

Cosmopolitans, Nationalists, and the Identity Component in Cleavage Politics

Martin Lukk | University of Toronto

LUNN Postgraduate Conference | June 6, 2024

✉ martin.lukk@mail.utoronto.ca | ⓧ @martin_lukk

What is the relationship between global and local identification?

How is it linked to political conflict?

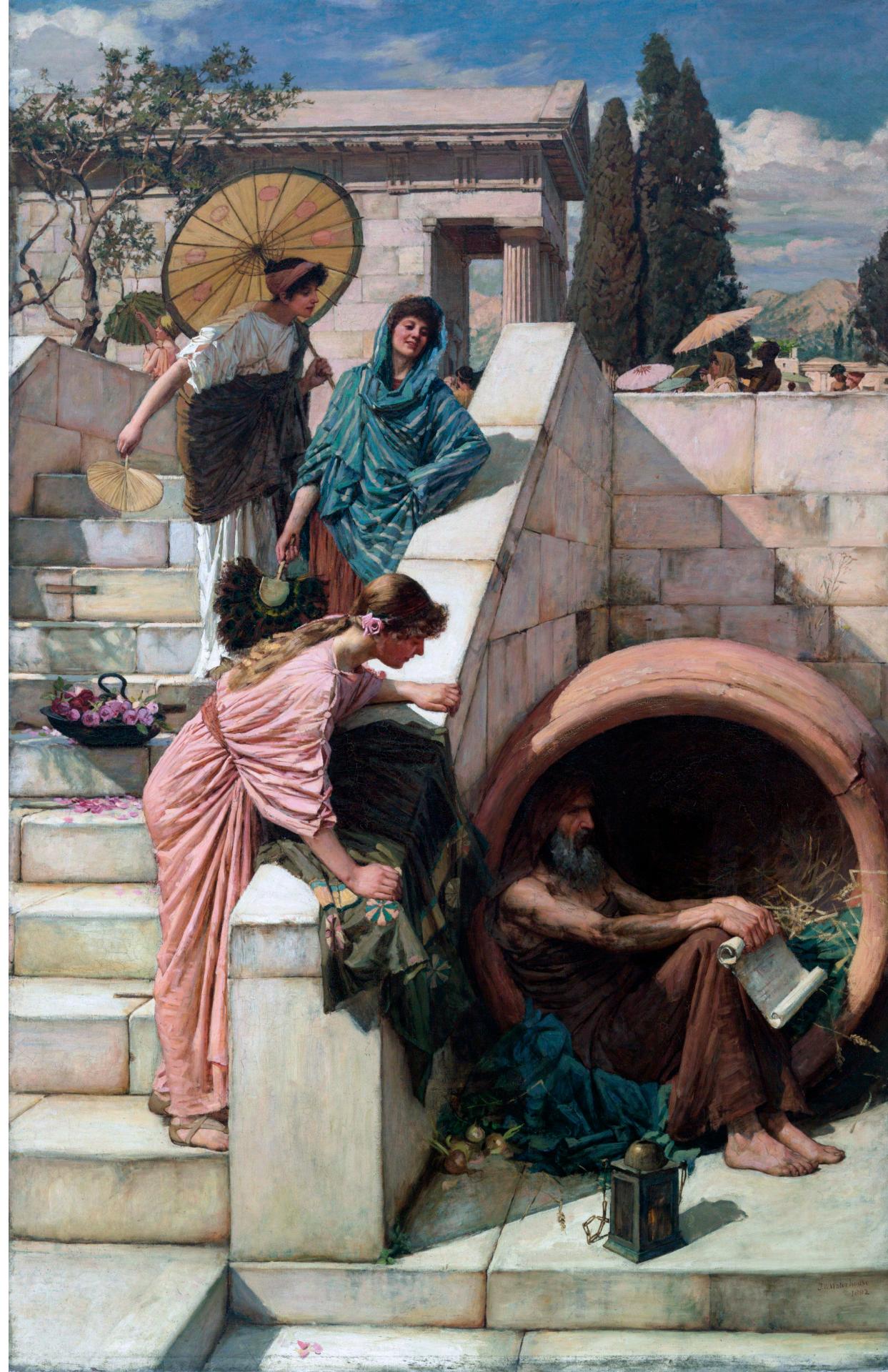
Motivations

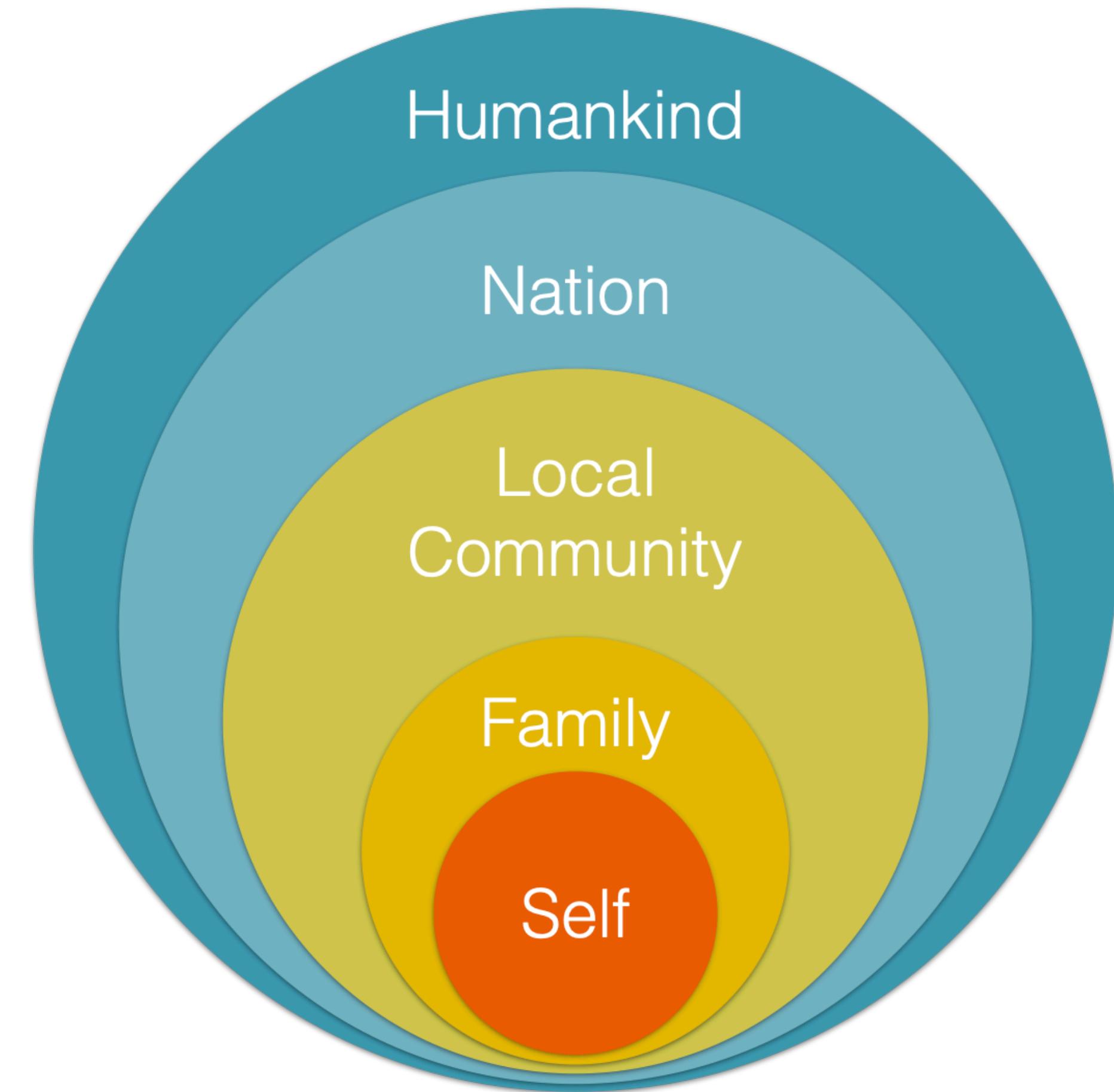
Motivations

- Various theoretical traditions recognize ***multiple*** identification

Motivations

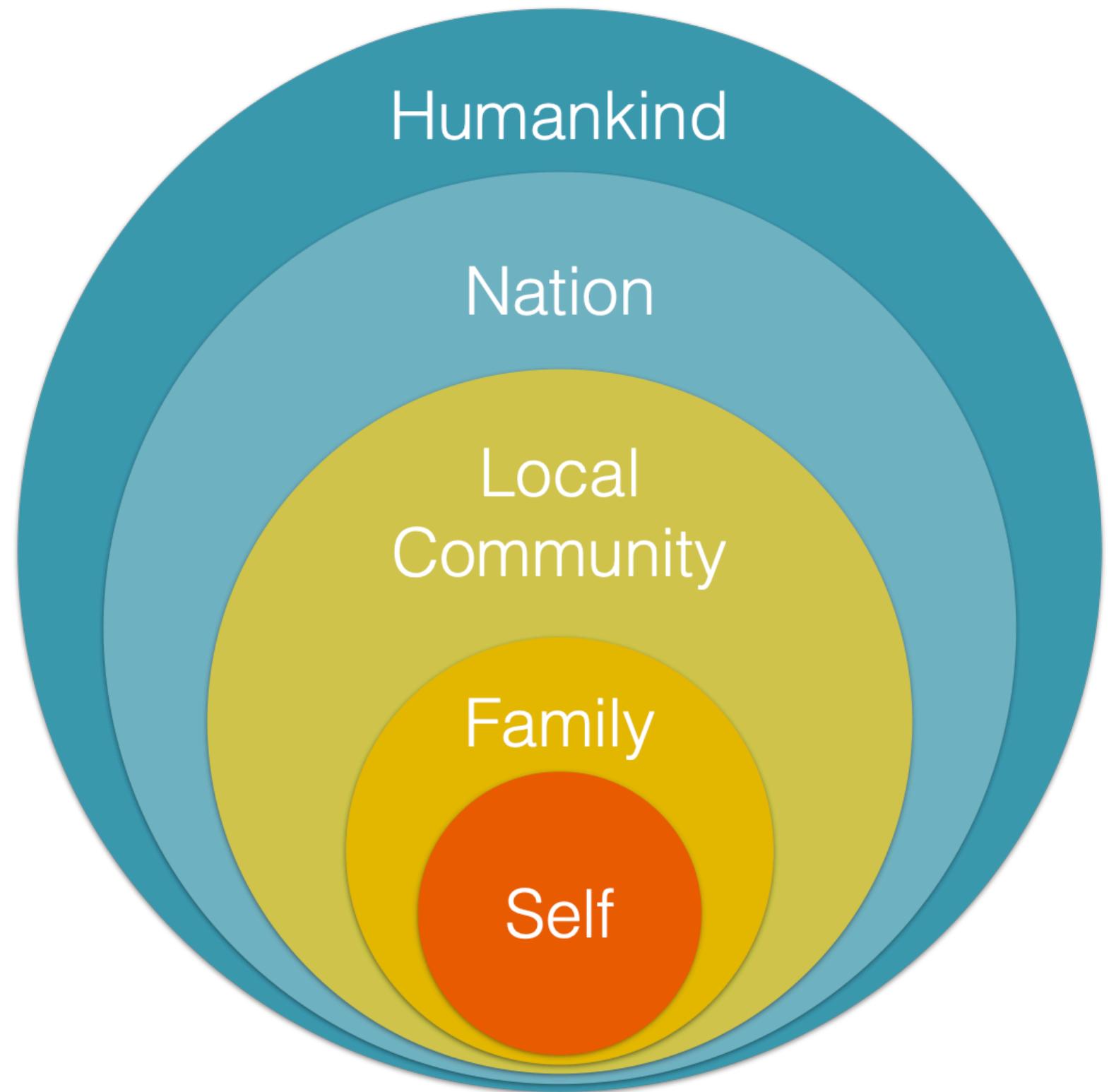
- Various theoretical traditions recognize ***multiple*** identification
 - Ancient political thought





