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CHARACTERISTICS OF POST-GLOBALIZATION

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ABSTRACT

Globalization is one of the most important phenomenon that characterizes modern development. Globalization tendencies change. There are a lot of articles concerning post-globalization. Many scientists suppose that the new age is a post-globalization one. However, there is no definition of post-globalization itself. Each of the studies covers just a part of this phenomenon. The post-globalization stage substantially differs from globalization one. The article is dedicated to the definition of post-globalization and its main characteristics. To archive this, all scientific works in the field of post-globalization were combined in several groups: studies that examine post-globalization or some aspects of it directly, and different scientific works that are dedicated to the end of the globalization era. The research is based on previous studies and mentions of post-globalization in different contexts. The results of the research proposed five key characteristics of post-globalization and eight economic statements about differences between the globalization and post-globalization stages, including directions of business development, basis of the economic growth, level of social inequality, key industries, and others. It was concluded that post-globalization was the arrangement of social dynamics processes, the basis of which were previously ones of globalization. These processes have had social, economical, cultural, political, and military aspects. Post-globalization is the period of society's development. This period has some specific characteristics. The article helps to predict changes in the future global development.

Disciplinary: Multidisciplinary (Global Studies, Philosophy Sciences, Sustainable Development, Educational Sciences; Economic Sciences).

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1. INTRODUCTION

Globalization is one of the most important and often discussed social processes in the modern world. This process concerns, on the one hand, a vast majority of countries and, on the other hand, a

vast majority of people in these countries. The globalization process penetrates many industries and affects social development. When discussing this issue, scientists usually specify economic, political, and cultural aspects of globalization (Babons, 2007). Moreover, globalization processes are interconnected and mainly generated by development of telecommunication and transportation.

There are a lot of articles dedicated to globalization. This is the most common definition of globalization: the process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas, and other aspects of culture (Albrow and King, 1990). According to James and Steger, the modern globalization process was formed in the 1970's (2014).

This paper was concentrated on the study of post-globalization. The vast majority of authors who used the term and studied the phenomenon, named it the post-globalization era. However, this paper uses the term 'post-globalization.' Post-globalization is a broader term than post-globalization era due to the fact that it does not concentrate on a definite period of time and the social processes occurring during this period. Moreover, the term post-globalization was observed both in the philosophical and social dimensions, and as a broad term, it could not be restricted by a definite time period.

In modern science, many researchers state that sustainable development is a key to a stable future (Khandegar and Saroha, 2013). The vast majority of researchers concentrate on ecological and environmental issues and, simultaneously, on rising consumption standards. Nevertheless, the main idea of this concept is providing high living standards to future generations. These standards include the ecological aspect, food and water quality, accessible goods, and healthy lifestyles. The rise in consumption standards does not assure huge private capital accumulation or overconsumption (Sachs, 2012). Globalization is the stage of intensive development and capital accumulation, while post-globalization is assumed to be a period of stabilization and achievement retention. Thus, sustainable development is a characteristic of post-globalization.

In the article, it was suggested that post-globalization is interconnected with globalization; however, it has not been just the consequence of the former. In this study, we discuss studies related to recent post-globalization and to the end of the era of modern imperialism, US dominance in economic, political, and cultural fields, which has been correlated with the process of modern globalization. We formulated the authors' definition of post-globalization and identified its specifics, based on current scientific research, the definition of globalization, and the concept of sustainable development.

This article aimed to propose a definition of post-globalization and present a list of economic characteristics of the stage of global development. To achieve this aim, all scientific works in the field of post-globalization were divided into several groups. The first group consisted of papers and studies that examined post-globalization or some aspect of it directly. Different scientific works that were dedicated to the end of the globalization era were combined into the second group. After the analysis of both of the groups was represented in the author's definition of post-globalization, we looked at its relationship with sustainable development and formed a list of economic characteristics for this stage of global development.

2. LITURATURE REVIEW

2.1 ASPECTS OF POST-GLOBALIZATION

There are many different opinions about post-globalization. They were analysed one by one to determine what post-globalization was. One of the most controversial issues was raised by Berry. He specified three approaches to define post-globalization (Berry, 2010). According to the first one, post-globalization means 'globalized,' generic, homogeneous, and 'the erasure of history and the loss of identity.' The second approach claims knowledge and respect of history and local specificity. This approach associates post-global with national or local. The third approach supposes that post-globalization should be characterized by transformation and urbanization. Simultaneously, Nordtveit (2010) argued that post-globalization states global and local unification in one capitalist discourse. In other words, he combined the first and the second approaches proposed by Berry (2010). Chu and Wood (2008) got similar results for Brazil that post-globalization combines both global and local development tendencies and cultural specifics.

