

Beyond Cosmopolitans and Nationalists: Territorial Identities in European Cleavage Politics

Martin Lukk | University of Toronto

ASA Annual Meeting | August 11, 2025

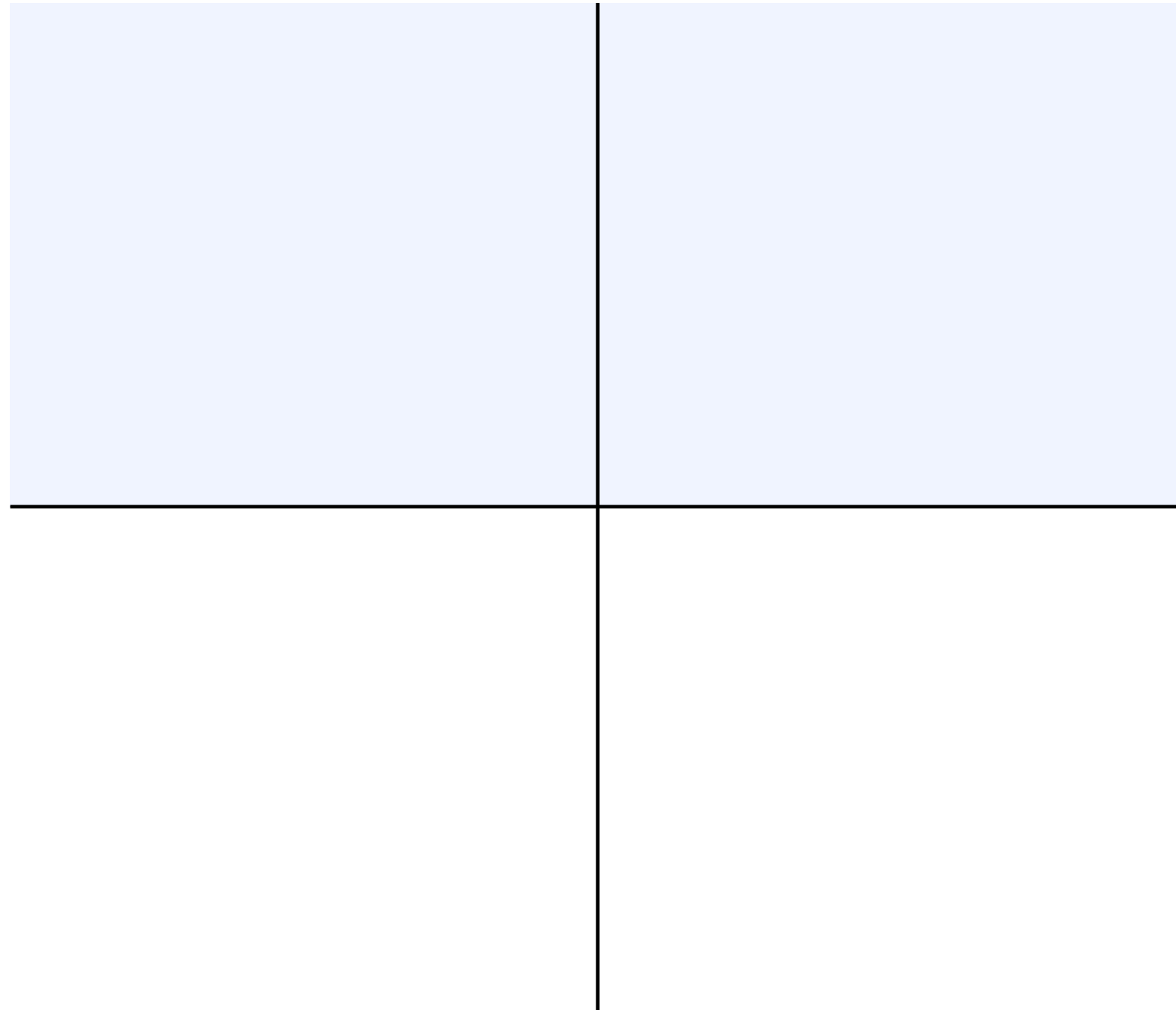
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What is the relationship between
global and local identification?

