consumer co-operatives in Australia and New Zealand. He is currently researching the history of the Berkeley consumer co-operative in the US.

Joana Dias Pereira

has a PhD from Universidade Nova de Lisboa funded by Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia. The title of her thesis is *A produção social da solidariedade operária: o caso de estudo da Península de Setúbal (1890–1930)*. She is currently working on a post-doctoral project about civil society and global history.

Michael Prinz

(1952–2016) was professor of modern history and worked at the research institute of the Landesverband Westfalen Lippe. He has published extensively on consumer co-operation in Germany and on Germany's twentieth-century social history in general. Recent publications include a book on the idea of self-supply and changing economic expectations in Germany since the Weimar Republic, *Der Sozialstaat hinter dem Haus. Wirtschaftliche Zukunftserwartungen, Selbst-versorgung und regionale Vorbilder 1920–1960* (Paderborn, 2012) and *Die vielen Gesichter des Konsums: Westfalen, Deutschland und die USA 1850–2000* (Paderborn, 2016).

Siegfried Rom

has a doctorate from the Vienna School of Economics and an MBA from Western Michigan University. He is a member of the board of the Research Society for Development and History of Consumer Co-operatives (FGK) and lecturer at the Viennese NPO-Academy.

Robert Schediwy

studied law and economics at the University of Vienna and at Saint Louis University, Missouri. He has taught at the University of Vienna, at Webster

University in Vienna and as associate professor at Kuopio University in Finland. He is the author of numerous publications on co-operatives.

Corrado Secchi

graduated from the University in Bologna in 2009. From 2010–2016 he was a PhD student in the History Department of University College London, working on co-operative organizations in Italy and Britain, 1945–2000. He is currently on the Local Board of Coop Alleanza 3.0 in Italy.

Geert Van Goethem

is director of the Amsab-Institute of Social History and professor at the University of Ghent. He is secretary of the International Association of Labour History Institutions (IALHI) and the author and editor of several publications on the history of the international trade union movement. In collaboration with Robert Waters, he recently published *American Labor's Global Ambassadors. The International History of the AFL-CIO during the Cold War* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).

Griselda Verbeke

has a masters in social economy from the Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento. She is a researcher at the Centro de Estudios de Sociología del Trabajo at the Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, Universidad de Buenos Aires. Her research field is related to social economy and co-operatives. Several of her papers on co-operatives in Argentina have been published in scientific journals.

Rachael Vorberg-Rugh

is an independent scholar living in Fort Worth, Texas. She has published widely on the history of the UK co-operative movement, including a history of the Co-operative Group (with John F Wilson and Anthony Webster), *Building Co-operation* (Oxford, 2013).

Mirta Vuotto

has a PhD from the Universidad de Buenos Aires and is founding director of the Centro de Estudios de Sociología del Trabajo at the Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, Universidad de Buenos Aires. Her research is in the field of sociology of organizations, covering subjects as diverse as employment, membership, networks and effectiveness of social economy organizations.

Anthony Webster

is professor of history at Northumbria University. He is a business historian who has published on the history of business in the British Empire, as well as

on the history of the co-operative movement. Recently, with John F Wilson and Rachael Vorberg-Rugh he published a history of The Co-operative Group, *Building Co-operation* (Oxford, 2013).

John F Wilson

is Pro Vice-Chancellor for Business and Law at the Northumbria University at Newcastle. He has published extensively in the fields of business and industrial history, covering subjects as diverse as management education, technology transfer and studies of firms such as Ferranti, BP and British Gas North Western. Recently, with Tony Webster and Rachael Vorberg-Rugh he published a history of The Co-operative Group, *Building Co-operation* (Oxford, 2013).