

# Interregional Contact and the Formation of a Shared Identity\*

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## Abstract

We study the long-run effects of contact with individuals from other regions in early adulthood on preferences, beliefs and national identity. We combine a natural experiment, the random assignment of male conscripts to different locations throughout Spain, with tailored survey data. Being randomly assigned to complete military service outside of one's region of residence fosters contact with conscripts from other regions, and increases sympathy and trust towards people from the region of service, as measured decades later. We also observe a long-lasting increase in identification with Spain for individuals originating from regions with strong peripheral nationalism.

**Keywords:** Interregional Contact, Intergroup Exposure, Beliefs, Preference Formation, Identity.

**JEL Classification:** R23, D91, Z1

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# 1 Introduction

Cultivating and maintaining a sense of shared national identity is a critical challenge facing modern states. States whose citizens identify more strongly with local political units than the nation as a whole may face difficulties in solving collective-action problems (Fukuyama, 2018), and in preventing secessionist movements (Serrano, 2013). Historically, governments have tried to strengthen a shared national identity through various measures, including national education programs, media propaganda, and infrastructure investments (Bandiera et al., 2019; Blouin and Mukand, 2019; Cantoni et al., 2017; Fouka, 2020; Weber, 1976). Another commonly applied tool for strengthening a shared national identity and increasing social cohesion is conscription. A key feature of conscription, as adopted by many countries, is the purposeful mixing of conscripts from different regions of origin in the same units (Bertaud, 1979; Krebs, 2004).<sup>1</sup>

According to the contact hypothesis, mixing conscripts from different regions is likely to strengthen interregional sympathies, as the contact situation involves equal status between the groups, common goals and cooperation (Allport et al., 1954; Lowe, 2021). A number of studies also suggest that contact helps to decrease prejudice and correct biased beliefs, at least in the short run (Boisjoly et al., 2006; Burns et al., 2018; Carrell et al., 2018; Dahl et al., 2020; Mousa, 2020; Paluck et al., 2019; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006; Schindler and Westcott, 2021). The persistence of these effects over longer time horizons, however, is less well-studied. Moreover, how contact affects the formation of a shared identity is theoretically ambiguous. By increasing sympathy and reducing intergroup biases, interregional contact may help to increase the extent to which individuals from different regions share a common

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<sup>1</sup>Conscription has been invoked as an important instrument for nation building at least since the French Revolution. Bertaud (1979) points out that French military units were consciously designed as national melting pots. Similarly, Krebs (2004) argues that Italy broke with the Prussian system of territorial recruitment in 1860 because “only by combining troops from different regions in single units could the military foster an Italian identity”.

identity. On the other hand, differences between one's own identity and others' identity might also become more salient in response to contact with dissimilar others (Tajfel et al., 1979), thereby, decreasing a sense of shared identity.

In this paper, we examine how temporary contact in early adulthood between people from different regions affects intergroup attitudes and national identity exploiting a unique natural experiment, the random assignment of conscripts in Spain to their location of military service. Spain is an ideal setting to study these questions as it has experienced strong regional nationalistic movements, leading to cases of violence and conflict. In a context where most people lived in the same region all of their lives, the compulsory military service, until its abolition in 2001, constituted the main opportunity for most Spanish men to build relationships with people from other regions. Around one third of conscripts were assigned to serve in their own region of residence and two thirds served elsewhere. Conscripts serving outside of their own region were more exposed to individuals from other regions, both through interactions with other conscripts and with local civilians. A unique feature of the Spanish draft is that conscripts were assigned to their location of military service using a random lottery that was conducted each year at the province level, providing a transparent source of exogenous variation for our study.

To study how conscripts were affected by their geographic assignment in the military service, we conducted an online survey among 3,231 former male conscripts between December 2019 and February 2020. The survey elicits information on participation in the draft lottery and its outcome. It also collects rich background information and measures a number of outcome variables, including sympathy towards people from different regions of Spain, beliefs about their honesty as well as identification with Spain. In our main empirical specification, we compare conscripts who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their home region (henceforth *treatment group*) with others randomly assigned to complete it in their

home region (*control group*). To account for the level of randomization, we compare individuals from the treatment and control group who lived in the same province at the time of their draft. Our analysis captures the long-run effects of exposure to individuals from other regions during early adulthood, a period of life when individuals are likely to be particularly impressionable (Giuliano and Spilimbergo, 2014; Krosnick and Alwin, 1989).

According to our self-reported survey data, compliance with the lottery was very high. Around 97% of individuals served in the region to which they had been randomly assigned and 3% of respondents report that they opted for the social service after being drafted.<sup>2</sup> Conscripts assigned to complete their military service outside of their home region have similar background characteristics to those assigned to their home region, suggesting that the lottery was indeed random and that the treatment did not affect selection into the survey.<sup>3</sup> To validate whether serving in a different region increases interregional contact, we collected information on the geographical origin of other conscripts and on friends made during military service. As expected, serving outside of the home region increases exposure to conscripts from other regions ( $\beta=0.35$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.07$ ) and the number of friends from other regions ( $\beta=0.30$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.06$ ).

Despite the long period of time elapsed, we find a significant increase in sympathy towards people from the region to which our respondents were randomly assigned ( $\beta=0.067$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.015$ ). Similarly, we uncover small and marginally significant increases in the perceived honesty of people from the region of military service ( $\beta=0.029$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.015$ ). Given the collaborative nature of contact during military service, this finding is consistent with the predictions of the contact hypoth-

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<sup>2</sup>Information from administrative sources also suggests that compliance was high. For instance, in 1991 201,907 men were drafted, 2,572 opted for the social service and 937 were declared draft dodgers (La Vanguardia, 3 November 1991, page 37, citing sources in the Ministry of Defense).

<sup>3</sup>To limit the possibility of manipulation, our pre-specified design excludes individuals whose father worked in the military.

esis (Allport et al., 1954).

Does the treatment foster the formation of a shared identity? In our survey, we measure identification with Spain using three different questions: (i) attachment to Spain compared to the home region, (ii) pride in being Spanish, and (iii) positive emotions vis-a-vis the Spanish flag. We also consider an index summarising these three variables. For conscripts originating from regions with strong peripheral nationalist movements, the treatment strongly increases their attachment to Spain ( $\beta=0.23$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.09$ ), their pride in being Spanish ( $\beta=0.21$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.11$ ), their positive emotions towards the Spanish flag ( $\beta=0.15$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.11$ ) and the index of identification with Spain ( $\beta=0.22$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.10$ ). The magnitude of this effect corresponds to approximately one fourth of the average difference in the degree of identification with Spain observed between individuals from regions with strong peripheral nationalist movements and individuals from other regions.<sup>4</sup> In contrast, the impact is close to zero and not significant for conscripts originating from other regions. This heterogeneity in treatment effects is robust to a number of alternative definitions for the set of regions with strong peripheral nationalist movements.<sup>5</sup> We also find similar results when we use predetermined background characteristics (e.g. region of residence, region of birth of parents and socio-economic background) to predict which individuals would have had weak identification with Spain in the absence of the treatment.

The evidence suggests that, in addition to the direct effect of living outside of their own region, intergroup contact with other conscripts is likely an important channel explaining the increase in national identity among treated conscripts from

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<sup>4</sup>In the survey, the index of identification with Spain is 0.92 standard deviations lower among individuals from regions with strong peripheral nationalist movements.

<sup>5</sup>In our pre-analysis plan we did not pre-specify the specific analysis of any heterogeneous treatment effects. As we explain in more detail in section 4, in our main specification we focus on five regions which have a local co-official language and where the share of individuals who report that they are proud of being Spanish is lowest: Basque Country, Navarre, Catalonia, Galicia and the Balearic Islands.

regions with peripheral nationalism. We do not find support for several alternative mechanisms. Using region of service fixed effects, we rule out that the results are driven by the impact of serving in some particular region that affects conscripts' national identity. We also show that the cultural distance between the region of origin and destination does not significantly shape treatment effects. Finally, using both survey and administrative data, we provide evidence suggesting a limited relevance of long-run mobility, interregional marriages and economic opportunities as mechanisms driving our results.

To shed further light on mechanisms, we also exploit information from survey respondents who were randomly exempted from the draft. These estimates are less precise, but they suggest that, for conscripts from regions with peripheral nationalism, serving in the home region had no impact on their Spanish identity ( $\beta = -0.06\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.17$ ), compared to not completing military service. Instead, serving in another region increased identification with Spain ( $\beta = 0.20\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.15$ ). These effects suggest that the experience of completing service away from the home region is likely a more important driver of the effects on identification with Spain compared to the experience of completing military service per se.

Our paper relates to several strands of literature. First, our paper speaks to the literature on how intergroup contact changes people's prejudice, preferences and beliefs (Paluck et al., 2019; Stegmann, 2019). Most closely related, Okunogbe (2018) studies the effects of interethnic contact exploiting geographic mobility in the mandatory national service in Nigeria. The paper finds that a large fraction of conscripts permanently leave their home region and develop a stronger national identity. Lowe (2021) studies how collaborative versus adversarial contact in the context of cricket affects inter-caste relations in India. Rao (2019) provides evidence from a natural experiment in India that having poor classmates makes rich students less likely to discriminate against poor students. Several papers have also exam-

ined how interracial contact affects prejudice (Boisjoly et al., 2006; Burns et al., 2018; Bursztyn et al., 2021; Carrell et al., 2018; Schindler and Westcott, 2021) and political preferences (Billings et al., 2020). Our main contribution to this literature is to provide long-run evidence on the impact of temporary exposure to outgroup members.

Second, we contribute to the literature on nation building (Alesina and Reich, 2015; Bandiera et al., 2019). Clots-Figueras and Masella (2013) show that people who have been exposed to teaching in Catalan for a longer time period have stronger Catalan feelings. Fouka (2020) studies how language restrictions in elementary school affect integration and identification with the host country later in life. Bazzi et al. (2019) use a population resettlement program in Indonesia to identify the effects of a permanent increase in intergroup contact on national integration. Depetris-Chauvin et al. (2019) provide evidence on the importance of shared collective experiences in strengthening national identity in the short-run. We show that mixing individuals from different regions during conscription, a policy which has been historically used for nation-building, was effective in fostering sympathy and strengthening the shared identity. Our work is also closely related to concurrent work by Caceres-Delpiano et al. (2021) who study how serving in a different region affects political ideology using a information from a survey conducted by the Spanish Center for Sociological Research (CIS). Their estimates on the impact on national identity are qualitatively similar to ours, although they are less precise and substantially larger, after accounting for imperfect compliance in their identification strategy.<sup>6</sup>

Third, we contribute to an extensive literature that has studied the impact of serving in the military on political behavior, crime and labor market outcomes (An-

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<sup>6</sup>Our tailor-made survey has several advantages. First, we collected information on the actual completion and location of service, which is not available in the CIS survey. Second, the CIS survey has a substantially lower sample size, which combined with relatively low levels of compliance in the assignment, leads to significantly lower levels of statistical power. Third, our tailor made survey includes information on an extensive number of additional variables that are not available in the CIS (e.g. interactions with conscripts from other regions, sympathy towards other regions, measures of trust, specific information on the service experience), which allow us to estimate the impact of the treatment on a broader set of outcomes and to explore the underlying mechanisms.

grist, 1990; Bingley et al., 2020; Erikson and Stoker, 2011; Galiani et al., 2011; Grönqvist and Lindqvist, 2016; Hjalmarsson and Lindquist, 2019; Navajas et al., 2020). Our paper focuses on the impact of a particular feature of conscription, namely contact with people from other regions, and its effect on the formation of a national identity.

## 2 Institutional Setting

**Military Service in Spain** Young males were summoned to serve in the military in the year in which they turned 20 unless they had been awarded an extension or they had been exempted from service.<sup>7</sup> Extensions were mostly study-related and were granted to individuals who were still enrolled in education. Individuals were exempted from serving if (i) they were deemed unfit to serve in the military due to medical reasons, (ii) they had volunteered for the professional army or the university militias or (iii), starting in 1985, if they had opted to serve in the social service ('prestación social sustitutoria') as an alternative to the military service.<sup>8</sup>

The duration of military service varied between 24 and 9 months during the period of our study.<sup>9</sup> During the first months of their service, conscripts were assigned to military training. Once training was completed, they were sent to their final destination, which was typically in the same geographical area (Velasco-Martínez, 2017). Conscripts typically lived in large barracks with capacity for tens or even hundreds of bunk beds. Conscripts were occasionally allowed to sleep outside their barracks,

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<sup>7</sup>The entry age was reduced to 19 in 1987.

<sup>8</sup>According to the 1989 Military Statistical Yearbook, out of 361 thousand males eligible to serve at the beginning of the year, 40% were drafted, 34% were given a study extension, 7% were exempted for medical reasons, 6% volunteered to serve in the professional army, 2% received an extension for medical reasons, 1% received an extension for economic reasons, and information was missing for the rest.

<sup>9</sup>In 1940 it was fixed between 18 and 24 months, depending on the unit. The length of service was reduced in 1968 to between 15 and 18 months, and during the 1980s and 1990s it was progressively reduced, first to 12 months, and later on to 9 months. Service was longer for people serving in the Navy.



but usually only the local ones were able to take advantage of this opportunity (pp. 351-2 in Sánchez-Navarro (2005)).

**Military Lottery** At the beginning of the year, the military authority at the provincial level compiled the list of eligible conscripts including all male individuals aged 20 or more who had not yet completed the military service, had not been exempted and had exhausted all extensions.<sup>10</sup> Once the list had been fixed, a public lottery decided the location where each conscript would serve. The lottery assigned conscripts to a given military unit and region, determining the precise location where they would serve for the first three months during their basic training. The assignment mixed people from different regions of Spain in each destination, but there was typically a substantial share of local conscripts in each region of service.

Draft lotteries were conducted each year independently in each province. They were conducted publicly and, as shown in Figure A1, they usually attracted a large crowd.<sup>11</sup> Within each province and year of lottery the chances of being assigned to a given destination were the same for all conscripts. Eligible conscripts were ordered alphabetically or by birth date, and each individual was assigned a number. A spherical cage filled with numbered wooden balls was used for the draw process. One ball was released from the cage, deciding the ordering in which eligible conscripts would be assigned, following a pre-established list of destinations and quotas. Thus, the lottery determined the mapping of names (or date of birth) to different regions and units of service.<sup>12,13</sup> In some years, especially in the mid 80s,

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<sup>10</sup>Extensions were only granted until the age of 27.

<sup>11</sup>A video of a draft lottery conducted in Madrid in 1966 is available here: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ywF0\\_386m-w&t=3s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ywF0_386m-w&t=3s), accessed on 4 November 2020.

<sup>12</sup>The functioning of the lottery changed slightly during the period of our analysis. From 1940 to 1986, lotteries were conducted in a specific unit called “Caja de reclutas”. Each province had one ‘caja’, with the exception of a few large provinces where there were several ‘cajas’. Between 1987 and 1991, eligible conscripts were ordered within each province by date of birth. A lottery conducted at the national level decided the date of birth that would be used in each province to decide the ordering of the list.

<sup>13</sup>A description of the process was typically published in the local State Bulletin. For instance a de-

the number of eligible conscripts exceeded the capacity of the military and some individuals were exempted from serving by luck of the draw.

The assignment stopped being random in 1992. Starting that year, conscripts were allowed to submit information about their preferences for destination and the assignment was implemented using a computer system.

## 3 Data

We use data from two sources: a tailored survey that we collected between December 2019 and February 2020 and administrative census data.

### 3.1 Survey

We collaborated with Luc.id and Dynata, two online panel providers widely used in the social sciences (Bursztyn et al., 2020; Coppock and McClellan, 2019; de Quidt et al., 2018; Wood and Porter, 2019). These providers use opt-in panels, in which people can sign up to participate in opinion surveys in exchange for money (see Haaland et al. (2021) for a discussion of such opt-in panels). In practice the provider invited Spanish males in their database born before 1972 and we only allowed respondents who participated in the draft lottery to participate in our survey. The survey was advertised as a simple opinion survey among panelists, without revealing anything about the specific content of the study. In a pilot, we collected a sample of 504 respondents meeting our sample restrictions, which we use in the main study. In our full study, we collected data for an additional 2727 respondents who meet our inclusion criteria. We pool observations from the pilot and the full study in our analysis to maximize statistical power and all of our results are robust to excluding the pilot sample.

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scription for the draft in Cordoba in 1958 is available here: [https://www.dipucordoba.es/archivo/bop/files/1958/12/19581205\\_279.pdf](https://www.dipucordoba.es/archivo/bop/files/1958/12/19581205_279.pdf)

**Pre-analysis Plan** We pre-registered our analysis plans including survey instructions, intended sample size, and empirical specification.<sup>14</sup> We specified as primary outcomes a number of variables that measure (i) contact with conscripts from other regions, (ii) sympathy and trust towards the region of service, and (iii) shared national identity. We also list as secondary outcomes several variables measuring policy preferences. This analysis plan was posted prior to the launch of the main survey in late January 2020. We closely follow the pre-analysis plan, and mention any deviations from it.

