%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%

% Masters/Doctoral Thesis

% LaTeX Template

% Version 2.5 (27/8/17)

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%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

% PACKAGES AND OTHER DOCUMENT CONFIGURATIONS

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

\PassOptionsToClass{openany}{MastersDoctoralThesis}

\documentclass[

12pt, % The default document font size, options: 10pt, 11pt, 12pt

%oneside, % Two side (alternating margins) for binding by default, uncomment to switch to one side

english, % ngerman for German

doublespacing, % Single line spacing, alternatives: onehalfspacing or doublespacing

oneside,

%draft, % Uncomment to enable draft mode (no pictures, no links, overfull hboxes indicated)

%nolistspacing, % If the document is onehalfspacing or doublespacing, uncomment this to set spacing in lists to single

%liststotoc, % Uncomment to add the list of figures/tables/etc to the table of contents

%toctotoc, % Uncomment to add the main table of contents to the table of contents

%parskip, % Uncomment to add space between paragraphs

%nohyperref, % Uncomment to not load the hyperref package

headsepline, % Uncomment to get a line under the header

openany

%chapterinoneline, % Uncomment to place the chapter title next to the number on one line

%consistentlayout, % Uncomment to change the layout of the declaration, abstract and acknowledgements pages to match the default layout

]{MastersDoctoralThesis} % The class file specifying the document structure

\usepackage[utf8]{inputenc} % Required for inputting international characters

\usepackage{array,booktabs,ragged2e}

\newcolumntype{R}[1]{>{\RaggedLeft\arraybackslash}p{#1}}

\usepackage{color, colortbl}

\usepackage{multirow}

\definecolor{Gray}{gray}{0.9}

\usepackage[flushleft]{threeparttable}

\usepackage{footnote}

\usepackage{amssymb}% http://ctan.org/pkg/amssymb

\usepackage{pifont}% http://ctan.org/pkg/pifont

\usepackage{graphics}

\usepackage{nicefrac}

\usepackage{lscape}

\usepackage[nottoc,numbib]{tocbibind}

\usepackage[T1]{fontenc} % Output font encoding for international characters

\usepackage{mathpazo} % Use the Palatino font by default

\usepackage{booktabs}

\usepackage{subfigure}

\usepackage{bigdelim}

\usepackage{multirow}

\usepackage{adjustbox}

\usepackage{threeparttable}

\usepackage{natbib}

\bibliographystyle{econ}

\makeatletter

\newenvironment{chapterappendices}{%

% Restart section numbering from A, B, C...

\setcounter{section}{0}

\renewcommand{\thesection}{Appendix \thechapter \Alph{section}}

\renewcommand{\thesubsection}{\thechapter\Alph{section}.\arabic{subsection}}

% Allocate more space for section numbering in the ToC

\addtocontents{toc}{%

\protect\patchcmd{\protect\l@section}{2.3em}{7em}{}{}

\setcounter{tocdepth}{0} % do not show Appendices

}

}{%

% Revert to usual space in the ToC when exiting this environment

\addtocontents{toc}{%

\protect\patchcmd{\protect\l@section}{7em}{2.3em}{}{}

\setcounter{tocdepth}{1}

}

}

\makeatother

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

% MARGIN SETTINGS

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

\geometry{

paper=a4paper, % Change to letterpaper for US letter

inner=2cm, % Inner margin

outer=2cm, % Outer margin

bindingoffset=2cm, % Change if you to change the binding offset at the left margin

top=2cm, % Top margin

bottom=2cm, % Bottom margin

%showframe, % Uncomment to show how the type block is set on the page

}

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

% THESIS INFORMATION

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

\thesistitle{Testing Gellner: Industrialization and the National Movement in the 19th Century Germany} % Your thesis title, this is used in the title and abstract, print it elsewhere with \ttitle

\supervisor{Prof. Dr. Wolf} % Your supervisor's name, this is used in the title page, print it elsewhere with \supname

\secondsupervisor{Prof. Dr. Spitz-Oener} % Your supervisor's name, this is used in the title page, print it elsewhere with \secsupname

\degree{Master of Science} % Your degree name, this is used in the title page and abstract, print it elsewhere with \degreename

\author{Lucas Oedekoven} % Your name, this is used in the title page and abstract, print it elsewhere with \authorname

\studentid{577492} % Your student ID, print it with \id

\addresses{} % Your address, this is not currently used anywhere in the template, print it elsewhere with \addressname

\keywords{} % Keywords for your thesis, this is not currently used anywhere in the template, print it elsewhere with \keywordnames

\university{\href{https://www.hu-berlin.de/}{Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin}} % Your university's name and URL, this is used in the title page and abstract, print it elsewhere with \univname

\department{\href{}{Institut für Wirtschaftsgeschichte}} % Your department's name and URL, this is used in the title page and abstract, print it elsewhere with \deptname

\faculty{{~}} % Your faculty's name and URL, this is used in the title page and abstract, print it elsewhere with \facname

\AtBeginDocument{

\hypersetup{pdftitle=\ttitle} % Set the PDF's title to your title

\hypersetup{pdfauthor=\authorname} % Set the PDF's author to your name

\hypersetup{pdfkeywords=\keywordnames} % Set the PDF's keywords to your keywords

}

\makeatletter

\def\hlinewd#1{%

\noalign{\ifnum0=`}\fi\hrule \@height #1 %

\futurelet\reserved@a\@xhline}

\makeatother

\usepackage{alphalph}

\renewcommand\*{\thesubfigure}{%

\alphalph{\value{subfigure}})%

}%

\makeatletter

\newcommand{\enableopenany}{%

\@openrightfalse%

}

\begin{document}

\sloppy

\frontmatter % Use roman page numbering style (i, ii, iii, iv...) for the pre-content pages

