

# On the Institutional Origins of Regional Political Cultures across Spain

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## Abstract

Do political institutions leave a cultural legacy? Spain today presents a geographically concentrated distribution of societal traits that are related to political participation. This paper examines the possible historical origin of these regional patterns. The thesis here is that, before the unification processes of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, regions followed substantially distinctive political paths leading to the current disparities. The characterization of the political trajectories draws on the regional legal histories, with specific focus on the experiences of municipal autonomy in the High Middle Ages and the levels of constraints on the executive in the Modern Age. The regions that historically experienced more inclusive political systems exhibit currently higher levels of political culture of participation. The empirical evidence for this thesis is robust to controlling for other determinants.

**Keywords:** Political Culture, Social Capital, Institutions, Cultural Economics, Regional Economics, Political Economy.

**JEL:** Z13, D70, N93, P16

## 1. Introduction

Within the framework of the political culture tradition, a vast body of research has focused on the cultural features that make democratic institutions stable, long-lasting and well-functioning. This research program consists in the description and analysis of the political culture of nations, its complex interrelations with formal institutions and its transformation through time. The term political culture “refers to the specifically political orientations -attitudes towards the political system and its various parts, and attitudes toward the role of the self in the system. We speak of a political culture just as we can speak of an economic culture or a religious culture” (Almond and Verba, 1963:12). The political culture of democracy involves a set of beliefs, attitudes and sentiments that coherently fit with a democratic institutional system and partly consists in a set of traits that favor active participation. Although this culture evolves with contemporaneous events, there also exists a slow-moving component that reflects historical experiences and is able to condition its evolutionary path (Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Roland, 2005; Portes, 2005).

This paper examines the regional patterns across Spain in terms of what is called here political culture of participation and argues that they may partially find their roots in the distant past. Relying on a growing literature on the highly persistent cultural legacy that inclusive political experiences leave, the article explores Spanish history and exposes the substantially distinctive political paths that regions followed before the unification processes of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. For that purpose, it focuses on two historical institutional issues that presented significant differences across regions, experiences of

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municipal autonomy in the High Middle Ages and levels of constraints on the executive in the Early Modern Age, as proxies to account for the comparative level of inclusiveness in their political organization. Therefore, it is argued that regional political experiences led to different patterns of participation in the regions and these regionally-distinctive societal schemes have persisted or evolved path-dependently throughout a long process of intergenerational transmission.

Section 2 deepens in the theory of political culture and explains how a summary measure of political culture of participation is built. Section 3 deals with the regionally-distinctive political pasts before unification and suggests some possible historical facts that could have been the origin of the different regional political cultures in Spain. In section 4, this thesis is empirically tested both at regional and individual level. Finally, the last section draws some concluding remarks.

## 2. Political culture of participation in the Spanish regions

A wide variety of studies on the political culture of Spaniards were published after the arrival of democracy to Spain. Important works were interested in the evolution of their political culture over time, especially in the effect on and of the transition to democracy (López-Pintor, 1982; Benedicto, 1989; Montero and Torcal, 1990a; Botella, 1992). Other subsequent works revealed differences based on gender, age, level of education, income and occupation (Justel, 1992; Morán and Benedicto, 1995; Morales, 1999; Ferrer et al., 2006; Morales et al., 2006), and across Spanish regions in terms of political culture (Montero and Torcal, 1990b; Frías, 2001) or social capital (Mota and Subirats, 2000; Mota, 2008).

Morán and Benedicto (1995) classify the traits that are usually studied in this research program along four dimensions:

- a) Individual-citizen as an actor. It includes the base of beliefs that shape the frame of reference on which individuals pose their relation with the collective system. They remark three main components: social values, basic political beliefs and experiences of political socialization.
- b) Citizen-politics linkage. It involves the set of relations that citizens have with the political realm in general and the political system in particular. The two main components are the attitudes toward personal political participation (interest in politics, habits of information on politics, etc.) and behavior of effective (conventional and non-conventional) political participation.
- c) Image of the political system. It covers the citizens' expectations and demands that the political system must fulfill.
- d) The results of institutional action. It comprehends the evaluation made by citizens on the consequences or results of the concrete functioning and especially the performance of government and other central actors.

