

# Online Appendix to “The origins of common identity: Evidence from Alsace-Lorraine”

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## A Overview of repressive policies

Table A1: Detailed overview of repressive policies in Alsace and Lorraine

Time period	Ruled by	Policy	Policy category	Source
1871-1902	Germany	Reactivation of the 1849 “dictatorship paragraph”: permitted house searches, the expulsion of agitators and prohibiting political organizations.	Social, political, military freedom, equality	Carrol (2010); Grasser (1998)
Beginning 1871/72	Germany	Bismarcks <i>Kulturkampf</i> : government seriously restricted Catholic education as well as the Catholic press. Moreover, some religious orders were expelled from the Reichsland.	Regional institutions and administrative personnel	Silverman (1966)
May 1872	Germany	Strasbourg University is reopened as “Kaiser-Wilhelm-Universitaet.”	Language	Hoepel (2012)
Oct. 1872	Germany	Introduction of obligatory military service.	Social, political, military freedom, equality	Grasser (1998)
1873	Germany	French is prohibited to be taught in schools.	Language	Grasser (1998)
1878	Germany	Legislation to restrict the political participation of the people.	Social, political, military freedom, equality	Carrol (2010)
1882	Germany	The use of French is prohibited in the Delegation.	Language	Grasser (1998)
1887	Germany	Choral and gymnastic clubs are banned as they are seen as opportunities for the coming-together of pro-French minded people.	Social, political, military freedom, equality	Carrol (2010)
1890 onward	Germany	Legislation (e.g. German trade regulations) is forcefully introduced in Alsace-Lorraine.	Regional institutions and Administrative Personnel	Hoepel (2012)
1890 onward	Germany	German becomes the only official language and district and county councils become obliged to embrace German as their only language.	Language	Grasser (1998)
Until 1898	Germany	Restrictions are imposed on regional media.	Media	Silverman (1966)
1914	Germany	Citizens sympathizing with the French are taken in “protective detention” without trial.	Separation and segregation; Social, political, military freedom, equality	Harvey (1999)

Table A1 (continued)

1917/18	France	Approximately 100 000 Germans are deported.	Separation and segregation	Carrol and Zanoun (2011), Callender (1927)
1918	France	Establishment of French currency.	Regional institutions and administrative personnel	Callender (1927)
Dec. 1918	France	An identity-card system is implemented: Locals are classified and receive a specific civil status according to the origin of their parents. Lower classification is often associated with discrimination.	Separation and segregation	Harvey (1999)
Dec. 1918 to Oct. 1919	France	“Commissions de Triage” are established: Designed to assert the Frenchness of the population in re-annexed areas, individuals suspected of faulty loyalties are investigated and either exonerated, placed under surveillance, taken into custody or expelled from France. In this context, some pro-German Alsatians are forcefully emigrated.	Separation and segregation; Social, political, military freedom, equality	Carrol and Zanoun (2011); Harvey (1999)
1920	France	French becomes the only language to be taught in schools. The so-called “direct method”, where students are immersed in the French language with no reference to German, leads to considerable difficulties for a majority of French-speaking Alsatians.	Language	Grasser (1998); Goodfellow (1993)
1920s	France	French becomes the official legal language. Due to this, many bureaucrats, who had previously built their career under the German system, are in danger of losing their jobs or being denied promotions as the French government now regards them as incompetent or politically problematic.	Language	Goodfellow (1993)



Table A1 (continued)

June 1924	France	The Ministerial Declaration by Premier Edouard Herriot introduces a centralized French administration as well as all French laws and institutions into the recovered territories. The Declaration also introduces the separation of church, secular education and a number of anti-clerical laws.	Regional institutions and administrative personnel	Carrol and Zanoun (2011); Goodfellow (1993)
1925	France	The post of Commissioner General is abolished and the regional government returned to the Government of Paris.	Regional institutions and administrative personnel	Callender (1927)
1927/28	France	Three autonomist journals become banned as they are seen to have had a central role in a campaign against the French: The "Volksstimme" ("voice of the people"), the "Wahrheit" ("truth") and the "Zukunft" ("future").	Media	Goodfellow (1993)
1927/28	France	Colmar trials: 15 prominent autonomists are arrested and tried with the reason given that they had participated in a plot to separate Alsace from France. 4 of the 15 are sentenced to one year in prison, while 5 are sentenced to be exiled.	Social, political, military freedom, equality	Goodfellow (1993)
1939	France	15 autonomists are arrested for relations with the enemy. One autonomist leader is later executed by a fire squad in 1940 in Champigneulle.	Social, political, military freedom, equality	Goodfellow (1993)
1940	Germany	The French language is prohibited from use and street signs must be renamed in German. French names must be replaced by German equivalents.	Language	www.nithart.com; Encyclopédie
1940	Germany	Germans prohibit the Alsatian dialect as it is regarded as a means of protest against the Nazi-government.	Language	Encyclopédie

Table A1 (continued)

1940	Germany	Germans prohibit typically Alsatian gatherings and celebrations as they are seen as expressions of specifically regional culture and therefore against the Germanisation efforts of the Nazi regime.	Social, political, military freedom, equality	<a href="#">Encyclopédie</a>
1940	Germany	German is made the official language of the administration.	Language	<a href="#">Grasser (1998)</a>
1945-1952	France	Teaching of German is de jure prohibited in schools, de facto this is applied in about half of the schools.	Language	<a href="#">www.alsace-lorraine.org</a> ; <a href="#">Anderson (1972)</a>
1953	France	Bordeaux trials: 13 Alsatian <i>malgré-nous</i> are sentenced to death due to their involvement in the massacre of Oradour-sur-Glane.	Social, political, military freedom, equality	<a href="#">Boswell (2008)</a> <a href="#">Collins (2007)</a>

Notes: [Encyclopédie](#) refers to [www.encyclopedia.bsditions.fr](#).

## B Sub-levels of governance in France

Table B1: Division of powers: administrative sub-levels in France

Level:	Central	Regional	Departmental	Municipal
	All national policies	Regional transport	Departmental transport	Municipal transport
	Defence	Education (high school), vocational training and apprenticeship	Education (ordinary secondary school), vocational training (music, dance and drama)	
	Justice	Environment	Environment (particularly protection waste and water plants)	Environment (water and waste)
	Foreign affairs	Regional planning	Planning (in cooperation with the region)	
	Security	Economic development	Economic development (rural, social, inclusion)	Housing
		Scientific development	Public health (incl. sanitary protection & vaccination)	Public health (incl. vaccination)

*Notes:* This table gives an overview over the distribution of competences among the different levels of governance in France. The information is obtained from the website of the European Committee of the Regions.

## C Establishment of regionalist organizations

Table C1: Establishment of regionalist organizations during German and French repressive periods

Name	Founded in	Area	Category
Elsass-Lothringen Partei (also “Les Protestaires”)	1874	Alsace and Moselle	Party
Les Autonomistes	1877	Alsace and Moselle	Party
Elsass-Lothringische Landespartei	1903	Alsace and Moselle	Party
Elsass-Lothringisches Zentrum	1906	Alsace and Moselle	Party
Parti Lorrain Independant (also “Groupe Lorrain”)	1907	Moselle	Party
Liga zur Verteidigung Elsass-Lothringens	1914	Alsace and Moselle	Other org.
Parti Communiste Français	1918	Alsace and Moselle	Party
Union Republicaine Lorraine*	1919	Moselle	Party
Die Zukunft	1925	Alsace and Moselle	Newspaper
Die Volksstimme	1925	Alsace and Moselle	Newspaper
Christlich-Soziale Partei	1926	Moselle	Party
∞ Elsass-Lothringischer Heimatbund	1926	Alsace and Moselle	Other org.
Elsass-Lothringische Einheitsfront	1926	Alsace and Moselle	Other org.
Unabhängige Landespartei für Elsass-Lothringen	1927	Alsace and Moselle	Party
Elsass-Lothringisch-Autonomistische Partei (ELAP)	1927	Alsace and Moselle	Party
Elsass-Lothringische Fortschrittspartei	1929	Alsace and Moselle	Party
Kommunistische Partei-Opposition (KP-O)	1929	Alsace and Moselle	Party
Die Elsass-Lothringer Zeitung	1929	Alsace and Moselle	Newspaper
Republicains du centre (DRC)	1932	Alsace and Moselle	Party
Elsass-Lothringer Partei	1936	Alsace and Moselle	Party
Independants d’action populaire (IAP)	1936	Alsace and Moselle	Party
Elsass-Lothringische Arbeiter und Bauernpartei (ELABP)	1939	Alsace and Moselle	Party

*Notes:* We define the treatment period with repressive nation-state policies as ranging from 1871 to 1953. Individual sources for this and following tables are specified in Appendix C.

\* Although the party contained a regionalist wing early on, it was not until 1926 that the party officially adopted an autonomist program.

Table C2: The establishment of regional/regionalist organizations after WWII

Area	Moselle/Alsace and Moselle	Meuse and Meurthe-et-Moselle
Category	Treated	Control
Party	3	0
Newspaper	6	4
Other org.	11	4

*Notes:* Descriptive and not adjusted for population size. Individual sources are specified in Appendix C.

Table C3: The establishment of regional organizations in the control area

Name	Founded in	Area	Category
L'Est républicain	1889	Meurthe-et-Moselle	Newspaper
L'Humanité	1925	National	Newspaper
Le Progrès de la Meuse	1878	Meuse	Newspaper
Courrier de Meurthe-et-Moselle	1871	Meurthe-et-Moselle	Newspaper
La Chronique des Vosges	1899	Vosges	Newspaper
l'Union patriotique de l'Est	1891	Meurthe-et-Moselle	Other org.
l'Union républicaine de l'Est	1924	Meurthe-et-Moselle	Other org.
Cercle d'études des Marches de l'Est	1913	Meurthe-et-Moselle	Other org.
le Cercle militaire clandestin de Nancy	1909	Meurthe-et-Moselle	Other org.
le Groupe lorrain de la représentation proportionnelle	1910	Meurthe-et-Moselle	Other org.
le Groupe d'études sociales de Nancy	1895	Meurthe-et-Moselle	Other org.

## D Alternative explanations

### D.1 Support driven by urban agglomerations

Another potential concern is whether the effect is driven by outliers. More specifically, it might be driven by urban agglomerations for two potential reasons. Historically, cities enjoyed greater autonomy and might have developed a stronger local identity relative to national identity. We test whether this is a problem by excluding municipalities belonging to the metropolitan area as defined by INSEE. Depending on bandwidth length, this means that between 30 and 38 municipalities are excluded. The estimated treatment effect from this specification is presented in Table G4 and shows that the exclusion of the Metz agglomeration does not change the results.

### D.2 The role of World War II

It is not absolutely clear how to interpret the role of WWII. During most of the war, the treated and untreated area were occupied by Germany. German policies were surely repressive, but the suppression of regional identity and traditions was not the main objective and a potential suppression of French identity took place in all occupied parts of France. Neither the treated nor control area belonged to the self-governed Vichy part of France. We are thus reluctant to emphasize the role of WWII, even though it was clearly a drastic shock influencing the lives of many people.

Nonetheless, one concern is that the shock was stronger in the treated area, as a sizable number of young men were drafted into the German military and exposed to different and potentially more intense war experiences. This difference in exposure probably led to a final phase of perceived alienation and repression, because the French central government sentenced some of these so-called *malgré-nous* who were in the *Waffen-SS* to death in the Bordeaux Trial in 1953 for their involvement in war crimes. This punishment was perceived as unfair and caused massive public outrage and protest, because it did not take the historical circumstances into account.<sup>1</sup> It was probably the last major part of a set of policies which was imposed by the national majority in disregard of the local preferences and opinions. By 1964, all French citizens who had collaborated with the Nazis including the convicts from the Bordeaux trials had benefited from a general amnesty.