\pagestyle{plain} % Default to the plain heading style until the thesis style is called for the body content

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

% TITLE PAGE

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

\begin{titlepage}

\begin{center}

\vspace\*{.06\textheight}

\begin{figure}

\centering

\includegraphics{husiegel}

\end{figure}

{\scshape\LARGE \univname\par}\vspace{1.5cm} % of

\textsc{\Large \degreename}\\[0.5cm] % Thesis type

\HRule \\[0.4cm] % Horizontal line

{\huge \bfseries \ttitle\par}\vspace{0.4cm} % Thesis title

\HRule \\[1.5cm] % Horizontal line

\begin{minipage}[t]{0.4\textwidth}

\begin{flushleft} \large

\emph{Author:}\\

{\authorname}\\ % Author name - remove the \href bracket to remove the link

{\id}\\

\end{flushleft}

\end{minipage}

\begin{minipage}[t]{0.4\textwidth}

\begin{flushright} \large

\emph{Supervisors:} \\

{\supname}\\

{\secsupname}\\

\end{flushright}

\end{minipage}\\[3cm]

\vfill

\large \textit{A thesis submitted to the Chair of Economic History \\ in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Science in Economics }\\[0.3cm] % University requirement text

%\textit{in the}\\[0.4cm]

%\groupname\\\deptname\\[2cm] % Research group name and department name

\vfill

{\large \today}\\[4cm] % Date

\vfill

\end{center}

\end{titlepage}

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

% DECLARATION PAGE

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

\begin{declaration}

\addchaptertocentry{\authorshipname} % Add the declaration to the table of contents

\noindent

I hereby declare that my thesis is the result of my own work and that I have marked all sources, including online sources, which have been cited without changes or in modified form, especially sources of texts, graphics, tables and pictures.

\break\break

\noindent

I assure that I have not submitted this thesis for any other examination yet.

\break\break

\noindent

I am aware that in case of any breach of these rules procedures concerning fraud or attempted fraud will be taken in accordance with the subject-specific examination regulations and/or the Allgemeine Satzung für Studien- und Prüfungsangelegenheiten (ASSP) or the Allgemeine Satzung zur Regelung von Zulassung, Studium und Prüfung der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (ZSP-HU).

\break\break

\noindent Signed:\\

\rule[0.5em]{25em}{0.5pt} % This prints a line for the signature

\noindent Date:\\

\rule[0.5em]{25em}{0.5pt} % This prints a line to write the date

\end{declaration}

\cleardoublepage

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

% QUOTATION PAGE

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

%\vspace\*{0.2\textheight}

%\noindent {\itshape Thank you note}\bigbreak

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

% ABSTRACT PAGE

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

\begin{abstract}

\addchaptertocentry{\abstractname} % Add the abstract to the table of contents

Here you provide a summary of your thesis, preferably no longer than 200 words.

\end{abstract}

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

% ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

% LIST OF CONTENTS/FIGURES/TABLES PAGES

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

\setcounter{tocdepth}{1} % Show subsections

\tableofcontents % Prints the main table of contents

\listoffigures % Prints the list of figures

\listoftables % Prints the list of tables

\bigskip

\begin{center}

\end{center}

%\listofappendices

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

% DEDICATION

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

%\dedicatory{ }

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

% THESIS CONTENT - CHAPTERS

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

% THESIS CONTENT - CHAPTERS

%----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

\mainmatter % Begin numeric (1,2,3...) page numbering

\pagestyle{thesis} % Return the page headers back to the "thesis" style

% Include the chapters of the thesis as separate files from the Chapters folder

% Uncomment the lines as you write the chapters

\chapter{Introduction}

The historical background will be presented before the theoretical background, because it is easier to connect Gellners theory with the historical context of the 19th century Germany when one has the history in mind while reading Gellner.

\newpage

\chapter{Historical Background}

The 18th and 19th century in Europe were characterized by fundamental change and transformation. Industrialization, Modernization and Nationalism were the driving forces which prevailed allover Europe. In the European comparison these processes started quite late in Germany. Whereas for the Industrialization England was the leading country and for modern nationalism the French Revolution is an early example, for both Germany was a late follower country (\cite{becker2011education}, \cite{langewiesche2014foderative}). Germany's path to nationalism certainly is an interesting path. Till today it is subject of the academic discourse. Many authors developed theories and interpretations of the German path to the nation state and later to the Third Reich, such as Hans Ulrich Wehler, Heinrich August Winkler, James Sheehan, Thomas Nipperdey, Frank Tipton and Richard J. Evans to name the most important among them. This chapter provides the historical background in which this work stands. Firstly it focuses on happenings with regard to the building of the German nation state as well as the economic, political and social developments of the industrialization between the time of 1815 and 1871. Secondly a more detailed summary of different theories of the German path to the nation state is given. Thirdly the rise of the German national identity is historically contextualized. After that the national movement in general and the Turnvereine are analyzed. And lastly a short closer historical view for the Prussian State and the Kingdom of Saxony is given.

