

Globalization, Individualization and the New Political Cleavages

**An Empirical Study on the Rise of the Free Logotypes as a
Transnational Class**

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Abstract

Two central characteristics of globalisation are individualisation and destabilisation of political life. These trends express themselves through political cleavages around which new social groups are mobilized. Some of them are suppliers of knowledge and create a power base through their competence and creativity. In a study based on 15 years surveys we show that this new social group, the Free Logotypes, are two: Self-improvers and World-improvers. Self-improvers have their social base in production of economic values. World-improvers have their social base in production of social values. These differences affect the potential for democratic citizenship and globalized political actions.

1. New political cleavages

Which are the new relevant political cleavages in a globalized world? In this paper we argue that the two most central characteristics of globalisation could be described as an increased individualisation and a destabilisation of the political life. These two trends express themselves through new political cleavages. Well-known sociologist Manuel Castells and political scientist Richard Florida have – independent of each other - identified a new social group that Castells calls “informational producers” and Florida calls “the Creative Class”. This new group are suppliers of knowledge and they create a power base through their individual competence and their individual creativity. We argue, in contrast to Castells and Florida, that this new social group is not one group, but two. This categorization is important though the consequences for national systems of political representation and interest in globalized politics will, as we will see, differ between them. Although both groups are created through increased individualisation and destabilisation, they are politically mobilized through different values and prefer different political actions in a globalized political framework. On the base of a huge empirical study – based on 15 years annual surveys with an entire sum of 35000 individuals – we argue that a plausible hypothesis is that this new social group, the *Free Logotypes* as we call them, should be divided in two groups: *self-improvers* and *world-improvers* depending on their social bases. Both groups are high educated and skilled, they have leading posts in their respective branch and their number is growing. The group of self-improvers has their social base in sectors which promote economic value; they work in profit-based branches and seek firstly a life with joy, excitement, career and freedom. The group of world-improvers has their social base in sectors that promote social values; they work for common goods and seek firstly a life with equality, utility and social order.¹

Political cleavages are formed gradually and through conflict. In political sociology, the seminal work of Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan entitled “Cleavage structures, party systems and voter alignments” from 1967 continues to dominate the discussion on political cleavages.² Lipset and Rokkan identified four primary cleavages emerging from the

¹ This paper is part of the so-called MIP program (Modernity, Identity, Power) at Göteborg University. The MIP program is a collaborative endeavor between political science and sociology examining globalization issues focusing on individualization and destabilization. Göteborg University’s strong social science profile in empirical democracy research and the unique statistical database in the fields of political behaviour and media and communication studies have been collected since the 1950’s contributes to creating excellent foundation for such an environment.

² Reprinted in Mair 1990.

national and industrial revolutions. When nation-states were formed, conflicts emerged between the central elite and local opposition (center-periphery conflict) and between the religious and secular authorities (church-state conflict). When the industrial revolution spread throughout Western Europe, conflicts arose between those engaged in the primary form of production – agriculture – and those who relied on the secondary industry (rural-urban conflict), as well as between those who owned the means of production in industry and those who owned only their labor (capital-labor conflict). From these four conflicts, Western Europe has developed four primary cleavages based on region, religion, rural-urban and class.

In most countries, the strongest cleavage has been the class-based left-right distinction, but many countries have and have had crossing cleavages. Political parties normally express some of these cleavages and are forced to adapt themselves to the dominant cleavages in the country.

There is a controversy about how to define the concept 'cleavage' so that it promotes an understanding of societal conflicts. Douglas W Rae and Michael Taylor, both political scientists, argue that there three different types of cleavages.³ The *ascriptive* or *trait cleavages* regard different decided categories that are possible to belong or not belong to, based on for example sex (man-woman), religion (catholic-protestant), ethnicity (hutu-tutsi) or class (capitalist-worker). The *attitudinal* or *opinion cleavages* regard differences between individuals or groups in a society. The *behavioural* or *art cleavages* regard different forms of behaviour or acting as for example voting or membership in organizations.

But Rae and Taylor's classification has met strong objections, most distinctly formulated by the two political scientists Stefano Bartolini and Peter Mair. Bartolini and Mair emphasize that every political relevant cleavage has a socio-economic base and that Rae and Taylor's three cleavages actually are three aspects of one and only cleavage.⁴ In addition, Bartolini and Mair argue that every cleavage has three levels: an *empirical* element, which can be defined in socio-economic terms (e.g. social class), a *normative* element, regarding a collective identity (e.g. the feeling of belonging to a social class) and an *organizational/behavioural* element, (e.g. class based parties or labour market organizations) regarding the growth of parties and organizations on the ground of a collective identity.

³ Rae & Taylor 1970.

⁴ Bartolini & Mair 1990.

