

## *Pathways to a Cooperative Market Economy Workshop*

### **Report from the Research Workshop at Padova, Italy, June 8-10, 2017**

Erik Olin Wright  
July, 2017

---

#### **Overview of Workshop**

This was the fourth research workshop in *The Pathways to a Cooperative Market Economy* project, following workshops in Barcelona (2015), Buenos Aires (2015), and Johannesburg (2016). At each of these workshops, people involved in the pathways project meet intensively with researchers of cooperatives in the region where the workshop is held. These workshops involve a combination of discussions of specific case studies of cooperatives, focusing especially on the trajectories of their development and the dilemmas they face, and more general theoretical discussions of cooperative enterprises in capitalist economies. The ultimate objective is to develop a framework for mapping the diverse pathways through which cooperatives are incubated, developed and sustained. Once this agenda-setting manuscript is written, we will hold a final conference in which participants from the regional workshops, along with a few other scholars studying cooperatives, will be invited to write papers in which they engage this framework. Revised versions of the conference papers will be published by Verso publishers in the Real Utopias book series.

What follows below are my somewhat uneven notes on the presentations and discussions in the conference. (I apologize for omissions, especially the incomplete account of the discussions during the sessions). At the end of the report is a discussion of plans for the next steps in the project.

#### **Thursday afternoon, June 8**

##### **Devi Sacchetto: a brief overview of the Italian cooperative movement**

In recent decades, outsourcing practices have led to a degradation of the cooperative principles and a serious degradation of working conditions within cooperatives. Historically, cooperatives had both an emancipatory left current and a more conservative current supported by liberal elites. Three peak organizations acted as coordinating associations: Legacoop had socialist origins; Confcooperative was Catholic; and then there was a liberal association of cooperatives. These all existed from the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Fascists first destroyed many cooperatives, then tried to control them, hoping to use cooperatives to provide a basis for unity of workers and employers in the fascist corporatist ideology.

Turning points:

1. Change in Communist Party in the mid-1950s – trying to forge an alliance with the middle class; sees cooperatives as third sector.
2. 1968-80: limit the forms of cooperatives that were sweatshops, but favorable to some cooperatives.

3. General defeat of the working class in late 1970s.
4. With the fall of USSR, profound change in political system and cooperative movement. Cooperative movement abandons ideological forward vision.

Since 1980s Cooperatives have adopted a more business-like approach. The Legacoop and Confcooperative now funds temporary work agency (TWA) -- Obiettivo Lavoro – which is the third largest work agency in the country and functions just like an ordinary TWA.

As cooperatives have become large, their complex organizational and financial structure transformed them into cooperative groups that function much like conventional capitalist firms.

The three pillars of the cooperative movement came together into an Alliance of the Italian cooperatives: 7% of Italian GDP – 43,000 companies with 1.3 million employees – work in cooperatives. Because of tax breaks and the support of unions, much of this group operates through the subcontracting system of outsourcing services.

In large cooperatives, participation is mostly communication. Real decisions are made by executives with no real accountability to cooperative members.

The Partner-worker is an ambiguous category: functions as an ally and subordinate to managers, opposed to migrants and nonmember workers. Partnership becomes a mere technical function.

In the service sector, competition among cooperatives is ferocious – they undercut each other.

Social cooperatives: These subcontract on behalf of public sector hospitals, hospices and schools. Flexible hours, physically exhausting. Wages are 25% lower than public sector. Mostly women; migrants employed in unskilled roles. Subjected to double subordination: to public sector and coop managers.

Logistic sector cooperatives are a major sector. Logistic companies subcontract to cooperatives. This has become a site of significant struggle. Unions supported these cooperatives in struggles. The subcontracting system is a way of avoiding unions; unionizing these struggles is critical.