**Sample Restrictions and Sample Size** Following our pre-specified plan, we restrict our sample in several ways. First, we explicitly ask all of our respondents whether they participated in the draft lottery and we exclude them otherwise. This restriction affects individuals exempted from military service, who volunteered for the professional military service or the university militia, or who opted for the social service before the draft. Second, given that in 1992 the assignment mechanism started to take into account conscripts' preferences, we restrict our analysis to respondents who entered the lottery in 1991 or before. Third, we also exclude respondents whose father worked in the military as we were concerned that this personal connection could potentially undermine the lottery. Finally, we exclude from the analysis respondents who provide inconsistent answers.<sup>15</sup> After all exclusions, we have a total pooled sample size of 3,231 observations.

Our sample also includes individuals who participated in the draft lottery but, after the draw, decided to instead complete the social service (around 3 percent of the sample). In our analysis, we assign them their initial treatment. In this sense,

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<sup>14</sup>This information is available on the American Economic Association registry, <https://www.socialscisceregistry.org/trials/5350>.

<sup>15</sup>We measure people's province at age 17, their year of birth, and the region of their military service twice throughout the survey. We excluded individuals who provided inconsistent responses from the analysis.

our estimation identifies an intention-to-treat effect. Given the high degree of compliance, 97%, we report only the reduced form estimates.

### 3.1.1 Survey Design

In what follows, we provide details on the survey we conducted among former conscripts who participated in the military lottery. The key feature of our survey is that we directly elicit information about the outcome of the lottery as well as the outcome variables of interest. The full set of instructions is available in Appendix Section E.

**Background Information on Demographics** We collect a basic set of demographics on cohort of birth, education, province of birth, province of residence at age 17, occupation and income. We also gather information about a series of pre-determined covariates, namely parental level of education, occupation, industry of work, and province of birth, the size of the municipality where the respondent grew up and the number of siblings.

**Background Information on Military Service** Respondents provide detailed information on their military service experience, including whether they completed the obligatory service, when they entered the draft lottery and when they started the service, in which provinces they served, and for how many months the service lasted. To measure geographical mobility during conscription we focus on the first destination to which conscripts were assigned, as posterior moves might be potentially endogenous. We also elicit individuals' perceived exposure to people from other regions of Spain and from different socioeconomic backgrounds during the service, and we ask them about the province of origin of their best friends during the service.

**Geographic Mobility** To measure people’s geographic mobility, we ask people about their current locality of residence, and elicit whether they ever lived outside of their region of birth. Subsequently, we ask our respondents for how many years they lived outside of their region of birth. Finally, we also measure the age at which our respondents first moved outside of their parents’ home.

**Identity and Moral Universalism** We ask a series of qualitative questions to measure people’s national identity. We ask our respondents whether they (i) identify with Spain or their local region, (ii) are proud to be Spanish, and (iii) how they feel when they see the Spanish flag. In order to be able to assess the representativeness of the sample, for these three questions we use the same phrasing that it is regularly used by the Spanish Center for Sociological Research (CIS) which has been widely used in social science research, see for example Bagues and Esteve-Volart (2016).

We measure our respondents’ group loyalty using a validated hypothetical question. Following Enke et al. (2021), we ask our respondents to split 100 Euros between a randomly chosen person from Spain and a randomly chosen person from their province of origin. We also measure feelings and beliefs vis-a-vis people from the different regions of Spain. First, we measure people’s feelings of sympathy towards people of all 17 different regions of Spain using a qualitative response scale ranging from 0 to 10. Second, we measure beliefs about the honesty of people from different cities in Spain, leveraging the experiments conducted by Cohn et al. (2019) as a benchmark. We provide our respondents with the following instructions:

In a recent study, researchers tried to measure the honesty of the inhabitants of several cities in the following way. The researchers dropped wallets in the streets of these cities and they measured the probability that the wallets would be returned to their owners. Each wallet contained 20 euros and a business card with the owner’s email. What fraction of these

wallets do you think were returned in each of the following cities?

We measure people's beliefs about the fraction of returned wallets in 17 different major cities in Spain, 11 of which were actually used in the study by Cohn et al. (2019). We elicit beliefs using a 5 point response scale ranging from (1) almost none (<20%) to (5) (Almost all (>80%)). We use a qualitative response scale with a quantitative meaning in order to reduce the cognitive burden for participants. Finally, we ask our respondents to assess cultural differences between people from their origin region and people from all other regions in Spain.

**Policy Preferences** We consider several measures of policy preferences as secondary outcomes. First, we elicit people's perception of whether regional redistribution is too high, too low or about right. Then, we measure people's support for introducing a 1-month compulsory military service in Spain. We also elicit people's support for a scholarship program which provides Spanish students with the possibility of moving to a different region of Spain. Turning to more general political ideology, we examine people's self-placement on a conservative-liberal scale, their self-reported past voting behavior, their views on whether an Independence referendum for Catalonia should be considered, and their assessment of whether regional autonomy has rather positive effects or rather negative effects.

**Ordering of questions** We asked respondents about their military service at the very beginning of the survey and excluded anybody who had not participated in the draft lottery. This ordering of questions allowed us to maximize the number of valid participants, but it might have potentially primed respondents to think about their military service and where they served. While we cannot discard that the ordering might have contributed to the effects we observe in the paper, the literature on priming effects in psychology and economics suggests that these effect sizes are likely to be modest (Andre et al., 2022; Hagger et al., 2010; Newell and Shanks, 2014).

### 3.1.2 Summary Statistics

Table A1 displays the summary statistics for the main variables in our sample. The average respondent is 59 years old and started his compulsory military service in 1982. Figure A2 illustrates the fraction of conscripts across year of birth (Panel A) and across years of entering the military lottery. The figure shows that most of the respondents in our sample were born between 1960 and 1971, and that correspondingly most respondents entered the military lottery between 1980 and 1991. In terms of socio-economic background, 72 percent of our respondents completed high school, 36 percent originate from a municipality with less than 50,000 inhabitants, and on average they had 2.5 siblings at age 17. In around two thirds of cases, our respondents' parents were also born in the same region, and less than one fourth of them had completed high school or equivalent studies.

Around 34 percent of respondents were assigned to serve in their home region. As shown in Figure A3, the fraction of conscripts staying in the home region varies between 10% and 70% across regions. The probability of serving in the home region was higher for conscripts from regions with higher strategic military importance, such as the Canary and Balearic Islands.

**Representativeness of the Sample** Individuals who participate in online panels as the one used here may be selected in a number of ways. To assess the representativeness of our sample, we compare it with a nationally representative survey conducted in 2015 by the Spanish Center for Sociological Research (CIS) which contains information on former conscripts. In particular, we focus on the subsample of male respondents in the CIS survey who completed the compulsory military service and belong to the same cohorts as individuals in our sample, i.e. people born before 1973. In column 7 of Table A1, we report the difference between the two samples, conditional on year of birth fixed effects. Individuals in both samples have similar

education attainment and labor force participation, but participants in our survey report slightly higher levels of employment and substantially higher income levels. Both samples are remarkably similar in terms of their ideology and national identity. We do not observe any significant differences in their self-reported position in an ideology scale measured from 1 to 10, or in any of the identity measures considered in our survey: attachment to Spain, pride of being Spanish or emotions towards the Spanish flag (see also Figure A4). The similarity between the two samples suggests that our sample of conscripts is broadly representative of the underlying population of all conscripts in Spain in terms of their national identity.

**Distribution of Sample across Clusters of Randomization** To understand the sources of identifying variation induced by the lottery it is useful to examine how observations are distributed across province  $\times$  year of lottery groups. There are 849 province  $\times$  year of lottery groups, with an average of 14 observations per cluster and a median equal to 6. There are approximately 10 percent of clusters with only 1 observation which, in practice, do not play any role in our main specifications due to the presence of fixed effects at the level of randomization.

## 3.2 Administrative Data

We also use the Spanish 2011 Census to shed additional light on the effects of completing the military service in a different region on the long-run probability of living outside the region of birth and marrying somebody from another region. The publicly available Census microdata includes 10% of the Spanish population. We focus on men born between September 1968 and December 1973 ( $N=141,091$ ). As we explain in more detail in Appendix section E, we use information from the draft lottery in the years 1987-1991 to infer the location where these individuals have served. At the time of the census, around 15% of the sample lived outside their region of birth



and 23% had a spouse born in another region.

## 4 Mechanisms and Hypotheses

In this section, we delineate mechanisms through which completion of the military service outside of the home region may affect inter-regional sympathies and the formation of a shared identity.

**Effects on Inter-regional Sympathies** Assignment to complete military service outside of the home region likely increases people's exposure to people from other regions. This concerns both exposure to fellow conscripts from other regions as well as civilians from other regions. According to the contact hypothesis, contact with conscripts from different regions is likely to strengthen interregional sympathies, as the contact situation involves equal status between the groups, common goals and cooperation (Allport et al., 1954; Lowe, 2021).<sup>16</sup>

Contact may also correct biased beliefs by increasing information available about people from other regions. On top of these mechanisms, which rely on interpersonal contact, there could also be direct effects of spending time in a different region on people's sympathy for that region. For example, it could be that exposure to a region's culture (e.g. the food and customs) directly increases people's sympathies for that region. Taken together, these mechanisms suggest that completing the military service outside of the home region likely increases inter-regional sympathies.

**Effects on a Shared Identity** By increasing sympathy and reducing intergroup biases, interregional contact may help to increase the extent to which individuals from different regions share a common identity. On the other hand, differences

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<sup>16</sup>Given that the nature of interactions with civilians may not always involve equal status between the groups, common goals and cooperation it is harder to make predictions about the effect of these interactions.

between one's own identity and others' identity might also become more salient in response to contact with dissimilar others (Tajfel et al., 1979), thereby, decreasing a sense of shared identity. Thus, the effect of contact on the formation of a shared identity is ambiguous.

**Heterogeneity by Peripheral Nationalism** Spain has historically experienced strong regional nationalistic movements and there is a large degree of heterogeneity in the extent to which people from different geographical areas identify with their region of origin and with their nation. Serving in a different region might affect conscripts who originate from areas with peripheral nationalism differently for several reasons. Since they are likely to have a lower degree of attachment to Spain prior to service, there is more room for the treatment to have a positive impact. Furthermore, conscripts from areas that traditionally feel less attached to Spain may also differ in their prior beliefs about other regions in the country, and might therefore be more affected by the acquisition of new information. Finally, these conscripts may be potentially less inclined to interact with people from other regions when they serve in their home region. Serving in a different region may, therefore, have a larger impact on their exposure to conscripts from other regions.

We explore the heterogeneity of the effect in several ways. First, we divide regions in two groups according to the strength of peripheral nationalism. We define the Basque Country, Navarre, Catalonia, Galicia, and the Balearic Islands as regions with peripheral nationalism. These regions have a local language which has full official status alongside Spanish, they have historically had the strongest regional nationalistic movements and, according to survey information, these are the regions where the share of individuals who report being very proud of being Spanish is lowest (see Table A2).<sup>17,18</sup> Given that in our pre-analysis plan we did not pre-specify the

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<sup>17</sup>Source: Authors' calculation using information from CIS surveys 2234, 2277, 2317, 2379, 2447, 2592, 2680, 2825, 2912, 2998, 3110.

<sup>18</sup>There is also a co-official local language in the Valencian Community, but in this region the share

analysis of heterogeneous treatment effects, we also verify that our results are robust to using a variety of alternative definitions for regions with peripheral nationalism.

Second, we exploit variation in the degree of attachment to Spain within regions to study heterogeneity. For instance, individuals born in regions with strong peripheral nationalism whose parents originate from other Spanish regions tend to have a higher attachment to Spain. We estimate a predictive model of attachment to Spain at the individual level using only information from respondents in the control group. Parental background characteristics, the size of the municipality of our respondent and their year of birth have predictive power for identification with Spain for respondents from areas with peripheral nationalism.<sup>19</sup>

Table A2 also shows that regions with peripheral nationalism are also different from other Spanish regions in a number of other ways. For example, GDP per capita is relatively high in regions with peripheral nationalism and above the average of Spain except for Galicia. Regions with peripheral nationalism vary substantially in their population size: for example, Catalonia is one of the Spanish regions with the highest population size, while Navarre and the Balearic islands are regions with a relatively small population size.<sup>20</sup>

## 5 Empirical Analysis

We begin this section by describing our main empirical specification. Then, we provide evidence on the integrity of the randomization. Subsequently, we examine the effect of the treatment on contact, preferences and national identity. We then shed light on mechanisms and analyse the effects on policy preferences. Finally, we es-

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of people who feel proud of being Spanish is higher than average (see Table A2).

<sup>19</sup>In Appendix D, we provide details on the exact prediction model that we estimate.

<sup>20</sup>In unreported regressions, we show that there are no heterogeneous treatment effects by one's origin region's population size or the difference in GDP per capita between the destination and origin region.

timate the overall effect of conscription, using a sample of individuals who were randomly exempted from service as a control group.

## 5.1 Empirical Specification

We estimate how serving in a different region affects respondent  $i$ , who was drafted in the lottery conducted in province  $p$  and year  $t$ . Since the randomization was conducted each year at the province level, our main specification includes fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17 ( $\phi_{t,p}$ ).<sup>21,22</sup> Following our pre-specified design, we also include a vector of pre-determined control variables,  $X_i$  (number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father).<sup>23</sup> Our main specification of interest is thus given as follows:

$$y_{i,t,p} = \beta \text{Treatment}_i + \Pi X_i + \phi_{t,p} + \varepsilon_{i,t,p} \quad (1)$$

where  $y_{i,t,p}$  is the outcome variable (e.g. contact, beliefs, preferences and people's identity) and the variable  $\text{Treatment}_i$  takes value one if the respondent was assigned to complete military service outside of his region of residence, and value zero if he was assigned to complete the service in the home region. Throughout our analysis, we cluster standard errors,  $\varepsilon_{i,t,p}$ , at the level of randomization. We estimate this equation using ordinary least squares.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>In the pre-analysis plan we had erroneously specified controlling for cohort fixed effects, which do not necessarily coincide with the year of lottery ones. The results are barely different when using cohort rather than year of lottery fixed effects.

<sup>22</sup>In a pre-specified robustness check, we instead control separately for year of lottery entry fixed effects,  $\phi_c$ , and province of origin fixed effects,  $\eta_p$ . Tables in Section B.2 show that results are not sensitive to the use of this less conservative set of fixed effects.

<sup>23</sup>Our results are virtually unchanged if we do not include these controls.

<sup>24</sup>Results are robust to using ordered models, such as ordered logit.

## 5.2 Integrity of Randomization

We check whether respondents randomly assigned to do their military service outside of their region of residence and those assigned to serve in their region of residence are similar in terms of a pre-specified set of predetermined variables (number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, region of birth of mother, region of birth of father). We estimate equation (1) using this set of pre-determined variables as outcome variables, without any controls other than fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and province of residence at age 17. Table 1 provides evidence in favor of the integrity of the randomization. None of the 18 pre-specified outcomes in the balance test is significant at the 5% level. A joint F-test when regressing the treatment indicator on all covariates conditional on the fixed effects also confirms balance ( $p = 0.58$ ).<sup>25</sup> Tables A3 and A4 provide evidence of balance for the subsample of respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalism and those from other regions. Taken together, the balance test suggests that the lottery was indeed random, and that the treatment did not affect selection into the survey.

## 5.3 Contact with Conscripts from other Regions

First, we examine the aggregate data graphically. As shown in Figure A5, conscripts serving outside of their home region are more likely to report that they served with conscripts from other regions. For conscripts serving in their home region, around 35 percent of fellow conscripts also originate from their own region, compared to only 5 percent for conscripts serving outside of their home region.

Given that the probability of serving away varies across provinces, we use equa-

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<sup>25</sup>Table A17 confirms the conclusion on the integrity of randomization controlling for year of lottery entry and province of residence at age 17 separately instead of controlling for the interaction of these fixed effects.

tion 1 to estimate the causal impact of serving in a different region on the geographical origins of peers during conscription. As shown in Panel A of Table 2, column 1, the treatment increases the fraction of fellow conscripts who are not from the home region by 37 percentage points ( $s.e. = 0.01$ ) relative to an average baseline of 55 percent of conscripts who are not from the home region in our sample. Moreover, the treatment increases friendships with fellow conscripts from other provinces ( $\beta=0.30 \sigma, s.e. = 0.06$ ), the perceived regional diversity of fellow conscripts ( $\beta=0.35 \sigma, s.e. = 0.07$ ) as well as their perceived socioeconomic diversity ( $\beta=0.17 \sigma, s.e. = 0.07$ , see Table A11).