Based on the results in Vlachos (2019), using variation within Alsace, the only outcome correlated significantly with a higher share of war veterans is higher support for candidates of the right-wing National Front. In an earlier version of this paper (Dehdari and Gehring, 2016), we show that there is no difference in support for nationalist leader Jean-Marie Le Pen in the 2007 presidential election.<sup>2</sup> Thus, there does not seem to be a problematic discontinuity with regard to WWII exposure at the border we exploit. Finally, the composition of the population might have been affected differently, but Figure G10 indicates no problematic differences.

### D.3 Germanization - weaker French identity?

Although feeling more German would not directly explain a stronger regional identity, being exposed to German ideas, newspapers and institutions for nearly fifty years could affect preferences. In our model, however, there is no reason to expect a persistently stronger German identity after the occupation ended. Although identities based on different levels (regional, national) need not to be substitutes, national identities probably are to some degree. Accordingly we would expect that a

<sup>1</sup> Nearly all mayors of towns in Alsace attended a public protest walk in Strasbourg. For alternative versions and views about the actions and historical circumstances see <http://www.scrapbookpages.com/Oradour-sur-Glane/Story/index.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Results available upon request.

stronger German identity is related to a weaker French identity. Although we find no such difference in the survey results, we also code a variable based on tweets issued using Twitter about the French and German national football team during the World Cup in 2014 as a robustness test. When using this as an alternative measure of German and French national identity at the local level within Lorraine, we find no significant difference at the 10 kilometers and at the optimal IK bandwidth (see [Table D2](#)). The analysis rests on relatively few tweets, but the results are in line with the survey evidence and suggest no difference in German or French national identity.<sup>3</sup>

### Twitter: georeferencing

There are two ways in which Twitter users indicate their geographic location:

1. **User-provided georeferencing:** User can tag a location in their tweet directly. This type of tweet is unreliable for research, because the location tagged doesn't necessarily coincide with the location of the person tweeting.
2. **GPS-provided georeferencing:** The GPS function in mobile phones allows Twitter messages sent via the phone to contain the coordinates of the user's location. Due to the optionality of the GPS function, only 2- 3 percent of all Twitter users can be georeferenced this way. Due to the abundance of tweets, this method still generates a large number of possible observations.

### Twitter: availability of data

It is possible to collect a random selection of tweets at any given point in time via Twitter's API (Application Programming Interface).

### Twitter: approach and coding

The relevant tweets were identified and analyzed in a three-step process.

1. Over the period of the Football World Cup 2014 a random sample of tweets was obtained via Twitter's API. This method resulted in 18,278 observations.
2. Because Twitter only allows for data selection in geographic areas of rectangular shape, ArcGIS was used to identify the tweets specifically located in Lorraine.
3. The content of the selected tweets were then analyzed based on a selection of keywords about the German and French national football teams. The lists of keywords are displayed in [Table D1](#).

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<sup>3</sup> The historical and sociological literature also argues that although citizens accepted their legal belonging to Germany, they did so "without feeling German themselves" ([Hoepel, 2012, p.37](#)). [De La Valette \(1925\)](#) refers to a disillusioned German journalist saying "Alsace does not want us; the Alsatians are lost to us". [Carrol \(2010, p.66\)](#) cites a government official stating that "Prussian methods had failed to instill alien national sentiments into the minds of a people who were proud of their history". It also seems to be partly misleading to frame the regionalist parties in the 1920s and 30s as pro-German. The "Landespartei" is described as "referring in its manifesto to the right of peoples to self-determination and looked forward to the day when a 'free Alsace- Lorraine' would be the mediator between France and Germany in a United States of Europe" ([Anderson, 1972](#)). Similarly, the UPR called for "administrative decentralization, a regional elected council and the recognition of bilingualism" rather than for a return to Germany.

Table D1: List of Twitter keywords

List France		List Germany	
les Bleus	#BLEUS	mannschaft	allemagne
#SPAFRA	#FRA	DFB_Team	#GER
#ESPFRA	#UKRFRA	#GERPOL	#FRAGER
#SWEFRA	#SUIFRA	#FRADEU	#FRAALL
#SWIFRA	#ECUFRA	#TeamGermany	#DEU
Landreau	Lloris	#ALL	#HOLDEU
Ruffier	Debuchy	#NEDGER	#NEDALL
Digne	Evra	#DENDEU	#DANDEU
Koscielny	Mangala	#DANGER	#DENGER
Sagna	Sakho	#DANALL	#DENALL
Varane	Cabaye	#USAGER	#USAALL
Matuidi	Mavuba	#USADEU	#BRADEU
Pogba	Schneiderlin	#BRAALL	#BRAGER
Sissoko	Valbuena	Neuer	Wiese
Benzema	Cabella	Zieler	Badstuber
Giroud	Griezmann	Boateng	Höwedés
Rémy	Deschamps	Hummels	Lahm
Carrasso	Mandanda	Mertesacker	Schmelzer
Clichy	Mexès	Bender	Götze
Rami	Réveillère	Gündogan	Khedira
Arfa	Diarra	Kroos	Özil
M'Vila	Malouda	Reus	Schweinsteiger
Marvin Martin	Nasri	Gomez	Klose
Ribéry	Valbuena	Müller	Podolski
Ménez	Blanc	Schürrle	Löw
Boghossian	Gasset	Flick	Köpke
Raviot		Weidenfeller	Durm
		Großkreutz	Mustafi
		Draxler	Ginter
		Kramer	



**Twitter: RD results**

Table D2: RD results Twitter data

Dep. Variable:	Share Tweets Germany		Share Tweets France	
Variable	(1)	(2) <sup>a</sup>	(3)	(4) <sup>a</sup>
Treatment	2.927 (1.996) [0.144]	-0.456 (1.078) [0.673]	0.131 (0.569) [0.819]	-1.013 (0.961) [0.292]
Observations	170	370	170	481
Bandwidth	10 km	23.94 km	10 km	37.77 km

*Notes:* Discontinuities in the share of tweets about the German and French national football team at the treatment border. The dependent variable is coded as the number of tweets about Germany during World Cup 2014 in Brazil, divided by the total number of tweets in each municipality. Included controls: distance to Germany (border), distance to Metz, distance to Strasbourg, distance to Nancy, and border segment fixed effects. Conley standard errors (10 kilometer bandwidth) in parentheses and  $p$ -values in brackets.

<sup>a</sup> Estimates from using the optimal IK bandwidth.

**D.4 Differences in benefits from trade**

One of the main benefits of more international integration that is usually mentioned is increased gains from trade stemming from lower trade costs (Alesina and Spolaore, 1997). Accordingly, we need to assume that these benefits are comparable close to the border. Clearly, distance to the respective neighboring states correlates with trade costs; municipalities that are closer to the country borders could benefit more from increased trade and thus exhibit higher agreement to more EU integration in the 1992 and 2005 referenda. At the same time, relying less on trade with the rest of France and more on exports could also foster a stronger regional relative to national identity. There are two ways to evaluate whether this is problematic in our cases.

Firstly, our smallest bandwidth is 10 kilometers only, so that it seems implausible that the relatively small additional distance between treated and control municipalities affects trade costs sufficiently to explain the results. Moreover, our estimates are robust to controlling for distance to the German as well as to other borders. Secondly, the point estimates of the treatment effect barely change when we increase the bandwidths and include more municipalities.

**D.5 EU funding, relevant for 1992 and 2005 referenda**

Another potentially biasing factor in the 1992 and 2005 referenda could be differences in European Union fund receipts if the treated area would receive significantly more money which could directly affect the likelihood to vote yes or indirectly through potential growth effects (Becker et al., 2010). However, the funds are allocated to regions, not départements (the respective categories in the 2014-2020 period are “Lorraine et Vosges - ERDF/ESF” and “Lorraine - Rural Development”). The whole region is responsible for the within-region allocation and there is no reason to assume that municipalities just right of the former border in the treated area would be awarded more funds.

**D.6 Religiosity and EU support**

One distinct feature in which the local laws strongly differ from the rest of France is with regard to religion. Historically, the church played a larger role in the average citizens life in the treated area until after WWI, and still does to some degree until today. In contrast to the rest of France, pupils in the area are still subjected to compulsory religious classes at school (usually two hours per week).

This is not uncommon in other European countries, for instance, many of the southern German states feature a similar policy. Usually these classes are not dogmatic, but transmit information about religions in general, of course still with an emphasis on Christianity. If religion or religious denomination is related to a more favorable attitude towards the EU, part of the effect we measure and attribute to differences in exposure to intrusive policies might be driven by differences in religious identity.

However, the available literature indicates no direct relationship between religious attachments and European integration and “even indirect effects of religion on Euroscepticism are small or appear to cancel each other out” (Boomgaarden and Freire, 2009, p.1). To the opposite, albeit minimally, it is argued that “actors such as religious parties and the churches have strayed from the integrationist path and contributed to Euroscepticism” (Minkenberg, 2009, p.1190).

To make sure this is really no concern, we examine the purported relationship in a more systematic way as well. In the specific French context, there are no municipal level measures on religious affiliation and the share of people who consider themselves secular, due to the specific secular constitution and approach in France. Nonetheless, we can use outcomes aggregated at the département level for all of France to assess the relationship between religion, based on the [International Social Survey Programme: National Identity](#) (2003), and voting in the EU referenda. Table D3 shows results for two variables that measure the intensity of religiousness and religious denomination. *Attendance* measures how often subjects attend religious services, both as a continuous variable and coded as a set of dummies with *never attending* as the reference category. Denomination relates to the share of people who perceive themselves as *Roman Catholic*, *Protestant*, *Christian Orthodox*, *Jewish*, *Muslim* or *other faiths*, with *no religious affiliation* as the reference category.

The results show no difference for *Attendance* in both 1992 and 2005. With *Attendance* coded as individual dummies, there is also no stable relationship. The pattern is similar for denomination. The only positive correlation which is significant at the 10 percent level is with *Protestant* in the 1992 referendum, but it also disappears for 2005. Overall, this supports the existing literature that religion does not play a major role for attitudes towards the EU. Thus, the concern that religious differences would contaminate our main results appears unfounded.

Table D3: Share of yes votes in 1992/2005 and religion, all of France

	Share Yes 1992			Share Yes 2005		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Attendance [mean]	-1.839			-1.774		
	[0.167]			[0.113]		
Attendance: Weekly		0.114			0.099	
		[0.167]			[0.135]	
Attendance: 2-3 times a month		0.002			0.025	
		[0.983]			[0.788]	
Attendance: Once a month		-0.052			-0.097	
		[0.625]			[0.164]	
Attendance: Sev. times a year		0.057			0.054	
		[0.114]			[0.144]	
Attendance: Less freq.		0.036			-0.001	
		[0.391]			[0.988]	
Roman Catholic			0.029			0.004
			[0.291]			[0.902]
Protestant			0.353			0.146
			[0.054]			[0.321]
Christian Ortodox			0.115			0.267
			[0.846]			[0.585]
Jewish			0.847			1.095
			[0.116]			[0.278]
Moslem			-0.092			0.008
			[0.437]			[0.955]
Other Religions			-0.155			0.010
			[0.495]			[0.971]
Obs.	94	94	94	94	94	94

*Notes:* This table tests whether there is a clear relationship between religious affiliation and voting in the two referenda 1992 and 2005. The OLS estimates use aggregate survey results at the département-level from the ISSP 2003: National Identity. *Attendance* refers to how often the respondents attend religious services. *Never attending* is the omitted reference category for attendance, *no religious denomination* is the omitted reference category for religion. Controls: Sex, Age, Years of schooling, Urban vs Rural, Union membership, Degree, Income, and Household size. *p*-values in brackets. There is no systematic effect of religion, which is reassuring as the areas in former Alsace-Lorraine has a slightly different history with regard to schooling. Accordingly, these differences and schooling should not explain our results.

