

## THOMAS ERTMAN

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### EDUCATION

Harvard University                      Ph.D. 1990                      Sociology  
Dissertation: "War and Statebuilding in Early Modern Europe"  
Advisor: Professor Theda Skocpol

Harvard University                      M.A. 1985                      Sociology

Harvard College                      B.A. 1981                      Philosophy

Languages: German, French (fluency); Spanish, Dutch, Italian (speaking and reading);  
Portuguese, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Russian, Czech, Greek, Latin (reading ability)

### ACADEMIC POSITION

Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, New York University, 2000-present.

Director of the College Core Curriculum, 2014-present

Director of NYU Berlin, 2005-2010

Director of CAS Summer in Berlin, 2005-present

Director of Undergraduate Studies, Department of Sociology, 2003-2005, 2006-2008,  
2009-present

Frederick S. Danziger Associate Professor of Government, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1995-2000.

Associate Professor, 1994-1995

Assistant Professor, 1990-1994

### HONORS AND AWARDS

Golden Dozen Teaching Award 2008 for Outstanding Contribution to Undergraduate Education,  
College of Arts and Sciences, New York University

Graduate Teaching Prize 2000-2001 of the Graduate Student Association, Department of  
Sociology, New York University

Barrington Moore Prize 1998 of the American Sociological Association for  
the Best Book in Historical Sociology Published in 1996 or 1997  
Humboldt Foundation Research Fellowship, 1998-99  
Resident Fellowship, Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, awarded  
1997  
German Marshall Fund Research Fellowship, 1995-96  
Bowdoin Graduate Essay Prize, Harvard University, Fall 1989  
Macarthur Foundation Dissertation Fellowship, Fall 1989  
Harvard G.S.A.S. Social Science Dissertation Award, Spring 1989  
Center for European Studies Summer Research Grant, Summer 1987  
Hoopes Prize for Thesis Advisors, Harvard University, 1987, 1990, 1991

## PUBLICATIONS

### A. Monographs and edited volumes

1. Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Cambridge University Press, 1997. Barrington Moore Prize of the ASA 1998. Mandarin Chinese edition with new foreword by the author, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2010.

Social scientists have for many years sought to explain, in as parsimonious a way as possible, why it was that the common culture of Western Christendom brought forth such very different kinds of states in the period before the French Revolution. Unfortunately, the existing theories that attempt to do this are inadequate because they make claims about the principal cases which recent historical research has refuted. This book presents a new theory of statebuilding in medieval and early modern Europe which accounts in a more satisfactory way for the pattern of outcomes specified by the historical literature. It argues, in brief, that two factors--the organization of local government at the time of state formation and the timing of the onset of sustained geo-military competition--can explain most of the variation in political regimes and in state infrastructures found across the continent during the second half of the 18th century. This theory has broad implications for our understanding of the process of political development more generally.

2. Editor and contributor, "Eastern Germany Ten Years after Unification," special Fall 2000 issue of German Politics and Society

Beginning in the spring of 1990, the highly complex (and successful) legal, political and socio-economic order of West Germany was introduced in toto into the former German Democratic Republic. Yet how would a liberal-democratic framework developed over forty years in the West function in a territory which had known only dictatorship since 1933? Who have been the winners and losers of this unique case of institutional transfer? And are the



eastern states doomed to become the united Germany's Mezzogiorno? These questions are addressed in four specially commissioned articles by Gerhard Lehmbruch, Ruediger Pohl, Katherina Bluhm and Ulrich Eith.

3. Editor (with Jürg Steiner), Still the Politics of Accommodation? The Fate of Consociational Democracy in Western Europe, 1968-2000, *Acta Politica*, 2002.