How is it linked to **political conflict?**

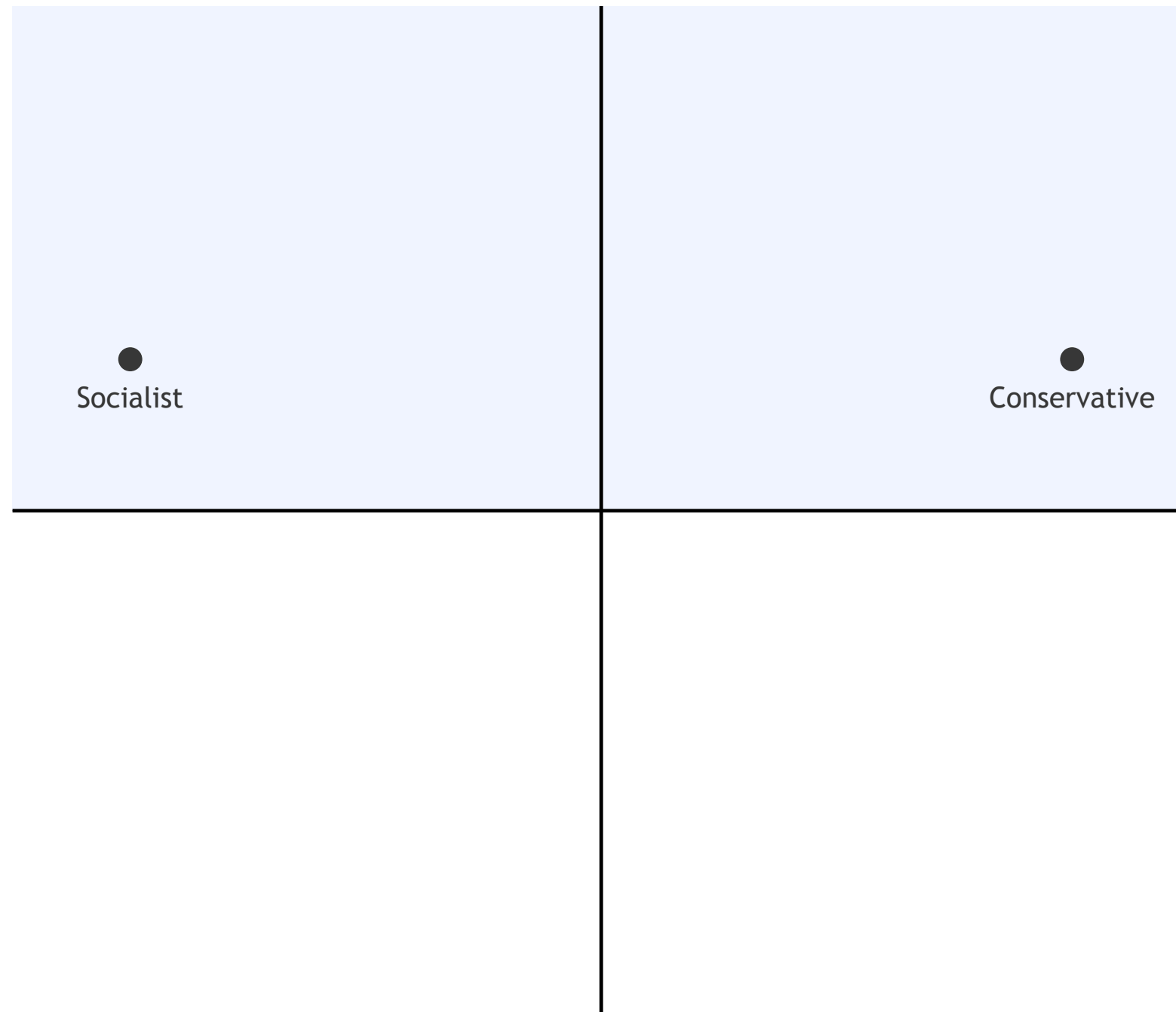
Background

Two-Dimensional Political Contestation



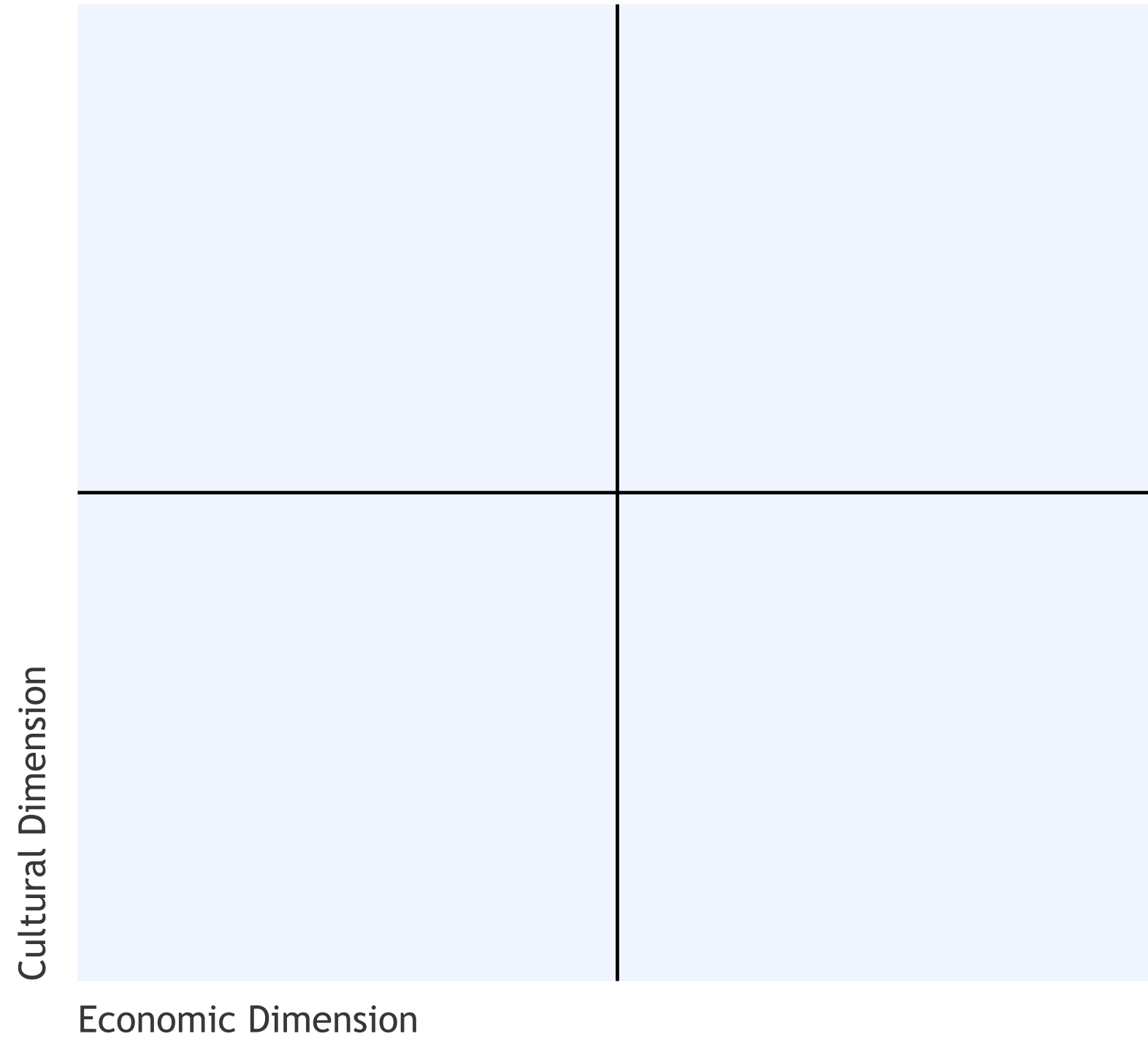
Economic Dimension

Two-Dimensional Political Contestation

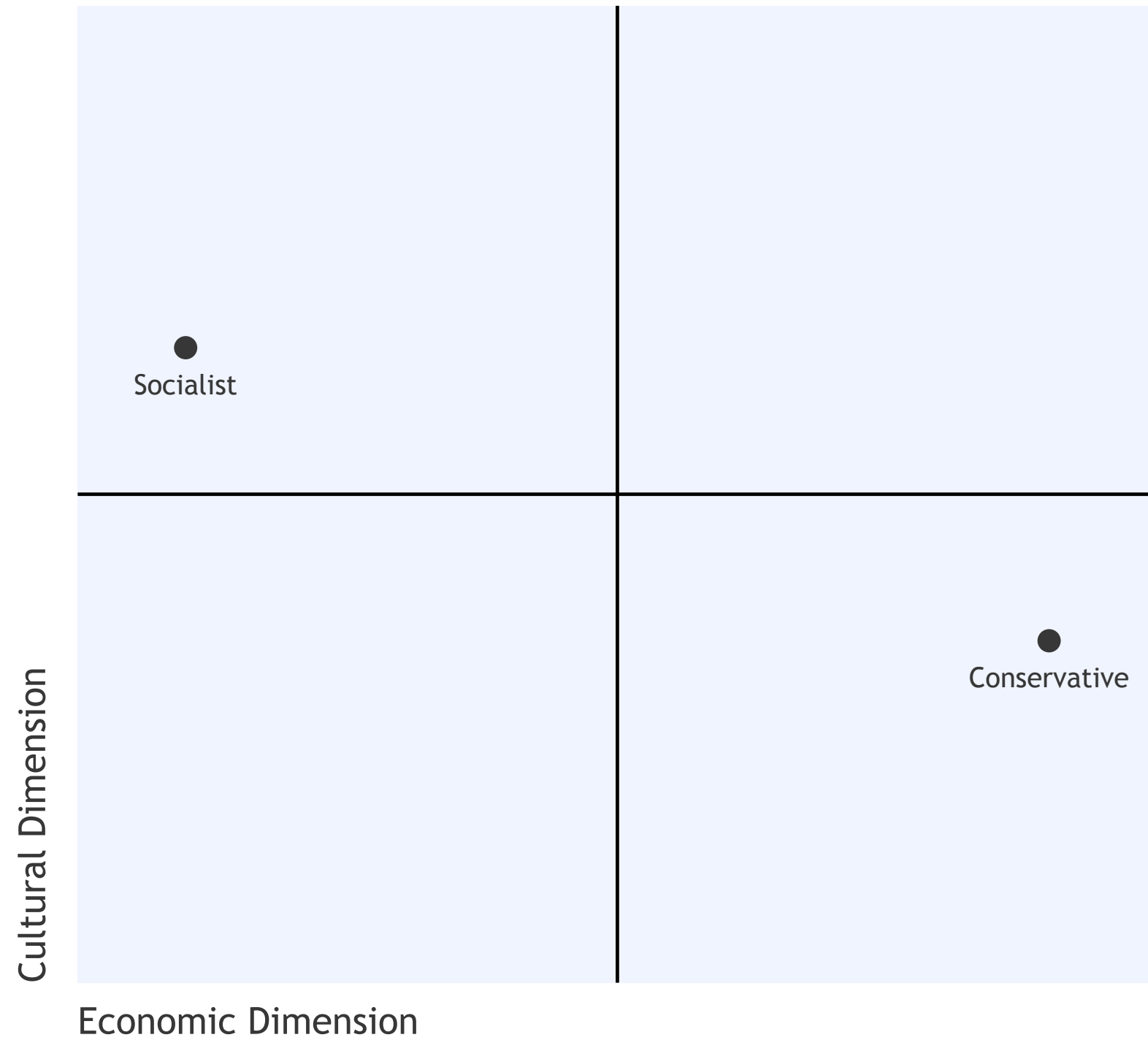


Economic Dimension

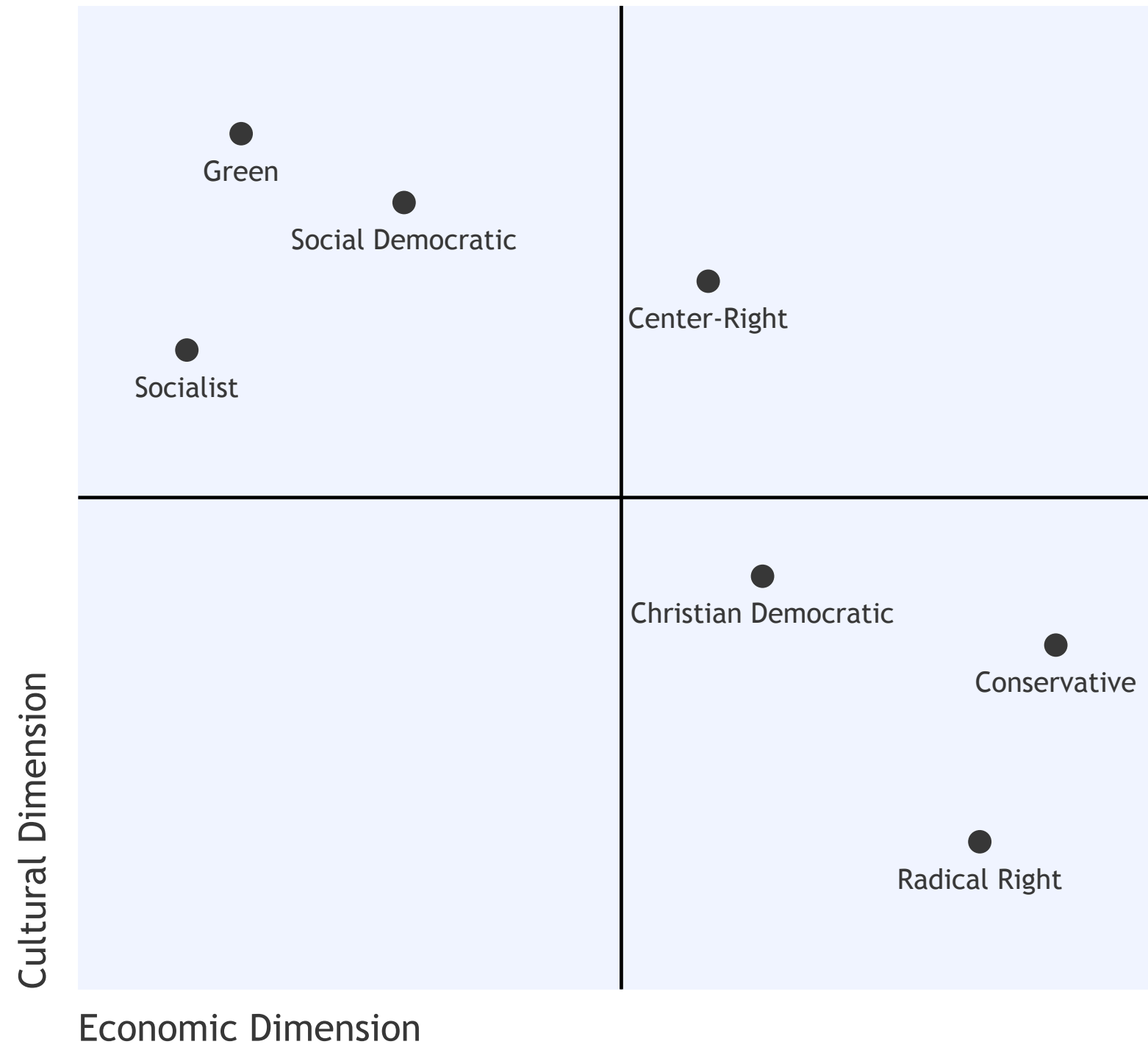
Two-Dimensional Political Contestation



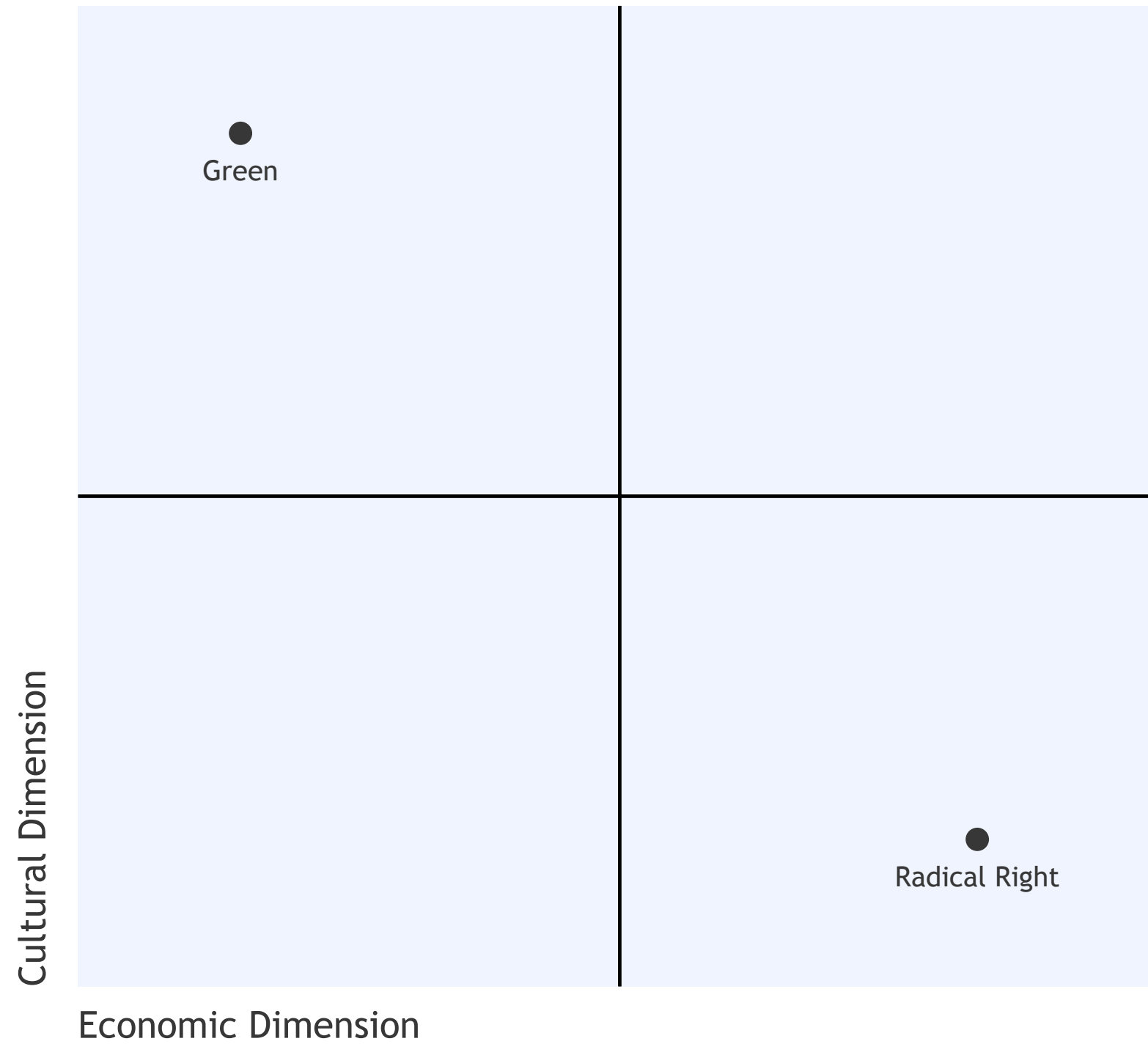
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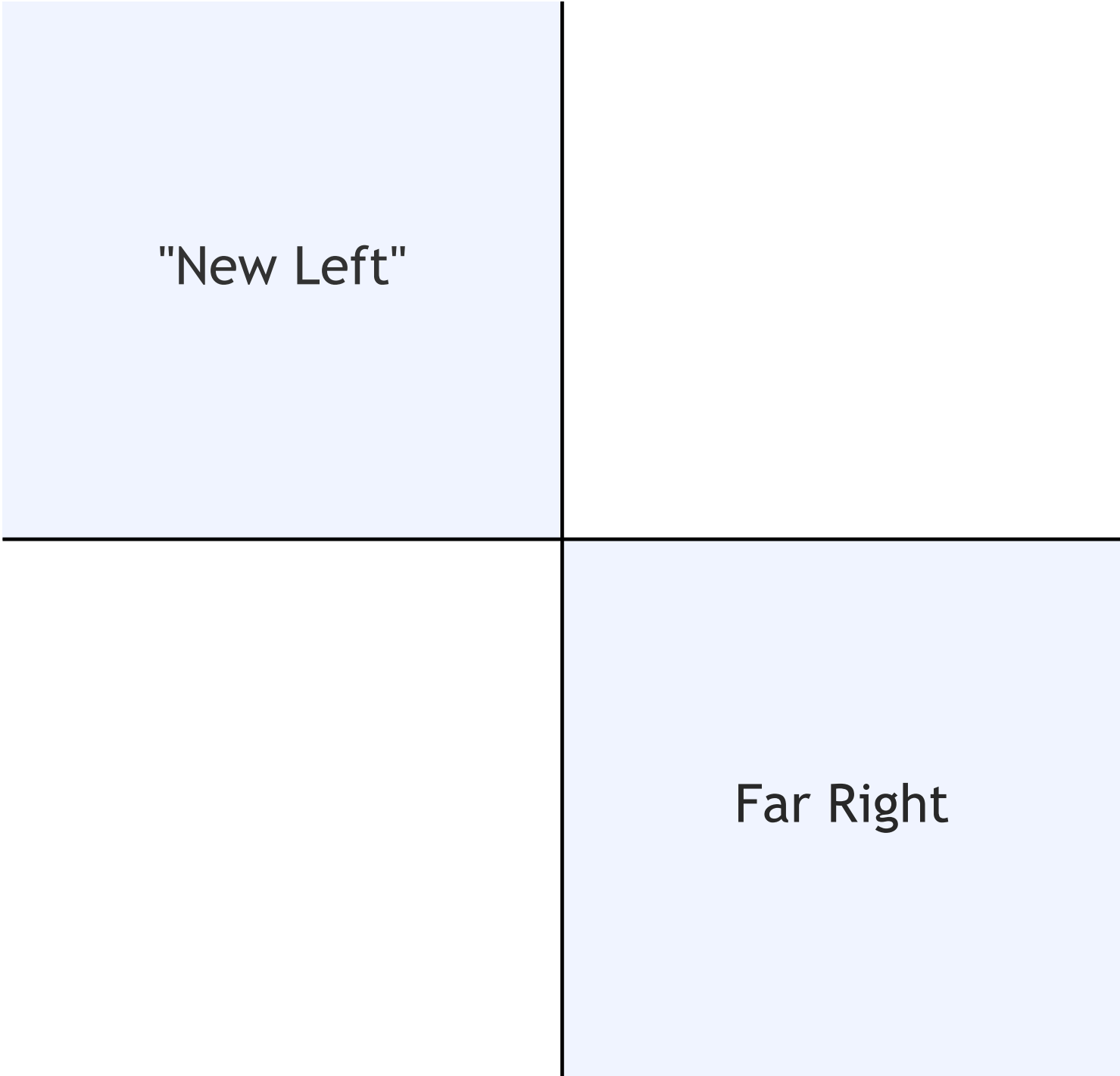
Two-Dimensional Political Contestation