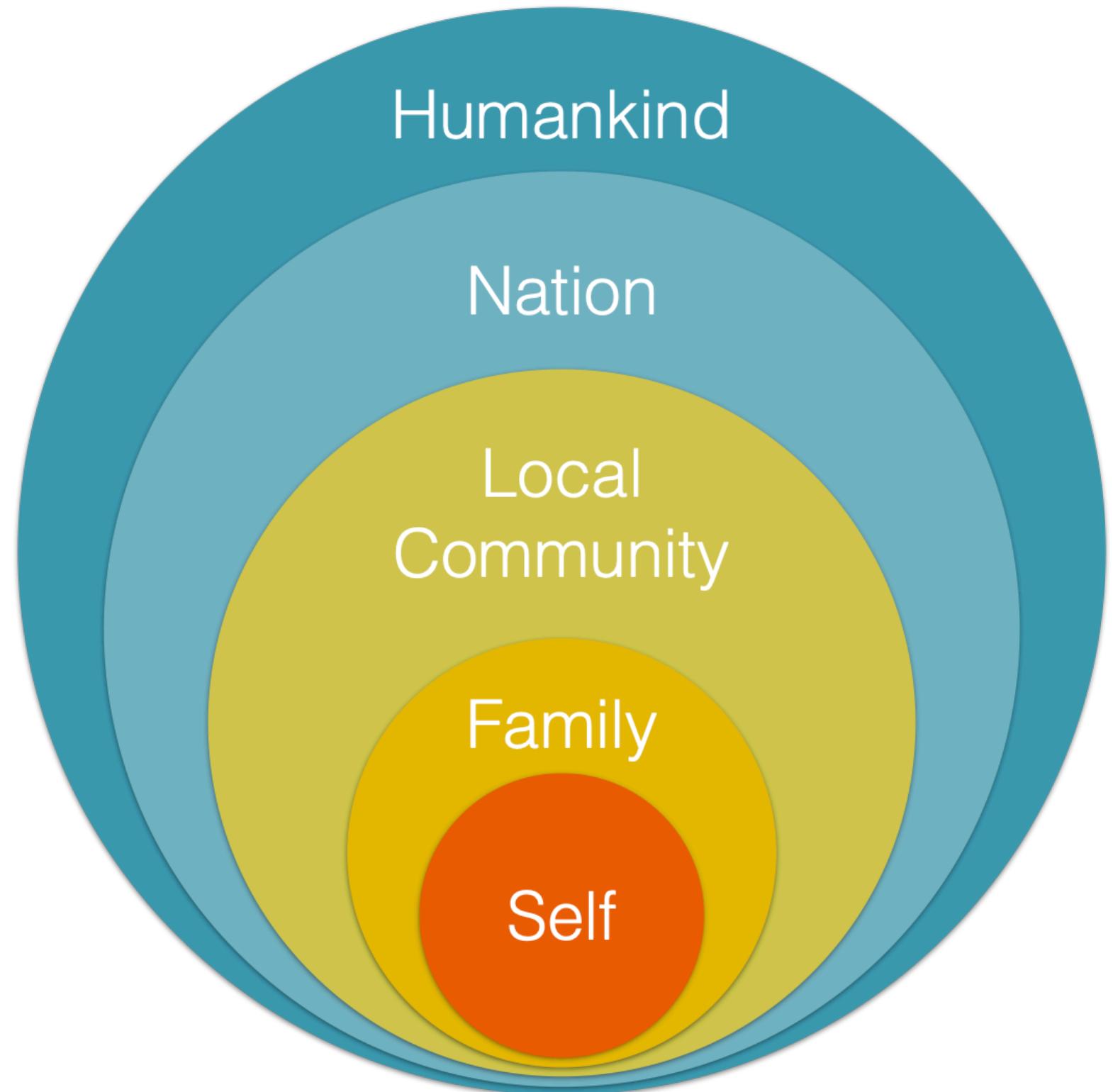
Motivations

- Various theoretical traditions recognize ***multiple*** identification
 - Ancient political thought
 - Cosmopolitan political theory



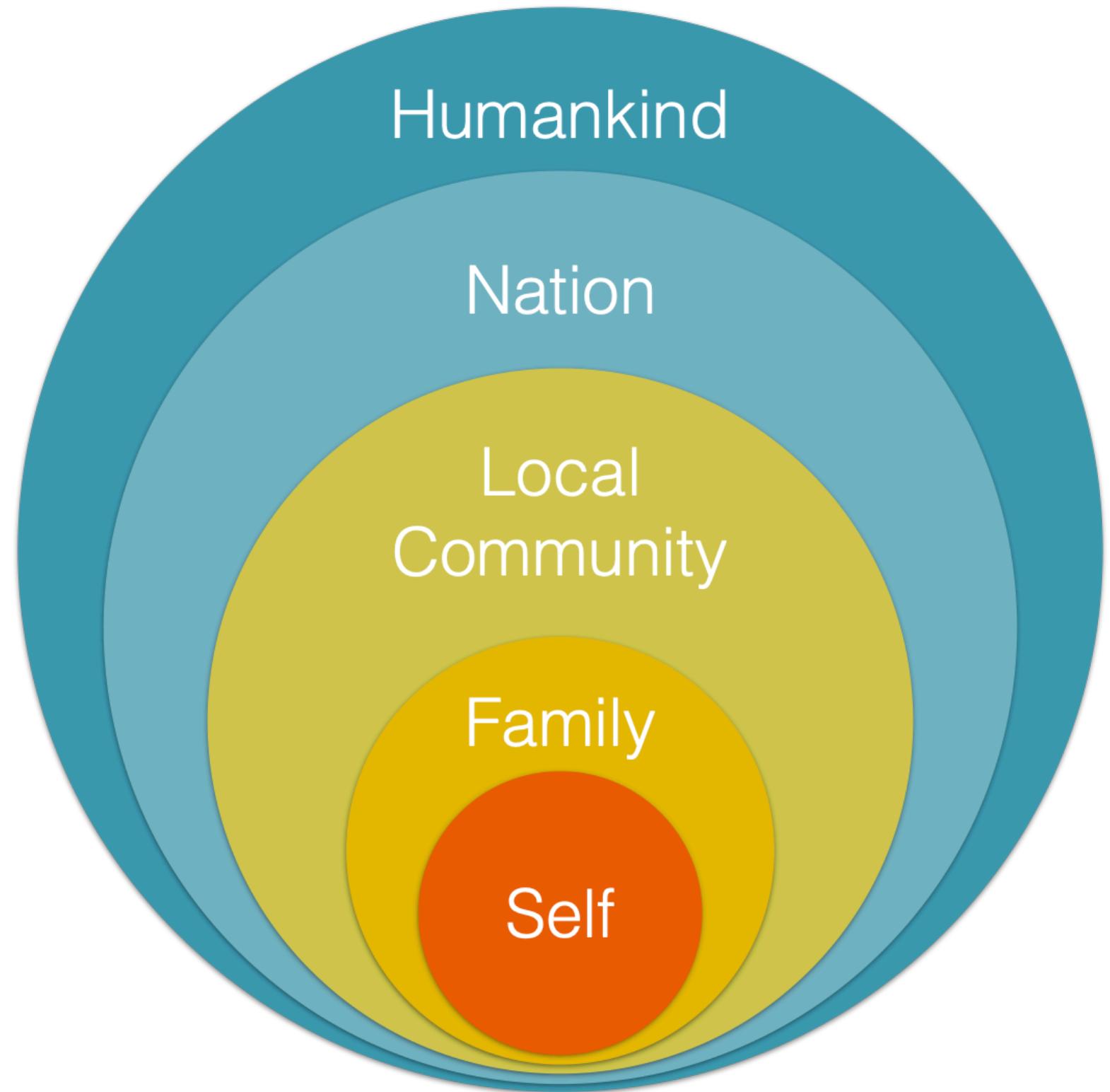
Motivations

- Various theoretical traditions recognize ***multiple*** identification
 - Ancient political thought
 - Cosmopolitan political theory
 - Contemporary social + sociological theory