Nearly three decades have passed since Arend Lijphart introduced the concept of "consociational democracy" into the social science literature. Over that period, the political and economic trajectories of the classic consociational countries--the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland and Austria--have diverged ever more substantially. This book aims to explain this growing divergence among these four democracies as well as quasi-consociational Germany by bringing together the "fathers" of consociational theory (Arend Lijphart, Hans Daalder, Gerhard Lehmbruch, Jürg Steiner) and younger scholars working in the field of comparative political economy. In so doing, it seeks both to reevaluate consociational theory and to generate insights based on the recent European experience that will be relevant to the design of consociational arrangements elsewhere

4. Editor and contributor (with Victoria Johnson and Jane Fulcher), Opera and Society from Monteverdi to Bourdieu, Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Opera is certainly one of the most complex art forms, combining as it does music, drama, stage design and occasionally dance. Until recently, academic writings on opera have rarely done justice to its interdisciplinary character. All this changed in the wake of the so-called "turns" in the social sciences and humanities. Inspired by these turns, opera studies have witnessed a tremendous burst of creativity over the past decade and a half. Yet disciplinary boundaries, especially those between musicology and the social sciences, have hindered cooperation among those working in this field. This volume aims to overcome these boundaries by bringing together for the first time in one place original contributions by musicologists, political scientists, sociologists and literary critics all of which explore, from a variety of perspectives, the relationship between opera and society in France and Italy.

B. Articles, essays and book chapters.

"Opera, the State and Society." In Nicholas Till (ed.), The Cambridge Companion to Opera Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

"The Great Reform Act of 1832 and British Democratization." Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 43, nos. 8/9 (2010), pp. 1000-1022.

- "Western European Party Systems and the Religious Cleavage." In Kees van Kersbergen and Philip Manow, eds. Religion, Class Coalitions and Welfare State Regimes. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- "Opera." In John Merriman and Jay Winter, eds. Scribner's Encyclopedia of Europe 1789-1914. New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 2006.
- "Building States: Inherently a Long-term Process? An Argument from Comparative History." In Matthew Lange and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds. States and Development: Historical Antecedents of Stagnation and Advance. London: Palgrave, 2005.
- "State Formation and Statebuilding in Europe." In Thomas Janoski, Robert Alford, Alexander Hicks and Mildred Schwartz, eds. Handbook of Political Sociology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Liberalization, Democratization and the Origins of a 'Pillarized' Civil Society  
19th Century Belgium and the Netherlands." In Nancy Bermeo and Philip Nord, eds. Civil Society before Democracy: Lessons from Nineteenth Century Europe (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).
- "Liberalization and Democratization in 19th and Early 20th Century Germany in Comparative Perspective." In Carl Lankowski, ed., Breakdown, Breakup, Breakthrough: Germany's Modernity and Democracy in State and Society (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999).
- "Otto Hintze und der preussische Staat des 18. Jahrhunderts." In Eckhart Hellmuth, Immo Meenken and Michael Trauth, eds. Preussen um 1800 (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1999).
- "Pfadabhängige Entwicklung und systemimmanente Zwänge: Sind die Möglichkeiten des Lernens begrenzt?" In Sabine Lang, Margit Mayer and Christoph Scherrer, eds. Jobwunder USA-Modell für Deutschland? (Muenster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1999).
- "Explaining Variation in Early Modern State Structure: The Cases of England and the German Territorial States." In John Brewer and Eckhart Hellmuth, eds., Rethinking Leviathan: The British and German States of the Eighteenth Century (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- "Democracy and Dictatorship in Interwar Western Europe Revisited." World Politics, April 1998.
- "'The Sinews of Power' and European Statebuilding Theory," in Lawrence Stone, ed., A Nation State at War (London: Routledge, 1994).



With Andrei S. Markovits:

"The Legal Framework for Industrial Relations in the Federal Republic" (chapter 2) and "The Printers' Union IG Druck and Papier" (chapter 7), both in Andrei S. Markovits, The Politics of West German Trade Unions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

"Zwei Jahre Reagan: Versuch einer Bilanz" druck und papier (October 4, 1982).