**Interpretation:** Religious beliefs and denomination could affect voting in the referenda. We show for all of France that such a relationship never shows up significantly at any level, both for intensity of belief measured by church attendance, as well as when using denomination as the variable of interest. We conclude that there are some differences with regard to the treatment of religion between the departments, but none that closely influences or could explain our result.

## E Descriptives

Table E1: Descriptive statistics for variables in the main RD specification

Variable	Mean	Std. dev.	Min.	Max.
Treatment	0.40	0.49	0.00	1.00
Yes 1969	59.61	14.40	0.00	94.74
Yes 1992	51.38	10.42	0.00	100.00
Yes 2005	44.15	10.23	0.00	100.00
Newspaper subscription	6.49	8.87	0.00	32.90
Regionalist parties	1.70	1.77	0.00	16.67
Distance to Germany	56.49	32.32	0.33	133.78
Distance to Metz	52.56	23.11	1.60	102.30
Distance to Strasbourg	131.43	44.20	39.76	223.02
Distance to Nancy	56.87	25.94	0.06	125.02

*Notes:* Descriptive statistics for the binary treatment variable, *Share Yes 1969*, *Share Yes 1992* and *Share Yes 2005*, in the respective referenda, share of newspaper subscription for the Lorrainian newspaper “Le Republicain Lorraine” in 2014, and vote share for regionalist parties in 2015. Distance variables measure the distance from municipality centroids. All variables are described in Table E5.

Table E2: Descriptive statistics for historical pretreatment variables

Variable	Mean	Std. dev.	Min.	Max.
Ruggedness	57.21	42.20	2.79	380.91
Elevation	268.54	50.57	126.59	532.48
Wheat	60.66	1.81	55.01	65.72
Potato	35.98	9.23	11.54	56.21
Barley	55.83	12.52	20.22	89.50
Std. Elevation	24.50	15.69	0.00	149.09
Population 1866	6.51	20.07	0.00	598.63
Roads 1800	4.17	5.50	0.00	47.99
Grazing 1860	24.74	13.19	0.00	45.42
Cropland 1860	22.48	12.02	0.00	51.89
RR stations 1860	0.04	0.19	0.00	1.00
RR quality 1860	0.10	0.36	0.00	2.00

*Notes:* Descriptive statistics for historical pretreatment variables used for placebo tests. All variables are described in Table E5.

Table E3: Descriptive statistics for referenda turnout and other variables

Variable	Mean	Std. dev.	Min.	Max.
Turnout 1969	84.65	7.91	6.90	100.00
Turnout 1992	74.33	6.73	33.33	100.00
Turnout 2005	73.69	7.21	50.79	100.00
Unmarried parents	20.70	12.15	0.00	100.00
Single parents	8.63	7.73	0.00	50.00
Number of churches	1.11	0.47	0.00	5.00
Catholic church	0.98	0.14	0.00	1.00
Median income	30.25	5.39	17.69	51.88
Mean age	39.54	3.33	28.26	69.38
Education	0.10	0.03	0.00	0.50
Occupation	0.18	0.08	0.00	1.00
Healthcare	0.12	1.05	0.00	25.00
Post offices	0.55	1.98	0.00	48.00
Schools	0.04	0.33	0.00	7.00
Vocational	0.16	0.56	0.00	12.00
Share workers	0.18	0.08	0.00	1.00
Share farmers	0.04	0.07	0.00	0.50
Share artisans	0.03	0.03	0.00	0.44
Share executives	0.05	0.05	0.00	0.40
Share intermediate	0.12	0.07	0.00	0.50
Companies	40.76	232.56	0.00	6471.00
Industrial est.	4.44	16.86	0.00	430.00
Building est.	6.38	21.63	0.00	640.00
Commercial est.	31.78	210.33	0.00	5927.00
Public est.	5.74	40.28	0.00	1125.00
Theatre rooms	0.01	0.15	0.00	4.00
Multisport fac.	0.85	2.88	0.00	81.00
Athletic centers	0.12	0.69	0.00	18.00
Swimming fac.	0.07	0.47	0.00	9.00
Healthcare (short)	0.03	0.34	0.00	8.00
Healthcare (medium)	0.03	0.29	0.00	7.00
Healthcare (long)	0.02	0.15	0.00	3.00
Accom. disabled adults	0.07	0.41	0.00	5.00
Accom. disabled children	0.04	0.32	0.00	7.00
Psychiatric est.	0.04	0.37	0.00	7.00
Post offices	0.16	0.56	0.00	12.00
Service houses	0.00	0.05	0.00	1.00
Elementary schools	0.51	1.56	0.00	37.00
Highschools	0.05	0.47	0.00	12.00
Vocational training	0.03	0.31	0.00	7.00
Tech. vocational training	0.01	0.08	0.00	1.00
Nursery schools	0.33	1.38	0.00	38.00
Population density	125.72	361.86	0.00	7115.13
Burglary	3.90	0.97	2.06	9.14
Motor vehicle theft	0.86	0.37	0.34	3.13
Property damage	16.43	6.28	8.90	47.72
Charcuteries	0.25	1.28	0.00	30.00
Fish shops	0.01	0.13	0.00	3.00
Florists	0.30	1.38	0.00	33.00

*Notes:* Descriptive statistics for turnout in the 1969, 1992 and 2005 referenda, as well as for additional variables. All variables are described in Table E6.

Table E4: Descriptive statistics for survey questions

Variable	Mean	Std. dev.	Min.	Max.
Regional identity	3.38	0.81	1.00	4.00
National identity	3.61	0.64	1.00	4.00
Transfer general policy	3.06	0.41	1.50	4.00
Transfer education policy	2.85	0.62	1.00	5.00

*Notes:* Descriptive statistics for survey questions from the OIP, 1999, 2001, and 2003. Includes respondents only within Lorraine (Moselle, Meurthe-et-Moselle and Meuse). The variables are described in Tables [E7](#), [E8](#), and [E9](#).

Table E5: Variable description and sources

Variable	Definition	Source
<i>Dependent Variables</i>		
Share Yes 1969	Share of yes votes in the 1969 constitutional referendum	L'Est Republicain
Share Yes 1992	Share of yes votes in the 1992 referendum (Maastricht Treaty)	Center for socio-political data
Share Yes 2005	Share of yes votes in the 2005 referendum (European Constitution Treaty)	Center for socio-political data
Turnout, 1969	Voter turnout in the 1969 constitutional referendum	L'Est Republicain
Turnout, 1992	Voter turnout in the 1992 referendum (Maastricht Treaty)	Center for socio-political data
Turnout, 2005	Voter turnout in the 2005 referendum (European Constitution Treaty)	Center for socio-political data
Subscription regional newspaper	Subscriptions to "Le Republicain Lorraine"/No.households in 2014	Le Republicain Lorraine
Share Tweets Germany	Number of tweets about Germany during the 2014 World Cup	Twitter
Share Tweets France	Number of tweets about France during the 2014 World Cup	Twitter
<i>Pre-treatment variables</i>		
Ruggedness	Index of variance of elevation in each municipality	Nunn and Puga (2012)
Elevation	Raw elevation data	NASA SRTM
Potato	Soil suitability for production of potatoes (medium input intensity and irrigation)	FAO/GAEZ
Wheat	Soil suitability for production of wheat (medium input intensity and irrigation)	FAO/GAEZ
Barley	Soil suitability for production of barley (medium input intensity and irrigation)	FAO/GAEZ
Population	Population in 1866	Talandier et al. (2016)
Cropland	Total area of arable land and permanent crops in the municipality in 1860	Klein Goldewijk et al. (2011)
Grazing Land	Total land area used for mowing or grazing livestock in the municipality in 1860	Klein Goldewijk et al. (2011)
Road Length	Total length of road network in the municipality in 1860	Perret et al. (2015)
Railroad Station	Presence of railroad station in municipality in 1860	Mimeur et al. (2018)
Railroad Quality	Quality of railroad infrastructure in the municipality in 1860	Mimeur et al. (2018)

Notes: Variable description and source for all variables used in the paper and this Online Appendix.

Table E6: Other variables, description and sources

Variable	Definition	Source
<i>Covariates</i>		
Median income	Median income in 2008	INSEE
Mean age	Mean age in 2006	INSEE
Education	Share of people with a high school degree	INSEE
Occupation	Share of blue-collar workers	INSEE
Workers, 2006	Share of workers in 2006	INSEE
Farmers, 2006	Share of farmers in 2006	INSEE
Artisans, 2006	Share of artisans in 2006	INSEE
Executives, 2006	Share of executives in 2006	INSEE
Intermediate prof., 2006	Intermediate professionals in 2006	INSEE
Companies, 2011	Number of companies per capita in 2011	INSEE
Commercial est., 2011	Number of commercial establishments per capita in 2011	INSEE
Industrial est., 2011	Number of industrial establishments per capita in 2011	INSEE
Building est., 2011	Number of building establishments per capita in 2011	INSEE
Public est., 2011	Number of public establishments per capita in 2011	INSEE
Theatre rooms, 2013	Number of theatre rooms per capita in 2013	INSEE
Athletic centers, 2013	Number of athletic centers per capita in 2013	INSEE
Multisport fac., 2013	Number of multisport facilities per capita in 2013	INSEE
Swimming fac., 2013	Number of swimming facilities per capita in 2013	INSEE
Psychiatric est., 2013	Number of psychiatric establishments per capita in 2013	INSEE
Service houses, 2013	Number of service houses per capita in 2013	INSEE
Health care, 2013 (short)	Short-term health care facilities in 2013	INSEE
Health care, 2013 (medium)	Medium-term health care facilities in 2013	INSEE
Health care, 2013 (long)	Long-term health care facilities in 2013	INSEE
Accom. disabled adults	Number of facilities accommodating disabled adults in 2013	INSEE
Accom. disabled children	Number of facilities accommodating disabled children in 2013	INSEE
Post offices, 2013	Number of post offices per capita in 2013	INSEE
Elementary schools, 2013	Number of elementary schools per capita in 2013	INSEE
High schools, 2013	Number of high schools per capita in 2013	INSEE
Vocational training, 2013	Number of secondary schools with vocational training per capita in 2013	INSEE
Tech. vocational training, 2013	Number of secondary schools with technical vocational training per capita in 2013	INSEE
Nursery schools, 2013	Number of nursery schools per capita in 2013	INSEE
Florists, 2013	Number of nursery schools per capita in 2013	INSEE
Charcuteries, 2013	Number of charcuteries per capita in 2013	INSEE
Fish shops, 2013	Number of fish shops per capita in 2013	INSEE
Property damage, 2015	Property damage reports in 2015	L'Express
Car theft, 2015	Car theft reports in 2015	L'Express
Burglary, 2015	Burglary reports in 2015	L'Express

Notes: Variable description and source for all variables used in the paper and this Online Appendix.



Table E7: Survey questions (i.)

Variable	Question	Categories/Scale	Source
Regional identity	"Could you tell me whether you feel very attached, rather attached, not very attached or not attached at all to [name of region]?"	4 = very attached; 3 = rather attached; 2 = not very attached; 1 = not attached at all	OIP 99/2001 Q2a3
National identity	"Could you tell me whether you feel very attached, rather attached, not very attached or not attached at all to France?"	4 = very attached; 3 = rather attached; 2 = not very attached; 1 = not attached at all	OIP 99/2001 Q2a2
European identity	"Could you tell me whether you feel very attached, rather attached, not very attached or not attached at all to Europe?"	4 = very attached; 3 = rather attached; 2 = not very attached; 1 = not attached at all	OIP 99/2001 Q2a1
Regional relative to National identity (standardized)		Relation of two identities, standardized with standard deviation 1 and mean 0	OIP 99/2001
European relative to national identity (standardized)		Relation of two identities, standardized with standard deviation 1 and mean 0	OIP 99/2001

*Notes:* Description of survey questions from the Observatoire Interrégional du Politique (OIP) 1999 and 2001. The values of the categories are reversed compared to the original question categories. Questions were originally in French and have been translated. The last two variable have been constructed by the authors.