This paper is focused on cultural traits that can be said to be coherent with the democratic political structure, and more specifically, a set that will be called political culture of participation. Therefore, we are not interested in all the previous dimensions. The traits that are considered in this work and in the building of a summary index are confined to those related to the first two dimensions. These traits reveal the role of the individual as a political actor along with her links with the political realm and are more directly associated to political involvement and active participation<sup>1</sup>. They are similar to those included in the social capital research program, which in Putnam et al. (1993) version also finds its roots in the political culture literature. These traits are of interest since they are associated in the literature to, among other issues, the practical performance

of democratic institutions through political accountability, governmental effectiveness, the overcoming of collective action problems, etc. (Putnam et al., 1993; Boix and N., 1996; Boix and N., 1998; Nannicini et al., 2013).

With accordance to previous information, we build a variable to account for the variation of these cultural traits across 50 Spanish provinces. For analytical purposes, the political culture of a community is “the particular distribution of patterns of orientation toward political objects among the members” (Almond and Verba, 1963:13). Therefore, what we measure here is specifically how extended the considered traits are within the society at provincial level. Three different sources are used: surveys from the Spanish Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS hereafter), the World Values Survey<sup>2</sup> (WVS hereafter) and the European Social Survey<sup>3</sup> (ESS hereafter).

As said above, the considered measures are referred to those two dimensions and will be confined to those available for Spain at regional level. From the first dimension, we include indicators about generalized interpersonal trust, associative participation and the socialization process at home<sup>4</sup>. A single variable for generalized trust is obtained by computing the principal component of this information from WVS<sup>5</sup> and ESS<sup>6</sup>. Associative participation (*association*)<sup>7</sup> is measured by the participation in twelve kinds of voluntary associations. The measures that account for the socialization process are the frequency in which conversations on politics were held at home when the respondent was child or adolescent (*polhome*)<sup>8</sup> and the importance of encouraging in children the value of independence (*independence*) and the value of obedience (*obedience*)<sup>9</sup>. The last two, though they do not explicitly refer to politics, are supposed to account for the horizontality or the verticality of the relations within the society.

The second dimension is measured by their interest in politics (*intpol*)<sup>10</sup>, feeling of being informed about politicians’ activities (*infogov*)<sup>11</sup>, their information habits about politics (*infopol*)<sup>12</sup> and participation in unconventional ways of political action (*action*)<sup>1314</sup>.

A summary variable called ***Political Culture Index*** is obtained from the first principal component of all these measures -*intpol*, *infogov*, *infopol*, *action*, *polhome*, *obedience*, *independence*, *trust* and *association*. The principal component analysis returns a normalized variable, so this index shows mean 0 and standard deviation 1. Its highest value is reached in Guipuzcoa (2.64) and the lowest one in Jaen (-1.78). Figure 1 shows the geographical distribution of the resulting variable. The highest values are located in northern Spain, and especially in the northeast.