In this paper we address, by using the concept ‘cleavage’, *the pattern of conflicts between groups of people*. These patterns should have a *social base* and also have had taken the form of *value differences* and some kind of *behaviour*, like organizing a party, interest group or social movement, or political protests as demonstrations or campaigns, and other ways of promoting one’s interests. A cleavage therefore demands some kind of conflict of interest or perceived conflict of interest, with base in social conditions. In this respect primarily Bartolini and Mair have influenced us.

The national revolution and industrial revolution – using Lipset’s and Rokkan’s concepts – had profound consequences for how European and western democracies developed. We argue – maybe not too surprisingly - that the communication revolution is the third step in this democratic development, and it will have as profound consequences as the earlier two steps. The communication revolution has – through the development of transportation and information technology – changed the meaning of territory in relation to power and identity. The changed significance of territory, in our view, constitutes the most central element of the globalization process.⁵ The changed significance of territory drains the power base of the nation state, which is based on sovereignty over a limited territory. At the same time, non-state actors play an ever-increasing role in international politics.

Sociologist Manuel Castells observes that the communication revolution created a new geometry of power: *the network society*.⁶ The network society is characterized, among other things, by a shift in the social and technical relationships of production. The process that rules the informational global economy is the push for productivity and competitiveness. Productivity, Castells notes, occurs mainly through *innovation*, while competitiveness occurs mainly through *flexibility*. An essential component in the creation of innovation and flexibility is information technology. Under informational capitalism, labor is redefined and differentiated according to worker traits. The most important characteristic of the labor force is its capacity to meet the fluctuating needs of particular work tasks. Those who possess this capacity are also able to reprogram themselves according to the continuously changing demands of the production process.

⁵ Compare Giddens 1990, Held & McGrew 1999, Jönsson, Jerneck, Stenelo 2001.

⁶ Castells 1996, 1997, 2000.

In the new society that is growing from the seeds of individualization, new cleavages and conflicts are therefore created.⁷ Alongside the professional role categories associated with industrial capitalism, today's society is also characterized by destabilization.⁸ There no longer exist stable power elites in the same way as before. Peoples' identities tend to be more fluid, since they are not rooted in stable and lasting professional roles or social groups.

In this network society, Castells identify a new political cleavage between those who participate in the new networks, the *informational producers*, and those Castells calls *the replaceable general labor*.⁹ Richard Florida identifies a group similar to the informational producers, but Florida calls this group for the *Creative Class*. As Castells, Florida argues that we now have an economy powered by human creativity, and that creativity is now the decisive source of competitive advantage.¹⁰ More workers than ever control the means of production because it is inside their heads; they are the means of production.¹¹ "Being newly emergent, the Creative Class does not yet have the awareness of itself, as a class, that is needed. For the most part, Creative Class people persist in defining themselves by their differences: They are engineers or artists, boomers or X-ers, liberals or conservatives, urbanites or suburbanites. Members of the Creative Class have been widely criticized as uninvolved and Me-oriented."¹² The Creative Class also shares a common creative ethos that values creativity, individuality, difference and merit.¹³

2. Our contribution – the Free Logotypes as self-improvers and world-improvers

In order to examine the intellectual value of Castells' and Florida's ideas, we believe that it is important to shed empirical light on the role of informational producers and the Creative Class in the knowledge-generation process. In the same way that people under capitalism sold their labour to the capitalist who was prepared to buy it and pay a certain price for it, so the

⁷ Already in 1971 Ronald Inglehart launched his ideas about the silent revolution, where a post-industrialist society were said to cause value changes in a post-materialist direction.

⁸ Inglehart 1977, Franklin 1992, Thompson et al 1999.

⁹ Castells 1996, 1997, 2000. Castells also identifies two other significant political "groups"; *the global financial markets, and their networks of management* as being a collective capitalist and *the discarded individuals whose value as workers/consumers is used up*, and whose relevance as people is ignored.

¹⁰ Florida 2002.

¹¹ Florida 2002 p 37.

¹² Florida 2002 p 315.

¹³ Florida 2002 p 8. Florida identifies two other classes in the society; the Service Class and the Working Class p 75.

producer of information sells its labour on the market to whoever wants to buy it and pay a certain price for it. The main difference is that under industrial capitalism, one worker was exchangeable with another – under information capitalism instead, one information producer is *not* exchangeable with another. Because innovation, creativity and special knowledge are the basis of productivity and the value added process, each producer of information has a unique competence profile. The position of a unique bearer of competence gives the information producer power and self-interest and makes them individualists.