Panel B sheds light on the heterogeneity of the effect by whether respondents lived in a region with peripheral nationalism, and Panel C leverages additional background information to predict people's identification with Spain. Serving outside of the home region increases the fraction of fellow conscripts who are not from the home region more strongly for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalism. While for treated conscripts from areas without strong peripheral nationalist movements the fraction of fellow conscripts from the home region increases by 32 percentage points ( $p < 0.01$ ), this fraction increases to 46 percentage points for conscripts originating from regions with strong peripheral nationalism ( $p < 0.01$ ).

Similarly, as shown in column 4, respondents tend to report that they had a more intense contact with people from other regions during their service if they served away from their home region and this effect is significantly stronger for respondents from regions with secessionist movements (Panel B) and for individuals with background characteristics predictive of weak identification with Spain (Panel C). Indeed, while perceived exposure to people from other regions increases by 0.69 of a standard deviation for conscripts originating from regions with peripheral nationalism ( $p < 0.01$ ), it only increases perceived exposure to people from other regions by

0.16 of a standard deviation for conscripts originating from other regions ( $p = 0.05$ ). Treated conscripts originating from regions with peripheral nationalism also report having 0.37 more friends from other provinces, but this effect is not statistically different compared to treated conscripts from other regions. Our first main result is given as follows:

**Result 1.** *Our evidence highlights that individuals serving in other regions were more exposed to conscripts with a different geographical background. These treatment effects are stronger for conscripts originating from regions with peripheral nationalism.*

In the next subsections, we examine how the treatment changes beliefs, preferences, as well as positive sentiments towards Spain.

## 5.4 Sympathy and Trust

**Region of Service** We next investigate how individuals rate their sentiments towards the region where they served compared to other regions. In this specification, we exploit information on people’s sympathy towards all 17 regions of Spain and also on perceived honesty. We estimate the following equation:

$$\text{sentiment}_{irs} = \alpha_i + \beta \text{serveinregion}_{is} + \text{regionresidence17}_r \times \text{regionrated}_s + \varepsilon_{irs} \quad (2)$$

where  $\text{sentiment}_{irs}$  indicates how individual  $i$ , who originates from region  $r$ , rates his sentiment towards the region  $s$ ; and  $\text{serveinregion}_{is}$  takes value one if individual  $i$  served in region  $s$ . We include individual level fixed effects,  $\alpha_i$ , and a set of dummies for interactions between region of origin and the region being rated ( $\text{regionresidence17}_r \times \text{regionrated}_s$ ), to control for the possibility that individuals from some regions have a preference for certain other regions.

Given the collaborative nature of contact during military service, the contact hypothesis predicts that exposure to people from the region of service should increase their sympathy towards those people (Allport et al., 1954).<sup>26</sup> Table 3 displays small but significant increases in sympathy towards people from the region where our respondents were randomly assigned to serve ( $\beta=0.067$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.015$ ). Similarly, we uncover small and marginally significant increases in the perceived honesty of people from the region of military service ( $\beta=0.029$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.015$ ). These results are also reflected in an increase in the index summarising the results of these two variables ( $p < 0.01$ ).

Next, we examine whether this effect is stronger for individuals from areas with peripheral nationalistic movements (Panel B) and for individuals with lower predicted identification with Spain (Panel C). These two groups tend to have, in the absence of the treatment, a lower sympathy towards people from other regions of Spain and, as shown above, they experience a stronger increase in their exposure to individuals from other regions when they serve outside from their home region. Therefore, it is particularly interesting whether they develop more positive feelings towards people from other regions. We find stronger effects on sympathy towards people from the region of service both for respondents from nationalistic regions and respondents with characteristics predictive of weak identification with Spain, confirming that intergroup contact was particularly effective in fostering interregional sympathies for people with low attachment to Spain. Our second main result can be summarized as follows:

**Result 2.** *In support of the contact hypothesis, we document increases in sympathy towards people from the region of service, several decades after the completion of the service. This effect is stronger for individuals from regions with strong peripheral nationalistic movements.*

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<sup>26</sup>The impact of contact on perceived trustworthiness is less straightforward as exposure to people from a region that are in fact not trustworthy may make this apparent to conscripts.



**Other Regions in Spain** So far we have analyzed how the treatment affected sympathy towards the region of service, compared to other regions. Next, we study whether the increases in sympathy also extend to other regions of Spain. Using specification (1) from Section 5.3, we examine the impact on generosity, sympathy and trust towards other regions. As shown in Table A5, estimates tend to be positive but statistically insignificant. When respondents were asked how they would split 100 Euros between a randomly chosen person from Spain and a randomly chosen person from their own province, individuals in the treatment group express a slightly higher but insignificant willingness to share more with people from other regions of Spain. Similarly, treated conscripts have somewhat higher sympathy towards people from other regions of Spain and they perceive them to be more honest, but none of these effects is significant. Panels B and C of Table A5 show somewhat stronger effects of the treatment for people originating from regions with peripheral nationalism, but those are only significant for average sympathy towards all other regions of Spain ( $\beta=0.23$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.11$ ).

We also leverage data on perceived cultural differences between people from our respondent's region of origin and people from all other regions in Spain to shed light on theories of social identity. These theories posit that differences between one's own identity and others' identity become more salient in response to contact with dissimilar others (Sherif, 1961; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel et al., 1979). While our estimates of treatment effects on beliefs about cultural similarity directionally support the predictions of these theories, they are muted and not statistically significant.

## 5.5 National Identity

We next examine whether the treatment affected identification with Spain using specification (1) from Section 5.3. As shown in Panel A of Table 4, we observe small and muted average treatment effects on identification with Spain, which we mea-

sure using three different questions: (i) attachment to Spain compared to the home region, (ii) pride in being Spanish, and (iii) positive emotions vis-a-vis the Spanish flag.

However, these average effects mask substantial heterogeneity in treatment effects by the respondents' geographic origins. Figure 1 and Panel B of Table 4 illustrate treatment effect heterogeneity by whether the conscripts originate from a region with strong peripheral nationalistic movements. Treated conscripts from regions with peripheral nationalism are more attached to Spain ( $\beta=0.23 \sigma, s.e. = 0.09$ ), are more proud to be Spanish ( $\beta=0.21 \sigma, s.e. = 0.11$ ), have somewhat more positive emotions vis-a-vis the Spanish flag ( $\beta=0.15 \sigma, s.e. = 0.11$ ) and have a higher index of identification with Spain ( $\beta=0.22 \sigma, s.e. = 0.10$ ) more than 25 years after completing the service. Given that the standard deviation of our outcome measures is approximately 1, our treatment effect estimates imply that around 20 percent of treated conscripts from regions with peripheral nationalism increased their identification with Spain by one point on the five point likert scale.<sup>27</sup> In contrast, the impact is close to zero and not significant for conscripts originating from other regions. These results are robust to using a variety of alternative definitions for regions with peripheral nationalism (see Table A6).

Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of identification with Spain for conscripts from the treatment and control group separately depending on whether respondents originated from a region with peripheral nationalism. The figure shows that the increase in identification with Spain is driven by movements in the upper part of the distribution among conscripts originating from regions with secessionist movements, suggesting that the treatment rather increased positive sentiments towards

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<sup>27</sup>The magnitude of the effect is substantial compared to existing studies on the determinants of attachment to Spain. For example, Clots-Figueras and Masella (2013) show that an additional year of exposure to teaching in Catalan decreases attachment to Spain by approximately 0.07 of a standard deviation.

Spain rather than decreasing negative sentiments.<sup>28</sup>

Panel C of Table 4 confirms these patterns using our continuous measure of predicted identification with Spain at the individual level. Serving in a different region has a stronger positive impact on the index of identification with Spain for individuals who, based on their pre-determined characteristics, were less likely to have a strong Spanish identity ( $p = 0.019$ ). Figure 3 graphically illustrates the heterogeneity in treatment effects by people's predicted strength of identification with Spain using a somewhat more non-parametric approach. The figure displays residuals for respondents' national identity index as well as predicted identification with Spain separately for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in the home region and outside of the home region. Residuals are obtained by separately regressing the variables on year of lottery and province of residence at age 17 fixed effects.<sup>29</sup> The figure highlights that the slope between residualized predicted identification with Spain and the residualized index of identification with Spain is less steep for respondents in the treatment group. Most importantly, the fitted quadratic regression line for conscripts in the treatment group is significantly above the fitted quadratic regression line for conscripts in the control group when predicted identification with Spain is low.

Overall, the evidence suggests that intergroup exposure in early adulthood can have long-lasting and persistent effects on the formation of a shared national identity. In principle, the observed pattern might reflect a decrease in identification with the region of origin and/or an increase in identification with Spain. We use the different content of the identity questions to differentiate between these alternative mechanisms. While the question on attachment explicitly measures a tradeoff between regional identity and national identity, the other two measures, which cap-

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<sup>28</sup>An alternative interpretation of this treatment effect heterogeneity is that the treatment was more effective on those that were more pliable.

<sup>29</sup>Additionally partialling out our pre-specified set of control variables leaves the results virtually unchanged.

ture emotions towards the Spanish flag and pride in being Spanish, do not involve a trade-off. Given that we observe relatively similar effect sizes for our three different measures of identification with Spain, these results suggest that there is an increase in identification with Spain, and there is no evidence of a decrease in identification with the own region. Figure A6 corroborates this conjecture by showing that across our three measures of identification, the treatment effects are mostly driven by movement in the upper part of the distribution of our measures, suggesting that the treatment increases positive emotions towards Spain rather than decreasing negative emotions. Our third main result can thus be summarized as follows:

**Result 3.** *The treatment strongly increases identification with Spain for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalism. The impact is close to zero and insignificant for conscripts originating from other regions.*

## 5.6 Mechanisms

On top of the direct effects of exposure to a different region as well as the effects of intergroup exposure, other mechanisms could be at play. In this section, we consider two main alternative mechanisms. First, we explore whether the impact is driven by some specific location of the service. Then, we examine the role of geographic mobility as well as economic mechanisms that could be driving treatment effects on identity.

### 5.6.1 Heterogeneity by Location of Service

**Assignment to Particular Regions** One possibility could be that our estimated effects do not pick up the effect of doing the service outside of the home region, but instead reflect that serving in a particular region with certain characteristics affects identity. In order to test for this alternative interpretation of our main effects, we

re-estimate equation 1 including also region of service fixed effects. Tables A7, A8 and A9 reveal that our results are barely changed when we include this additional set of fixed effects.<sup>30</sup> If anything, some patterns of heterogeneity become even more pronounced in this alternative specification.

**Assignment to Regions with Peripheral Nationalism** How does the exact destination of military service affect identification with Spain? One possible mechanism for the heterogeneity in treatment effects uncovered in Section 5.5, is that being assigned to complete the service in a region with peripheral nationalism per se reduces identification with Spain, resulting from the experience of living in such a location. Table A10 shows results comparing individuals randomly assigned to complete the service in a region with peripheral nationalism, individuals assigned to a region without peripheral nationalism as well as individuals assigned to their home region. We use the same set of controls, and fixed effects as in specification (1). For ease of interpretation, we show these results separately for conscripts originating from a region with peripheral nationalism (Panel A) and for conscripts from other regions (Panel B). In both cases, the impact of being assigned to a region with peripheral nationalism and of being assigned to a region without peripheral nationalism are statistically indistinguishable, suggesting that differences in characteristics between regions with and without peripheral nationalism did not play a significant role in shaping identification with Spain.

**Cultural Similarity** The heterogeneity in effects among those assigned outside of their home region could be due to cultural differences between the conscripts' region of origin and the region of military service. We leverage data which allows us to quantify average perceived cultural differences between the respondents' home

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<sup>30</sup>A joint F-test of significance for the region of service fixed effects for all regions of service with at least 10 conscripts in our sample yields a p-value of 0.35, and thus confirms our conclusion.

regions and their regions of destination.<sup>31</sup> For each pair of home region and region of service, we construct a measure of perceived cultural similarities.<sup>32</sup> We use this measure to assess whether perceived cultural differences shaped the contact experience during the service, beliefs, preferences as well as the formation of a national identity.

Figure A7 examines the potential mediating effect of cultural similarity between the region of service and the origin region. For ease of exposition and to explore potential non-linearities, we employ a non-parametric approach using local polynomial regressions with residuals of our outcomes and residuals of predicted cultural similarity of the origin region and region of service.<sup>33</sup> The upper panel of Figure A7) shows a significant and negative relationship between cultural similarity and exposure to people from other regions ( $p < 0.01$ ). Conscripts assigned to regions with higher cultural similarity report being more exposed to people from different regions. The middle panel and lower panel show analogous non-parametric results for residualized perceived similarity and the national identification index. Largely, these panels reveal no strong relationship between predicted cultural similarity and perceived similarity and identification with Spain. These findings suggest that the cultural similarity of fellow conscripts did not play an important role in shaping the treatment effects on national identity.

## 5.6.2 Long-run Effects on Mobility and Economic Conditions

**Geographical Mobility** One mechanism by which serving in another region could affect national identity is through its effect on geographical mobility. First, we ex-

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<sup>31</sup>To create this measure we use the perceived cultural similarity reported by respondents in the control group based on the following question: “In cultural terms, how much would you say the region in which you were born is similar to the following regions?”

<sup>32</sup>We collected this data for all regions except for Ceuta and Melilla as those only constitute less than 0.4% of the Spanish population and we wanted to save survey time to avoid fatigue. This explains the somewhat smaller sample sizes for this empirical exercise.

<sup>33</sup>Residuals are obtained by partialling out fixed effects for the level of randomization.

amine the impact of the treatment on the likelihood of ever living outside of the region of origin, including the compulsory military service spell. As shown in Panel A of Table 2, individuals who served in a different region are 53 percentage points ( $p < 0.01$ ) more likely to have lived outside of their region of origin at some point of their life. This result indicates that around half of the individuals who served outside of their home region would have never lived in a different region if it was not for the military service experience.

Short-run mobility could affect identity through its long-run effects on living away from the home region. While most people return to their home region after the completion of military service, Table A11 reveals that the likelihood of living in a different region than at age 17 is marginally significantly higher among respondents in the treatment group by 4 percentage points ( $p = 0.06$ ), indicating that there might be small long-run effects on mobility, though still most people eventually return to their home region. Table A12 provides evidence that our main results are robust to controlling for the region of residence at the time of the survey, suggesting that the small changes in mobility are unlikely to be an important driver of treatment effects on identification with Spain. In Appendix Section E we confirm the muted impact on long-run mobility using administrative data on males born between 1968 and 1973 and an alternative identification strategy. Using this data we also find that the treatment does not have a significant impact on the probability of having a partner who was born in a different region. This evidence supports the idea that our treatment only shifted people's exposure to people from a different region temporarily.

**Economic Mechanisms** An additional set of potential explanations involves economic mechanisms. Leaving the home region could have opened up new labor market opportunities, and thereby increased income and employment. We find little evidence that the treatment increases current income or labor market participation

(Table A11). Moreover, as shown in Table A12, our main results and the heterogeneous effects by predicted identification with Spain are robust to controlling for the respondents' current income, and employment status, which provides suggestive evidence against the relevance of economic mechanisms.

## **5.7 Policy Views**

Finally, we examine whether the treatment effects on identity also translate into effects on policy preferences. This set of outcomes had been specified as a secondary one in the pre-analysis. Panel A of Table A13 provides evidence of muted treatment effects on policy preferences, such as support for regional redistribution, being in favour of an Independence Referendum for Catalonia, and ideology as measured on a 10-point left-wing right-wing scale. Panels B and C of this Table show that there is only little heterogeneity depending on the predicted extent of identification with Spain. Panel A of Table A14 similarly shows only very muted treatment effects on turnout, voting for regionalist parties that promote local autonomy, and voting behavior more generally as measured by voting choices in the November 2019 election. Panels B and C of Table A14 show relatively muted heterogeneity, except for a large increase in turnout for respondents assigned to complete their service outside of their home region with background characteristics predictive of weak identification with Spain. Taken together, our evidence suggests only muted treatment effects on policy preferences and political behavior.

## **5.8 Causal Effects of Completing Military Service**

To shed further light on mechanisms, we next examine the effects of completing military service per se and in particular in the home region as opposed to not completing military service at all. Understanding the effect of completing military service



per se is also important from a policy perspective.

**Empirical Strategy** To assess the overall effects of completing military service, we incorporate to our database information from 387 respondents (approximately 10% of the overall sample) who were randomly exempted from the service in the military lottery. We leverage the same set of controls, and fixed effects as in specification (1).<sup>34</sup> Table A15 confirms covariate balance.

**Results** We also examine the effects of completing military service on measures of national identity. Given the small fraction of conscripts assigned not to do the service, our estimates from this section are less precisely estimated. While the effect size is above 0.10 for the index, these effect sizes are not statistically significant at conventional levels (Panel A of Table A16). Panel B shows that conscripts assigned to complete military service away from home are more proud to be Spanish ( $\beta=0.16$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.08$ ), have somewhat more positive emotions towards the Spanish flag ( $\beta=0.14$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.08$ ), and a somewhat higher index of identification with Spain ( $\beta=0.13$   $\sigma$ ,  $s.e. = 0.08$ ) compared to those assigned not to do the service. For conscripts assigned to serve in the military at home, we see more muted average effects, which are closer to zero.

