

# Interregional Contact and National Identity\*

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## Abstract

We study the long-run effects of contact with individuals from other regions on 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 towards people from the region of service, measured several decades later. We also observe an increase in identification with Spain for individuals originating from regions with a history of secessionist movements. Our evidence suggests that intergroup exposure in early adulthood can have long-lasting effects on individual preferences and national identity.

**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 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, 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, motivated by the belief that it would foster interregional relationships and identification with the nation state (Bertaud, 1979; Krebs, 2004).<sup>1</sup>

According to the contact hypothesis, mixing people from different regions is likely to strengthen interregional sympathies, particularly when the contact situation involves equal status between the groups, common goals and cooperation (Allport et al., 1954; Lowe, 2020). A number of studies also suggest that contact helps to decrease prejudice and correct biased beliefs (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, 2020). The overall impact of contact on national identity is less clear. 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. However, differences between one's own iden-

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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”.

tity 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 between people from different regions affects intergroup attitudes and national identity exploiting a unique natural experiment, the random assignment of conscripts in Spain to serve outside of their home region. Spain is an ideal setup 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 always lived in the same region, the compulsory military service, until its abolition in 2001, constituted the main opportunity for most Spanish men for building 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 destination 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 data, compliance with the lottery was very high. Around 97% of individuals served in the region to which they had been randomly assigned.<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 friends made during military service. As expected, serving outside of the home region increases exposure to conscripts from other regions ( $\beta=0.30$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.01$ ).

Despite the long period of time elapsed, we find a small but significant increase in sympathy towards people from the region to which our respondents were randomly assigned ( $\beta=0.07$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.01$ ). Similarly, we uncover small and significant increases in the perceived honesty of people from the region of military service ( $\beta=0.03$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.05$ ). Given the collaborative nature of contact during military service, this finding is consistent with the predictions of the contact hypothesis (Allport et al., 1954).

Does the treatment affect people's identification with Spain? 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, and we also consider an index summarising

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<sup>2</sup>Approximately 3% of respondents report that they opted for the social service after being drafted.

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

these three variables. Overall, point estimates are positive, but they are not statistically significant. These muted average effects mask substantial heterogeneity of treatment effects. For conscripts originating from regions with strong peripheral nationalist movements, the treatment strongly increases their attachment to Spain ( $\beta=0.23$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.05$ ), their pride in being Spanish ( $\beta=0.21$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.10$ ), their positive emotions towards the Spanish flag ( $\beta=0.15$  st. dev.,  $p = 0.17$ ) and the index of identification with Spain ( $\beta=0.22$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.05$ ). 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. We also find similar results when we examine heterogenous treatment effects using 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.

Intergroup contact during conscription is likely to be the key mechanism that explains the increase in national identity among treated conscripts from regions with peripheral nationalism. In particular, treatment effects on contact with people from other regions are three times larger for conscripts originating from regions with peripheral nationalism ( $p < 0.01$ ). Our evidence is not consistent with 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 identification with Spain. On top of this, we provide evidence suggesting a limited relevance of long-run mobility, and economic opportunities as mechanisms driving our results.

Overall, our findings indicate that, until its abolition, the military service played an important role in enhancing interregional contact. More generally, our results

suggest that intergroup contact in early adulthood can have an important impact on interregional social cohesion and citizens' national identity. Governments aiming to promote a shared national identity might want to consider policies that facilitate interactions between individuals from different regions, such as those fostering mobility in higher education.<sup>4</sup> 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>5</sup>

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 stay at their destination of service and develop a stronger national identity. Lowe (2020) 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 examined how interracial contact affects prejudice (Boisjoly et al., 2006; Burns et al., 2018; Carrell et al., 2018; Schindler and Westcott, 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) shows that peo-

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<sup>4</sup>In Spain, only 14% of university students attend university outside of their home region (FBBVA-Ivie, 2018).

<sup>5</sup>For instance, while in 1991 25.3% of prime-age Spaniards were living outside of their region of birth, by 2011 this proportion had fallen to 16.6%. Source: Authors' calculation using information from the Census 1991 and 2011, Spanish Statistical Office).

ple 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 long-run effects of 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.

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 (Angrist, 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.

Our paper proceeds as follows. In Section 2, we present the setting, and the assignment mechanism. In Section 3, we present our survey instrument, and provide some basic summary statistics. In Section 4, we outline the main empirical specification, and describe the main results. Finally, Section 5 concludes.

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<sup>6</sup>Our paper also relates to a literature on identity in economics (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000; Akerlof, 2016; Akerlof and Rayo, 2020; Atkin et al., 2020; Bursztyn et al., 2020b; Chen and Li, 2009; Cohn et al., 2015; Enke et al., 2019a; Jia and Persson, 2019; Lowes et al., 2015; Oh, 2019).

## 2 Institutional setting

**Military service in Spain** The duration of military service varied between 24 and 9 months during the period of our study. In 1940 it was fixed between 18 and 24 months. 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.<sup>7,8</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 as the training (Velasco-Martínez, 2017).

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>9</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>10</sup>

**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. Once the list had been fixed, a public lottery decided the destination where each conscript would serve. The assignment mixed

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<sup>7</sup>Service was typically longer for people serving in the Navy.

<sup>8</sup>The 1940 Recruitment Act was reformed by Act 55 in 1968, Act 48 in 1984, and Act 22 in 1998.

<sup>9</sup>The entry age was reduced to 19 in 1987.

<sup>10</sup>For instance, according to the 1989 Military Statistical Yearbook, in a cohort of 361 thousand males, 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.

people from different regions of Spain in each destination, but there was typically a substantial share of local conscripts in each region of service.

The functioning of the lottery changed slightly during the period of our analysis. From 1940 to 1986, the lottery was conducted independently in each province.<sup>11</sup> These lotteries were conducted publicly and, as shown in Figure A3, they usually attracted a large crowd.<sup>12</sup> Eligible conscripts were ordered alphabetically 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. Typically, the conscripts at the beginning of the list were assigned to serve outside of their region of origin and the ones at the end of the list were assigned to serve in their home region.<sup>13</sup> In some years, especially in the mid 80s, the number of eligible conscripts exceeded the capacity of the military and some individuals were exempted from serving by luck of the draw.

The way the lottery was organized changed slightly in 1987. Between 1987 and 1991, eligible conscripts were ordered within each province by date of birth. A lottery conducted at the national level using two spherical cages decided the month and day of birth used to decide who would be the first conscript assigned in each province. 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.

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<sup>11</sup>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’. Within each province and year the chances of being assigned to a given destination were the same for all conscripts.

<sup>12</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>13</sup>A description of the process was typically published in the local State Bulletin. For instance a description 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)

### 3 Data Collection

**Survey Administration** We collaborated with Luc.id and Dynata, two online panel providers widely used in the social sciences (Bursztyn et al., 2020a; Coppock and McClellan, 2019; de Quidt et al., 2018; Haaland et al., 2020; Wood and Porter, 2019). Our data collection took place between December 2019 and February 2020. We recruited samples of Spanish males who participated in the draft lottery. In a pilot, we collected a sample of approximately 500 respondents meeting our sample restrictions, which we use in the main study. In our full study, we collected data for an additional 2700 respondents who meet our inclusion criteria. We pool observations from the pilot and the full study in our analysis to maximize statistical power.

**Pre-analysis plan** We pre-registered survey instructions, intended sample size, and our empirical specification in a pre-analysis plan on the AEA registry available on the following link: <https://www.socialscienceregistry.org/trials/5350>. This analysis plan was posted prior to the launch of the main survey in early February 2020. We closely follow the pre-analysis plan, and mention any deviations from it. In Sections 4.3 to 4.5 we present results for the primary outcomes that we pre-specified.

**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 are concerned that this personal

connection could potentially undermine the lottery. Finally, we exclude from the analysis respondents who provide inconsistent answers.<sup>14</sup> After all exclusions, we have a total pooled sample size of 3,231 observations.<sup>15</sup>

Our sample includes also individuals who participated in the draft lottery but, after the draw, decided to instead complete the social service (around 3 percent of the sample) and, in our analysis, we use the original treatment assignment. In this sense, our estimation identifies an intention-to-treat effect. Given the high degree of compliance, 97%, we report the reduced form estimates. Results are virtually unchanged if we employ an instrumental variables estimation.

### 3.1 Survey Design

In what follows, we provide details on the survey we conducted among former conscripts who participated in the military lottery. In Appendix Section E, we provide our full set of instructions.

**Background information on demographics** We collect a basic set of demographics on cohort of birth, education, province of birth, province of residence at 17, income, and gender. We also gather information about a series of pre-determined covariates, namely the father's and mother's 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** We also collect detailed background information on people's military service, including whether they completed the obligatory service, when they entered the lottery for military service and when they

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<sup>14</sup>We measure people's province at age 17, their year of birth, and the region of their military service twice throughout the survey. If they give us inconsistent responses to any of these questions, we exclude them from the analysis.

<sup>15</sup>All of our results are robust to excluding the pilot sample.

started military 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 during the service to people from other regions of Spain and from different socioeconomic backgrounds, and we ask them about the province of origin of their best friends.

**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 representativity 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) in their political opinion surveys.<sup>16</sup>

We measure our respondents' groupishness using a validated hypothetical question. Following Enke et al. (2019b), we ask our respondents to split 100 Euros between a randomly chosen person from Spain and a randomly chosen person from their province of birth. Finally, 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

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<sup>16</sup>This survey data has been widely used in social science research, see for example Bagues and Esteve-Volart (2016).

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 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%)).<sup>17</sup> Finally, we ask our respondents to assess cultural differences between people from their region of residence when aged 17 and people from all other regions in Spain.

**Policy preferences** We first measure 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.

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<sup>17</sup>We chose to use a qualitative response scale with a quantitative meaning in order to reduce the cognitive burden for participants.

