

Beyond Cosmopolitans and Nationalists: Territorial Identification in Contemporary Europe

Martin Lukk | University of Toronto

ESS Conference | March 7, 2025

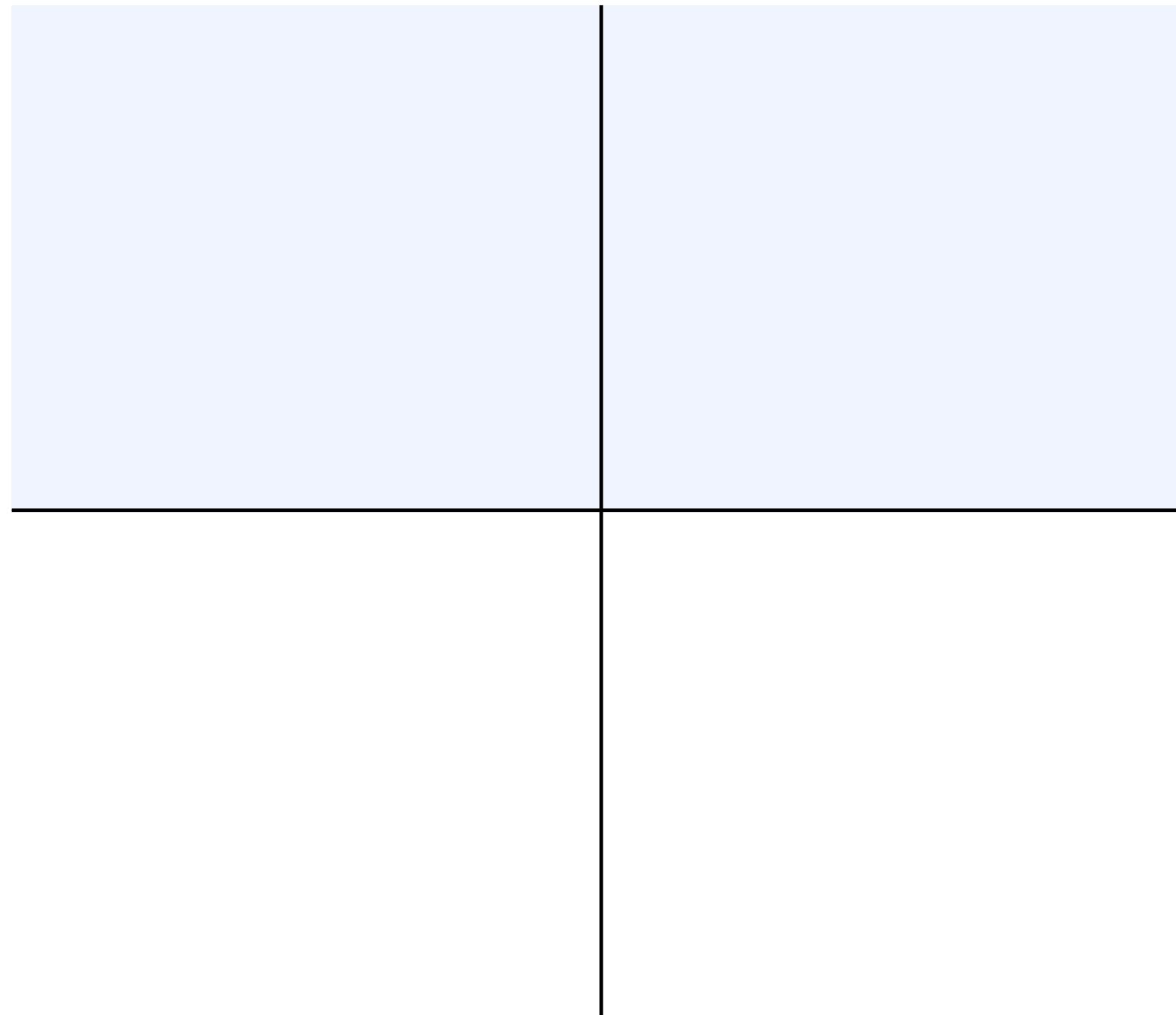
 martin.lukk@mail.utoronto.ca |  [@martinlukk](https://twitter.com/martinlukk)

**What is the relationship between
global and local identification?**

How is it linked to political conflict?