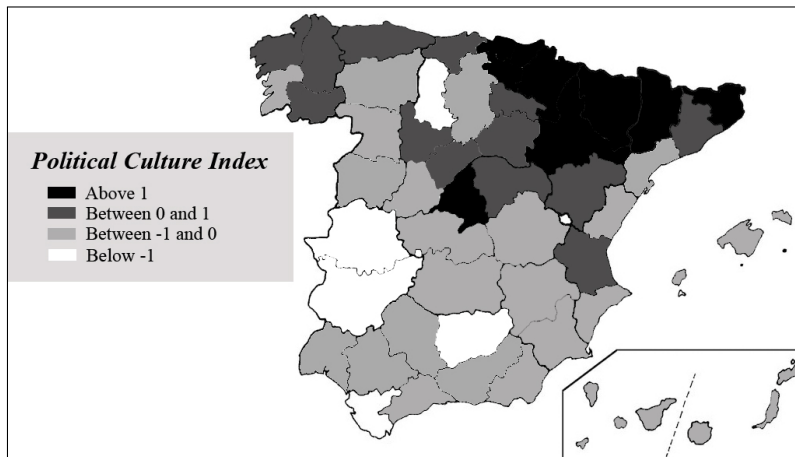


Figure 1: Geographical distribution of the ***Political Culture Index***

### 3. Historical institutions in the origins of political culture disparities

In the last decades, important empirical studies were conducted on highly persistent cultural traits that find their roots in a distant past (Putnam et al., 1993; Guiso et al., 2008a; Tabellini, 2010; Nunn and Wantchekon, 2011; Voigtländer and Voth, 2012; Alesina et al., 2013; Giuliano and Nunn, 2013; Talhelm et al., 2014). This cultural legacy is able to persist even after the original circumstances have long ago disappeared. Part of these works pointed political experiences as important elements that deeply shape culture. This section attempts to account for the distinctive political paths that regions followed before the unification processes of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to our approach, these different political trajectories could have given rise to different regional cultural patterns of participation that are still noticeable today.

In order to analytically address the assessment of these regionally distinctive political paths, this section studies two different periods in Spanish history -previous to the political unification- that permit us to establish an interregional comparison in terms of political institutions. In each period, we can find institutional elements that present significant differences across regions and may reveal information on the level of inclusiveness of the political system. Inclusiveness is the level to which the members of a population condition political decision-making and/or their interests are reflected in the institutions and public policy. In its concrete form, inclusiveness is usually associated with more democratic institutions, rule of law, separation of powers, or a set of individual rights and liberties for civil, political and economic matters.

The following subsections assess the experiences of municipal autonomy in the High Middle Ages and the level of constraints on the executive in the Early Modern Age.

#### 3.1. Municipal autonomy in High Middle Ages

Important works remarked the relevance of political experiences at local level in the development of persistent cultural patterns (Putnam et al., 1993; Guiso et al., 2008a; Guiso et al., 2011; Giuliano and Nunn, 2013).

Italy's case is deeply studied and provides us with some guidance. Banfield (1958), Putnam et al. (1993) and Guiso et al. (2008a) considered that in order to understand the origin of current societal traits disparities across Italian regions it is necessary to refer to their political experiences in the Middle Ages. During the eleventh century, the Normans invaded the southern part of Italy and set “a feudal monarchy, which continued in some forms or another until the Italian unification in 1861” (Guiso et al., 2008a). This regime, highly hierarchical and bureaucratic, precluded the formation of independent city-states. Even “any glimmerings of communal autonomy were extinguished as soon as they appeared” (Putnam et al., 1993:123), hindering, by that, the development of civic traits -considered both under the concept of social capital and political culture of participation. However, in northern city-states, “those who governed the communal republics acknowledged legitimate limits on their rule. Elaborate legal codes were promulgated to confine the violence of the overmighty. In this sense, the structure of authority in the communal republics was fundamentally more liberal and egalitarian than in contemporary regimes elsewhere in Europe, including, of course, the South of Italy itself [...] The practices of civic republicanism provided a breadth of popular involvement in public decision making without parallel in the medieval world” (Putnam et al., 1993:125). From this perspective, it is understood that the effects of these distinct historical institutional configurations have persisted until the present day by way of culture.

We do not find in Spain free city-state cases in the Italian sense, but there did exist other kinds of autonomy experiences at municipal level during the High Middle Ages that presented clear regional disparities.

During the process of the so-called *Reconquista* (the Christian Reconquest), the Iberian Peninsula lived a peculiar period in terms of socio-political organization. Significant events of this time, like the existence of a weak central and integrative power or the needs to repopulate the new conquered areas, gave rise to a wide range of political and legal arrangements at local level throughout Medieval Spain.