## 3.2 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 1981. In terms of socio-economic background, 72 percent of our respondents completed high school, and 32 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 A1, the fraction of conscripts staying in the home region varies between 10% and 70%. We also use the data to explore how the treatment affects the geographical origin of peers.

As expected, conscripts serving outside of their home region are more likely to be exposed to conscripts from other regions (see Figure A2). For conscripts serving in their home region, 35 percent of fellow conscripts originate from the home region. This figure is highest in Catalonia, where around 80% of conscripts are Catalan. For conscripts serving outside of their home region, only 5 percent of fellow conscripts originate from their own region.

**Representativeness of the sample** To assess the representativeness of our sample, Table A1 also displays summary statistics from a nationally representative survey conducted in 2015 by the Spanish Center for Sociological Research (CIS), which contains information on former conscripts. The Table displays summary statistics for CIS using only male respondents who completed the compulsory military service for the same range of cohorts that we have in our sample, i.e. people born between 1929 and 1973. The table shows that our main outcome questions measuring patriotism, identification with Spain, and emotions towards the Spanish flag are very

similar between our self-collected survey and the CIS. Figure A7 also shows the distribution of responses for these measures of identification with Spain and ideology separately for respondents from our sample and the CIS sample. 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. Moreover, the level of education of respondents in our survey strongly resembles the level of education from the representative surveys conducted by CIS.

## 4 Results

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

### 4.1 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 a set of dummies for year of lottery entry interacted with individuals' province of residence at age 17 ( $\phi_{t,p}$ ).<sup>18,19</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

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<sup>18</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>19</sup>In a pre-specified robustness check, we instead control separately for year of lottery entry fixed effects,  $\phi_c$ , and province of residence when aged 17 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.

mother, province of birth of mother, province of birth of father).<sup>20</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 treatment<sub>i</sub> 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 province and year of lottery, i.e. at the level of randomization. We estimate this equation using ordinary least squares.<sup>21</sup>

**Heterogeneity analysis** 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, as a result, 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.<sup>22</sup> First, we divide re-

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<sup>20</sup>Our results are virtually unchanged if we do not include these controls.

<sup>21</sup>Results are robust to using ordered models, such as ordered logit.

<sup>22</sup>The strength of peripheral nationalism in each region is probably the most salient and natural

gions in two groups according to the strength of peripheral nationalism. We define Catalonia, the Basque Country, Galicia, Navarra and the Balearic Islands as regions with peripheral nationalism as those regions have historically had the strongest regional nationalistic movements.<sup>23</sup> We also verify the robustness of results to alternative classifications. Second, we exploit the variation in the degree of attachment to Spain within regions. For instance, individuals born in regions with strong peripheral nationalism whose parents originate from other Spanish regions are likely 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 are all quite predictive for weak identification with Spain for respondents from areas with peripheral nationalism.<sup>24</sup>

## 4.2 Integrity of Randomization

We check whether respondents randomly assigned to do their military service outside of their region of residence and those assigned to do their military service 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 predetermined variables as outcome variables, without any controls other than the interaction of year and province of lottery fixed effects. Table 1 provides evidence in favor of the integrity of the randomization. None of the 18 pre-specified outcomes

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source of heterogeneity to consider. Given that in our pre-analysis plan we did not pre-specify the specific analysis of heterogeneous treatment effects, we verify that our results are robust to using a variety of alternative definitions for regions with peripheral nationalism.

<sup>23</sup> According to survey information, these are the five regions where the share of individuals who report being proud of being Spanish is lowest. Source: Authors' calculation using information from CIS surveys 2234, 2277, 2317, 2379, 2447, 2592, 2680, 2825, 2912, 2998, 3110.

<sup>24</sup>In Appendix D, we provide details on the exact prediction model that we estimate.

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 ( $p = 0.99$ ).<sup>25</sup> Tables A2 and A3 provide evidence of balance for the subsample of respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalism and those from other regions respectively. Taken together, the balance test suggests that the lottery was indeed random, and that the treatment did not affect selection into the survey.

### 4.3 Contact with conscripts from other regions

First, we analyze the impact of the treatment on how serving in a different region affects the geographical origins of peers during conscription. As shown in Panel A of Table 2, the treatment increases friendships with fellow conscripts from other provinces ( $\beta=0.30$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.01$ ), the regional diversity of fellow conscripts ( $\beta=0.35$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.01$ ) as well as their socioeconomic diversity ( $\beta=0.17$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.05$ ).

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. The effect on contact with people from different regions is significantly stronger for respondents from nationalistic regions (Panel B) or with background characteristics predictive of weak identification with Spain (Panel C). Indeed, while 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 exposure to people from other regions by 0.16 of a standard deviation for conscripts originating from other regions ( $p < 0.10$ ). In other words, the treatment effects on exposure

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<sup>25</sup>Table A18 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.

to people from other regions are four times larger for conscripts originating from regions with peripheral nationalism. 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 effects are particularly pronounced for conscripts originating from regions with peripheral nationalism.*

In the next subsections, we examine how the treatment changes beliefs, preferences, as well as the identification with Spain.

#### 4.4 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 the availability of information on people's sympathy towards and perceived honesty of all 17 regions of Spain. 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 also include individual level fixed effects,  $\alpha_i$ , and a set of dummies for interactions between region of residence at age 17 and the region being rated, to control for differences in how much people like different regions and for the fact that individuals from certain regions may 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). Table 3 displays small but significant increases in sympathy towards people from the region where our respondents were randomly assigned to serve ( $\beta=0.07$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.01$ ). Similarly, we uncover small and significant increases in the perceived honesty of people from the region of military service ( $\beta=0.03$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.05$ ). These results are also reflected in an increase in the index summarising the results of these two variables.

Conscripts from areas with regional nationalistic movements have a lower sympathy towards people from other regions of Spain. Therefore, it is particularly interesting whether people with a lower predicted sympathy towards people from other regions in the absence of the treatment develop more positive feelings towards people from other regions. Consistent with the heterogeneous effects observed in the impact on exposure, Panels B and C of Table 3 reveal stronger effects on sympathy towards people from the region of service for respondents with characteristics predictive of weak identification with Spain. This suggests that intergroup contact was particularly effective in fostering interregional sympathies for people from areas with secessionist movements. Our second main result can be summarized as follows:

**Result 2.** *In support of the contact hypothesis, we document increases in perceived honesty and sympathy towards the 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.*

**Other regions in Spain** So far we have analyzed how the treatment affected sentiments towards the region of service, compared to other regions. Next, we study whether the observed positive effect also extends to other regions of Spain. Using specification 1 from Section 4.3, Table A4 shows that conscripts in the treatment group do not give more to people from other regions of Spain compared to their own

regions. Treated conscripts have a somewhat higher sympathy towards people from other regions of Spain, but these effects are again not statistically significant. Similarly, we uncover muted effects on the perceived honesty of people from all other regions of Spain. Panels B and C of Table A4 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 ( $\beta=0.23$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.05$ ).

We also leverage data on perceived cultural differences between people from our respondent's region of residence at age 17 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 directionally support the predictions of these theories, they are muted and not statistically significant.

## 4.5 National Identity

We next examine whether identification with Spain was affected by the treatment using specification 1 from Section 4.3. As shown in Panel A of Table 4, we observe small and muted average treatment effects on identification with Spain, which we measure 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. In Panel B of Table 4 we consider separately regions with strong peripheral nationalistic movements. For this group of conscripts serving in a different region has a strong effect on their attachment to Spain ( $\beta=0.23$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.05$ ), they are more proud to be Spanish ( $\beta=0.21$  st. dev.,

$p < 0.10$ ), have somewhat more positive emotions vis-a-vis the Spanish flag ( $\beta=0.15$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.17$ ) and have a higher index of identification with Spain ( $\beta=0.22$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.05$ ) 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. 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 A5).

Figure 1 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. This suggests that the treatment rather increased positive sentiments towards Spain rather than decreasing negative sentiments.

Panel C of Table 4 confirms these patterns using our continuous measure of predicted identification with Spain at the individual level. The relationship between predicted identification with Spain based on pre-determined characteristics and actual identification with Spain is significantly less pronounced for respondents in the treatment group ( $p < 0.05$ ). Figure 2 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 the interaction of year of lottery fixed effects and province

of residence at age 17 fixed effects.<sup>26</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 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 can use the different content of the identity questions to differentiate between these alternative hypotheses. While the question on attachment explicitly measures a tradeoff between regional identity and national identity, the other two measures, which capture emotions towards the Spanish flag and pride in being Spanish, do not involve a tradeoff. 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. Figure A4 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.*

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<sup>26</sup> Additionally partialling out our pre-specified set of control variables leaves the results virtually unchanged.

## 4.6 Mechanisms

In this section, we explore different mechanisms that could be at play. We first explore heterogeneous treatment effects according to whether our respondents were assigned to a region with peripheral nationalism. We then examine heterogeneity by cultural similarity between the home region and the destination region, and analyze whether the particular location of the service played an important role in explaining treatment effects. Then, we examine geographic mobility as well as economic mechanisms. Finally, we provide simple correlations supporting the idea that contact with conscripts from different regions during military service played an important role.

**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 above, 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 A6 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 depending on whether individuals originate from a region with peripheral nationalism. Panel A of Table A6 shows results for individuals originating from a region with peripheral nationalism. The point estimates of being assigned to another region with peripheral nationalism and of being assigned to a region without peripheral nationalism are relatively similar. While the coefficients are significant and somewhat larger for respondents assigned to areas without peripheral nationalism, they are not statistically distinguishable from

the coefficient measuring the impact of assignment to regions with peripheral nationalism. Panel B of Table A6 shows analogous results for individuals originating from a region without peripheral nationalism. The point estimates are close to zero for individuals assigned to a region with peripheral nationalism, but also for individuals assigned to a region without peripheral nationalism. This suggests that the extent to which people identify with Spain in the conscript's region of service is not important in shaping identification with Spain.