Two-Dimensional Political Contestation



Parties

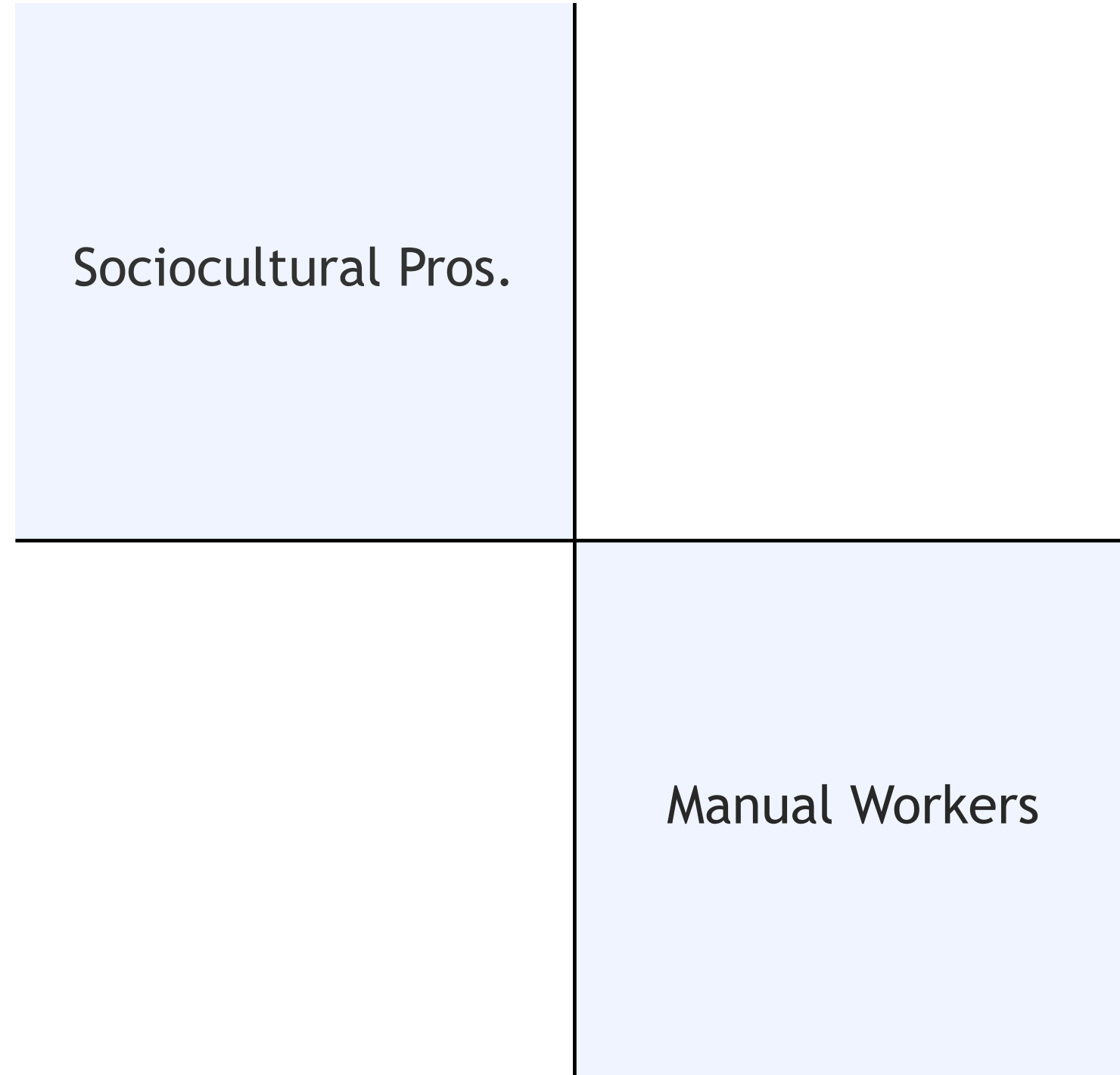


"New Left"

Far Right

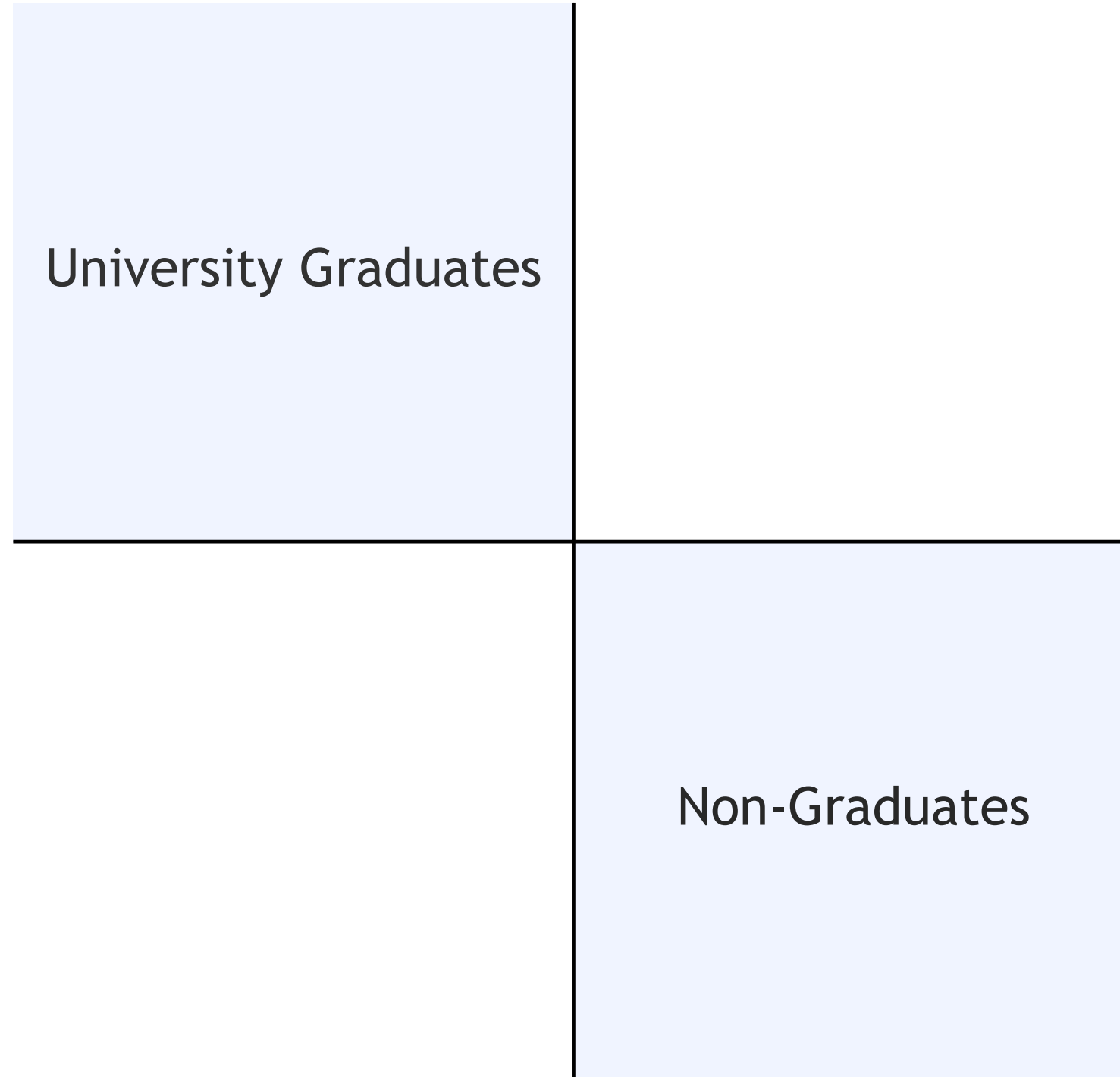
Cultural Dimension

Social Groups

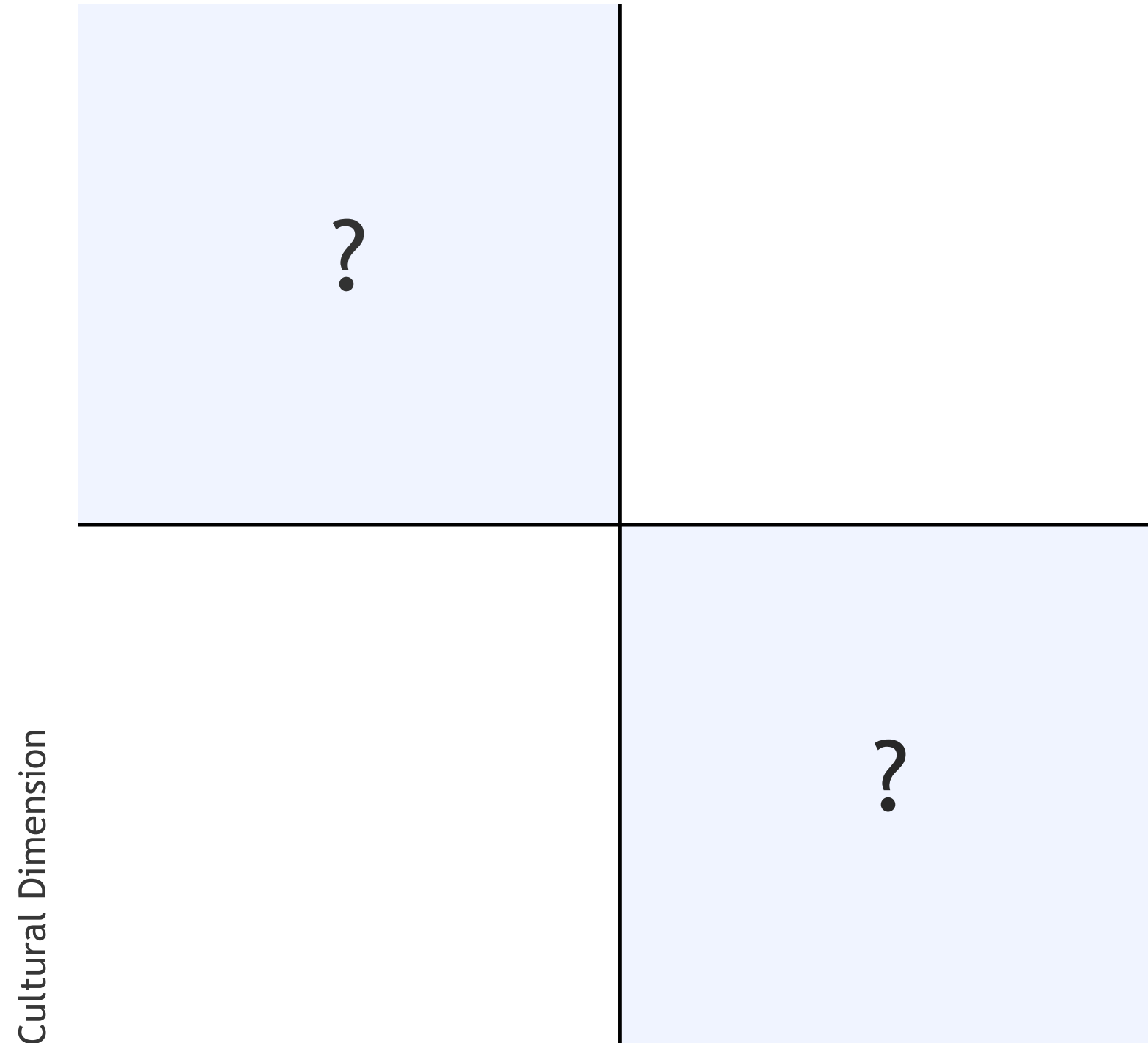


Cultural Dimension

Social Groups



Collective Identities



Theoretical Accounts of Cultural Division

- **Universalists vs. Particularists** (Häusermann and Kriesi 2015)
- **Cosmopolitans vs. Parochials** (de Vries 2018)
- **Transnational Cleavage** (Hooghe and Marks 2018)
- **Globalists vs. Nationalists** (Scotto, Sanders, and Reifler 2018)



EN English ▼

Politics



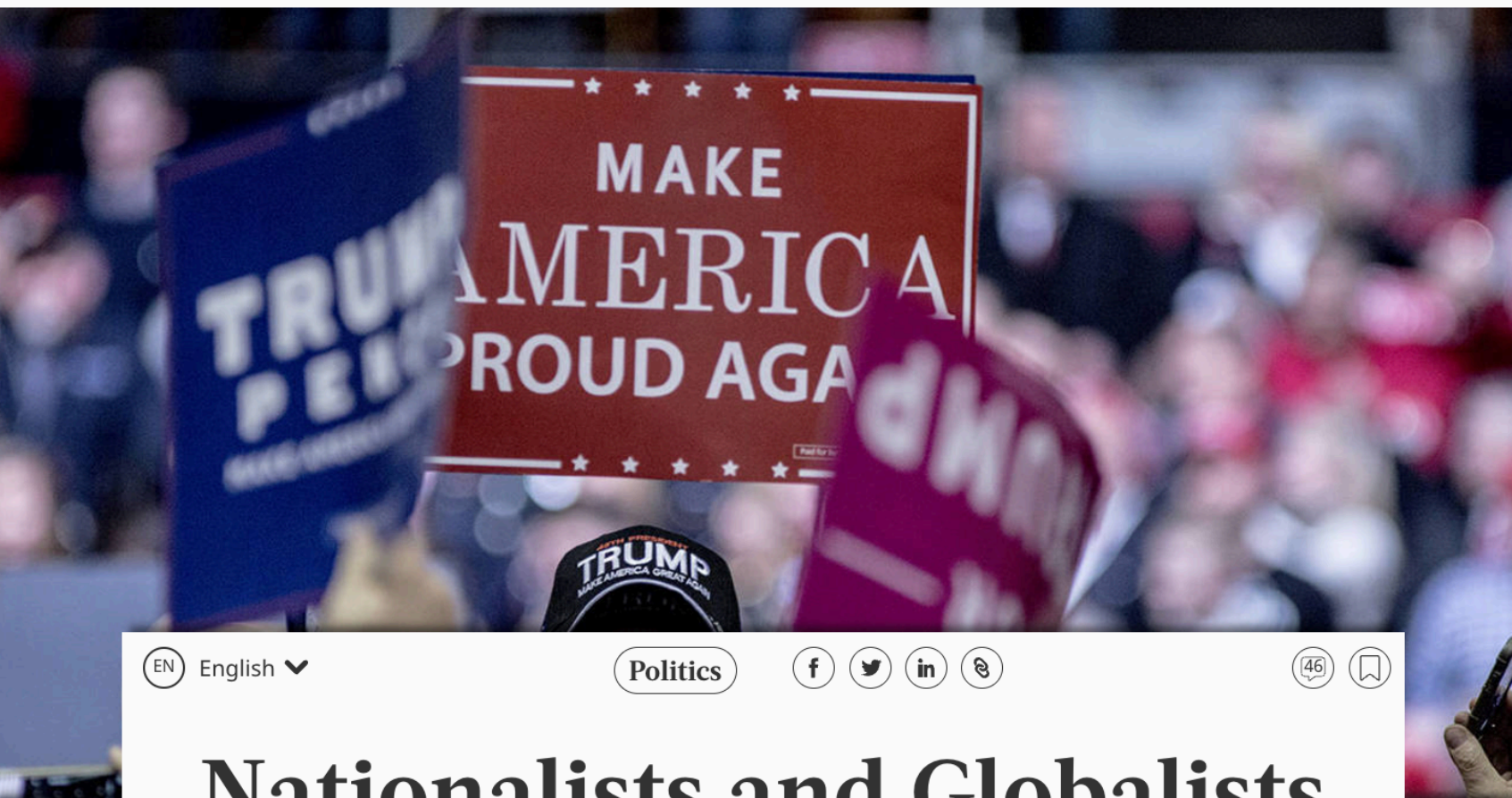
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Nationalists and Globalists

Mar 23, 2017 | ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER

Populism means a politics of the people, juxtaposed against a politics of the elites. But, at least in the US, President Donald Trump's ideology – which has little to do with traditional Republican conservatism – frames the axis of division not as the many versus the few, but as nationalists versus globalists.