\section{Historical developments between 1815 to 1871}

After Napoleon was defeated and France was forced backed to the borders of 1792, Europe and Germany were realigned in the Vienna Congress. The glorious victory over Napoleon, the formation of the German Confederation in 1815 and the fundamental institutional reforms initiated profound developments and unleashed revolutionary forces (\cite{becker2011education}). One of the developments is the new order of power. After the territorial realignment the German Confederation was practically under a double-hegemony of Austria and Prussia (\cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee}). A novelty was, with Prussia moving to the Rhineland, Germany had a new protective power-state which was able to shape the future of Germany (\cite{nipperdey2017deutsche}. Additionally with the gain of Silesia and large parts of Poland, Prussia could even more be described as a European power (\cite{tipton2003history} S.36). Despite the formation of the German Confederation, Germany in general was still politically and territorial fragmented in many different sovereign states with the monarch still being the final decision making body, except for the free cities. But with the reforms after 1815 the feudal system of the pre-revolution has changed. The bureaucratic authoritarian state was able to basically put the judiciary and the local administration under state control and statutorily regulate the daily live and thus monopolize power. The state operated with new governmental duties: Education, Culture, Infrastructure and also first steps towards social policies were made. As \cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee} S. 320 describes it: "Kurz, der Staat war nicht mehr einfach Fürsten- und Adelsstaat, sondern eben vor allem bürokratischer Obrigkeitsstaat." Accordingly to the reformations, the foundation of constitutions and the growing state apparatus the relatively new social class of civil servants was promoted \cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee}S.322. With new duties, possibilities and gain of power the civil servants felt like the new aristocracy. Guiding the state against the old feudal system and against the entrepreneurial bourgeoisie for the will of the people. Civil servants were not only needed because the state gained in power but also because of the growing population the administrative duties intensified. Between 1816 and 1865 the population in the German confederation increased with a yearly rate of 0,9 percent, overall it grew 57 percent from about 30 million to about 48 million \cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee}S.104. Although the German states got together in the German Confederation the political, economic and social landscape till obtained extreme disparities. Whereas Germany's biggest states Prussia and Austria were economically progressive and politically conservative, the southern states were economically conservative but politically progressive. (\cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee}). The changes and reformations after 1815 led to a climate of democratization and rose the question of implementing a constitution. Against the will of Austria the other German states were debating of forming constitutional states. Implementing a constitution meant to partly take away power from the aristocracy and give it to state officials and tax paying inhabitants. Moreover it was a way to unify the provinces into one state. \cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee} describes that only because of the constitution Baden-Badeners, Palatinate and Breisgauers felt to be one state, and only as a constitutional state Bayern was able to unify with Würzburg, Bayreuth and Bamberg. These developments fostered the uprising national sentiment. Because of the liberate and democratic spirit it became a threat for especially the still very feudal Austria. Even Prussia was debating of implementing a constitution. Metternich was afraid Austria could get isolated and loose its influence because of the strong national movement. The Turnvereine, the Burschenschaften and other national companionship's quickly gained popularity and influence. They organised protest and festive gatherings, such as the prominent Wartburgfest in October 1817. The main common ground of the movements was the feeling of a German identity. Their goals were reformation and most commonly the formation of a nation state based on the German identity. Luckily for Metternich the uprising national movement rapidly radicalised. For the time being it found its peak in the assassination of the anti-liberal author August von Kotzebue in March 1819 by a student and member of the Burschenschaften. This radicalization led Prussia to back down from its constitutional plans and to contain the national movement. Metternich knew how to use this event and the reaction of Prussia. Four month after the assassination he called for a conference in Karlsbad about further political actions against the national movement. With the Karlsbaderbeschlüsse the national movement was depressed and even though the constitutional states stuck to their constitution Metternich and the conservative order gained in power again \cite{tipton2003history}. To further act against the nationalist and liberal forces the Confederation gained power in form of executions and intervention. \cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee} describes this as paradox, to act against the nationalists wish of national unification the reaction is unification. But it worked, in the following years the Confederation got into action, it was the instrument for the federalism of the state rulers, but never for the nation. Till 1830 the political landscape especially the foreign policy was not too agitated. The Julirevolution started in France brought the peaceful balance in Europe and in Germany to float. In many states national liberal forces as well as workers protested for rights of co-determination and against the feudal system. The liberal opposition gained in popularity and power. On the one hand In they accomplished their first milestone in some states \cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee}S366ff. on the other hand the Confederation took drastic measures to suppress the revolutionary forces. In general the confederation was able to stop the revolution but after 1830 the nationalist, liberal and revolutionary movements could not be shattered they were deeply rooted and spread in the society. This is undermined by the formation of political parties around 1840 S.377. The new political parties were from five different camps: Conservatives, Catholics, Liberals, Democrats and Socialists. A new political environment emerged. The political parties accepted their pluralistic coexistence and became the mediator between the people and the state. 378. The Rhine-crisis and the enthronement of Friedrich Wilhelm IV 1840 in Prussia further contributed to the pluralistic environment \cite{spoerer2021deutschland}, \cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee}. The Rhine-crisis between Prussia and France over the Rhine border further legitimized the national sentiment in society and the political context. And Wilhelm, who in general still was a conservative but also a sympathizer of the national sentiment wanted to conciliate with the nationalists. He freed political prisoners such as Turnvater Jahn and rehabilitated national voices like Ernst Moritz Arndt. From a political perspective the time till the Marchrevolution in 1848 was characterized by the need for reformation and change from different political camps. Over time the temperature rose and in 1848 heated up once again because of the revolution in Paris it began to boil. Partly similar partly as a chain reaction protest, civil disorder and revolution started all over Germany. In contrast to the Julirevolution it was not only a national, liberal revolution, it was a cross section of the lower and middle class; workers, farmers, students, people from the city, people from the countryside. Nipp S596 How far this revolution could reach was decided in Wien and Berlin. In Austria it was the end of Metternichs era, the administration did not want to bring up the military against the protests and tried to stand behind the people, so Metternich had no real other choice then to resign. Still this was not enough for the protester. The revolution further spread all over the country. This pushed Austria into an existential crisis. In Prussia some unfortunate accidents led to heavy street riots mainly in Berlin between the military and the people. S599 After over 230 people dead Wilhelm backed up and conceded with the revolution. This S.605