These average effects shroud important heterogeneities according to whether the respondent originated from a region with peripheral nationalism. While the estimates are noisy, we observe that respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalism have a stronger Spanish identity if they served in a different region, compared to individuals who did not complete military service. Serving outside their region increased their identification with Spain by 0.20  $\sigma$ , ( $s.e. = 0.15$ ). The effects of completing the service at home, on the other hand, are close to zero,

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<sup>34</sup>This analysis was pre-specified on the AEA registry: <https://www.socialscisceregistry.org/trials/5349>.

and even negative for some outcomes, such as attachment to Spain ( $\beta=-0.15$ ), pride in being Spanish ( $\beta=-0.08$ ) or the identification index ( $\beta=-0.06$ ). This combination of positive and negative effects depending on the location suggests that the net impact of military service on national identity may vary depending on the share of people who serve in the home region and in other regions.

For respondents originating from regions without peripheral nationalism, the effects of military service on identification with Spain are close to 0.1 of a standard deviation irrespective of whether the service was completed outside of the home region.

Overall, our estimates using as a control group individuals who did not complete the military service indicate that the main way in which the military service may have affected national identity was related to the geographical mobility of conscripts.

## 6 Conclusion

We combine a natural experiment, the random assignment of male conscripts to different locations throughout Spain, with tailored survey data. Being randomly assigned to complete military service outside of one's region of residence strongly increased contact with people from other regions. Consistent with the predictions of the contact hypothesis (Allport et al., 1954), these conscripts are more sympathetic towards people from the region of service, even several decades after the completion of the service. Serving outside of one's home region also increases identification with Spain for people originating from regions with peripheral nationalism.

Overall, our findings indicate that, by fostering interregional contact, the military service played an important role in strengthening conscripts' shared identity until its abolition. More generally, our results suggest that people's identification

with the nation state is malleable and experiences during early adulthood can have long-lasting and persistent effects on people's formation of a shared national identity. Governments aiming to foster interregional cohesion might want to consider policies that facilitate interactions between individuals from different regions, such as those fostering mobility in higher education. These policies might be particularly relevant given the decline in interregional mobility experienced by many Western countries over the last few decades (Champion et al., 2017; Molloy et al., 2011), which is likely to have reduced the interactions between individuals from different regions.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>For instance, the share of Spaniards living in a different region has decreased dramatically in recent decades. While in 1991 25.3% of prime-age Spaniards were living outside of their region of birth, by 2019 this proportion had fallen to 15.1%. Source: Authors' calculation using information from the Census (Spanish Statistical Office).

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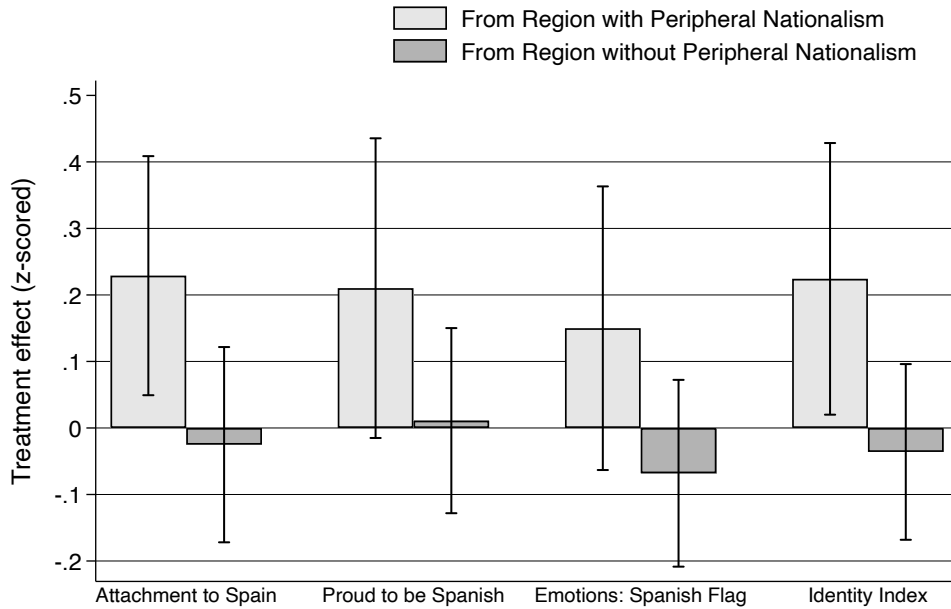
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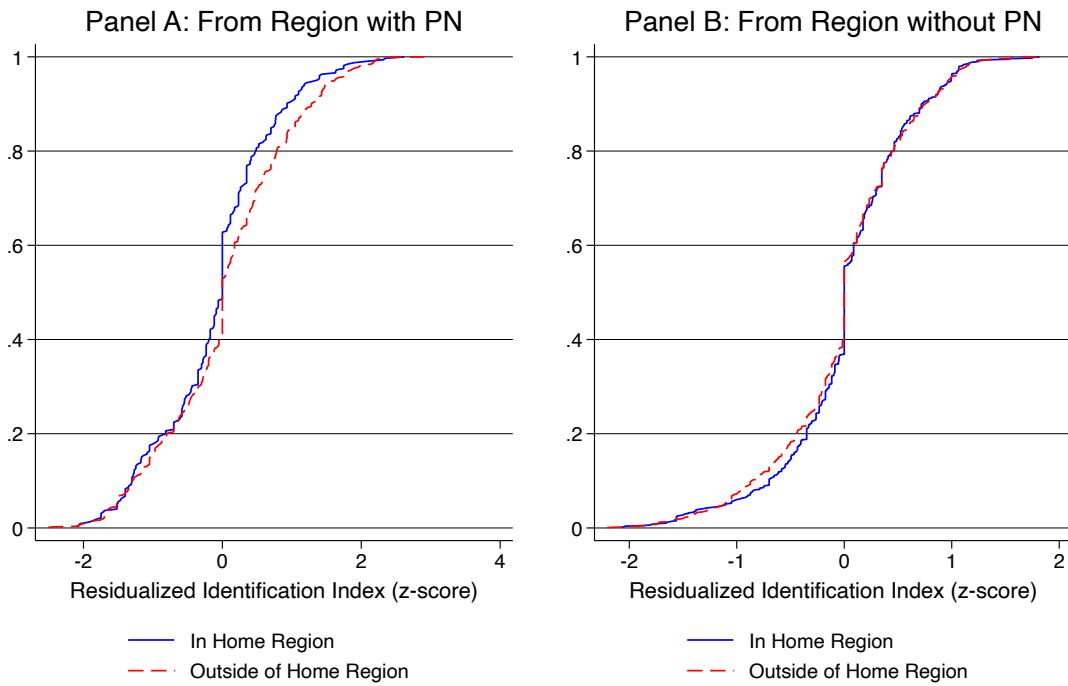
# Main Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Treatment effects on identification with Spain by region of origin



Notes: This figure displays average treatment effects for respondents separately for respondents originating from a region with peripheral nationalism and from other regions. The figure also includes 95% confidence intervals. “Attachment to Spain” measures people’s z-scored identification with Spain using a 5 point Likert scale ranging from (1) I feel only attached to my local region to (5) I feel only Spanish. “Proud to be Spanish” measures people’s z-scored assessment of national pride ranging from (1) I am not at all proud to be Spanish to (5) I feel very proud to be Spanish. “Positive Emotions Spanish Flag” is a z-scored measure of emotions towards the Spanish flag on a scale ranging from (1) I experience very negative emotions to (5) I experience very positive emotions. “Identity Index” is a z-scored unweighted index of the three outcome variables. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father.

Figure 2: Distribution of treatment effects on identification with Spain



Notes: This figure displays residuals for respondents' national identity index separately for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in the home region and outside of the home region. Panel A shows results for respondents originating from a region with peripheral nationalism. Panel B shows results for respondents originating from a region without peripheral nationalism. Residuals are obtained by separately regressing the variables on the fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. The national identity index is defined by questions measuring whether respondents (i) identify with Spain or their local region, (ii) are proud to be Spanish, and (iii) how they feel when they see Spanish flag.

Figure 3: Heterogeneous Effects of Military Service Assignment by Predicted Identification with Spain: Non-parametric approach



Notes: This figure displays residuals for respondents' national identity index as well as predicted weak identification with Spain separately for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in the home region and outside of the home region. Residuals are obtained by separately regressing the variables on fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. The national identity index is defined by questions measuring whether respondents (i) identify with Spain or their local region, (ii) are proud to be Spanish, and (iii) how they feel when they see Spanish flag. We use the following variables on the right-hand-side to predict identification with Spain. First, we use a dummy whether the individual lived in a region with peripheral nationalism at age 17 (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Calaunya, Navarre , and Galicia). On top of this, we use a series of background characteristics (whether the respondent was born in the same place as at age 17, whether the mother lived in the same place as where she was born, whether the father lived in the same place he was born, year of birth, whether the respondent graduated from high school, whether the respondent's father graduated from high school, whether the respondent's mother graduated from high school, whether the mother was in the labor force when the respondent was 17, whether the father was in the labor force when the respondent was 17) as well as interactions of these background characteristics with the dummy variable of whether the individual originates from a region with peripheral nationalism. For ease of interpretation, we reverse code this predicted identification with Spain. The red dots in the figure represent respondents randomly assigned to complete their military service in their home region, while the green dots represent respondents randomly assigned to complete their military service out of their home region. The dotted lines represent quadratic fits for these two groups of respondents.

Table 1: Balance check

	Same region service	Diff. region service	P-value(High - Low)	Observations
Same Region at 17 as at birth	0.88	0.86	0.406	3231
High school graduate	0.70	0.73	0.480	3231
Number of siblings	2.50	2.49	0.166	3100
Small municipality (less than 50k)	0.32	0.38	0.698	2930
Same Region as Father's region of birth	0.67	0.61	0.552	3231
Father: Not in labor force	0.00	0.01	0.308	2727
High school graduate: father	0.25	0.24	0.910	3231
Father: agriculture	0.09	0.10	0.794	2727
Father: industrial	0.29	0.33	0.464	2727
Father: construction	0.14	0.15	0.761	2727
Father: service	0.31	0.28	0.605	2727
Same Region as Mothers's region of birth	0.69	0.62	0.764	3231
Mother: Not in labor force	0.52	0.55	0.816	2727
High school graduate: mother	0.12	0.13	0.583	3231
Mother: agriculture	0.03	0.03	0.762	2727
Mother: service	0.23	0.21	0.445	2727

Notes: This Table provides a balance check of pre-determined characteristics of our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. The balance test includes fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level. The p-value of an F-test of joint significance is 0.58.

Table 2: Exposure to conscripts from other regions

	Fraction Conscripts Other Regions	Friends other prov. (z)	Friends other prov. excl. prov. of mili (z)	Exposure to people from other regions (z)	Any year outside of Region	First Stage Index (z)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>						
Other region	0.367 (0.013)	0.299 (0.056)	0.266 (0.056)	0.346 (0.073)	0.525 (0.021)	0.801 (0.060)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>						
Other region (a)	0.317 (0.008)	0.260 (0.066)	0.224 (0.066)	0.162 (0.084)	0.501 (0.027)	0.690 (0.068)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.144 (0.023)	0.112 (0.110)	0.119 (0.110)	0.527 (0.132)	0.070 (0.044)	0.319 (0.113)
P-value (a+b)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>						
Other region (a)	0.367 (0.010)	0.298 (0.055)	0.264 (0.055)	0.343 (0.066)	0.524 (0.022)	0.799 (0.055)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	0.063 (0.011)	0.066 (0.051)	0.068 (0.051)	0.225 (0.062)	0.099 (0.022)	0.211 (0.054)
Observations	3231	3138	3138	3138	3231	3138
Year Lottery FE × Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

**Notes:** This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and taking value zero for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region. “Peripheral Nationalism” is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. “Fraction Conscripts Other Regions” is the average fraction of conscripts who are not from the home region in the region of service. “Friends other prov. (Z)” is z-scored a continuous variable on the number of provinces from which our respondents had friends during the military service. “Friends other prov. excl. prov. of mili (z)” is a z-scored continuous variable on the number of provinces from which our respondents had friends during the military service, excluding province of origin and of the military service. “Exposure to people from other regions (z)” is a z-scored measure of exposure to people from other regions during the military service, ranging from “not at all” to “very much.” “Any year outside of region” takes value one for respondents who spent at least one year outside of their province of birth. “First Stage Index (z)” is a z-scored unweighted index of all other outcomes from this table. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, region of birth of mother, region of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

Table 3: Effects on sentiment and beliefs about region of service

	Sentiment (z)	Trustworthiness (z)	Index (z)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>			
Assigned to region	0.067*** (0.015)	0.029* (0.015)	0.063*** (0.014)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>			
Assigned to region (a)	0.053*** (0.019)	0.021* (0.012)	0.049*** (0.015)
Assigned to region $\times$ (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.022 (0.031)	0.022 (0.032)	0.037 (0.023)
P-value (a+b)	0.002	0.160	0.000
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>			
Assigned to region (a)	0.060*** (0.017)	0.028** (0.013)	0.061*** (0.012)
Assigned to region $\times$ (b) Low identification with Spain	0.030*** (0.010)	0.015 (0.014)	0.036*** (0.012)
Observations	54927	46359	46359
Individual FE	Y	Y	Y
Region $\times$ Question Region FE	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Assigned to Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service in a given region of residence and zero otherwise. "Peripheral Nationalism" is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). "Low identification with Spain" is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. "Sentiment" is a z-scored measure of feelings of sympathy or antipathy towards the inhabitants of all 17 regions of Spain measured on a scale ranging from (0) "you like it not at all" to (10) "like it very much". "Trustworthiness" is a z-scored measure of beliefs about the fraction of dropped wallets returned for 17 cities from all 17 regions of Spain measured on a scale ranging from (1) almost none (<20%) to (5) Almost all (>80%). "Index" is an unweighted index of the other two outcomes. Our specification includes individual level fixed effects,  $\alpha_i$ , and interactions between region of residence at age 17 fixed effects,  $\text{region17}_r$ , and question region-fixed effects,  $\delta_r$ . Standard errors are clustered at the province at age 17 level.

Table 4: Effects on identification with Spain

	Attachment to Spain	Proud to be Spanish	Positive emotions Spanish flag	Identity Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>				
Other region	0.064 (0.060)	0.082 (0.061)	0.007 (0.060)	0.055 (0.058)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.025 (0.075)	0.012 (0.071)	-0.069 (0.072)	-0.036 (0.067)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.255 (0.117)	0.201 (0.135)	0.218 (0.131)	0.261 (0.124)
P-value (a+b)	0.012	0.063	0.167	0.030
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>				
Other region (a)	0.058 (0.058)	0.076 (0.059)	0.003 (0.059)	0.049 (0.055)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	0.089 (0.054)	0.103 (0.057)	0.129 (0.052)	0.125 (0.053)
Observations	3231	3231	3231	3231
Year Lottery FE × Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and taking value zero for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region. “Peripheral Nationalism” is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. “Attachment to Spain” measures people’s z-scored identification with Spain using a 5 point Likert scale ranging from (1) I feel only attached to my local region to (5) I feel only Spanish. “Proud to be Spanish” measures people’s z-scored assessment of national pride ranging from (1) I am not at all proud to be Spanish to (5) I feel very proud to be Spanish. “Positive Emotions Spanish Flag” is a z-scored measure of emotions towards the Spanish flag on a scale ranging from (1) I experience very negative emotions to (5) I experience very positive emotions. “Identity Index” is a z-scored unweighted index of the three outcome variables. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.