WASHINGTON, DC – The [Dutch election](#) was the first bright spot in a while for people in Europe and the United States who are deeply worried that the backlash against globalization will bring even more white “Judeo-Christian” nationalist parties to power. Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte defeated the anti-Islam candidate Geert Wilders, who has



POLITICS

Trump says future belongs to "patriots," not "globalists," in U.N. General Assembly speech

By Kathryn Watson
September 24, 2019 / 6:18 PM EDT / CBS News



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Collective Identities



Cultural Dimension

Global?

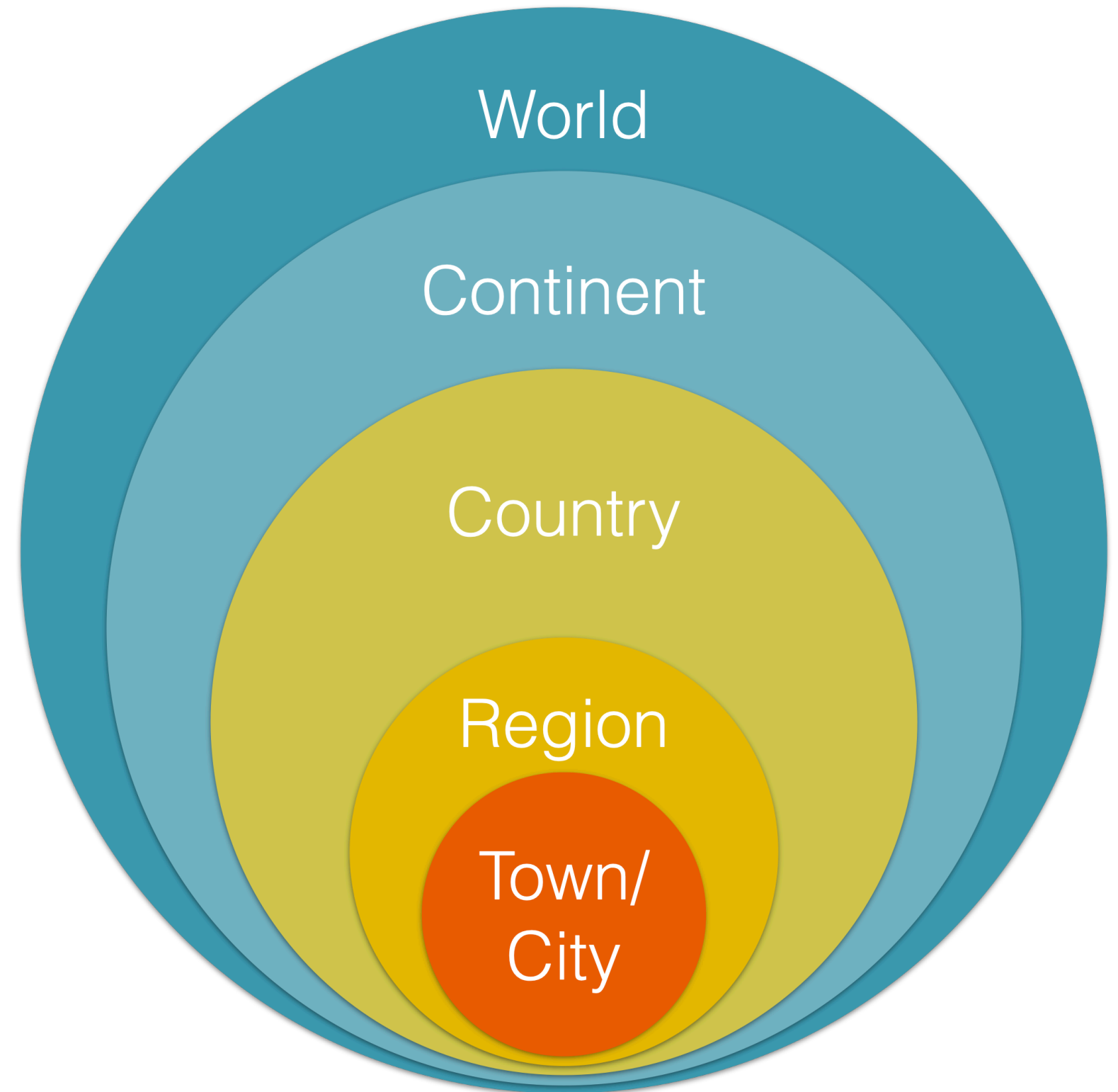
Local?

How is territorial identification
patterned in European populations?

How are patterns of identification
linked to party choice?

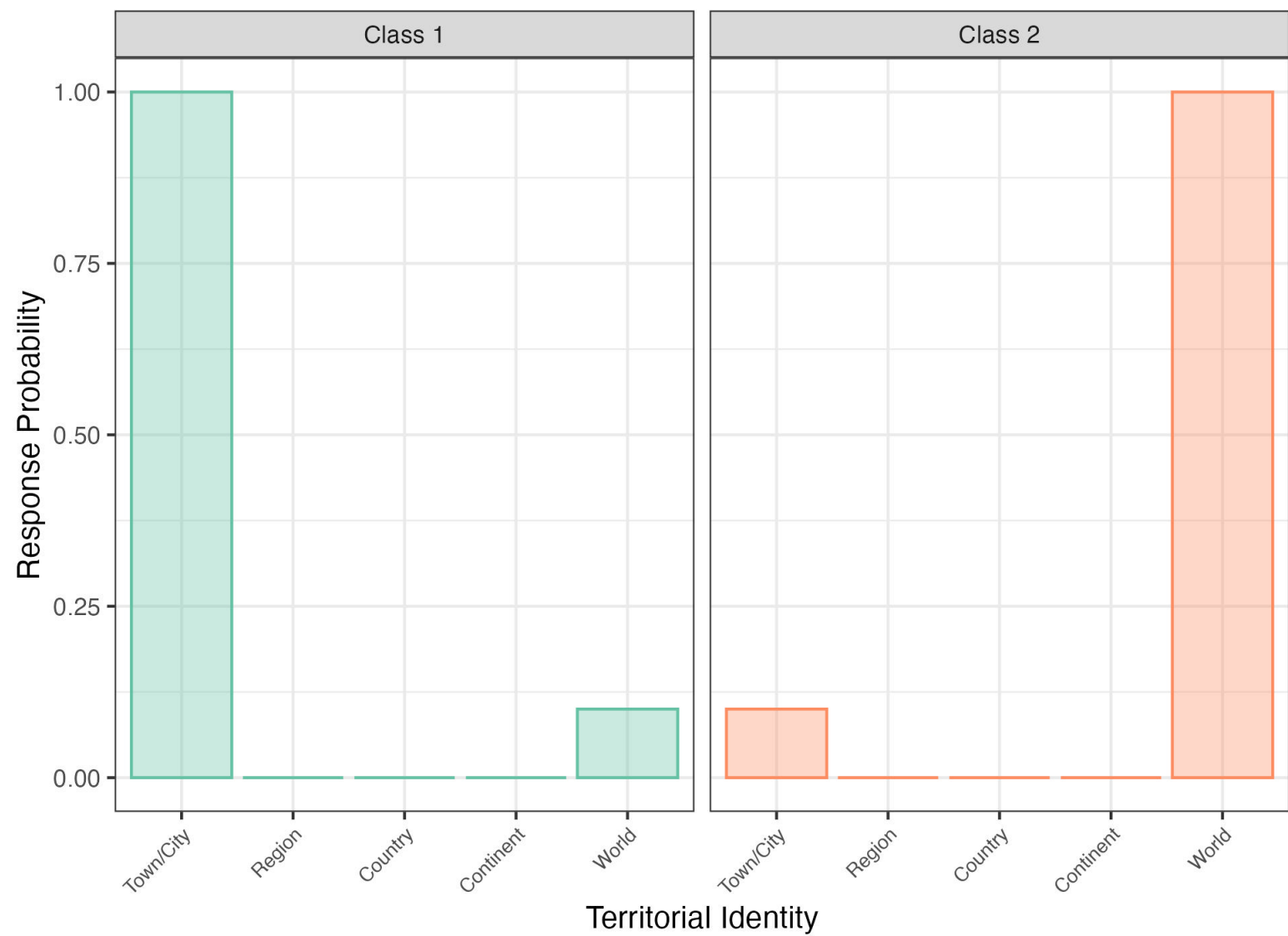
Data and Method

- **European Values Survey** (Wave 5, 2017-2020)
 - $N_{\text{individuals}} = 58,103$; $N_{\text{countries}} = 35$
 - "How close do you feel to...?"
- **Latent Class Analysis**
 - Identify subsets of respondents with distinct responses patterns across observed variables