\section{Economic developments between 1815 to 1871}

During the same time another progressive process started. With the main goal of economic growth and political power but also trying to partly overcome the disparities Prussia established a unified toll policy. Between 1815 and 1834 Prussia managed to push many states into a toll union and led the way for the foundation of the German "Zollverein" in 1834 (\cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee}). By 1841 28 of the then 39 German states belonged to the Zollverein, causing concerns by the Austrian chancellor Metternich over Prussia's leading role, Austria was one of the few states which were not in the Zollverein (\cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee}). Retrospectively this might be seen as a brilliant move by the Prussian state to foster political unification, but instead the main purpose was to enable free trade between the east and west provinces (\cite{Reckendress2021deutschland}). The hypothesis that the unification in the Zollverein inevitably would have led to the formation of the German Reich, does not hold (\cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee}). But it undermined Prussia's economic and political power and made the way at least for the "kleindeutsche" solution in 1848 says \cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee}. Besides the political ramifications the establishment of the Zollverein plays another very important role for Germany's industrialization process. It was the first step towards market integration. It was followed by the unified monetary system in 1838 (Dresdner Münzkonvention) and a regulation for bills of exchange (Wechselordnung) applying all over the German Confederation in 1849 (\cite{Reckendress2021deutschland}). The Zollverein has been the main driving force for economic development until around 1850 \cite{Reckendress2021deutschland}. Next to the beginning integration of markets the process of integrating institutions emerged in many different ways. A national and international Train system slowly developed.

\section{The German Path}

\cite{Wehlergesellschaftsgeschichte} developed the theory of the German "Sonderweg", explaining that the German path was different to all others especially because it was not a liberal revolution it was a "conservative revolution from above". \cite{sheehan1993german} After the French war the German path of nation building was characterized by political fragmentation in many different states, different religions and languages, the important role of the Prussian state (\cite{Wehler+2015+101+134}) and in the end by horror of the Third Reich.

Some historians describe the German path to the nation state as a so called "special-path" (\cite{Wehlergesellschaftsgeschichte}, \cite{winkler2020lange}). \cite{Wehlergesellschaftsgeschichte} states that the March Revolution of 1848 failed to pursue its final goal, the unification of the German National state. The Prussian aristocracy could maintain its power and the monopoly of the key position in the state and thus the path to the German Nation state can be described as "conservative revolution form above". In the following steps the model of the "special-path" explains how German Nationalism could develop to Nazism and the Horror of the Third Reich. In contrast to that stands \cite{nipperdey2017deutsche}. On the one hand he argues that the model of the "special-path" degrades the German history of the 19th and 20th century to a background story of the Third Reich. On the other hand \cite{nipperdey2017deutsche} he provides the theory that after 1815 moving Prussia to the Rhine was a fundamental facts of German history and the foundation for the formation of the German national state in 1866/1871. Even others such as \cite{sheehan1993german} disagree with both. He is saying the German unification was no natural path led by modernization, industrialization and nationalism. The economic and social developments strengthened the Bismarckian state rather than the nation. An in the end the it was a path of blood and iron. Whereas the victory in the sense of the unification is actually not the realization of a full German national identity, Germany in 1871 is by far not the Germany Ernst Moritz Arndt described in his famous poem "Des Deutschen Vaterland".

As \cite{nipperdey2017deutsche} argues: "Die Versetzung Preußens an den Rhein ist eine der fundamentalen Tatsachen der deutschen Geschichten, eine der Grundlagen für die Reichsgründung von 1866/1871."

\section{The Rise of a German National Identity}

The idea of a German identity and a German cultural heritage can already be found in writings since the early modern age (\cite{burgdorf2000}. In the second half of the 18th century, in reaction to the Seven-Years-War and the rediscovery of the Tacitus text the discourse about the German identity experienced a first upturn (\cite{planert2004nation}, \cite{burgdorf2000}). The rise of an educated bourgeoisie and upcoming humanism emphasised the ideology of a German identity and the cultural heritage of the "natio Germanorum" (\cite{bach}). It was an intellectual elite of writers, historians, poets and philosophers, such as Ernst Moritz Arndt, Friedrich Schiller or Gottlieb Klopstock who were engaged with it (\cite{vick2003}, \cite{bach}). At the beginning of that movement the focus was not of political nature. The central point was not yet the unification of all Germans to one nation. It was more a discourse about the notion of the German ethnic and cultural purity (\cite{vick2003}). This still is delivered by literature, illustrations and folksongs. At the end of the 18th century an intellectual ideology of a specific German identity with common origin and heritage and certain German virtues, traits and values was formed. This was the intellectual basis for the politicization of this topic (\cite{planert2004nation}). Napoleons sovereignty over Germany pushed the movement out of its romantic historical context into a real political context (\cite{nipperdey1968nationalidee}). The French Revolution nearly two decades early served as a role model for the new political movement. The rising anti-french sentiment between 1806 and 1813 was the genesis of the politicization of German nationalism (\cite{vick2003},\cite{bach}). The exact starting point is described differently by historians between 1806 and 1811, fact is the first period of the politically organised nationalism started after the loss against France and lasted until 1819 (\cite{duding2020organisierter}S.15, \cite{jansen2020nation}S.59, \cite{echternkamp1998aufstieg}S353).Its goal was the unification of Germany and the Modernization of the state, this means the end of the feudal system.