Attempting to unidimensionally condensate in a single variable the enormous organizational diversity at that time is certainly a tough challenge. However, it may seem reasonable to do a rough evaluation of the different levels of autonomy. Drawing on the history of Spanish law, the fact that will help us to assess municipal autonomy in the High Middle Ages is the capacity of the town to develop its own legal order. We counterpose two situations: the official adoption of the *Liber Iudiciorum* and the development of an own customary law.

The ancient Visigothic code, *Liber Iudiciorum*, regulated the “particular relations of all kinds, procedural and criminal” (García-Gallo, 1979:259). It was an extensive and ambitious legal order that, given its romanist roots, granted the power to legislate to the monarch (Gacto et al., 2009:188; Orduña, 2003:108). Although the *Liber Iudiciorum* corresponds to the Visigothic period, previous to the Muslim conquest, certain monarchs opted for its validity after the Christian Reconquest. The validity of this code implied generally the impossibility of developing an entire legal tradition based on the customs of the population and evolving according the new requirements<sup>15</sup>. During the High Middle Ages, *Liber Iudiciorum* ruled in a territorial scope within Kingdom of Leon and Kingdom of Toledo, but was extended as local legal order to a multitude of major and minor towns in southern Spain. With the catalogue of medieval texts of local law by Barrero and Alonso (1989), we can clearly locate the areas where this legislation officially ruled at that time. This information helps us to build a dummy variable (*Liber Iudiciorum*) that takes value 1 in the current autonomous communities of Galicia, Asturias, Extremadura, Andalusia and Canary Islands<sup>16</sup> -see the map in Appendix D-, along with the provinces Leon, Palencia, Zamora, Salamanca, Toledo, Ciudad Real, Murcia and Alicante. Figure 2 shows the presence of this code in the Middle Ages.

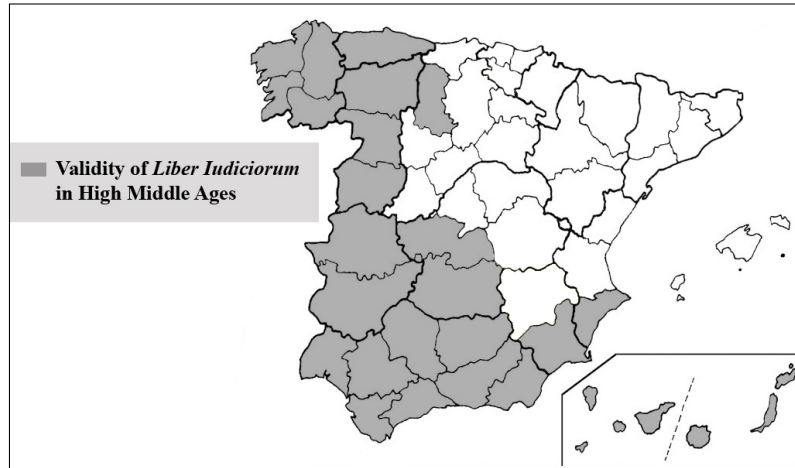


Figure 2: *Liber Iudiciorum* in High Middle Ages

According to García-Gallo, “in stark contrast to the Visigothic system, centred on the validity of *Liber Iudiciorum*, we find what we could characterized as free law; that is, non-formulated legal order, within which the norms to be applied are freely seek for each case, and for any dispute judges judge freely according to their “free will”” (García-Gallo, 1979:377). They created or formalized the law with accordance to what is in the mind of the population, even when it was not previously formulated. Except in rare cases, it never was a capricious and arbitrary decision by the judge, since the people would have never accepted such a regime (García-Gallo, 1979:369). With regard to the expansion of

this judicial creation of law, “it had deep roots in Castile<sup>17</sup>, Navarra and Aragon” (Gacto et al., 2009:121-122).

Although not necessarily by the judicial process, in Basque provinces (Gacto et al., 2009:204) and Catalonia (García-Gallo, 1979:445) custom-based legislation was also developed.

We thus take into account here the regency of a customary-based legislation, either by written codes or by judicial creation of law. We build a dummy variable (*Customary Law*) that takes value 1 in the current autonomous communities of Cantabria, Madrid, La Rioja, Basque Country, Navarra, Aragon, and Catalonia, along with the provinces Burgos, Valladolid, Avila, Segovia, Soria, and Guadalajara, as we see in Figure 3.