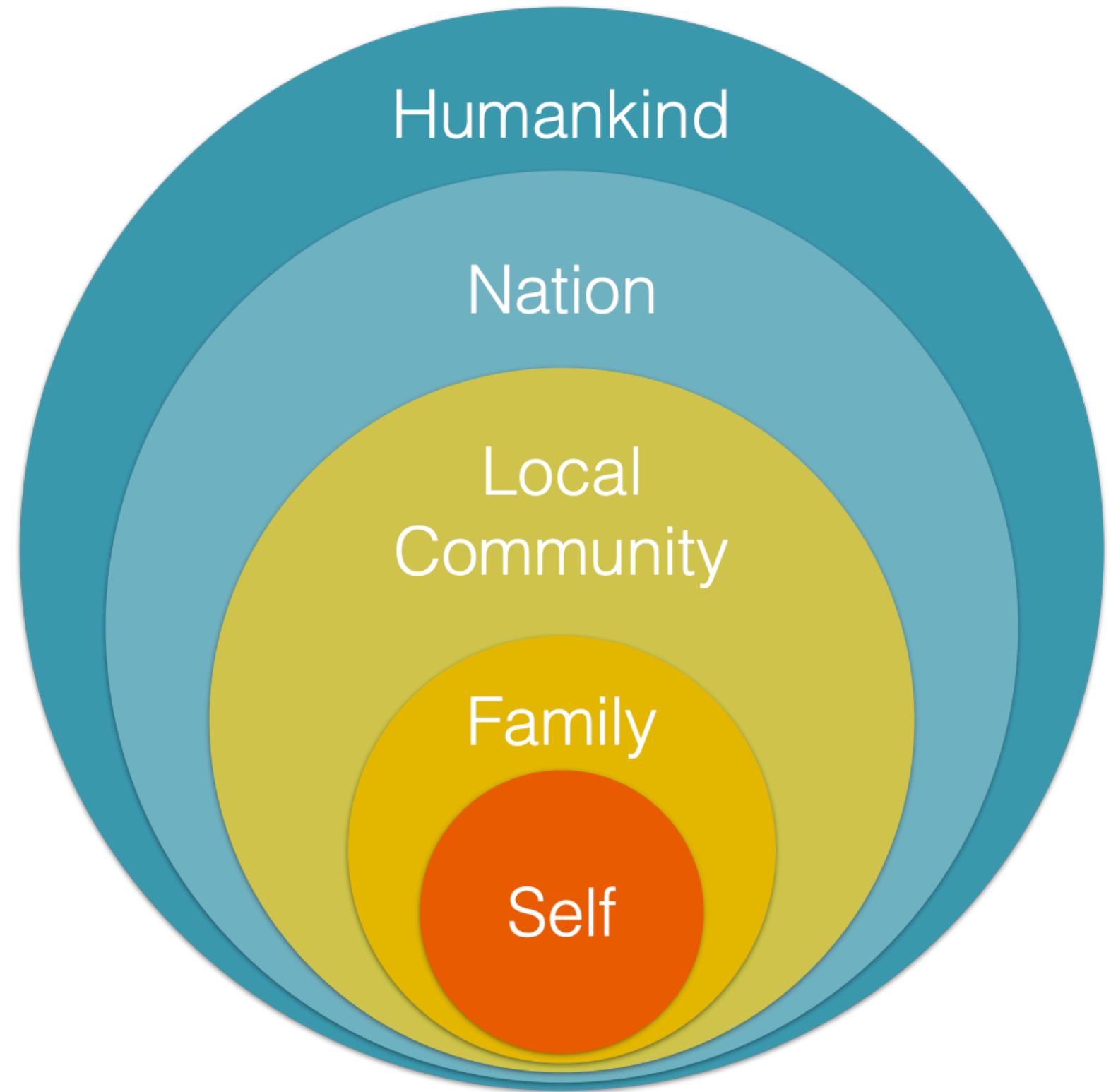


Motivations

- Various theoretical traditions recognize ***multiple, nested, and overlapping*** identification
- Empirical research tends to study ***singular*** identities (or pairs)