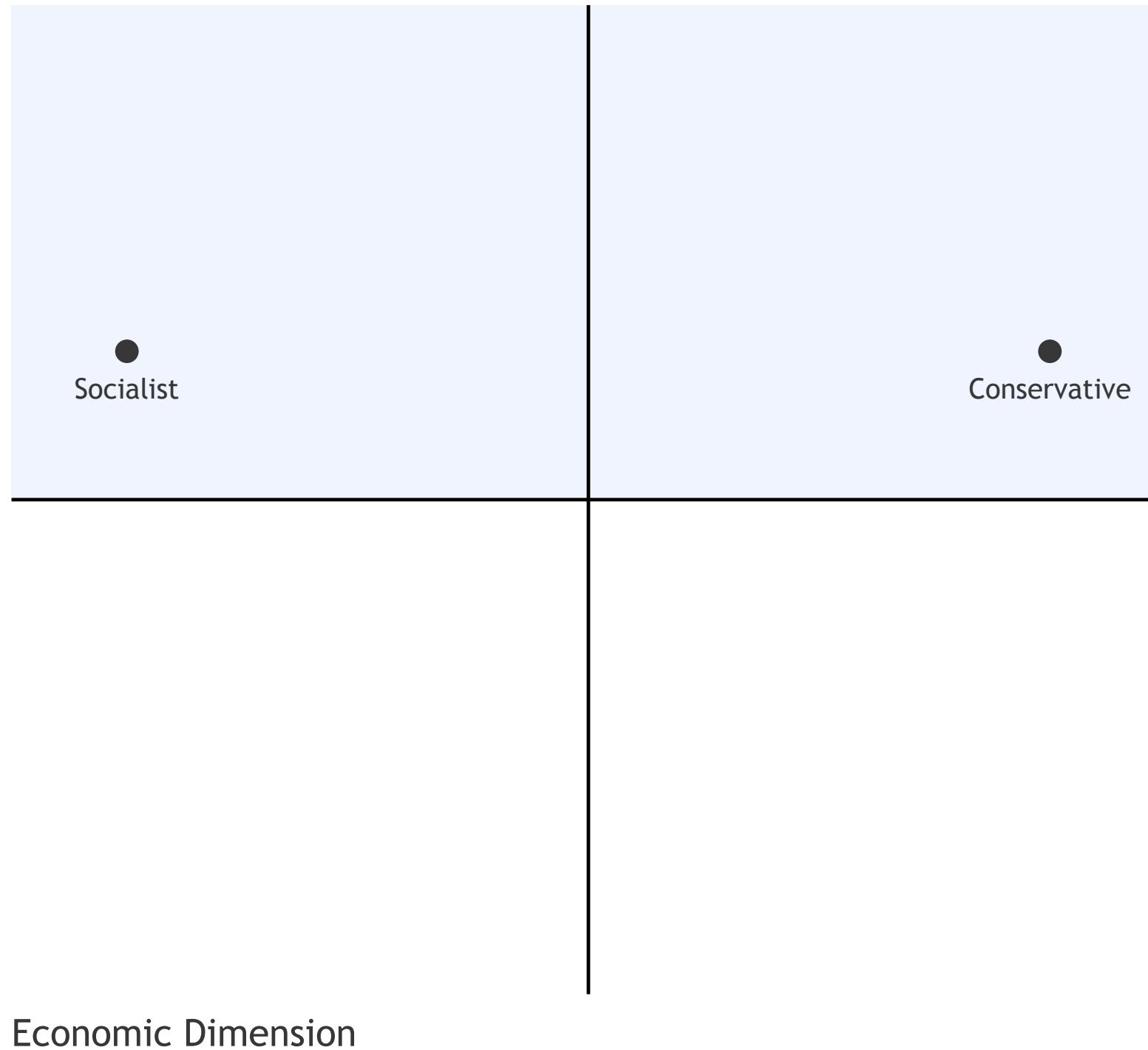
Background

Two-Dimensional Political Contestation

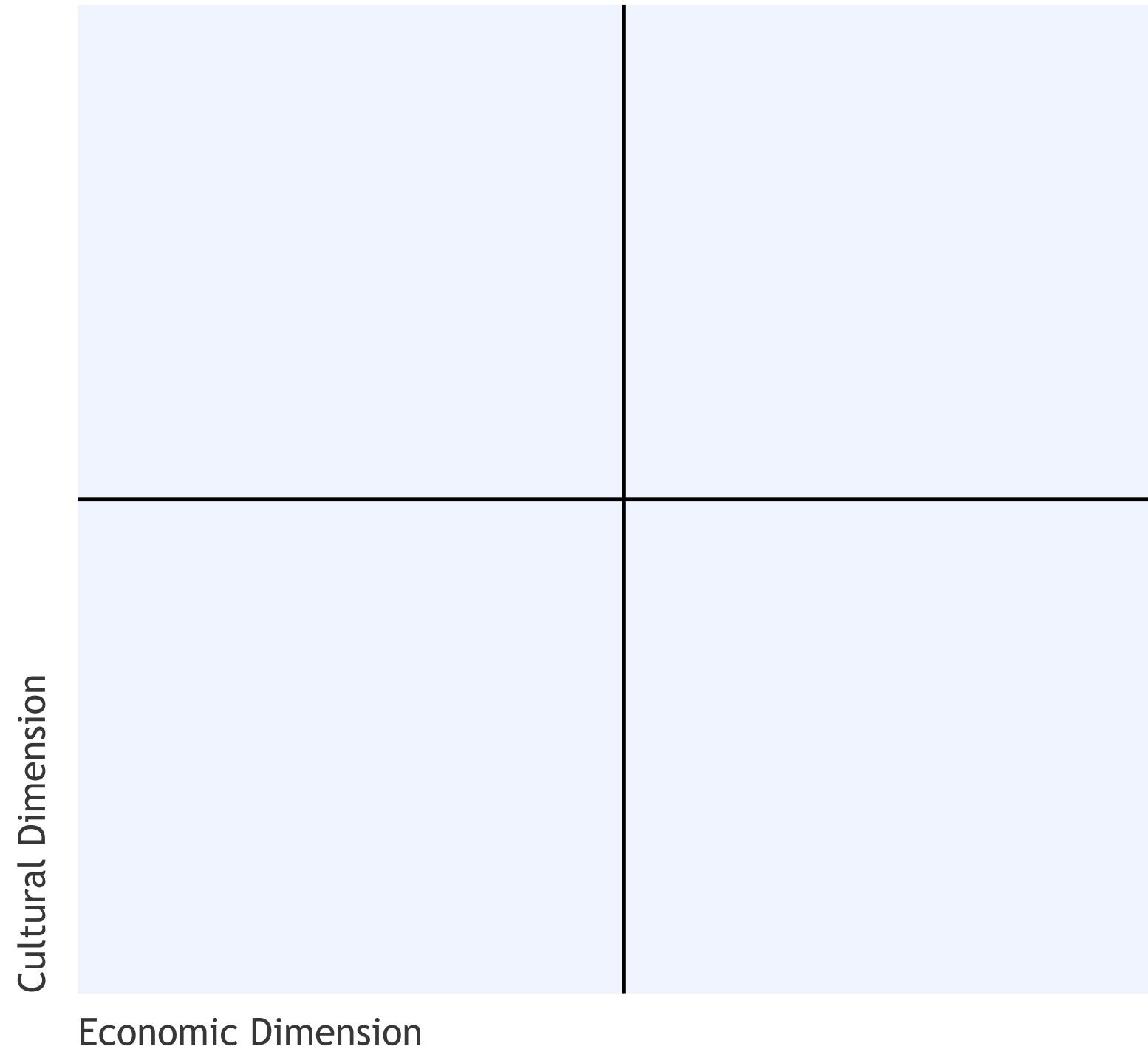


Economic Dimension

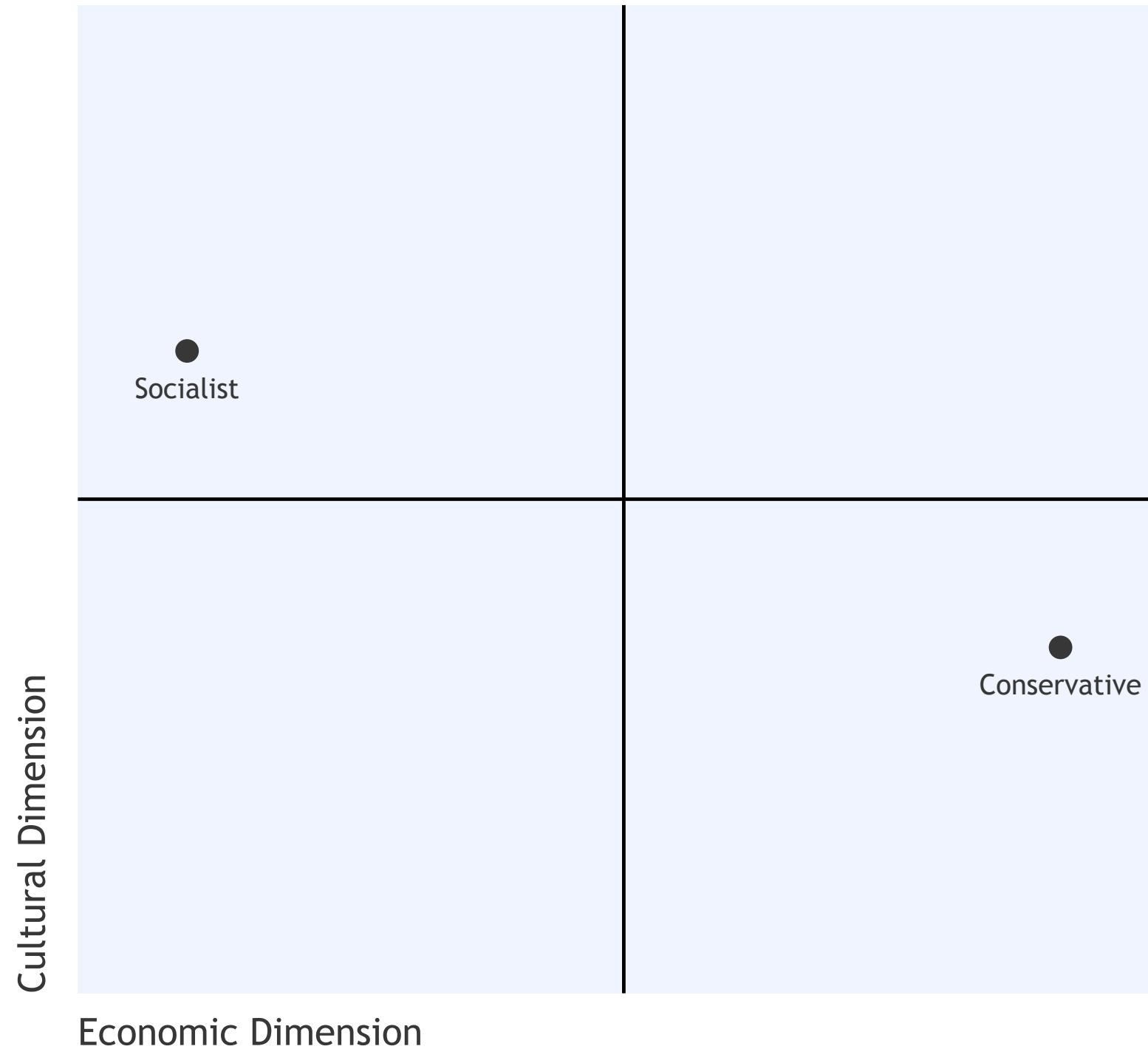
Two-Dimensional Political Contestation



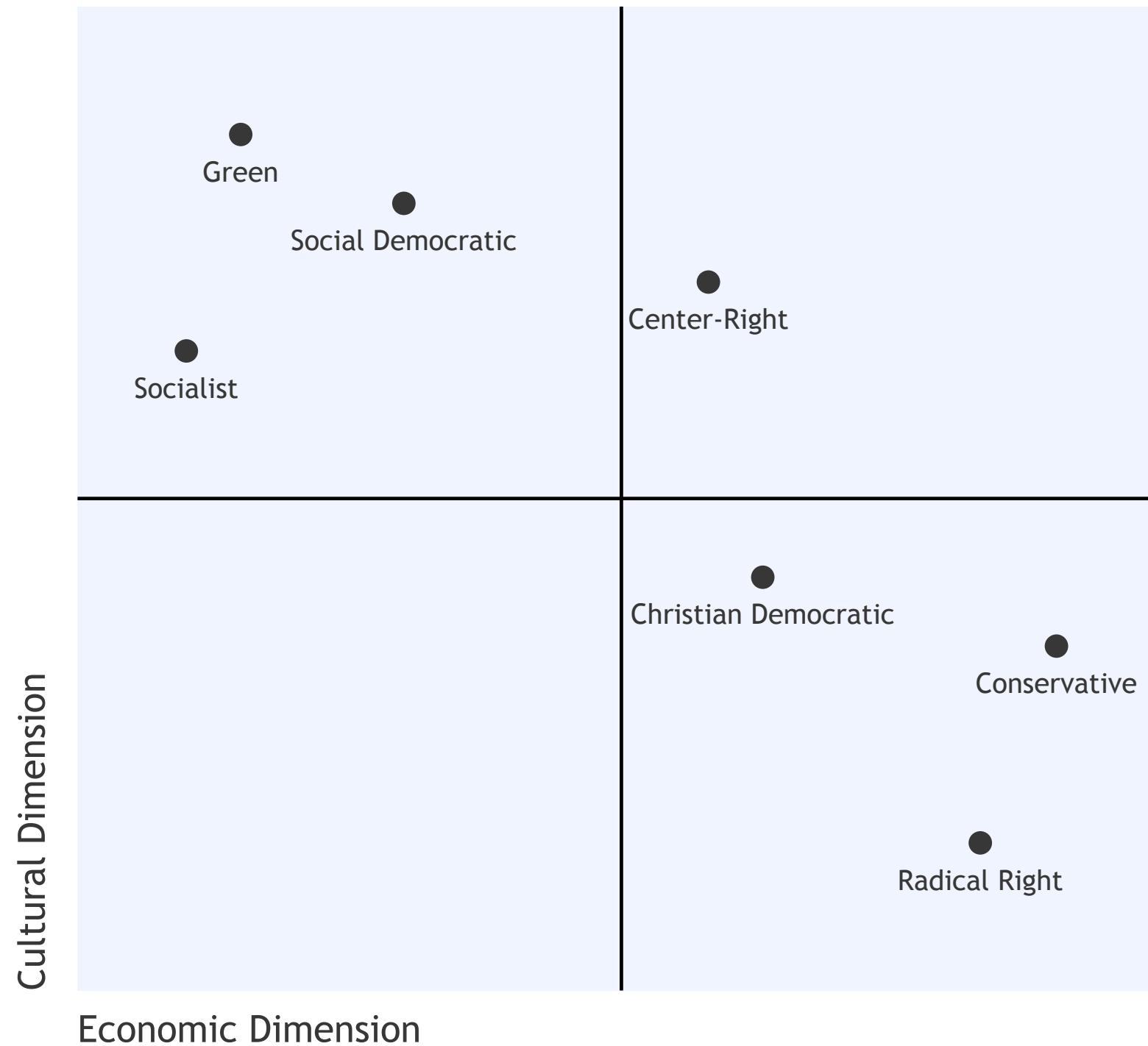
Two-Dimensional Political Contestation



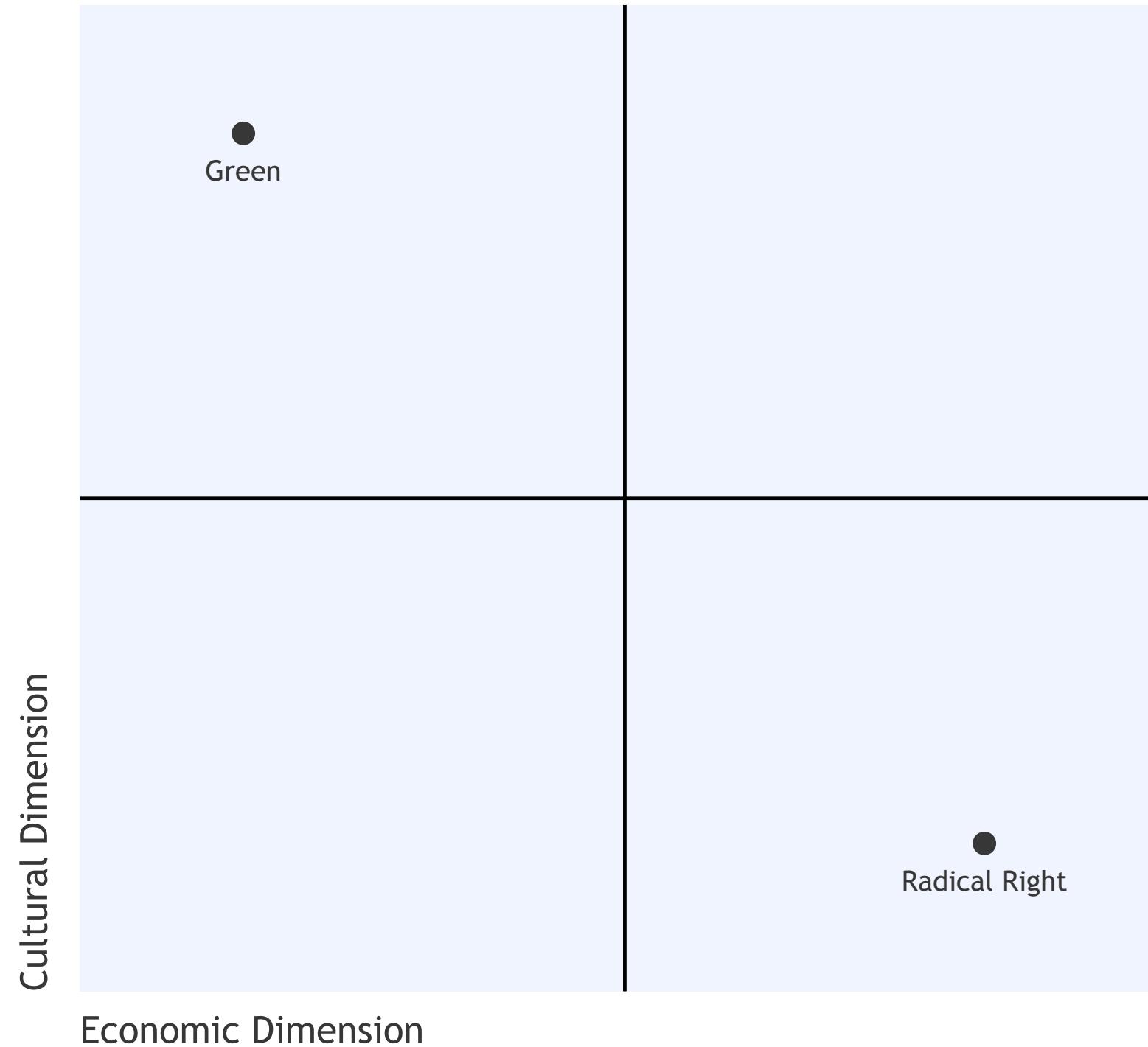
Two-Dimensional Political Contestation



Two-Dimensional Political Contestation



Two-Dimensional Political Contestation



Parties

Cultural Dimension

"New Left"

Far Right

Social Groups

Cultural Dimension

Sociocultural Pros.