Latham (2016) supposed that the post-globalization era is the epoch when permanent war on terror has been transformed into a permanent war on society. He pointed out that modern society has a broad number of social problems and the most significant among them are the results of the globalization era. Moreover, he showed that these problems would lead to power-holders changing through instruments of public opinion expression, such as video blogging. He also emphasized that both material and mental borders are thickened. In other words, there are many western mental influences on the East and eastern on the West; countries have become similar to each other and have to form and protect their own national uniqueness. Flew (2016) found similar tendencies in China's aspirations especially in promotion of national culture and traditions. There was a growth 'of investments on the part of nation states in international media projection in order to promote national culture in media and cultural studies' in China.

Parker (2016) suggested another point of view on post-globalisation, as an era of knowledge economy, based on the high quality of education available. Salunkhe et al. (2013) considered post-globalisation as a new higher education characteristic. However, knowledge and education were defined as important production points of economical forces in the early 1970s (Webster, 2006). Therefore, knowledge economy cannot be specified as a solely post-globalisation characteristic; nevertheless, it is impossible not to notice that higher education had been transformed in the globalization era. Nowadays it is impossible to imagine an isolated national education system independent from global science and education. Modern higher education is based on the works of the global scientific community. Thus, it is supposed that in the sphere of higher education, post-globalisation assumes an integrated community and its achievements serve as the base of a new educational standard. This standard is a part of high living and is even with consumption standards, both important parts of sustainable development.

Nordtveit (2010) supposed that there is an opportunity of "uniformisation" as a characteristic of a post-globalisation society. In this society, "the poor would remain poor within a framework of 'justice' and 'liberty'" (Nordtveit, 2010). Some social groups would be excluded from modern education and the knowledge economy, disconnected from information and education systems and,

as a result, would have no chance to escape from these groups. At present the difference in living standards between developed and developing countries is huge. Despite the fact that developed countries declare 'justice', 'liberty' and 'equal rights', they establish their manufacturing in the poorest countries. Many key economic figures include the results of corporation production at overseas factories. In the post-globalisation era each country is going to preserve its achievements and concentrate on national uniqueness. Therefore, developed countries will sustain their positions, especially in the fields of technology creation and education provision.

Even the creation and development of massive open online courses (MOOCs) can not equalize students all over the world. MOOCs are available for everybody (Nikolaevich et al., 2019). However the vast majority of them are in English due to their producers being English native speakers or those who use this language for work. Some courses are payable (about \$50-\$100 each) and all the courses demand high quality Internet for watching educational videos. Videos and communications via the Internet are the basics of MOOCs. Despite the fact that the vast majority of MOOCs are free, there are many underprivileged students in the poorest countries who cannot afford even the access to these courses (Evans and McIntyre, 2014). Thus, it is possible to assume that Salunkhe et al. (2013) are right in their description of the post-global society. It is the society with high quality educational standards and knowledge economy in many countries and, simultaneously, the exclusion of the poorest countries from these processes because of the development gap.

Menon examined modern communities of music and their technological background. He determined the role of their technological-based networks as an instrument of investment attraction. His research found that post-globalisation is understood like an era of stable community relationships in different spheres including economical and financial worlds (Menon, 2013). Moreover, he wrote about hip-hop in Kerala that highlights intercultural connections and membership of developing countries. Menon (2013) and Salunkhe et al. (2013) suggested that post-globalisation era is similar to 'era after globalisation'. They supposed that the post-globalisation world would be quite integrated in different spheres and developed via communities by network principles. Nordtveit (2010) adheres to the same opinion, that post-globalisation would occur when and where the movement of integration of economies would be completed, and when the world would be more or less unified in one capitalist discourse, that he considered equal to "completed globalisation" (Nordtveit, 2010).

