

Research project about employment relationships and industrial relations in the globalizing world

Work in the globalizing world

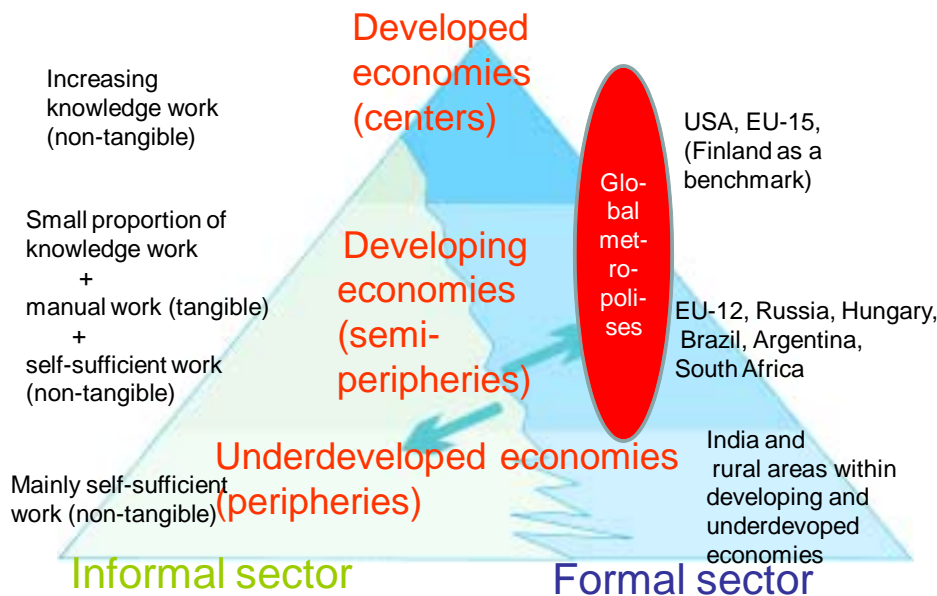


Figure 1

The aim of the project is to describe and analyse employment relationship and industrial relations development in the world. The classifications illustrated in figure 1 are general abstractions for the project.

The labour force (able-bodies at the age of 15-65 in centres and at the age of 15-75 or 10-75 in semi-peripheries and peripheries) have been divided into those who earn their living in the formal sector (protected by labour laws and collective agreements) and in those in the informal sector (no formal or very frail working condition regulations). An approximate estimation would be that maybe only half of the performed working hours are included in the economy and the labour statistics (cf. Becker 1976, Sen 1996 and Toffler 2006).

Time schedule

- started 2006, the estimated final report 2016
- divided in the following phases:
 - o 2006-2008, main frames of the project(cases India, South Africa, EU and Finland)
 - o 2009-2010 comparison of EU-15 and two different semi-peripheries: on the one hand Argentina and Brazil, on the other hand Russia, Hungary and Baltic countries
 - o 2011-2013: China
 - o 2014-2016, conclusions

Funding

is based on different sources for a phase at a times. The phase 2006-2008 has been funded nationally and by EU-commission. The second phase will be funded following the same concept.

Publications

The conclusions and hypotheses of the first phase have been published in Finnish in a book dealing with work in India, South Africa, EU and Finland. (Kevätsalo 2007 and 2008). English drafts for articles comparing industrial relations in case countries have been written and will be published the nearest future.

In 2010 will be published the Finnish and English version of the report of the phase 2 written by Kimmo Kevätsalo and Heikki Leimu.

Introduction

A few decades ago a focus on the global nature of worker resistances would have been problematic to compile. It still is. In recent times however the images and practices of global resistance have been accepted as an integral part of the intensified processes of globalisation.