These findings are consistent with the results on the impact of the treatment on exposure to conscripts from other regions that we discussed in Section 4.3. Panel A of Table A7 shows results for respondents from a region with peripheral nationalism. The effect of contact with people from different regions is significantly different compared to completing the service in the home region irrespective of whether respondents were assigned to another region with peripheral nationalism or to a region without peripheral nationalism. Panel B of Table A7 shows that the effects on contact with people from other regions are much more muted for conscripts originating from regions without peripheral nationalism. However, whether individuals are assigned to complete the service in a region with peripheral nationalism or without peripheral nationalism does not seem to play an important role in shaping the extent of contact with people from other regions. Taken together, this evidence suggests an important role of interregional contact per se in driving the effects on identification with Spain.

**Cultural similarity** An important dimension which could explain heterogeneity in effects among those assigned outside of their home region could arise from 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 regions and their regions of destina-

tion.<sup>27</sup> For each pair of home region and region of service, we construct a measure of perceived cultural similarities.<sup>28</sup> This allows us to assess whether perceived cultural differences shaped contacts made during the service, beliefs, preferences as well as the formation of a national identity.

For ease of exposition and to explore potential non-linearities, we illustrate the results in Figure A5. The upper panel of the figure displays residuals for respondents' exposure to people from other regions of Spain as well as residuals of predicted cultural similarity of the origin region and region of service.<sup>29</sup> The figure shows a significant and negative relationship between cultural similarity and exposure to people from other regions ( $p < 0.01$ ). In other words, if conscripts are assigned to regions with higher cultural similarity they are less exposed to people from different regions. This relationship holds true irrespective of whether conscripts from the home region are included in the analysis. 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.<sup>30</sup> These findings suggest that the cultural similarity of fellow conscripts may not have been essential for shaping a stronger identification with the nation state.

**Assignment to particular regions** One possibility could be that our estimated treatment effects are not picking up the effect of doing the service outside of the

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<sup>27</sup>To create this measure we only use perceived assessment of cultural similarity for conscripts in the control group that we only collected in the sample 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>28</sup>We collected this data for all regions except for Ceuta and Melilla. This explains the somewhat smaller sample sizes for this empirical exercise.

<sup>29</sup>Residuals are obtained by partialling out fixed effects for the level of randomization.

<sup>30</sup>Figure A6 similarly shows no significant associations between residualized outcomes and residualized pre-determined cross-regional sympathy.

home region, but instead reflect that conscripts complete the service in a particular region with characteristics (such as local institutions) that drive results. In order to test for this alternative interpretation of our main effects, we also include region of service fixed effects in Equation 1. Tables A8, A9 and A10 reveal that our results on average barely change as a result of the inclusion of this additional set of fixed effects.<sup>31</sup> If anything, some patterns of heterogeneity become even more pronounced in this alternative specification.

**Geographical mobility** One possible mechanism by which the treatment could affect national identity is through its effect on geographical mobility. First, we examine the effect 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 as at age 17 is marginally significantly higher among respondents in the treatment group by 4 percentage points ( $p < 0.10$ ). This suggests that there are 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 current location. This suggests that the small changes in mobility are unlikely an important driver of treatment effects. In Appendix Section E we

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<sup>31</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.

confirm the muted impact on long-run mobility using administrative data on males born between 1968 and 1973 and an alternative identification strategy.

**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 increase income and employment. We find little evidence that the treatment increases current income or labor market participation (Table A11). Moreover, Table A12 provides evidence that our main results and the heterogeneous effects by predicted identification with Spain are robust to controlling for the respondents' current income, and employment status. This provides suggestive evidence against the relevance of economic mechanisms.

**Correlational evidence on mechanisms** Finally, to provide direct evidence on mechanisms, we provide correlational evidence on the determinants of identification with Spain. Table A13 shows pronounced correlations between the number of provinces from which the respondent had friends during military service with pride in being Spanish ( $p < 0.01$ ), and positive emotions towards the Spanish flag ( $p < 0.01$ ) as well as the index of identification with Spain ( $p < 0.01$ ). However, we observe no significant association between this measure and people's tendency to identify with Spain, though the effect goes in the expected direction. Our measure of geographic mobility, i.e. whether the respondent ever lived outside of their home region, is significantly associated with people's identification with Spain rather than their region ( $p < 0.01$ ), but not significantly related to their pride in being Spanish, their positive emotions towards the Spanish flag nor the index of identification with Spain. Panel B of Table A13 shows that results are robust to controlling for the same set of controls as used in equation 1. This evidence suggests that contact with people from different regions likely played an important role in shaping identification with Spain.

## 4.7 Policy Views

Finally, we examine whether the treatment effects on identity also translate into effects on policy preferences.<sup>32</sup> Panel A of Table A14 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 A15 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 A15 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.

## 4.8 Causal effects of completing military service

Thus far, we examined how completing military service away from home rather than in the home region shaped intergroup attitudes and identification with the nation. From a policy perspective, understanding the causal effects of completing military service per se is of key interest. In this section, we use our setting to provide long-run evidence on how the completion of military service causally affected feelings toward the nation.

**Empirical strategy** To assess the effects of completing military service, we leverage the fact that approximately 10 percent of people entering the military lottery were

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<sup>32</sup>We had specified this set of outcomes as a secondary set of outcomes we would look at.

assigned not to complete the service. Table A17 shows the average effects of being randomly assigned to complete military service compared to individuals randomly assigned not to complete the service.<sup>33</sup> We leverage the same set of controls, and fixed effects as in specification 1.<sup>34</sup> Given the small fraction of conscripts assigned not to do the service, our estimates from this section are less precisely estimated than the ones from the previous subsections.

**Results** Panel A of Table A17 shows positive coefficients on the indicator for completing military service. While the effect size is above 0.10 for the index, these effect sizes are not statistically significant at conventional levels. Panel B shows that conscripts assigned to complete military service away from home are more proud to be Spanish ( $\beta=0.16$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.10$ ), have somewhat more positive emotions towards the Spanish flag ( $\beta=0.14$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.10$ ), and a somewhat higher index of identification with Spain ( $\beta=0.13$  st. dev.,  $p < 0.10$ ) compared to those assigned not to do the service. For conscripts assigned to serve in the military at home, we see relatively 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, they indicate large effects of completing military service away from home on identification with Spain for respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalism. For respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalism, the effects of completing the service at home, on the other hand, are close to zero, and even negative for some outcomes, such as attachment to Spain or pride in being Spanish. For respondents originating from regions without peripheral nationalism, the effects of military service on identification with Spain are close

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<sup>33</sup>Table A16 confirms covariate balance.

<sup>34</sup>The analysis of the effects of completing military service was pre-specified on the AEA registry: <https://www.socialscienceregistry.org/trials/5349>.

to 0.1 of a standard deviation irrespective of whether the service was completed outside of the home region. While this evidence is noisily measured, it suggests that contact with people from other regions of Spain could have played an essential role for increasing identification with Spain for those respondents originating from regions with peripheral nationalism.

## 5 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 different regions of Spain. Consistent with the predictions of the contact hypothesis (Allport et al., 1954), conscripts who served in a different region are more sympathetic towards people from the region of service, even several decades after the completion of the service. While we see muted average effects of random assignment to complete the service outside of one's home region on identification with Spain, random assignment to a region away from home increases identification with Spain for people originating from regions with peripheral nationalism. This means that people's identification with the nation state is malleable, and that 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 and a shared national identity may therefore consider policies that facilitate interactions between individuals from different regions.

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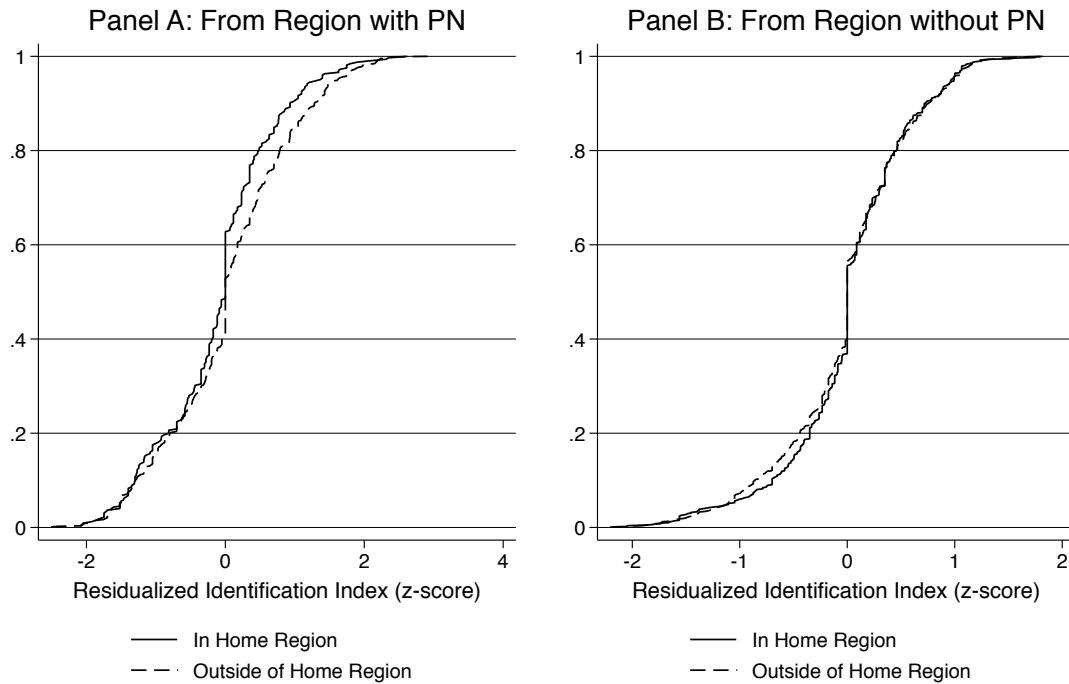
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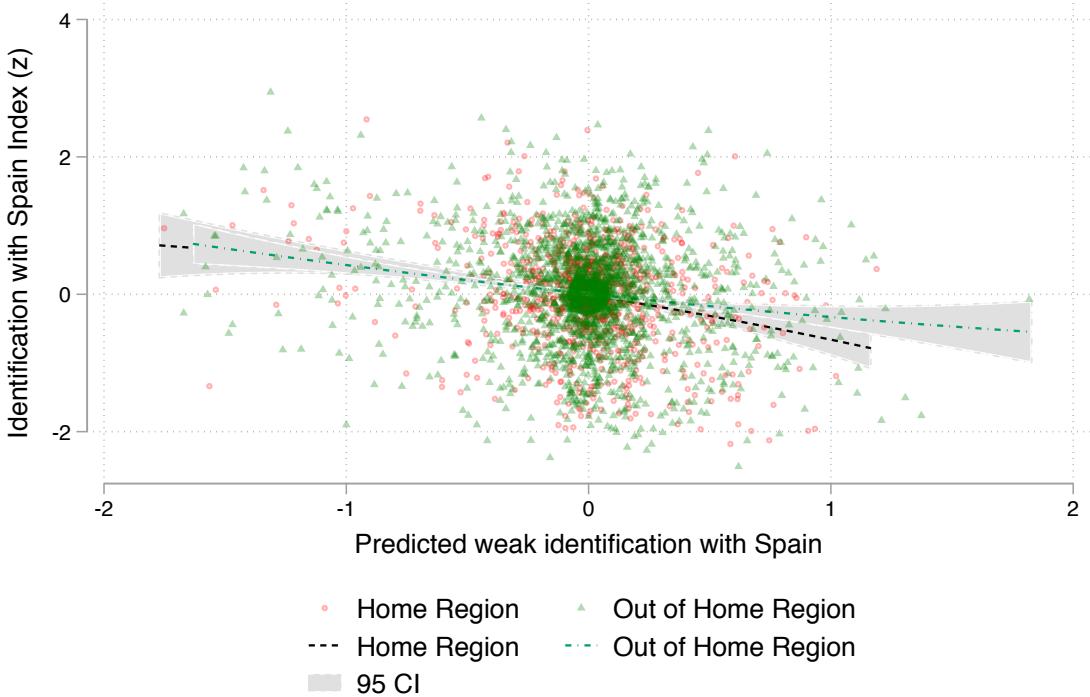
# Main Figures and Tables