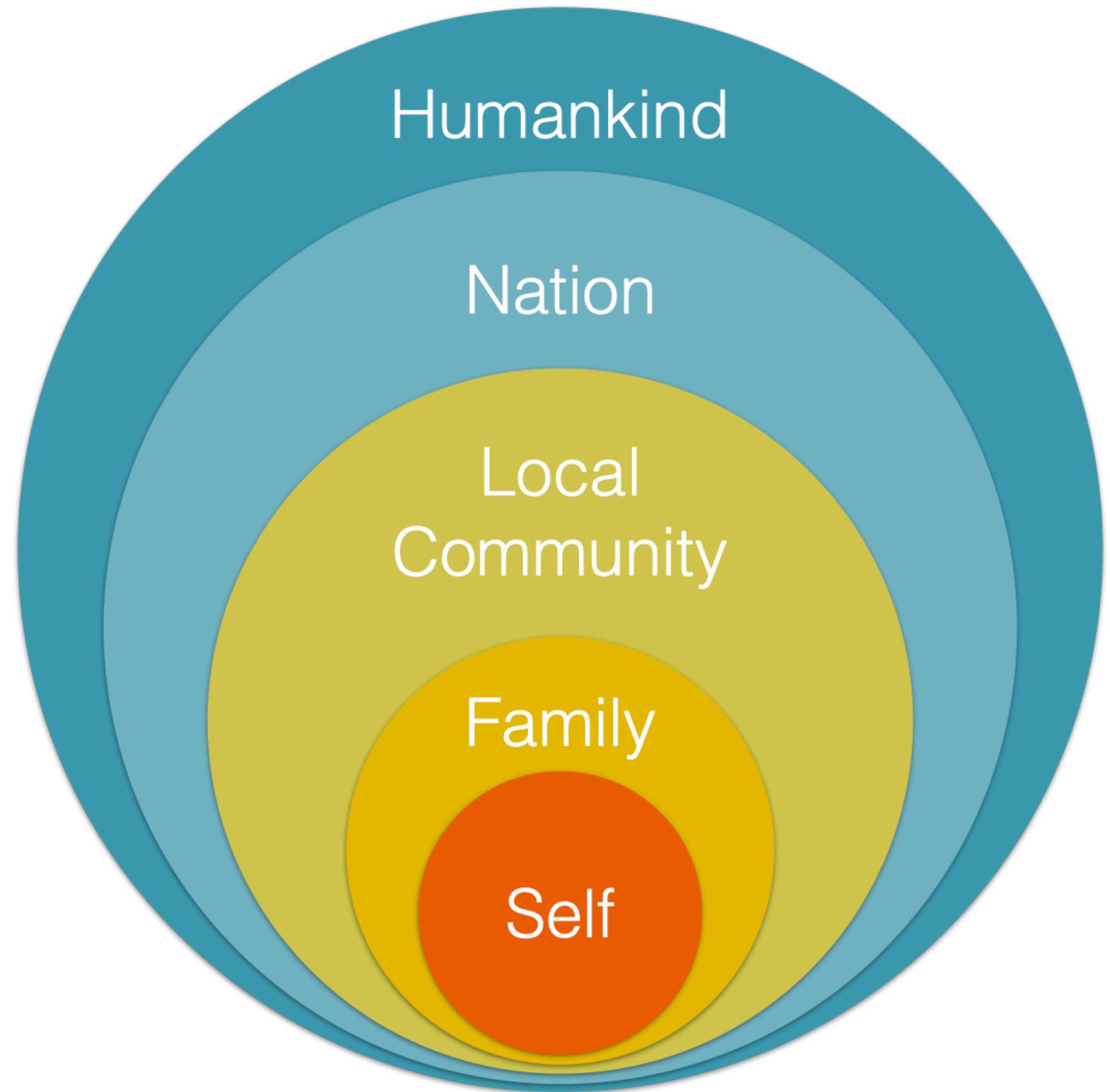


Motivations



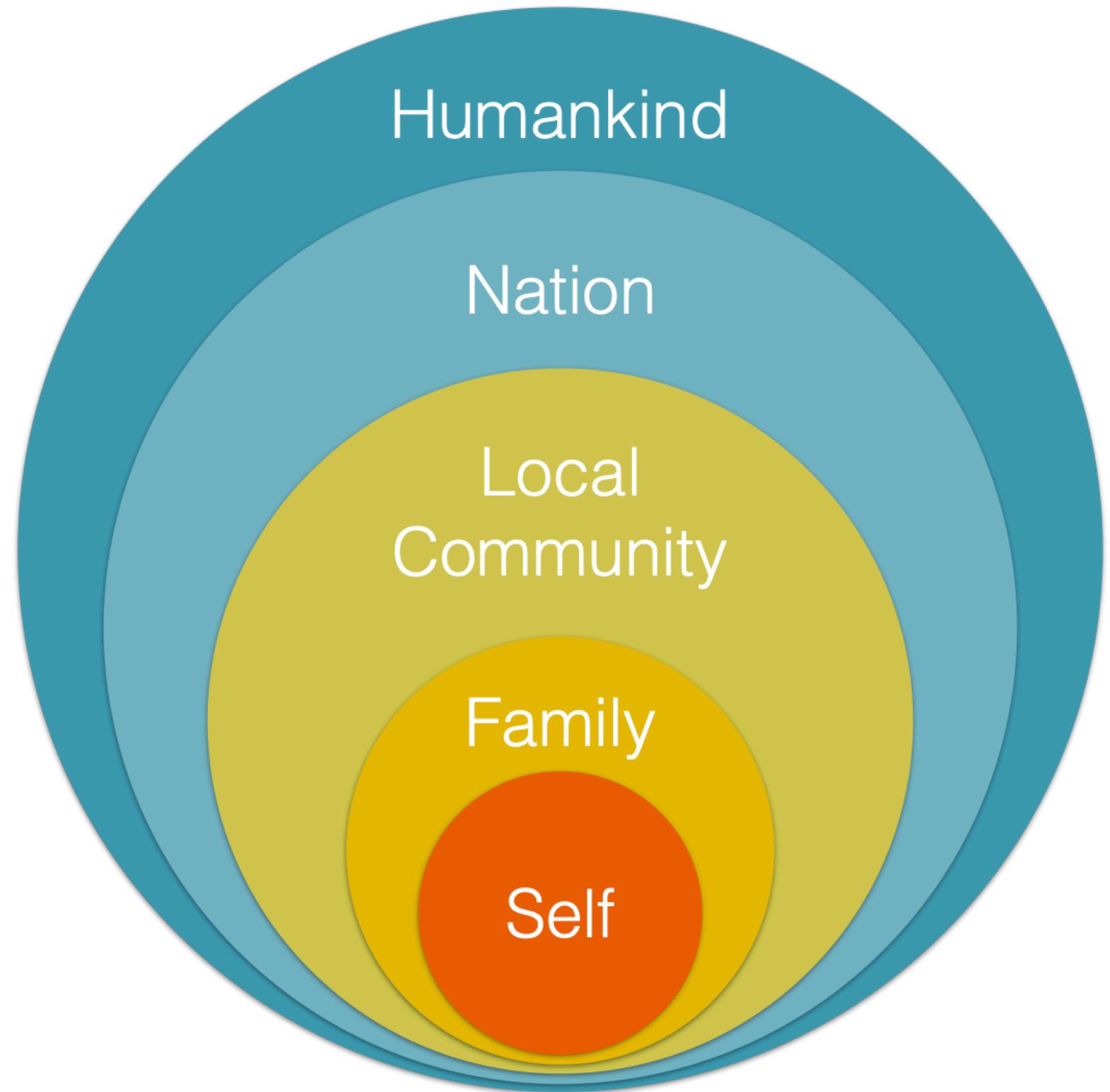
Motivations

- **Changing Cleavage Politics of W. Europe**



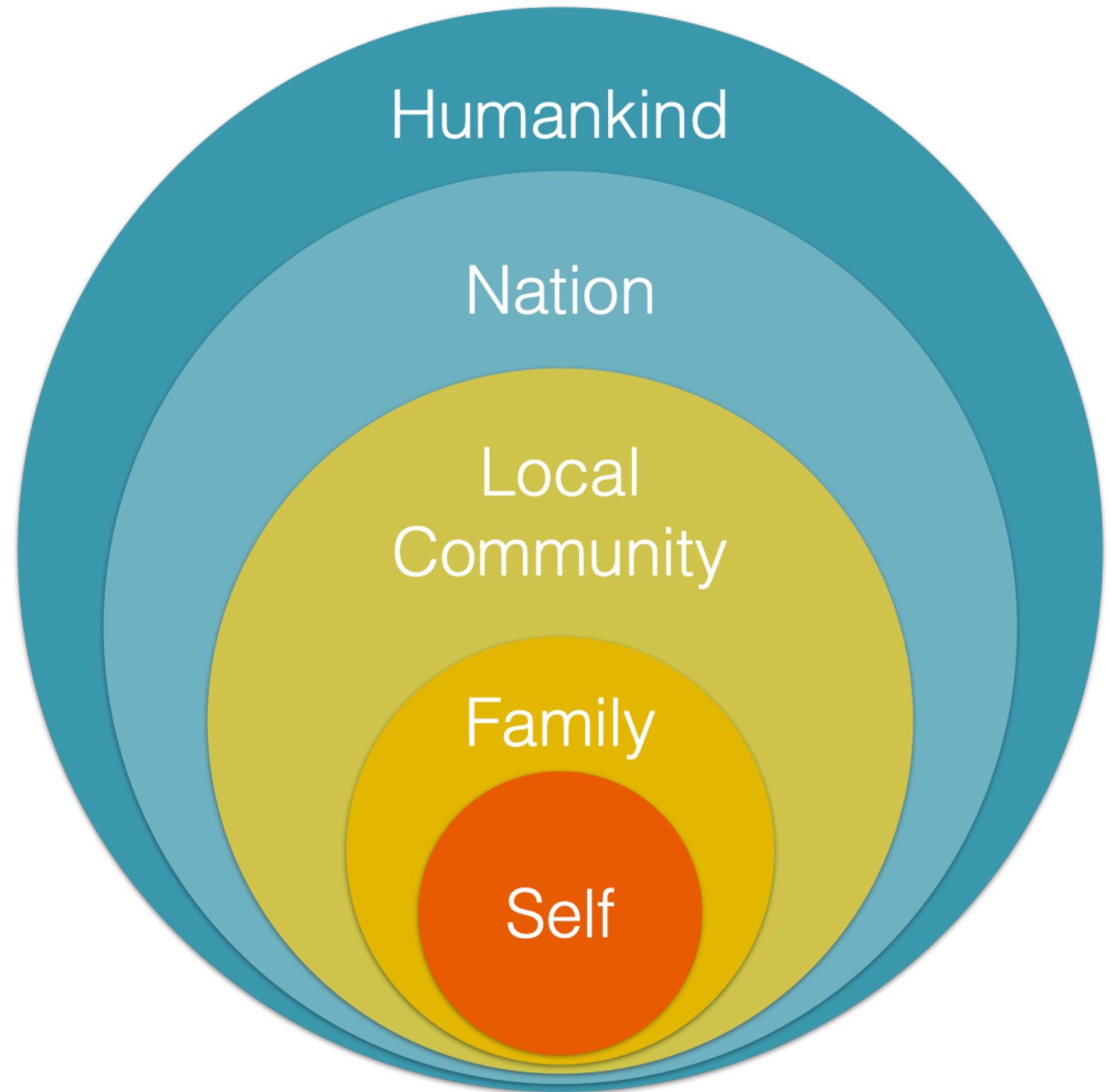
Motivations

- **Changing Cleavage Politics of W. Europe**
 - Decline of traditional electoral cleavages



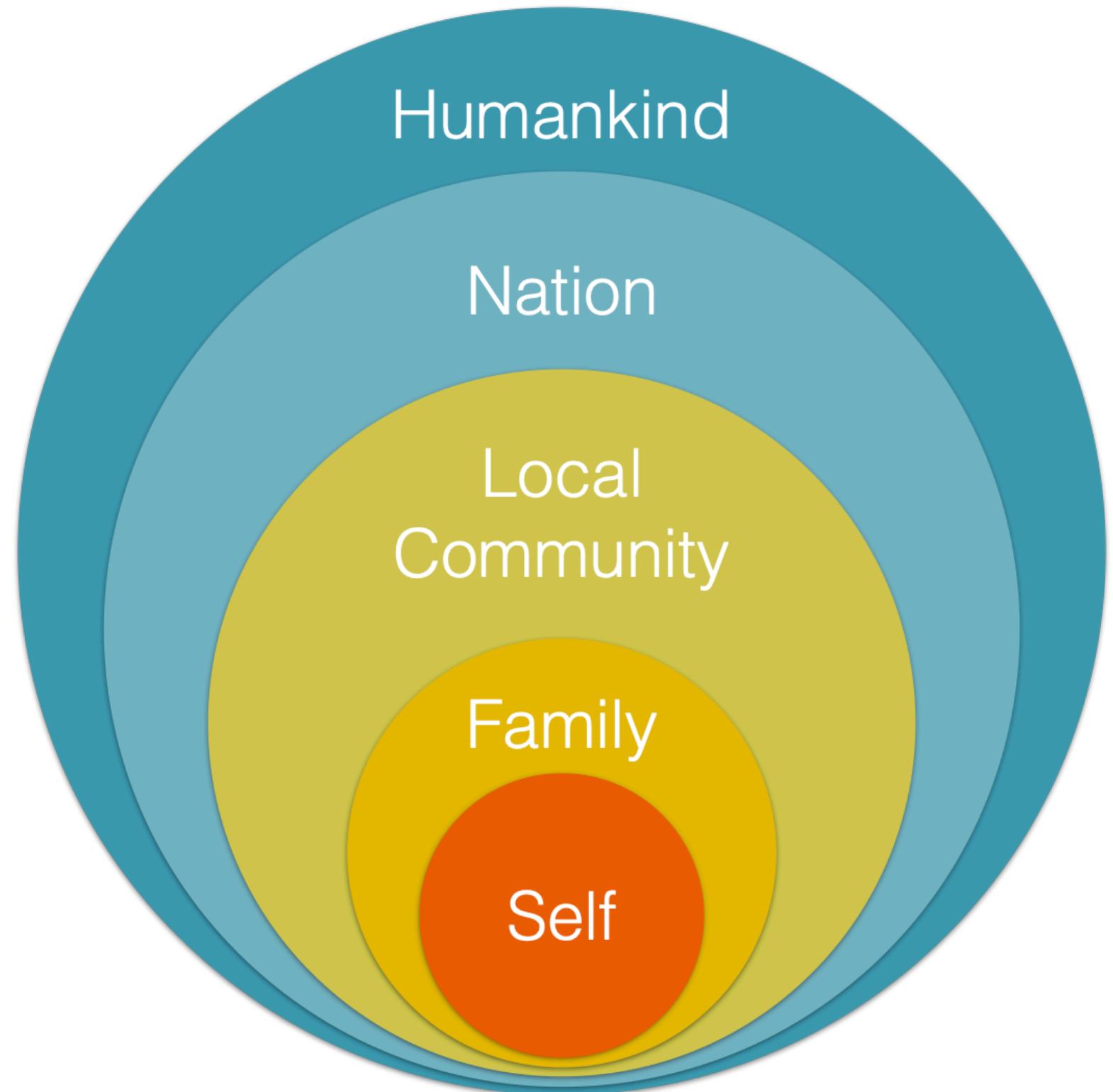
Motivations

- **Changing Cleavage Politics of W. Europe**
 - Decline of traditional electoral cleavages
 - Emergence of new cleavages



Motivations

- **Changing Cleavage Politics of W. Europe**
 - Decline of traditional electoral cleavages
 - Emergence of new cleavages
 - **Cosmopolitans versus Nationalists**



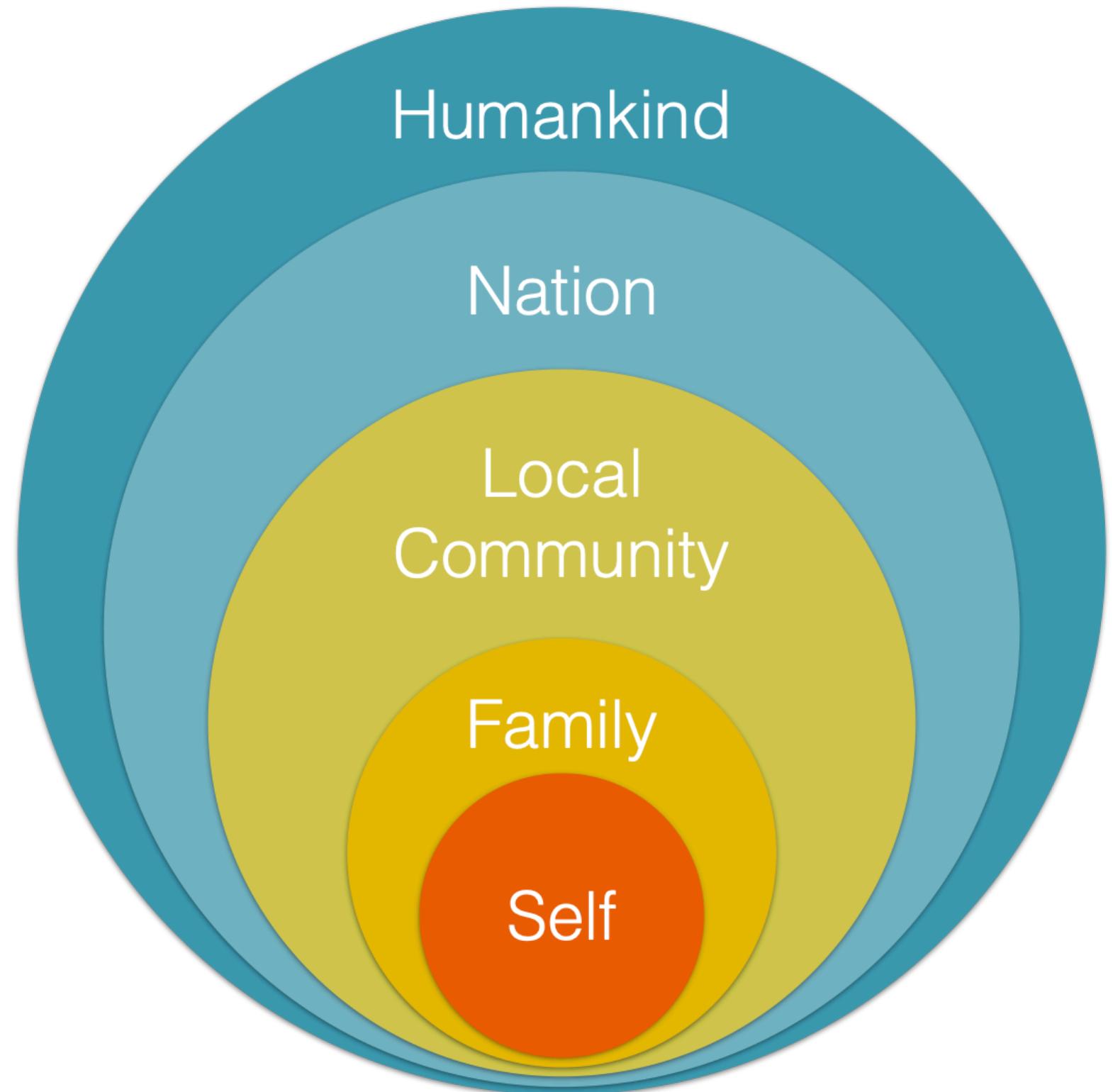
"Universalists" vs. "Particularists"