We believe it is inappropriate to refer to this group as informational producers, since their activities range far beyond the mere production of information. Instead, we have chosen to apply the term *free logotypes* to describe this group. Free logotypes are typical network people. While it is quite possible that they are employed in salaried jobs rather than free in the strict sense, their social characteristics, work tasks and interests render them theoretically relevant and interesting. Not only do they possess special knowledge of various types, they are also creative and entrepreneurial. They are their own commodity, marketable in terms of their value and their logo.¹⁴ In the workplace, free logotypes tend to be situated in the higher echelons and generally carry out some form of leadership. *However, our thesis here is that they are not one group but two.* Our understanding is that the network society cannot liberate itself from the social bases of economic and social production and reproduction. Interests and aims are created in a mutual development between the new information agenda and the old production based agenda. We argue therefore that while the free logotypes share operational arenas and driving forces, their social bases differ. Social bases are still important explanations for group opinions and values.¹⁵ The work of the first group is based on capitalism (finance, corporate interests and services) and its members are driven by a *desire to improve the self*. The second group is based on the public good (public information, debate, health care, protection, elder care, legal justice, etc.) and its members are driven by a *desire to improve the world*. In this essay we have chosen to call the first group *self-improvers* and the second group *world-improvers*.¹⁶ Note that both categories are ideal types.¹⁷

¹⁴ The free logotypes are, to a greater degree than other groups, subject to what media researcher John B. Thompson calls mediated experiences. They try to find a balance between, on the one hand, feelings of responsibility for people they do not know and interests that their mediated experience provides, and, on the other, the demands and obligations of practical daily life. See Thompson et al 1995, chapter 7. Media research has also shown that it is the well educated and skilled citizens who are most influenced by the media content. See Asp 1986, p 203-214.

¹⁵ Holmberg & Oscarsson 2004 chapter three.

¹⁶ There is a philosophical dichotomy between, for example, communitarians and liberals. Nothing stands in the way of self-realization being able to contribute to a good society in the same way that self-interest is rationally

Florida also talks about two groups within the Creative Class. But Florida's classification is more about which degree of centrality the individuals have within the Creative Class; the Super-Creative Core (which regularly works with the highest form of creative works, like producing new forms or designs that are readily transferable and widely useful) and the broader group of Creative Professionals (which consists of persons who work in a wide range of knowledge-intensive industries) (p 69).¹⁸

The purpose of this paper is to empirically examine whether the different groups of free logotypes are identifiable in terms of their social characteristics, values and behaviour. This, in turn, will lay the foundation for a discussion of the analytical utility of this new cleavage.

What, then, are the social characteristics that distinguish these two groups of free logotypes? In our definition, the first group - self-improvers - are they whose work tasks primarily revolve around the objective of maximizing profit (economic, political or cultural) for whom-ever is paying for their services. The main idea has been to pool together groups of professions where profit maximization is of central importance. To some extent these groups can be regarded as part of society's "gesellschaft", or production of economic value. The dictum of profit maximization renders self-improvers (at least superficially) non-ideological. They are "fixers", willing to work with different issues depending on their competence and interest area. In this essay, self-improvers have been operationalized as: professional groups such as architects, economists, accountants, lawyers, systems managers and programmers, entrepreneurs, salesmen and advertisers, personnel managers, security professionals and artists.¹⁹

The second group – world-improvers – consists mainly of employers or contractors whose work tasks primarily revolve around the objective of problem solving (economic, political or

seen as leading to a good allocation of values. In other words, there is nothing pejorative in the terminology. See for example Sen 1987.

¹⁷ Philosopher John Kekes describes this as "the conflict between the moral and the aesthetic modes of reflection." The key to moral reflection is moral principles, while the key to aesthetic reflection is the creative realization of the true self (Kekes 2000, p 144). See also Sören Kierkegaard's three stages in a person's development from banal to mature: aesthetic, ethical and religious.

¹⁸ See also Gouldner 1979. Gouldner makes a distinction between the intellectuals and the intelligentsia, within the new class as a Social Bourgeoisie.

¹⁹ The professional codes used here are those appearing in The Swedish National Election Surveys developed by Prof Bo Särilvik and published in Gilljam et al 1991. The following codes have been used to classify self-improvers: 015, 022, 042, 043, 044, 045, 047, 081, 084, 085, 086, 133, 134, 135, 174, 311, 314, 315, 316, 334, 335, 336, 912, 914.

cultural). They choose activities based on their competence and the values they wish to promote. The main idea has been to pool together groups of professions where problem solving is of central importance. To some extent all of these groups can be regarded as belonging to society's "gemeinschaft", or social (i.e. non-economic) value. In this essay, world-improvers have been operationalized as: professional groups such as journalists, translators, librarians, and teachers in higher education, researchers, social workers, clergymen, bureaucrats, officers, judicial public servants and police officers.²⁰

The first group – self-improvers - uses their logotype to strengthen its value on the market. The second group – world-improvers – uses their logotypes to influence political and social developments according to their values.

Both groups are in some way "authority-busters". The self-improvers are authority-busters because the principle of profit maximization undermines all forms of authority. World-improvers are authority-busters because the zeal to improve the world undermines all forms of authority.