In Gellners Argument die Mehrheit wird von einer Minderheit unterdrück

planert, schulze, jansen, pfister

the distinction to other cultures nations and the political realignment after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 further contributed to the politicization. The dissolution of corporations, the liberation of peasants and the beginning of the industrial revolution brought social change and thus the idea of a German nation further developed to be a broader phenomenon. After the Napoleonic war the German Confederation was formed in 1815. From that point on the cultural ideology of a German nation and heritage was no longer only transmitted by literature and folksongs. From now on the ideology was processed in visual cultural artifacts for everyone in the form of architecture (\cite{bach}). The revival of the construction of the Cologne Cathedral, the "Hermannsdenkmal" in the Teutoburg Forest, or the "Walhalla" in Regensburg are embodiment’s of the ideology of that time. These monuments and many more were politically intended to generate great public attention. They represented the strength and greatness of the German Nation and were a symbol for cultural unification (\cite{nipperdey2017deutsche}). After the German Revolution in 1848, this process was followed by the political and territorial unification of the North German Confederation under the hegemony of Prussia in 1867 and four years later by the complete unification of all parts of Germany into the German Empire under King Wilhelm I and Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in 1871. Besides the political changes which at the end led to the German Empire economic developments driven by the industrialization brought social changes. The development of national identity was accompanied by the development of a social identity and the formation of a working class. In conclusion the historical background shows that the late 18th century till the late 19th century in which context our findings stand, is very important for the understanding of our results. And further that the process of identity building was profound and that not only a national identity established.

\section{The national movement of the Turnvereine}

\subsection{Turnvater Jahn and the firs movement of the Turnvereine}

In the late 18th century a process of social mobility began to develop in the German society. The Enlightenment of the last centuries led to an increasing intellectual communication between the bourgeoisie, the intellectual elite and the nobility, which in turn led to the process mobility (\cite{duding2020organisierter}S.17). Social class and Social corporation of someone were still defined by birth, but new associations between different social classes for communication and certain personnel interests developed. Within these association people exchanged about political, philosophical and other intellectual topics, nevertheless private political organisation were still prohibited and the gatherings did not intend to develop a political agenda (\cite{duding2020organisierter}S.18). Political organisations only existed in secret as long as the state or the police did not knew about them. After the loss against Napoleon it had been these existing open and secret associations which became the basis for the organised national movements. The center of the movement became Prussia. Even though Prussia was under the rule of France, it still had enough domestic political room for operation to pursue modernization policies, such as the freeing of peasants, industrial reforms leading to free competition and education reforms \cite{duding2020organisierter}S.20). Three of the main figures for these policies were the minister Hardenberg, the general Gneisenau and the intellectual Wilhelm von Humboldt. This modernization process engaged leading nationalist from other German states to move to Prussia and to get involved in the national movement. Key roles for the national movement in this time were Ernst Moritz Arndt, Johann Gottlob Fichte, Friedrich Schleiermacher, Heinrich Luden and Friedrich Ludwig Jahn. Friedrich Luwig Jahn became one of the early figures with his in 1810 published booked "Deutsches Volksthum". Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, later known as Turnvater Jahn, demanded a constituional state based on the German national identity and culture with a corporative Parliament. Important for him was a national military and a compulsory military service. Moreover no slavery or any other form of captivity should exist \cite{duding2020organisierter}S.36 and very important for him was a stately organised uniform education system.S.38. Education should be general, national and political, but always in the context of the national identity. In contrast to others he still believed in a corporative society, although slavery would be forbidden, economic emancipation and equality between all social classes was not necessary for him. S39 Moreover he in detail described the political realization and social organisation of a national state more than any other national figure in the beginning. Whereas others such as Ernst Moritz Arndt predominantly talked and wrote about the cultural nation.S40. As Düding describes it; that made Jahn the leading nationalist for the organised movement and that was exactly what it needed in the time after 1806. In November 1810 Jahn founded his first national association the "Deutsche Bund". The main goal was to spread national propaganda and recruit other nationalist. Many of the members were teachers who in Jahn's sense used their role to educate the national ideas.S43 One year later in the Hasenheide in Berlin Jahn founded the "Turnbewegung". The idea was that sport generates a community feeling and thus a spirit of national unity. The physical exercises were always connected to educational exercises about national identity and political nationalism. Furthermore it generates a paramilitary effect. Jahn was not the only one who had thought that physical exercise would play an important role in national education. But he was the first who publicly established it outside a school context. Jahn's Turnverein was a publicly, social and free of any institutions organised national movement. S53 Soon more and more mostly young people took part in movement, which quickly had the effect Jahn wished to generate. On the days the "Turner" met, many spectators came together to watch them exercise. Thus the Turnverein got well known and appreciated.S56 The reputation of the Turnverein quickly developed also outside Prussia and thus the Turnverein spread. In many different cities till 1819 Turnverein were founded.S58 Jahn had great organisational talent to establish a network of Turnvereine all over Germany. He was connected with many of the new founders or connected founders with each other and in other cases he sent representatives to visit the new Turnvereine.S62 In 1818 over 100 Turnvereine with 6000 members in Prussia and 50 more in other German states with also 6000 members existed.S67 \footnote{Interestingly although in most German states the Turnverein spread, there was none in the neighbour state Kingdom of Saxony.} The members were from every social class, which made the Turnvereine an inter-social community.S.77 Important for the organisation was a profound communication system with frequent correspondence. Jahn expected that the leader of the Turnvereine write him about the local situation or that at a certain time they would come to Berlin for a visit. Moreover the students played an important role for the communication between the Turnvereine. Because many members were students who often changed their University also the communication between different Turnvereinen was disitnct.S70 To travel from Turnverein to Turnverein was something Jahn already formulated in his book Deutsche Volksthum, for a profound and good national community it would be important to travel and establish the feeling of participation. Therefor Jahn invited all Turnverein to travel and visit others all over Germany which in turn undermined the profund network. Furthermore Jahn was one of the first nationalists to postulate the importance of festivals for the national culture in his book.S.112 Thus often many Turnvereine came together during these trips and celebrated a great fest which also attracted many spectatores outside the Turnvereine.S75 For example organised Jahn a fest on the 19th October 1814 to remember the battle of Leipzig in 1813, which according to eyewitness reports ten thousand people attended.S.115 And even more these festivals became the forerunners for later organised national fests.S.112ff Such was the well know Wartburgfest, which was organised and attended mostly by students, which had a prfound relationship to the Turnvereine and two of the initiators has been one of Jahns firmest and best Turnern.S.123 The growing popularity and the increasing politicization of the movement on the other hand rose attention within the leading politicians as well as with monarch Friedrich Wilhelm. The rising attention from Metternich to surpress the national movement had impact on Jahns movement. The Turnvereine, all gatherings and many members were under constant watch of the authorities.S132 In 1818 the first Turnvereine got prohibited. In 1819 after the assassination of Kotzebue and shortly before the Carlsbad decrees publicly physical exercise in form of Turnern as well as all Turnvereine in Prussia got prohibited and Jahn got imprisoned. Most other states followed this prohibition. Only in very few states and free cities the Turner could still exist, but only as organisation for pure physical exercise. Hence with the year of 1819 the movement of the Turner was obliterated.S134f After the turning point in 1819 not only the Turnvereine but also the national movement in general came to halt.