"Cosmopolitans" vs. "Parochials"

"Globalists" vs. "Nationalism"

Motivations

- **Changing Cleavage Politics** of W. Europe
 - Decline of traditional electoral cleavages
 - Emergence of new cleavages
 - **Cosmopolitans** versus **Nationalists**



Data and Method

- Inductively analyzes identification across 5 territorial identities
- **European Values Survey** (Wave 5, 2017-2020)
 - $N_{\text{individuals}} = 58,103$; $N_{\text{countries}} = 35$

"How close do you feel to...?"

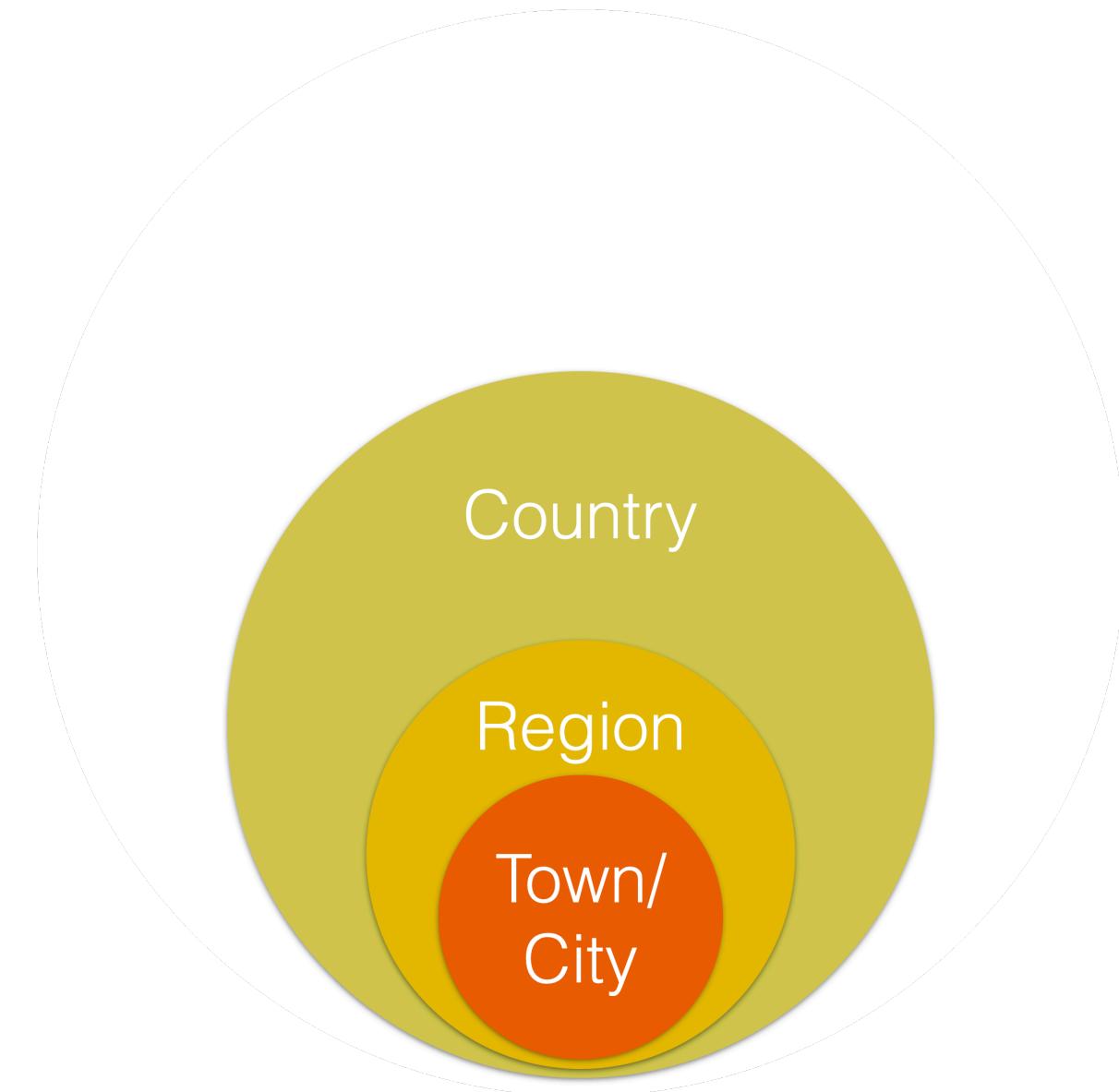
"How close do you feel to...?"



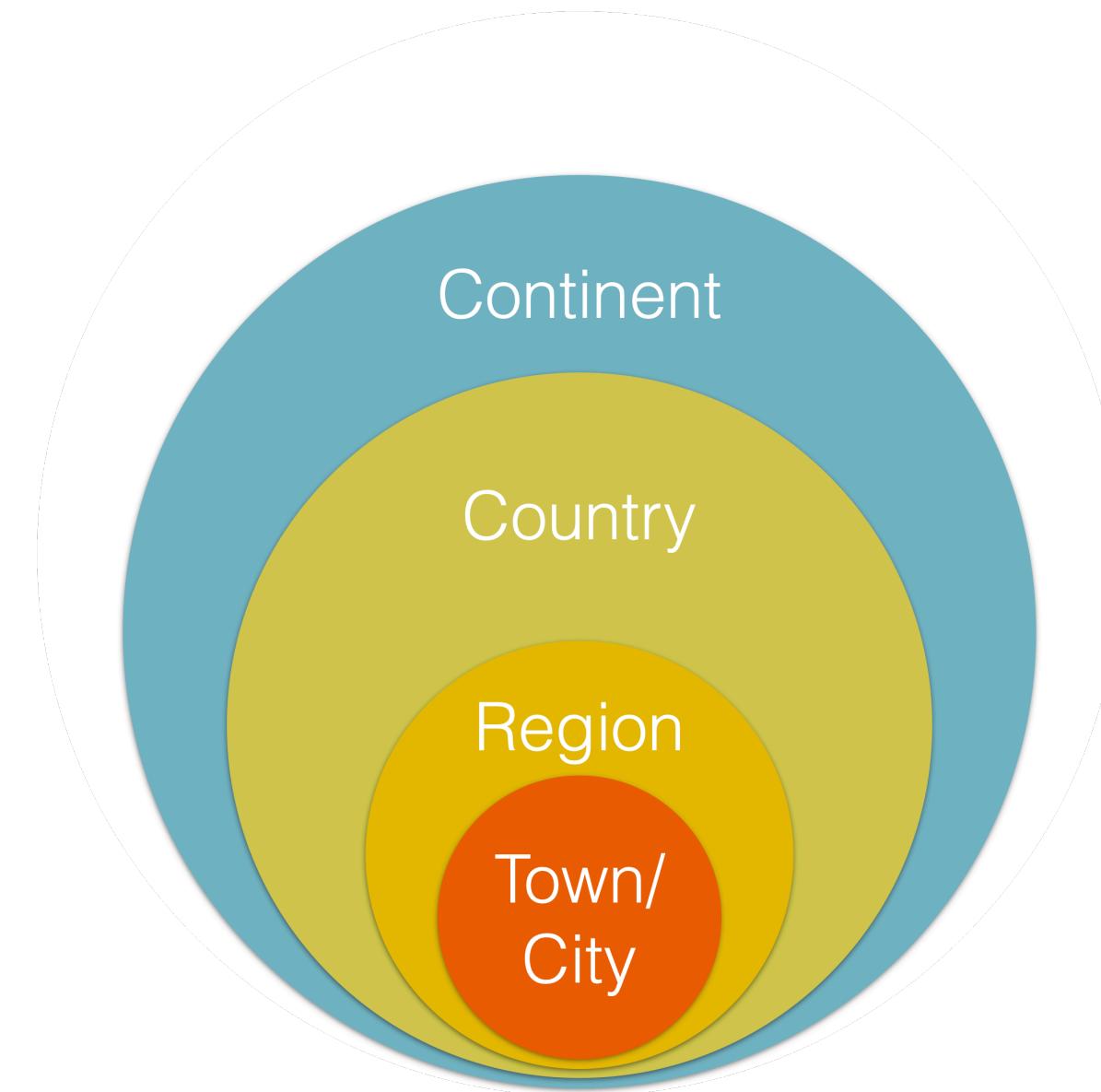
"How close do you feel to...?"



