while, more generally, coal and electricity were closely controlled as key goods and services for which short-run substitutes were limited. Even the well-known interventions of the Popular Front in France in the 1930s was limited to aircraft and airlines, while the U.K.'s declining relative industrial dominance from the 1920s threatened its relative military strength and prompted a swift departure from laissez-faire. The 1945–1950 nationalizations in France and the U.K. were limited to so-called basic industries. The strategic parameters changed in the second half of the twentieth century, but did they play no role in Brazil and the other countries that the authors have studied?

My fourth reservation recognizes that, even when state policy is not simply profits, there are important efficiency considerations like costs and productivity, yet this book produces few data of this kind and the use of labor productivity, in the absence of figures on total factor productivity, can be misleading. All of which has to be taken in the context of a very well-argued piece of applied economics providing valuable insights on the new era of state ownership, and this book will be an important reference point for future work on state-business relations.

Robert Millward is professor emeritus of economic history, University of Manchester, U.K. He is the author of many works on the history of industry and the public sector, the latest being The State and Business in the Major Powers: An Economic History, 1815–1939 *(Routledge, 2013).*

. . .

Food Co-ops in America: Communities, Consumption, and Economic Democracy. *By Anne Meis Knupfer*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013. xi + 273 pp. Photographs, appendix, bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, $29.95. ISBN: 978-0-8014-5114-0.
doi:10.1017/S0007680515000112

Reviewed by Michael A. Haedicke

Anne Meis Knupfer's *Food Co-ops in America* is a wide-ranging study of the consumer food cooperative movement in the United States. Co-ops, for those who are unfamiliar with this term, are collectively owned enterprises that operate in greater or lesser accordance with a set of organizing principles established by the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers, a group of nineteenth-century British weavers (and co-op founders). Chief among these principles is a commitment to democratic control by members. As Knupfer points out, the history of food co-ops potentially has a great deal to contribute to contemporary debates about the politics of food production and food access, not least by demonstrating

viable alternatives to the decidedly undemocratic business structures that dominate the food industry. Indeed, she notes her hope that the book, which is one of a very small handful of studies of food co-ops, "will help rejuvenate a discussion about the economic and democratic ideals of food" (p. 6).

The book unfolds along two tracks. The first consists of several chapters that outline the ideologies and practices of food co-ops during different historical periods—before the Great Depression, between 1930 and 1960, and between 1960 and 2000—and that pay particular attention to the grievances that sparked co-op formation during each of these periods. While Knupfer's discussion of the final time period adds little that is new to other accounts of the post-1960s food counterculture, the chapters that deal with co-op history during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provocatively challenge the contemporary association of food co-ops with well-off, primarily white, consumers. Knupfer explains that the earliest co-op entrepreneurs were industrial laborers who sought relief from the high prices of company-owned stores and viewed co-ops as part of an effort to create a society free from capitalist control. Co-ops also offered alternatives to male-dominated unions during this time. Female co-op members played an important role in advocating for food safety and purity legislation during the Progressive Era and implemented quality standards for the products sold in co-op stores. Knupfer also briefly discusses co-op organizing efforts in European ethnic communities and in African American neighborhoods in New York and Chicago. This history will be intriguing for co-op historians and practitioners alike and illuminates the unique aspects of the post-1960s wave of co-op organization.

The book's second track consists of chapters that provide historical portraits of individual co-op stores that came into existence during the latter two time periods mentioned above. The material in these chapters is quite detailed, as Knupfer draws information from newsletters published by the stores, minutes of co-op board meetings, and annual financial reports. Her research reconstructs debates that occurred in these stores about topics that ranged from business expansion to the roles of managers to whether to participate in the United Farm Workers' boycotts in the 1970s. Because of their historical depth, many of these chapters are interesting as stand-alone studies and may offer "food for thought" for scholars of alternative businesses as well as ideas for contemporary co-op practitioners. As a group, they provide insight into the diversity and internal complexity of co-op democracy and into the challenge of maintaining democratic business models in competitive markets. Knupfer also contrasts the tendency of the co-ops founded before World War II to pursue market growth by eschewing political

activism and democratic participation with the collectivist, countercultural character of the post-1960 stores.

Knupfer's study of food co-ops contributes to a larger historical literature about the food industry and its critics in the United States, which includes Warren Belasco's *Appetite for Change* and Harvey Levenstein's *Paradox of Plenty*, among other works. It also offers insights for those interested in cooperative business organization, more generally. As Knupfer points out, the cooperative model exists in sectors that range from consumer finance (credit unions) to utilities (rural electric co-ops), although food co-ops are somewhat unique in their overt embrace of democratic governance. The book's contributions would have been enhanced, however, had Knupfer chosen to revisit the question of what the co-ops' history has to add to contemporary discussions about the politics of food. As the book stands, Knupfer provides an epilogue that briefly examines several consumer co-ops founded since the turn of the century. This material is interesting, but the reader is left wondering about the connections between co-ops, as an economic form, and other, more recent business arrangements that seek to democratize food, such as farmers' markets and community-supported agriculture operations. Material about these connections appears in the book's studies of individual co-ops, but Knupfer's thoughts about the significance of the food co-op movement as a whole in the context of ongoing changes in food production and distribution would also have been welcome. Her historical research provides fuel for the discussions about economic democracy in the food industry that she wishes to create, but it would also have been helpful to have her spark the conversation.

Michael A. Haedicke is associate professor of sociology at Drake University. His work focuses on the history and contemporary organization of the organic foods sector in the United States.

. . .

Banking on the Body: The Market in Blood, Milk, and Sperm in Modern America. *By Kara W. Swanson*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014. 333 pp. Illustrations, photographs, notes, index. Cloth, $35.00. ISBN: 978-0-674-28143-1.

doi:10.1017/S0007680515000124

Reviewed by Marc Stern

In her fascinating study *Banking on the Body*, Kara W. Swanson, associate professor of law at Northeastern University's law school, examines