"Reagans Wahlsieg: Was steckt dahinter?" Express (December, 1980).

"Das Modell Deutschland: Eine Herausforderung für die USA" Prokla 41, (December 1980).

#### C. Book reviews.

Matthew Cleary and Susan Stokes, Democracy and the Culture of Skepticism: Political Trust In Argentina and Mexico. Reviewed in American Journal of Sociology, vol. 116, no. 1 (July 2010), pp. 327-329.

Wolf Lepenies, The Seduction of Culture in German History. Reviewed in Archive européenne de sociologie, XLVIII, 3 (2007), pp. 507-509.

Victoria Hui, War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe. Reviewed in The China Quarterly, no. 187 (September 2006).

George Steinmetz (ed.), State/Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn. Reviewed in The American Journal of Sociology, 106: 4 (January 2001).

Bernard Silberman, Cages of Reason. Reviewed in The Journal of Japanese Studies, 21: 1 (Winter 1995).

George Steinmetz, Regulating the Social. The Welfare State and Local Politics in Imperial Germany. Reviewed in Social Forces, 73: 3 (March 1995).

Gianfranco Poggi, The State. Its Nature, Development and Prospects. Reviewed in The Review of Politics, 54: 4 (Fall 1992).

Charles Tilly, Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990-1990. Reviewed in Political Science Quarterly, 106: 4 (Winter 1991-92).

#### D. Work in progress

##### 1. Taming the Leviathan: Building Democratic Nation-States in 19th and 20th Century Western Europe.

In the immediate aftermath of World War One, as the culmination of a process that had its roots in the French Revolution, all twelve long-established Western European states had become democracies. Despite the many crises of the interwar years, eight of these states would remain democratic, but four others would introduce varying forms of dictatorship with devastating human and material consequences for the continent as a whole. This book offers a new explanation for these outcomes. It argues that the development of honest party-based government before World War One held the key to democratic survival during the turbulent decades after 1918.

#### E. Selected talks and conference papers

“Thoughts on War and Statemaking” Paper presented at the workshop “Charles Tilly and State Formation,” Copenhagen Business School, October 2-3, 2009.

“Successful Democratic Consolidation and Conservative Hegemony: The British Case” Paper presented at the conference “The Challenges and Dilemmas of Democratization: Lessons from Europe,” Harvard University, October 3-4, 2008.

“Liberalisierung und Demokratisierung in Westeuropa von der französischen Revolution bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg; eine vergleichende Perspektive.” Talk presented at the Max Weber-Kolleg, University of Erfurt, January 8, 2007.

“Das Scheitern der Demokratie in Deutschland aus der Sicht der vergleichenden Sozialwissenschaften,” Talk given at the Department of History, University of Munich, February 6, 2004.

“Building States: Inherently a Long-Term Process? An Argument from Comparative History.” Paper presented at the conference “States and Development: Historical Antecedents of Stagnation and Advance,” Brown University, October 18, 2003.

“The State in Early Modern Europe: The Contribution of American Historical Sociology” Paper presented at the conference “European and American Perspectives on the Early Modern State,” Department of History, University of Munich, March 6, 2003.

“Explaining Variations in European Statebuilding: Methodological Reflections.” Paper presented at the panel “Probability, Contingency and Determinism in Comparative Historical Analysis,” Conference of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 29, 2002.