Figure 1: 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 interaction of year of lottery fixed effects and province of residence at age 17 fixed effects. 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 2: 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 the interaction of year of lottery fixed effects and province of residence at age 17 fixed effects. 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, Navarra, 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	0.05	0.06	0.805	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	0.56	0.59	0.799	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 controls for year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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 0.99. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table 2: Exposure to conscripts from other regions and geographical mobility

	Friends other prov. (z) (1)	Friends other prov. excl. prov. of mili (z) (2)	Exposure to people from other regions (z) (3)	Any year outside of Region (4)	First Stage Index (z) (5)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>					
Other region	0.300*** (0.056)	0.266*** (0.056)	0.348*** (0.073)	0.525*** (0.021)	0.802*** (0.060)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>					
Other region (a)	0.261*** (0.066)	0.224*** (0.066)	0.163* (0.084)	0.500*** (0.027)	0.691*** (0.068)
Other region × (b)	0.112	0.119	0.528*** (0.132)	0.069	0.318*** (0.113)
Peripheral Nationalism	(0.110)	(0.110)		(0.044)	
P-value (a+b)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>					
Other region (a)	0.299*** (0.055)	0.265*** (0.055)	0.344*** (0.066)	0.524*** (0.022)	0.800*** (0.055)
Other region × (b)	0.062	0.065	0.220*** (0.061)	0.096*** (0.022)	0.204*** (0.052)
Low identification with Spain	(0.050)	(0.050)			
Observations	3138	3138	3138	3231	3138
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, Catalunya, Navarra, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. “Any year outside” takes value one for respondents who spent at least one year outside of their province of birth. “Number province friends” is a continuous variable on the number of provinces from which our respondents had friends during the military service. “Number province friends (excluding military region)” is a 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 regions” is a z-scored measure of exposure to people from other regions during the military service, ranging from “not at all” to “very much.” “First Stage Index” is an unweighted index of all other outcomes from this table. All specifications include year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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, region of birth of mother, region of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. 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	0.061*** (0.014)	0.029** (0.012)	0.063*** (0.014)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>			
Assigned to region (a)	0.053*** (0.017)	0.021 (0.016)	0.049*** (0.017)
Assigned to region × (b)	0.022	0.022	0.037
Peripheral Nationalism	(0.031)	(0.025)	(0.030)
P-value (a+b)	0.004	0.026	0.000
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>			
Assigned to region (a)	0.060*** (0.014)	0.028** (0.012)	0.061*** (0.014)
Assigned to region × (b)	0.030** (0.014)	0.015 (0.012)	0.036*** (0.014)
Low identification with Spain			
Observations	54927	46359	46359
Individual FE	Y	Y	Y
Region × 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. *ServeinRegion* 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, Catalunya, Navarra, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. “Sympathy” 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,  $\rho_i$ , and interactions between region of residence at age 17 fixed effects,  $region17_r$ , and question region-fixed effects,  $\delta_r$ . \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table 4: Effects on identification with Spain

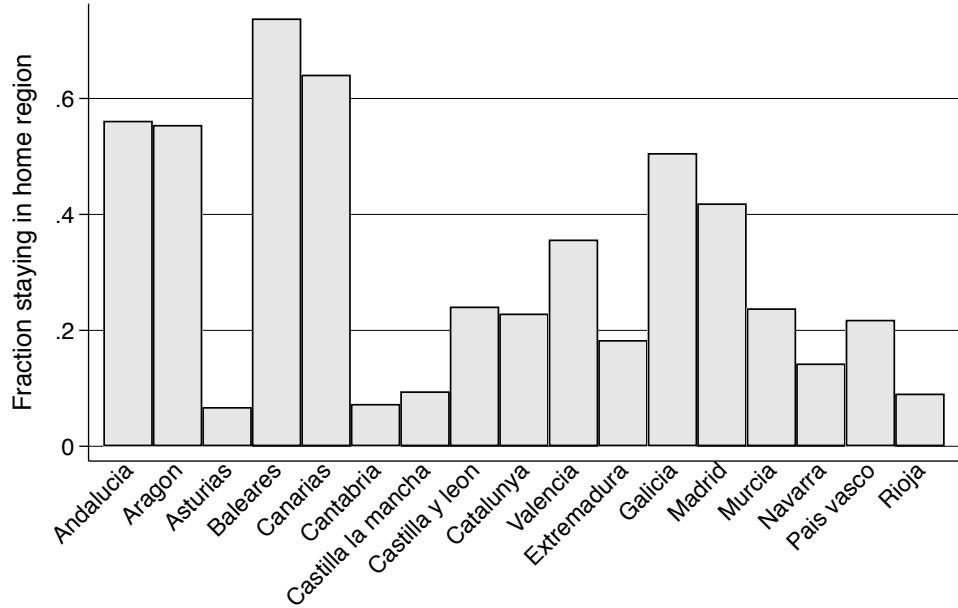
	Attachment to Spain (1)	Proud to be Spanish (2)	Positive emotions Spanish flag (3)	Identity Index (4)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>				
Other region	0.063 (0.060)	0.080 (0.061)	0.008 (0.060)	0.055 (0.058)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.025 (0.075)	0.011 (0.071)	-0.068 (0.072)	-0.036 (0.067)
Other region × (b)	0.254** (0.117)	0.199 (0.135)	0.218* (0.131)	0.260** (0.124)
Peripheral Nationalism				
P-value (a+b)	0.013	0.068	0.168	0.032
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>				
Other region (a)	0.059 (0.058)	0.076 (0.060)	0.005 (0.059)	0.050 (0.055)
Other region × (b)	0.100* (0.055)	0.117** (0.057)	0.135*** (0.052)	0.137** (0.054)
Low identification with Spain				
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, Catalunya, Navarra, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. “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 interacted with 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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

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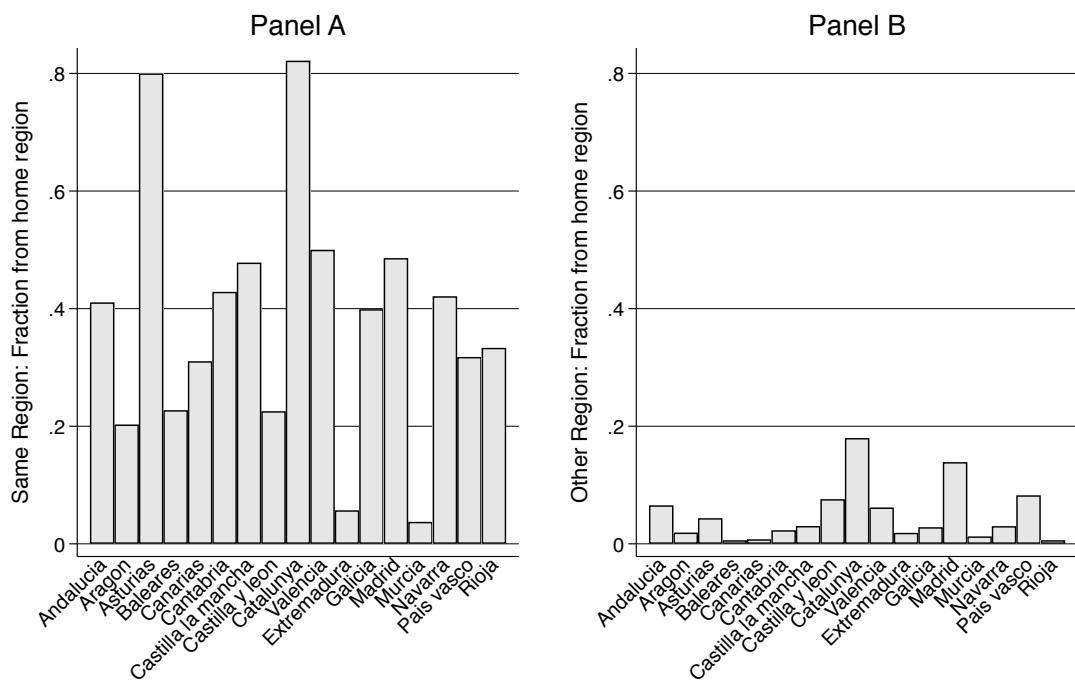
## A Additional Figures

Figure A1: 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.