Our objective here is to examine and prove the existence of these two groups, both of which fall into the category of what Castells call "informational producers" and that Florida call the Creative Class. Our contribution is to discuss whether this group itself contains different interests. If this is the case, there might be reason to think that a new cleavage is forming and that it is generating new political configurations. In other words, the communication revolution may have created more distinctions than the one identified by Castells and Florida as those who operate within networks and those who lie outside them. Testing this in Sweden is not in any sense a critical case, but instead a possibility to identify these new groups. If they

²⁰ The professional codes used here are those appearing in The Swedish National Election Surveys developed by Prof Bo Särilvik and published in Gilljam et al 1991. The following codes have been used to classify world-improvers: 034, 035, 064, 065, 066, 091, 094, 114, 115, 116, 121, 124, 125, 164, 165, 955, 956, 984, 985.

Our classification can be compared with Florida's, which in the Super-Creative Core counts "Scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers and architects, non-fiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts and other opinion-makers, and in the group Creative Professionals counts people working within knowledge-intensive industries such as high-tech sectors, financial services, the legal and health care professions, and business management (Florida 2002, p 69).

The professions assigned to the two groups seem in most of the cases obvious, whereas other remains disputable (e.g artists and architects as self-improvers versus translators as world-improvers). For example, artists could use their competence for political purposes, trying to create a better world. Translators could use their competence for economic purposes, trying to facilitate their employers' relations with business partners from other countries. But as a whole we mean that architects and artists more are handling some form of cultural or economic profit maximizing, while translators are handling problem-solving issues.

do not exist in Sweden they hardly exist in other globalized regions.²¹ Sweden has been a strong industrial society with its economic base in forestry, mining, steel, paper, cars and other traditional industrial products. During the last decades Sweden has undergone a huge transformation and is now one of the most IT-intense societies in the world, both at the consumer level and at the production level. The traditionally Swedish industry with Volvo, SAAB and STORA has nowadays foreign owners, and the high tech of the future is now produced by the communication industry at small firms and entrepreneurs in the Stockholm suburb Kista or the little town Mölndal, just beside the second city Göteborg. Sweden has also been one of the countries that had, regarding its population, received most refugees and immigrants in Europe. The traditional strong welfare regime in Sweden has been eroding during the 90's and many of the political solutions have been adapted to EU-practice. In sectors as alcohol, social insurance and labour market Swedish policy is not any longer an exception. Still, there are some Swedish characteristics of the general welfare policy in the politics of equality between men and women and education. Unemployment insurance also differs from other western countries by using the so called Gent system, a system where labour unions administrate unemployment insurance. Taken together we do not find these welfare differences strong enough to influence the social bases of the free logotypes. In Sweden the left-right axis is the most prominent among European parliamentary democracies and class-voting has been the highest in the world but has decreased. Taken together Sweden should be an excellent case for testing the hypothesis of the two groups of *free logotypes*.

However, it could also be the case that finding these groups in Sweden indicates nothing else than detecting a special Swedish blend of social classes. How are we going to defend the thesis that the free logotypes exist in broader field, and especially that they are divided in two groups? Primarily, nobody has tested if Castell's informational producers exist outside his theoretical world. Castell's work uses empirical data as illustration and our study can instead be a step forward in confirming if there is any relevance in the empirical world for this group of free logotypes. Second, the divide between the two groups is not expected to be worldwide, rather it has its most promotional environment in Sweden – as argued above. But, given the theoretical assumptions for finding the divide, we find it very unlikely that Sweden should be the only country in the world with these characteristics. Furthermore, we have no indication

²¹ Another reason, more methodological driven, is the extremely well administered Swedish national surveys each year since 1970s, run by Department of Political Science and also by the SocietyOpinionMedia (SOM)-institute – both at Göteborg University – and lead by prof Sören Holmberg and prof Lennart Weibull. These time series has hardly any comparison anywhere else.

of that the social basis in Sweden differs so much from for example, Norway, Denmark, Great Britain or the Netherlands that this divide should be nation specific.

This study takes the first step toward identifying these logotype profiles by examining the correlation between sets of social characteristics, values and behaviour. In previous research, we have suggested the existence of a group that can be described as “free logotypes” by illustrating that among young people (under 30), there is a correlation between education and attachment to territory, political engagement and alienation.²² Higher education levels correlated with lower degrees of territorial identity, greater engagement in broad social issues, increased tolerance for differences, increased trust in other people, increased satisfaction with one’s own life and lower consumption of TV entertainment. The weakness of this research was that the social characteristics were limited to education, since the study consisted only of people between the ages of 15 and 30.

In this study we wish to refine the analysis by attempting to establish a distinction on the basis of social characteristics between the two groups of free logotypes we call self-improvers and world-improvers. *Our focus is on identifying self-improvers and world-improvers.*

In theory, the number of people who could be categorized as free logotypes should be increasing. The first wave would be expected in the aftermath of the 1968 social upheavals and another wave would be expected in the aftermath of the cold war. Given that the communication revolution has led to deregulation and individualization, we should be able to see a trend whereby the aggregate group of free logotypes increases in size.