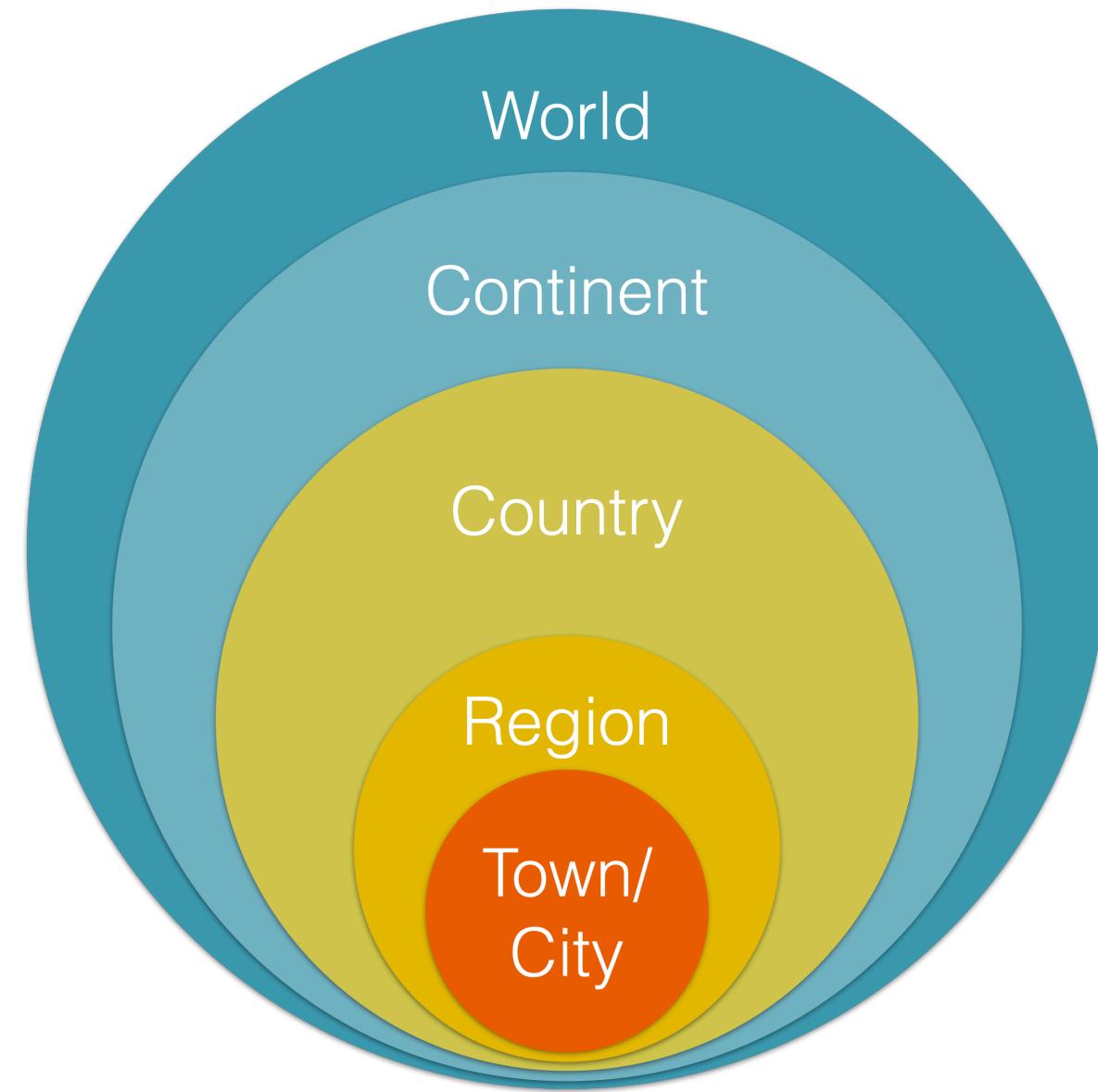
"How close do you feel to...?"



"How close do you feel to...?"



"How close do you feel to...?"



"Not close at all"

"Not very close"

"Close"

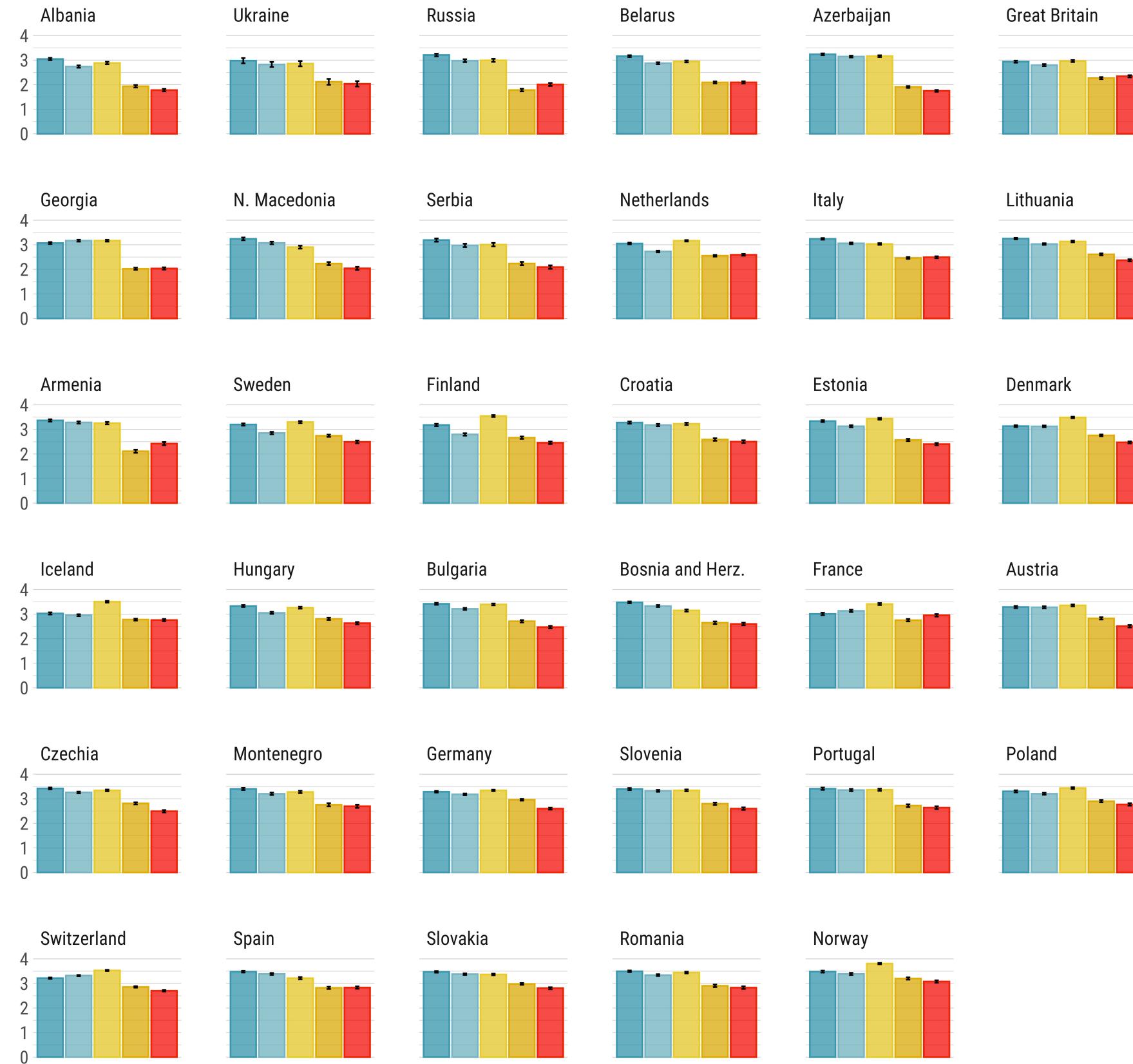
"Very close"

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...?" (town/city, region, country, continent, world)
 - 4-point response scale
- **Latent Class Analysis**
 - Identify subsets of respondents with distinct patterns of responses across relevant observed variables