Manual Workers

Social Groups

Cultural Dimension

University Graduates

Non-Graduates

Collective Identities

Cultural Dimension

?

?

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

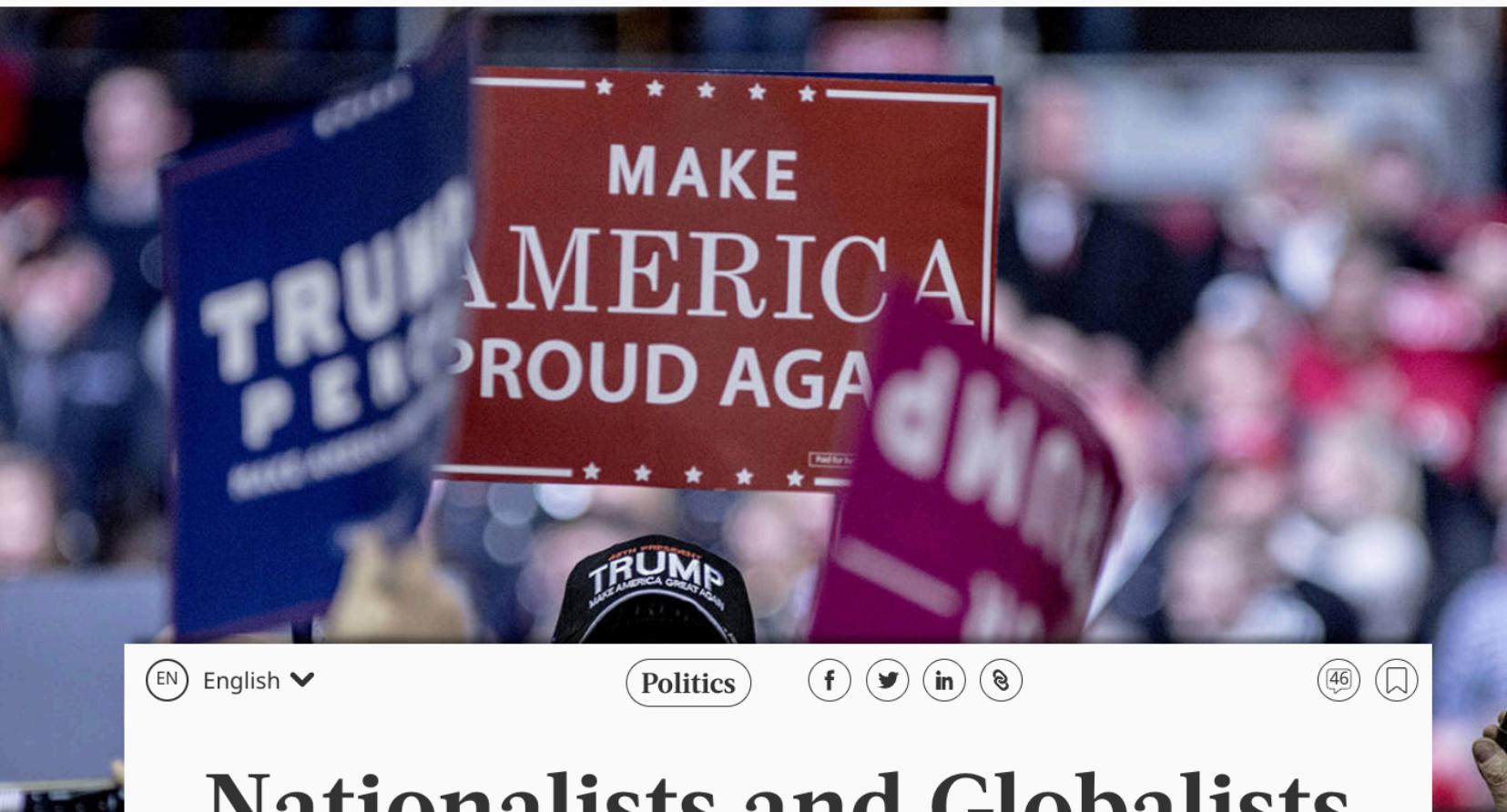


Nationalists and Globalists

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 year that has been黯淡而令人担忧的。而对那些在欧洲和美国深感担忧的人来说，他们担心反全球化浪潮将带来更多的白人“犹太-基督教”民族主义政党上台。荷兰首相马尔克·吕特击败了反伊斯兰主义的候选人吉尔特·维德尔斯，这表明



EN English ▾

Politics



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

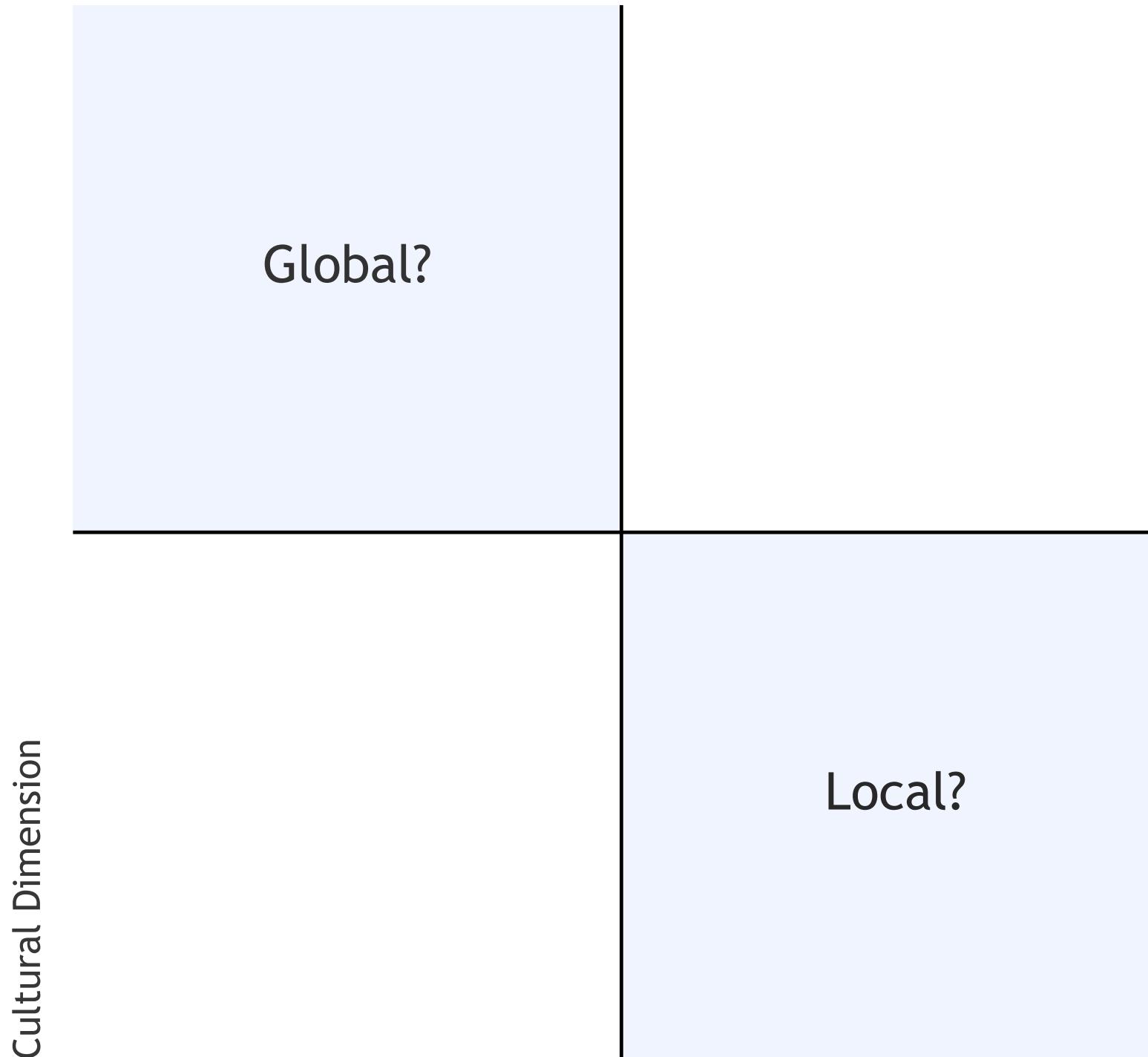
Trump says future belongs to "patriots," not "globalists," in U.N. General Assembly speech

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



Trump says "future does not belong to globali..."