Figure 1 about here

Figure 1 shows that the proportion of respondents who can be categorized as free logotypes increases during the period 1986 to 2000 from ten to just under eighteen percent. The expected increase after the end of the cold war in 1989 is also present. As shown in Figure 2, however, the relation between the two groups changes over this period. The group we call world-improvers increases relative to the group of self-improvers. At the end of the period the groups are the same size.

²² Bjereld & Demker 2002, 2003.

Figure 2 about here

Figure 2 shows that the number of self-improvers peaks in the mid-1990 while the number of world-improvers has raised steadily since the early 1990's. One possible explanation for this trend might be the decrease in the number of public sector employees following the economic crisis of the early 1990's. In the last few years, however, we can see that the entire group of free logotypes has increased to the point where both groups are now equally large - about nine percent of the population.

Free logotypes tend to be men. Taken as an aggregate group, 41 percent of the free logotypes are female while 59 percent are male. The skewed gender distribution is largely attributable to the category of self-improvers, 67 percent of who are male and only 33 percent of who are female. Among world-improvers the distribution is quite even – 51 percent female and 49 percent male.

As expected, free logotypes are underrepresented in the youngest age category of 25 or under. A free logotype is not likely to have developed his or her value before finishing school. World-improvers are somewhat underrepresented among 25 to 40 year olds, while self-improvers are over-represented in this group. Among 40 to 60 year olds, free logotypes as a whole are somewhat over-represented.

The results also show an expected pattern of geographic residence. Considering the educational background of this group, most free logotypes tend to live in cities or larger towns. Within this overall pattern, however, we find that world-improvers are more likely to live in less densely populated areas than self-improvers, who are more likely to live in or around Sweden's three largest cities.

3. Our hypothesis – differences on values and behaviour between self-improvers and world-improvers

We have chosen to focus on the social characteristics, values and behaviour of the free logotypes. The social characteristics form the base of a theoretically driven assumption from

which the existence of two groups have been hypothesized. Behavioural and value patterns can be studied with the help of extensive survey data collected over a 15 year period.²³ Because of the communication revolution material resources and social bases has got a new meaning, leading towards new cleavages. Our hypothesis is here that the free logotypes could be divided in two groups which have distinctive value and opinion characteristics. Self-improvers, whose social environment is characterized by the centrality of economic gain, will be much more likely to engage in profit maximizing activity or self-promotion. They will also prioritize values that maximize free trade for the individual, even if this is at the cost of the collective. Self-improvers will have most trust in members of their own group.

World-improvers, on the other hand, will not only be more likely to behave in an altruistic manner, but will display a greater tendency toward activity in the public arena. In order to enhance their “world-changing” value, world-improvers must be public. World-improvers will prioritize values that promote the maintenance of socially accepted norms. World-improvers will have most trust in those who belong to one’s own group, but also in those who represent social norms and the social system.

We predict, therefore, that the behavioural differences between self-improvers and world-improvers will look as follows:

Media consumption: self-improvers will consume less so-called ‘serious’ news programming than will world-improvers. Self-improvers will assign greater value to economic and technical information, while world-improvers will assign greater value to debate and public affairs information.

Private sphere: Self-improvers will purchase fewer ‘green’ products, which are more expensive, and they will be less likely to belong to idealistic organizations. They will be more likely to trade on the stock market and dine at restaurants. Self-improvers will be less likely to donate money.

²³ The results are based on National SOM Surveys during the period 1986-2001 that contains the respective indicators listed in Tables 1 and 2 above. Since 1986, the SOM (Society, Opinion, Media) study, a yearly nationwide survey, has been carried out every fall in the form of a mail questionnaire to selected respondents aged 15 to 80. The core questions cover attitudes toward the mass media, politics, and public services. The response rate is regularly above 60 percent, in 1986 65 percent, in 2001 61 percent. The highest score is 67 percent (1987, 1992) and the lowest 59 percent (2000). The surveys are administrated by the SOM Institute at Göteborg University. The SOM Institute is managed by professors Sören Holmberg, Lennart Nilsson and Lennart Weibull.

Ns for each indicator in this study range from 157 to 4,349 persons. The total sample size is 32,610 persons. We would like to extend special thanks to Associate Professor Henrik Oscarsson for excellent advice and practical assistance.

Social engagement: Self-improvers will discuss politics and society less often and participate in fewer demonstrations than world-improvers.

Furthermore, we predict that the value patterns of self-improvers and world-improvers will look as follows:

Trust and view of society: Self-improvers will have less trust in social institutions but more trust in professional business and technical groups than world-improvers.

Work life: Self-improvers will place higher priority on individual conditions such as good economic prospects, maneuverability and corporate issues than will world-improvers.

Culture: Self-improvers will prioritize individual choice while world-improvers will value the preservation of established social norms.