As with most research themes in social science, globalisations and resistances do not simply appear to us as neat parcel of definitions with clear boundaries. Because of that we prefer to develop questions that may provoke a range of responses, each of which opens up further questions for discussion. We are interested for example in

1. What does the trade union movement represent in the global world?
 - How is it associated with global resistance?
 - In what ways do theories of economy, power, politics, civil society, culture and social life shape competing understanding of trade union movement and resistance?
 - In what ways do trade union activities in new contexts challenge our efforts to understand the whole phenomenon.
 - How have and should past approaches to understanding trade union movements mainly in the prosperous and industrialised parts of the globe been reinterpreted in contemporary discussions?
 - What are concrete trade union practices emerging e.g. around the intensification of global production.
2. Who are in the acting participants?
 - Can we fix agencies of trade union movements with particular groups or named actors (e.g. trade unionists or trade union officials)? If we do so, what are the implications for marginalized, silent and invisible actors who are the great majority of all workers.
 - How do we recognize different resistances as they are expressed in social and political life? Do we acknowledge some forms of resistance more readily as trade union behaviour than others?
 - Is it possible to make clear distinctions between practices of resistance and compliance, or between global and local sites of practices?

Our frame of reference is organised following the perspectives of classic authors. Finland, EU, India and South Africa have been used as illustrative examples. We started describing the economic and social structure of the world and the case countries.



Besides the above-mentioned perspectives we explore thesis and hypothesis of the problematic divide between domination and resistance. As a starting point there is a hypothesis that relations of power are never exterior to other types of social relationships. There is no all-encompassing opposition between rulers and ruled. In a word we can find a plurality of resistances everywhere; unobtrusive and covert forms of resistance.

The basis

The most general frame of reference is originally based on a metropolis – satellite and centre - periphery metaphors which the sc. dependence school in the 1960's presented using as special cases India (Baran 1957) and Latin America (Frank 1971). A later development of the theory has brought in additional nuances: e.g. economies pulling themselves loose from dependence (e.g. the Seoul region in South Korea, Hong Kong, Sao Paulo state in Brazil, Buenos Aires in Argentina etc.). The result has been the composing of the World System school (e.g. some ideas from the Annales school, Braudel 1986 and Wallerstein 1976, 1987 a and b, 2001 and 2004).

The labour force (able-bodies at the age of 15-65 in centres and at the age of 15-75 or 10-75 in semi-peripheries and peripheries) has been divided into those who earn their living in the formal sector (protected by labour laws and collective agreements) and those in the informal sector (no formal or very frail working condition regulations). An approximate estimation would be that perhaps only half of the performed working hours in the world are included in the economy and the labour statistics (cf. Becker 1976, Sen 1996 and Toffler 2006).

The globalisation of production, global explosion of production networks and supply chains and the reliance of economies and societies on attracting direct foreign investment have led to struggles surrounding the environment, labour and work. The themes of technology and culture and interaction between them are another illustration of basis / superstructure dichotomy. Communications and transportation technologies and the media, in particular, have become significant sites in the global political economy.

The preliminary suggestion for our description of basic social structure of the world is the following (the case examples only from Finland);:

- Global elites
 - definition: dominating economic, cultural and social capital (Bourdieu) together with national elites
 - live mainly in prosperous parts of metropolis, within feudal regions also in countryside estates
 - about 1 % of population in Finland
 - national elites
 - approximately 1/10 of Finnish population

- core white collar and blue collar workers
 - I use definition: those who have a stable employment relationship and who have an opportunity to develop continuously their competences so that their employer pays the costs
 - approximately 1/3 of the Finnish labour force
 - marginal white collar and blue collar workers
 - precarious or insecure employment relationship
 - approx 1/3 of the Finnish labour force
 - those living in their "realm of freedom"
 - no necessity for remunerated employment
 - approx 1/4 of Finnish population (the biggest group are pensioners)
 - people living on informal incomes
 - a tiny group in Finland
 - a large proportion, approximately more than half of the employed people in the world

Global resistance

Our understanding of the meaning of global resistance, together with perceptions of the scope and possibility for concrete resistance, is shaped by competing views of the world. For some, the incorporation and subordination of people within global capitalism has produced the possibility for trans-national democratising projects. For others resistances are beset by the difficulties of forging private troubles into public issues in an increasingly individualized world. In practice global resistances continually challenge our efforts to understand and explain them. As they emerge in new contexts, they are simultaneously being incorporated into a global governance agenda.