# For Online Publication

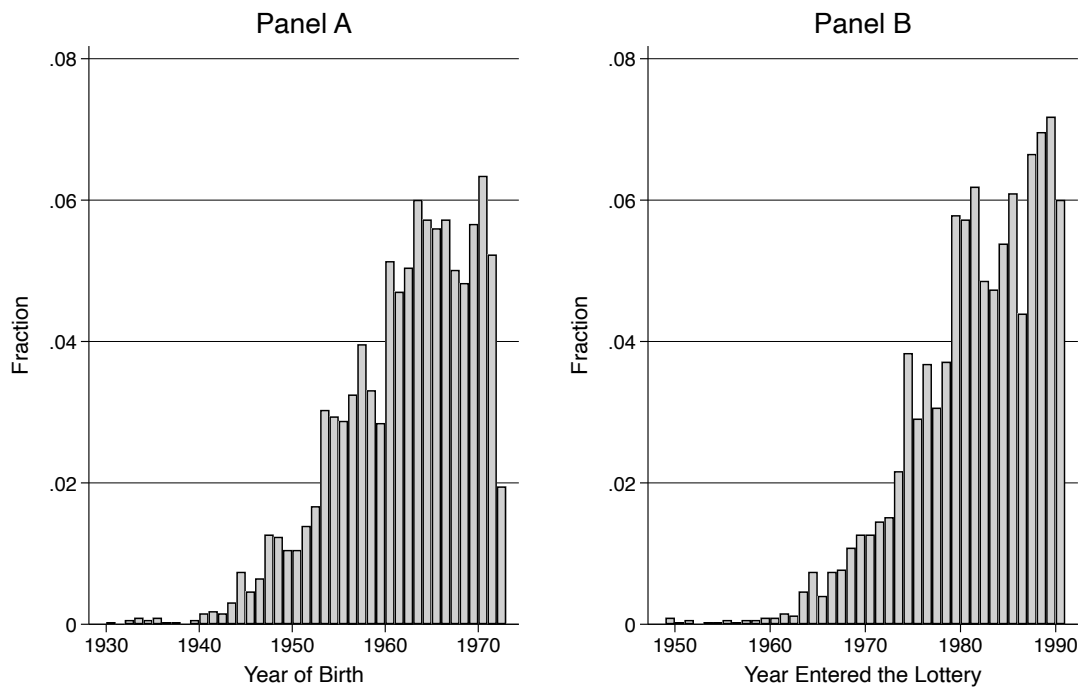
## A Additional Figures

Figure A1: Draft lottery, Madrid 1966



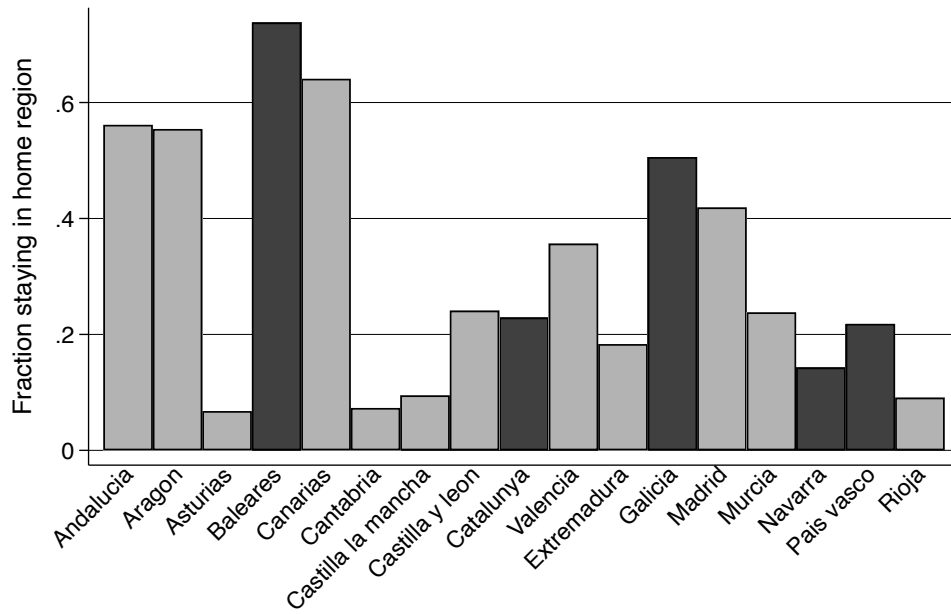
Notes: This picture shows the draft lottery that was conducted in 1966 in Madrid at the *Cajas de Reclutas* 1 and 2. Source: Archivo Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, code "ES 28079 ARCM 201.001.5237.7".

Figure A2: Fraction of conscripts by year of birth and by year of entering the lottery



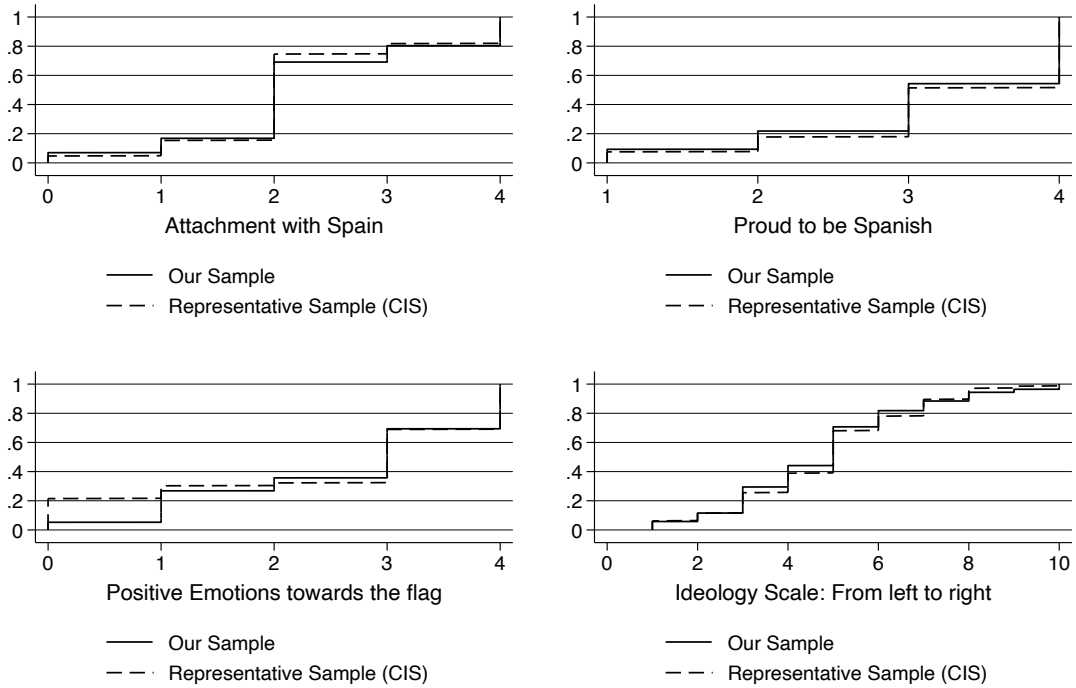
Notes: This figure shows the fraction of conscripts in our sample by year of birth (Panel A) and by year of entering the lottery (Panel B).

Figure A3: Fraction of conscripts staying in home region



Notes: This figure shows the average fraction of conscripts assigned to stay in their home region based on our sample of respondents. Bars in gray denote regions without peripheral nationalism, while bars in black denote regions with peripheral nationalism.

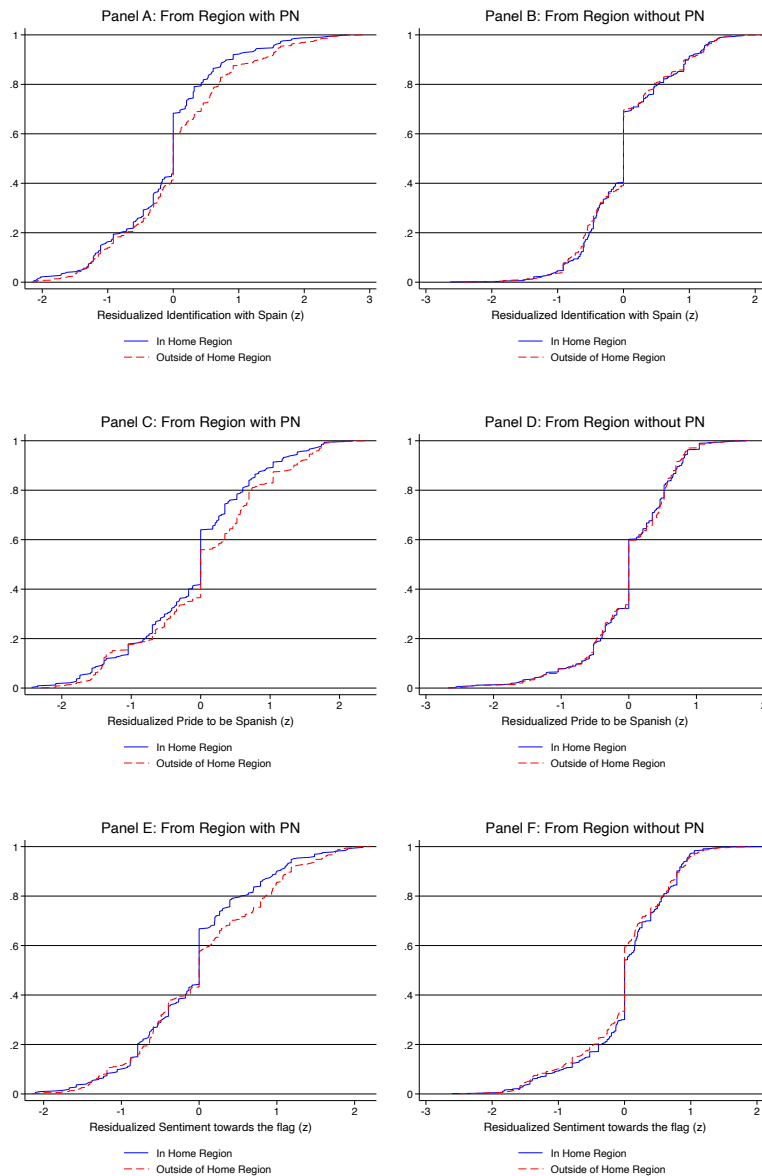
Figure A4: Comparison of Ideology with Representative Survey data



Notes: This figure shows the distribution of responses for respondents from our sample as well as a sample of respondents from a representative sample from the Spanish Center for Sociological Research (CIS). “Attachment with Spain” measures people’s identification with Spain using a 5 point Likert scale ranging from (0) I feel only attached to my local region to (4) I feel only spanish. “Proud to be Spanish” measures people’s assessment of national pride ranging from (1) I am not at all proud to be spanish to (4) I feel very proud to be spanish. “Positive Emotions Spanish Flag” is a z-scored measure of emotions towards the Spanish flag on a scale ranging from (0) I experience very negative emotions to (4) I experience very positive emotions. “Ideology” measures people’s ideology on a 10-point scale ranging from (1) very left-wing to (10) very right-wing.

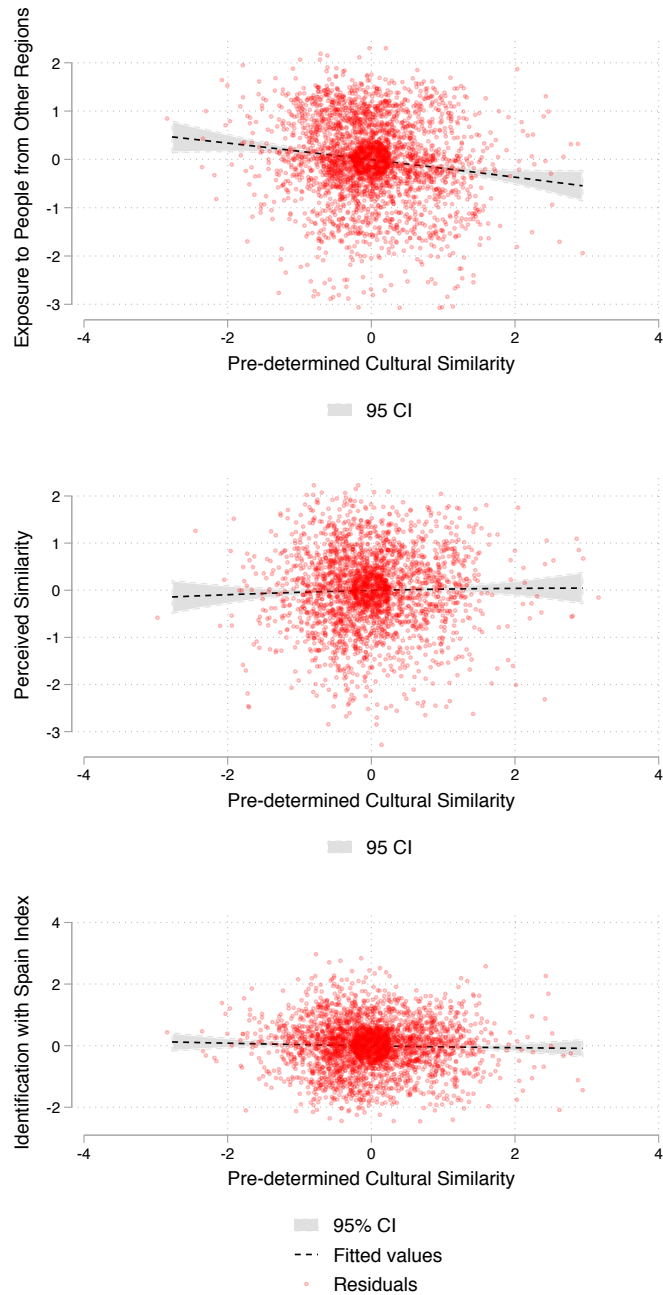


Figure A6: Distribution of treatment effects on identification with Spain: disaggregated



Notes: This figure displays residuals for respondents' national identity index separately for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in the home region and outside of the home region. Panels A, C and E show results for respondents originating from a region with peripheral nationalism. Panels B, D and F show results for respondents originating from a region without peripheral nationalism. Panels A and B show residualized responses for people's identification with Spain or their local region. Panels C and D display residualized responses for people's pride in being Spanish. Panels E and F show residualized responses for people's emotions towards the Spanish flag. Residuals are obtained by separately regressing the variables on fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17.

Figure A7: Effects of cultural distance



Notes: This figure displays residuals for 3 sets of outcome variables as well as cross-regional cultural similarity. For each pair of home region and region of service, we use a measure of perceived cultural similarities based on individuals' perceived cultural similarity. In the upper panel the outcome variable is given by residualized exposure to people from other regions during the military service. In the middle panel the outcome is residualized perceived similarity of the region at age 17 with all other regions of Spain. The bottom panel shows results on residualized identification with Spain. Residuals are obtained by separately regressing the variables on the fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17.

## B Additional tables

Table A1: Summary statistics

	Mean	SD	Median	Min.	Max.	Obs.	$\Delta$ (CIS 2015 vs. own survey)	P-value
Year of birth	1961.66	7.13	1963	1930	1973	3231	-7.14	0.000
High school graduate	0.72	0.45	1	0	1	3231	0.032	0.293
College Graduate	0.21	0.41	0	0	1	3231	-0.064	0.091
Not in labor force	0.26	0.44	0	0	1	2727	-0.033	0.121
Employed	0.68	0.47	1	0	1	2727	-0.042	0.024
Net monthly hh income (cts)	2004.69	1207.35	1500	0	6750	3231	-562.71	0.000
Identify with Spain	2.27	1.10	2	0	4	3231	-0.003	0.989
Proud to be Spanish	3.15	0.97	3	1	4	3231	0.035	0.850
Positive Emotions Spanish Flag	2.63	1.26	3	0	4	3231	-0.259	0.312
Ideology Scale	4.77	2.10	5	1	10	3231	-0.092	0.661
Number of siblings	2.49	1.82	2	0	10	3100		
Small municipality (less than 50k)	0.36	0.48	0	0	1	2931		
Assigned to own region	0.34	0.48	0	0	1	3138		
Year: Start service	1982.04	6.79	1983	1950	1992	3138		
Same Region at age 17	0.87	0.34	1	0	1	3231		
High school graduate: father	0.24	0.43	0	0	1	3231		
Same Region as Father's region of birth	0.63	0.48	1	0	1	3231		
High school graduate: mother	0.13	0.33	0	0	1	3231		
Same Region as Mothers's region of birth	0.64	0.48	1	0	1	3231		

Notes: Columns 1-6 provide summary statistics of our sample of former conscripts. In column 7 we compare our sample with a nationally representative survey conducted by the Spanish Centre for Sociological Research (CIS) in 2015 (study number 3110), for the subsample of men born before 1973 who served in the compulsory military service (N=505). To account for the large age difference between participant in the two surveys, we estimate the difference between the two samples conditional on cohort fixed effects, except when we compare the age variable. In column 8, we report the corresponding p-values for this difference. Variables 'High School Graduate' and 'College' are dummies for individuals who have completed high school and obtained a college degree respectively. 'Not in the labor force' takes value one for individuals who report being inactive (e.g. retired, disabled, students, unemployed individuals not searching for a job). Variable 'income' refers to net individual earnings measured in 2020 euros. In both surveys individuals report this information using the same income brackets. To calculate the average income we impute individuals the mean value of their income bracket. The variable 'Spanish Identity' takes value 0 if the individual feels only Spanish, and value 4 if he feels only attached to his local region. The variable 'Proud to be Spanish' takes value 1 if the individual is not at all proud of being Spanish, and 4 if he feels very proud. The variable 'Positive emotions Spanish flag' takes value 0 if the individual experiences very negative emotions and 5 if he experiences very positive ones. "Ideology" measures people's ideology on a 10-point scale ranging from (1) very left-wing to (10) very right-wing.