Figure A2: Fraction of fellow conscripts from the home region



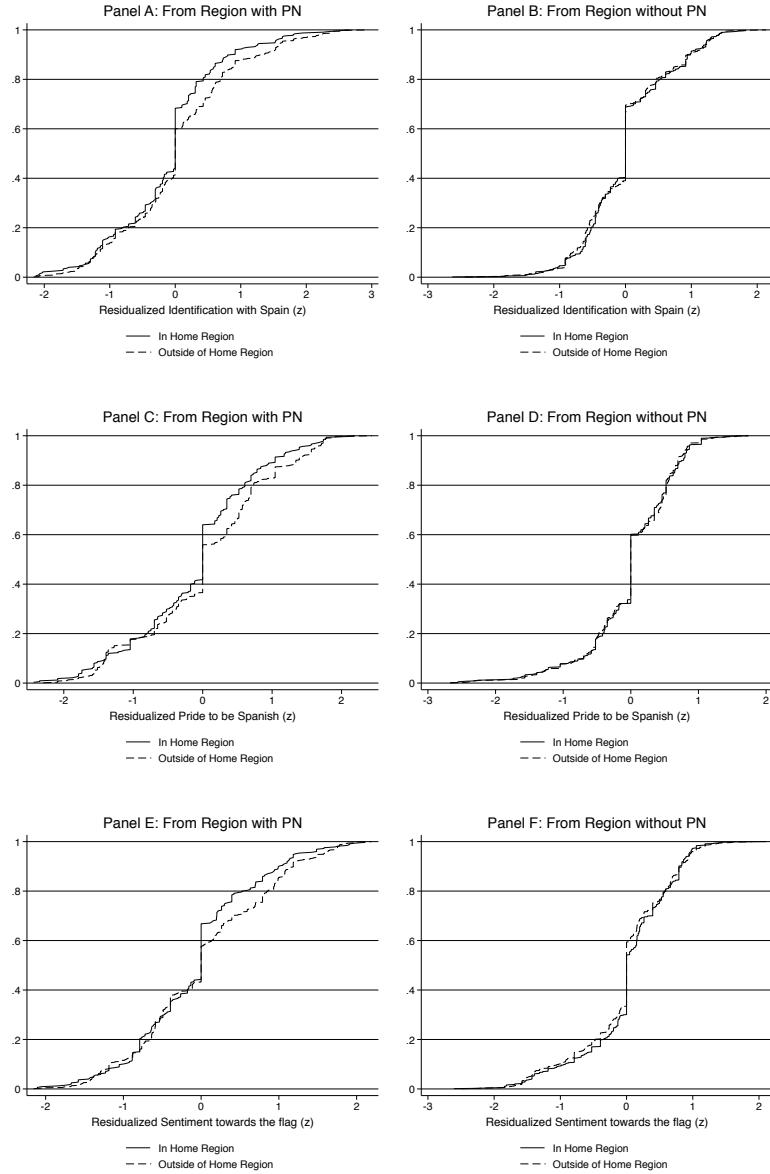
Notes: Panel A of this figure shows the average fraction of fellow conscripts from the home region for conscripts in their home region. Panel B shows the average fraction of fellow conscripts from the home region for conscripts outside of their home region

Figure A3: Draft lottery, Madrid 1966



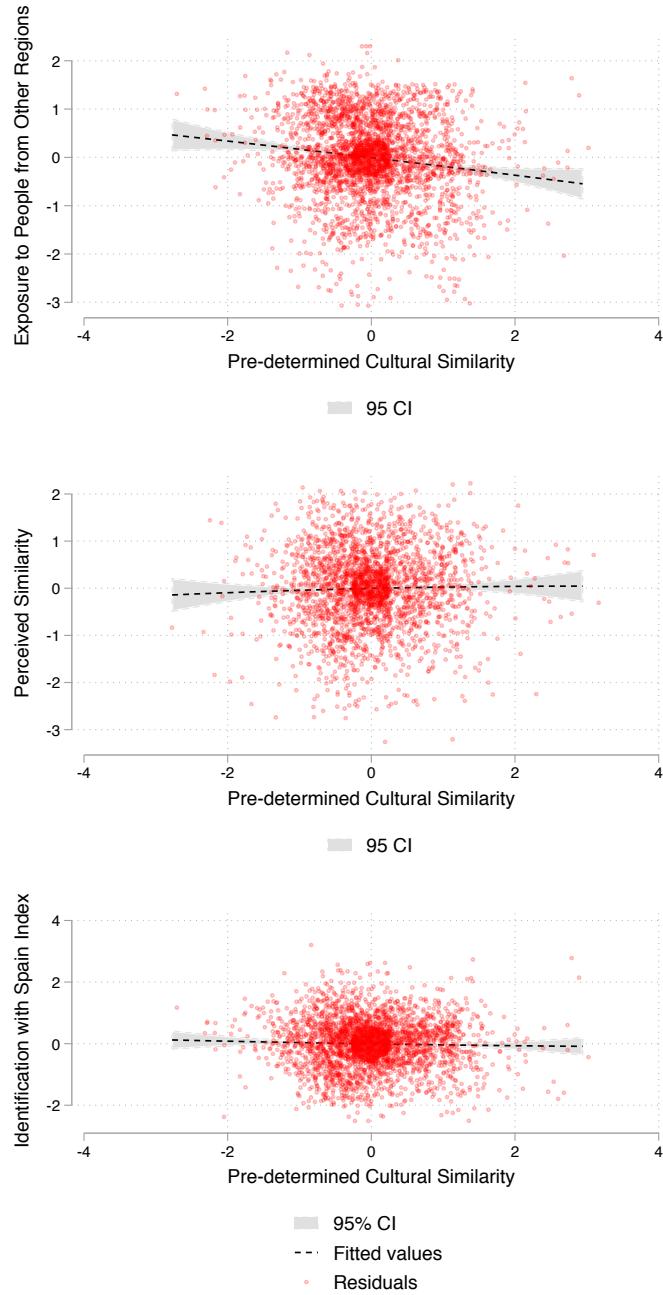
Notes: This picture shows the draft lottery that was conducted in 1966 in Madrid at the *Cajas de Reclutas* 1 and 2. Source: Archivo Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, code "ES 28079 ARCM 201.001.5237.7".

Figure A4: Distribution of treatment effects on identification with Spain: disaggregated



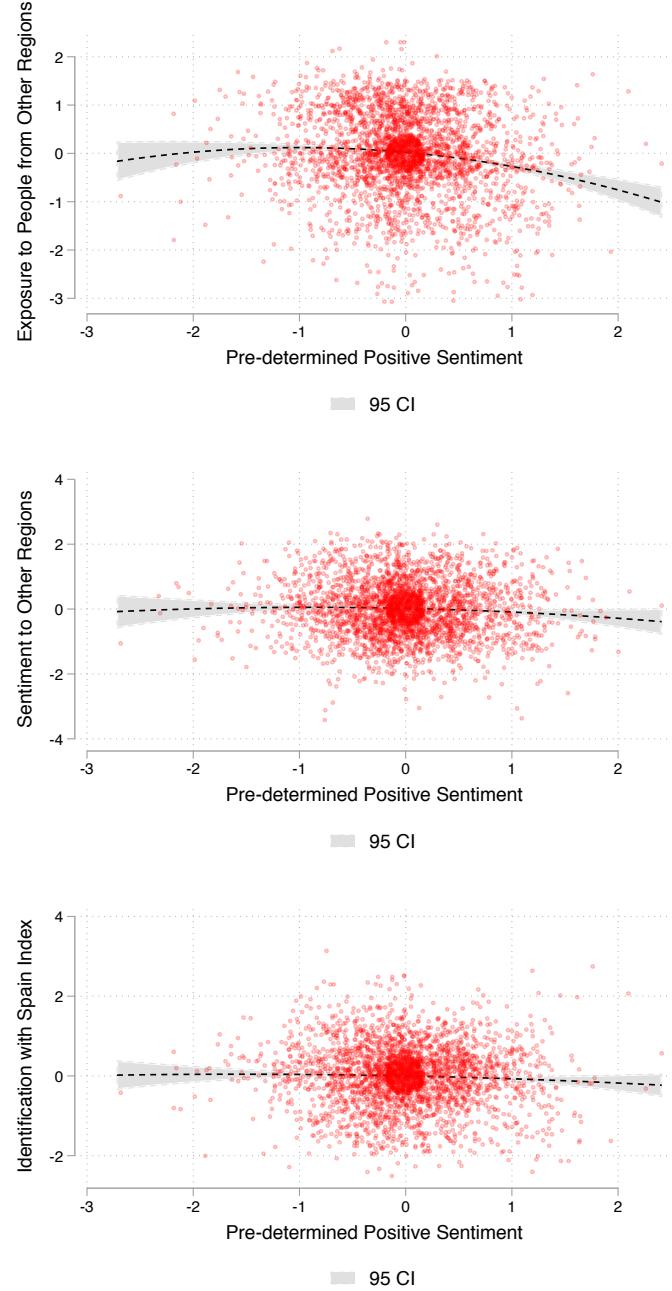
Notes: This figure displays residuals for respondents' national identity index separately for respondents randomly assigned to complete military service in the home region and outside of the home region. Panels A, C and E show results for respondents originating from a region with peripheral nationalism. 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 (i) 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 the interaction of year of lottery fixed effects and province of residence at age 17 fixed effects.