As a patch of the huge patchwork quilt of resistances, trade union movement is the most stable one, perhaps together with peasant movements. Both are stable because their basis is material conditions. On the contrary, most of contemporary social movements within prosperous countries originate from ideas. Resisting the war in Vietnam and one-dimensional hegemony of technology-economy elite were main sources of student demonstrations in the 60s. Of the same kind have been big demonstrations against oppression of multinational companies and international economy organisations in the 90s and in the beginning of this century.

Depending on the definition of trade union movement, it has a history of two (Great Britain in the 19th century) to three centuries (Luddites in the 18th century) closely related with the expansion of the capitalist relations of production. Finland might be interpreted as one of the most extreme examples of the development. Like in almost all social movements, a part of the Finnish trade union leadership has been integrated with local, national and international power structures. Open trade union resistance has been transformed into co-operation with employers and government bodies during a century. The first national collective agreement was made within the printing industry in 1899. In the 1970s all trade union central federations were prepared to join the corporatist three party income policy agreements. Strike movements started to subside. In the peak year, 1976, there were over 3000 local (wild cat) strikes. The last year of more than a thousand strikes was 1988. From 1996 onwards there has been less than 100 more or less spontaneous strikes.

The politics of resistance has to be floodlit by a broader set of connections to globalization and the oft-cited neo-liberal restructuring strategies of states, multinational corporations and international organizations. Within this frame we witness "counter movements" (Polanyi) as societies seek to protect themselves from the global extension of the market economy into their lives. Neoliberalism has provoked a series of crises and counter hegemonic (Gramsci) movements. Many feminists emphasize particular experiences of women in the global restructuring of firms, states and societies.

As public spaces are privatised, as welfare systems are retrenched, as production moves to the "offshore" sites of export processing zones, it may be more localized practices of resistance that are of most significance.

How is resistance expressed

Academic commentators and international organizations tend to name particular movements in order to explain a form of civil collective agency. Trade unions, women's groups, chambers of commerce, farming and housing cooperatives, religion based organisation, academic institutes, community-based organisations, consumer protection bodies, criminal syndicates, development cooperation groups, environmental campaigns, ethnic lobbies, charitable foundations, farmers' groups, human rights advocates, relief organisations, peace activists, professional bodies, youth campaigns are often mentioned expressions of collective agency.

However we should ask ourselves, whether agency can be unequivocally ascribed to a particular group or movement. Fixed forms of agency do not capture the mobility and malleability of those creative forms of social life that are localized transit points for mobile forms of civic and civil life. For example, trade union resistances have begun to be explained through the rubric of global social movement unionism, suggesting that institutionalised labour groups now speak for a wider constituency. There is little doubt that cooperation with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) has broadened the agenda of trade union politics, but it is possible that this serves to fix worker resistance within an exclusive frame. It is not at all self-evident that marginalized voices can be heard within this frame. We have to ask ourselves can collective agencies be mapped onto class solidarities or do they more closely mirror ethnic, gendered or racial identities.

Conventionally, political and social thought has functioned around a series of binaries: state/non-state, global/local, resistance/compliance, individual/collective. Though resistance is characteristically understood to be expressed through the politics of protest, demonstration, public statement or declaration, the more mundane gestures of everyday life reveal significant sites of political struggle. For instance the assumed boundary between resistance and compliance have been revealed to be insecure and contradictory in Scandinavian countries for decades and in SA at the latest from the beginning of the period of the ANC -lead government.

Economy, culture, politics

Some tendencies within Marxism and bourgeois liberal theories are inclined to reduce transformations in all aspects of social life to economic determinants. In our analysis we prefer wider and more multidimensional concepts like hegemony, originally developed by Antonio Gramsci. The term encompasses dynamic processes in which social identities, relations, organizations and structures based on asymmetrical distributions of power and influence are constituted by the dominant classes.

The institutions of civil society, such as church, family, schools, media and also trade unions give meaning and organization to everyday life so that the need for the application of force is reduced. Hegemony is a lived process and that is why different social contexts will produce different forums of hegemony with different sets of actors. On the one hand the process of establishing hegemony presumes and requires participation of subordinate groups. On the other hand these same groups are counter-hegemonic when resisting their superiors.