World view: the world view of self-improvers will be based on freedom of choice and opportunities for the individual, while that of world-improvers will be to protect and enhance benefits and opportunities for the collective.

In order for the hypothesis of two free logotype groups to receive support, the analysis must reveal a substantial number of differences between the groups in terms of both behaviour and values. We have selected indicators from the aggregate SOM data 1986-2001 that we consider to be most relevant in establishing the presence or absence of distinct groups within the general category of free logotypes. The results are presented in Tables 1 and 2 below.

4. Analysis

We have examined the behaviour of both groups by looking at questions about media consumption, private activity and social involvement. The results display a pattern whereby a difference between the two groups appears in each subset of the hypothesis. The greatest differences appear in terms of private activity. However, all significant differences move in a direction that is consistent with the hypothesis.

Media consumption of serious news among self-improvers is lower than among world-improvers, and self-improvers prioritize business and technology more than world-improvers. World-improvers listen, read and watch more news and prioritize environmental and public affairs material to a greater extent than do self-improvers. Self-improvers, on the other hand,

read their news more often on the Internet than do world-improvers, while world-improvers participate in debate forums on the Internet more often than self-improvers.

In terms of private activity, world-improvers are more often members of political parties, environmental groups and donate money more often to charity organizations than do self-improvers. Self-improvers trade more on the stock market than do world-improvers. Self-improvers are less engaged in public life than are world-improvers in that they discuss politics and participate less in demonstrations than world-improvers.

Table 1 about here

We have examined each group's values by looking at questions about their trust in other societal groups and institutions. We have also looked at their views on politics, work life and culture as well as their perceptions of the importance of certain basic values. We conclude that even here there are differences in all subsets but one, and in each individual significant case except three the differences move in the direction of the hypothesis.

Self-improvers have less trust in government, labor unions and political parties than do world-improvers, but more trust in large business corporations. Self-improvers also have more trust in professional business and technical associations, as well as professional associations in information and advertising.

Self-improvers are less interested in politics than world-improvers. In the workplace, world-improvers place higher priority on the meaningfulness of the work to society than self-improvers. Self-improvers display more allowable cultural views than world-improvers. They are more critical of film and video censorship and less worried about 'reality TV shows' than are world-improvers.

Differences in basic values between self-improvers and world-improvers are apparent in the areas of equality, enjoyment, a clean world, environmental degradation and self-realization. Self-improvers place a higher value on self-realization than do world-improvers, while world-improvers assign higher priority to equality, wisdom, logical thinking, a clean world and environmental issues than do self-improvers.

Table 2 about here

Taken together, our analysis suggests that there is a difference in behaviour and values between the two groups of free logotypes we have labelled self-improvers and world-improvers. We are well aware that the differences generally are small; only twelve out of 67 items differed with more than ten units. But only five out of 67 items differed the wrong way (according to the hypothesis) or differed not at all. It means that 62 of 67 items – 93 percent differed in a way that was theoretically anticipated. And most of these items are statistically significant on the .95 or .99 level.

In our basic assumption, we held that both groups are individualists and that both display social characteristics influenced by the communication revolution. We added that we can also detect the emergence of a new cleavage within the category that Castells and Florida calls “informational producers” and “the Creative Class”, and which we call “free logotypes”. This conflict between self-improvers and world-improvers could carve out a new cleavage in western society, a cleavage whose social characteristics cluster around a higher profile of communication technology, knowledge and the individual and a lower profile of territory, hierarchy and the collective.

5. Conclusion and proposal for future research

What consequences will the increasing proportion of free logotypes in the population have for the function of national representative democracy? If it is the case that free logotypes distance themselves from the political community where they are guaranteed just the freedom and manoeuvrability their operations demand, this will undermine solidarity in the community. This self-distancing of free logotypes will in that case widen the gaps between them and the rest of the population, who will in turn risk a lower quality of life and fewer life choices.

If the new cleavage exists not only between the general workforce and the free logotypes, but also within the group of free logotypes, then representation along the old divisions will be obsolete. Such a situation lends itself to nothing other than the most superficial form of representative democracy. We consider it quite complicated for a society to arrive at common solu-

tions through a deliberative process in an individualist society where one group – with considerable power – has considerably doubt about the value of a common citizenship. For the same reasons, the idea of strong participation either through decision-making processes or actual decision-making could be seen as alien.²⁴ If free logotypes insulate themselves from the national political community, then even electoral democracy will not function smoothly and effectively, because it presumes that citizens are related to each other in some way other than simply having the right to vote in the same country.