*[Comment: General issue here: cooperatives are like pseudo-self-employment through individual subcontracting that we see in the U.S. and elsewhere. This is basically a kind of collective form of new subordination to capital through subcontracting. Cooperatives become a form of intensified self-exploitation.]*

*Managerialization* of cooperatives: if you want to survive in the global market you have to develop and become bigger and bigger. Cooperatives have been overwhelmed by market logics and rules. They are used as a tool to manage the decline of the welfare state by stripping down the direct public sector. The increase in the size of cooperatives contributes to the erosion of internal solidarity.

When the labor movement is strong, cooperatives can be true to their values. Now that they are weak, the cooperatives can be manipulated for capitalist purposes.

There are also many fake cooperatives. There are cases in which a fake trade union was created in order to create a fake agreement with fake cooperatives.

### **Francesco Garibaldo**

Studies of Reggio Emilia in 2010 and Imola 2017 – fieldwork on working conditions in the stronghold of the cooperative sectors.

Common theme: The deterioration of cooperative principles towards more business criteria, closer to that of a capitalist company. There are two different sorts of perceptions by workers: Fake participation & corporatist participation.

- *Fake cooperatives*: an entrepreneur creates a cooperative because of strategic advantages, but it is entirely phony.
- *Corporatist solution*: Those with a long perspective on this see a gradual abandonment of cooperative values in which “cooperation is a façade”. Wealthy members of a cooperative control the cooperative and control other cooperatives. A minority of people create a good situation for themselves, but not for outsiders and nonmembers.

There is a general perception that this deterioration is often the result of demands of clients of the cooperative; this is a structural condition that imposes extreme flexibility and cost cutting. The privatization process was based on the possibility of cutting costs through harsh labor conditions, and this privatization led to the boom in cooperatives operating under intense competition. The result is a downward spiral.

In carework cooperatives, the workers saw cooperatives as a way of self-organizing and acting on principles of meaningful work. Workers thought that complex social services made it possible to strike a deal that is not just cost cutting, but also, because of the quality requirements of such services, could support the realization of other values. This possibility was blocked because of competition.

In Imola I studied a service cooperative in which wages and working conditions are in line with best of private sector. But still the cooperative is competing with private firms on the same grounds as private firms. This firm is the hub of a supply chain of firms in which there are 270 cooperative members and 2000 nonmembers in this supply chain hub. Those 270 are “a happy few”, but this is not a process of diffusing ownership and quality of work.

Discussion:

Q. Is there criminal involvement in any of these cooperatives?

Response: There is also criminal entanglement with the cooperative movement. Some cooperatives are now considered criminal organization. Especially serious in the construction sector connected to the state.

Q. What is the connection to trade unions?

Response: this is a longstanding historical issue -- can cooperative members strike against the cooperative if they are also the owners? Trade unions argue that the managers are separate from the owners and the strike is against the managers. There are possibilities for collaboration with unions when cooperatives are small. In big organizations, I don't see how cooperatives can contribute really to workers welfare.

Q: what about other mechanisms of democratic activation?

Response: there are discussions around working conditions and the labor process, but not more than in a private company. There is some education around business issues – there is information and people feel informed. But in practice there is very little actual involvement of worker-members in business decisions.

**Lisa Dorigatti, University of Milan**

Cooperatives are a big part of the economy. During the recession, cooperative sector seemed especially resilient. Growth during the recession in services, but decline in manufacturing and construction.

But: what about employment conditions? Conventional argument is that wages and working conditions are worse in cooperatives, but intrinsic rewards are higher (more meaningful work, etc., and discussed in Borzaga research).

Cooperatives are especially important in Transport services, logistics & warehousing = 300,000 cooperative member employees = ~40% of sector. Health and social services also have about 300,000 cooperative member employees.

*Social assistance sector:*

There was massive decline in public institutions and increase in nonprofit sector 2001-2011, mostly cooperatives. The governance is through local government authority, but provision is mainly by private nonprofit cooperatives. A full-time employee in a social cooperative earns 1100 euros/month = 2-300 less than a comparable employee in public service. The same work, but earn less due to less generous sectoral collective agreement, but also lack of second-level bargaining. Also, they have worse working hours and paid vacation days. There is highly fragmented contracting for different tasks and much income instability. Market insecurity is transferred to workers: cooperatives are paid by local government for hours served, and if the hours drop, the pay drops.