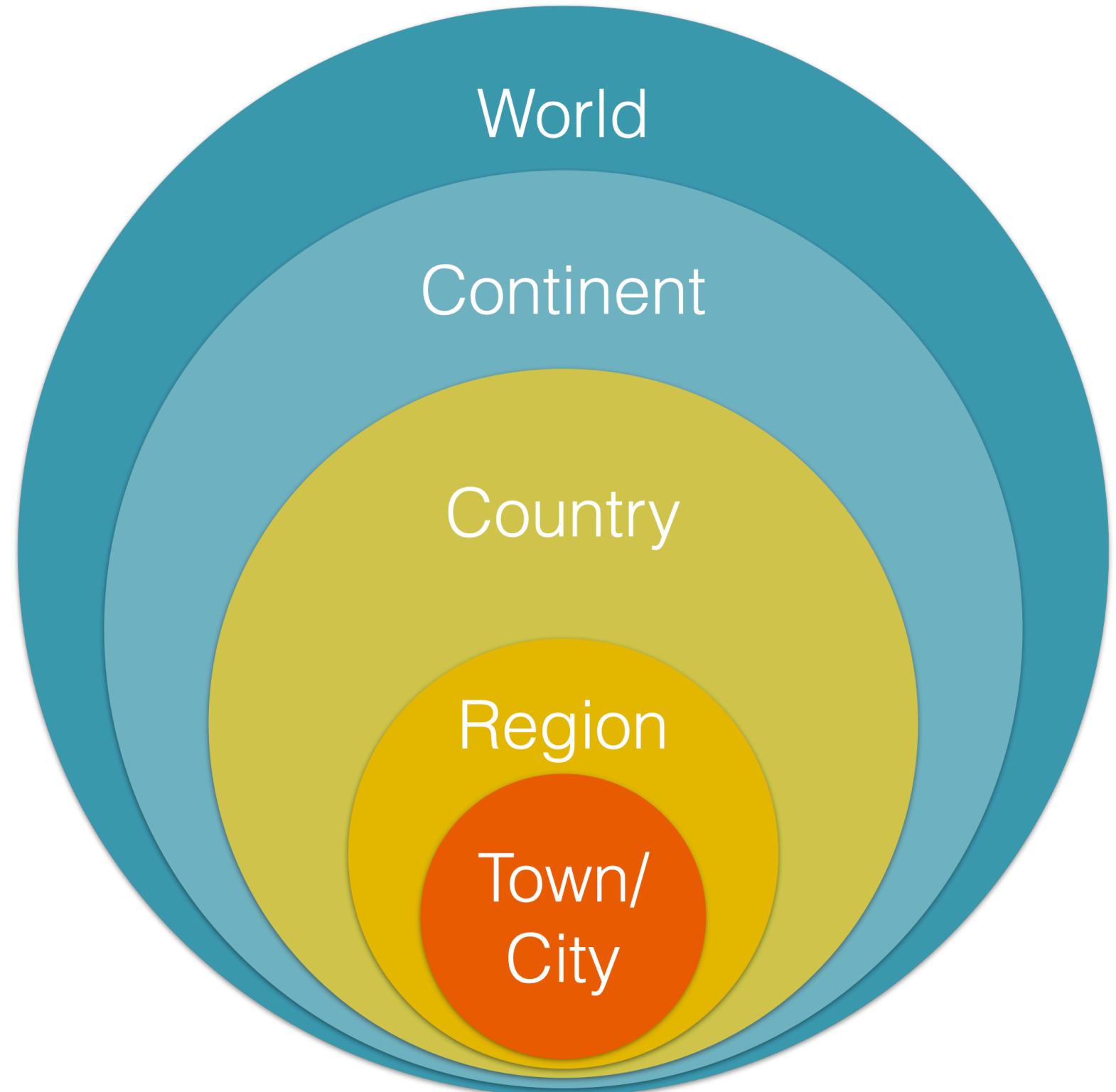
Collective Identities



How is territorial identification patterned in European populations?