Discussion of common sense in the development of consciousness is crucial to explaining historical and contemporary forms of resistance. It is the product of an individual's relationship to and position in a variety of social groups:

The coexistence of conformity and resistance can give rise to inconsistencies between thought and action. This helps to explain contradictory behaviour on the part of a subaltern group. It may embrace its own conception of the world developed during resistances while still adopting conceptions borrowed from dominant classes. The fragmentation of social identity that is characterized by simultaneous membership of different groups means that it is possible, it not probable, that the subaltern can be progressive on certain issues and reactionary on others in the same instance.

With contemporary globalization, the interpenetration of forces at the local, national, regional and world level implies that different peoples enter into alliances that are contradictory. For example in Southeast Asia a new common sense has to address effectively or make coherent women's critical understanding of the tensions, limitations, and opportunities in their identities as daughters or wives in the household, as low-wage workers on the factory floor, as citizens and as Muslims in the local, national and trans-national Islamic communities.

In a context in which liberal, authoritarian and ex-communist states-in-transition alike are often becoming facilitators for trans-national capital, the driving forces of openly declared resistance against the state and multinational corporations must be analysed within a larger framework. Contemporary social movements simultaneously occupy local, national, trans-national and global space as a result of innovations in and applications of, technologies such as the Internet, mobile

phones and globalised media, which produce instantaneous communications across traditional frontiers.

Contemporary social movements can be conceptualised as a form of collective action based on solidarity, carrying on a conflict and breaking the limits of the system in which action occurs. In this fumbling definition there are two implicit problems. Collectivity is assumed in the notion "movement". This has the effect of constructing social movements as united fronts in and of themselves. There is also an assumption of organizational structure. This may be the case with some social movements (e.g. Greenpeace), but networks with no clearly defined organizational structure have formed in an era of globalization, too (e.g. Attac in the so-called western world). Participants in these "submerged networks" live their everyday lives mostly without engaging openly declared contestations. In the absence of openly declared collective action, resistance has to be read as the ways in which people live their everyday lives. In the context of increasingly complex societies, the absence of openly declared contestations should not be mistaken for acquiescence.

An emerging framework

Following on the above discussion I may define three preliminary levels and dimensions of resistance:

	<i>Dimensions of resistance</i>			
		Main targets	Main agents	Modes of resistance
<i>Levels of resistance</i>	Open and organized conflict (power, politics)	State, corporations, trans-national organisations (WB, IMF)	Trade unions, resistance movements, armed groups	Bargaining strikes, demonstrations, dissidence, armed resistance, "terrorisms"
	Economy, markets	Wage and salary gap, exploitation, extravagance, luxury, pollution	Trade unions, individuals, counter-movements and – organisations	Boycotts, demonstrations, destruction, consumption habits
	Culture	Hegemonic discourses	Individuals, counter-movements and – organisations	Counter-discourses

All levels of resistance live in parallel: From peasant revolts to trade unions, from the anti-apartheid revolution to the Spring demonstrations in France in 2006, from Greenpeace to anti-establishment hip-hop -music. They also go through their own evolution. Slave rebels and peasant movements originate from pre-capitalist modes of production. Trade unions and socialist parties are connected with capitalism. Resistant Internet networks need their technology basis.

Resistance movements at a given time become integrated into the establishment like labour and green parties, trade unions and feminist movements in the post-industrial period of the industrial age in the "western world". The conduct and meaning of resistance are culturally embedded.

Class structure is only partly the basis of resistance. Agents of resistance emerge from interactions between structure and agency that leads to the contextual privileging of particular intersections of different modes of identity, i.e. class-nationality-gender-ethnicity-religion-sexual orientation. As

certain dimensions of political and economic power become more diffuse and less institutionalised, so too will forms of resistance.