There is frequent renewal of the contractual tenders to cooperatives, which also leads to greater instability since often contracts are not renewed due to intense competition. This leads to loss of seniority and more precarious employment compared to public sector employment. There is weak provision of professional services – no payment for indirect activities (eg. talking to parents, planning activities, etc.). Most of the problems are the result of the contractual process.

The main motivation by municipalities for this was a) lower costs, and b) greater flexibility. The public sector of provision is more rigidly regulated. The tender mechanism as such exposes the system to cost-cutting. Cooperatives get the same amount of money to do more. More competition among cooperatives makes things worse.

*Logistics sector:*

- Often fake companies, fake cooperatives
- There are no company-level agreements and managers act unilaterally to impose sacrifices on workers
- Widespread violation of collective agreement and wage theft
- Difficult for labor inspectors to sanction this because workers do not denounce this
- High income insecurity and instability: short/long hours/
- Clients take advantage of all of this to violate rules frequently; and failure of state to take responsibility for enforcing. The state is an enabler of violations

*[Comment: The key idea here and in logistics: outsourcing to external personnel to increases flexibility and displaces risk. Cooperatives are a mechanism for creating loopholes for the avoidance of labor standards. The cooperatives only exist because this*

*is a way of lowering costs and displacing risks. The democratic right to derogate standards by collective choice becomes the loophole to destroy standards.]*

Originally, some of these were set up as charities or as parent-initiated groups to provide better services. But then in the privatization era they grew for cost-cutting reasons. Arguments in favor of this explicitly announce the greater “efficiency” of cooperatives because cheaper and flexible. [cf overpaid privileged state worker rhetoric of attack on public sector workers.]

\*

Scenes from Padua:



**Friday, June 9****Giovani Orlando, recovered factories**

In Italy, there 122 recovered enterprises. Recoveries are mostly worker-buy-outs rather than takeovers – these are legally recognized conversions of failed enterprises subsidized by the state under a special law. Most of these become affiliated with the co-op movement. Some instances in Italy resemble the Argentinian model of illegal takeovers followed by efforts at legalization, but this is rare.

The Story of RiMaflow. This was a takeover of a closed factory in which the owner had moved all of the machinery to a new factory in Poland. This was done during the summer holidays when the workers were on vacation. They returned to find the factory closed and stripped. They broke in and occupied the space and began using it for precarious income generation.

Q. Why were they not evicted?

They were not regarded by the local authorities as a squat because of their prior ties to the factory space. They have not so far been evicted because society does not see them as squatters. But still, they have problems with the technical illegality of the commerce they conduct. [We visit this facility on Saturday]

**Romolo Calcagno, Roma – study of recovered enterprises following bankruptcy.**

Mancoop is an adhesive factory that went bankrupt. There was then a take-over through a buy-out under the cooperative buy-out law. Joined Legacoop and received assistance.

*[EOW Comment on The Mancoop pathway: the coop is renting the factory from the trustees of the bankruptcy, which is basically the state. The workers are paying rent which is used to pay off creditors of the bankrupt firm. Some ambiguities in the legal status of the property (it seems). Q: what happens when the creditors are paid off? The workers would like the regional authority to own the facility and the workers to lease it. There are cases in France like this in Marseilles connected to Unilever.]*

*Key pathway idea: local state solves the property rights problem for stabilizing worker cooperatives by making it possible for labor to rent capital from the state rather than owning owns capital. This is clear example of changing rules of the game to allow for new moves in the game.]*

Another case study: Food democracy network – sustainability community movement.

60 solidarity purchase groups (SPGs) support this process. SPG members buy the products generated by the occupation of a villa. Two problems: 1. Based on an illegal land occupation. There is no path towards a legalization. 2. The project does not generate adequate income for the participants and there are disagreements about the relationship between the commons ideology and income.