Banerjee and Nag (2010) had interesting results. They found that welfare in labour-surplus economies would depend on foreign direct investments. Thus, some groups or even nations could be excluded from international markets due to external impacts. Banerjee and Nag (2010) showed that developed countries still have influence on the development other countries, and the difference between these two groups of countries is incredible. Developed countries create standards of living, consumption, technologies, and education. To be included within these standards, developing countries have to satisfy the minimum requirements and many, unfortunately, do not. These countries cannot evolve without foreign direct investments because they will not satisfy these requirements and have no domestic savings and capital for increased living and educational quality. The same is true for production increases in developing countries.

By looking at continuing analysis of studies that concern India and developing countries, it is important to admit that feminism itself has become in some ways 'unspeakable' and the worst kind of stereotyping (Phadke, 2013). Feminism, which is one of the most significant attributes of the globalization epoch, at present has become a kind of stereotyped behavior that begets new gender and social conflicts. A lot of women have forgotten about the origins of feminism and some have even forgotten about the rights which they were fighting for. Instead of this, they consider feminism as an instrument for obtaining power. Thus, in the post-globalization era, countries and societies reconsider information and dominant social strategies that had been created during globalization era and popularized via mass media. Each country, whether it is developed or developing, concentrates on its own cultural specifics and reconsiders key social concepts of the globalization era. Distinctive characteristic of new media have become cross-cultural film production (Khorana, 2013; Singh, 2012). In other words, each country tries to defend and promote its own culture to other regions of the world and, simultaneously, has become less receptive to foreign cultures.

Along with economic characteristics, Nordtveit (2010) specified cultural characteristics and questioned whether post-globalization society could 'accommodate radical Islam' in case of 'core ideological fundaments of unhindered global exchanges and universal capitalism remain unthreatened'. He discussed the cultural difference exchange and its acceptance during global standardization of economic operations and trading as a new reality of post-globalization society. Thus, the post-global epoch raises an issue of international cultural exchanging and, simultaneously, protection of domestic traditions. Whereas globalization is an era of intensive cultural interchange, post-globalization, as a partly controversial epoch, has to be a period of concentration on national tradition retention.

Moreover, post-globalization is considered to be a new period of stability in contrast to period of rapid development in the globalization era (Kennedy, 2013). Yeralan and Baker (2009) characterized post-globalization as a sustainability system (2009). However, Srirangarajan and Bhaskar (2011) found that post-globalization 'was marked by a sense of insecurity and high stress on both the economic and the employment fronts' (2011). Thus, stability in post-globalization era led to development of insecurity because the new era is significantly different from globalization. Srirangarajan and Bhaskar (2011), in contrast to Menon (2013), Salunke et al. (2013), supposed that society needs more spiritual integration in the post-globalization era.

Simultaneously, Borissov and Hellier (2013) found that post-globalization inequality does not strongly depend on the pre-globalization proportion of skilled workers and of the globalization intensity. Thus, post-globalization is not just a continuation of pre-globalization and globalization periods, it is the result of social, economic, and political transformations that are interconnected with labour quality and efficiency, technology development, and integration into information society.

Nevertheless, the issue of inequality, social development, and economic growth in post-globalization is still quite controversial. Murthy (2010) showed that 'the divide between the poor and the rich in India is getting wider and deeper day by day during globalization and due to privatization (since the 1990's)'. Harvey (2004) presented his conception of accumulation by dispossession that had characterized information society, that social and economic development was guided by four practices: 'privatization, financialization, management and manipulation of crises, and state redistributions'. These practices have been realized with the help of information technology development since the 1970's. However, they do not characterize the post-globalization era, but the

globalization one. In contrast, the post-globalization epoch should be characterized by nationalization, strict monetary policy (expensive money), sustainable development, and stable high standards of living. Possibly, the world is tired of intensive development, high rates of GDP growth, and prefers to concentrate on private standards of living, life quality, and more equal distribution of welfare. This idea correlates with Paul Krugman's (2009) results, that show replacement of the period of rapid growth by sustainable development and personal welfare protection. He showed that periods of rapid growth are usually correlated with high levels of equality in welfare distribution. Sustainable development is the next stage after rapid growth. In the vast majority of cases, authorities are changed in these periods. The new authorities' policy aim is to preserve and multiply the welfare of the richest parts of society.

