

**State Formation, Nationalism and Conflict**  
MACIS Elective Seminar, Fall Term 2020

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This seminar introduces the students to theories of state formation, nationalism and post-nationalist processes. The seminar focuses on how these macro-historical processes have been conceptualized and evaluated in both the qualitative and quantitative empirical literature. The reading list includes studies that explain the emergence of states and nations especially in European history as well as their consequences in terms of political violence and development. An attempt will also be made to evaluate critically to what extent European history can help us understand state and nation formation beyond Europe in the contemporary world.

Participants will gain an overview of the most prominent theories of historical state formation highlighting geography, economic factors as well as interstate competition and warfare. Special emphasis is placed on how the onset of nationalist ideologies in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century transformed trajectories of state formation, death, and (dis)integration and what lessons can be learned beyond historical Europe. In addition to the classical theoretical and historical literature, we will discuss more recent attempts to study these questions using the quantitative toolkit of the modern social sciences. One learning goal is to familiarize students with novel data sources and methodological approaches to systematically study the macro-political processes of state formation and nation building.

In the weekly sessions, we discuss the state-of-the-art of the literature and identify theoretical, empirical, and methodological gaps. Over the course of the seminar, each student develops a research design presenting a convincing and feasible strategy to address an open research question. This design serves as the basis for a final presentation. Optionally, the participants can further elaborate the design into a full research paper.

**Requirements and Grading:**

Students will have to fulfill the following requirements:

- Actively participate in the seminar sessions
- Read the required readings for each meeting in advance. In addition, we encourage you to consult the recommended readings and/or additional literature on topics you want to focus on in your memos and term paper.
- Prepare and present a research design that outlines the research question, relevant literature, and empirical strategy that could be used as a basis for a research paper
- Discuss a research design of another student

The final grade will primarily depend on the research design and its presentation (70%). However, class participation is also taken into consideration (30%).

Course materials will be made available at:

<https://polybox.ethz.ch/index.php/s/NNWYqFwCX2TOQHp>

If you have any questions or feedback on course contents, structure, and requirements, do not hesitate to contact one of the instructors.

### **Schedule**

[Please note that this is merely a preliminary list of readings that will be divided up into required and recommended items.]

#### **Week 1 (16 September). Introduction & Logistics.**

#### **Week 2 (23 September). State formation: Tilly etc.**

Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2019. "Beyond War and Contracts: The Medieval and Religious Roots of the European State." *Annual Review of Political Science* 23: 2.1–2.18.

Spruyt, Hendrik. 2017. "War and State Formation: Amending the Bellicist Theory of State Making." In *Does War Make States? Investigations of Charles Tilly's Historical Sociology*, eds. Lars Bo Kaspersen and Jeppe Strandsbjerg. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Luc Girardin, Paola Galano Toro, and Guy Schvitz. 2020. "War Did Make States: Testing Tilly's Thesis." ETH Zürich.

Becker, Ferrara, Melander & Pascali. 2020. "Wars, Taxation, and Representation: Evidence from Five Centuries of German History." Working Paper.

#### **Week 3 (30 September). Nationalism: General readings.**

Cederman, Lars-Erik. 2013. "Nationalism and Ethnicity." In *The Handbook of International Relations*, eds. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth Simmons, 2nd ed. London: Sage.

Gellner, Ernest. 1964. *Thought and Change*. London: Widenfeld & Nicolson.

Roshwald, Aviel. 2015. "On nationalism." In J. McNeill & K. Pomeranz (Eds.), *The Cambridge World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

O'Leary, Brendan. 1998. "Ernest Gellner's Diagnoses of Nationalism." In *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*, ed. John A. Hall. Cambridge: Cambridge.

#### **Week 4 (7 October). Nationalism and imperialism.**

Beissinger, Mark. 2005. "Rethinking Empire in the Wake of Soviet Collapse," in Zoltan Barany and Robert Moser, eds., *Ethnic Politics After Communism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), Chapter 7.