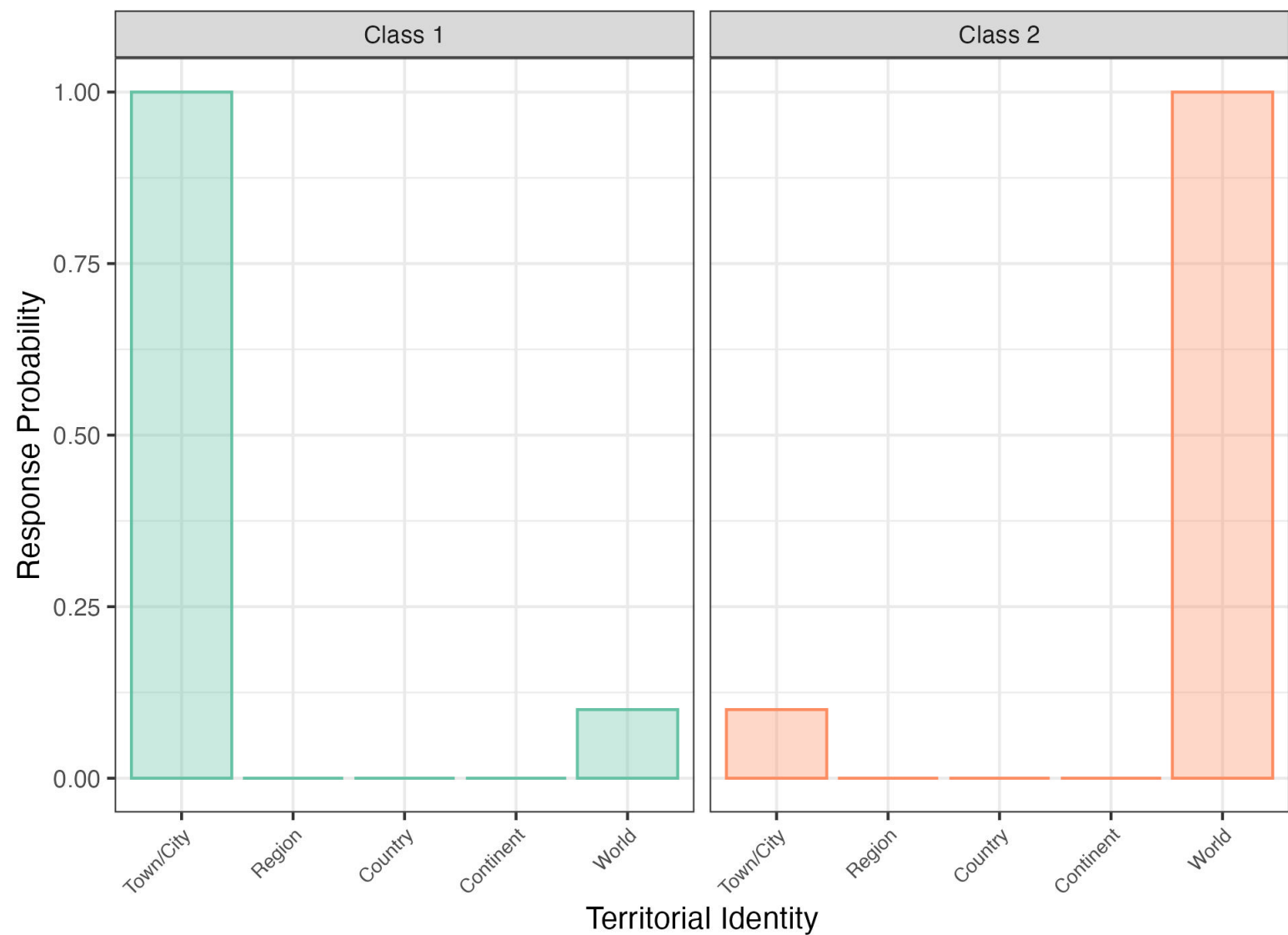


Hypotheses

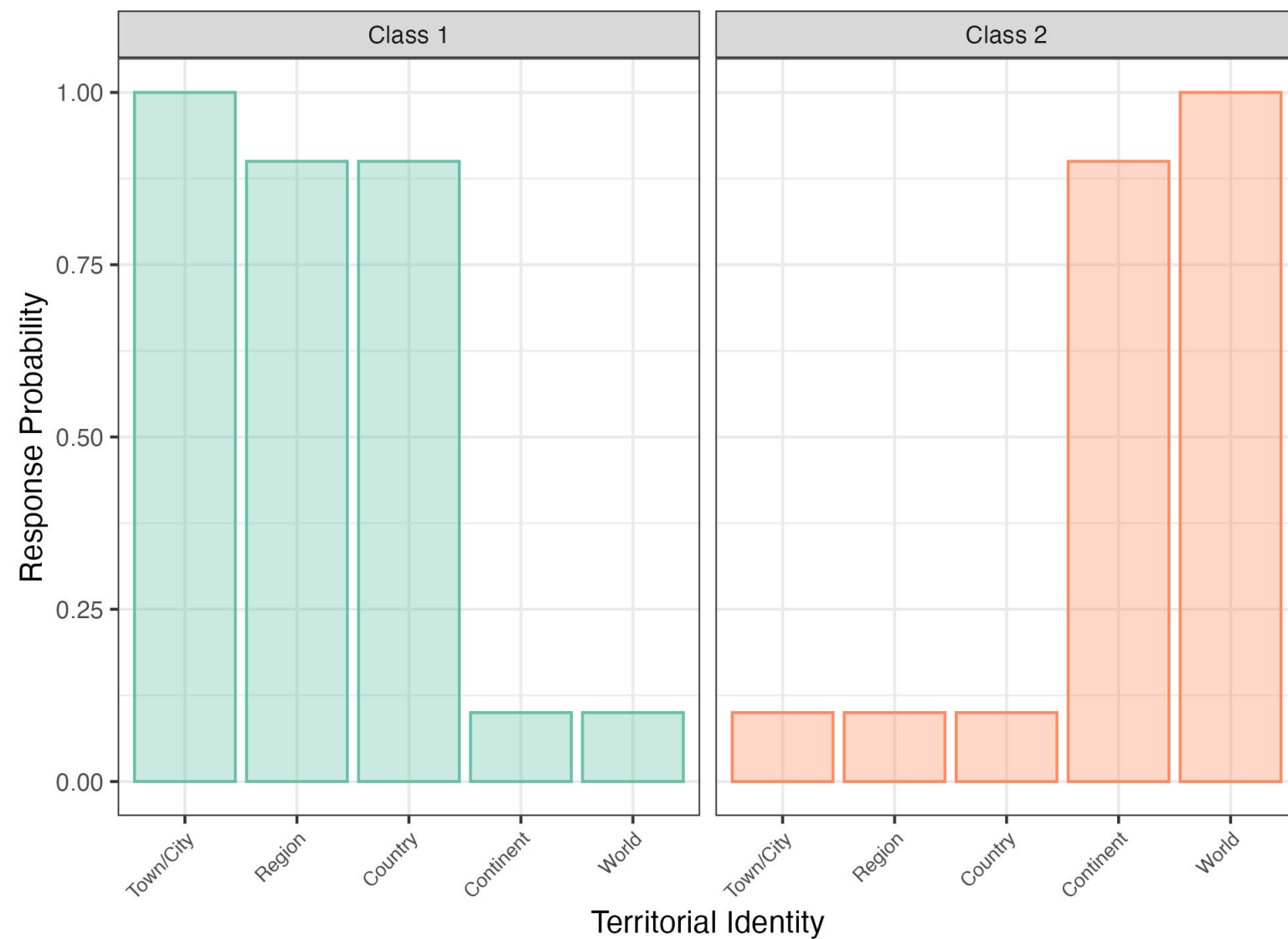
Narrow Polarization



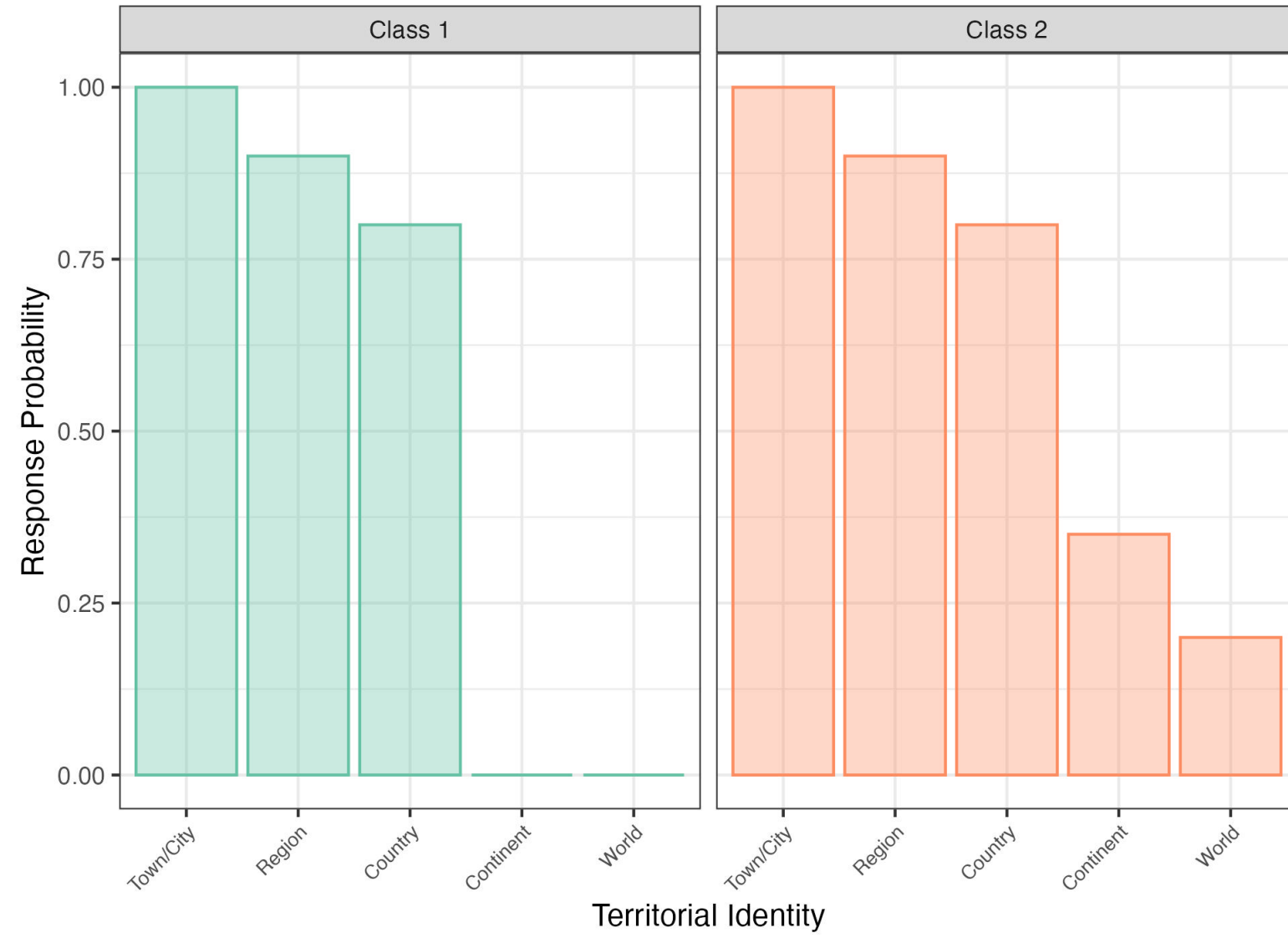
Narrow Polarization



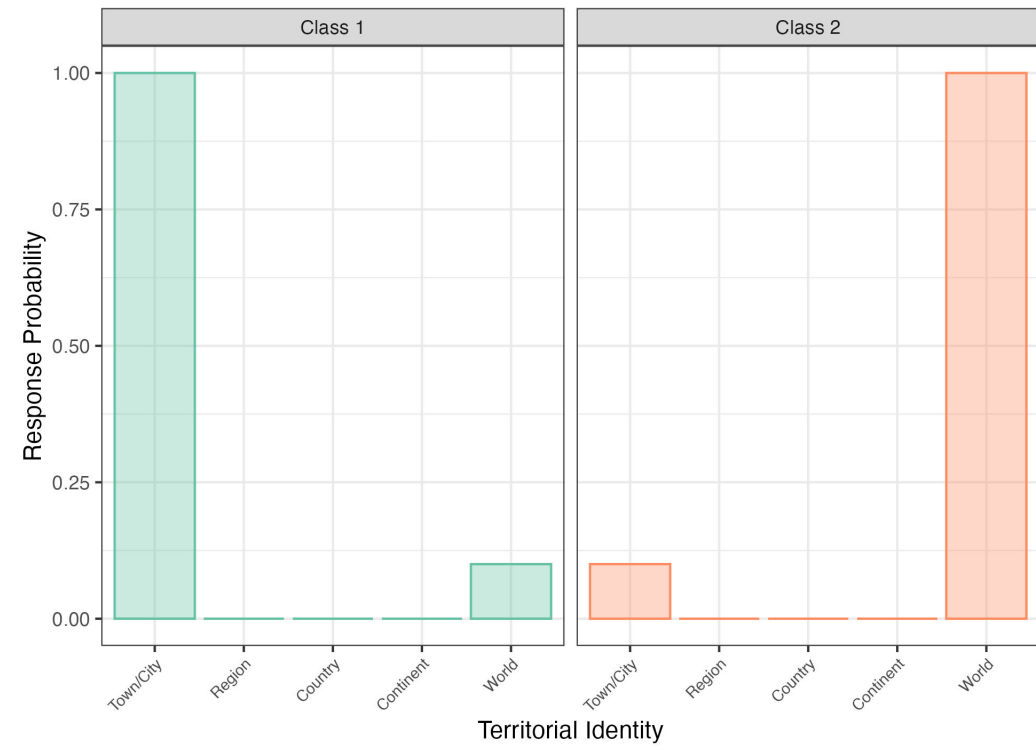
Broad Polarization



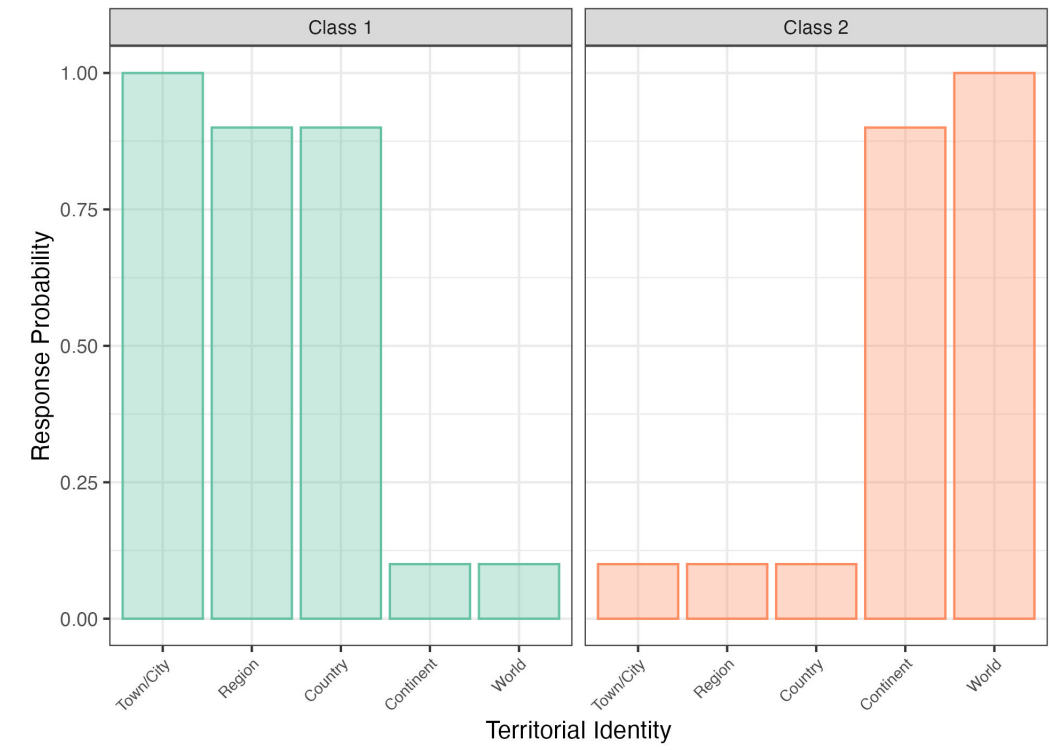
No Polarization



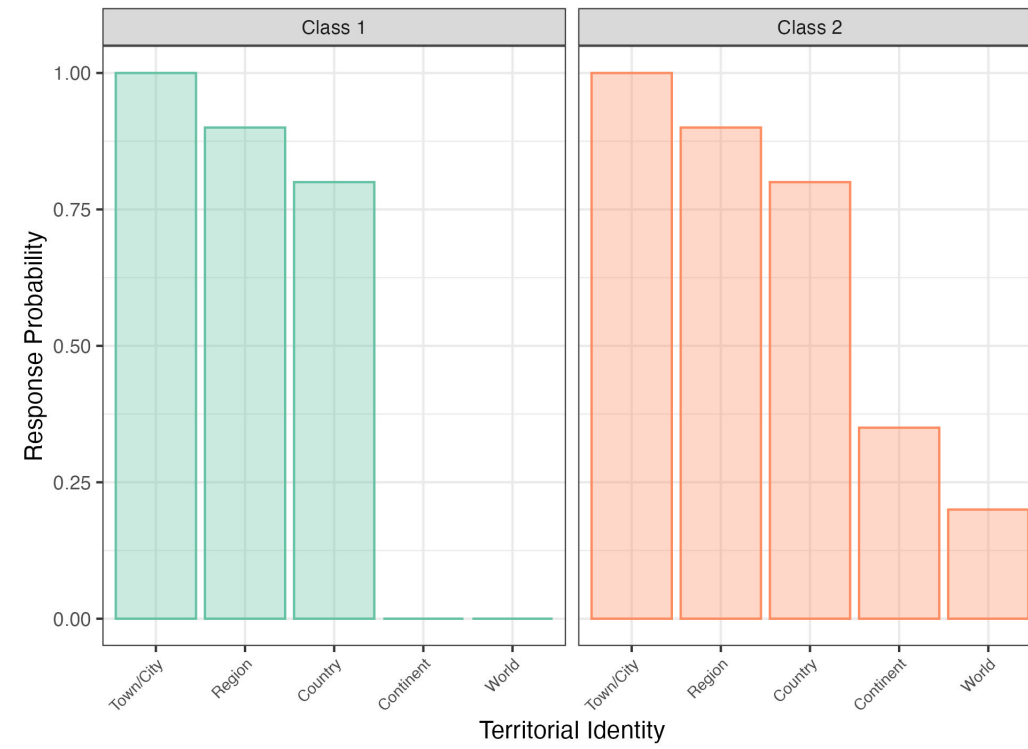
Narrow Polarization