To answer the question about how the appearance of the free logotypes as a new class will affect the representative democracy, we need to compare the values and behaviour of the free logotypes with the values and behaviour of other social groups or classes. We know that in the issue of Sweden belonging to the Economic Monetary Union (EMU) the free logotypes is different from other social groups or classes in the society. Both groups take a more positive stance towards EMU-membership, but at the same time the groups also differs. Self-improvers are much more positive to EMU than the world improvers. Both groups tends to look at EMU as an instrument for reducing the power of national sovereignty and widen the power of market economy, but self improvers like what they see which world improvers do not.²⁵

Another example is the issue if it is really true that the free logotypes are more individualistic and have less trust in social institutions than the group that Castells call “the general workforce”? Two pilot studies about the subject indicate that the free logotypes as a group are more political engaged and less bounded to the territory than the population as a whole.²⁶

If the two aggregates of professional codes shall be considered as two distinct social groups, we also need to analyse the degree of internal homogeneity (in terms of the examined variables of social characteristics, values and behaviour) between the different professional codes assigned to one group. We also need to analyse whether the differences that have been found can be attributed to the general social group as such, or to only a few of the involved profes-

²⁴ Robert Dahl means that in a more democratic society than our western ones, citizens should have political resources needed to participate in political life on, in principle at any rate, an even footing. (Dahl 1989). But here there is no consideration of if people want to participate in a political community that they themselves have not actively chosen. Dahl assumes that the lack of political resources is the only hindrance to equal participation. Our analysis suggests that the extent of political resources is one of the interesting limiting factors only when/if the political community is perceived as genuine.

²⁵ Bjereld & Demker 2004.

²⁶ Bergquist 2003.

sional codes. It is, for example, rather obvious that self-improvers have more trust in advertising people, since advertising people themselves are included in this group.

In Sweden the left-right axis has been completely dominant in a way unique to the western world, and attempts to launch new political parties along new cleavages have been unsuccessful.²⁷ By identifying the two groups of free logotypes we have taken a first step towards identifying possible new cleavages regarding the globalization. When finding these groups in the Swedish society we have shown that the cleavage is not only a theoretical possibility, but that there are also empirical indicators hopefully would lead to further research, primarily in the post-industrialist societies of the Western world.

The group “world-improvers” contains more women than the group “self-improvers”. We are aware that a number of differences in values and behaviour can be attributed to gender. However, our aim here is not to explain the differences between the groups but rather to identify their existence as part of a test and development of Castells’ and Florida’s ideas, thus the gender differences appearing in the groups are not a problem, either for theory or methodology.

The free logotypes have taken literally Sören Kirkegaard’s notion that the individual must leave the mass and go his or her own way. But one group seems to do this with its own welfare in mind. This type of individualism tends to slide into egoism and self-righteousness. This attitude comes into conflict with the other group of free logotypes (world-improvers) whose actions seem to seek to protect collective values and social rule systems. This type of individualism, however, risks sliding into nostalgia and destructive doctrinaire rule. Conflict within the free logotype category does not yet seem to have taken any organized form.²⁸ The next stage in the study of free logotypes is to identify the allocation of values among the free logotypes and the rest of the citizenry with the aim of identifying the degree of articulation and aggregation of conflict along the new cleavages.

²⁷ Oscarsson 1998. During the 1980’s, the Christian Democrats were forced to redefine themselves along the left-right axis in order to be successful. The Green Party had to do the same during the 1990’s in order to remain in the political arena.

²⁸ It is likely that there is a left-right dimension both within and between the two groups.

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Figure 1. Proportion of respondents belonging to the group free logotypes 1986-2001
(Source: SOM Survey)

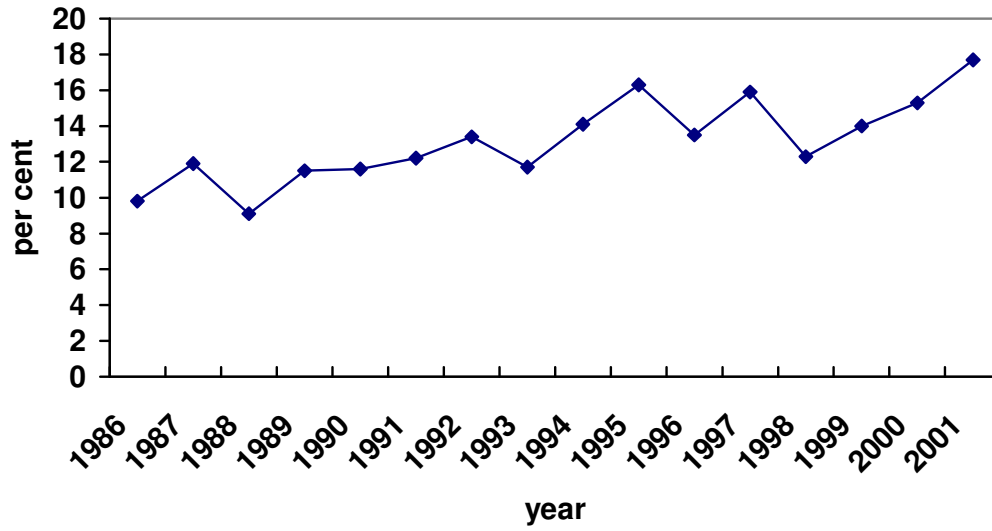


Figure 2. Self-improvers' and world-improvers' share of the population (Source: SOM Survey)