Figure A5: Effects of cultural distance



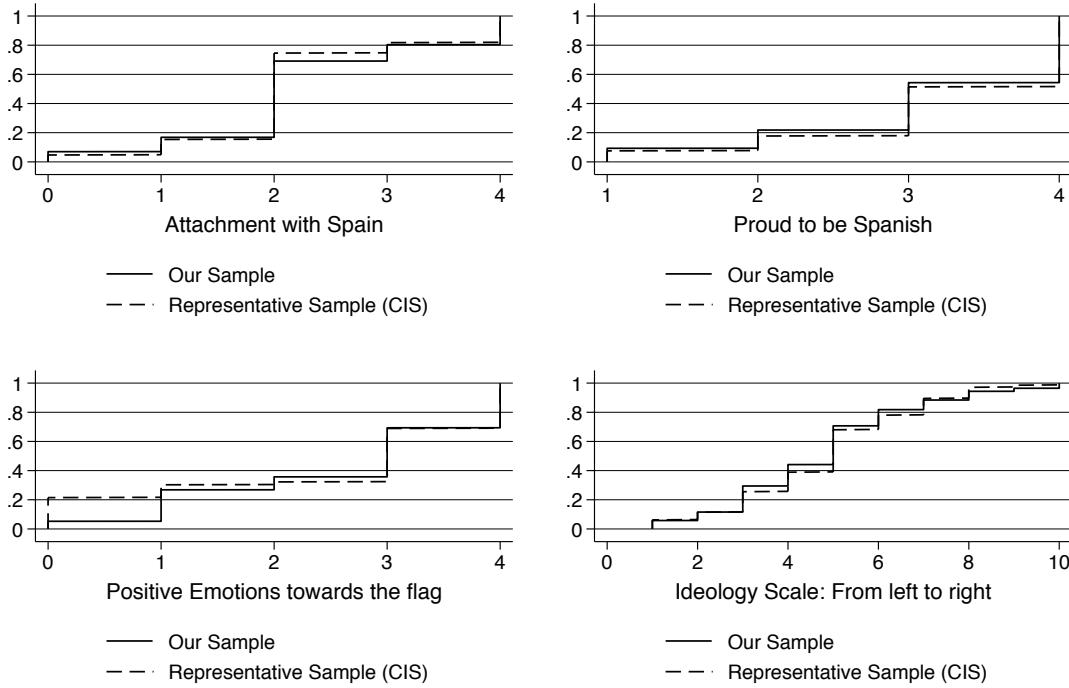
Notes: This figure displays residuals for 3 sets of outcome variables as well as cross-regional cultural similarity. For each pair of home region and region of service, we have a measure of perceived cultural similarities based on individuals' perceived cultural similarity. In the upper panel the outcome 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 interaction of year of lottery fixed effects and province of residence at age 17 fixed effects.

Figure A6: Effects of cross-regional sentiments



Notes: This figure displays residuals for 3 sets of outcome variables as well as cross-regional sympathy. For each pair of home region and region of service, we have a measure of sympathy based on individuals' assessed sympathy towards a given region. 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 interaction of year of lottery fixed effects and province of residence at age 17 fixed effects.

Figure A7: 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.

## B Additional tables

Table A1: Summary statistics

	Mean	SD	Median	Min.	Max.	Obs.	Mean: CIS (2015 wave)
Year of birth	1961.66	7.13	1963.00	1930.00	1973.00	3231	1954.51
High school graduate	0.72	0.45	1.00	0.00	1.00	3231	0.67
Identify with Spain	2.27	1.10	2.00	0.00	4.00	3231	2.24
Proud to be Spanish	3.15	0.97	3.00	1.00	4.00	3231	3.23
Positive Emotions Spanish Flag	2.63	1.26	3.00	0.00	4.00	3231	2.47
Ideology Scale	4.77	2.10	5.00	1.00	10.00	3231	4.87
Number of siblings	2.49	1.82	2.00	0.00	10.00	3100	
Small municipality (less than 50k)	0.36	0.48	0.00	0.00	1.00	2930	
Net monthly hh income (cts)	2004.69	1207.35	1500.00	0.00	6750.00	3231	
Assigned to own region	0.34	0.48	0.00	0.00	1.00	3138	
Year: Start service	1982.04	6.79	1983.00	1950.00	1992.00	3138	
Same Region at age 17	0.87	0.34	1.00	0.00	1.00	3231	
High school graduate: father	0.24	0.43	0.00	0.00	1.00	3231	
Same Region as Father's region of birth	0.63	0.48	1.00	0.00	1.00	3231	
High school graduate: mother	0.13	0.33	0.00	0.00	1.00	3231	
Same Region as Mothers's region of birth	0.64	0.48	1.00	0.00	1.00	3231	

**Notes:** This table provides summary statistics of our sample of former conscripts. 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.

Table A2: 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	0.05	0.06	0.956	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 Mother's region of birth	0.69	0.51	0.489	1153
Mother: Not in labor force	0.56	0.55	0.581	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, Navarra, Balearic Islands, and Galicia). The balance test controls for year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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 0.88. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A3: 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	0.05	0.06	0.781	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 Mother's region of birth	0.69	0.68	0.893	2078
Mother: Not in labor force	0.56	0.61	0.898	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, Navarra, Balearic Islands, and Galicia. The balance test controls for year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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 0.84. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A4: Effects on groupishness

	Universa-lism (1)	sentiment Other Region (2)	Trust other Region (3)	Similarity other Region (4)	Index Groupish- ness (5)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>					
Other region	0.058 (0.072)	0.078 (0.057)	0.021 (0.073)	-0.055 (0.065)	0.019 (0.045)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>					
Other region (a)	0.007 (0.081)	-0.002 (0.064)	0.043 (0.090)	-0.090 (0.077)	-0.016 (0.050)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.150 (0.156)	0.232* (0.124)	-0.065 (0.158)	0.102 (0.139)	0.100 (0.100)
P-value (a+b)	0.247	0.031	0.865	0.922	0.331
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>					
Other region (a)	0.055 (0.070)	0.077 (0.056)	0.021 (0.073)	-0.057 (0.065)	0.017 (0.044)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	0.068 (0.071)	0.078 (0.060)	-0.024 (0.076)	0.074 (0.072)	0.053 (0.050)
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, Catalunya, Navarra, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. “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. “Sympathy” 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”. “Perceived trustworthiness” 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%). “Perceived similarity” 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”. All specifications include year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A5: Effects on identification with Spain: Robustness to different regional heterogeneity

	Attachment to Spain (1)	Proud to be Spanish (2)	Positive emotions Spanish flag (3)	Identity Index (4)
<b>Panel A</b>				
Other region (a)	0.007 (0.071)	0.065 (0.070)	-0.005 (0.071)	0.022 (0.066)
Other region × (b) Bas + Cata	0.203 (0.125)	0.056 (0.146)	0.045 (0.135)	0.116 (0.132)
P-value (a+b)	0.047	0.342	0.723	0.225
<b>Panel B</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.020 (0.074)	0.026 (0.072)	-0.039 (0.075)	-0.016 (0.069)
Other region × (b) Bas + Cata + Nav	0.251** (0.119)	0.163 (0.135)	0.140 (0.126)	0.212* (0.123)
P-value (a+b)	0.015	0.097	0.316	0.055
<b>Panel C</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.024 (0.075)	0.005 (0.071)	-0.066 (0.072)	-0.037 (0.067)
Other region × (b) Bas + Cata + Nav + Gal	0.257** (0.117)	0.221 (0.137)	0.216 (0.131)	0.268** (0.124)
P-value (a+b)	0.011	0.053	0.169	0.027
<b>Panel D</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.025 (0.075)	0.011 (0.071)	-0.068 (0.072)	-0.036 (0.067)
Other region × (b) Bas + Cata + Nav + Gal + Bal	0.254** (0.117)	0.199 (0.135)	0.218* (0.131)	0.260** (0.124)
P-value (a+b)	0.013	0.068	0.168	0.032
<b>Panel E</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.012 (0.076)	0.002 (0.072)	-0.075 (0.073)	-0.037 (0.069)
Other region × (b) Bas + Cata + Nav + Gal + Bal + Can	0.205* (0.117)	0.213 (0.134)	0.226* (0.129)	0.250** (0.123)
P-value (a+b)	0.033	0.054	0.149	0.035
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. "Bas" indicates origin from Basque Country, "Cata" from Calaunya, "Nav" from Navarra, "Gal" from Galicia, "Bal" from the Balearic Islands and "Can" from the Canary Islands. "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 interacted with 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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A6: Effects on identification with Spain: Assignment to Region with Peripheral Nationalism

	Attachment to Spain (1)	Proud to be Spanish (2)	Positive emotions Spanish flag (3)	Identity Index (4)
<b>Panel A: From PN Region</b>				
Sent to Other Region with PN	0.158 (0.156)	0.228 (0.169)	0.052 (0.155)	0.159 (0.165)
Sent to Other Region without PN	0.242*** (0.082)	0.197* (0.114)	0.156 (0.113)	0.227** (0.102)
Observations	1153	1153	1153	1153
<b>Panel B: From Non-PN Region</b>				
Sent to Other Region with PN	-0.080 (0.112)	-0.049 (0.126)	-0.022 (0.106)	-0.057 (0.112)
Sent to Other Region without PN	-0.021 (0.075)	0.016 (0.069)	-0.063 (0.074)	-0.031 (0.065)
Observations	2078	2078	2078	2078
Year Lottery FE $\times$ 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 are 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, Navarra, 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 year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A7: Exposure to conscripts from other regions: Impact of Assignment to Region with Peripheral Nationalism