One can say the Turnvereine were the most influential and best organised naitonal movement in this period.

\subsection{The second movement of the Turnvereine during the Vormärz}

In the beginning of the "Vormärz" serious national movements could only slowly reestablished in some of the more liberal constitutional states and free cities, such as in the Kingdom of Saxony and in the southern states.S.142 In the 20s and 30s a few new Turnvereine were founded in these states.S.205 Especially in Baden-Wuerttemberg and in the politically and economic quite developed Kingdom of Saxony around the citiy of Plauen.S.208 In the end of the 30s in Frankfurt and Hanau another small centre of Turnvereine established.S.212 The Kingdom of Saxony and Rhine-Main region became with each over 100 Turnvereine until 1848 the two center of the movement.S.230 Most newly found Turnverein during this time were found by teachers and could only exist because they were bound to schools. Thus the Turnvereine could not really pursue a political agenda. When in 1842 the prohibition of the Turnvereine had been lifted it in fact should only made Turnvereine for the porpuse of physical education possible. Nevertheless this was essential for the reempowerment of the national movement of the Turnvereine.213 Clearly the new Turnverein were also political associations, even though they concealed it. The new uprising movement of the Turnvereine in the "Vormärz" were still ideologically bond to Jahns idea, but Jahn himself had nothing to do with them anymore. Jahn was imprisoned till 1825 and afterwards he was not allowed to live in Berlin or in any Universitycity. Additionally he was under permanent police supervision until 1840. Even though he was rehabilitated Jahn did not want be an active part in the movement anymore. Thus the new movement besides Jahns national ideology was completely detached of his influence. This also meant that the movement did not have a leading figure or organiser. Although there was increasing demand for national associations in the population the movement spread comparably slow. One reason was that it did not had a network as in their first period.S.220ff New Turnvereine were mostly founded in areas of existing ones. Another notable difference was the democratization of the Turnvereine. They were not centrally organised, every Turnverein more or less stood for themselves and in most Turnvereinen there was no clear hierarchy, which led to an even more socially diverse membership.S.226 In the mid 40s the Turnvereine began to travel and meet others again, moreover also an increasing number of festivals were organised again. This had positive impact on the number new Turnvereine and their organisational structure as well as for their general popularity.S.229 In the end 1847 an estimated number of 300 Turnvereinen with 80000 to 90000 members existed, from which not all had been active Turner.S233 Two other aspects contributed to the spread of the Turnvereine. Fristly the craftsmen under the members of the Turnvereine. The craftsmen were a very mobile group in the 19th century. While they were traveling for work in other cities the often founded new Trunvereine or became member in another Turnvereine and thus could set up communication system. The craftsmen overtook the role of the students in the first movement. Secondly the establishment several Turnernewspapers, which were published all over Germany intensified the communication and the organisation of the Trunvereine.S245 Some Trunvereine demanded to establish a mother organisation which would handle greater question of the movement and organise festival for all Turnvereine, because of the political censorship of the governments this only happened shortly after the march Revolution.S248 Nevertheless the Prussian government felt an increasing threat regarding the movement and started to ban certain Trunvereine and festivals between July 1847 and February 1848.S303 Prussia was not wrong with this feeling. Even though the Turnverein did not play a leading role in the march revolution, money members of the Turnvereine took part in the revolution, in organising as well as riots.S308