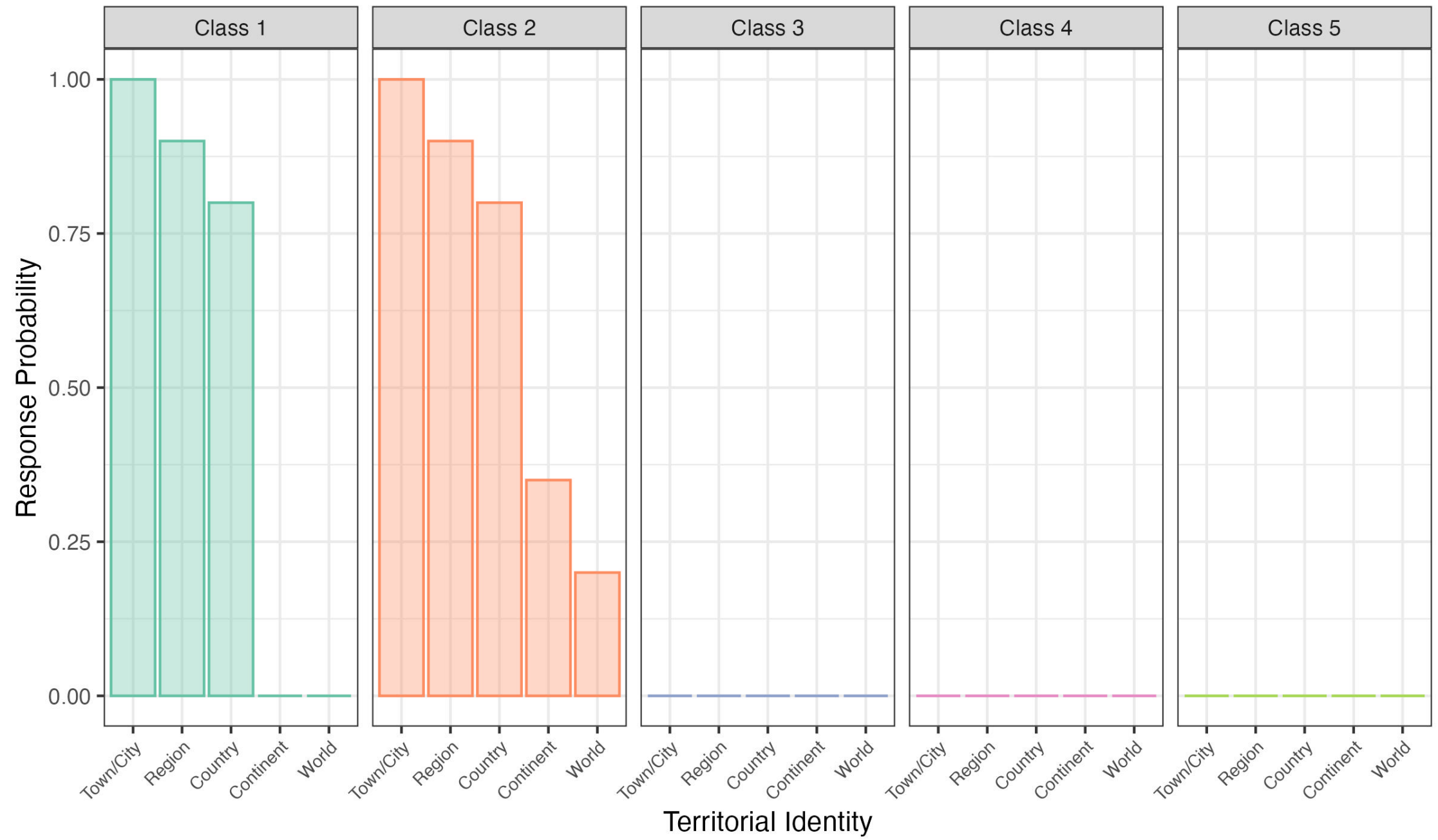


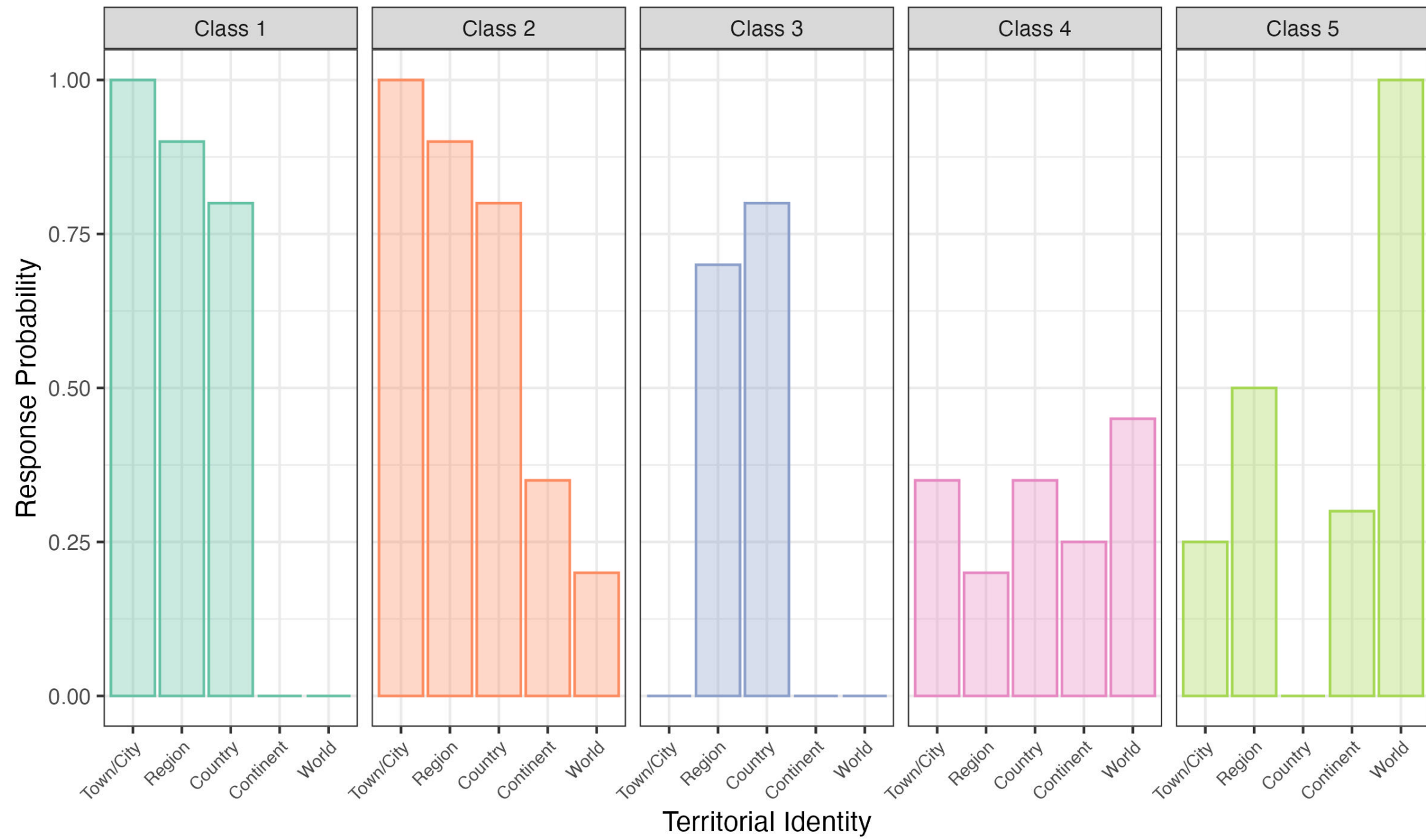
Broad Polarization



No Polarization



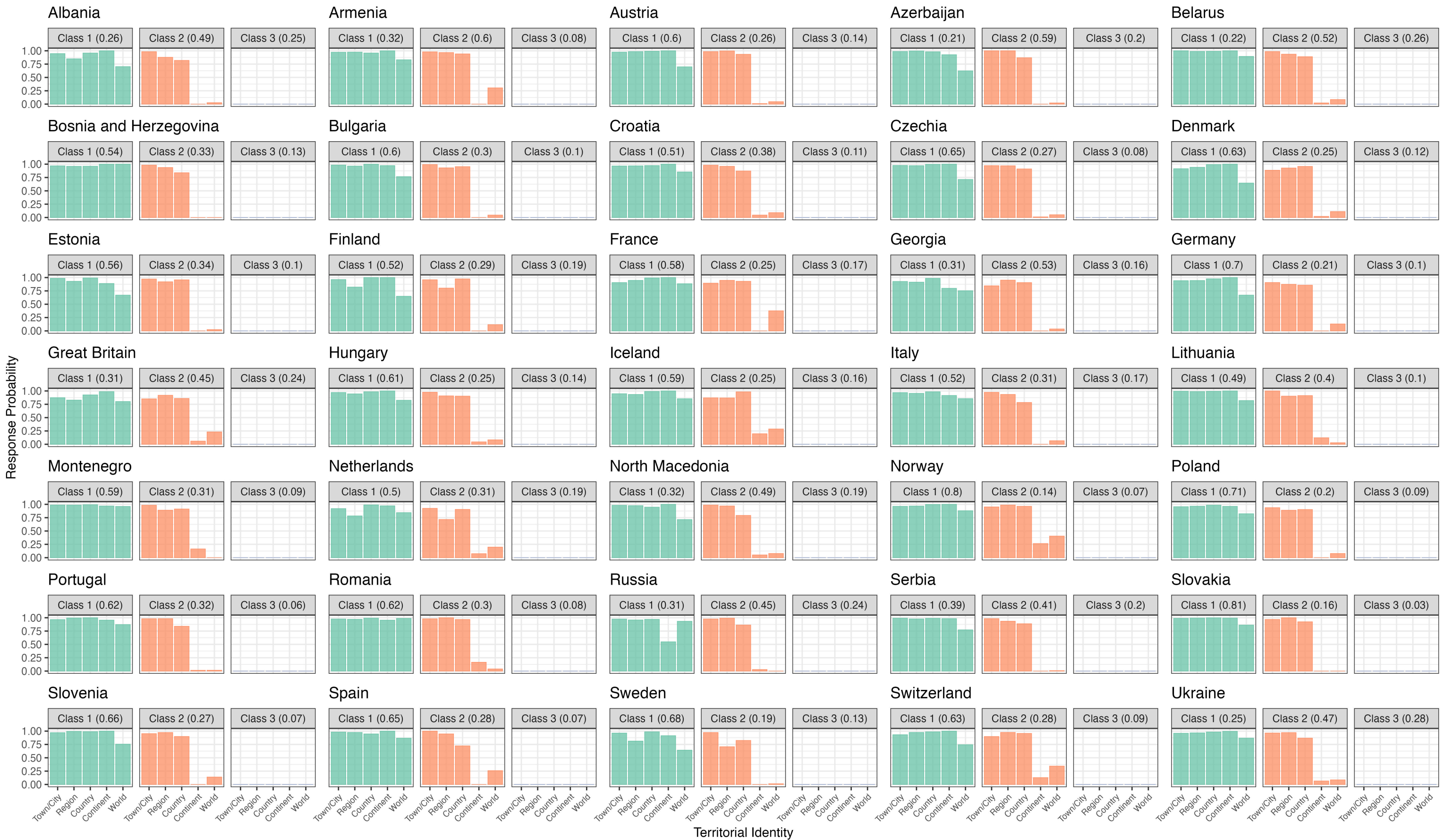


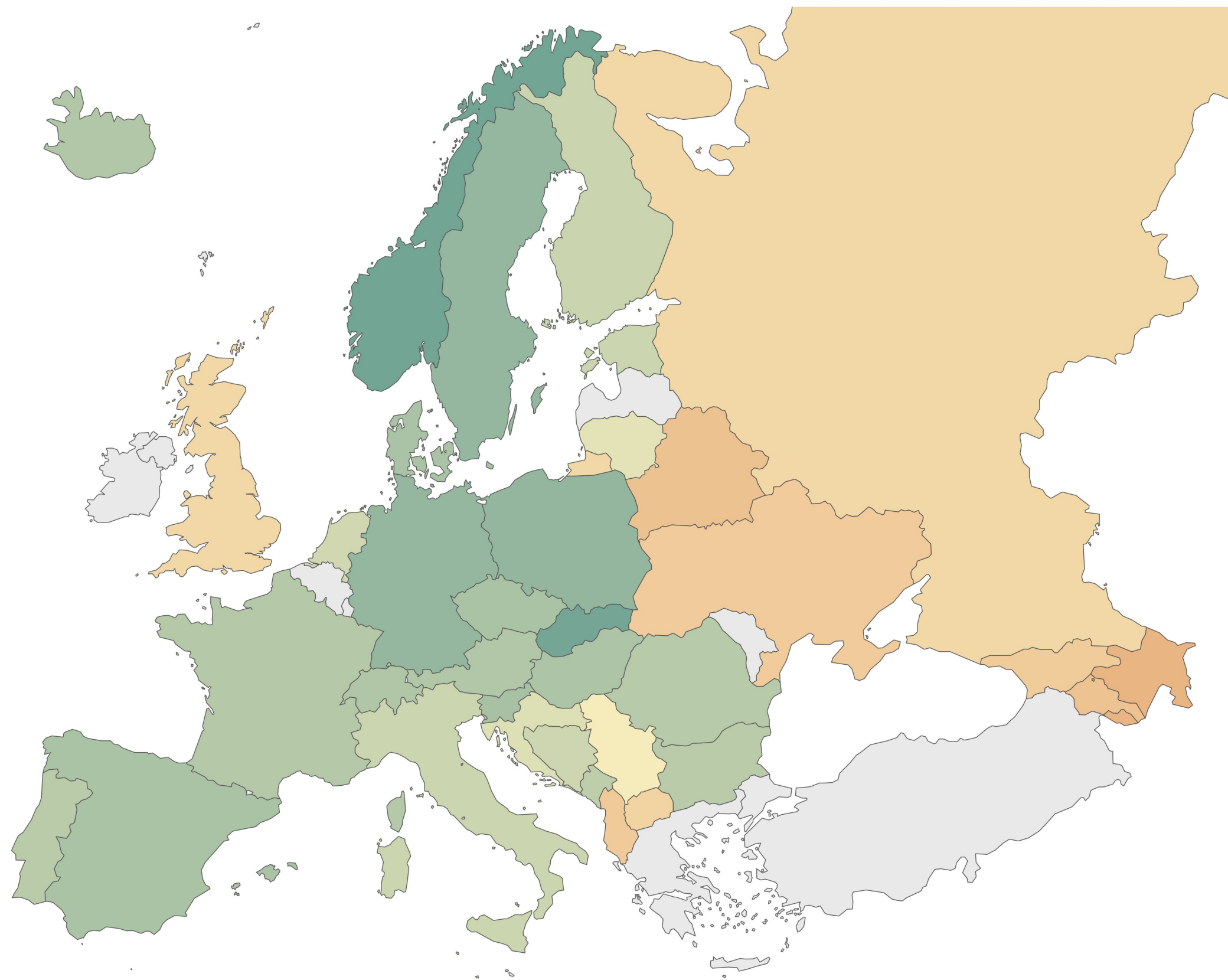


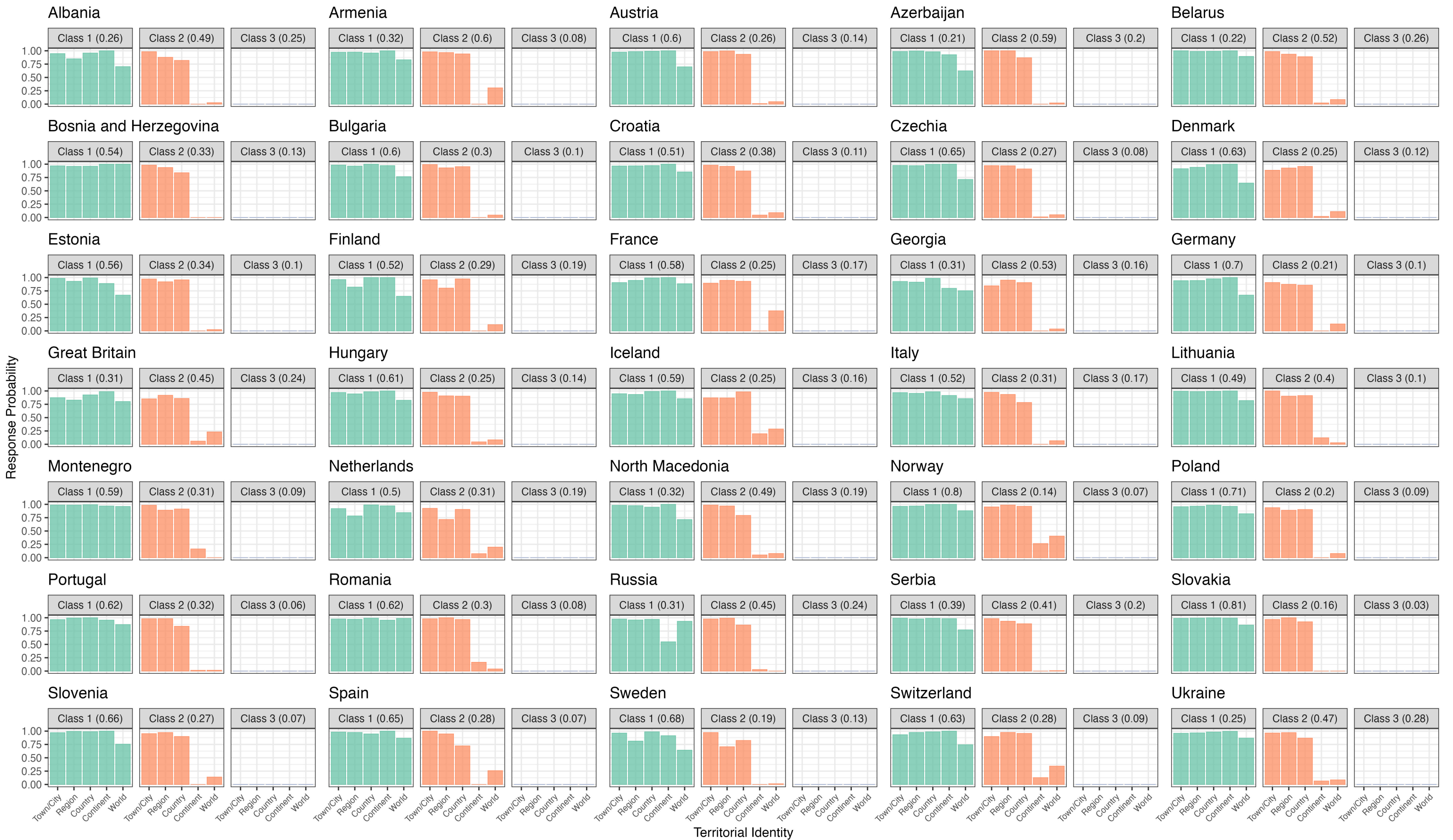
Results







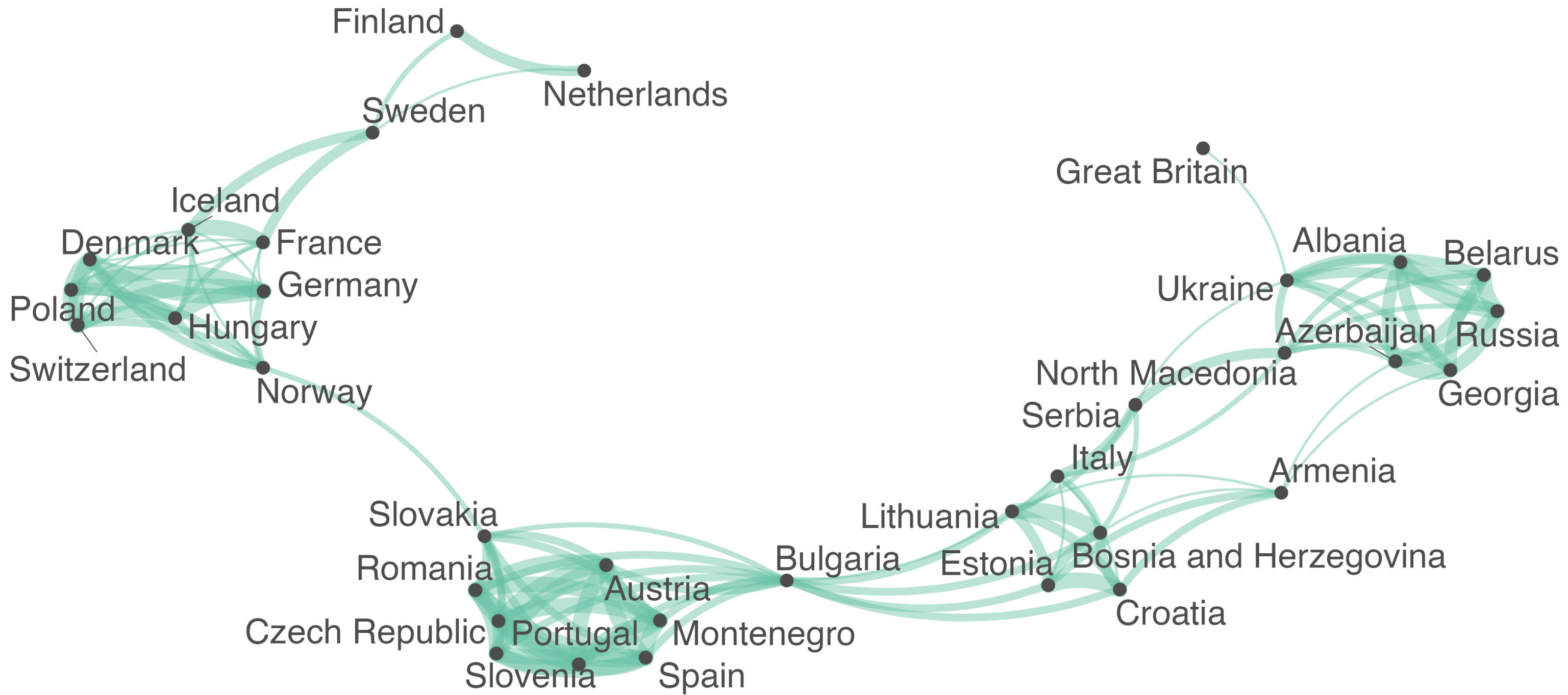




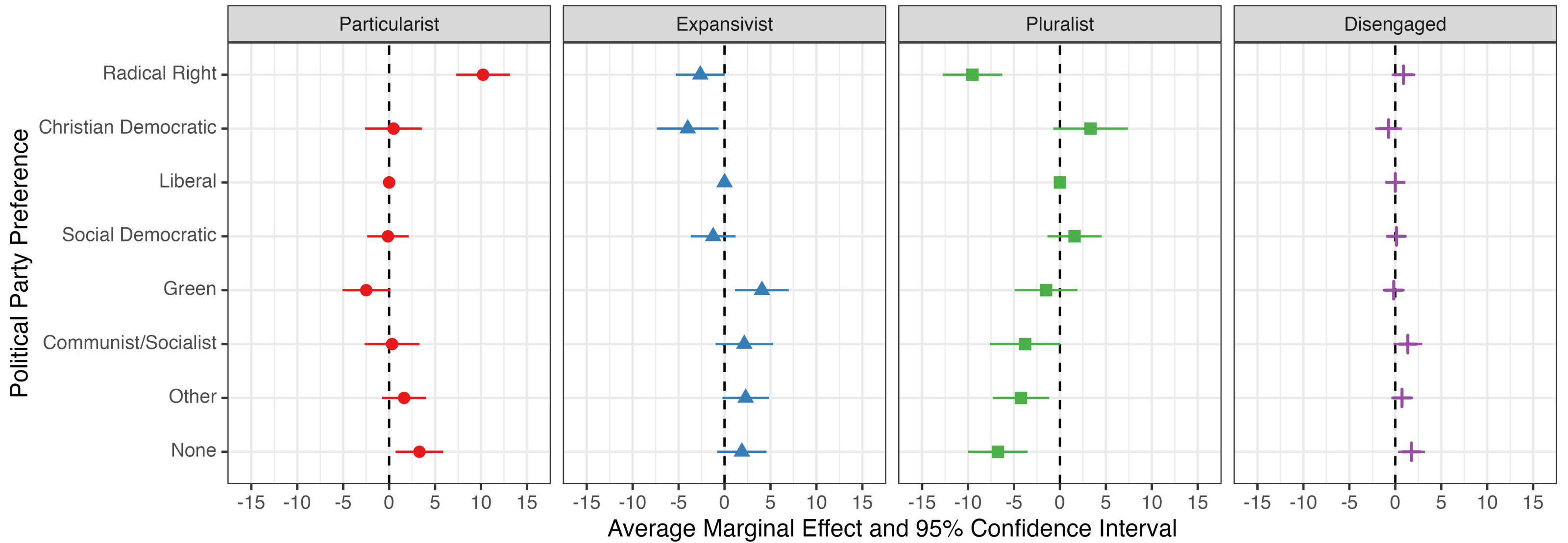


Territorial Identity