**Paolo Graziano and Francesca Forno, political consumerism**

Political consumerism: movements that place at the heart of their activity consumerist activities. Crisis is a context that brings different collectivities together and helps them develop strategies of territorial and economic intervention. A key problem is sustainability of new practices after ebbing of the crisis.

In the social dimension of these SCMOs (sustainable community movement organizations), the goods are not at the heart of the relation; the social relations are. Participants see this as prefigurative politics: realizing real utopias – putting into daily practices the activities envisioned in the future society.

Comment: 1) Is this escaping capitalism into niches rather than a strategy of erosion? Is there any sense of a strategy for expanding niches in ways that could displace the dominance of capitalism? 2) Expansion through replication vs scaling up: the problem of sharing best practices – you mentioned a certain jealousy on the part of activists worried about sharing the information of what they do.

Response: Within the solidarity purchasing groups there is little jealousy, lots of sharing, etc. for purposes of dissemination/diffusion of the models and practices. There is a fear that these real utopias can be appropriated by the state or cooperatives or other powerful actors. There are people with a strategic vision and others with a niche-consciousness. This reflects classic neoliberal individualization: proud of being special in this way. Some political groups have taken on these ideas as part of a strategic vision.

**Giulio Iocco (Erasmus University of Rotterdam, The Hague), Martina Lo Cascio (University of Palermo) and Domenico Perrotta (University of Bergamo): Mutualism and migrant workers in southern Italy**

The basic strategy in this case was to form an alliance of small producers with migrant laborers who could work with SPGs to provide higher income for farmers and better work and pay for workers. The pressure on the small farmers is the central force which intensifies exploitation of farm workers. Consumer's willingness to pay for less exploitative production is the change in conditions which make possible less precarity at the base. SOS Rosarno is a case study of this.

**Friday afternoon, International presentations**

**Tom Malleson & JJ MacMurtry, optimal financing for cooperatives**

Four cases in which there are different solutions to the problem of providing finance to cooperative: Venezuela under Chavez; Mondragon; Italy; and Canada.

Venezuela has 300,000 coops on the books, but only at most 15% survived. Reasons:

- Fraud
- No plans, failure
- Private firms pretend to coops to get the cheap credit and privileged contracts
- Hundreds of millions of dollars lost to the process
- Some small percentage were real. If 5% = 30,000 real coops, growth from 700.
- Still, overall, very chaotic financing, lots of grants and subsidies with no monitoring. OPerhapsn they felt, well at least this is going to poor people.

Mondragon: Compare Venezuela to Mondragon's first 25 years: There was strong financing for new cooperatives from the *empresario* division the cooperative bank, the caja laboral, with lots of support and feasibility plans connected to loans. Ratio of support staff to cooperatives in Mondragon = 1:1. In Venezuela 1:10,000. Venezuela process: no incubation process.

Italy: Italian context is unique because cooperatives are enshrined in constitution; 3% of profits go to cross-subsidies for other cooperatives; there are subsidized worker buyouts; etc.

Canada: Social impact bonds are a basis for self-financing of cooperatives as a method of capitalizing cooperatives through members or communities. This creates patient capital and community involvement in the business. Leveraging local capital to do small investments. In Nova Scotia, the law allowed pension funds to be invested in cooperatives (via bonds) with guarantees by the government.

### **Nathan Schneider, Platform cooperativism**

Platform cooperatives are anchored in the internet's logic of value-creation through networks and relations.

Issue: is there a distinctive platform pathway to cooperatives? Is this a distinctive way of constituting a cooperative of users and providers?

Development contrast: building companies to be commodities to sell on a market versus building companies to be a social structure of on-going meaning/activity for a purpose.

### **Andres Bernal, NYC coop development project**

Two models of coop development in the NYU city incubation of cooperatives: *mutualist vs socialization of entrepreneurship* (conversions, DESOPS, etc.). Mutualism seen by supporters of entrepreneurial development as only dealing with marginalized niches in the secondary economy and unable to have a broader impact. The socialization of entrepreneurship process is top down expert lead.