- “Rethinking Democratization in 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Europe.” Talk given at the Department of Sociology, Harvard University, March 4, 2002.
- “The Process of Democratization in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries.” Talk given at the European University Institute, Florence, November 7, 2000.
- “Max Weber’s Concept of Charismatic Authority and German National Socialism.” Talk given at the European University Institute, Florence, May 5, 2000.
- Libéralisation et Démocratisation en France de la Révolution Française à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale: Une Perspective Comparée.” Talk given at the Centre de la Sociologie des Organisations, Paris, March 31, 2000.
- “Liberalisierung und Demokratisierung in Westeuropa von der Französischen Revolution bis zum 2. Weltkrieg.” Talk given at the Department of Social Science, Humboldt University of Berlin, December 16, and at the Department of Political Science, University of Bremen, November 2, 1999.
- “Class and Democratization in Western Europe.” Talk given at the Workshop on Democratization, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, October 2, 1999.
- “Staatenbildung in Europa vom frühen Mittelalter bis zur Französischen Revolution.” Talk given at the Max Weber Kolleg, University of Erfurt, June 28, 1999.
- “Liberalization and Democratization in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Britain in Comparative Perspective.” Talk given at the Institute for Historical Research, London, June 15, 1999.
- “Das Schicksal der Konkordanzdemokratie 1968-1998.” Talk given at the Department of Political Science, University of Bern, April 12, 1999.
- “Konkordanzdemokratie im europäischen Vergleich.” Talk given at the Department of Political Science, University of Innsbruck, March 16, 1999.
- “The Origins and Consequences of German Militarism.” Talk given at the European University Institute, Florence, March 5, 1999.
- “Der Zusammenbruch der Weimarer Republik aus der Perspektive der vergleichenden Sozialwissenschaften.” Talk given at the Max Planck Institute for the Social Sciences, Cologne, February 24, 1999.
- “Europe’s Future: A Transatlantic Perspective.” Graduation address given at the Handelshoogschool Antwerpen, January 29, 1999.

"The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy in Western Europe: A Reconsideration."  
Talk given at the Department of Sociology, New York University, November 5, 1998.

"Statebuilding in Western Europe in Comparative Perspective." Talk given at the European  
University Institute, Florence, May 15, 1998.

"Nationalstaat und Demokratie." Talk given at the Department of History, Humboldt University  
of Berlin, February 5, 1997.

"Demokratisierung in Deutschland in vergleichender Perspektive." Talk given at the Department  
of Political Science, University of Konstanz, November 21, 1996.

"Der deutsche Sonderweg aus der Sicht der vergleichenden Politikwissenschaft." Talk given at  
the Department of History, Free University of Berlin, October 28, 1996.

"Otto Hintze und der preussische Staat des 18. Jahrhunderts." Talk given at the Department of  
History, University of Munich, July 3, 1996.

"Liberalization, Democratization and Civil Society in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century  
Belgium and the Netherlands." Conference on "Civil Society before Democracy:  
Lessons from Nineteenth Century Europe," Princeton University, October 1995.

"Liberalization and Democratization in 19th and 20th Century Germany in Comparative  
Perspective." Conference of the American Political Science Association, Chicago,  
September 1995.

"Rethinking Political Development in Medieval and Early Modern Europe." Conference of the  
American Political Science Association, New York, September 1994.

"The Distorted Incrementalism of the New Federal Republic." Conference of the American  
Political Science Association, New York, September 1994.

"State-Building in Early Modern Britain and Germany: A Comparative Analysis," given at "The  
State in the Eighteenth Century: Britain and Germany." Conference of the German  
Historical Institute, London, at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany,  
October 1991.

"Comment," Panel on "German Unification and Industrial Relations: Challenges and  
Perspectives for Labor." German Studies Association Conference, Los Angeles,  
September 1991.

"Politics, Bureaucracy and War in eighteenth-century Britain." Conference of the American  
Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 1990.



"Politics and Public Finance in the German Territorial States before 1789." Social Science History Conference, Washington D.C., November 1989.

"War and Britain in Comparative Perspective." Colloquium on the British State and Empire in the Eighteenth Century, Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University, October 1989.

"Old Corruption or Reform? The Battle over Administrative Rationalization in England, 1660-1722." Conference of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August 1989.

With Peter A. Hall: "The Politics of Austerity: A Comparison of the 1974-79 Labour Government and the 1979-85 Conservative Government in Britain." Conference of Europeanists of the Council for European Studies, Washington D.C., October 1985.