Findings

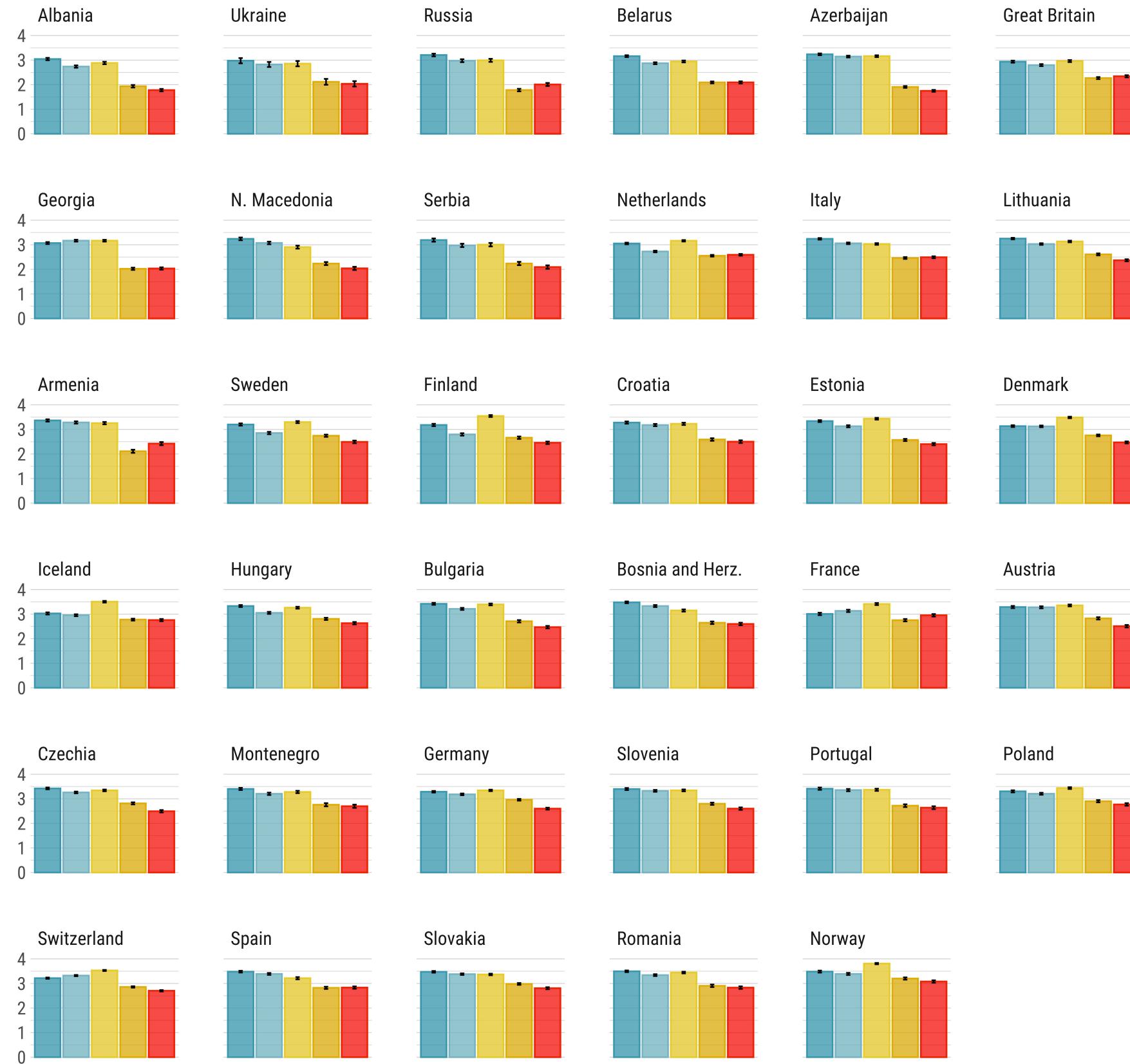
Descriptive



How close do you feel to: Town Region Country Continent World

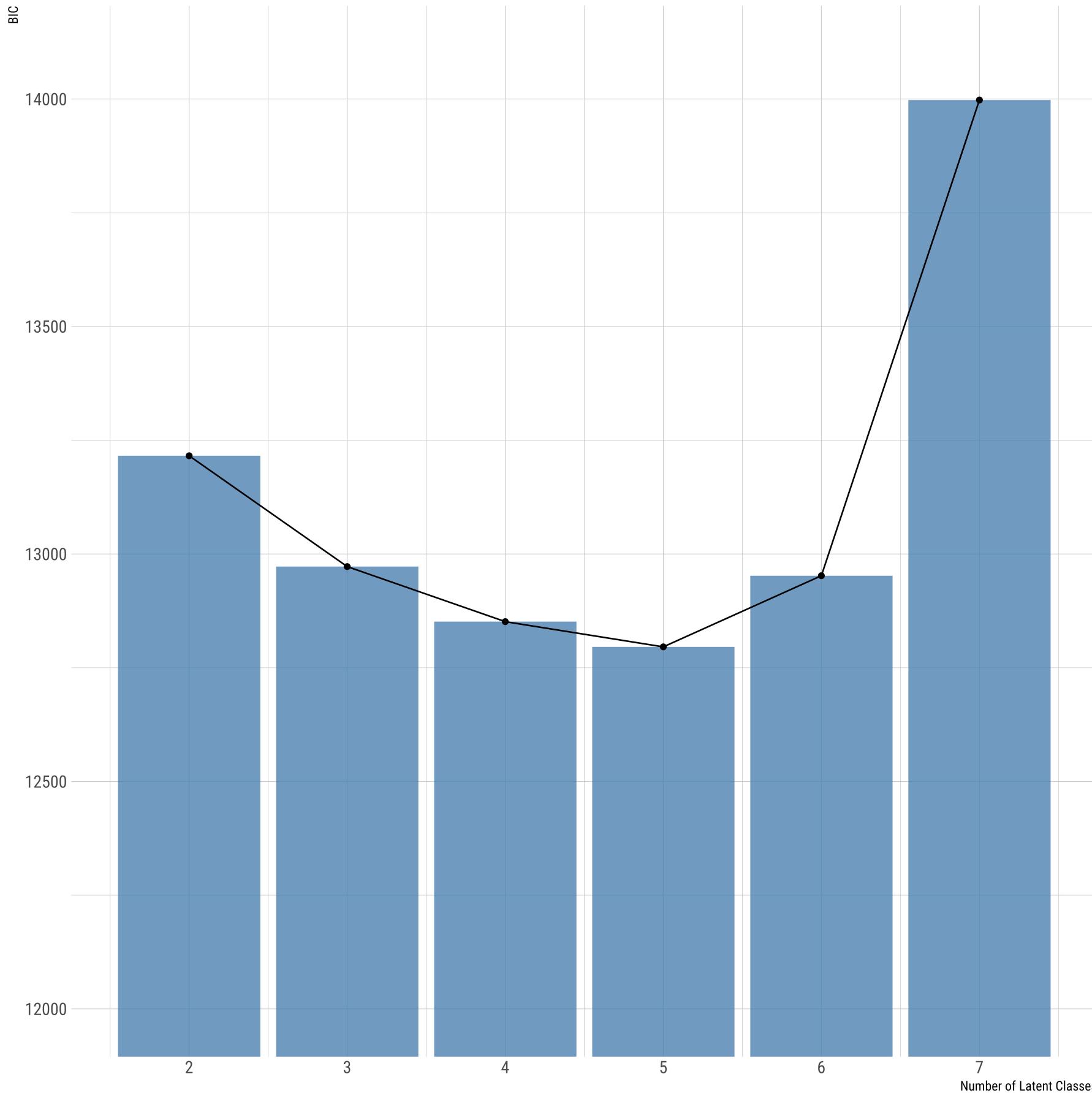
Findings

Descriptive

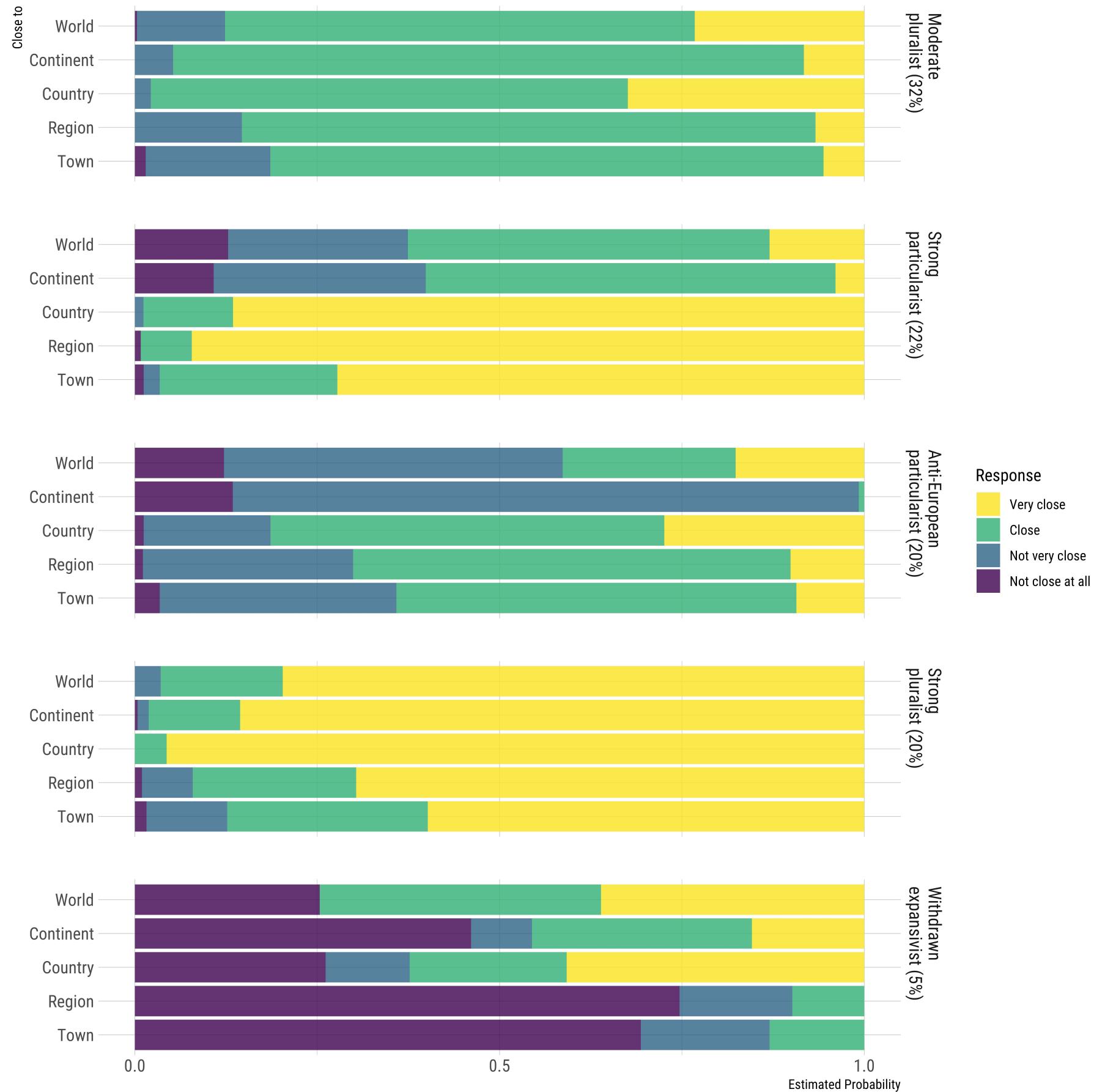


How close do you feel to: Town Region Country Continent World

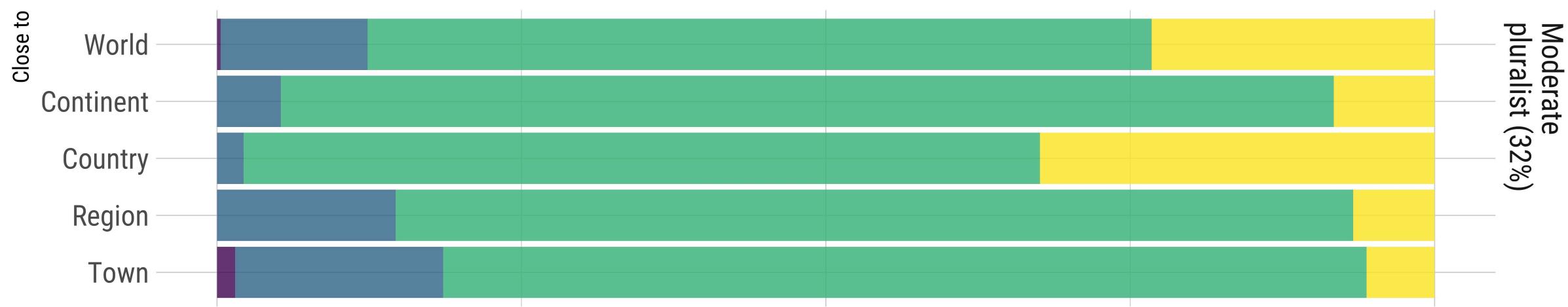
Findings Latent Classes (UK)