	Friends other prov. (z) (1)	Friends other prov. of mili (z) (2)	Exposure to people from other regions (z) (3)	Any year outside of Region (4)	First Stage Index (z) (5)
<b>Panel A: From PN Region</b>					
Sent to Other Region with PN	0.187 (0.151)	0.160 (0.151)	0.691*** (0.128)	0.571*** (0.040)	0.883*** (0.133)
Sent to Other Region without PN	0.413*** (0.104)	0.384*** (0.104)	0.687*** (0.099)	0.565*** (0.034)	1.034*** (0.097)
Observations	1119	1119	1119	1153	1119
<b>Panel B: From Non-PN Region</b>					
Sent to Other Region with PN	0.384*** (0.121)	0.332*** (0.121)	0.139 (0.155)	0.495*** (0.034)	0.762*** (0.125)
Sent to Other Region without PN	0.230*** (0.067)	0.197*** (0.067)	0.171** (0.083)	0.496*** (0.027)	0.666*** (0.068)
Observations	2019	2019	2019	2078	2019
Year Lottery FE $\times$ 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. 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 are 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, Navarra, and Galicia), while Panel B shows results for respondents originating from other regions. “Any year outside” takes value one for respondents who spent at least one year outside of their province of birth. “Number province friends” is a continuous variable on the number of provinces from which our respondents had friends during the military service. “Number province friends (excluding military region)” is a 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 regions” is a z-scored measure of exposure to people from other regions during the military service, ranging from “not at all” to “very much. “First Stage Index” is an unweighted index of all other outcomes from this table. All specifications include year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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, region of birth of mother, region of birth of father. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A8: Exposure to conscripts from other regions: Controlling for region of service FE

	Friends other prov. (z) (1)	Friends other prov. excl. prov. of mili (z) (2)	Exposure to people from other regions (z) (3)	Any year outside of Region (4)	First Stage Index (z) (5)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>					
Other region	0.229*** (0.065)	0.183*** (0.065)	0.236*** (0.072)	0.499*** (0.024)	0.689*** (0.062)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>					
Other region (a)	0.222*** (0.080)	0.171** (0.080)	0.131 (0.081)	0.491*** (0.028)	0.639*** (0.075)
Other region × (b)	0.030 (0.160)	0.050 (0.157)	0.426** (0.170)	0.033 (0.052)	0.201 (0.150)
Peripheral Nationalism					
P-value (a+b)	0.053	0.085	0.000	0.000	0.000
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>					
Other region (a)	0.235*** (0.065)	0.191*** (0.065)	0.259*** (0.074)	0.520*** (0.026)	0.721*** (0.063)
Other region × (b)	0.037 (0.062)	0.045 (0.061)	0.136* (0.082)	0.124*** (0.028)	0.185*** (0.062)
Low identification with Spain					
Observations	3138	3138	3138	3231	3138
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, Catalunya, Navarra, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. “Any year outside” takes value one for respondents who spent at least one year outside of their province of birth. “Number province friends” is a continuous variable on the number of provinces from which our respondents had friends during the military service. “Number province friends (excluding military region)” is a 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 regions” is a z-scored measure of exposure to people from other regions during the military service, ranging from “not at all” to “very much.” “First Stage Index” is an unweighted index of all other outcomes from this table. All specifications include year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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, 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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A9: Effects on identification with Spain: Controlling for region of service FE

	Attachment to Spain (1)	Proud to be Spanish (2)	Positive emotions Spanish flag (3)	Identity Index (4)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>				
Other region	0.025 (0.064)	0.097 (0.067)	0.044 (0.064)	0.061 (0.063)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.018 (0.078)	0.039 (0.076)	-0.051 (0.078)	-0.016 (0.073)
Other region × (b)	0.171 (0.147)	0.230 (0.167)	0.378** (0.165)	0.309** (0.157)
Peripheral Nationalism				
P-value (a+b)	0.201	0.068	0.017	0.029
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>				
Other region (a)	0.029 (0.064)	0.117* (0.068)	0.078 (0.063)	0.085 (0.062)
Other region × (b)	0.035 (0.073)	0.128* (0.067)	0.207*** (0.063)	0.148** (0.064)
Low identification with Spain				
Observations	3231	3231	3231	3231
Year Lottery FE × 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, Catalunya, Navarra, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. “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 interacted with 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. In addition, these specifications include region of service fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A10: Effects on groupishness: Controlling for region of service FE

	Universa-lism (1)	sentiment Other Region (2)	Trust other Region (3)	Similarity other Region (4)	Index Groupish- ness (5)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>					
Other region	0.102 (0.073)	0.046 (0.065)	0.025 (0.076)	-0.075 (0.074)	0.024 (0.046)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>					
Other region (a)	0.032 (0.081)	-0.040 (0.076)	0.047 (0.093)	-0.154* (0.087)	-0.032 (0.056)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.274 (0.171)	0.343** (0.155)	-0.086 (0.207)	0.308* (0.186)	0.215* (0.120)
P-value (a+b)	0.044	0.022	0.821	0.324	0.065
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>					
Other region (a)	0.117 (0.072)	0.060 (0.066)	0.023 (0.077)	-0.052 (0.074)	0.037 (0.046)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	0.101 (0.079)	0.082 (0.079)	-0.017 (0.099)	0.155* (0.088)	0.093 (0.057)
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, Catalunya, Navarra, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. “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. “Sympathy” 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”. “Perceived trustworthiness” 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%). “Perceived similarity” 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”. All specifications include year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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. In addition, these specifications include region of service fixed effects. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A11: Mechanisms

	Other region as at age 17 (1)	Years outside region of birth (2)	Age out of parents' home (3)	Open- ness to experiences (4)	Exposure different socio back (5)	Positive Experience Mili (6)	Log Labor Income (7)	In Labor Force (8)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>								
Other region	0.042* (0.022)	1.562** (0.635)	-0.268 (0.344)	0.060 (0.064)	0.172** (0.067)	-0.001 (0.070)	0.038 (0.054)	0.012 (0.018)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>								
Other region (a)	0.044* (0.027)	1.215 (0.803)	-0.015 (0.455)	0.074 (0.074)	0.039 (0.078)	-0.078 (0.090)	-0.008 (0.066)	-0.014 (0.021)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	-0.005 (0.049)	0.998 (1.323)	-0.727 (0.638)	-0.039 (0.142)	0.382*** (0.128)	0.219* (0.132)	0.134 (0.113)	0.074** (0.037)
P-value (a+b)	0.337	0.034	0.103	0.774	0.000	0.155	0.176	0.044
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>								
Other region (a)	0.042* (0.022)	1.535** (0.634)	-0.262 (0.340)	0.061 (0.064)	0.170*** (0.063)	-0.003 (0.069)	0.038 (0.054)	0.012 (0.017)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	0.013 (0.020)	0.481 (0.630)	-0.374 (0.309)	-0.040 (0.071)	0.131** (0.055)	0.100* (0.059)	0.015 (0.052)	0.039** (0.020)
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, Catalunya, Navarra, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. “Other region as at age 17” takes value 1 if the respondent lives in a different region as 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 year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

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

	Attachment to Spain (1)	Proud to be Spanish (2)	Positive emotions Spanish flag (3)	Identity Index (4)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>				
Other region	0.046 (0.060)	0.068 (0.061)	-0.000 (0.059)	0.040 (0.057)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.039 (0.075)	-0.002 (0.071)	-0.077 (0.071)	-0.049 (0.068)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.243** (0.118)	0.203 (0.135)	0.220* (0.130)	0.258** (0.123)
P-value (a+b)	0.028	0.078	0.181	0.042
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>				
Other region (a)	0.043 (0.058)	0.065 (0.059)	-0.003 (0.058)	0.037 (0.055)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	0.096* (0.055)	0.117** (0.057)	0.136*** (0.052)	0.136** (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, Catalunya, Navarra, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. “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 interacted with 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. 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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A13: Correlational evidence on mobility and Identity

	Attachment to Spain (1)	Proud to be Spanish (2)	Positive emotions Spanish flag (3)	Identity Index (4)
<b>Panel A: No controls</b>				
Any year outside	0.144*** (0.043)	-0.020 (0.045)	-0.079* (0.044)	0.013 (0.044)
Friends from other Provinces	0.003 (0.004)	0.011*** (0.003)	0.011*** (0.003)	0.010*** (0.003)
<b>Panel B: controls</b>				
Any year outside	0.140** (0.054)	0.065 (0.058)	0.008 (0.055)	0.079 (0.053)
Friends from other Provinces	0.007 (0.004)	0.017*** (0.004)	0.013*** (0.004)	0.014*** (0.004)
Observations	3138	3138	3138	3138

Notes: This Table provides reduced form evidence using our sample of males who entered the military service lottery in 1991 or before. Any Year Outside is an indicator taking value 1 for respondents who have lived outside of their province of birth at least for one year. “Friends from other provinces” is a continuous variable on the number of provinces from which our respondents had friends during the military service. “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. Panel A shows results without controls. Panel B shows results controlling for year of lottery fixed effects interacted with province of residence at age 17 fixed effects. Moreover, in Panel B we control for year of lottery fixed effects, interacted with province of residence at age 17 fixed effects as well as 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. We employ robust standard errors. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A14: Effects on policy views

	Support Regional Redistribution (1)	Support Educational Mobility Prog. (2)	Regional Autonomy Detimental (3)	For Cat. Indep. (4)	Right Wing (5)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>					
Other region	0.005 (0.066)	0.061 (0.066)	-0.003 (0.060)	0.001 (0.028)	-0.093 (0.058)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>					
Other region (a)	0.053 (0.079)	0.068 (0.085)	0.053 (0.075)	0.027 (0.037)	-0.113 (0.071)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	-0.139 (0.137)	-0.018 (0.138)	-0.160 (0.117)	-0.072 (0.060)	0.057 (0.120)
P-value (a+b)	0.456	0.646	0.234	0.343	0.574
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>					
Other region (a)	0.005 (0.066)	0.062 (0.066)	-0.004 (0.060)	0.004 (0.029)	-0.094 (0.059)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	-0.054 (0.070)	0.004 (0.065)	-0.026 (0.059)	-0.043 (0.027)	0.056 (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, Catalunya, Navarra, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. “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 Detimental” 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 year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A15: Effects on voting behavior