Table A2: Regional Characteristics

	Strong Spanish identity	Local official language	GDP per capita (in Euro)	Population Size Region (1000s)
Basque Country	9%	Yes	33,938	2,181.9
Navarre	29%	Yes	32,030	652.6
Catalonia	31%	Yes	31,209	7,610.2
Galicia	34%	Yes	23,842	2,698.9
Balearics	39%	Yes	28,522	1,198.1
Canaries	41%	No	21,387	2,220.2
Rioja	41%	No	28,128	314.4
Spain	45%	-	26,417	47,105.4
Castile and Leon	50%	No	24,910	2,402.7
Asturias	52%	No	23,240	1,020.0
Valencia	52%	Yes	23,240	4,999.6
Madrid	52%	No	36,049	6,686.5
Aragon	54%	No	28,759	1,324.3
Castile-La Mancha	55%	No	20,841	2,038.7
Andalucia	55%	No	19,530	8,448.4
Cantabria	56%	No	24,350	581.9
Extremadura	59%	No	19,304	1,062.8
Murcia	62%	No	21,596	1,495.1

Notes: Regions are ordered in reverse by how strongly they identify with Spain. Column (1) provides information on the share of individuals in each region who report feeling very proud about being Spanish, based on information from all CIS surveys between 1997 and 2015 including this question (CIS surveys number 2234, 2277, 2317, 2379, 2447, 2592, 2680, 2825, 2912, 2998, 3110). The sample size is equal to 26,372. Column (2) provides information on which regions have a local language which has full official status alongside Spanish. Columns (3) and (4) include information for GDP per capita and population per region from the Spanish National Institute, Contabilidad Regional de España, Revision Estadística 2019.

Table A3: Balance check: Respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalism

	Same region service	Diff. region service	P-value(High - Low)	Observations
Same Region at 17 as at birth	0.87	0.84	0.535	1153
High school graduate	0.74	0.73	0.630	1153
Number of siblings	2.40	2.22	0.612	1100
Small municipality (less than 50k)	0.34	0.36	0.540	1045
Same Region as Father's region of birth	0.67	0.50	0.294	1153
Father: Not in labor force	0.00	0.01	0.189	971
High school graduate: father	0.28	0.29	0.799	1153
Father: agriculture	0.05	0.05	0.990	971
Father: industrial	0.36	0.41	0.690	971
Father: construction	0.12	0.14	0.813	971
Father: service	0.29	0.26	0.821	971
Same Region as Mothers's region of birth	0.69	0.51	0.489	1153
Mother: Not in labor force	0.51	0.51	0.983	971
High school graduate: mother	0.14	0.16	0.657	1153
Mother: agriculture	0.02	0.01	0.953	971
Mother: service	0.20	0.24	0.191	971

Notes: This Table provides a balance check of pre-determined characteristics of our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before who originate from regions with peripheral nationalism (Catalunia, Basque Country, Navarre , Balearic Islands, and Galicia). The balance test includes fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level. The p-value of an F-test of joint significance is 0.11.

Table A4: Balance check: Respondents originating from regions without peripheral nationalism

	Same region service	Diff. region service	P-value(High - Low)	Observations
Same Region at 17 as at birth	0.89	0.88	0.571	2078
High school graduate	0.68	0.73	0.261	2078
Number of siblings	2.54	2.66	0.184	2000
Small municipality (less than 50k)	0.31	0.39	0.325	1885
Same Region as Father's region of birth	0.67	0.68	0.970	2078
Father: Not in labor force	0.01	0.01	0.566	1756
High school graduate: father	0.23	0.21	0.734	2078
Father: agriculture	0.11	0.13	0.775	1756
Father: industrial	0.25	0.29	0.538	1756
Father: construction	0.15	0.16	0.616	1756
Father: service	0.31	0.29	0.436	1756
Same Region as Mothers's region of birth	0.69	0.68	0.893	2078
Mother: Not in labor force	0.52	0.58	0.777	1756
High school graduate: mother	0.12	0.10	0.276	2078
Mother: agriculture	0.03	0.05	0.672	1756
Mother: service	0.24	0.20	0.979	1756

Notes: This Table provides a balance check of pre-determined characteristics of our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before who originate from regions without peripheral nationalism, i.e. all regions of Spain except Catalonia, Basque Country, Navarre, Balearic Islands, and Galicia. The balance test includes fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level. The p-value of an F-test of joint significance is 0.92.

Table A5: Effects on group loyalty

	Universa- lism	sentiment Other Region	Trust other Region	Similarity other Region	Index Group Loyalty
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>					
Other region	0.060 (0.072)	0.077 (0.057)	0.018 (0.073)	-0.055 (0.066)	0.018 (0.045)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>					
Other region (a)	0.008 (0.081)	-0.004 (0.063)	0.042 (0.090)	-0.091 (0.076)	-0.017 (0.049)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.151 (0.156)	0.232 (0.124)	-0.068 (0.158)	0.101 (0.139)	0.099 (0.100)
P-value (a+b)	0.238	0.033	0.837	0.928	0.342
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>					
Other region (a)	0.056 (0.070)	0.075 (0.056)	0.019 (0.073)	-0.058 (0.064)	0.016 (0.044)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	0.063 (0.070)	0.076 (0.060)	-0.034 (0.075)	0.064 (0.074)	0.046 (0.049)
Observations	2785	3223	2721	2727	2721
Year Lottery FE × Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and takes value zero for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region. "Peripheral Nationalism" is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). "Low identification with Spain" is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. "Universalism" is a z-scored measure of how many euros out of 100 are given to a randomly chosen person from Spain rather than a randomly chosen person from the province where the respondent lived at age 17. "Sentiment other Region" is a z-scored measure of average sympathy towards all regions of Spain except for the home region, measured on a scale ranging from (0) "you like it not at all" to (10) "like it very much". "Trust other Region" is a z-scored measure of respondents' average beliefs about the fraction of dropped wallets returned across 17 cities from all different regions of Spain except for the city of the respondent's home region, measured on a scale ranging from (1) almost none (<20%) to (5) Almost all (>80%). "Similarity other Region" is a z-scored measure of perceived similarity of people from all 17 regions of Spain except for the respondent's home region, ranging from (0) "the differences are large" to (10) "no differences at all". "Index Group Loyalty" is an unweighted average of all other outcomes in this table. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

Table A6: Effects on identification with Spain: Robustness to different regional heterogeneity

	Attachment to Spain	Proud to be Spanish	Positive emotions Spanish flag	Identity Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>Panel A</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.020 (0.074)	0.026 (0.072)	-0.039 (0.075)	-0.016 (0.069)
Other region × (b) Bas + Nav + Cat	0.252 (0.118)	0.166 (0.134)	0.141 (0.126)	0.214 (0.123)
P-value (a+b)	0.014	0.089	0.314	0.051
<b>Panel B</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.024 (0.075)	0.005 (0.071)	-0.066 (0.072)	-0.037 (0.067)
Other region × (b) Bas + Cat + Nav + Gal	0.259 (0.117)	0.224 (0.136)	0.216 (0.131)	0.269 (0.124)
P-value (a+b)	0.011	0.048	0.168	0.026
<b>Panel C</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.025 (0.075)	0.012 (0.071)	-0.069 (0.072)	-0.036 (0.067)
Other region × (b) Bas + Cata + Nav + Gal + Bal	0.255 (0.117)	0.201 (0.135)	0.218 (0.131)	0.261 (0.124)
P-value (a+b)	0.012	0.063	0.167	0.030
<b>Panel D</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.012 (0.076)	0.003 (0.072)	-0.076 (0.073)	-0.037 (0.069)
Other region × (b) Bas + Cata + Nav + Gal + Bal + Can	0.207 (0.117)	0.215 (0.133)	0.227 (0.128)	0.251 (0.122)
P-value (a+b)	0.031	0.050	0.147	0.033
<b>Panel E</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.012 (0.076)	0.003 (0.072)	-0.076 (0.073)	-0.037 (0.069)
Other region × (b) Bas + Cata + Nav + Gal + Bal + Can + Rio	0.207 (0.117)	0.215 (0.133)	0.227 (0.128)	0.251 (0.122)
P-value (a+b)	0.031	0.050	0.147	0.033
Observations	3231	3231	3231	3231
Year Lottery FE × Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and takes value zero for respondents assigned to their home region. “Bas” indicates origin from Basque Country, “Cat” from Catalonia, “Nav” from Navarre, “Gal” from Galicia, “Bal” from the Balearic Islands, “Can” from the Canary Islands, and “Rio” from Rioja. The top panel includes only individuals from the three regions with the lowest levels of Spanish identity (e.g. Basque Country, Navarre and Catalonia), and in each subsequent panel we add observations from the region with the next lowest level of Spanish identity. “Attachment to Spain” measures people’s z-scored identification with Spain using a 5 point Likert scale ranging from (1) I feel only attached to my local region to (5) I feel only Spanish. “Proud to be Spanish” measures people’s z-scored assessment of national pride ranging from (1) I am not at all proud to be Spanish to (5) I feel very proud to be Spanish. “Positive Emotions Spanish Flag” is a z-scored measure of emotions towards the Spanish flag on a scale ranging from (1) I experience very negative emotions to (5) I experience very positive emotions. “Identity Index” is a z-scored unweighted index of the three outcome variables. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

Table A7: Exposure to conscripts from other regions: Controlling for region of service FE

	Fraction Conscripts Other Regions	Friends other prov. (z)	Friends other prov. excl. prov. of mili (z)	Exposure to people from other regions (z)	Any year outside of Region	First Stage Index (z)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>						
Other region	0.343 (0.010)	0.228 (0.065)	0.182 (0.065)	0.233 (0.072)	0.499 (0.024)	0.687 (0.062)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>						
Other region (a)	0.317 (0.011)	0.221 (0.080)	0.170 (0.080)	0.128 (0.081)	0.491 (0.028)	0.637 (0.076)
Other region × (b)	0.103 (0.019)	0.030 (0.159)	0.049 (0.157)	0.425 (0.171)	0.033 (0.052)	0.201 (0.150)
Peripheral Nationalism						
P-value (a+b)	0.000	0.054	0.087	0.000	0.000	0.000
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>						
Other region (a)	0.349 (0.010)	0.235 (0.065)	0.190 (0.065)	0.258 (0.074)	0.522 (0.026)	0.722 (0.063)
Other region × (b)	0.037 (0.008)	0.043 (0.063)	0.049 (0.062)	0.143 (0.083)	0.130 (0.028)	0.196 (0.063)
Low identification with Spain						
Observations	3231	3138	3138	3138	3231	3138
Year Lottery FE × Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Region of Service FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and takes value zero for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region. “Peripheral Nationalism” is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. “Fraction Conscripts Other Regions” is the average fraction of conscripts who are not from the home region in the region of service. “Friends other prov. (z)” is z-scored a continuous variable on the number of provinces from which our respondents had friends during the military service. “Friends other prov. excl. prov. of mili (z)” is a z-scored continuous variable on the number of provinces from which our respondents had friends during the military service, excluding province of origin and of the military service. “Exposure to people from other regions (z)” is a z-scored measure of exposure to people from other regions during the military service, ranging from “not at all” to “very much.” “Any year outside of region” takes value one for respondents who spent at least one year outside of their province of birth. “First Stage Index (z)” is a z-scored unweighted index of all other outcomes from this table. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, region of birth of mother, region of birth of father. In addition, these specifications include region of service fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

Table A8: Effects on identification with Spain: Controlling for region of service FE

	Attachment to Spain	Proud to be Spanish	Positive emotions Spanish flag	Identity Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>				
Other region	0.024 (0.064)	0.097 (0.067)	0.042 (0.064)	0.060 (0.063)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.019 (0.078)	0.039 (0.076)	-0.053 (0.078)	-0.017 (0.073)
Other region $\times$ (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.171 (0.147)	0.229 (0.167)	0.379 (0.165)	0.310 (0.157)
P-value (a+b)	0.202	0.069	0.017	0.030
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>				
Other region (a)	0.021 (0.063)	0.110 (0.068)	0.074 (0.063)	0.078 (0.062)
Other region $\times$ (b) Low identification with Spain	0.011 (0.072)	0.102 (0.069)	0.199 (0.062)	0.126 (0.064)
Observations	3231	3231	3231	3231
Year Lottery FE $\times$ Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y
Region of Service FE	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and takes value zero for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region. "Peripheral Nationalism" is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). "Low identification with Spain" is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. "Attachment to Spain" measures people's z-scored identification with Spain using a 5 point Likert scale ranging from (1) I feel only attached to my local region to (5) I feel only Spanish. "Proud to be Spanish" measures people's z-scored assessment of national pride ranging from (1) I am not at all proud to be Spanish to (5) I feel very proud to be Spanish. "Positive Emotions Spanish Flag" is a z-scored measure of emotions towards the Spanish flag on a scale ranging from (1) I experience very negative emotions to (5) I experience very positive emotions. "Identity Index" is a z-scored unweighted index of the three outcome variables. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and province of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. In addition, these specifications include region of service fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

Table A9: Effects on group loyalty: Controlling for region of service FE

	Universa- lism	sentiment Other Region	Trust other Region	Similarity other Region	Index Group Loyalty
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>					
Other region	0.103 (0.072)	0.044 (0.065)	0.024 (0.076)	-0.077 (0.074)	0.022 (0.046)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>					
Other region (a)	0.033 (0.081)	-0.042 (0.075)	0.046 (0.093)	-0.156 (0.087)	-0.033 (0.055)
Other region × (b)	0.274 (0.171)	0.344 (0.155)	-0.086 (0.207)	0.307 (0.186)	0.214 (0.120)
Peripheral Nationalism					
P-value (a+b)	0.043	0.023	0.814	0.334	0.068
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>					
Other region (a)	0.117 (0.072)	0.056 (0.066)	0.019 (0.076)	-0.057 (0.074)	0.034 (0.046)
Other region × (b)	0.095 (0.078)	0.078 (0.080)	-0.032 (0.098)	0.137 (0.091)	0.082 (0.057)
Low identification with Spain					
Observations	2785	3223	2721	2727	2721
Year Lottery FE × Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Region of Service FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and takes value zero for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region. "Peripheral Nationalism" is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). "Low identification with Spain" is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. "Universalism" is a z-scored measure of how many euros out of 100 are given to a randomly chosen person from Spain rather than a randomly chosen person from the province where the respondent lived at age 17. "Sentiment other Region" is a z-scored measure of average sympathy towards all regions of Spain except for the home region, measured on a scale ranging from (0) "you like it not at all" to (10) "like it very much". "Trust other Region" is a z-scored measure of respondents' average beliefs about the fraction of dropped wallets returned across 17 cities from all different regions of Spain except for the city of the respondent's home region, measured on a scale ranging from (1) almost none (<20%) to (5) Almost all (>80%). "Similarity other Region" is a z-scored measure of perceived similarity of people from all 17 regions of Spain except for the respondent's home region, ranging from (0) "the differences are large" to (10) "no differences at all". "Index Group Loyalty" is an unweighted average of all other outcomes in this table. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level. In addition, these specifications include region of service fixed effects.