Resistance is localized, regionalized and globalized at the same time that economic globalization slices across geopolitical borders. The "public-private" dichotomy no longer holds for most. Dimensions of social life are affected in varying and interconnected ways by globalizing forces. People whose modes of existence are threatened by globalization, respond to achieving certain objectives in a sustained manner. While forms of struggle differ, groups may adopt varied means to contest and link to their counterparts in other countries or regions. The development of cyberspace

Challenges of post-neoliberal period

Globalisation is mostly understood as a process of spatial expansion, of world trade, investment and migration flows. This is not wrong, but quite a one-sided perspective. Globalisation also means the extension of a certain development model, of political concepts and standards of company governance, of rules, norms and interaction models. Therefore, the 'Washington consensus', the policy package that indebted countries had to accept under the conditions of the International Monetary Fund has been one of the most efficient globalising forces after the liberalisation of global financial markets.

The results of policy programmes based on these rules are by no means convincing. A rise in unemployment since neo-liberalism has been the material basis of economic policy concepts in most countries. If there was no increase in official unemployment, it was due to the expansion of the informal economy i.e. precarious labour. Distribution of income and wealth became more unequal in nearly all countries and in the world as a whole.

Some authors claim that they know the exact time when the neoliberal era was over. For example Elmar Altvater (2009, 75) claims it was August 2008. Then the liberalised system of the global financial market imploded. Thereafter even the hard-headed neoliberals have been urgently asking for state help, nationalisation of big private banks to avoid the final meltdown of the whole capitalist system.

In this respect Karl Polanyi's concept of 'disembedded markets' is once again exceptionally meaningful. Financial markets have been autonomised from markets for real goods, services and labour. The monetary economy follows its own logics.

We have seen that post-neoliberalism in finance can result in new forms of capitalist hegemony which again include a stronger role for the state. "Contrary to 'old Keynesian' state interventionism, this is not designed in the interests of workers, but in undisguised political support of financial interests...Financial socialism is the expression of the expectations of managers of banks and funds which are threatened with drowning in the whirlpool of the financial crisis. They need the legitimate power of the state to tap into the incomes of taxpayers in order to divert income flows from the financial sector. (ibid. 85)

The horizon of financial markets is not the national economy with its institutional settings, social and political regulations but the poorly regulated economy on a global scale. The lesson learned about the financial crisis is that stability can only be achieved by means of political regulation; not by the functioning of the market mechanism. Even the most neoliberal governments, like those of the UK and the US, did not hesitate to nationalise banks because of the market failures.

Crisis and the labour markets

The present day crises have a serious impact on the quantity and quality of employment, on the environment and on the provision of food. Financial crises have been the most effective vehicles for transforming formal labour into informal and precarious one. In many parts of the world the informal economy is the only sector offering precarious jobs to otherwise unemployed peoples.

The structural change within “western” labour markets has seriously damaged one of the backbones of the trade union movement: large manufacturing units. Increasing amount of blue-collar work has been transformed to low wage, populous and growing emerging markets in Latin America, eastern Europe, southern and south-eastern Asia. White-collar work is mainly left in advanced economies. With the exception of the Nordic countries the trade union density of these employees is low. Everywhere they have committed themselves to company competitiveness.

In the service sector, most work places are small, and within them employees work rather individually. Another reason for difficulties in organising and mobilising them is the gender structure of the work force. Female employees in the service sector are clearly less inclined to collective action than male workers have been in large factories. Especially outside the Nordic countries they quite often work part-time and bring extra income to households. They are more family-oriented than their husbands. These kinds of factors make them adapt to subordination and harassment by supervisors and bosses.

The shift removal of low-skill tasks from the industrialised economies to emerging ones has caused the rise of huge plants there. However, it will take years and decades before necessary consciousness develops. Quite often factories are moved further to even lower cost regions before this happens.

The consolidation of neo-liberalism across the 1990s weakened trade unions in collective bargaining, organising and defending new members, especially in new service sectors and precarious employment for young and migrant workers. The economy growth has turned to recession in all advanced capitalist economies. This is intensifying several negative long-term trends in the labour market in the capitalist countries: pressures on real wages, an increase in precarious and marginal work, the undermining of public sector services and employment, cutting health care provisions.