Table E8: Survey questions (ii.)

Variable	Question	Categories/Scale	Source
Power_Transfer_Region	<b>"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions?" (Average across 10 policy dimensions)</b>	Value between 1 and 4. 4 = "Strongly in favor" and 1 = "Strongly against"	
1	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions regarding the choice in setting up high schools?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2001 Q36a1
2	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions regarding the management of high school teachers?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2001 Q36a2
3	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions regarding the management of administrative personnel in high schools?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2001 Q36a3
4	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions regarding the definition of school programs and certificates?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2001 Q36a4
5	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions regarding the choice in setting up university centers in the region?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2001 Q36a5
6	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions regarding the choice of high school creation?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2001 Q36a6
7	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions regarding environment policies like water policy?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2001 Q36a7
8	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions regarding cultural policies like heritage conservation?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2001 Q36a8
9	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions regarding sport policies?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2001 Q36a9
10	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions regarding the support of social housing?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2001 Q36a10

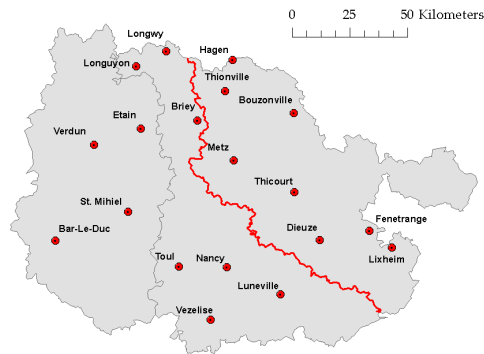
*Notes:* Description of survey questions from the Observatoire Interrégional du Politique (OIP) 2001. These survey questions are used to construct an average measure of how much the respondent is in favor of transferring power over general policy to the region. The values of the categories are reversed compared to the original question categories. Questions were originally in French and have been translated.

Table E9: Survey questions (iv.)

Variable	Question	Categories/Scale	Source
Education_Region	<b>"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions regarding education policy and standards?" (Average across 5 questions)</b>	Value between 1 and 4. 1 = "Strongly against" and 4 = "Strongly in favor"	
1	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions in the following field: - The choice in setting up high schools?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2003 Q12a1
2	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions in the following field: - The management of high school teachers?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2003 Q12a2
3	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions in the following field: - The management of administrative personnel in high schools?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2003 Q12a3
4	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions in the following field: - The definition of school programs and certificates?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2003 Q12a4
5	"Are you in favor of the transfer of all the power and means of the state to the regions in the following field: - The choice in setting up university centers in the region?"	4 = Strongly in favor; 3 = Somewhat in favor; 2 = Somewhat against; 1 = Strongly against	OIP 2003 Q12a5

*Notes:* Description of survey questions from the Observatoire Interrégional du Politique (OIP) 2003. These survey questions are used to construct an average measure of how much the respondent is in favor of transferring power over education policy to the region. The values of the categories are reversed compared to the original question categories. Questions were originally in French and have been translated.

Figure E1: Location of Cahiers units

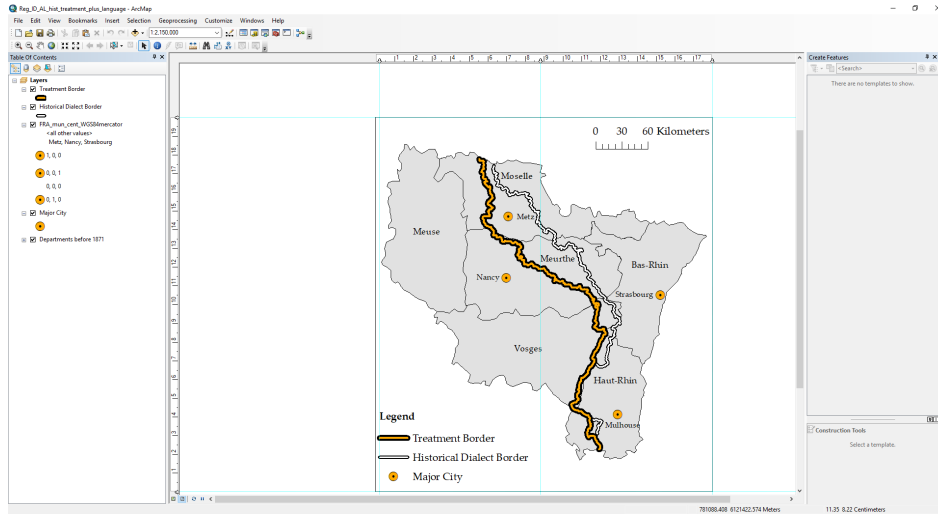


*Notes:* These are the location of the units at which the historical Cahiers were gathered. Each unit corresponds also to collection of opinions in the surrounding municipalities, so it rather should be viewed as the center of a cluster than a precise location.

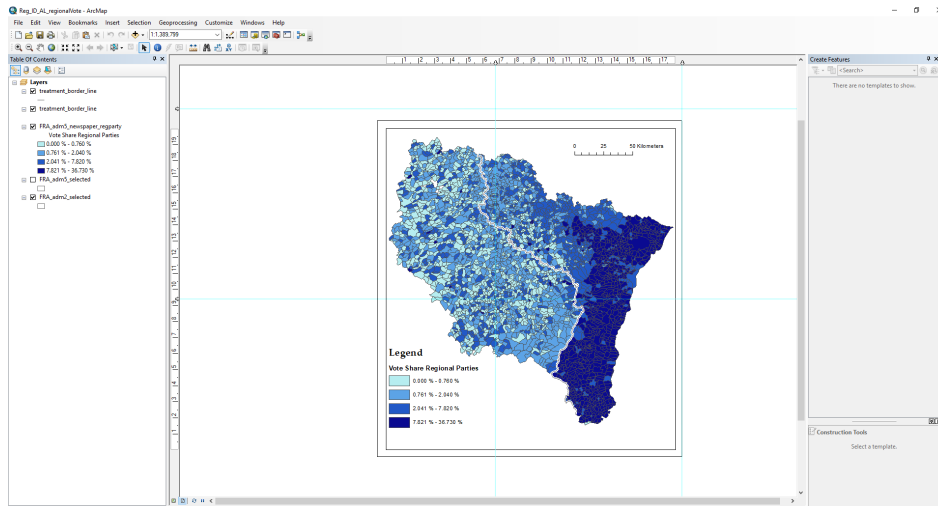
### Data creation with ArcGIS

- We used ArcGIS (v. 2.6) to manually geo-reference historical borders and generate spatial variables.
- We downloaded shapefiles with administrative divisions at municipality and departement level (from [GADM](#)). We also downloaded shapefiles for historical borders.
- When necessary, we used georeferencing tools to overlay historical maps on ArcGIS shapefiles (e.g., Historical Dialect Border in [Figure E2a](#)).
- We used ArcGIS tools to compute distances from centroids of municipality centroids to borders based on the Lambert-93 (SG: 2154) projection. We exported the computed distances to csv files which were later used in our analysis.
- We merged spatial data from csv files (turnout, election and referenda results) to the administrative shapefiles to illustrate descriptive results (see example in [Figure E2b](#)).

Figure E2: Examples of ArcGIS use: mxd files



(a) Example A



(b) Example B

## F Data sources

Newspaper subscription data from **Le Republicain Lorraine** for 2014 is used in this paper. The data was accessed through e-mail contact with the newspaper.

GIS shapefiles for **French administrative borders** (2015) are used in this paper. The data can be accessed by visiting [https://gadm.org/download\\_country\\_v2.html](https://gadm.org/download_country_v2.html), choosing “France” in the dropdown menu, and picking “Shapefile” (version 2.8).

GIS data on **historical language borders** is used in this paper. The data has been geoprocessed from [Harp \(1998\)](#).

GIS data on the **Maginot Line**, based on a map by the [US Ministry of Defence](#), is used in this pa-

per. The data has been geoprocesed manually from [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8b/1940-Fall\\_Gelb.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8b/1940-Fall_Gelb.jpg).

Data on **location of churches** from [Vlachos \(2019\)](#) is used in this paper. The data was graciously shared by the author.

Data based on the Cahiers de Doléances is used in this paper. The data has been accessed from [Hyslop \(1968\)](#).

Several data sets used in this paper have been accessed through <https://commande.progedo.fr/en/utilisateur/connexion>. This includes **municipal-level data from The National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) (2006-2013)**, **Observatoire Interrégional du Politique (OIP) Survey data (1999-2003)**, **Regional election results (2015)**, **Center for socio-political data (CDSP) referenda results (1994 and 2005)**, **ISSP (2003)**. The data can be accessed by creating an account at the website and making a request. The available data sets are searchable and multiple data sets can be added to each request. Once the request has been processed, the user is provided with a link from where the data can be downloaded.

**1969 Constitutional referendum results from L’Est Republicain** is used in this paper. The data was accessed through e-mail contact with the newspaper L’Est Republicain.

**NASA SRTM** elevation data is used in this paper. The data and documentation can be found at <https://www2.jpl.nasa.gov/srtm/>. The data set can also be access through ArcGIS, by adding data from ArcGIS online. The data set is called “Elevation 90m”.

**French 1866 census data** and **French 1916-1946 population data** from [Talandier et al. \(2016\)](#) is used in this paper. The data sets were graciously shared by the authors.

**Historical railway data** from [Mimeur et al. \(2018\)](#) is used in this paper. The data was graciously shared by the authors.

**Historical road network data** from [Perret et al. \(2015\)](#) is used in this paper. The data was graciously shared by the authors.

**Geographic farming and grazing data** from [Klein Goldewijk et al. \(2011\)](#) is used in this paper. The data can be accessed by downloading the *baseline.zip* file from <https://dataportaal.pbl.nl/downloads/HYDE/HYDE3.2/>.

Data on ruggedness from [Nunn and Puga \(2012\)](#) is used in this paper. The data can be accessed from <https://diegopuga.org/data/rugged/>.

Data on soil suitability for crops from the **Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations** is used in this paper. The data can be accessed from <http://www.fao.org/nr/gaez/en/>.

Data from **Twitter on share of tweets about the German and French national football team** is used in this paper. A full list of all Twitter IDs is provided in the replication package.

Data on **reported crime** from [L’Express](#) is used in this paper. The data was accessed through

e-mail contact with the newspaper L'Express.