Table A10: Effects on identification with Spain: Assignment to Region with Peripheral Nationalism

	Attachment to Spain	Proud to be Spanish	Positive emotions Spanish flag	Identity Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>Panel A: From PN Region</b>				
Sent to Other Region with PN	0.157 (0.155)	0.227 (0.169)	0.052 (0.154)	0.159 (0.164)
Sent to Other Region without PN	0.243 (0.083)	0.201 (0.113)	0.157 (0.112)	0.230 (0.101)
Observations	1153	1153	1153	1153
<b>Panel B: From Non-PN Region</b>				
Sent to Other Region with PN	-0.079 (0.112)	-0.046 (0.125)	-0.022 (0.106)	-0.055 (0.112)
Sent to Other Region without PN	-0.020 (0.076)	0.017 (0.069)	-0.064 (0.074)	-0.030 (0.065)
Observations	2078	2078	2078	2078
Year Lottery FE × Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Sent to Other Region with PN is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service in a region with Peripheral Nationalism outside of their home region and takes value zero otherwise. Sent to Other Region without PN is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service in a region without Peripheral Nationalism outside of their home region and takes value zero otherwise. The omitted category is respondents randomly assigned to do their service in the home region. Panel A shows results for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia), while Panel B shows results for respondents originating from other regions. “Attachment to Spain” measures people’s z-scored identification with Spain using a 5 point Likert scale ranging from (1) I feel only attached to my local region to (5) I feel only Spanish. “Proud to be Spanish” measures people’s z-scored assessment of national pride ranging from (1) I am not at all proud to be Spanish to (5) I feel very proud to be Spanish. “Positive Emotions Spanish Flag” is a z-scored measure of emotions towards the Spanish flag on a scale ranging from (1) I experience very negative emotions to (5) I experience very positive emotions. “Identity Index” is a z-scored unweighted index of the three outcome variables. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

Table A11: Mechanisms

	Other region than at age 17	Years outside region of birth	Age out of parents' home	Open- ness to experiences	Exposure different socio back	Positive Experience Mili	Log Labor Income	In Labor Force
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>								
Other region	0.042 (0.022)	1.538 (0.633)	-0.276 (0.345)	0.061 (0.065)	0.171 (0.067)	-0.002 (0.071)	0.037 (0.054)	0.038 (0.019)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>								
Other region (a)	0.044 (0.027)	1.196 (0.803)	-0.019 (0.457)	0.075 (0.075)	0.038 (0.078)	-0.078 (0.090)	-0.010 (0.066)	0.029 (0.025)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	-0.005 (0.048)	0.985 (1.315)	-0.739 (0.639)	-0.038 (0.143)	0.381 (0.128)	0.219 (0.132)	0.133 (0.113)	0.026 (0.037)
P-value (a+b)	0.331	0.035	0.096	0.769	0.000	0.153	0.184	0.047
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>								
Other region (a)	0.042 (0.023)	1.496 (0.635)	-0.269 (0.342)	0.062 (0.066)	0.168 (0.063)	-0.004 (0.069)	0.036 (0.054)	0.038 (0.019)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	0.011 (0.020)	0.546 (0.625)	-0.417 (0.307)	-0.049 (0.071)	0.137 (0.056)	0.086 (0.059)	0.010 (0.054)	0.006 (0.019)
Observations	3231	3231	2727	2727	3138	3138	3231	3231
Year Lottery FE × Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and takes value zero for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region. "Peripheral Nationalism" is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). "Low identification with Spain" is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. "Other region than at age 17" takes value 1 if the respondent lives in a different region than at age 17 and zero otherwise. "Years outside region of birth" is a continuous measure of the number of years outside of the region of birth. "Age out of parents' home" is the age at which the respondent moved outside of the parents' home. "Openness to experiences" is a z-scored transformation of people's agreement with the statement that "I see myself as open to new experiences". "Exposure different socio back" is a z-scored transformation of perceived exposure to people from different socioeconomic backgrounds during the military service. "Positive Experience Mili" is a z-scored transformation of exposure of people's evaluation of the military service ranging from (1) very negative to (5) very positive. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

Table A12: Main effects on identity: controlling for current location, current income and current labor market status

	Attachment to Spain	Proud to be Spanish	Positive emotions Spanish flag	Identity Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>				
Other region	0.043 (0.060)	0.068 (0.061)	-0.003 (0.058)	0.038 (0.057)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.043 (0.073)	-0.003 (0.071)	-0.079 (0.071)	-0.053 (0.066)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.248 (0.118)	0.205 (0.134)	0.219 (0.130)	0.260 (0.123)
P-value (a+b)	0.030	0.077	0.192	0.045
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>				
Other region (a)	0.038 (0.057)	0.063 (0.059)	-0.007 (0.058)	0.032 (0.054)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	0.090 (0.053)	0.104 (0.058)	0.130 (0.052)	0.127 (0.053)
Observations	3231	3231	3231	3231
Year Lottery FE × Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and takes value zero for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region. “Peripheral Nationalism” is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. “Attachment to Spain” measures people’s z-scored identification with Spain using a 5 point Likert scale ranging from (1) I feel only attached to my local region to (5) I feel only Spanish. “Proud to be Spanish” measures people’s z-scored assessment of national pride ranging from (1) I am not at all proud to be Spanish to (5) I feel very proud to be Spanish. “Positive Emotions Spanish Flag” is a z-scored measure of emotions towards the Spanish flag on a scale ranging from (1) I experience very negative emotions to (5) I experience very positive emotions. “Identity Index” is a z-scored unweighted index of the three outcome variables. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and province of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level. In addition we include a series of “bad controls” to investigate mechanisms: dummies for employment status, log income, and whether the respondent lives in the same location at the time of the survey as at age 17. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

Table A13: Effects on policy views

	Support Regional Redistribution	Support Educational Mobility Prog.	Regional Autonomy Detrimental	For Cat. Indep.	Right Wing
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>					
Other region	0.007 (0.066)	0.062 (0.066)	-0.000 (0.060)	0.000 (0.028)	-0.091 (0.059)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>					
Other region (a)	0.054 (0.079)	0.068 (0.085)	0.054 (0.075)	0.026 (0.037)	-0.112 (0.071)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	-0.136 (0.138)	-0.017 (0.137)	-0.158 (0.117)	-0.073 (0.060)	0.060 (0.120)
P-value (a+b)	0.475	0.630	0.253	0.325	0.598
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>					
Other region (a)	0.007 (0.066)	0.063 (0.066)	-0.002 (0.060)	0.004 (0.029)	-0.093 (0.059)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	-0.051 (0.071)	0.003 (0.065)	-0.029 (0.058)	-0.037 (0.026)	0.045 (0.062)
Observations	2727	2727	3231	2934	3231
Year Lottery FE × Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and takes value zero for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region. “Peripheral Nationalism” is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. “Support Regional Redistribution” is a z-scored measure of support for regional redistribution from richer to poorer regions of Spain. “Support Educational Mobility Prog.” is a z-scored measure of support for a scholarship program that enables students with monetary support to move to a university in a different region in Spain. “Regional Autonomy Detrimental” is a z-scored measure of beliefs about whether regional autonomy is detrimental. “For Cat. Indep.” takes value 1 if our respondent is in favor of an Independence referendum. “Right Wing” is a z-scored measure of political ideology based on a 10-point scale ranging from (1) very left-wing to (10) very right-wing. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and province of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

Table A14: Effects on voting behavior

	Turnout		Voted		PP	Vox	Ciudadanos	Unidas Podemos	ERC Sobiranes	EAJ PNV	IxCAT	Otros partidos	En blanco
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)									
<b>Panel A: Main</b>													
Other region	0.025 (0.019)	0.014 (0.015)	-0.004 (0.029)	-0.005 (0.025)	-0.007 (0.024)	0.004 (0.023)	0.010 (0.024)	-0.000 (0.010)	-0.010 (0.007)	0.018 (0.010)	-0.022 (0.017)	-0.001 (0.011)	
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>													
Other region (a)	-0.002 (0.022)	0.001 (0.007)	-0.015 (0.031)	-0.025 (0.032)	-0.012 (0.033)	0.008 (0.029)	0.045 (0.024)	0.000 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.005)	0.002 (0.004)	0.004 (0.017)	-0.010 (0.014)	
Other region × (b)	0.079 (0.039)	0.036 (0.039)	0.033 (0.071)	0.061 (0.048)	0.016 (0.045)	-0.012 (0.043)	-0.107 (0.058)	-0.002 (0.027)	-0.022 (0.019)	0.049 (0.029)	-0.079 (0.042)	0.028 (0.022)	
P-value (a+b)	0.021	0.340	0.773	0.298	0.903	0.900	0.239	0.955	0.164	0.075	0.046	0.307	
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>													
Other region (a)	0.025 (0.019)	0.015 (0.014)	-0.004 (0.030)	-0.004 (0.025)	-0.007 (0.024)	0.003 (0.023)	0.009 (0.024)	0.000 (0.010)	-0.010 (0.007)	0.019 (0.010)	-0.023 (0.016)	-0.001 (0.011)	
Other region × (b)	0.033 (0.018)	0.022 (0.021)	0.013 (0.035)	0.028 (0.020)	0.014 (0.020)	-0.003 (0.022)	-0.043 (0.024)	0.004 (0.013)	-0.006 (0.011)	0.023 (0.017)	-0.049 (0.020)	0.012 (0.011)	
Observations	3231	3231	2837	2837	2837	2837	2837	2837	2837	2837	2837	2837	
Year Lottery FE × Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and takes value zero for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region. "Peripheral Nationalism" is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). "Low identification with Spain" is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. The outcome variables are all dummy variables taking either value 1 or zero. They indicate whether our respondents turned out in the November 2019 election and for which party the respondent voted in case they voted at all. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and province of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

## B.1 The effects of the military service

Table A15: Balance check: Random assignment not to complete military service

	No Military service	Military service	P-value(High - Low)	Observations
Same Region at 17 as at birth	0.87	0.89	0.666	3618
High school graduate	0.72	0.78	0.494	3618
Number of siblings	2.49	2.82	0.366	3479
Small municipality (less than 50k)	0.36	0.38	0.451	3291
Same Region as Father's region of birth	0.63	0.64	0.556	3618
Father: Not in labor force	0.01	0.01	0.794	3067
High school graduate: father	0.24	0.24	0.198	3618
Father: agriculture	0.10	0.05	0.043	3067
Father: industrial	0.32	0.31	0.124	3067
Father: construction	0.15	0.15	0.366	3067
Father: service	0.29	0.28	0.679	3067
Same Region as Mothers's region of birth	0.64	0.62	0.657	3618
Mother: Not in labor force	0.54	0.56	0.310	3067
High school graduate: mother	0.13	0.20	0.479	3618
Mother: agriculture	0.03	0.02	0.353	3067
Mother: service	0.22	0.19	0.025	3067

Notes: This Table provides a balance check of pre-determined characteristics of our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. The balance test includes fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and providence of residence at age 17.. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level. The p-value of an F-test of joint significance is 0.63.

Table A16: Effects of Completing the Military Service on identification with Spain:

	Any year outside of province	Attachment to Spain	Proud to be Spanish	Positive emotions Spanish flag	Identity Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<b>Panel A</b>					
Military service	0.401 (0.041)	0.034 (0.077)	0.123 (0.079)	0.126 (0.076)	0.110 (0.076)
<b>Panel B</b>					
Other Region	0.575 (0.038)	0.055 (0.081)	0.154 (0.081)	0.134 (0.079)	0.132 (0.079)
Same Region	0.048 (0.041)	-0.007 (0.084)	0.059 (0.089)	0.107 (0.084)	0.064 (0.082)
<b>Panel C</b>					
Other Region (a)	0.542 (0.047)	0.013 (0.086)	0.137 (0.097)	0.076 (0.095)	0.084 (0.085)
Other Region $\times$ (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.089 (0.082)	0.099 (0.172)	0.035 (0.161)	0.152 (0.160)	0.116 (0.168)
Same Region (c)	0.037 (0.049)	0.053 (0.092)	0.123 (0.099)	0.125 (0.094)	0.116 (0.081)
Same Region $\times$ (d) Peripheral Nationalism	0.029 (0.091)	-0.195 (0.184)	-0.203 (0.192)	-0.065 (0.185)	-0.171 (0.190)
P-value (a+b)	0.000	0.466	0.202	0.086	0.183
P-value (c+d)	0.382	0.379	0.636	0.710	0.755
Observations	3618	3618	3618	3618	3618
Cohort FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Military Service is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service, and takes value zero for those randomly assigned not to complete the service. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and takes value zero otherwise. Same Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region and takes value zero otherwise. The omitted category is those randomly assigned not to complete the service. “Peripheral Nationalism” is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). “Attachment to Spain” measures people’s z-scored identification with Spain using a 5 point Likert scale ranging from (1) I feel only attached to my local region to (5) I feel only Spanish. “Proud to be Spanish” measures people’s z-scored assessment of national pride ranging from (1) I am not at all proud to be Spanish to (5) I feel very proud to be Spanish. “Positive Emotions Spanish Flag” is a z-scored measure of emotions towards the Spanish flag on a scale ranging from (1) I experience very negative emotions to (5) I experience very positive emotions. “Identity Index” is a z-scored unweighted index of the three outcome variables. All specifications include fixed effects for the cells formed by interacting year of lottery and province of residence at age 17. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

## B.2 Robustness to less conservative fixed effects

Table A17: Balance check: Robustness less conservative fixed effects

	Same region service	Diff. region service	P-value(High - Low)	Observations
Same Region as at birth	0.88	0.86	0.872	3231
High school graduate	0.70	0.73	0.488	3231
Number of siblings	2.50	2.49	0.322	3100
Small municipality (less than 50k)	0.32	0.38	0.490	2930
Same Region as Father's region of birth	0.67	0.61	0.122	3231
Father: Not in labor force	0.00	0.01	0.117	2727
High school graduate: father	0.25	0.24	0.741	3231
Father: agriculture	0.09	0.10	0.734	2727
Father: industrial	0.29	0.33	0.498	2727
Father: construction	0.14	0.15	0.193	2727
Father: service	0.31	0.28	0.434	2727
Same Region as Mothers's region of birth	0.69	0.62	0.348	3231
Mother: Not in labor force	0.52	0.55	0.438	2727
High school graduate: mother	0.12	0.13	0.623	3231
Mother: agriculture	0.03	0.03	0.623	2727
Mother: service	0.23	0.21	0.504	2727

Notes: This Table provides a balance check of pre-determined characteristics of our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. The balance test controls for year of lottery fixed effects and province at age 17 fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level. The p-value of an F-test of joint significance is 0.80.



Table A18: Exposure to conscripts from other regions: Robustness less conservative fixed effects

	Fraction Conscripts Other Regions	Friends other prov. (z)	Friends other prov. excl. prov. of mili (z)	Exposure to people from other regions (z)	Any year outside of Region	First Stage Index (z)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>						
Other region	0.367 (0.013)	0.299 (0.056)	0.266 (0.056)	0.346 (0.073)	0.525 (0.021)	0.801 (0.060)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>						
Other region (a)	0.317 (0.008)	0.260 (0.066)	0.224 (0.066)	0.162 (0.084)	0.501 (0.027)	0.690 (0.068)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.144 (0.023)	0.112 (0.110)	0.119 (0.110)	0.527 (0.132)	0.070 (0.044)	0.319 (0.113)
P-value (a+b)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>						
Other region (a)	0.367 (0.010)	0.298 (0.055)	0.264 (0.055)	0.343 (0.066)	0.524 (0.022)	0.799 (0.055)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	0.063 (0.011)	0.066 (0.051)	0.068 (0.051)	0.225 (0.062)	0.099 (0.022)	0.211 (0.054)
Observations	3231	3138	3138	3138	3231	3138
Year Lottery FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and takes value zero for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region. “Peripheral Nationalism” is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. “Fraction Conscripts Other Regions” is the average fraction of conscripts who are not from the home region in the region of service. “Friends other prov. (Z)” is z-scored a continuous variable on the number of provinces from which our respondents had friends during the military service. “Friends other prov. excl. prov. of mili (z)” is a z-scored continuous variable on the number of provinces from which our respondents had friends during the military service, excluding province of origin and of the military service. “Exposure to people from other regions (z)” is a z-scored measure of exposure to people from other regions during the military service, ranging from “not at all” to “very much.” “Any year outside of region” takes value one for respondents who spent at least one year outside of their province of birth. “First Stage Index (z)” is a z-scored unweighted index of all other outcomes from this table. All specifications include year of lottery fixed effects and province of residence at age 17 fixed effects. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

Table A19: Reduced form effects on identity: Robustness less conservative fixed effects

	Attachment to Spain	Proud to be Spanish	Positive emotions Spanish flag	Identity Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>				
Other region	0.064 (0.060)	0.082 (0.061)	0.007 (0.060)	0.055 (0.058)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.025 (0.075)	0.012 (0.071)	-0.069 (0.072)	-0.036 (0.067)
Other region × (b)	0.255 (0.117)	0.201 (0.135)	0.218 (0.131)	0.261 (0.124)
Peripheral Nationalism				
P-value (a+b)	0.012	0.063	0.167	0.030
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>				
Other region (a)	0.058 (0.058)	0.076 (0.059)	0.003 (0.059)	0.049 (0.055)
Other region × (b)	0.089 (0.054)	0.103 (0.057)	0.129 (0.052)	0.125 (0.053)
Low identification with Spain				
Observations	3231	3231	3231	3231
Year Lottery FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and takes value zero for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region. “Peripheral Nationalism” is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. “Attachment to Spain” measures people’s z-scored identification with Spain using a 5 point Likert scale ranging from (1) I feel only attached to my local region to (5) I feel only Spanish. “Proud to be Spanish” measures people’s z-scored assessment of national pride ranging from (1) I am not at all proud to be Spanish to (5) I feel very proud to be Spanish. “Positive Emotions Spanish Flag” is a z-scored measure of emotions towards the Spanish flag on a scale ranging from (1) I experience very negative emotions to (5) I experience very positive emotions. “Identity Index” is a z-scored unweighted index of the three outcome variables. All specifications include year of lottery fixed effects and province of residence at age 17 fixed effects. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

Table A20: Reduced form effects on group loyalty: Robustness less conservative fixed effects

	Universa- lism	sentiment Other Region	Trust other Region	Similarity other Region	Index Group Loyalty
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>					
Other region	0.060 (0.072)	0.077 (0.057)	0.018 (0.073)	-0.055 (0.066)	0.018 (0.045)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>					
Other region (a)	0.008 (0.081)	-0.004 (0.063)	0.042 (0.090)	-0.091 (0.076)	-0.017 (0.049)
Other region $\times$ (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.151 (0.156)	0.232 (0.124)	-0.068 (0.158)	0.101 (0.139)	0.099 (0.100)
P-value (a+b)	0.238	0.033	0.837	0.928	0.342
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>					
Other region (a)	0.056 (0.070)	0.075 (0.056)	0.019 (0.073)	-0.058 (0.064)	0.016 (0.044)
Other region $\times$ (b) Low identification with Spain	0.063 (0.070)	0.076 (0.060)	-0.034 (0.075)	0.064 (0.074)	0.046 (0.049)
Observations	2785	3223	2721	2727	2721
Year Lottery FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Other Region is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who were randomly assigned to complete military service outside of their region of residence and takes value zero for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in their home region. "Peripheral Nationalism" is an indicator for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalist movements (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). "Low identification with Spain" is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 3. "Universalism" is a z-scored measure of how many euros out of 100 are given to a randomly chosen person from Spain rather than a randomly chosen person from the province where the respondent lived at age 17. "Sentiment other Region" is a z-scored measure of average sympathy towards all regions of Spain except for the home region, measured on a scale ranging from (0) "you like it not at all" to (10) "like it very much". "Trust other Region" is a z-scored measure of respondents' average beliefs about the fraction of dropped wallets returned across 17 cities from all different regions of Spain except for the city of the respondent's home region, measured on a scale ranging from (1) almost none (<20%) to (5) Almost all (>80%). "Similarity other Region" is a z-scored measure of perceived similarity of people from all 17 regions of Spain except for the respondent's home region, ranging from (0) "the differences are large" to (10) "no differences at all". "Index Group Loyalty" is an unweighted average of all other outcomes in this table. All specifications include year of lottery fixed effects and province of residence at age 17 fixed effects. Moreover, our specification includes the following set of additional pre-specified controls: number of siblings, population size of residence where the respondent grew up, education level of father, education level of mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

## C Deviations from the pre-analysis plan

There were some minor deviations from the pre-analysis plan that we list below. All of these deviations were motivated by our desire to use the most logical and robust specifications in the main paper.