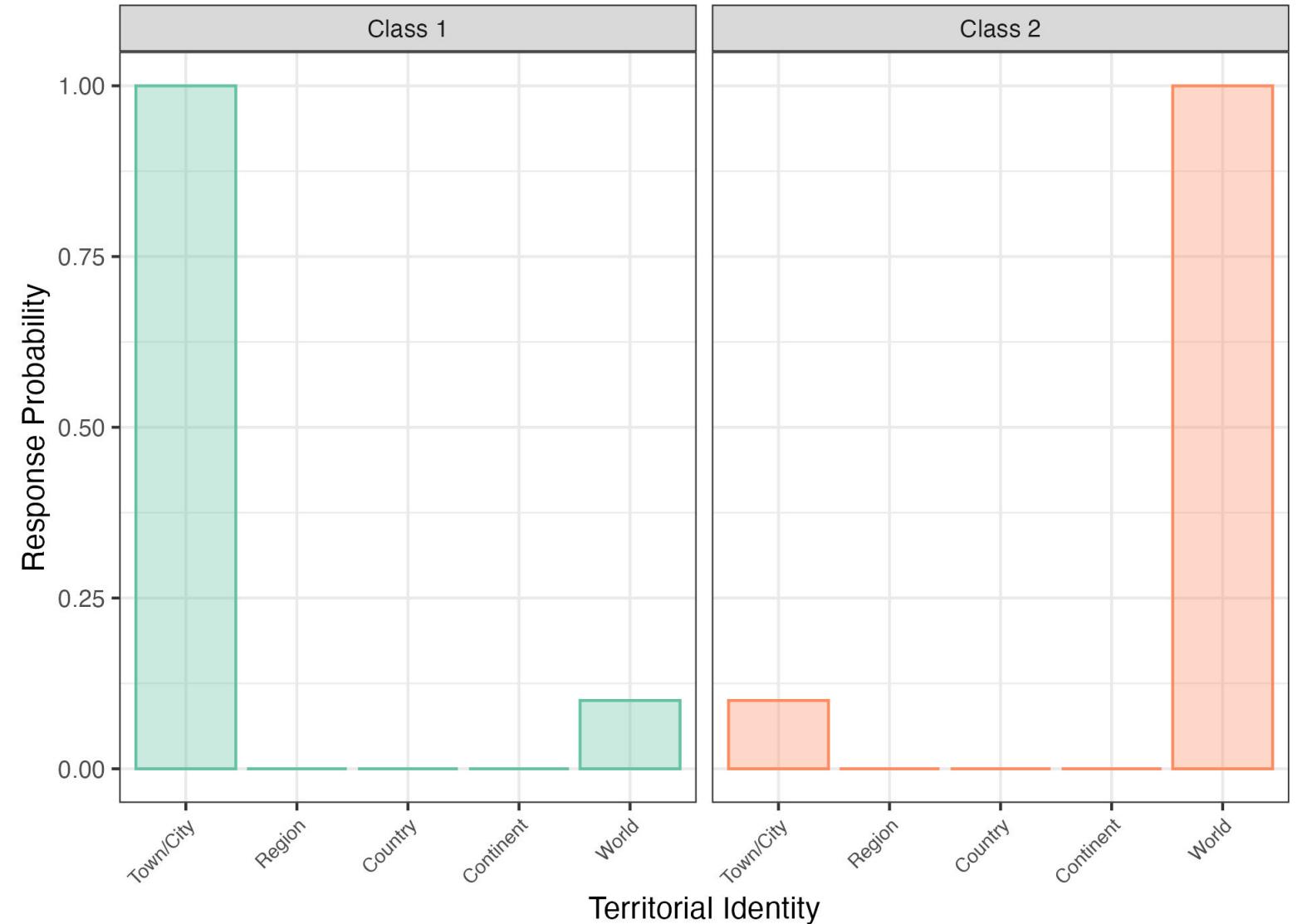
Data and Method

- **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

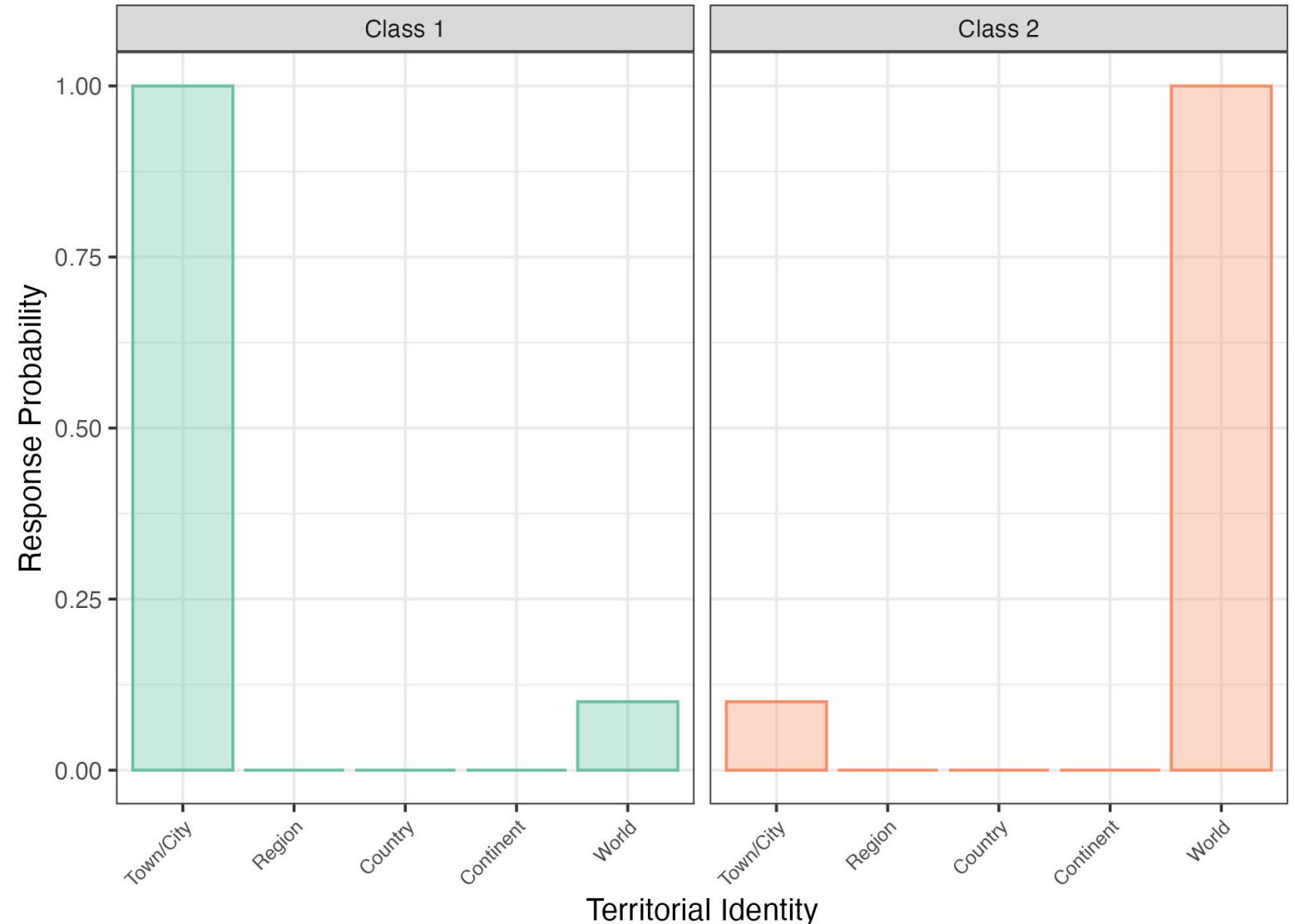


Hypotheses

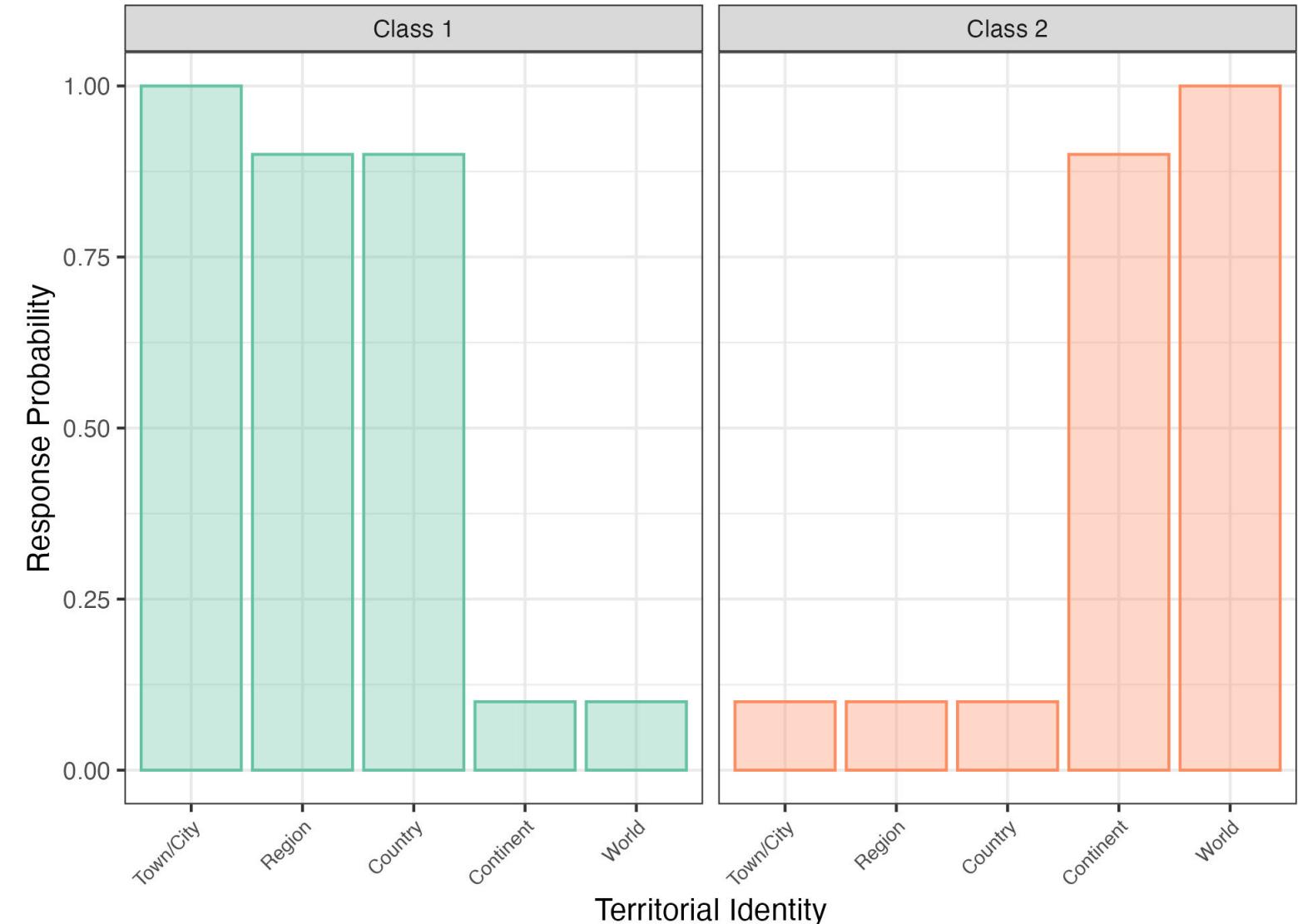
Narrow Polarization



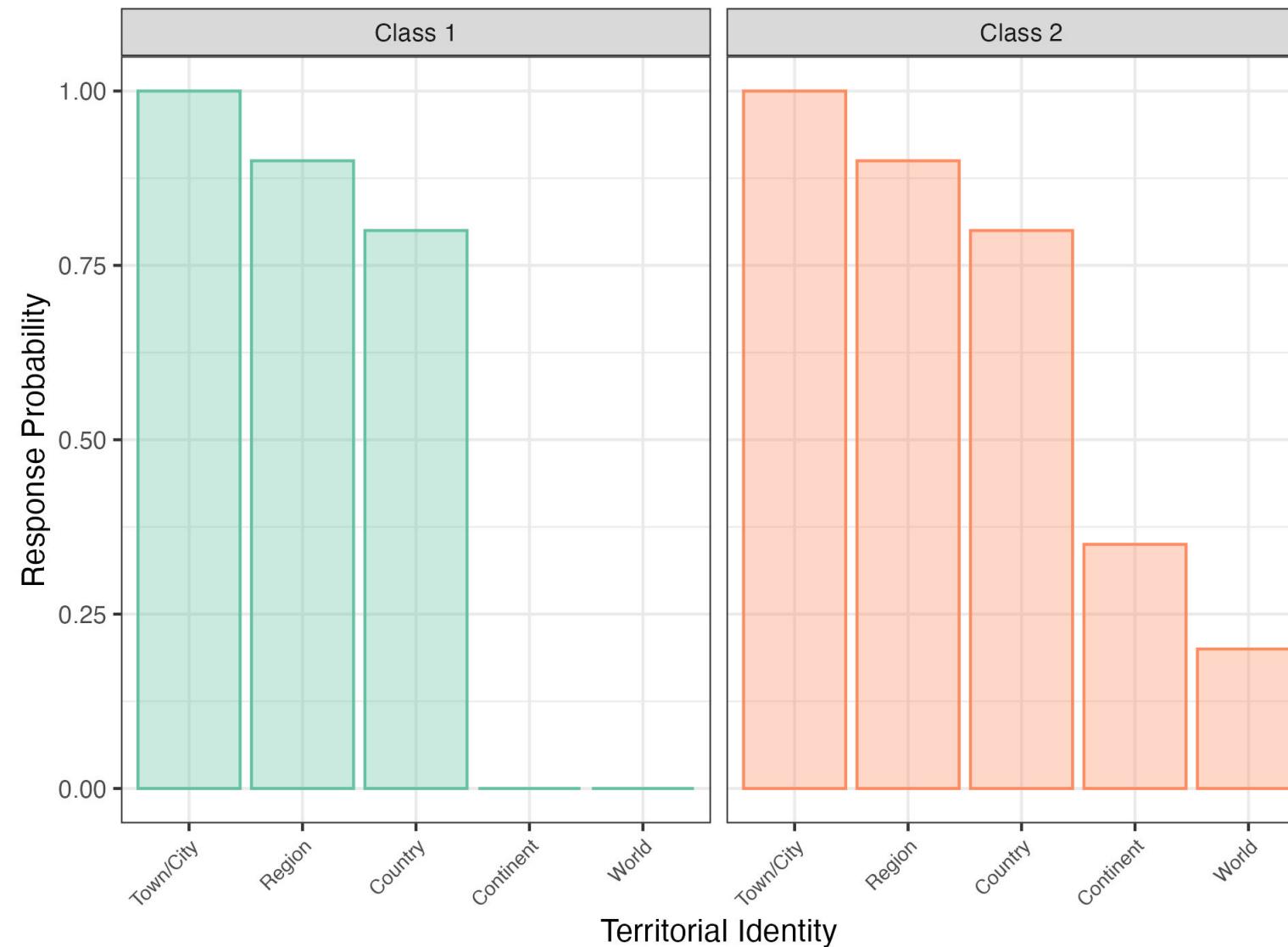
Narrow Polarization



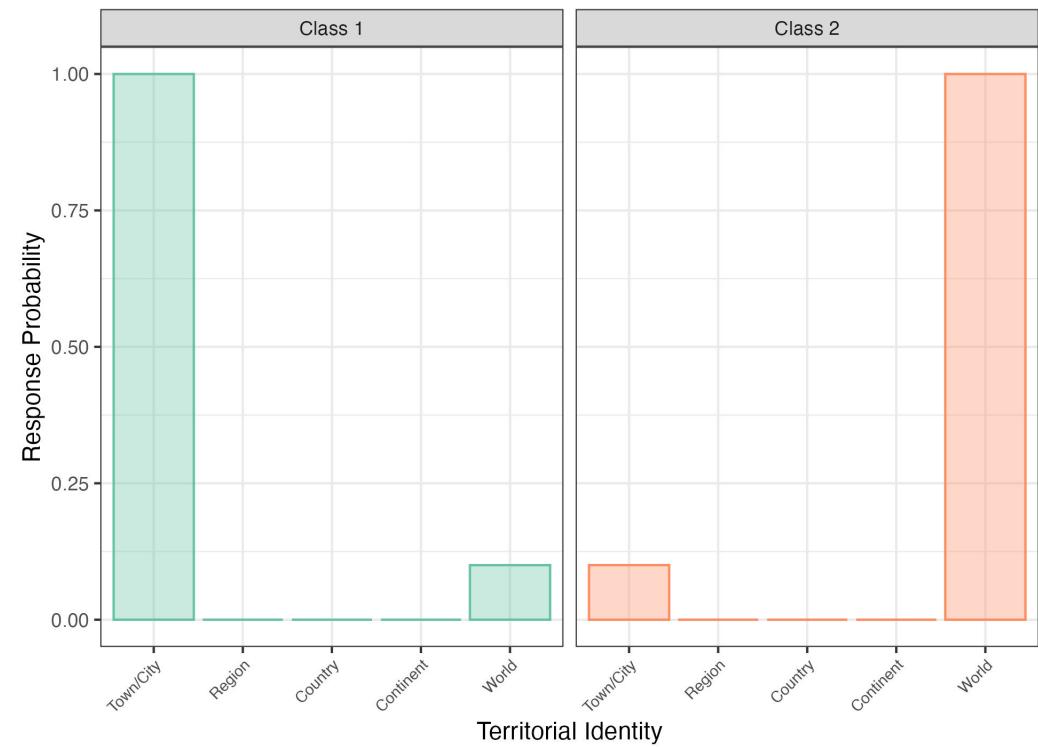
Broad Polarization



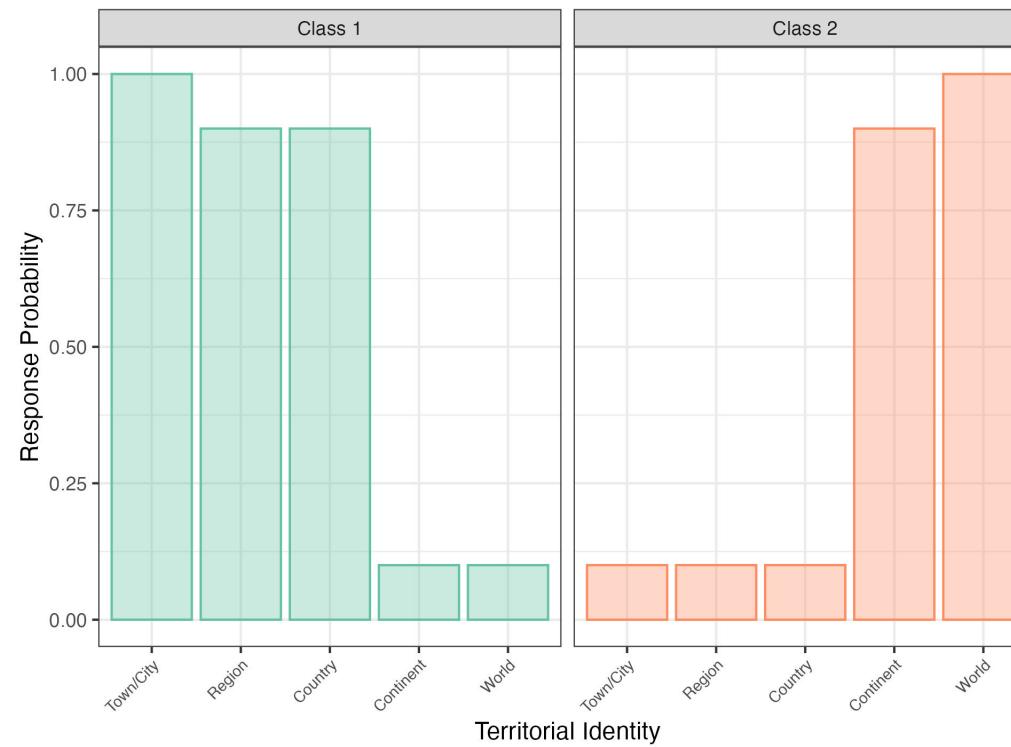
No Polarization



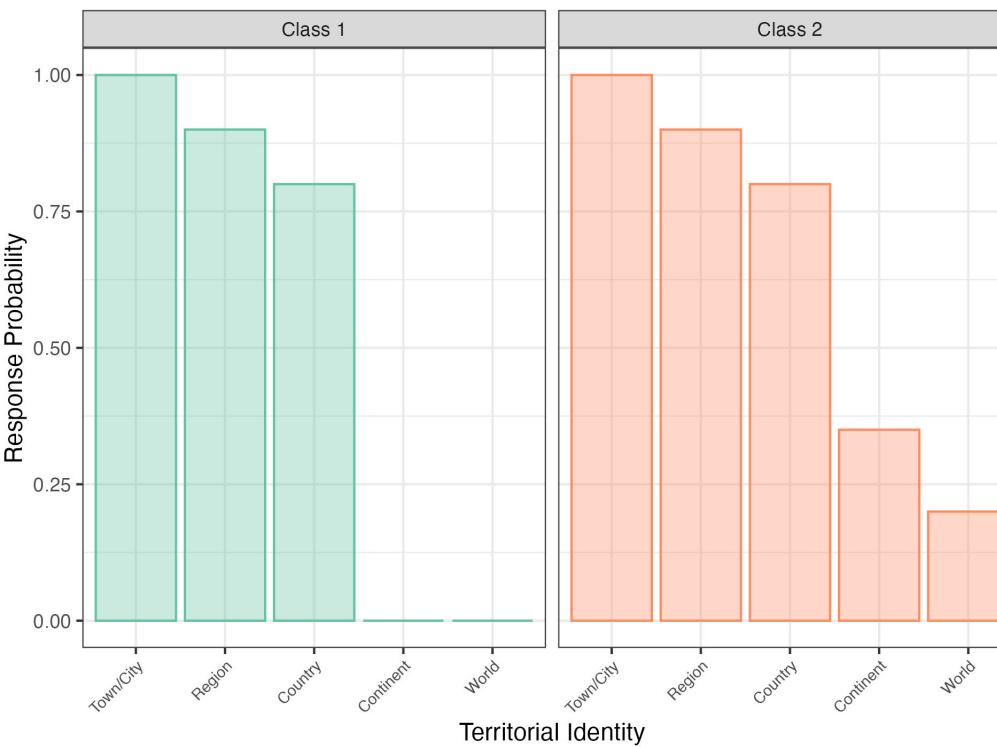
Narrow Polarization

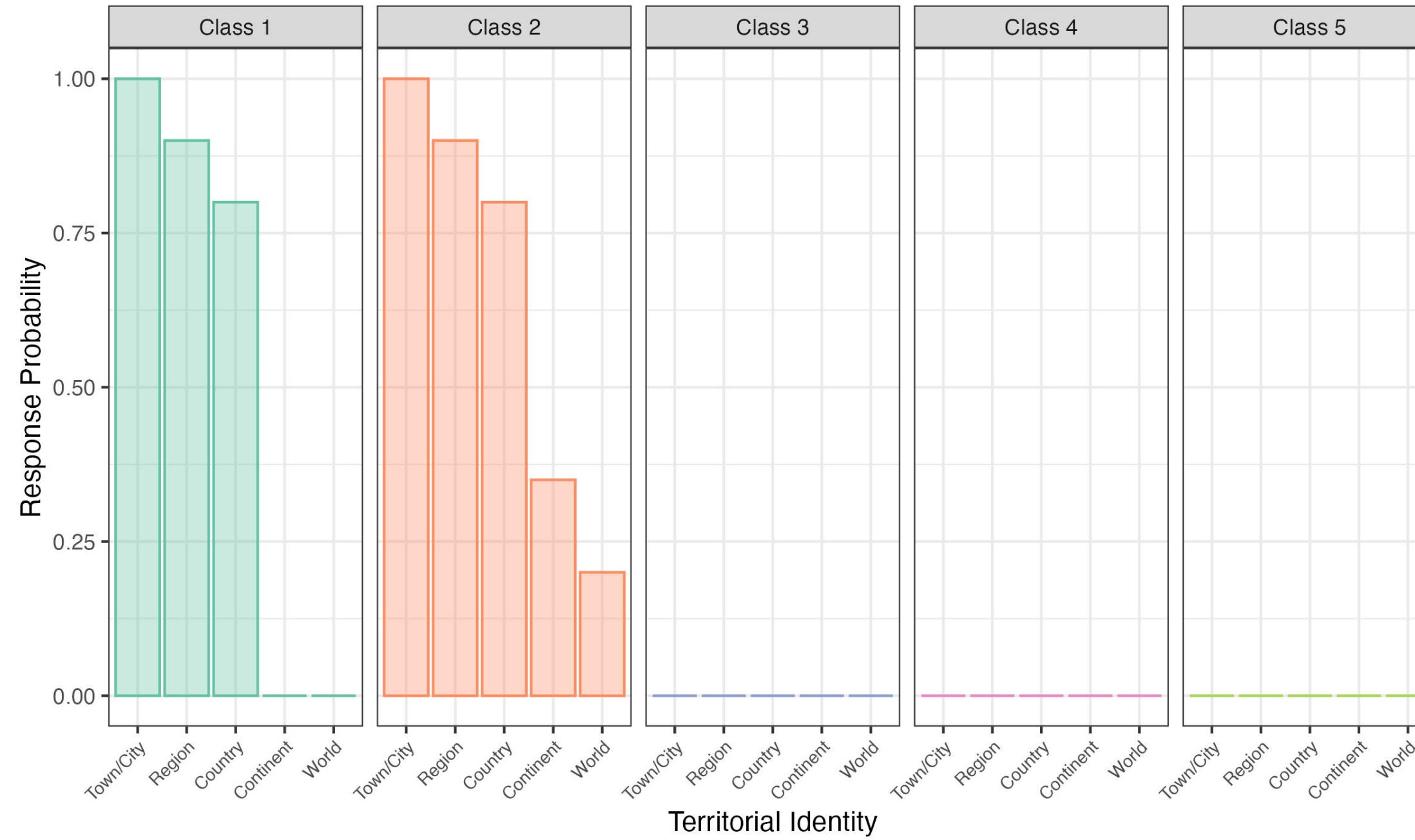


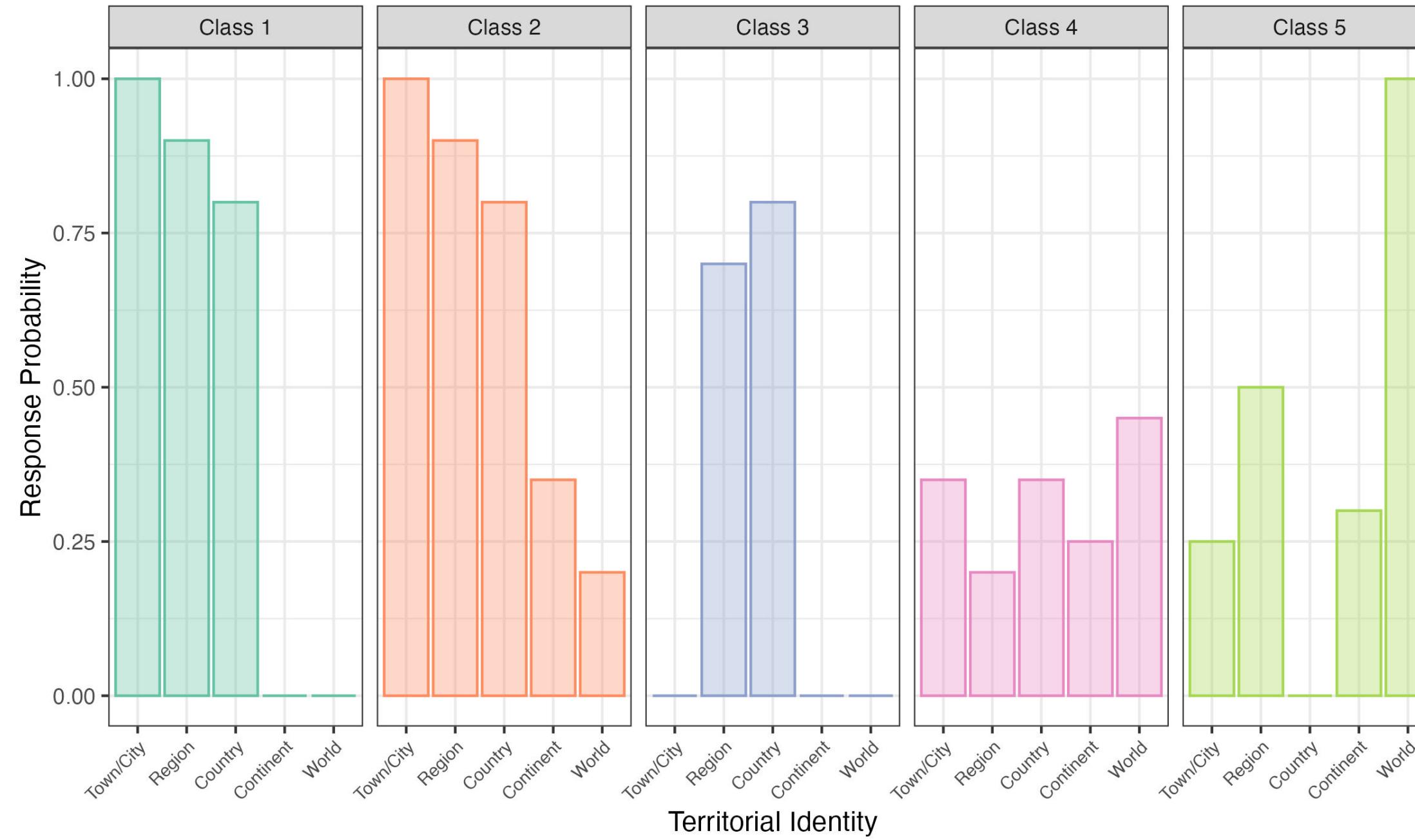
Broad Polarization



No Polarization





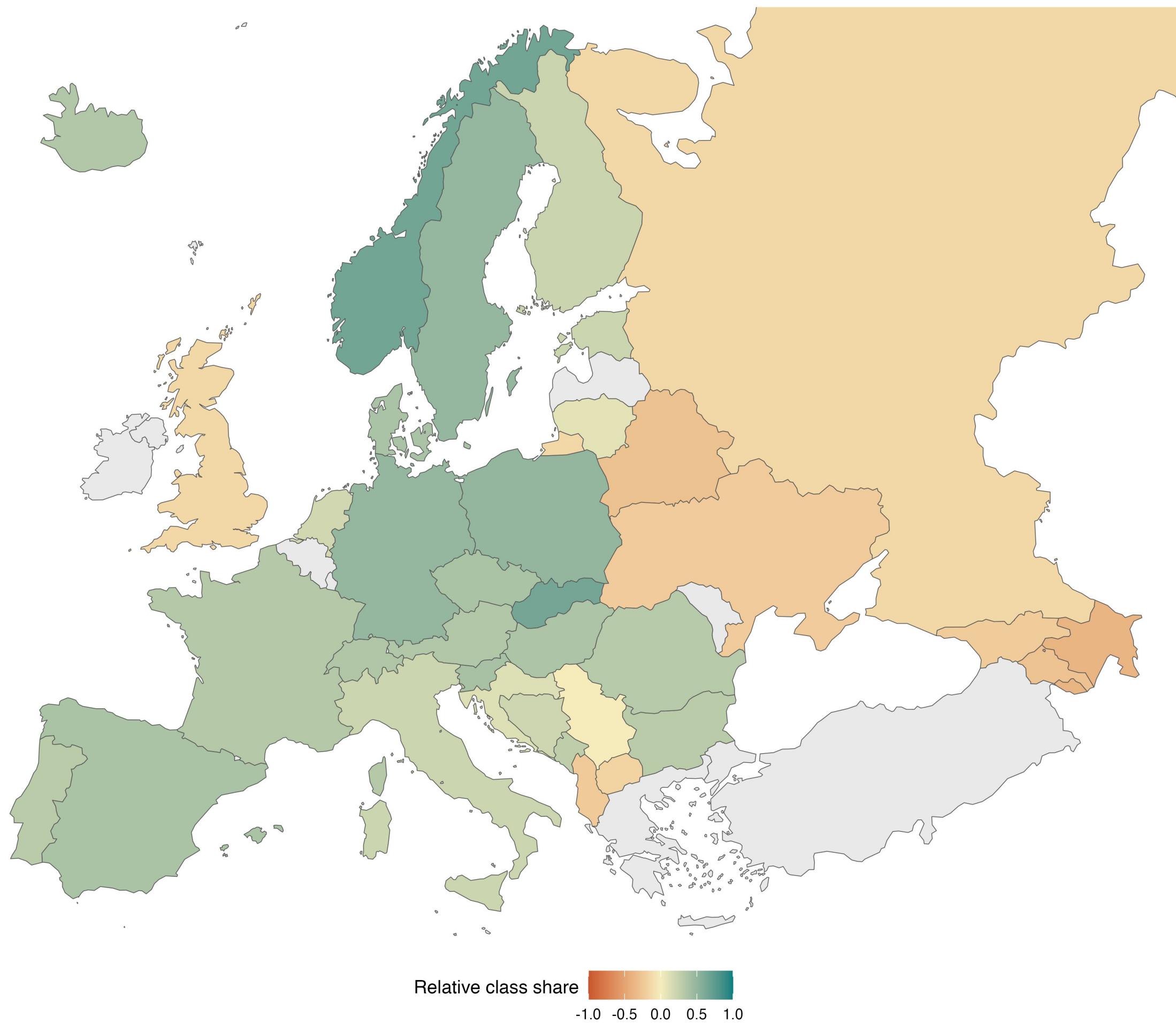


Results





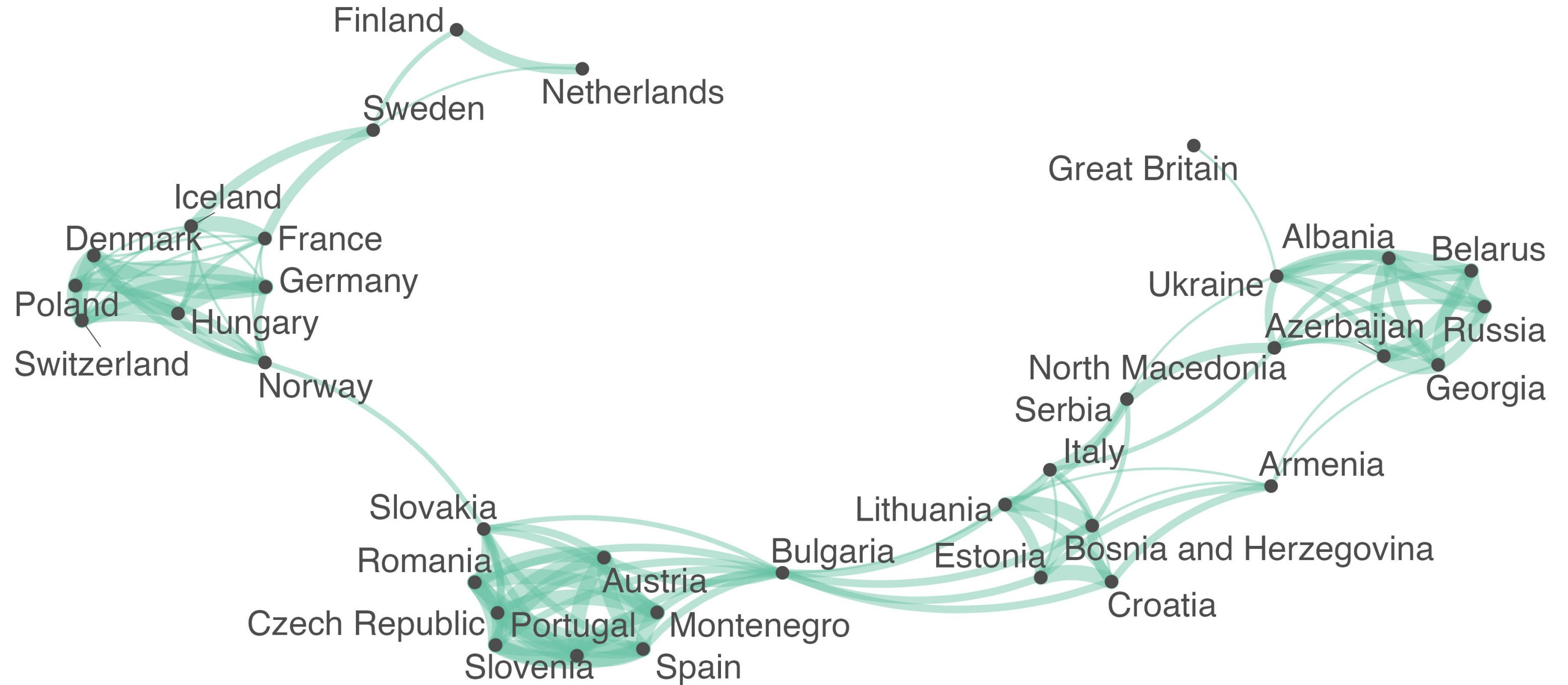








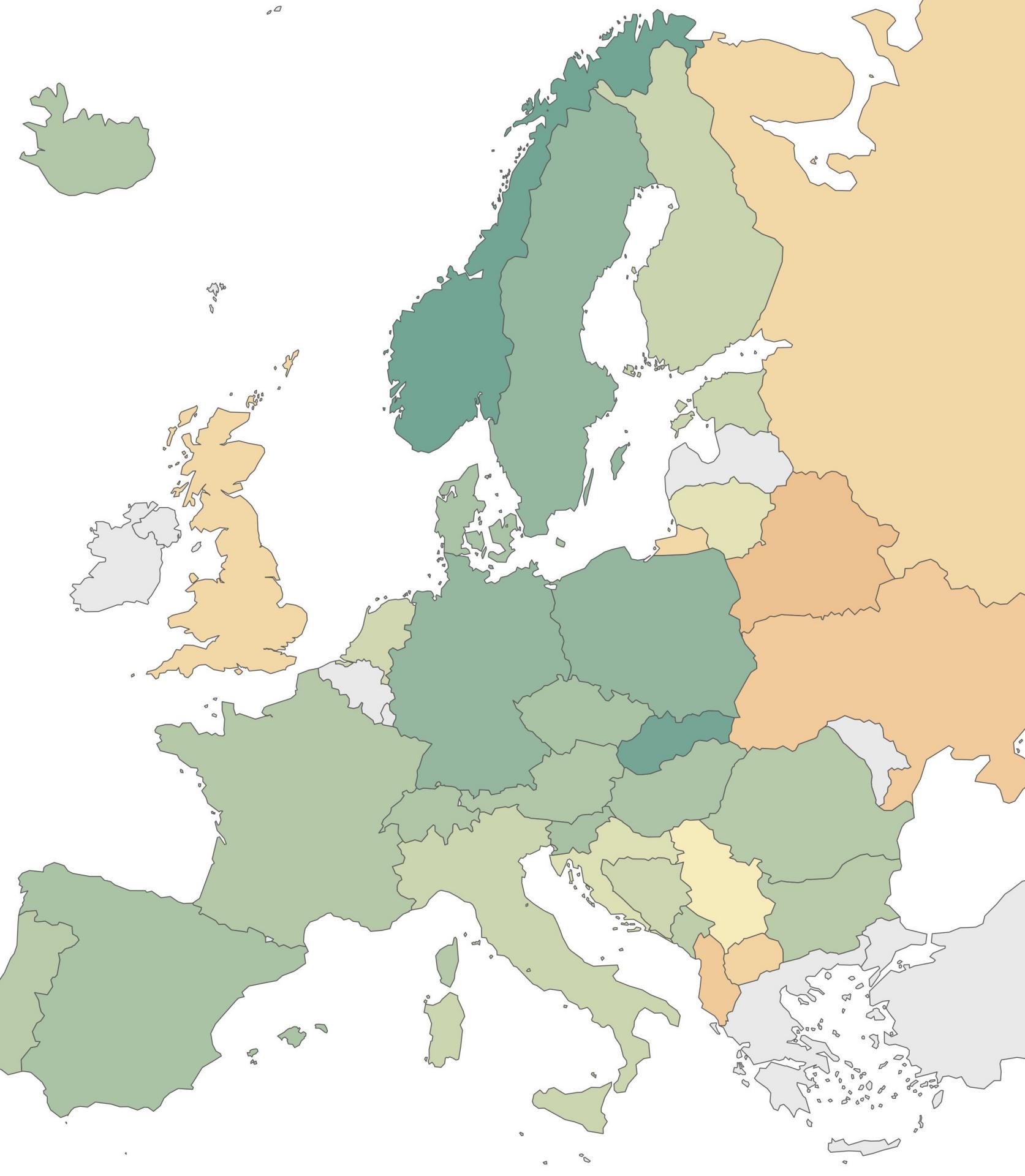