## G Additional results by outcome

### G.1 Pre-treatment variables

Figure G1: Treatment border does not overlap with rivers

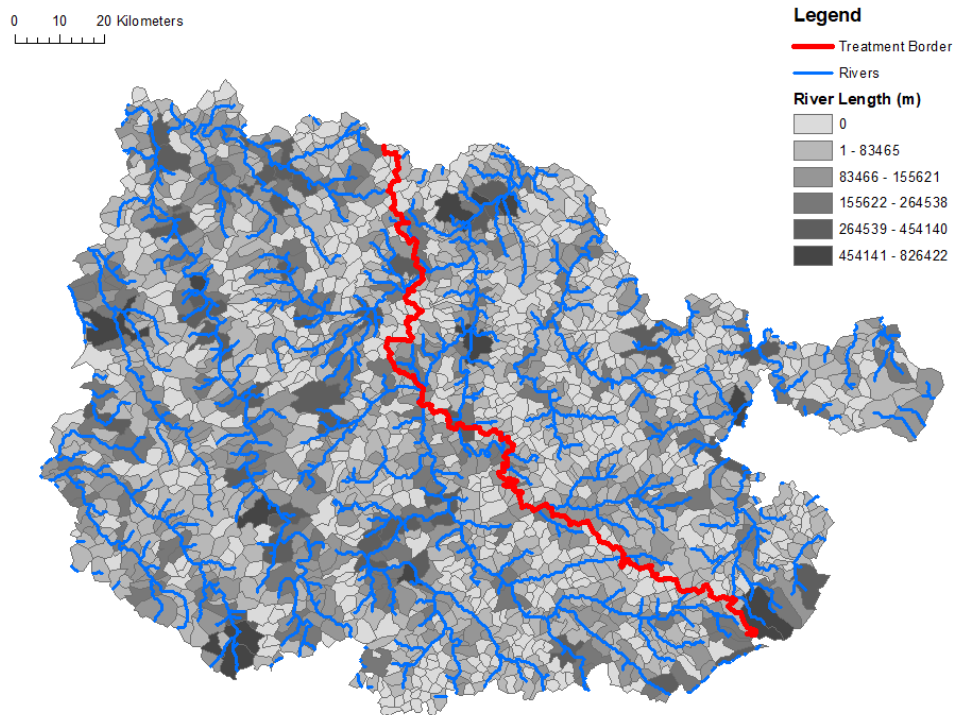




Table G1: Pre-treatment discontinuities

	Wheat		Potato		Barley	
	(1)	(2) <sup>a</sup>	(3)	(4) <sup>a</sup>	(5)	(6) <sup>a</sup>
Treatment	-0.534	0.629	0.893	-0.858	0.316	-0.576
	(0.348)	(0.300)	(1.654)	(1.807)	(2.671)	(2.566)
	[0.126]	[0.036]	[0.590]	[0.635]	[0.906]	[0.823]
Observations	408	1566	403	1389	403	1495
Bandwidth	10 km	52.87 km	10 km	43.91 km	10 km	49.74 km
	Elevation		Std. Elevation		Ruggedness	
	(1)	(2) <sup>a</sup>	(3)	(4) <sup>a</sup>	(5)	(6) <sup>a</sup>
Treatment	5.528	-3.904	1.205	7.832	9.807	20.460
	(10.429)	(10.214)	(3.866)	(3.704)	(10.307)	(8.332)
	[0.596]	[0.702]	[0.755]	[0.035]	[0.342]	[0.014]
Observations	408	1165	408	1247	408	1181
Bandwidth	10 km	33.76 km	10 km	37.08 km	10 km	34.31 km
	Cropland 1860		Grazing 1860		Population 1866	
	(1)	(2) <sup>a</sup>	(3)	(4) <sup>a</sup>	(5)	(6) <sup>a</sup>
Treatment	-0.654	0.479	-0.423	-3.491	1.924	2.523
	(0.967)	(1.110)	(2.156)	(2.783)	(1.256)	(1.315)
	[0.499]	[0.666]	[0.845]	[0.210]	[0.126]	[0.055]
Observations	408	694	408	1335	408	1097
Bandwidth	10 km	17.81 km	10 km	40.73 km	10 km	31.33 km
	Roads 1800		Railroad stations 1860		Railroad quality 1860	
	(1)	(2) <sup>a</sup>	(3)	(4) <sup>a</sup>	(5)	(6) <sup>a</sup>
Treatment	-0.654	0.479	-0.423	-3.491	1.924	2.523
	(0.967)	(1.110)	(2.156)	(2.783)	(1.256)	(1.315)
	[0.499]	[0.666]	[0.845]	[0.210]	[0.126]	[0.055]
Observations	408	694	408	1335	408	1097
Bandwidth	10 km	17.81 km	10 km	40.73 km	10 km	31.33 km

*Notes:* Discontinuities in pre-treatment variables at the treatment border. Included controls: distance to Germany (border), distance to Metz, distance to Strasbourg, distance to Nancy, and border segment fixed effects. Conley standard errors (10 km bandwidth) are reported in parentheses and p-values in brackets. All variables are described in Table E5, and descriptive statistics are presented in Table E2.

<sup>a</sup> Estimated using the optimal IK bandwidth.

G.2 Referendum 1969

In 1968 Charles de Gaulle observed widespread dissatisfaction with the political system and a growing demand for institutional change. In an attempt to satisfy this demand, he announced a constitutional referendum to be held in 1969. The main policy change proposed in the referendum was increasing the political power of regional governments. De Gaulle was convinced that increasing regions' autonomy to settle local affairs locally would restore political balance.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, he believed that the provinces were still close to the heart of the french people.<sup>5</sup> Figure G2b shows a sample of the newspaper we use the primary data source for the referendum outcome. Figure G2b shows an example of a page with voting results at the municipality level.

Figure G2: Sample from *L'Est Republicain* showing voting results



(a) *L'Est Republicain* title page

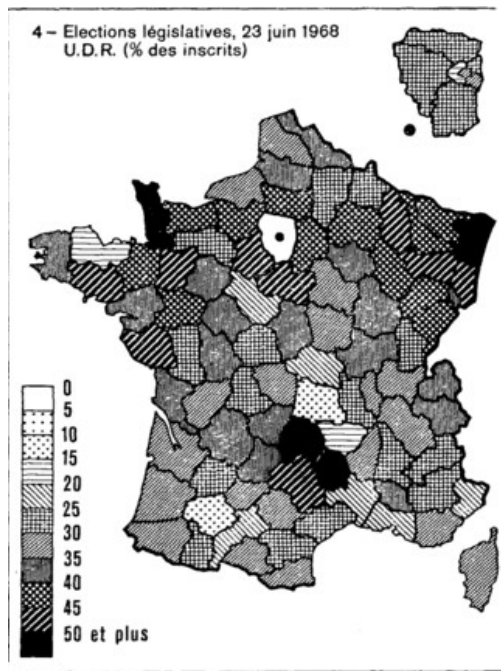
(b) Voting results on municipality level

Notes: Figure a) and b) provide an example of one of the newspapers that we used to digitize the results of the 1969 referendum, that we then match to the municipality shapefile. Source: Département archives in Lorraine.

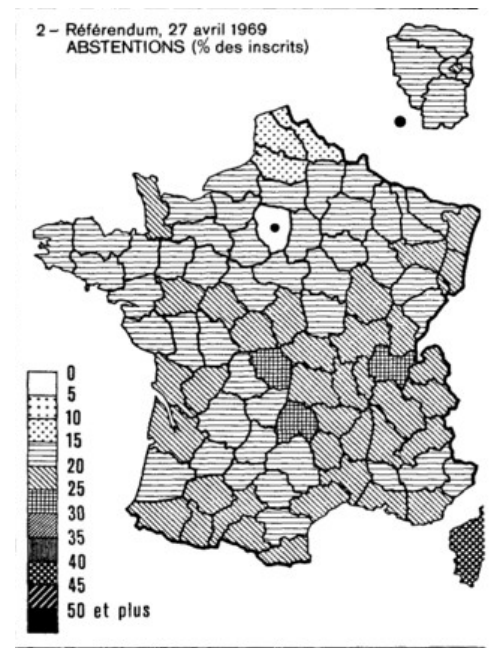
<sup>4</sup> "Rien n'est plus important pour l'équilibre moral et social de la France que l'organisation, une organisation nouvelle, des contacts et de la coopération, entre ceux qui dirigent et ceux qui sont dirigés" (De Gaulle, 1969).

<sup>5</sup> "Et cependant, bien que les régions fussent officiellement ignorées depuis, les régions, je veux dire, les provinces, fussent officiellement ignorées depuis 179 ans. Elles n'ont jamais cessé d'exister dans l'esprit et dans le coeur des français" (De Gaulle, 1969).

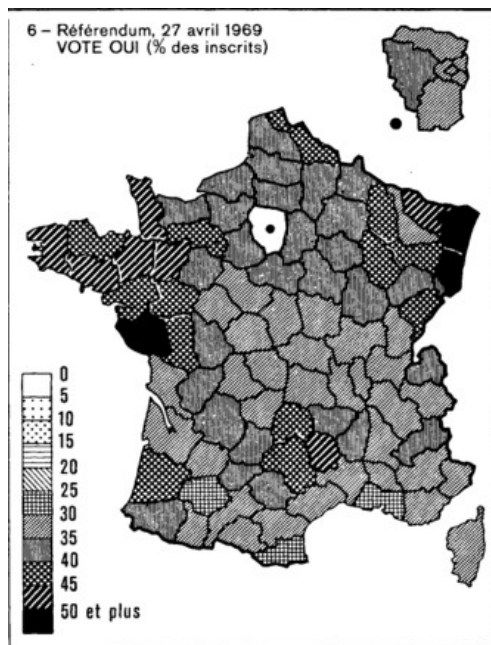
Figure G3: Election and referendum results, 1968 and 1969



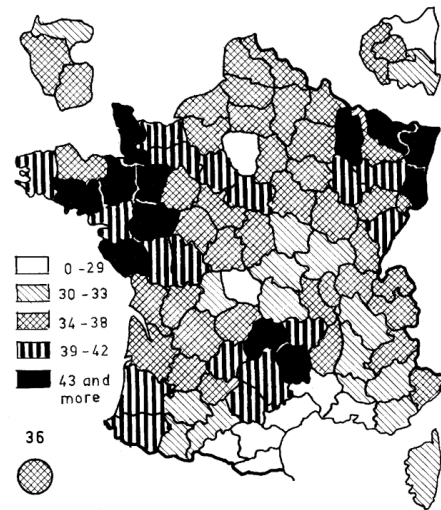
(a) Legislative election 1968



(b) Abstention 1969 referendum



(c) Share of yes votes in the 1969 referendum

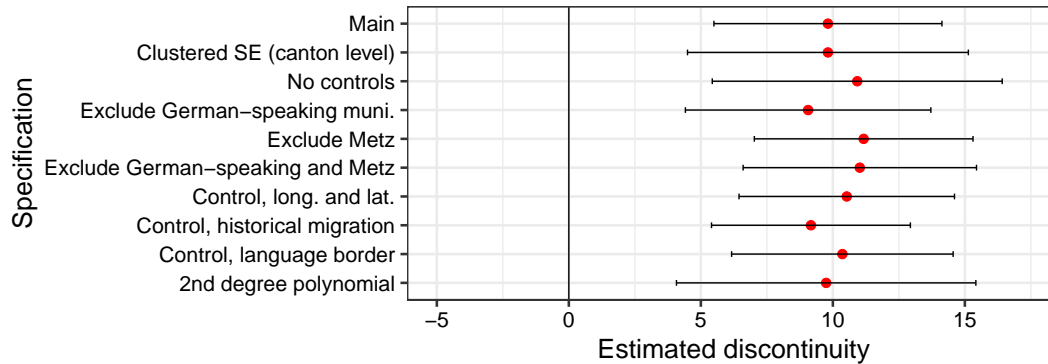


(d) Share of yes votes in the 1972 referendum

Notes: Figure a) shows vote shares for the Gaullist right-wing party *Union for the Defense of the Republic* (U.D.R.) in the legislative elections of 1968. Figures b) and c) shows the share of absentees and share of yes votes (among all votes, including invalid/blank votes), respectively, in the 1969 constitutional referendum about decentralization and establishing the regions as an important political unit in the Constitution. Figure d) presents results for the 1972 referendum, which was about "The Treaty of Accession" the question was about whether Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the United Kingdom should be allowed to become members of the "European Communities", a predecessor of the European Union. There were no differences in vote shares for U.D.R or share of absentees between the Moselle (treated) and Meurthe-et-Moselle (non-treated), while the share of yes votes in both the 1969 and the 1972 referenda was higher in Moselle. Note that no data at the sub-department level exist; our data for 1969 are based on archival newspapers we could access thanks to the departmental archive in Lorraine.