Some authors connect transnational political violence and globalization. Mohamedou (2013) stated that the end of the globalization era and beginning of post-globalization one would happen simultaneously with the reduction of transnational political violence and political, economic, and technical pressure on developing countries. In other words, he suggested that post-globalization should be characterized by growing power, authority, and independence of developing countries. However, he did not suppose that this would happen without war in any form, including international terrorism. Previously, Benhafaiedh (2006) showed that international terrorism affected foreign education and academic mobility of students from Islamic countries, like Tunisia. As a result, these countries had to develop other forms of mobility, like partnerships with different Mediterranean universities. Simultaneously, Coward (2006) proposed the dual choice between 'statism' and globalization, that was the basis of international relations, led to development of 'post-globalization' nature as phenomena, such as terrorism and the war on terror launched in response.

Bagrova (2016) assumed that post-globalization could be defined as the arrangement of social processes, as opposed to the globalization process that, simultaneously, characterized current social developments. She supposed that post-globalization and globalization processes could occur simultaneously, however, one of them should be dominant. Undoubtedly, post-globalization processes have arisen after globalization ones that currently are not important. Developing her ideas further, Bagrova (2016) supposed that post-globalization was based on advantages and disadvantages of the previous stage — globalization. Thus, globalization determined the post-globalization basis.

The quotation by Kagarlitsky (2015) dedicated to post-globalization is given that

"The global crisis that started in 2008 signaled the end of the era of neo-liberal globalization but not the end of the processes it engendered. In this sense, the present period may be described as the era of 'post-globalization.' It is impossible to overcome the consequences of neo-liberalism without accepting that the current changes are irreversible but by no means final."

Thus, Kagarlitsky (2015) supposed that the era of neo-liberal globalization was over. However, according to events of the fourth quarter of 2016, there was no confidence about it. Nevertheless, post-globalization is becoming a new social trend, even if it is not so obvious now.

2.2 SCIENTIFIC WORKS DEDICATED TO THE END OF THE GLOBALIZATION ERA

There are specific studies dedicated to the end of the globalization era. The vast majority of them analyze globalization as a process that was strongly interconnected with technological development,

information society, development and the extension of financial markets, universal financial and economic values, and liberalization. Moreover, they reasoned that these processes were caused by US foreign policy. Therefore, these studies showed changes in American global power and authority, including economic and military aspects and international policy that affected the globalization process.

Wallerstein (2007) showed that globalization would be fundamentally changed due to the lack of real military victories of the US, which they had substituted by an appearance of victory manufactured by mass media. As a result, authority of the US has reduced significantly. Simultaneously, many political leaders, for instance, Madeleine Albright, asked: "What is the point of having the most powerful armed forces in the world if one can never use them?" The lack of real victories showed that there was no point. Understanding this aspect led to the review of foreign policies, including military, by many developing countries and after all — by globalization process changes. Bello (2006) and Engdahl (2004) stated that the post-globalization epoch would come when developed countries stop attacking developing ones. War in developing countries would not provide any benefits and the 'new cold war' could be stopped (Bello, 2006; Engdahl, 2004).

Social development of the beginning of the XXI century was characterized by the reduction of cultural differences (Amin, 2010) that were determined by capitalism and imperialism. These two forces aligned different cultures, religions, and regions. As a result, in these regions, exploitation of the working class grew substantially. The working class was not provided with the means of improving their livelihood. Amin (2009) supposed that in the epoch after globalization, local cultural societies would become new regions of growth which would develop due to their cultural specifics. Sommers (2009) supposed that technologies created by different countries in the multipolar world led to real social and technical development. He suggested that cultural differentiation would lead to differences in produced technologies. Simultaneously, the multipolar world would provide the opportunity of 'equal' exchange. Thus, Sommers (2009) proposed that after the globalization era, we would see a rise of nation states with developed social structures and mighty governments. These states would be more or less equal to each other and that would determine the multipolar world and lead to technological development.

Robinson and Barrera (2012) found that borders and nationality were used by strong and privileged transnational capital for the maintenance of control and domination over the working class. Moreover, they showed that the working class' division into citizens and immigrants was the core problem of inequality all over the world. This division caused other problems with inequality. Robinson and Barrera supposed that post-globalization society had to be much more equal, especially in the working context.

Thus, the authors of this group proposed that the new 'after-globalized' world should be better than the previous one. They supposed that social equality, agreements instead of war and national state would be the future of the post-globalized world. However, all of them understood that society at the beginning of the XXI century was quite far from these characteristics.