\chapter{Theoretical Background - Gellners Theory of Nationalism}

Ernest Gellner (1925-1995) professor for Philosophy at the London School of Economics (1949-1984) and professor for Anthropology at Cambridge (1984-1993) was one of the leading academics in researching on the topic of nations and nationalism. He dedicated numerous essays and three books to the topic of nationalism. His most known and the ground work in this field of research is "Nations and Nationalism" (1983), which is also the basis for my hypothesis. In Nations an Nationalism Gellner outlines the roots of modern Nationalism and how it developed. Other prominent works about Nationalism were first attempts of his theory, expanded his theory or focused on specific questions about nationalism, such as: What is the role of modernization; How Nationalism became the most common political concept in the modern world; How Nationalism spread; or How Nationalism could prevail till today.\footnote{See Ernest Gellner, Thought and Change (1964); Scale and Nation (1973); Nationalism, or the New Confessions of a Justified Edinburgh Sinner (1979); Nationalism and the Two Forms of Cohesion in Complex Societies (1987); Nationalism and Politics in Eastern Europe(1991); and Encounters with Nationalism (1994)} In the following I will analyze his theory of the development of modern nationalism and the argument that Industrialization is the source for nationalism based on his work and critiques of his work. Moreover the analysis is focused to draw a connection to my hypothesis. For Gellner nationalism found its roots in the social and cultural transformation from the agrarian society to the industrial society. The changes brought by industrialization opened up the room and the need for a new homogeneous social culture, a culture which developed within the modern society and not from certain rulers. This new culture is the basis to sustain social cohesion, religion and dynasties are relegated to play an essential role for society by this shared culture. In general Gellner tries to describe every possible way nationalism occurs and develops. He differentiates between different kinds of nationalism and different outcomes of nationalism. To understand the underlying idea and the context in which my work stands, it is best to start with the definitions he gives us at the very beginning of the book.

\section{Gellners understanding of nationalism and other important definitions}

"Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent.

Nationalism as a sentiment, or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle. Nationalist sentiment is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfilment. A nationalist movement form of is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind." (Gellner p.1) Moreover the most propelling situation to arouse the nationalist sentiment and movement would be to live in a political unit where the ruler is of another nation than the people. Furthermore it is also propelling if the borders of a state do not include all members of a nation, meaning that not all members of a nation are united. This definition can perfectly be applied to the national movements of the 19th century in Germany.(P.1) One could argue that the Turnvereine, the Sängerschaften, the Nationalverein etc. would not have been founded or at least would not have been popular and organized as they were, if Germany would already have been a nation state at the beginning of the 19th century, in which the national and the political unit would be congruent. In fact Germans were first ruled by the french Napoleon and later split in over 39 different states.? For Gellners definition of nationalism the concepts of state and nation are crucial. The definition of the state he provides was admittedly adopted from Max Weber; saying that in a civilized society the state has the monopoly of legitimate violence and is the only one to use this ultimate force. (P.3) Moreover the state relies on a distinctive division of labor for maintenance of the civil order, police, courts, prisons etc. It is worth mentioning that this does not mean the state cannot be ruled by a single ruler. This understanding of the state undermines Gellners definition that nationalism primarily is a political principle. If there is no state owning the monopoly of power there are no boundaries for the nation. If there is no state there is no ruler and one cannot ask if the ruler is of the same nation as the ruled. Nationalism is always tight to the state or a ruler who is the state. National movements do not fight against the state or a ruler in general, on the contrary they long for a powerful state or ruler, which acts for the maintenance of the nation. They only rail against a state which is lacking the power to act for the nation, or a state with different boundaries than the nation, or a state in which power is distributed to people who are not nationalists. (P.4) By the means of Gellners defintion of nationalism, nationalism only occurs in societies which take the existing of the state or at least of centralized power for granted. Thus the state is a necessary but still no sufficient condition for nationalism. With the industrialization in turn the existence of the state became indispensable, whereas in an pre-agrarian society mostly no concept of a state existed and in an agrarian society the state already was a not necessary option. (P.5) A normative definition for a nation seems to be more difficult, and Gellner refrains from giving one. Instead he explains that nations as well as states are not "a universal necessity" for humanity. But whereas a state can clearly emerge without a nation, a nation cannot emerge without a state, >because nations can only be defined in terms of the age of nationalism, rather than, as one might expect, the other way round.< (P.55) In contrast to states, nations are no inherent attribute of industrialised societies. But when it comes to nationalism it "holds that they were destined for each other; that either without the other is incomplete, and constitutes a tragedy.".(P.6) As \cite{o1997nature} points out, Gellner indirectly says that nations are invented by nationalism and not the other way around?? To be from the same nation means to have the same culture and to further recognize to belong to the same nation. Which means to recognize the same duties and rights in regard to ones membership, as well as to share the same loyalties and solidarities.(P.7) Based on these definitions I will now analyze his argument that industrialization is the reason for the emergence of nationalism.