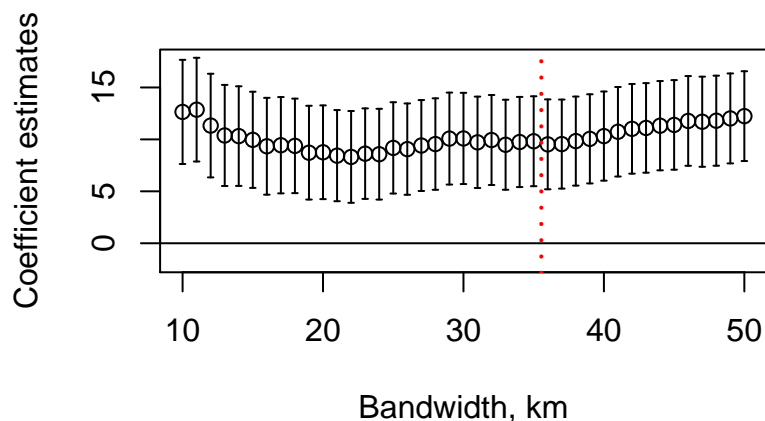
Source: Figures a), b) and c) are from Lancelot and Lancelot (1970). Figure d) is from Leleu (1976).

Figure G4: Coefficient plot, additional robustness checks for Share Yes 1969



*Notes:* Robustness checks for *Share Yes 1969*. Each coefficient is the estimated discontinuity at the treatment border, using optimal IK bandwidths. Horizontal bars represent 95 percent confidence intervals, based on Conley standard errors with 10 km bandwidth (except for the specification using clustered standard errors). *Main* presents the estimates and the confidence interval for the main specification; *Clustered SE* clusters standard errors at the canton level (123 cantons); *No controls* omits all control variables; *Exclude German-speaking municipalities* drops all municipalities within the historical German-speaking area; *Exclude Metz* drops all municipalities in the Metz agglomeration; *Exclude German-speaking and Metz* drops all municipalities in the historical German-speaking area as well as municipalities in the Metz agglomeration; *Control; long. and lat.* controls for municipality centroid longitude and latitude, as well as their interaction, *Control, historical migration* controls for migration movements between 1916 and 1946; *Control, language border* controls for the distance to the historical language border within Moselle; *2nd degree polynomial* adds a second-degree polynomial, allowed to vary on either side of the border.

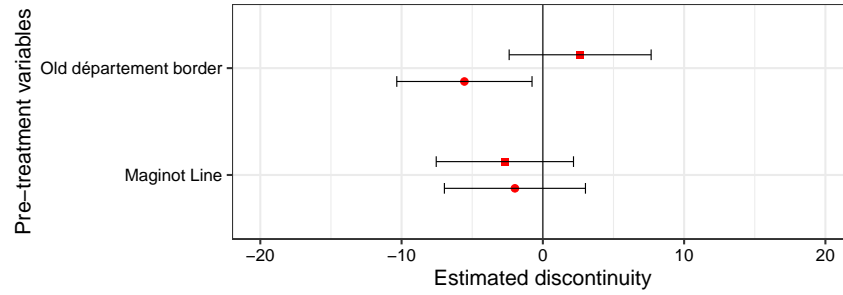
Figure G5: Regression coefficients with varying bandwidths for Share Yes in 1969 referendum



*Notes:* Estimates of treatment effects, using bandwidths ranging between 10 and 50 km. Specification as in equation (1) in the main paper. Included controls: distance to Germany (border), distance to Metz, distance to Strasbourg, distance to Nancy, and border segment fixed effects. Dashed vertical line at optimal IK bandwidth. Solid vertical lines represent 95 percent confidence intervals based on Conley standard errors with 10 km bandwidth.



Figure G6: Discontinuities in 1969 referendum results at placebo borders: old département border within Moselle and at the Maginot Line



Notes: Discontinuities in 1969 referendum at the old département border and at the Maginot Line.

Table G2: Discontinuities turnout for all three referenda

Dep. variable:	Turnout 1969	Turnout 1992	Turnout 2005
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Treatment	1.369 (1.026) [0.183]	-1.391 (0.997) [0.163]	-1.750 (1.032) [0.090]
Observations	907	899	1332
Bandwidth	26.82 km	24.21 km	40.59 km

Notes: Discontinuities in turnout for the 1969, 1992 and 2005 referenda, at the treatment border. Estimated using the optimal IK bandwidth. Included controls: distance to Germany (border), distance to Metz, distance to Strasbourg, distance to Nancy, and border segment fixed effects. Conley standard errors (10 km) in parentheses and  $p$ -values in brackets.

Table G3: RD results for 1969 referendum – treatment heterogeneity at language border

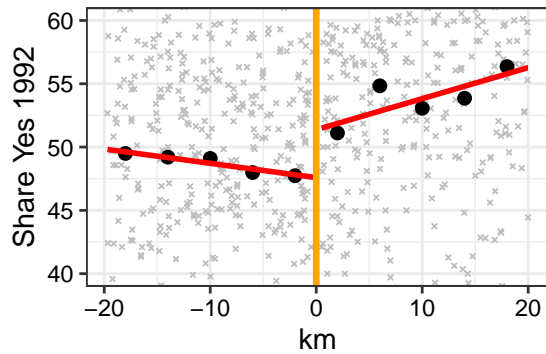
	Share Yes 1969	
	(1)	(2) <sup>a</sup>
Treatment	-1.529 (2.236) [0.495]	0.483 (2.116) [0.820]
Observations	341	460
Bandwidth	10 km	14.52 km

Notes: RD estimates at French-German language border. Included controls: distance to Germany (border), distance to Metz, distance to Strasbourg, distance to Nancy, and border segment fixed effects. Conley standard errors with 10 km bandwidth are reported in parentheses and  $p$ -values in brackets.

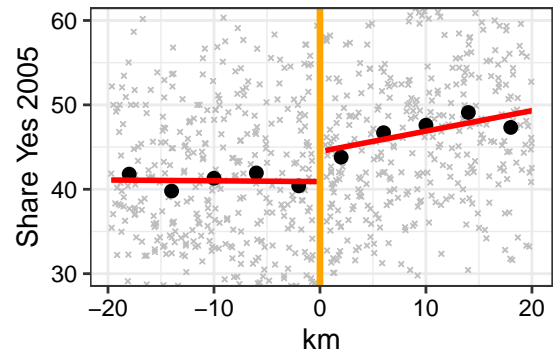
<sup>a</sup> Estimated using optimal IK bandwidth.

## G.3 Persistence in the long run

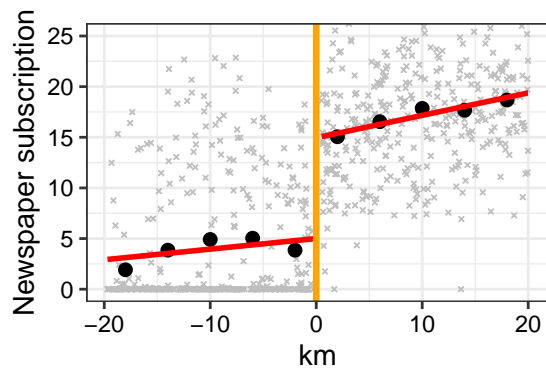
Figure G7: RD plots for referenda in 1992 and 2005, newspaper subscription, and regionalist parties



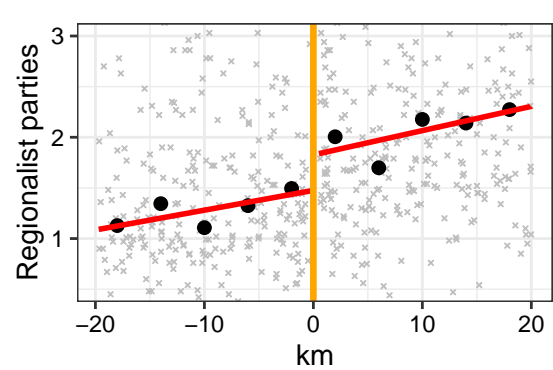
(a) Share Yes 1992



(b) Share Yes 2005



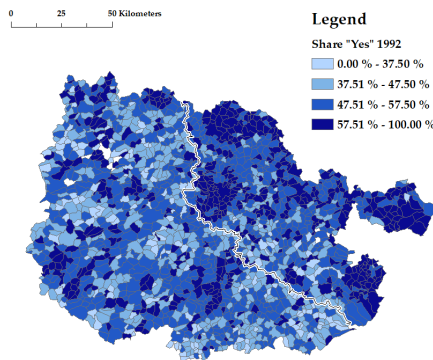
(c) Newspaper subscriptions



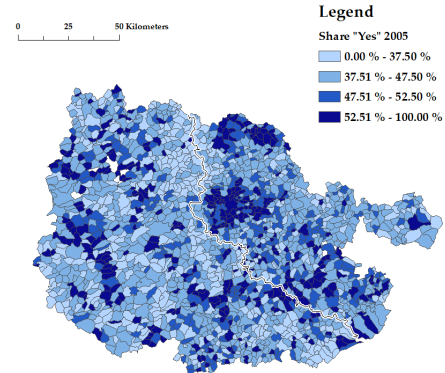
(d) Regionalist parties

*Notes:* RD plots for the share of yes votes in the 1992 and 2005 referenda, the share of newspaper subscriptions for the Lorrainian newspaper “Le Republicain Lorraine” in 2014, and the vote share of the joint list of regionalist parties in 2015.

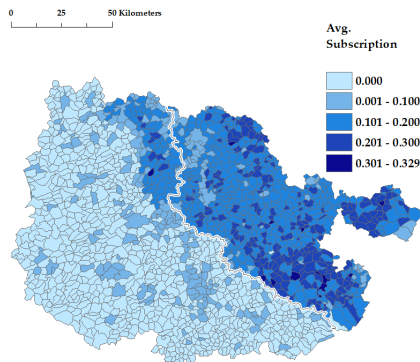
Figure G8: Maps for referenda in 1992 and 2005, newspaper subscription, and regionalist parties



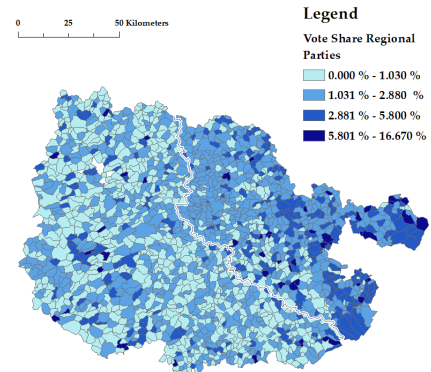
(a) Map of municipal-level share of yes votes in 1992



(b) Map of municipal-level share of yes votes in 2005



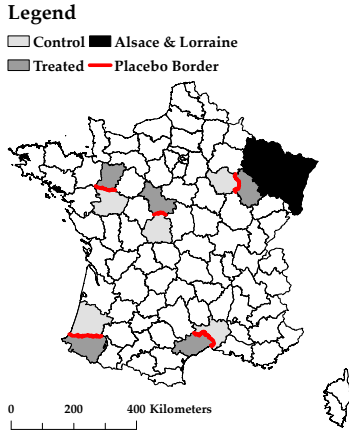
(c) Map of municipal-level newspaper subscription rates (2014)



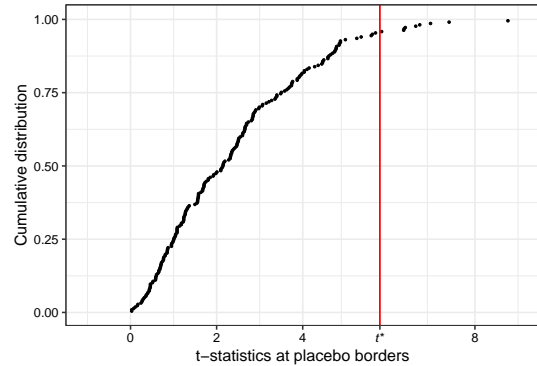
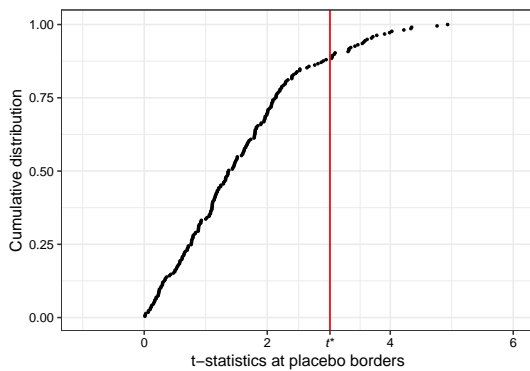
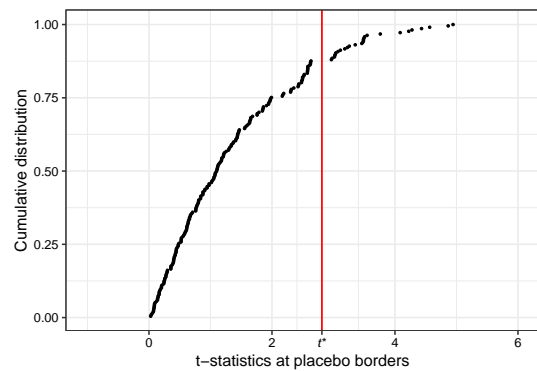
(d) Map of municipal-level vote share for regionalist parties (2015)

*Notes:* Municipal-level outcomes for the share of yes votes in the 1992 and 2005 referenda; share of newspaper subscription for the Lorrainian newspaper “Le Republicain Lorraine” in 2014; the vote share for regionalist parties in 2015. The former French-German border is highlighted in white. Darker shades reflect higher values.