Hiers, Wesley and Andreas Wimmer 2013. "Is nationalism the cause or consequence of the end of empire?" In *Nationalism and War*. In *Nationalism and War*, eds. J. A. Hall and S. Malesevic. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Krishan Kumar. 2010. "Nation-States as Empires, Empires as Nation-States: Two Principles, One Practice?", *Theory and Society* 39 (2): 119-43.

**Week 5 (14 October). Nationalism and the shape of states.**

Lake, David A., and Angela O'Mahony. 2004. "The Incredible Shrinking State: Explaining Change in the Territorial Size of Nations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48: 699-722.

Fazal, Tanisha M., and Ryan D. Griffiths. 2014. "Membership Has Its Privileges: The Changing Benefits of Statehood." *Review of International Studies* 16: 79-106.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Luc Girardin, and Carl Müller-Crepon. 2020. "Nationalism and the Puzzle of Reversing State Size." ETH Zürich.

**Week 6 (21 October). Nation building and direct rule.**

Gerring, J., D. Ziblatt, J. Van Gorp, and J. Arévalo. 2011. "An Institutional Theory of Direct and Indirect Rule." *World Politics*, 63(3), 377-433.

Wimmer, Andreas and Yuval Feinstein. 2010. "The Rise of the Nation-State across the World, 1816 to 2001." *American Sociological Review* 75(5): 764–790

Alesina, Alberto and Bryony Reich. 2015. "Nation Building." NBER WP 18839.

Caprettini, Bruno & Hans-Joachim Voth. "From Welfare to Warfare: New Deal Spending and Patriotism during World War II." Working Paper.

Müller-Crepon, Carl & Yannick Pengl. "Naming the Nation: Unification and National Identity Formation in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Germany." ETH Zürich.

**Week 7 (28 October). Nationalism and violence.**

Wimmer, Andreas, and Brian Min. 2006. "From Empire to Nation-State: Explaining Wars in the Modern World, 1816-2001." *American Sociological Review* 71: 867-97.

Malesevic, Sinisa. 2012. "Did Wars Make Nation-States in the Balkans?: Nationalisms, Wars and States in the 19th and Early 20th Century South East Europe." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 25: 299-329.

Hutchinson, John. 2018. "Bringing the Study of Warfare into Theories of Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 24: 6-21.

Cederman, Lars-Erik. 2019. "Blood for Soil: The Fatal Temptations of Ethnic Politics." *Foreign Affairs* 98: 61–68.

**Week 8 (4 November). Ethnic cleansing.**

Bulutgil, H. Zeynep. 2018. "The State of the Field and Debates on Ethnic Cleansing." *Nationalities Papers* 46.

Valentino, Benjamin A. 2014. "Why We Kill: The Political Science of Political Violence against Civilians." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 89-103.

**Week 9 (11 November). No class. Reading week.**

**Week 10 (18 November). Partition and border change.**

Shelef, Nadav G. 2019. "How Homelands Change." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

Ito, Gaku. 2019. Why Does Ethnic Partition Foster Violence? Unpacking the Deep Historical Roots of Civil Conflicts. Unpublished paper.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Seraina Rüegger, and Guy Schvitz. forthcoming. "Redemption through Rebellion: Border Change, Lost Unity and Nationalist Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science*.

**Week 11 (25 November). Nationalism and populism.**

Bonikowski, Bart. 2016. "Nationalism in Settled Times." *Annual Review of Sociology* 42: 427–49.

Bonikowski, Bart et al. 2019. "Populism and nationalism in a comparative perspective: a scholarly exchange." *Nations and Nationalism* 25 (1), 2019, 58–81.

Mattingly, Daniel C. and Elaine Yao. 2020. "How Propaganda Manipulates Emotion to Fuel Nationalism: Experimental Evidence from China." Unpublished paper.

**Week 12 (2 December). Student Presentations-**

**Week 13 (9 December). Student Presentations.**

**Week 14 (16 December). Student Presentations.**