3. METHOD

The article is based on scientific review in the field of post-globalization. Key literature is presented in the previous part. In the main part of the study, tendencies and ideas, presented in the actual scientific literature, are combined, systematized, and analyzed to provide post-globalization and its economic characteristics. As a result, the definition of post-globalization is provided.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 DEFINITION OF POST-GLOBALIZATION

Summarizing the research and the viewpoints of authors from both group, it can concluded that post-globalization is an arrangement of reversed globalization social dynamic processes. These processes have social, economic, cultural, political, and military aspects. Simultaneously, post-globalization is the period of society development. This period has some characteristics. First of all, post-globalization is the period following globalization, when society is globalized enough, and the issue of the national state becomes rather important. The issues of national specifics, especially cultural specifics, have become one of the most discussed. Some authors supposed that post-globalization integrates both global and local tendencies of development and cultural specifics. However, the vast majority of the authors proposed that the defending and developing of national culture have become one of the priorities for the countries in the post-globalization era. Thus, there occurs a growth of investments in order to promote national culture in media and cultural studies. Countries re-evaluate information that has been brought via media in the globalization era and concentrate on their own cultural specifics.

Secondly, after the rapid development in the globalization era, post-globalization is considered to be a new period of stability and an era of stable community relationships in different spheres, including the financial realm. Despite the necessity of growth and development, governments in the post-globalization era do not use just monetary instruments and low interest rate policies.

Thirdly, post-globalization society was defined as one of inequality. The vast majority of the authors consider social equality to be an essential feature of a successful society. Thus, some social groups would be excluded from international systems of exchange, including international markets and access to high quality education due to external impacts. Similar inequality would develop between countries. As a result, some working class groups will be disconnected from information systems which will lead to the fact that the vast majority of their members will have no chance of escape from these groups.

Fourthly, post-globalization should be characterized by the growth of power, authority, and the independence of developing countries. However, scientists did not agree what tendencies would bring this change in global socio-economic development. Some of them supposed that this would not happen without a war in some form, including international terrorism. Others proposed that these countries could develop their own technologies based on national cultural specifics.

Fifthly, post-globalization should be the process of social adaptation to the new level of international integrity, interdependence, and interconnection, which is based on the change of how physical borders, distance, and space are perceived. Meanwhile, post-globalization is not just the

continuation of pre-globalization and globalization periods, it is a result of social, economic, and political transformations that are interconnected with labour quality.

4.2 ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF POST-GLOBALIZATION

In the previous part, the definition of post-globalization was given. In this part, economic characteristics at this stage of global development are discussed. Following that, the author compares economic characteristics or globalization and post-globalization stages.

The national state becomes very important at the post-globalization stage in all spheres of social development, including economy, culture, politics, and others. Due to this fact, the economy of many countries will be oriented on national production development instead of production transfer into developing countries. For example, J. Trump induces American companies to return nation production to US territory. Simultaneously, during the globalization stage, exports have been one of the most important economic indicators. During post-globalization, domestic demand and consumption are important. The defending and developing of national culture becomes a priority for the countries in the post-globalization era. Therefore, investments in these fields have to grow substantially.

In the post-globalization era, sustainable development oriented on the quality of present and future life and consumption will be the basis of economic growth. In other words, society will move from the predominance of quantity estimations to quality ones. Undoubtedly, economic and financial figures will be important but they will not be the key indicators of life quality.

National state protection and defence will lead to increasing gaps between different countries, especially between developed and developing. In the globalization era, several countries, such as Japan, South Korea, and China, caught up to the development model. This model was based on exports of goods in several rapid growing industries, which led to intensive development of the country's economy and a substantial raise of GDP per capita. In the post-globalization stage, concentration on national production and consumption will lead to import and, as a result, export reduction. Thus, developing countries will lose an opportunity of catch up and develop. This statement does not mean that developing countries will have no opportunity for economic growth at all, but it should be based on domestic market extension. This type of development takes more time.

Social adaptation to new levels of international integrity will lead to the increase in value of agriculture and other basic industries. Each country or group of countries will try to create and grow a more independent economy system then in the globalization era. This independence, first of all, will be based on separate food production, then on some technological manufacturing. Therefore, some domestic producers in telecommunication, vehicle, and IT industries can promote their goods. This process will be take place in several countries simultaneously. The effectiveness of developing domestic companies will depend on government politics in the field of separation from other countries.