### **Marta Soler, dilemmas faced by Mondragon**

Fagor is the famous industrial cooperative in Mondragon. In order to be competitive Fagor had to become global. It had to produce low cost parts in order to be able to compete in the low-end market for appliances, and this meant producing those parts in cheap labor countries. Fagor had established a strong niche in the middle price range of appliances, but this niche basically declined as the quality of low cost appliances improved. The pressure of competition basically forced Fagor either to change the lines of production or get larger and go multinational. They chose the latter strategy. Ultimately it didn't work. The other cooperatives at Mondragon provided significant infusions of capital, but this couldn't solve the underlying problem, and the appliance division of Fagor had to declare bankruptcy.

### **Erik Olin Wright concluding comments**

Everything took much longer than anticipated, so I didn't have time for the full wrap-up theoretical discussion I had planned. I briefly elaborated the underlying idea of a "cooperative market economy" as one element in the broader agenda of forging a democratic economy, and the even broader agenda of creating a democratic society—democratizing the economy, democratizing the state, and democratizing civil society. I then briefly discussed the diverse pathways that have been discussed in this and previous Pathways Project research workshops. I presented this as a descriptive list rather than a highly theoretical typology (see next page).



## Thirteen Pathways to Worker Cooperatives

### Autonomous startups

1. Worker-cooperative startups in which a group of people come together to form a cooperative from scratch, getting loans from banks or through social networks.
2. Messy survival strategies of people in desperate conditions who form improvised quasi-cooperatives without a long-term model. Sometimes these adaptations consolidate into cooperatives; sometimes not.
3. Cooperatives develop in a regional economy out of artisanal production and gradually develop networks and other institutions to sustain cooperative firms over time.

### Incubated startups

4. Cooperatives are incubated (and perhaps subsidized) by the state or NGOs
5. Labor union incubation of cooperatives: the incipient “union-CO-OP model” in the United States

### Coops breeding coops

6. An existing cooperative or group of cooperatives incubates a new cooperative
7. An existing cooperative splits into two distinct cooperatives

### Conversions

8. Conversion of partnerships or small private firms into cooperatives
9. Conversions of privately-owned firms into worker cooperatives in the context of worker-buyouts when the owners retire (ownership succession conversions).
10. The gradual increase in employee ownership through an ESOP (Employee Stock Ownership Plan) and then, eventually, the introduction of democratic governance and conversion to a more cooperative form.
11. The seizure of bankrupt firms by workers – *empresas recuperadas* – and running them as de facto cooperatives with potential route to legalization.
12. Worker takeover of bankrupt firm leading to state ownership + leasing to worker self-managed cooperative.
13. Worker buyouts of bankrupt firms with state subsidies for transitional conversion to worker-owned cooperative.

### Saturday, June 10: trip to RiMaflow

We spent the day on a fieldtrip to RiMaflow, a recovered factory near Milano, three hours from Padua that was one of the case studies at the workshop. At this point the actual worker cooperative at RiMaflow consists only of 15 former workers in the former factory. Strictly speaking, the cooperative is not an actual “recovered factory” because the work they do has nothing to do with what was produced in the previous factory, since the owner moved all of the capital equipment to Poland. What the cooperative actually does is manage and maintain the physical



site of the former factory, and then use it for a variety of activities. Much of the space is used to provide work-space for small artisanal enterprises; another section is used to repair and recondition computers and mobile phones; in one small area they engage in some food production; and one large space is used as a kind of parking garage for recreational vehicle. They are also experimenting with doing recycling

processing of paper and plastics. The artisan workshops create self-employment opportunities for people who have lost jobs, are long-term unemployed, or pensioners with the minimum pension. There are also a few offices leased out to people doing professional activities like law or accounting. Together there are about 60 people in these workspaces.



