Preface

This book presents the findings of an ERC-funded project, which was funded by an Advanced ERC Grant "Nationalist State Transformation and Conflict (NASTAC)." Since the project started in November 2018 and until it officially ended in October 2024, we accumulated a major debt of gratitude to our supporters, collaborators, and colleagues, who have made this project possible.

This is very much a product of inspired teamwork within the International Conflict Research Group at ETH Zürich, to which all the authors belonged when the project started. In addition, postdoctoral fellow Guy Schvitz contributed as a co-author to the papers on which Chapters 4, 6, and 10 are based. All of the NASTAC project's PhD students co-authored articles that were turned into chapters as well: Dennis Atzenhofer contributed in this capacity to Chapter 7, Paola Galano Toro was a co-author on the paper on which Chapter 4 is based, and Roberto Valli co-authored the paper that forms the basis of Chapter 9. In addition, Andreas Juon, Maria Murias Muñoz, Seraina Rüegger, and Yaron Weissberg offered valuable advice and coding support for the project. We are infinitely grateful for all these collaborators' contributions, without which this project could not have been realized.

Two book workshops provided crucial input at a critical phase in the project's development. On May 3, 2023, Beth Simmons hosted a workshop at the University of Pennsylvania that was attended by Ian Lustick, Michael Kenwick, Melissa Lee, Brendan O'Leary, and Nicholas Sambanis. On June 30, 2023, we organized a second book workshop at ETH Zürich to which Carles Boix, Zeynep Bulutgil, Hein Goemans, John Hutchinson, Nadav Shelef, and Maya Tudor contributed.

Beyond the book workshops, several other colleagues have read and commented on parts of the book manuscript or the papers on which it is based, including Scott Abramson, Mark Beissinger, Nils-Christian Bormann, Bruno Caprettini, Daniele Caramani, David Carter, Jeff Checkel, Stefano Costalli, Elias Dinas, Scott Gates, Ryan Griffiths, Dominic Hangartner, Michael Hechter, Simon Hix, Christian Joppke,

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Hanspeter Kriesi, Patrick Kuhn, Kan Li, Johannes Lindvall, Nils Metternich, Benny Miller, Leonid Peisakhi, Paul Poast, Andrea Ruggeri, Ignazio Sanchez-Cuenza, Sergio Skaperdas, Fracisco Villamil, Manuel Vogt, Nils Weidmann, Andreas Wimmer, Julian Wucherpfennig, and Idil Yildiz.

Lars-Erik Cederman presented the core ideas of the book in a series of keynote talks, including the Border and Boundaries Conference at the University of Pennsylvania on April 28, 2022; the Conflict, Justice and Peace Platform at the London School of Economics and Political Science, March 21, 2023; the A. D. Smith Lecture at the University of Edinburgh, April 10, 2024; and the Network of European Peace Scientists Lecture in Dublin on June 12, 2024. We are indebted to the organizers for their kind invitations and feedback from the audience.

The book project has also profited from comments offered at numerous presentations of the papers that were turned into chapters of this book. In addition to annual conventions and conferences, these venues included the University of Barcelona, the University of Bern, the University of California at Berkeley and Irvine, University College London, the Juan March Institute at Carlos III University in Madrid, the University of Florence, Columbia University, the European University Institute in Florence, the University of Gothenburg, the Graduate Institute in Geneva, the University of Haifa, Harvard University, the Hertie School in Berlin, the University of Konstanz, the University of Lund, the University of Oslo, Oxford University, and Princeton University.

Joy Scharfstein played a central role in editing and improving our text. It has been a joy to work with Joy! We would also want to thank John Haslam, Carrie Parkinson, and their colleagues at Cambridge University Press for their unflinching support of this project.

Finally, we are indebted to our co-authors and publishers of the article on which the book draws. We would like to thank Wiley for permission to reprint the article "Nationalism and the Transformation of the State" appearing in *Nations and Nationalism*[1] as Chapter 1 and the article "Shaping States into Nations: The Effects of Ethnic Geography on State Borders," published in the *American Journal of Political Science*,[2] as Chapter 6. Cambridge University Press kindly allowed us to use material from the article "War Did Make States: Revisiting the Bellicist Paradigm in Early Modern Europe" appearing in *International Organization*[3] for Chapter 4, from the article "The Future Is History: Restorative Nationalism and Conflict in Post-Napoleonic Europe," published in the same

[1] Cederman 2024.
[2] Müller-Crepon, Schvitz and Cederman 2025.
[3] Cederman et al. 2023.

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journal[4] for Chapter 8, and from the article "The Train Wrecks of Modernization: Railway Construction and Nationalist Mobilization in Europe" to be published in the *American Political Science Review*[5] for Chapter 9. John Hopkins University Press granted us the right to reprint the article "Nationalism and the Puzzle of Reversing State Size" appearing in *World Politics*[6] as Chapter 5. Finally, Sage Journals gave us the right to reuse material from the articles "Nationality Questions and War: How Ethnic Configurations Affect Conflict within and between States" and "'Right-Peopling' the State: Nationalism, Historical Legacies, and Ethnic Cleansing in Europe, 1885-2020," both published in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, as Chapters 7 and 10, respectively.[7]

[4] Cederman, Pengl, Girardin and Müller-Crepon 2024.
[5] Pengl et al. 2025.
[6] Cederman, Girardin and Müller-Crepon 2023.
[7] See Cederman, Pengl, Atzenhofer and Girardin 2024 and Müller-Crepon, Schvitz and Cederman 2024.

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