Thus, key changes in global development during the post-globalization era in comparison with the globalization era can be combined into Table 1.

Table 1. Key differences in global development at the globalization and post-globalization stages

	1	
Sphere of changes	Globalization stage	Post-globalization stage
production placement	production transfer into developing	domestic production
	countries	
basis of economic growth	export	domestic demand and consumption
key industries	industries with increasing economic scale;	industries oriented on the domestic
	industries with unified products that can	market; import-substituting
	be sold all over the world; industries that	industries; industries that develop
	export culture values or promote unified	and defend national cultural values
	cultural values	
economy politic priorities	extension on foreign markets	protection of domestic market
directions of business	international, market extension	domestic, import-substituting
development		
key measures of effectiveness	quantitative	qualitative
government and social	cultural change, integration into	national culture, values and economy
priorities	international organizations and	protection
	communities	
level of social inequality	economic gap increases in many cases and	sustainable; developing countries
	decreases in several (catch up	can grow quicker or slower than
	development)	developed ones; development
		become more independent on each
		other

Thus, at the post-globalization stage, many business and economic processes will be changed. Domestic production, import-substituting industries, and industries that promote and protect national culture and values will develop rapidly. The role of export will reduce and the rode of domestic demand and consumption will increase. The most important characteristic of this period of development will be separation of domestic economies from integrated international society that influence on all spheres of production.

The large number of authors considered globalization as a cycle process (Djachaya, 2014; Galinskaya, 2006; Hasanshina, 2011; Mazrui, 1996; Kalburgi, 1995; Aggarwal, 2011). For instance, the age of discovery is considered to be the first stage of globalization (Axtmann, 1998). Moreover, some other authors supposed that globalization is a cycle process that is similar to Kondratiev waves, Kitchin cycle, Juglar cycle, and Kuznets swing (Korotayev and Tsirel, 2010). Undoubtedly, periods of globalization are very different from these phenomena. However, the authors assumed that they had the same nature.

Bagrova (2016) assumed that four stages of post-globalization could be defined as

- mercantilism (XVI-XVIII centuries),
- protectionism (the second half of XIX century),
- 'cold war' age,
- upcoming period of post-globalization.

It could be noticed that all of these periods had some similar characteristics which were formulated above, especially in the sphere of national economy and welfare protection. Thus, in each of the periods, issues of national state and development of national production were extremely important as well as monetary, financial, and economic stabilization; social inequality and rights of different classes and interactions between developing countries (colonies) were more or less stable

without any dramatic changes. Undoubtedly, each of these periods have dealt with social adaptation to the new level of international integrity, which were archived at the previous stage of globalization. For mercantilism, the most important social changes took place during the Age of Discovery. For protectionism, it was the development of manufacturing, international trade, and specialization. For the 'cold war' age, it was colonialism, imperialism, and the world wars. It could be considered that the basis of the upcoming period of post-globalization would be informatization, financification, and informational imperialism (Harvey, 2004; Webster, 2006).

5. CONCLUSION

It can said that modern post-globalization has just arisen and developed as an arrangement of social processes, including educational, economic, political, military, and cultural. Post-globalization took place simultaneously with globalization. Meanwhile, the first of them has not become so obvious yet.

The post-globalization stage will be characterized by many changes in social and economic global development. It will lead to the development of a new kind of world. In this world, opinions and dominant philosophical ideas about economy will be substantially different from the current ones. At present, the key directions of philosophical thought about post-globalization were discussed. Many of these thoughts are interconnected with economic ideas and behaviours. In the article, key differences were presented in the global economic development during the globalization and post-globalization stages.

The main disadvantage and limit of the presented research is lack of valid information about the post-globalization stage. This stage is going to start in different parts of the world, but it has not become extremely obvious at the present. Thus, in circumstances of trustworthy information deficit, the research can be based only on previous studies and mentions of the post-globalization era. Definitely, they cannot be exhaustive. However, previous research which combines different opinions and covers many scientific fields can provide the most extensive and valid definition of post-globalisation that is possible.

6. AVAILABILITY OF DATA AND MATERIAL

The research is partially based on open PISA data. No data is obtained from this stidy.

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