Figure G9: Placebo tests – randomization inference with arbitrary pairs



(a) Examples of random département pairs and borders

(b) Placebo  $t$ -statistics for average share of yes votes in referenda 1992 and 2005, only IK bandwidth(c) Mean of  $t$ -statistics from 10 km and optimal IK bandwidth, 2005 referendum(d) Mean of  $t$ -statistics from 10 km and optimal IK bandwidth, 2005 referendum

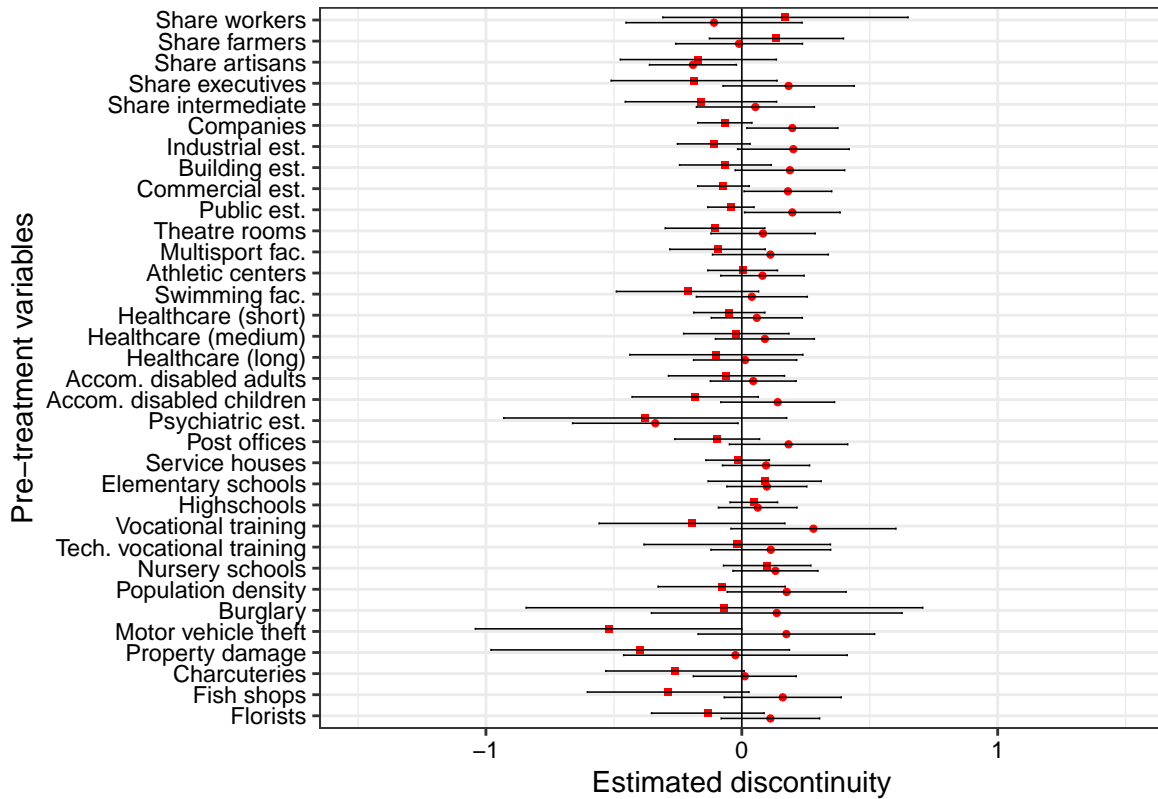
*Notes:* Figure (a) shows French département and regional borders, as well as five département-pair examples. We use comparison across and within region borders, while our actual natural experiment is within a historically homogeneous region. For each pair of départements, we estimate the discontinuity using 10 km and the optimal IK bandwidth, and each dot in Figures (c) and (d) is the mean of the  $t$ -statistics for these two estimates. The  $t$ -statistics are computed separately for 1992 and 2005 and Figures (b) and (c) show the empirical cumulative distributions of placebo estimates against the (mean)  $t$ -statistics of the actual treatment effects (in red, denoted  $t^*$ ). In Figure (b), we only consider the  $t$ -statistics from estimates using the optimal IK bandwidth, combining the 1992 and 2005 results. All placebo regressions use from the same local linear regression, with Conley standard errors (10 km bandwidth).

**Interpretation:** Figure (c) and (d) show more larger estimates as it does not account for the consistency of the long term effect. The idea behind the randomization inference is to show for what share of placebo pairs we find a comparable effect than our actual treatment effect. As our long-term perspective is about systematic persistence difference, it is important to account for consistency between the 1992 and 2005 result. As expected, once we account for this in Figure (b) or the main figure in the paper, almost all estimates are smaller than our actual treatment effect.



## G.4 Alternative explanations

Figure G10: Discontinuities in 34 variables



*Notes:* Discontinuities at the treatment border. Each coefficient is the estimated discontinuity at the former border within Lorraine, using a 10 km bandwidth (squares) and the optimal bandwidth (circles). Horizontal bars represent 95 percent confidence intervals, based on Conley standard errors with 10 km bandwidth. The results suggest no systematic discontinuities. Table E5 provides all details and sources, as well the studies that collected the historical socioeconomic measures. Table E3 presents descriptive statistics.

## G.5 Identity and policy preferences

Table G4: Correlation between European and regional attachments

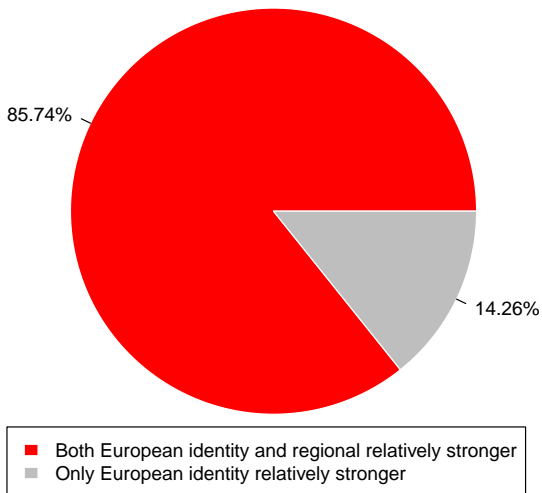
Dep. Var: Attachment: Europe Variable	Within Lorraine		All of France	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Attachement: Region	0.239	0.245	0.102	0.105
	[<0.001]	[<0.001]	[<0.001]	[<0.001]
Obs.	612	612	24208	24208
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

*Notes:* Observatoire Interrégional du Politique (OIP) survey results from 1999 and 2001, asking question on how strong respondents attachment is to Europe, and respondent's Region. Attachment is based on a 1-4 scale, with 1 corresponds to *Disagree strongly*, and 4 corresponds to *Strongly agree*. Included controls: age, gender, employment status, and survey year. *p*-values in brackets, based on heteroscedasticity-consistent standard errors.

**Interpretation:** European identity and support for European Integration are strongly positively correlated, further suggesting that the referenda in 1992 and 2005 also provide a good indication of regional identity. The reason is that in the EU regions perceive the EU as an ally against the nation-states.

Figure G11: Overlap strength of regional and European identity in treated and control areas (A+L)

**Identity differences treated compared to control area  
(conditional on stating stronger EU identity)**



*Notes:* Higher (lower) means that an individual in the treated area exhibited a higher (lower) ratio of Regional to National or European to National identity compared to the mean ratios in the untreated area. Higher is mathematically defined as larger or equal. Very few observations are exactly equal to the mean. We are mostly interested in the overlap of the two, but also the overall sum. The overlap is also visualized in the pie chart on the right. The red area indicates the share of persons which answered with both higher or equal European identity and Regional identity. Data is from the OIP 1999, 2001, and 2003, using respondents in all of Alsace and Lorraine.

## H Robustness to including Alsace

Here we show that the main results of the paper are robust to including the more southern Alsace region in the analysis. Earlier version of this paper show that also all other results are robust to including Alsace, and that there are no discontinuities in pre-treatment covariates as well.

### H.1 Replication of main results

Table H1: RD for referenda results for 1992 and 2005, and vote share for regionalist parties

Dep. variable:	Share Yes 1992	Yes Share 2005	Regionalist parties
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Treatment	6.013 (1.437) [<0.001]	7.139 (1.738) [<0.001]	0.461 (0.199) [0.020]
Observations	1661	1058	1184
Bandwidth	58.76 km	29.48 km	34.38 km

*Notes:* Discontinuities in share of yes votes in 1992 and 2005 referenda, and vote share for regionalist parties at the treatment border, using municipalities in Alsace and Lorraine. Included controls: distance to Germany (border), distance to Metz, distance to Strasbourg, distance to Nancy, and border segment fixed effects. Conley standard errors (10 kilometer bandwidth) in parentheses and  $p$ -values in brackets.

### H.2 Survey

Table H2: Survey results, Alsace and Lorraine

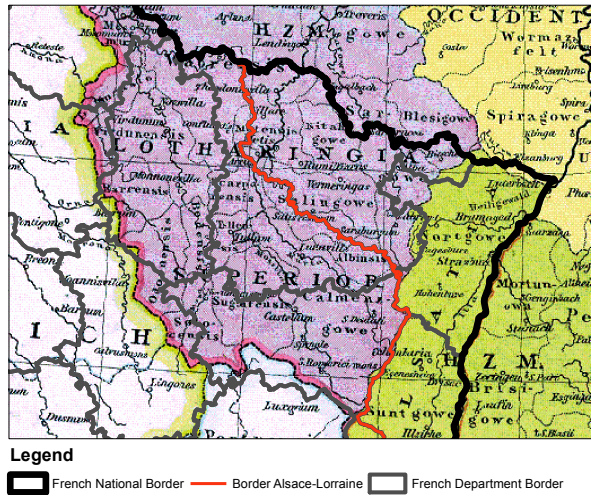
Survey question	$\Delta$	P-value	Observations
Feel close to region (Regional identity)	0.272	<0.001	2617
Feel close to nation (National identity)	-0.005	0.906	2617
In favor: transfer policy competence to region (avg. 10)	0.198	0.002	1218
Education policy should be set at regional level (avg. 5)	0.214	0.002	1204

*Notes:* Differences in survey responses between treated (Moselle, Haut-Rhin and Bas-Rhin) and control (Meurthe-et-Moselle, Meuse and Vosges) areas. Data allow only assigning respondents to treated or untreated départements. Identity is measured on a 4-point Likert-scale. Avg. “x” indicates that the factor is composed of “x” underlying survey items. The outcomes have been standardized, meaning that the estimated differences are denoted as standard deviations of the outcomes. Heteroskedasticity-consistent (robust) standard errors. Sources are the Observatoire Interrégional du Politique (OIP) 1999, 2001, and 2003. The underlying survey questions are shown in Tables E7, E8 and E9.