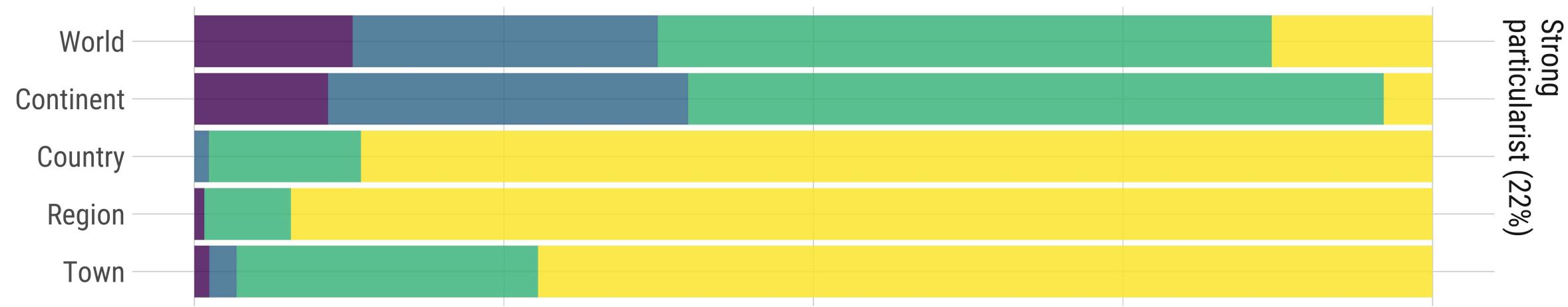
Findings Latent Classes (UK)



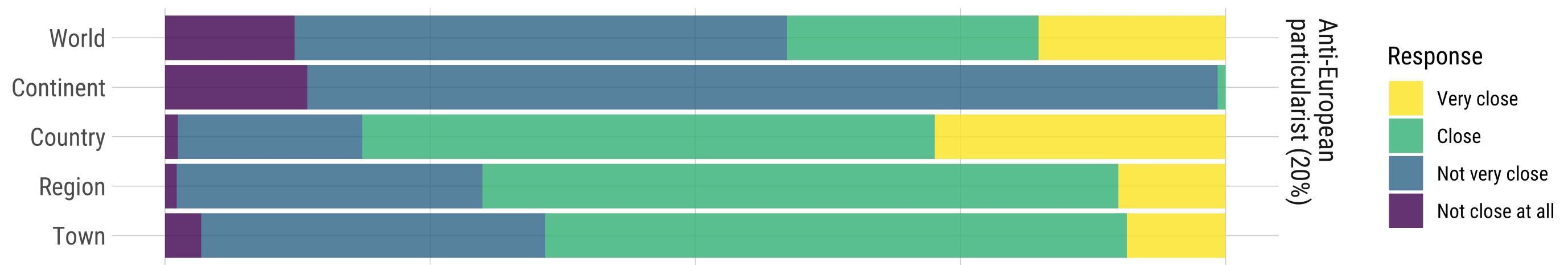
1. "Moderate Pluralist"



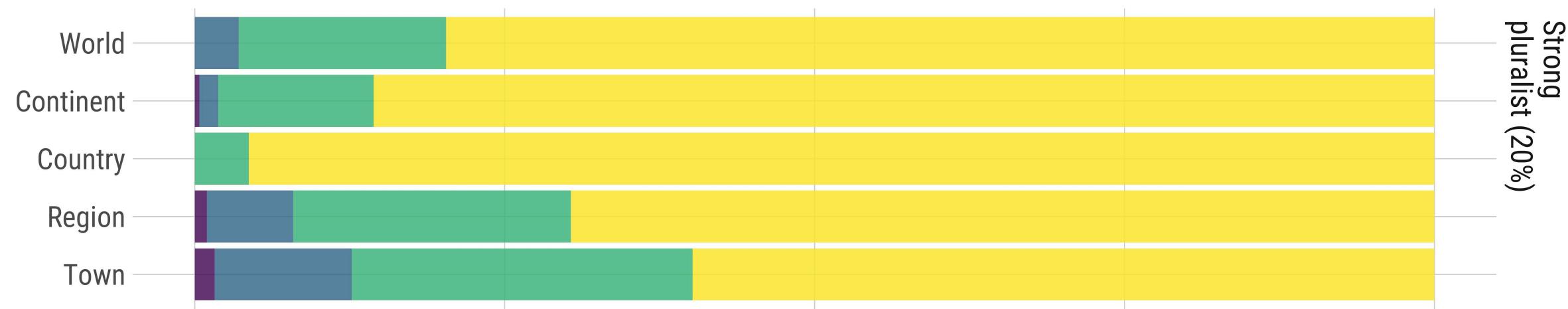
2. "Strong Particularist"



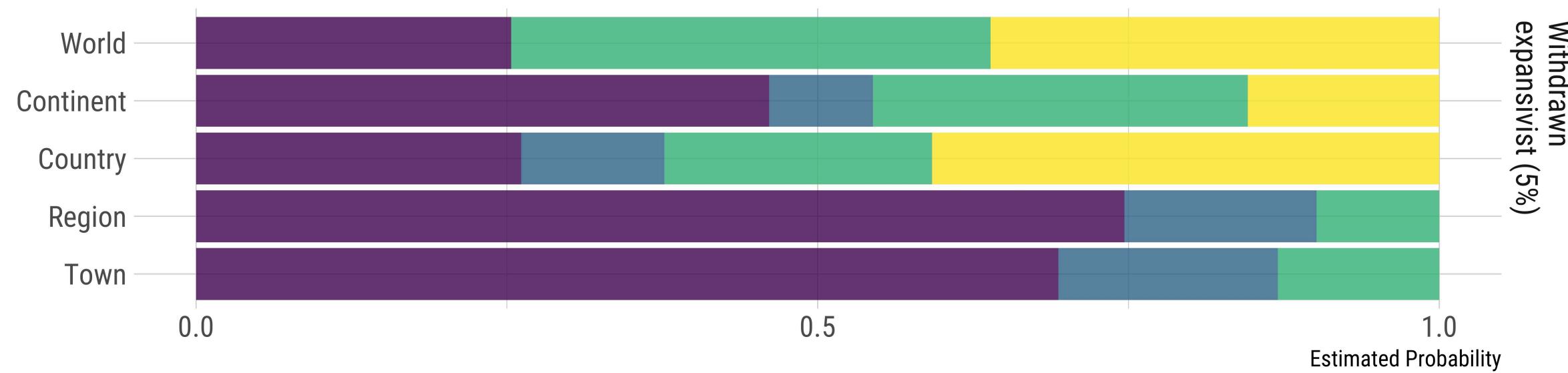
3. "Anti-European Particularist"



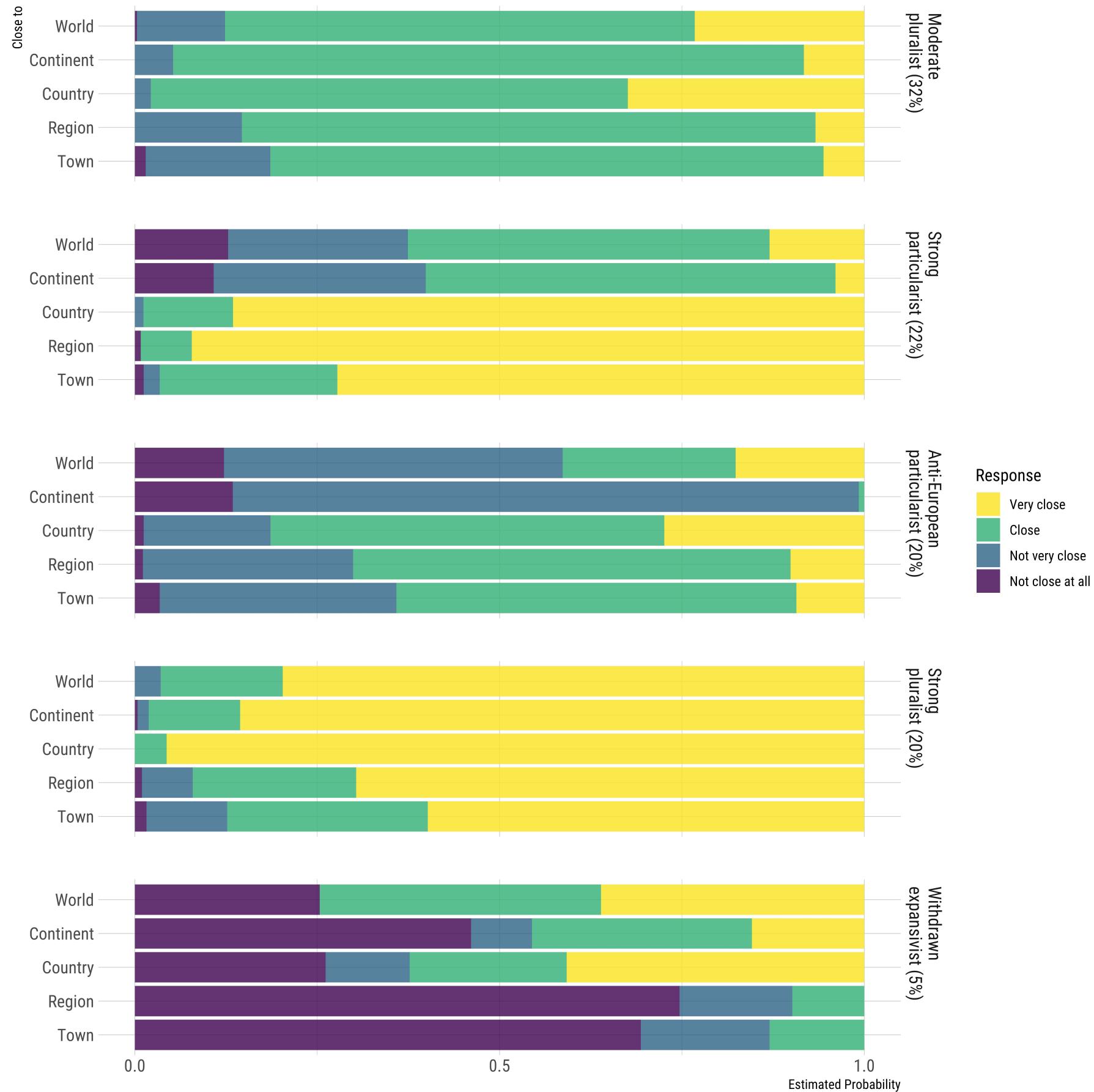
4. "Strong Pluralist"



5. "Withdrawn Expansivist"



Findings Latent Classes (UK)



Implications

1. **Empirical evidence** of multiple collective identification
2. **National identification** exists **alongside other identification**
3. **Global and local identities are compatible**, not zero-sum
4. Cosmopolitans vs. nationalists is a **false dichotomy**

Cosmopolitans, Nationalists, and the Identity Component in Cleavage Politics

Martin Lukk | University of Toronto

LUNN Postgraduate Conference | June 6, 2024

✉ martin.lukk@mail.utoronto.ca | 🐦 @martin_lukk