- We use year of lottery fixed effects instead of cohort fixed effects as erroneously specified in the pre-analysis plan. The level of randomization was at the year of lottery entry and province at age 17 level so this makes more conceptual sense. The inclusion of year of lottery fixed effects also makes a pre-specified control redundant, namely a continuous variable measuring the age when the respondent started the military service.
- Instead of controlling for variables at the province level, we moved things to the regional level given that this is the geographical level on which we are focusing for the analysis of treatment effects. In other words, since we define our treatment at the regional level it makes sense to also define some of the control variables at the regional level.
- We did not specify the use of survey round fixed effects, but this seems like an appropriate control variable.
- Our sample size fell somewhat short of our target as the provider ran out of additional panelists.

None of these deviations affect our results in a noticeable way.

## D Predicting identification with Spain

In this section, we outline details on how we predict people's identification with Spain based on background characteristics.

**Target variable** We predict respondents' national identity index for conscripts randomly assigned to do the service in their home region. The national identity index is defined by questions measuring whether respondents (i) identify with Spain or their local region, (ii) are proud to be Spanish, and (iii) how they feel when they see Spanish flag.

**Explanatory variables** We use the following variables on the right-hand-side to make the predictions. First, we use a dummy whether the individual lived in a region with peripheral nationalism at age 17 (Basque Country, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Navarre, and Galicia). On top of this we use a series of background characteristics (whether the respondent was born in the same place as at age 17, whether the mother lived in the same place as where she was born, whether the father lived in the same place he was born, year of birth, whether the respondent graduated from high school, whether the respondent's father graduated from high school, whether the respondent's mother graduated from high school, whether the mother was in the labor force when the respondent was 17, whether the father was in the labor force when the respondent was 17) as well as interactions of these background characteristics with the dummy variable of whether the individual originates from a region with peripheral nationalism.

**Predictions** Based on the model estimates for control group respondents, we then predict identification with Spain for all respondents in our sample. For ease of interpretation, we reverse code this measure of identification with Spain and call it

“Predicted weak identification”.

## E Effects on Mobility using admin data

In our pre-analysis plan, we mentioned the possibility of using an alternative identification strategy relying on the date of birth. Here we use this strategy relying on administrative data to explore one potential mechanism through which the treatment could affect identity, namely changing the likelihood of living away from the home region in the long-run. To answer this question, we use publicly available microdata for the Census 2011, which provides information for 10% of the Spanish population.

**Identification strategy** This administrative dataset does not provide direct information neither on whether individuals participated in the military lottery nor on whether they served in the military. Instead, to proxy the region in which individuals served, we exploit the structure of the lottery between 1987 and 1991. During these years the assignment of conscripts to military regions was determined by a lottery based on the province of residence and birthday.<sup>36</sup> We use the information available in the census on month, year, and province of birth to predict whether individuals served outside of their region of residence. The intuition for this strategy is that conscripts are more likely to enter the lottery in the first year that they are eligible for the draft. Therefore we focus on men born between September 1968 and December 1973.<sup>37</sup>

**Calculating the first-stage** There are several empirical challenges that lower the first-stage of this empirical exercise. First, between 1987 and 1991 only 41.5% of men participated in the draft the year they turned 18, the rest had been exempted or

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<sup>36</sup>The lottery was published in all main national newspapers. We rely on the information provided by the newspapers ABC and La Vanguardia on 16-11-1987, 14-11-1988, 13-11-1989, 12-11-1990 and 4-11-1991.

<sup>37</sup>Individuals born in the last quarter of 1968 could participate in the lottery for the first time the year they turned 19 (i.e. in 1987), while individuals born in 1969-1973 could participate in the year they turned 18 (1987-1991 respectively).

had received an extension, according to the Military Yearbooks. Second, around 9% of individuals aged 17 were born in a different region than their region of residence. Third, the publicly available data only includes information on the ‘military region’ of destination, which is a geographical unit different from administrative regions. Most military regions include more than one region. For instance, the Eastern Pyrenees military region includes both Aragon and Catalonia. Catalan conscripts assigned to this military region may or may not have served in their home region. On the other hand, some regions belong to more than one military region (e.g. Castilla-Leon), which they share with other regions. According to our survey data, around 1/3 of conscripts assigned to the military region to which their province belongs actually served in a different administrative region. Taking into account all these factors, a back of the envelope calculation suggests that compliance (e.g. probability of predicting whether an individual served in another region based on year, month and province of birth) is around 25%. This low first-stage compliance strongly reduces the statistical power of this identification strategy.<sup>38</sup> As a result, it is critical to have very large datasets when using this identification strategy.

**Data** The 2011 Census includes information on 148,125 men who were born in Spain between 1987 and 1991. Based on their date of birth, around 34% would have been assigned to a different military region if they had participated in the lottery, 64% would have served in the same military region and 2% would have been exempted from serving.<sup>39</sup> We exclude the latter group from our analysis.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>To have the same statistical power as with 3000 observations and perfect compliance, one needs 48,000 observations in a setting with 25% compliance. This reflects that the minimum detectable effect size decreases proportionally to the square root of the number of observations, while it decreases linearly in the compliance rate (Duflo et al., 2007).

<sup>39</sup>Given the lack of information in the Census on the precise date of birth -we observe the month but not the day-, for individuals born in months where there is a cutoff date, we assign them the probability that they have been assigned to the treatment taking into account the number of days of the month assigned to the treatment.

<sup>40</sup>In results not reported here, we do not observe any significant impact of being exempted from the military service on geographical mobility or on the probability of having a partner from another



**Results** Table A21 shows the reduced form estimates obtained using this alternative identification strategy. As shown in column 1, the reduced form coefficient is relatively close to zero and precisely estimated, confirming our earlier result that the treatment had no impact on long-run mobility. Without accounting for imperfect compliance of this exercise the minimum detectable effect size at 80% level is around 1 percentage point ( $0.0036 \times 2.8$ , assuming  $\alpha=0.05$ ). After accounting for a compliance rate of approximately 25%, the minimum detectable effect size for the true relationship of interest is around 4 percentage points ( $0.0144 \times 2.8$ , assuming  $\alpha=0.05$ ). We also examine whether there is a differential impact for regions with peripheral nationalism, but estimates are also economically and statistically insignificant (column 2).

To compare the estimates from this alternative identification strategy with our own estimates using survey information, we reestimate our regressions focusing on long-run mobility for the respondents from cohorts born between 1968 and 1973 (see columns 3 and 4). These regressions also obtain a point estimate close to zero, underlining that the estimates from our survey data and the administrative data line up quite well, though of course, the estimates of the survey data are quite noisily measured given that we only have 776 respondents from cohorts born between 1968 and 1973.

Column 5 shows results on the impact of having a partner from a different region, for the sample of men with a partner. The estimated treatment effect is a quite precise zero ( $\beta=-0.003$ ,  $s.e.=0.004$ ,  $\text{baseline}=0.23$ ). We do not find any impact either for individuals born in regions with peripheral nationalist movements (column 6).

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region.

Table A21: Additional Results on Mobility using Admin Data

	Other region than at birth (admin data)		Other region than at age 17 (survey data)		Partner from other region (admin data)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Other military region	0.000 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.005)			-0.003 (0.004)	-0.004 (0.005)
Other Military region x Peripheral nationalism		0.005 (0.007)				0.006 (0.009)
Other region			-0.011 (0.034)	0.005 (0.038)		
Other region x Peripheral nationalism				-0.053 (0.0773)		
Mean Y	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.23	0.23
Observations	141,091	141,091	776	776	92,034	92,034
Year Lottery FE × Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: Columns 1 and 2 show reduced form effects of serving in a different military region on the likelihood of living in a different region than at birth using data from the Spanish census. Columns 3 and 4 show reduced form effects of having served in a different region on the likelihood of living in a different region than at age 17 using the subsample of our own survey respondents born between 1968 and 1973. In columns 5 and 6 we report reduced form estimates on the probability of having a partner from a different region using census data, for the sample of men with a partner. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level.

## Survey instructions

### Basic demographics: cohort and gender

Where you born in Spain? Yes No

What is your gender? Male Female Other

Did you complete military service?

Obligatory military service (mili)

Voluntary military service (professional service)

No, I completed the social service

No, I was exempted

Other

Usually, the destination where recruits complete the obligatory military service was decided by means of a lottery. In your personal case, was your location determined by the lottery? [only for respondents who responded "Obligatory military service (mili)"] Yes No

Why were you exempted? [only for respondents who responded "No, I was exempted"]

Quota surplus (by lottery)

I enjoyed extensions until the obligation to perform mandatory military service expired

Other

Normally, surplus quotas were decided by means of a lottery. In your personal case, was your quota surplus determined by a lottery? [only for respondents who chose "Quota surplus (by lottery)"] Yes No

### **Basic demographics: Location**

In what year were you born?

In which province were you born?

Did you live in this province until you were aged 17? (Yes, No I moved when I was 1 year old, No I moved when I was 2 years old, ... No I moved when I was 17 years old).

In which province did you live when you were aged 17?

In which province do you currently live?

### **Basic demographics: education and income**

What is your highest level of education?

No studies

Primary school

Middle school/Junior high school

Vocational training first grade

Vocational training second grade

Secondary school

Technical university

University degree

Doctorate degree

Which of the following best describes your employment status?

Full-time worker (more than 30 hours a week)

Part-time worker

Self-employed

Retired

Home-maker

Mother/father in charge of children

Student

Unemployed

Disabled

None of the above

Currently, how much income do you have on average per month, after the tax deduction (that is, net income)?

No income at all

Less than 300 Euros

Between 300 and 600 Euros

Between 600 and 900 Euros

Between 900 and 1200 Euros

Between 1200 and 1800 Euros

Between 1800 and 2400 Euros

Between 2400 and 3000 Euros

Between 3000 and 4500 Euros

Between 4500 and 6000 Euros

More than 6000 Euros

**Basic demographics: pre-determined characteristics**

What is the highest level of education of your father?

What is the highest level of education of your mother?

What was your father's occupation when you were aged 16?

What was your mother's occupation when you were aged 16?

In what industry did your father's employer when you were aged 16 operate?

In what industry did your mother's employer when you were aged 16 operate?

In which province was your father born?

In which province was your mother born?

How many siblings do you have? (please also include siblings that have passed away)

What is the population size of the municipality in which you grew up?

**Military service: for people who completed the service**

When did you start your military service? [drop-down list]

How many months did your military service last? [drop-down list]

In which province did you complete the first three months (i.e. the instructions) of your military service? [drop-down list]

In which provinces did you complete the remaining time of your military service? [drop-down list]

Which unit of the military were you a part of? [drop-down list]

### **Military service experience**

What is your assessment of your experience in military service?

It was a very positive experience

It was a positive experience

Neutral

It was a negative experience

It was a very negative experience

To what extent did the military service allow you to meet people from other regions of Spain?

Very much

Somewhat

Little

Not at all

To what extent did the military service allow you to meet people of different socio-economic backgrounds?

Very much

Somewhat

Little

Not at all

Think now about the friends you had during the military service. What province(s) were your friends from?

### **Migration history**

Throughout your life, did you ever live outside your region of birth? (include the period of the obligatory military service, if applicable)?

Throughout your life, for how many years did you live outside your region of birth? (include the period of military service, if applicable)?

At which age did you stop living with your parents permanently to move to live on your own? [drop-down list]

### **National versus regional identity**

Which of the following statements best describes your feelings?

I feel only spanish.

I feel more attached to spain than I feel attached to my local region.

I feel equally attached to spain as to my local region.



I feel more attached to my local region than I feel attached to Spain.

I feel only attached to my local region

Are you proud to be Spanish?

I feel very proud to be Spanish

I feel somewhat proud to be Spanish

I am not very proud to be Spanish

I am not at all proud to be Spanish

How do you feel when you see the Spanish flag?

I experience very positive emotions

I experience somewhat positive emotions

I experience no emotions

I experience somewhat negative emotions

I experience very negative emotions

### **Universalism**

Imagine that you had to split 100 Euros between two other people, Person A and Person B. Person A is a randomly chosen person from Spain, while Person B is a randomly chosen person from the province you lived in at age 17. How much money would you like to give to Person B and how much money would you like to give to Person A?

## **Beliefs about trustworthiness: Wallet drop**

In a recent study, researchers tried to measure the honesty of the inhabitants of several cities in the following way. The researchers dropped 100 wallets in the streets of these cities and they measured the probability that the wallets would be returned to their owners. Each wallet contained 20 euros and a business card with the owner's email. How many of these wallets do you think were returned in each of the following cities? (Almost all (>80%), the majority (60%-80%), approximately half (40% - 60%), less than half (40% -20%), almost none (<20%).

A Coruna:

Albacete:

Barcelona:

Bilbao:

Cáceres:

Gijon:

Las Palmas de Gran Canaria:

Logroño:

Madrid:

Murcia:

Palma de Mallorca:

Pamplona:

Santander:

Sevilla:

Valencia:

Valladolid:

Zaragoza:

### **Personality**

To what extent do you agree with the following statements:

I see myself as self-disciplined

I see myself as open to new experiences

It is important to obey to authorities

(strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree)

### **Sympathy**

What are your feelings of sympathy or antipathy towards the inhabitants of the following regions? To assess it, use a scale from 0 to 10, taking into account that 0 means that "you like it not at all", 5 that "you are indifferent" and 10 that "likes you very much".

Andaluces

Aragoneses

Asturianos

Baleares

Canarios

Cántabros

Castellano leoneses

Castellano manchegos

Catalanes

Extremeños

Gallegos

Madrileños

Murcianos

Navarros

Riojanos

Valencianos

Vascos

### **Belief about cultural differences across Spain**

In terms of personality, how large would you say are the differences between inhabitants of the region where you lived in at age 17 compared to inhabitants of other regions of Spain? 0 means that there are no differences at all, while 10 means that the differences are large.

### **Policy preferences**

Some regions in Spain are wealthier than other regions. Do you think redistribution from richer to poorer regions is too high, adequate or too low?

Too high

Adequate

Too low

The French government has announced the introduction of a mandatory national universal service (SNU) of one month for all French youths of both sexes of 16 years. This service will offer young people “a citizen experience of military life, social mix and cohesion” and it is estimated that it will cost around 1.6 billion Euro. Would you agree with the introduction in Spain of a similar universal national service?

Strongly agree

Somewhat agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Somewhat disagree

Strongly disagree

The Seneca Scholarships (also known as the National Erasmus) allow Spanish university students to study at a Spanish university institution other than the one in which the student is enrolled. This typically allows students to move to a different period of Spain for a period of time. The amount of these scholarships amounts to 500 euros per month. In 2020 these scholarships will have a total budget of 2 million euros Do you think the budget for this program should be much higher / higher / equal / lower / much lower?

Much higher

Higher

Equal

Lower

Much lower

### **Political preferences**

Do you think that, in general, the creation and development of the autonomous regions has been a rather positive or rather negative fact for Spain?

Rather positive

Neither positive nor negative

Rather negative

Do you think that the holding of a referendum of self-determination in Catalonia could be considered?

Yes

No

I don't know

How would you rate your political leanings on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means that you are very left-wing and 10 means that you are very right-wing?

Did you vote in the general elections which took place on November 10th, 2019? Yes

No

Which party did you vote for in the general elections which took place on November 10th, 2019?

PSOE

PP

Vox

Ciudadanos

Unidas Podemos

ERC-Sobiranistes

EAJ/PNV

JxCAT

Other

Prefer not to say

### **Additional demographics**

Could you confirm the province in which you lived at age 17.

Could you confirm the province in which you completed the instruction of your military service.

We would now like to confirm your date of birth. What is your date of birth? (year, month, day)