## I Historical maps

The following historical maps provide further evidence that the treatment border does not overlap with any other prior historical border that we are aware of.

Figure I1: Map of Lotharingia around 1000 A.D., zoomed in with 1870 border



Notes: Map depicting the former Duchy of Lotharingia, around 1000: Pink= Lower Lorraine, Purple = Upper Lorraine, Orange = Frisia (effectively detached from Lotharingia). This map is used in the *Allgemeiner historischer Handatlas* by Gustav Droysen in 1886. Alsace was a part of the duchy of Swabia at that time.

Figure I2: Map of Lorraine in the 1378 century



Notes: Map of Lorraine in the 14th century. This is a modified extract from the map *Deutschland beim Tode Karl IV.* by Karl Wolf in Meyers Lexikon 6. Auflage. The red line shows the border from the Franco-Prussian war, clearly not following the pre-existing borders and cutting through historical entities. Created from authors' own version of the map.



Figure I3: Map of Lorraine in the 17th century



Notes: Map of Lorraine in 1790. The map is an extract from *Carte de la Lorraine, du Barrois et des Trois Evêchés de Metz, Toul et Verdun. Divisée par Baillages, Dans laquelle se trouve Comprise la Généralité de Metz* created by Robert de Vaugondy, Didier (1723-1786) Dezauche, Jean-Claude (1745-1824) in 1756. The original is in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Cartes et plans, GE C-9972*. A scanned online version is accessible at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7710337x>. It shows the duchy of Lorraine as well as the area of the partly independent enclaves Metz, Verdun and Toul. Although it is admittedly hard to distinguish which area us belongs to which (another version is available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53099747j/f1.item.zoom>), it is apparent that the borders do not coincide with the border drawn after the Franco-Prussian war. It is also apparent that partly independent enclaves existed on both sides of the border which we use to distinguish in a treatment and control area.

## J Sources regarding regionalist organizations

1. Union Républicaine Lorraine (URL)
  - (a) Carrol (2011), p. 476
  - (b) [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Union\\_r%C3%A9publicaine\\_lorraine](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Union_r%C3%A9publicaine_lorraine)
2. Christlich-Soziale Partei
  - (a) <https://books.google.ch/books?id=nEd0DrmH6R0C&pg=PA57&lpg=PA57&dq=%22christlich-soziale+partei%22+moselle&source=bl&ots=djlq0-CqiC&sig=ACfU3U31QRH2t1mfdf8PXuu9WzFmd9rZdg&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi70Jp2MDiAhWKPFPAKHQXUCMYQ6AEwAXoECAGQAQ#v=onepage&q=%22christlich-soziale%20partei%22%20moselle&f=false>
  - (b) [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Union\\_r%C3%A9publicaine\\_lorraine](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Union_r%C3%A9publicaine_lorraine)
3. Parti Lorrain Indépendant (also "Groupe Lorrain")
  - (a) Grohman (1999), p. 95, p. 301
  - (b) Carrol (2011), p. 476
4. Elsaß-Lothringische Landespartei
  - (a) Eccard, Frédéric. L'Alsace sous la domination allemande. 1919. pp. 197-198
  - (b) [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alsace-Lorraine\\_Regional\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alsace-Lorraine_Regional_Party)
5. Elsass-Lothringen Partei (also "Les Protestataires")
  - (a) [http://www.numdam.org/article/JSFS\\_1913\\_\\_54\\_\\_607\\_0.pdf](http://www.numdam.org/article/JSFS_1913__54__607_0.pdf)
  - (b) [http://ww2.assemblee-nationale.fr/decouvrir-1-assemblee/histoire/1914-1918/les-deputes-protestataires-d-alsace-lorraine#node\\_4345](http://ww2.assemblee-nationale.fr/decouvrir-1-assemblee/histoire/1914-1918/les-deputes-protestataires-d-alsace-lorraine#node_4345)
  - (c) Vincent E McHale (1983) Political parties of Europe, Greenwood Press, p417 ISBN 0-313-23804-9
  - (d) [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alsace-Lorraine\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alsace-Lorraine_Party)
6. Les Autonomistes
  - (a) [http://www.numdam.org/article/JSFS\\_1913\\_\\_54\\_\\_607\\_0.pdf](http://www.numdam.org/article/JSFS_1913__54__607_0.pdf)
  - (b) [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/D%C3%A9put%C3%A9s\\_de\\_la\\_circonscription\\_de\\_Strasbourg-Ville\\_au\\_Reichstag\\_1874-1918#%C3%891%C3%A9ments\\_biographiques\\_des\\_d%C3%A9put%C3%A9s](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/D%C3%A9put%C3%A9s_de_la_circonscription_de_Strasbourg-Ville_au_Reichstag_1874-1918#%C3%891%C3%A9ments_biographiques_des_d%C3%A9put%C3%A9s)
7. Elsass-Lothringer Partei
  - (a) <http://www.webcitation.org/5kmXUnBss?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.geocities.com%2Fbfe1%2Fgeschichte6.html>
  - (b) [https://books.google.ch/books?id=4G29K4eTqK4C&pg=PA219&lpg=PA219&dq=die+volksstimme+alsace+lorraine&source=bl&ots=5qDc90IDer&sig=ACfU3U31aKULdeNS\\_XeCNIUwP](https://books.google.ch/books?id=4G29K4eTqK4C&pg=PA219&lpg=PA219&dq=die+volksstimme+alsace+lorraine&source=bl&ots=5qDc90IDer&sig=ACfU3U31aKULdeNS_XeCNIUwP)
  - (c) [https://books.google.ch/books?id=ltJFDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT66&lpg=PT66&dq=%22Frei+Volk%22+journal&source=bl&ots=pSh1Wmv4rI&sig=ACfU3U0wyBUAt\\_Ve9WwRkArziXkWJ0E9A&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjcZfPt9sDiAhWt4YUKHW5QDIk6AEwAHOECAGQAQ#v=onepage&q=%22Frei%20Volk%22%20journal&f=false](https://books.google.ch/books?id=ltJFDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT66&lpg=PT66&dq=%22Frei+Volk%22+journal&source=bl&ots=pSh1Wmv4rI&sig=ACfU3U0wyBUAt_Ve9WwRkArziXkWJ0E9A&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjcZfPt9sDiAhWt4YUKHW5QDIk6AEwAHOECAGQAQ#v=onepage&q=%22Frei%20Volk%22%20journal&f=false)
8. Unabhängige Landespartei für Elsass-Lothringen
  - (a) [https://books.google.ch/books?redir\\_esc=y&id=Y-t315UJKCcC&q=landespartei#v=snippet&q=landespartei&f=true](https://books.google.ch/books?redir_esc=y&id=Y-t315UJKCcC&q=landespartei#v=snippet&q=landespartei&f=true)
  - (b) [https://books.google.ch/books?redir\\_esc=y&id=Y-t315UJKCcC&q=landespartei#v=snippet&q=landespartei&f=true](https://books.google.ch/books?redir_esc=y&id=Y-t315UJKCcC&q=landespartei#v=snippet&q=landespartei&f=true)
9. Elsass-Lothringisches Zentrum
  - (a) Carrol (2011), p. 476, p. 480
  - (b) [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elsa%C3%9F-Lothringische\\_Zentrumspartei](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elsa%C3%9F-Lothringische_Zentrumspartei)
10. Elsass-Lothringische Fortschrittspartei
  - (a) [https://www.france-politique.fr/wiki/Elsass-Lothringische\\_Fortschrittspartei\\_\(ELFP\)](https://www.france-politique.fr/wiki/Elsass-Lothringische_Fortschrittspartei_(ELFP))
11. Parti Communiste Français (PCF)
  - (a) [https://books.google.ch/books?id=scvcl3fgSicC&pg=PA79&lpg=PA79&dq=La+Lorraine+ouvri%C3%A8re+et+paysanne&source=bl&ots=jIxxggkw\\_B&sig=ACfU3U36fqrV10h\\_j6jnTBUuwjUUKQX5Qw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwisw8jxxqLiAhWJL1AKHc9YJCcQ6AEwEHOECAGQAQ#v=snippet&q=party&f=false](https://books.google.ch/books?id=scvcl3fgSicC&pg=PA79&lpg=PA79&dq=La+Lorraine+ouvri%C3%A8re+et+paysanne&source=bl&ots=jIxxggkw_B&sig=ACfU3U36fqrV10h_j6jnTBUuwjUUKQX5Qw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwisw8jxxqLiAhWJL1AKHc9YJCcQ6AEwEHOECAGQAQ#v=snippet&q=party&f=false)
  - (b) Carrol (2011) p. 74
12. Indépendants d'action populaire (IAP)
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  - (a) Carrol (2011), p. 476
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  - (b) wiki

## J SOURCES REGARDING REGIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS

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  - (b) <https://biblio-archive.unog.ch/detail.aspx?ID=152941>
  - (c) <https://biblio-archive.unog.ch/detail.aspx?ID=152940>
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(a) Departmental Archive

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47. l'Union républicaine de l'Est Fortschrittspartei

(a) Departmental Archive

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(a) Departmental Archive

(b) [http://www.qucosa.de/fileadmin/data/qucosa/documents/8569/Dissertation\\_Padiou\\_Nicolas\\_1\\_End.pdf](http://www.qucosa.de/fileadmin/data/qucosa/documents/8569/Dissertation_Padiou_Nicolas_1_End.pdf)

49. le Cercle militaire clandestin de Nancy

(a) Departmental Archive

50. le Groupe lorrain de la représentation proportionnelle

(a) Departmental Archive

51. le Groupe d'études sociales de Nancy

(a) Departmental Archive

(b) [https://books.google.ch/books?id=k6jJDgAAQBAJ&pg=PA260&lpg=PA260&dq=le+Groupe+d%27%27C3%A9tudes+sociales+de+Nancy&source=bl&ots=16tDQXS0S&sig=ACfU3U3\\_z-e5EmqWODVGNM3qnTguStZE5g&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjjJzWimHiAhUkyIUKHe17B68Q6AEwB3oECacQAQ#v=onepage&q=Fran%C3%A7ois%20Mariatte&f=false](https://books.google.ch/books?id=k6jJDgAAQBAJ&pg=PA260&lpg=PA260&dq=le+Groupe+d%27%27C3%A9tudes+sociales+de+Nancy&source=bl&ots=16tDQXS0S&sig=ACfU3U3_z-e5EmqWODVGNM3qnTguStZE5g&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjjJzWimHiAhUkyIUKHe17B68Q6AEwB3oECacQAQ#v=onepage&q=Fran%C3%A7ois%20Mariatte&f=false)

## K Links - examples of other regions experiencing repression

- Scania, Sweden  
<https://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=83&artikel=1915851>
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<http://homepage.univie.ac.at/philipp.ther/breslau/html/Entdeutschung%20und%20Polonisierung.%20Die%20Umwandlung%20Breslaus%20in%20eine%20polnische%20Stadt.html>  
<https://web.archive.org/web/20071208130441>  
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- Chechnya, Russia  
<https://www.britannica.com/place/Chechnya>  
[http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/ingush/ingush\\_people.html](http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/ingush/ingush_people.html)  
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- Kurds in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/17/magazine/17turkey-t.html?ex=1361854800&en=df64cf85326e2103&ei=5124&partner=permalink&exprod=permalink>  
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- Tibet, currently occupied by China  
<https://www.economist.com/china/2016/09/17/the-plateau-unpacified>  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/25/world/asia/25tibet.html>
- Crimea, formerly in Ukraine, annexed by Russia 2014  
<https://www.economist.com/news/2015/06/11/bad-memory>  
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<http://www.euskadi.eus/hasiera/>

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