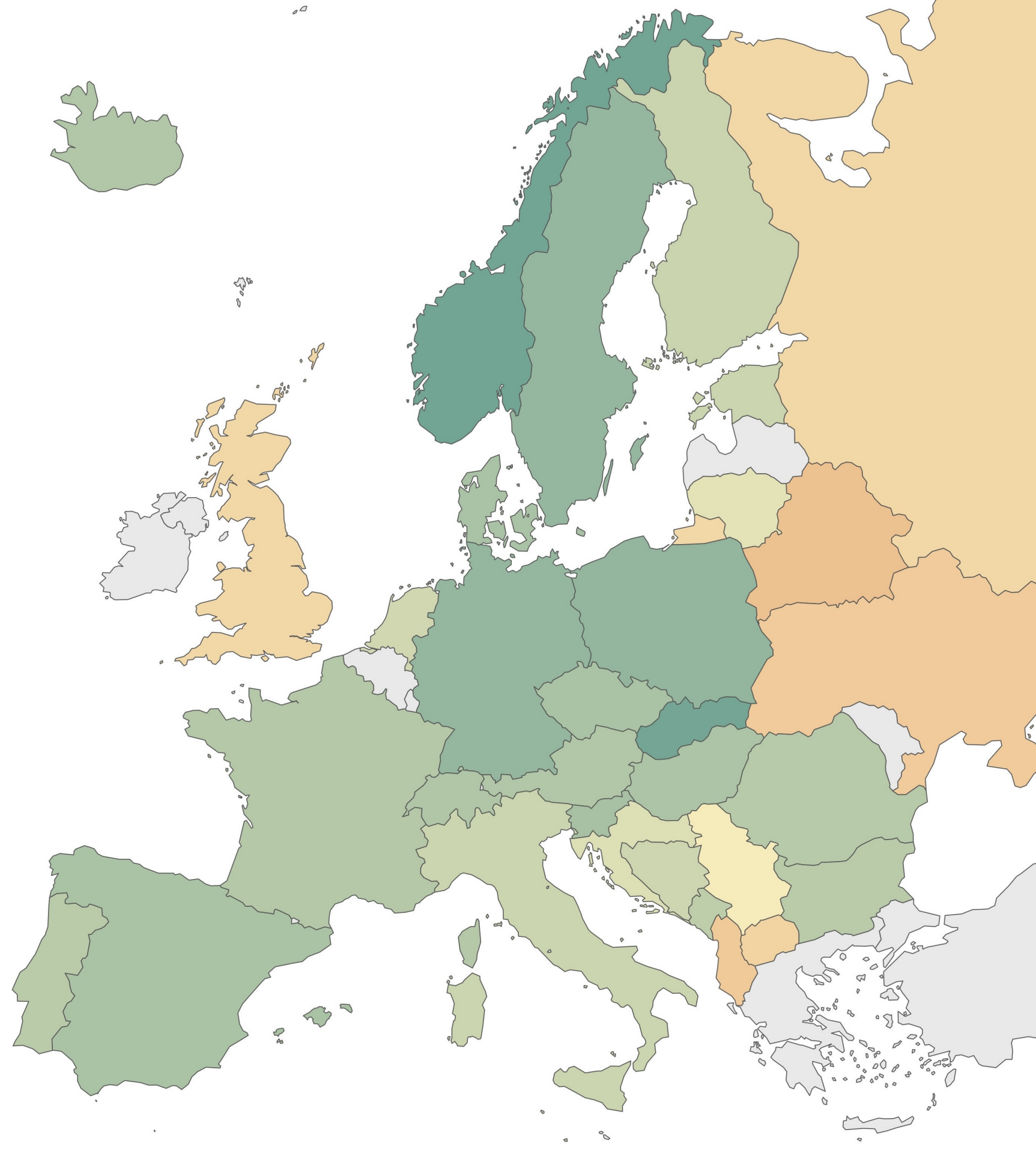






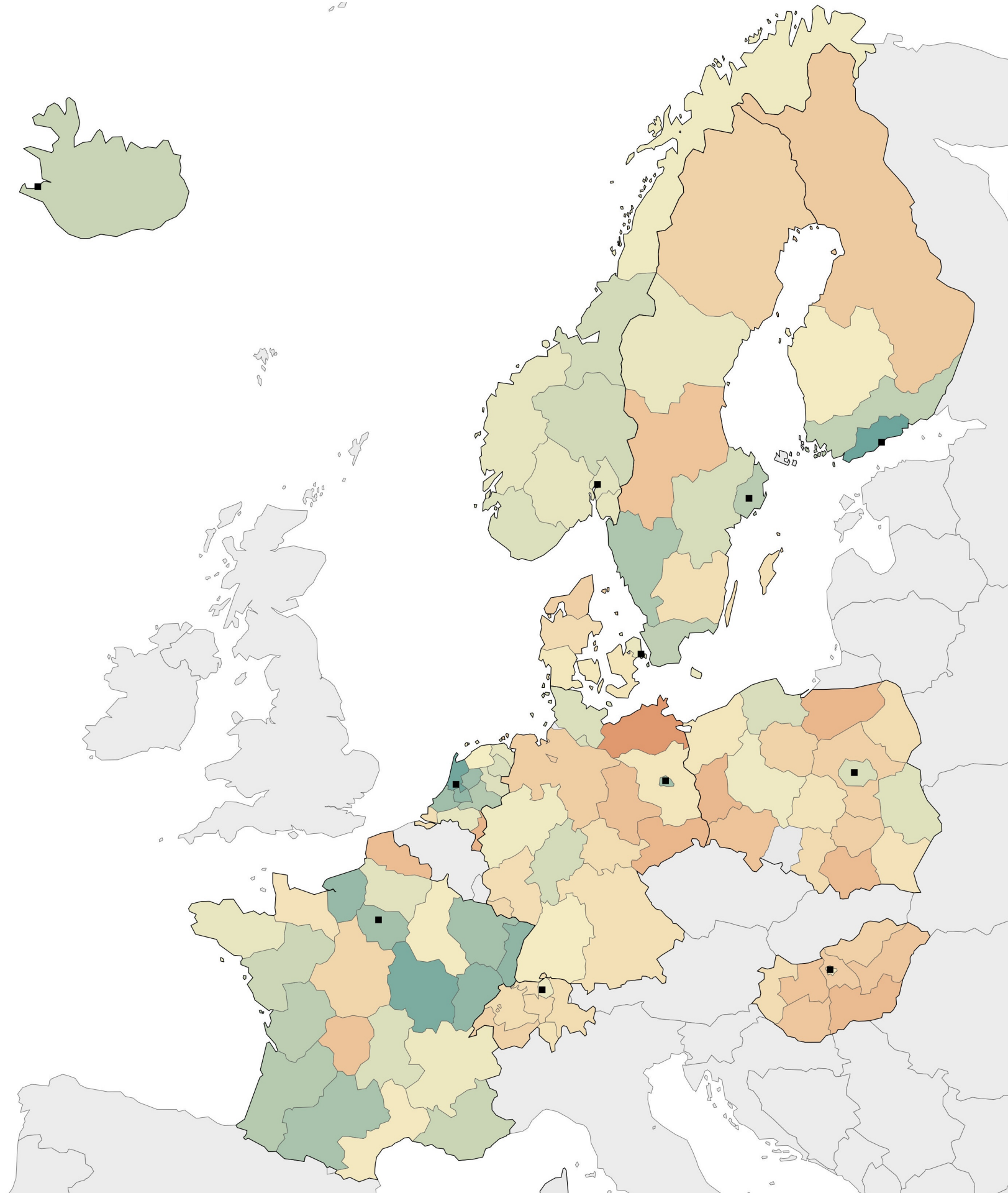
Implications

1. Scope of **Polarization Is Overstated**



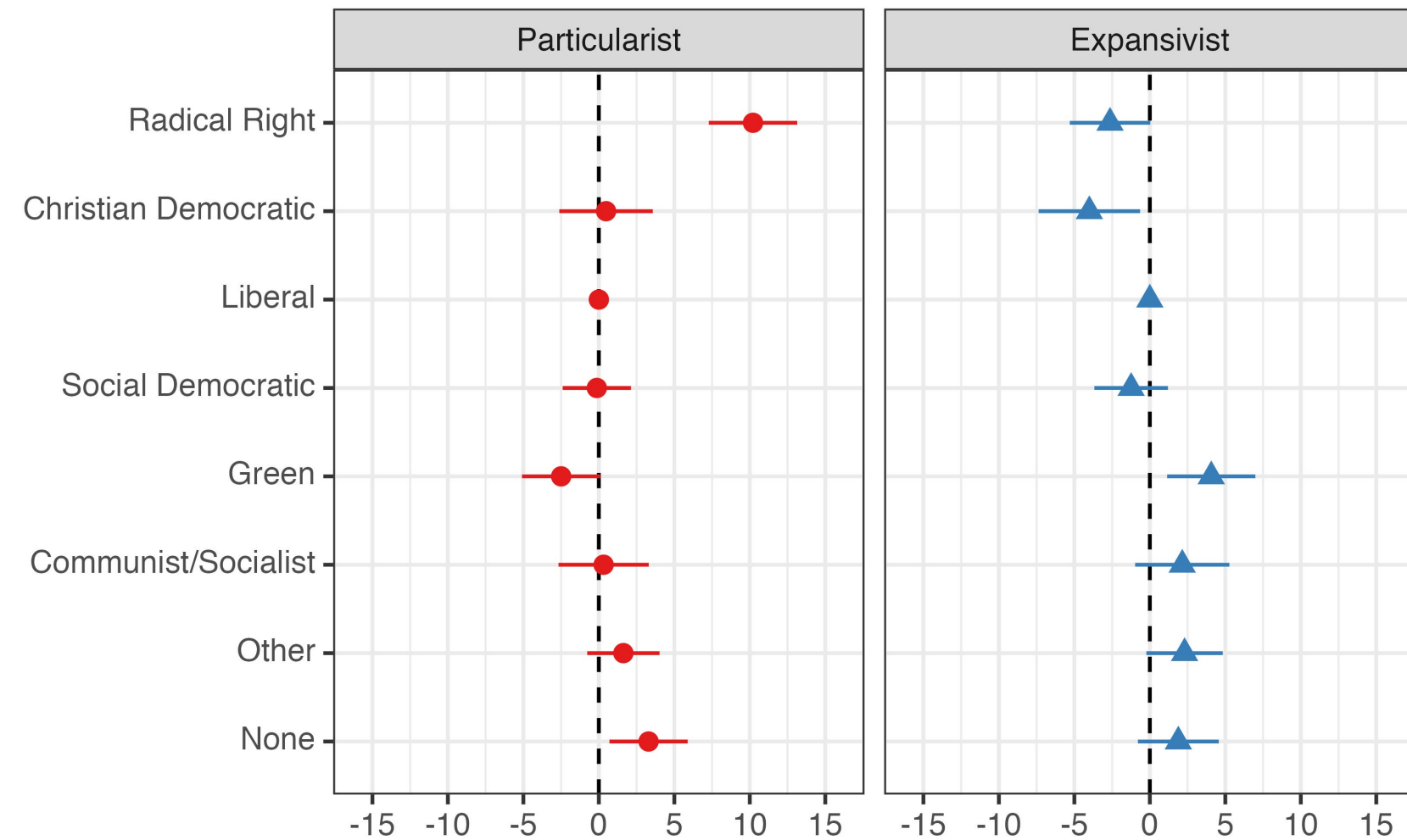
Implications

1. Scope of Polarization Is Overstated
2. **Particularists and Expansivists** in a Subset of Europe



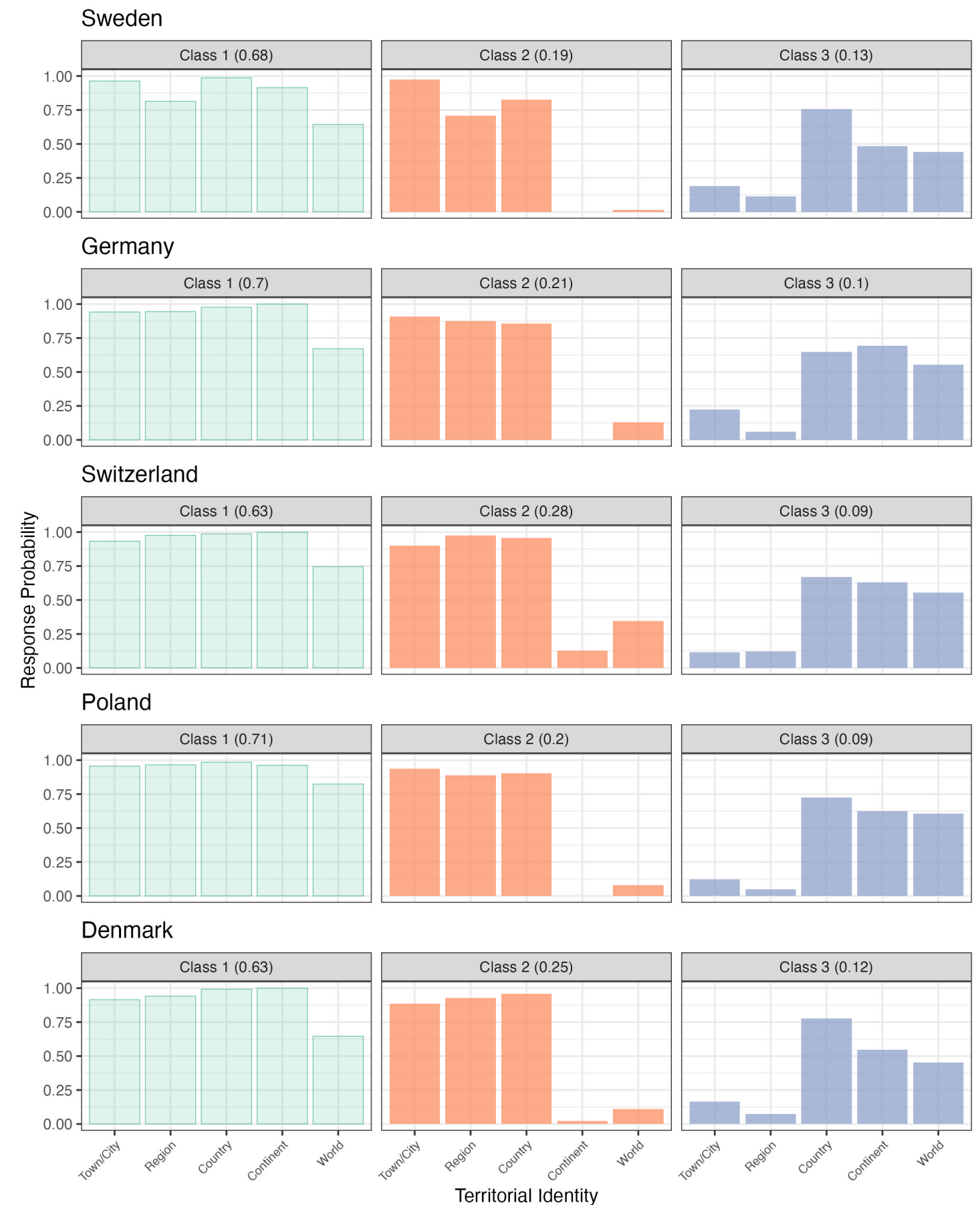
Implications

1. Scope of Polarization Is Overstated
2. Particularists and Expansivists in a Subset of Europe
3. Identification Patterns **Overlap with Electoral Divisions**



Implications

1. Scope of Polarization Is Overstated
2. Particularists and Expansivists in a Subset of Europe
3. Identification Patterns Overlap with Electoral Divisions
4. **Globalists Are Nationalists, Too**



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