In the western countries trade union leaders were integrated with neoliberal policies in the 90's and in the beginning of the new millennium. When post-neoliberal state policies started they were eager to support it. It looked like Keynesian policies which some of them had been demanding during the neoliberal period. It also seemed to be an opportunity to defend jobs of those people who trade unions were supposed to represent. It is useful to keep in mind that political and ideological commitments of labour elites to neo-liberalism remain a long time like all value orientations even though some trade union leaders seem to have lost their confidence in their economy advisers. Major shift of production and IT-services to low wage and low union density regions did not wake them up during the growth period. Jobs of core workforce were not in thread. The global crisis changed the context. Pattern of wage and salary compressions and bargaining setbacks are now to be found even in the most protected segments of employees. One can speak about the ‘shared austerity’.

Crisis, trade unions and local experiments

The economic recession is leading to a major decline in employment. The layoffs are spreading across the service sector as well as in “western” societies, with the often female and minority workforces there moving from precarious work to no work at all.

At a time when governments are also bailing out banks and financial institutions the building of an anti-capitalist movement is not only a necessity for the unions but it may have a broad popular appeal. This can begin with opposition to contract concessions on worktime and wages, but more militant workplace tactics such as plant occupations will have to be explored.

It is, maybe, possible to envision new kinds of union campaigns linking public sector workers and communities, producers and users, in opposition to neoliberalism. It can also be insisted that responses to the economic slowdown begin with restoring the public sector. A number of campaigns – notably some of the anti-privatisation struggles around healthcare, universities and municipal services have had successes, at least starting points, across several western countries, too. These community-union alliances have often lacked full union support. This is, however, also a reflection that social democratic parties and union leaders have moved to a ‘post-class’, ‘post-militant’ and ‘post-campaigning’ managerial culture.

The very defeat of the union movement in the advanced capitalist countries requires unions to fundamentally assess and transform their own institutions and practices in the struggle for a post-neoliberal order. This is partly about looking at the organisational divisions of unions as they now exist. This entails democratising the internal practices of unions, expanding education of members, encouraging grass roots activism and examining union practices on gender and race.

The mass immigrants’ rights May Day protests, as well as the day-to-day campaign for the protection of non-status workers have taken place outside the main union movements, but also led to new linkages and alliances. Similar types of struggles are helping to rebuild local labour movements in many countries. Despite often defensive and weak leadership beaten down by neoliberal attacks, central labour organisations are also developing a new sense of urgency, at least in the sense of conventional resolutions on organising, mobilising and political issues. If there is still great distance to go in translating sentiment into political action, it does suggest some significant opening for rebuilding the labour movement.

Organising the unorganised is an ongoing challenge. It would have to include a campaign for a new legal framework favouring union organising to overturn earlier policies of deunionisation. In a moment of economic crisis and political transition, such a movement has to extend beyond the defence of particular plants and workers to be framed as a class and community demand.

As an example for local struggles I quote Grossman (2009) describing the struggles of Workers Forum (UCTWF) within the University of Cape Town:

“ The problems of bureaucratisation in trade unions have been repeatedly and well-documented. There is no less a problem with the loss of vision. They compound each other. WF has avoided proceduralism, not entering into formal negotiations and relying on creating noise and mobilization to carry its message. It is going to have guard against a situation in which the gains of this are not entrenched and have to be won again and again. Workers can sometimes find protection through the routines and procedures which have partly been won through the noise and mobilization of yesterday. Workers come to UCTWF to take refuge from the experience of power and control

imposed on them. But it is not enough to find refuge from the power of others, they are going to have built their own workers power and control it they are really to build solutions.

On at least four separate occasions workers in the WF have agreed that all workers should join one union. The union chosen because of its history at UCT has been NEHAWU. It has worked best where workers have self-organised and taken, sometimes forced themselves, into NEHAWU (Metro cleaning). But others trying to follow the same path have been resisted (G4S security). And very many of the same workers have not implemented their own decision. Why not? There are mixed messages from NEHAWU; workers are looking for shortcuts where things are done by others on their behalf; many have negative experiences of different unions; many have no real hope or confidence in any union, let alone themselves and each other. Underlying this is the everyday encounter with threats and intimidation from management. There are workers in the UCTWF who have moved in and out of several different unions, community organisation, left groups, NGO's and, more recently, social movements. They bring experience and commitment which is sometimes coupled with a particular refugee approach to building – seeking refuge from the problem and refuge from somewhere else. Sometimes it is another new form of organising, or NGO, or social movement. Through all of this, two processes continue: one is the politics of class collaboration which remains intact and unchallenged when the refugees move on searching for a way to escape it. The other is drive by ordinary working class people to come together in unity with each other where they are forced to live their lives; in the workplace it they are employed, and in the community. The task is surely to build a stable, sustained rank and file democratic homes there – in the everyday and every day.