	Turnout	Voted Regionalist	PSOE	PP	Vox	Ciudadanos	Unidas Podemos	ERC	EAJ PNV	JxCAT	Otros partidos	En blanco
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>												
Other region	0.025 (0.019)	0.014 (0.015)	-0.003 (0.029)	-0.004 (0.025)	-0.008 (0.024)	0.004 (0.023)	0.010 (0.024)	-0.000 (0.010)	-0.010 (0.007)	0.018* (0.010)	-0.022 (0.016)	-0.001 (0.011)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>												
Other region (a)	-0.002 (0.022)	0.001 (0.007)	-0.015 (0.031)	-0.024 (0.032)	-0.013 (0.033)	0.008 (0.029)	0.045* (0.024)	0.000 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)	0.004 (0.017)	-0.010 (0.014)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.079** (0.039)	0.036 (0.039)	0.034 (0.071)	0.061 (0.048)	0.016 (0.045)	-0.012 (0.043)	-0.106* (0.058)	-0.002 (0.027)	-0.023 (0.019)	0.049* (0.029)	-0.079* (0.042)	0.028 (0.022)
P-value (a+b)	0.020	0.345	0.761	0.290	0.928	0.905	0.248	0.947	0.165	0.075	0.046	0.309
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>												
Other region (a)	0.025 (0.019)	0.014 (0.014)	-0.003 (0.030)	-0.004 (0.025)	-0.008 (0.024)	0.004 (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) Low identification with Spain	0.036* (0.018)	0.022 (0.022)	0.009 (0.035)	0.030 (0.020)	0.017 (0.020)	-0.003 (0.022)	-0.042* (0.023)	0.004 (0.014)	-0.006 (0.011)	0.022 (0.017)	-0.051** (0.021)	0.015 (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, Navarra, and Galicia). "Low identification with Spain" is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. 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 at case they voted at all. All specifications include year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

## B.1 The effects of the military service

Table A16: 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	0.06	0.05	0.429	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 Mother's region of birth	0.64	0.62	0.657	3618
Mother: Not in labor force	0.58	0.62	0.189	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 controls for year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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 0.61. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A17: Effects of Completing the Military Service on identification with Spain:

	Any year outside of province (1)	Attachment to Spain (2)	Proud to be Spanish (3)	Positive emotions Spanish flag (4)	Identity Index (5)
<b>Panel A</b>					
Military service	0.401*** (0.041)	0.036 (0.077)	0.125 (0.079)	0.127* (0.077)	0.112 (0.076)
<b>Panel B</b>					
Other Region	0.575*** (0.038)	0.057 (0.081)	0.156* (0.081)	0.137* (0.080)	0.134* (0.080)
Same Region	0.049 (0.041)	-0.006 (0.084)	0.061 (0.090)	0.108 (0.085)	0.066 (0.082)
<b>Panel C</b>					
Other Region (a)	0.543*** (0.047)	0.016 (0.087)	0.141 (0.097)	0.079 (0.097)	0.089 (0.086)
Other Region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.086 (0.081)	0.095 (0.174)	0.027 (0.162)	0.147 (0.161)	0.110 (0.170)
Same Region (c)	0.038 (0.049)	0.055 (0.093)	0.128 (0.099)	0.127 (0.095)	0.120 (0.082)
Same Region × (d) Peripheral Nationalism	0.027 (0.090)	-0.199 (0.185)	-0.210 (0.192)	-0.069 (0.186)	-0.177 (0.190)
P-value (a+b)	0.000	0.470	0.211	0.086	0.187
P-value (c+d)	0.385	0.374	0.625	0.718	0.745
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 are 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, Catalunya, Navarra, 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 year of lottery fixed effects interacted with 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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

## B.2 Robustness to less conservative fixed effects

Table A18: 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	0.05	0.06	0.289	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	0.56	0.59	0.476	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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A19: Exposure to conscripts from other regions: Robustness less conservative fixed effects

	Friends other prov. (z) (1)	Friends other prov. excl. prov. of mili (z) (2)	Exposure to people from other regions (z) (3)	Any year outside of Region (4)	First Stage Index (z) (5)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>					
Other region	0.300*** (0.056)	0.266*** (0.056)	0.348*** (0.073)	0.525*** (0.021)	0.802*** (0.060)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>					
Other region (a)	0.261*** (0.066)	0.224*** (0.066)	0.163* (0.084)	0.500*** (0.027)	0.691*** (0.068)
Other region × (b)	0.112 (0.110)	0.119 (0.110)	0.528*** (0.132)	0.069 (0.044)	0.318*** (0.113)
Peripheral Nationalism					
P-value (a+b)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>					
Other region (a)	0.299*** (0.055)	0.265*** (0.055)	0.344*** (0.066)	0.524*** (0.022)	0.800*** (0.055)
Other region × (b)	0.062 (0.050)	0.065 (0.050)	0.220*** (0.061)	0.096*** (0.022)	0.204*** (0.052)
Low identification with Spain					
Observations	3138	3138	3138	3231	3138
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, Catalunya, Navarra, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. “Any year outside” takes value one for respondents who spent at least one year outside of their province of birth. “Number province friends” is a continuous variable on the number of provinces from which our respondents had friends during the military service. “Number province friends (excluding military region)” is a 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 regions” is a z-scored measure of exposure to people from other regions during the military service, ranging from “not at all” to “very much. “First Stage Index” is an 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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A20: Reduced form effects on identity: Robustness less conservative fixed effects

	Attachment to Spain (1)	Proud to be Spanish (2)	Positive emotions Spanish flag (3)	Identity Index (4)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>				
Other region	0.063 (0.060)	0.080 (0.061)	0.008 (0.060)	0.055 (0.058)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>				
Other region (a)	-0.025 (0.075)	0.011 (0.071)	-0.068 (0.072)	-0.036 (0.067)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.254** (0.117)	0.199 (0.135)	0.218* (0.131)	0.260** (0.124)
P-value (a+b)	0.013	0.068	0.168	0.032
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>				
Other region (a)	0.059 (0.058)	0.076 (0.060)	0.005 (0.059)	0.050 (0.055)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	0.100* (0.055)	0.117** (0.057)	0.135*** (0.052)	0.137** (0.054)
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, Catalunya, Navarra, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. “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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. level.

Table A21: Reduced form effects on groupishness: Robustness less conservative fixed effects

	Universa-lism (1)	sentiment Other Region (2)	Trust other Region (3)	Similarity other Region (4)	Index Groupish- ness (5)
<b>Panel A: Main</b>					
Other region	0.058 (0.072)	0.078 (0.057)	0.021 (0.073)	-0.055 (0.065)	0.019 (0.045)
<b>Panel B: Binary</b>					
Other region (a)	0.007 (0.081)	-0.002 (0.064)	0.043 (0.090)	-0.090 (0.077)	-0.016 (0.050)
Other region × (b) Peripheral Nationalism	0.150 (0.156)	0.232* (0.124)	-0.065 (0.158)	0.102 (0.139)	0.100 (0.100)
P-value (a+b)	0.247	0.031	0.865	0.922	0.331
<b>Panel C: Continuous</b>					
Other region (a)	0.055 (0.070)	0.077 (0.056)	0.021 (0.073)	-0.057 (0.065)	0.017 (0.044)
Other region × (b) Low identification with Spain	0.068 (0.071)	0.078 (0.060)	-0.024 (0.076)	0.074 (0.072)	0.053 (0.050)
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, Catalunya, Navarra, and Galicia). “Low identification with Spain” is the reverse-coded predicted identification with Spain index, as explained in detail in the footnote of Figure 2. “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. “Sympathy” 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”. “Perceived trustworthiness” 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%). “Perceived similarity” 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”. 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. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. 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.

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, Catalunya, Navarra, 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. We now use this strategy 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.<sup>35</sup> 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 four 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 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, we only observe the month of birth, but the lottery outcome was based on a precise date of birth, implying that the assignment is unknown for a further 1/12 of the sample. Fourth, 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

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<sup>35</sup>Cáceres (2019) has used a similar strategy to estimate the impact of serving in the military on labor market outcomes.

<sup>36</sup>The lottery was published in all main national newspapers. We rely on the information provided by the newspaper ABC 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).

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 below 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 165,142 men who were born between 1987 and 1991. Given the lack of information on the precise day of birth, we exclude individuals born in months where there is a cutoff date. We are able to assign 148k men to either serving in a different military region (34%), serving in the same military region (64%) or being exempted from serving the lottery (2%). We exclude the latter group for our analysis.

**Results** Table A22 shows the reduced form estimates this alternative identification strategy. 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 ( $0.004*2.8$ , 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 at is around 4.5 percentage points ( $0.016*2.8$ , assuming alpha=0.05).

To compare the estimates from this alternative identification strategy with our own estimates, we reestimate our regressions focusing on long-run mobility for the respondents from cohorts born between 1968 and 1973. 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.

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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).

Table A22: Additional Results on Mobility using Admin Data

	Other region as at birth admin data	Other region as at age 17 survey data
	(1)	(2)
Other Military region	-0.001 (0.004)	
Other region		0.001 (0.034)
Observations	141,091	776
Year Lottery FE $\times$ Province FE	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y

Notes: Column 1 shows reduced form effects of the likelihood of serving in a different military region on the likelihood of living in a different region as at birth using data from the Spanish census. Column 2 shows reduced form effects of having served in a different region on the likelihood of living in a different region as at age 17 using the subsample of our own survey respondents born between 1968 and 1973. Standard errors are clustered at the year of lottery-province level. \* denotes significance at 10 pct., \*\* at 5 pct., and \*\*\* at 1 pct. 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)