After we had visited the premises and had lunch with some of the coop members, we had an extended discussion about their

objectives and prospects. Their spokesperson began by giving us a general account of the situation. It seems that they have been able to sustain their occupation in part because they have put so much effort into maintenance. Apparently, the bank that owns the property was not even aware that it had the title following the bankruptcy of the previous firm. No one is currently interested in buying the factory itself, so it could only be sold to someone who would tear it down and then develop something new on the land. The problem is that this would be extremely expensive because of asbestos in the roofing. So, for the moment the cooperative continues to illegally occupy the building and use it for these various enterprises and activities. All of this generates only a meager income for the members – somewhere around 800-1000 euros a month per person.

In terms of their motivations, for the artisan workshops one important desire is creating new employment for people thrown out of the labor market. The cooperative doesn't charge income-

generating rent. The occupants simply have to pay for the utilities and the maintenance and janitorial services that the cooperative provides, but not proper rent for the space.

The cooperative also sees what they do as political connected to the earlier class conflict that resulted in occupying the place and creating a self-managed enterprise. This link of the political and economic is the only way they think they can survive and put pressure on political authorities to legitimize their situation.

We then had a free-floating discussion about political strategies, class consciousness, collective organizations, unions.



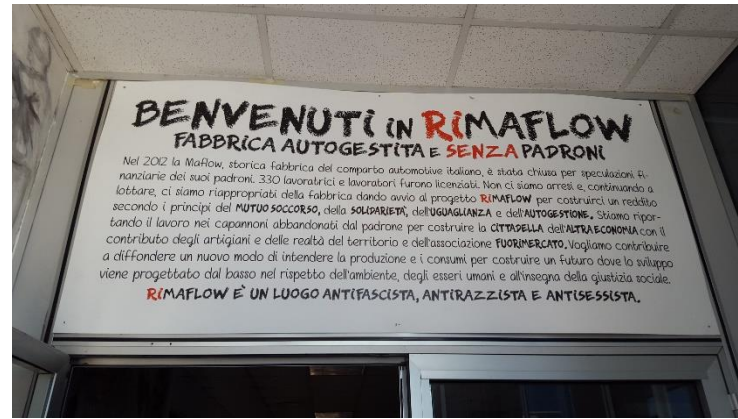
One of the cooperative members said “We need to reconstitute working class organization, the labor movement.” He saw their work as contributing to this. I commented that working class organization in the past was rooted in the strongest sectors of the working class, not the most vulnerable. How can these segments be bridged in a way that could really reconstitute the labor movement?

The coop worker who was being the main spokesperson responded: “We live in an era of atomization. Electoral politics cannot succeed without popular power from below, building structures of power from below. Our main point is construction from below. Popular power in the base is critical. Democratizing initiatives in the economy are important here. Democracy from below is about counterpower from below. And we need be aware of the problems of centralizing power, even in the alternatives.” He went on to talk about cooperatives and other initiatives from below as being crucial forms of building real alternatives to capitalism.

His discourse was very congruent with the idea of real utopias and my arguments about a strategy of erosion, although with a somewhat more anarchist flavor. The coop workers were pretty skeptical that any support could really come from the state or that political parties and electoral politics had much to offer. But the basic thrust of their perspective was very congenial.



Drawing of protesters in the struggle over the factory



### Future Plans for the Pathways Project

The Pathways project is part of the larger Real Utopias Project. At the moment, there are three other specific real utopia project conferences and books in the works:

1. Legislature by Lot, September 2017
2. Democratizing Finance, June or July, 2018
3. Democratizing the Corporation, summer or fall of 2019

Because of both financial and practical limitations, it is not possible to have more than one of these conferences a year, and so the projected date for the final conference of the Pathways Project is 2020, probably in June.

This means that there is time for one more of the regional workshops. One possibility for this would be to hold a workshop Kerala, India, sometime in 2018. Michele Williams has close ties with Thomas Isaac in Kerala, who has been involved in the earlier Real Utopias project on Deepening democracy. She will explore the possibility for a workshop there.

The critical task before the final book-preparation conference in 2020 is writing the framework paper that will serve as the agenda-setting anchor for the conference and book. I have asked Tom Malleson and J.J. McMurtry to work on this paper with me.