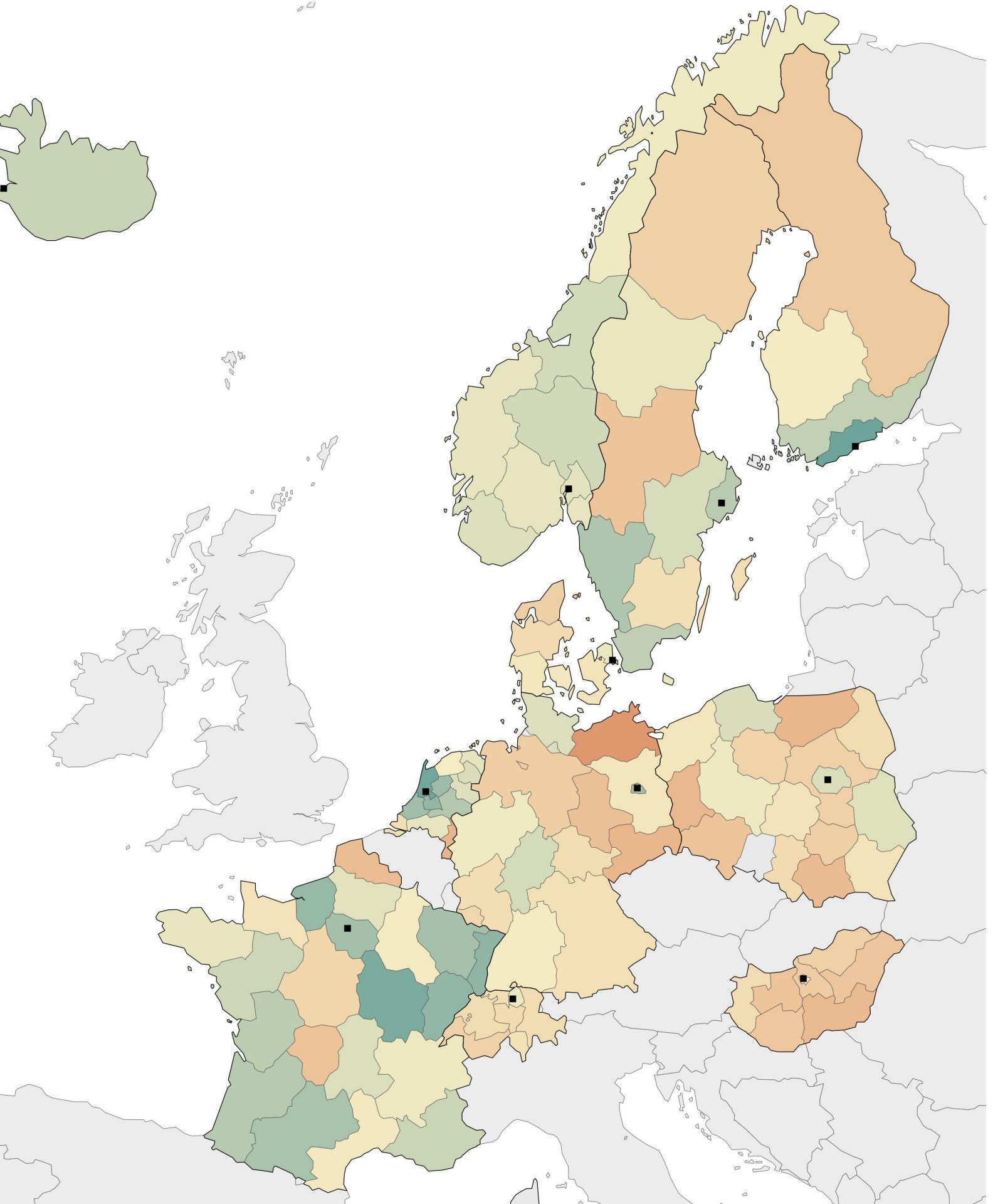
Implications

1. Scope of Polarization Is Overstated



Implications

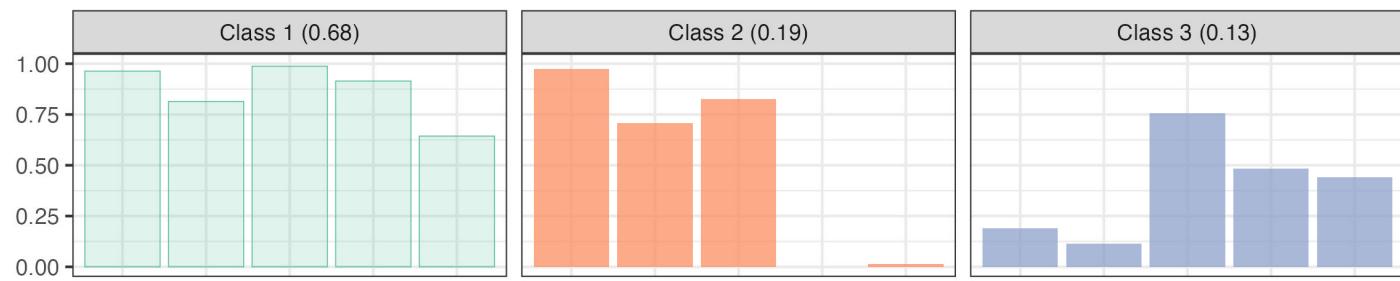
1. Scope of Polarization Is Overstated
2. **Particularists and Expansivists** in a Subset of Europe



Implications

1. Scope of Polarization Is Overstated
2. Particularists and Expansivists in a Subset of Europe
3. **Globalists Are Nationalists, Too**

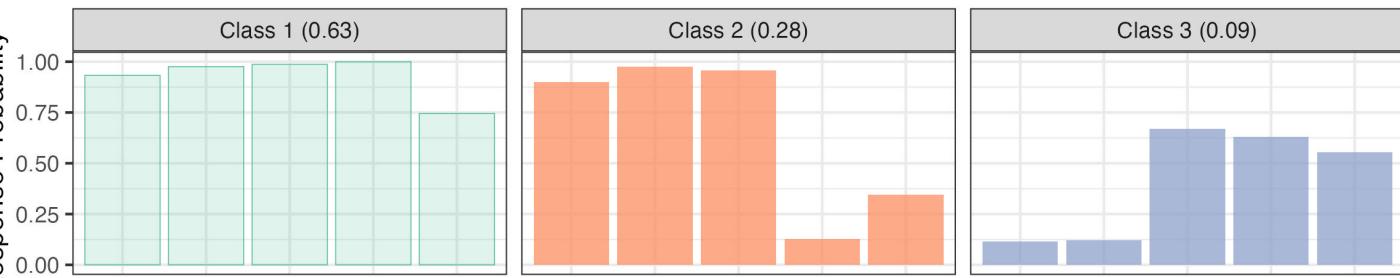
Sweden



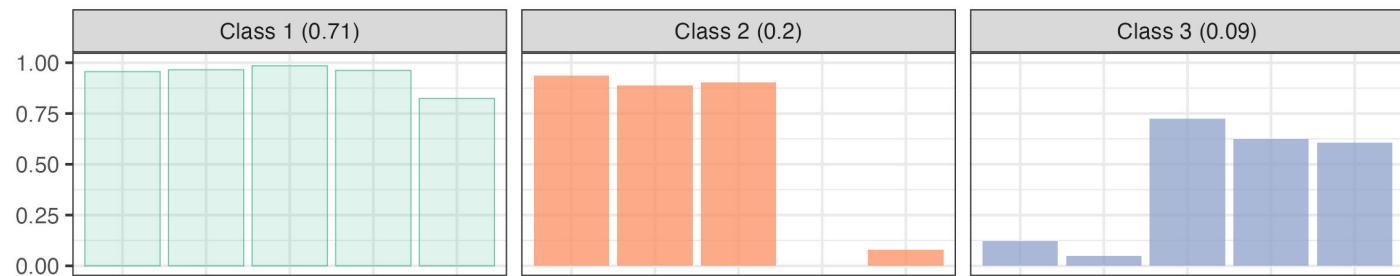
Germany



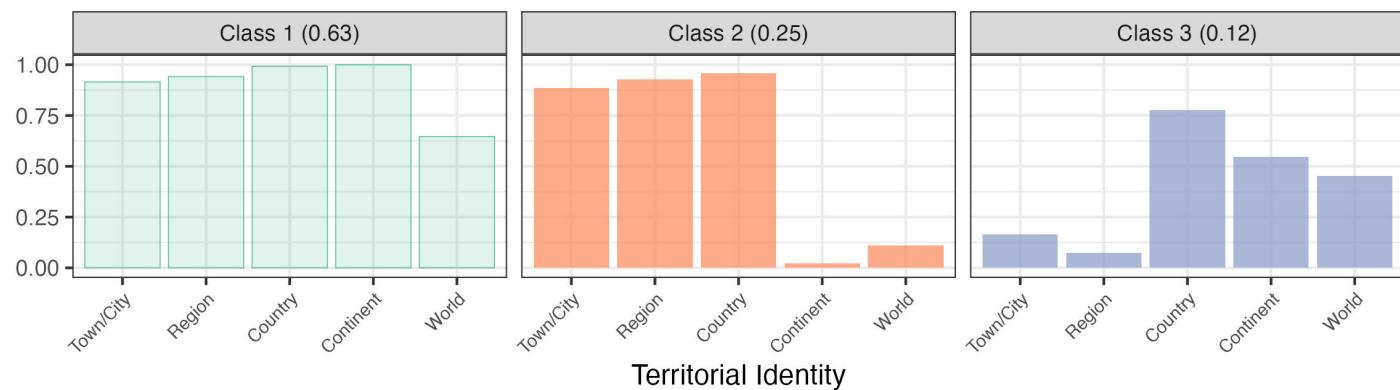
Switzerland



Poland



Denmark



Beyond Cosmopolitans and Nationalists: Territorial Identification in Contemporary Europe

Martin Lukk | University of Toronto

ESS Conference | March 7, 2025

 martin.lukk@mail.utoronto.ca |  [@martinlukk](https://twitter.com/martinlukk)

LCA Illustration

Town

Region

Country

Europe

World

Person 1

Person 2

Person 3

Person 4

Person 5

Town

Region

Country

Europe

World

Person 1



Person 2

Person 3

Person 4

Person 5

Town

Region

Country

Europe

World

Person 1



Person 2

Person 3

Person 4

Person 5

Town

Region

Country

Europe

World

Person 1



Person 2

Person 3

Person 4

Person 5

Town

Region

Country

Europe

World

Person 1



Person 2

Person 3

Person 4

Person 5

Town

Region

Country

Europe

World

Person 1



Person 2

Person 3

Person 4

Person 5

	Town	Region	Country	Europe	World
Person 1	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
Person 2	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓
Person 3					
Person 4					
Person 5					

	Town	Region	Country	Europe	World
Person 1	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
Person 2	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓
Person 3	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓
Person 4	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓
Person 5	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗

	Town	Region	Country	Europe	World
Class 1	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
Class 2	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓
	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓
Class 3	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