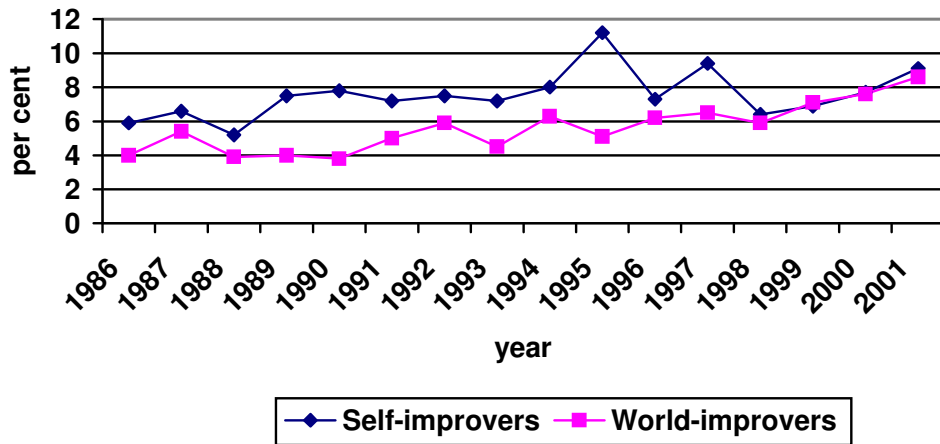


Table 1. Differences in behaviour between self-improvers and world-improvers. (A schematic representation where “+” means highest and “-“ means lowest portion of respondents between the two groups. Indicators in bold reflect differences of more than ten percentage points, * indicates significance at or above 95%, ** indicates significance at or above 99%.)

	<u>Self-improvers</u>	<u>World-improvers</u>
Listen to the public service news Ekot daily	-	+**
Watch the public service news Aktuellt daily	-	+**
Read morning paper 6 days/week	-	+**
Read the evening paper Aftonbladet 6 days/week	+	-
Read the evening paper Expressen 6 days/week	-	+ <u>wrong dir.</u>
Consider business news very important	+	-**
Consider debate articles very important	-	+**
Consider environ. articles very important	-	+**
Consider IT articles very important	+	-
Has personal home page	+	-
Uses Internet at home	+	-**
Uses Internet for computer technology	+	-**
Uses Internet at work	+	-
Uses Internet for pleasure	+	-
Uses Internet for debates	-	+**
Uses Internet for news	+	-**
Purchases “green” products	-	+
Member of animal protection group	-	+
Member of environmental group	-	+*
Member of political party	-	+**
Member of sports association		
Traded on stock market past month	+	-**
Donated money to charity	-	+**
Dined at a restaurant past month	+	-
Participated in demonstration past year	-	+**
.... can see doing it again	-	+*
Discussed politics past month	-	+**
Not discussed social issues past month	+	-

Table 2. Differences in values between self-improvers and world-improvers. A schematic representation where “+” means highest and “-“ means lowest portion of respondents between the two groups. Indicators in bold reflect differences of more than ten percentage points, * indicates significance at or above 95%, ** indicates significance at or above 99%.)

	<u>Self-improvers</u>	<u>World-improvers</u>
Trust in Government	-	+*
Trust in Swedish Public Service Radio	+	- <u>wrong dir.</u>
Trust in labor unions	-	+**
Trust in big companies	+	-**
Trust in political parties	-	+*
Trust in economists	+	-**
Trust in engineers	+	-**
Trust in architects	+	-*
Trust in politicians	-	+
Trust in information officers	+	-*
Trust in PR people	+	-
Trust in IT-consultants	+	-*
Trust in advertising people	+	-**
Very/quite interested in politics	-	+**
High income very important	+	-
Working independence very important	+	-
Controlling work hours very important	+	-
Socially meaningful work very important	-	+*
Career opportunities very important	+	-
Low risk for unemployment very important	-	+**
Introduce video censorship	-	+**
Wrong to abandon film censorship	-	+**
Wrong to send TV docusoaps	-	+**
Terrorism worrying	-	+
Militant vegans worrying	-	+
Would join an anti-racist org.	-	+
Sweden avoids taking international stand	-	+ <u>wrong dir.</u>
Environment important issue	-	+**
IT important issue	+	-
Corporate conditions important issue	+	-
Clean environment very important	-	+*
Logical thinking very important	-	+
Self-realization very important	+	-**
Pleasure very important	+	-
Equality very important	-	+**
Exciting life very important	+	-*
Freedom very important	0	0 <u>no diff</u>
Wisdom very important	-	+
Justice very important	+	- wrong dir.