Despite the political will and commitment to avoid some of the known problems of trade union bureaucracy, Workers Forum is not “socialism in one organizational form”. Despite consistent effort by the left inside the Workers Forum, it has been very difficult to turn the forum to issues beyond the UCT workplace – even in solidarity for example with strikes in the surrounding area. We have had to confront the same problems which we would have liked to leave behind in trade unions: there is an unequal division of labour; there are unequal access to resources; the flat structure of the WF end up meaning that things happen because of the whims and fancies of individuals and/or groups there are all the problems of racism, sexism and other forms of oppression which are parts of the world we live in.

At its best, the Workers Forum is giving answers on these issues which more effectively promote unity and allow workers to collectivise to pursue their goals and build solidarity and support across boundaries...We continue to draw on the best proletarian practices of trade unionism /ine general meeting, the mandate, the report-back, and lines of accountability.

We are sometimes told that the problem of the unions is that they serve the interests of their members, not workers such as the outsourced and casualised. This is reduced to a problem with the “old form” – “trade unionism”. In fact, the problem is that unions are very often not serving the interests of their members, let alone non-unionised workers and the unemployed. As neat as it may be, it is a distortion of the reality of lived experience to suggest that we have a division between the secure, unionized protected worker and the insecure, non-unionised peripheral/vulnerable/precarious. As we are seeing each day, the supposedly secure, well-paid, unionized protected workers of yesterday are the retrenched worker of today. As important as it is to avoid organizational forms which have inherent problems, no organizational form can avoid the inherent contradictions of capitalism....If some of us can avoid the contradictions by going to different conference, or sidestepping it in other ways, the basic political choice confronting us does not do away.

Post-neoliberalism as an analytical or ideological concept?

Latin America has been a laboratory for neoliberal experiments. The dictatorial process in Chile after the coup of 1973 was a start. The model spread quickly from far right to other nationalist movements (such as Peronism and the Mexican PRI) and social democratic forces (Chile, Venezuela and Brazil). The popular resistance began also from Latin America (the Chiapas movement in Mexico, Brazil's Landless Workers' Movement, indigenous movements especially in Bolivia and Ecuador, and the unemployed picketers' movement in Argentina). The election of Hugo Chavez marked, perhaps, moving from a phase of resistance to one of hegemonic dispute from top down. Thereafter we have seen elections of Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Paraguay and El Salvador.

In western discussion the concept 'post-neoliberalism' has been used during the latest years in different meanings: 1) as an analytical and describing term like post-industrial, post-modern and post-fordist or 2) as a basis for anti-neoliberal policies meaning opposition

- to deregulation;
- to financialisation;
- to the weakening of labour relations; and
- to 'free trade'

I have been asked to give examples about good practices for post-neoliberal policies. My basic answer is that the only good practice which I can imagine are resistances against oppression and struggles about more control, more participation, more open dialogue at grass roots level everywhere. They are bottom-up schooling for self-determination and autonomy of peoples.

There are also different learning processes given by workers', consumers', parents', women's, men's, locales' etc. participation that are organised from top down. Some townships in South Africa have been more developed than others. Some regions within Kerala state are more developed than some Gujarat regions. Sweden has stronger traditions in using participative management methods sense than Finland. However, the main answer is continuous struggles which ordinary people participate in. There are intensive and silent periods of struggles. Most people are not interested in collective struggles at all before something dramatic takes place (the price of gasolin in the USA or Vladivostok, layoffs in France or Finland etc.) None are able to struggle all the time. But when relaxing and looking at other people's experiences it is possible to learn numerous ways to emancipation. allows opportunities for globalized resistance from private homes.