# Cooperative Pathways Meeting

Padova, 8-10 June 2017

Department of Philosophy, Sociology, Education and Applied Psychology

## Day 1: Thursday 8 June (Room N – Via del Santo, 26)

2 pm: Arrival and Registration

Welcome 2.30pm-2.45pm - Prof. Vincenzo Milanese (Director of Department of Philosophy, Sociology, Education and Applied Psychology)

2.45pm-3pm

Devi Sacchetto (University of Padova) and Erik Olin Wright (University of Wisconsin): Welcome, objectives and housekeeping issues

3pm-4.30pm: Workers' cooperatives in Italy: a historical perspective (Chair: Devi Sacchetto)

Maria Grazia Meriggi (University of Bergamo), Social enterprise or resource for the conflict: Italian cooperatives in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century

Tito Menzani (University of Bologna), People have the power? A historical perspective of Italian worker cooperatives

4.30pm-5pm Coffee break

5pm-6.30pm: Cooperatives and workers in contemporary Italy: precarization and reduction of labour costs? (Chair: Ferruccio Gambino, University of Padova)

Francesco Garibaldo (Fondazione Claudio Sabattini, Bologna), Working in cooperatives: service and manufacturing sectors in Reggio Emilia, Italy

Lisa Dorigatti (University of Milan), Workers' cooperatives and the transformation of value chains: exploiting institutional loopholes and reducing labour costs

\*\*\*

## Day 2: Friday 9 June

9am-12:30am (Room B2 – Via del Santo, 22)

Case studies on workers cooperative pathways in contemporary Italy (Chair: Vando Borghi, University of Bologna)

Giovanni Orlando (University of Torino), Understanding contemporary mutualism in Italy's recovered enterprises: The RiMaflow case as a laboratory of Utopia

Romolo Calcagno (University of Roma La Sapienza), Recovered enterprises in Italy. An experiment of territorial reciprocity

Massimiliano Andretta and Riccardo Guidi (University of Pisa), Bringing materialism back in: Practices of radical co-production in context

Giulio Iocco (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague), Martina Lo Cascio (University of Palermo) and Domenico Perrotta (University of Bergamo), Mutualism, agriculture and migrant workers in Southern Italy

Francesca Forno (University of Trento) and Paolo Graziano (University of Padua), Reconnecting the social: How political consumerism enacts collective action

12:30 to 2pm: Lunch

\*\*\*

2pm-6.30pm (Room B3 – Via del Santo, 22)

Way forward for Real Utopias project and closure  
Facilitated by Erik Olin Wright

2pm-4.30pm: General theoretical perspectives

Tom Malleson, The Optimal Financial Arrangements for Expanding Workers Cooperatives

Andrés Dean (Universidad de la República, Uruguay), Comparing the survival of recovered firms and worker coops created from scratch

Andres Bernal, The New York City Worker Cooperative Initiative and Coalition: policies, politics, and social movements

Marta Soler Gallart (University of Barcelona), Competitive Cooperativism and Mondragon

Nathan Schneider (University of Colorado Boulder), An Internet of ownership: democratic design for the online economy

4:45-5:30pm: Erik Olin Wright, *Destinations and strategies for a cooperative market economy*

5:30-6:30pm Where do we go from here?

\*\*\*

## Day three: Saturday 10 June

Site visit to the recovered factory "Ri-Maflow", Trezzano sul Naviglio, Milan

\*\*\*

The Meeting is organized in the framework of the research project "Pathways to a cooperative market economy", coordinated by Erik Olin Wright (University of Wisconsin), [eowright@wisc.edu](mailto:eowright@wisc.edu)  
<http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/Cooperative-pathways.htm>

Local organizing committee:

Devi Sacchetto (University of Padova), [devi.sacchetto@unipd.it](mailto:devi.sacchetto@unipd.it)  
Domenico Perrotta (University of Bergamo), [domenico.perrotta@unibg.it](mailto:domenico.perrotta@unibg.it)