\section{From Industrialization to nationalism}

Based on Gellners hypothesis, that the developments and social transformation brought by the industrialization caused the emergence of nationalism, I will now analyze his arguments in detail. For the aim of analyzing nationalism Gellner divides between three different stages of social development: pre-agrarian, agrarian and industrialised or modern societies.(P.5) With not too much attention Gellner quickly explains that nationalism could and would not emerge in pre-agrarian societies, because of their size they were not able to fulfill the necessary division of labour to form a state and as a stateless society it is not possible to establish nationalism. In agrarian societies the state was an option, but the society was divided in distinctive social classes with distinctive culture and thus the necessary social cohesion based on a homogeneous culture for nationalism did not exist. For industrial societies the state mostly is essential, and social mobility, education and economic growth foster a homogeneous culture which in many cases lead to the formation of a national identity and nationalism.P.5 O'l P.199 Thus it is clear as Gellner also explicitly states nationalism developed in the transformation from the agrarian society to the industrial society. By looking at the Turnvereine in 1865 I am analyzing the time of the second phase of industrialization in Germany and the transformation of an agrarian to. an industrial society, hence I am able to test Gellners argument at its core. The question now is, which developments are the critical ones? What are the essential differences for nationalism between the two forms of society? A first notable difference is between the loyalty and worship of the people. In an agrarian society the people worship their ruler or god. Whereas in an industrial society the people directly and in first place worship themselves as members of that society (national identity).(P.56&153) It might still be that they also worship a ruler or a god. That has to do with an emerging high culture for the total or at least the majority of the population. As Gellner writes: "The basic deception and self-deception practised by nationalism is this: nationalism is, essentially, the general imposition of a high-culture on society, where previously low-cultures had taken up the lives of the majority, and in some cases of the totality, of the population."(P.57) In agrarian societies high cultures already existed but only a very small part of society participated in it (8pp.), only scholars and the clerics. For industrial societies that changed, because of developments brought by industrialization. In industrial societies, there is a need for a high degree of division of labour to foster economic growth and innovation. Therefore universal education is needed and provided by the state.(P.32) Interestingly industrial societies are the most specialized societies but its education system is the most universally standardized.(P.27) In comparison to agrarian societies this development >...turned everyone into a cleric< (P.32) and further a universal high culture could emerge. "The high (normative) cultures or traditions which specially concern us are, of course, literate ones. Hence the problem of access to them appears, in the present discussion, as access to education."(P.92-93) This is particularly interesting for my analysis as the Turnvereine had very strong ties to schools and university and directly connected national ideologies to education. For Gellner universal high culture is an essential aspect of nationalism. From there a homogeneous culture could develop which in turn is the basis for social cohesion. Moreover by making this an essential argument for his theory, he differs from other theories of nationalism. Gellner describes nationalism neither as a top down, nor as a bottom up phenomenon (Anderson, Marx?). He sees nationalism as a universal social development brought by the changes of the industrialization and not constructed by certain parts of society. In that sense he also directly opposes other theories like the "naturality theory", meaning that nationalism is in the nature of things, society just has it, it is self generating;(P.48-49, 129) or the "Dark god Theory", saying: "Nationalism is the re-emergence of the atavistic forces of blood or territory."(P.130) Because Gellner constructed his theory in such a structural-functional way, scholars define his theory as the "functionalist theory of nationalism" (\cite{o1997nature}, \cite{kumar2010gellnerian}, \cite{collini2016common}(Part II Capitel Migrants)

Moreover as already said the agrarian society is distinctively divided in a feudal system, meaning no social mobility.

Firstly, by saying that nationalism emerged after the transformation from agrarian society to industrial societies Gellner opposes many other theories of nationalism. Anthony Smith he neglects that nationalism existed before the industrialization as theories

Whereas one has to say Gellners introduction and the definitions are not exclusively Gellners theory, this understanding of nationalism as well as a nation and state can also be found by Rousseau? Anderson?

\section{Alternative Theories}

Even though Ernest Gellners theory of Nationalism is maybe the most well known theory to explain the rise of modern nationalism, he is not the only one who developed an important approach to understand the phenomena of Nationalism. K. W. Deutsch, \cite{anderson1988erfindung}, Anthony Smith and also Karl Marx need to be named. To fully understand Gellners theory it is important to understand what possible alternative explanations for the rise Nationalism are. Therefore a short introduction in the theories of the just named authors will be given in this section with the focus on the similarities and differences to Ernest Gellner.

\subsection{Karl W. Deutsch}

Karl W. Deutsch theory is one the older theories of the modern time. His book

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\chapter{Data}

To conduct my analysis I used different data sets containing data on Nationalism, Industrialization and data related to Industrialization. As a proxy for nationalism I will use the second statistical yearbook of the Turnvereine.

\section{Statistical yearbook of the Turnvereine}

For the aim of this Masterthesis and with the help of Felix Kersting, I digitized a data set from the second statistical yearbook of the Turnvereine. the novel and fully digitized data set was published in 1865 and contains information of all existing Turnvereine in Germany and Austria till the year of 1864. It provides information on the city of the Trunverein, the date of founding, the population of the city, the number of members, the number of active members, the age of the members classified in two groups and the occupation of members classified in three categories. Moreover the yearbook provides smaller data sets on state level with more information about the occupation of Turnverein members and the share of Turnverein members on the population.

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\chapter{Analysis}

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\chapter{Conclusion}

\cite{Discussion}

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% THESIS CONTENT - APPENDICES

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%\appendix % Cue to tell LaTeX that the following "chapters" are Appendices

% Include the appendices of the thesis as separate files from the Appendices folder

% Uncomment the lines as you write the Appendices

%\include{Appendices/AppendixA}

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