Both variables -*Liber Iudiciorum* and *Customary Law*- attempt to capture the same fact: comparative autonomy in the elaboration of local law. However, each of them has its own weaknesses. The variable Customary Law seems very arbitrary and is based on statements from historiography. And *Liber Iudiciorum*, though more precise and solid, is an indirect proxy whose interpretation assumes that no deep legal elaboration was made, since, on the one hand, it was the privilege of the monarch and, on the other one, due to its extensive form, no substantial modifications were required.

As can be seen in figures 2 and 3, not all the provinces fit on this dichotomy: there exist some places that neither got *Liber Iudiciorum* nor were ruled by a locally-developed customary law. Since the absence of *Liber Iudiciorum* did not necessarily imply the development of an own custom-based legislation, we test both cases in the empirical analysis.

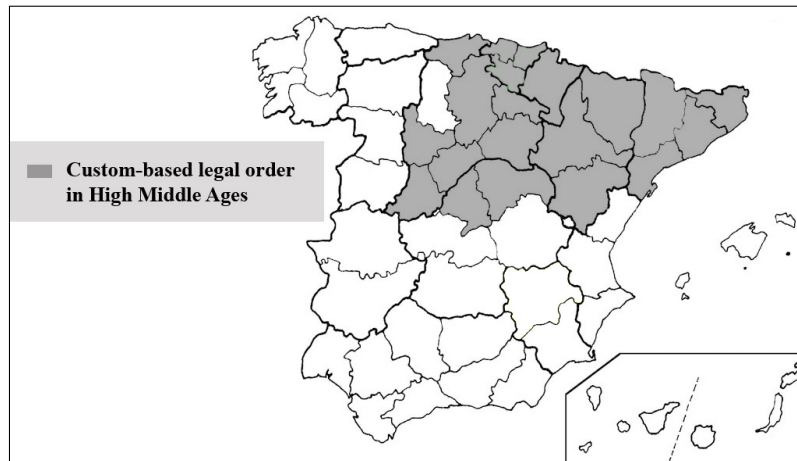


Figure 3: Presence of custom-based law in High Middle Ages

### 3.2. Constraints on the executive in the Early Modern Age

The disparities among the political systems that coexisted within early modern Spain are broadly known. Even though the same monarch held both crowns -Castile and Aragon-, they were separate regimes, with different political institutions, bodies, traditions, etc. Drawing a solid comparative assessment about the inclusiveness of these different systems is also a difficult task. Diverse ways of accounting for the different elements of political organization have emerged within political economy -e.g., Eckstein and Gurr (1975), Stasavage (2010)-, and the level of constitutional and parliamentary constraints on the executive was considered a key aspect (North and Weingast, 1989; Acemoglu et al., 2005; Tabellini, 2010). Thereby, they attempted to compare the extent to which the executive was fiscalized and constraint by an organized body, whether a Parliament or equivalent.

Our assessment about the institutional environment in early modern Spanish regions relies on Tabellini’s (2010) work. Tabellini (2010) evaluated past political institutions in the regions of five countries -including Spain- with regard to their constraints on the exec-



utive<sup>18</sup> in the years 1600, 1700, 1750, 1800 and 1850. Following Polity IV methodology<sup>19</sup> -see Tabellini's 2005 working paper-, he assigned a higher value to current autonomous communities of Aragon, Catalonia and Valencian Community in years 1600 and 1700 due to the presence of stronger legislative Courts (*Cortes*), as opposed to those in the Crown of Castile and the equivalent body in Kingdom of Mallorca. We build his variable *pc\_institutions*, principal component of all the periods assessed, just as he built it in his work. In Figure 4, these two groups are represented. This variable -called Tabellini's Constraints on the Executive hereafter- takes value 1.98 for Aragon, Catalonia and Valencian Community -0.495 for the rest<sup>20</sup>.

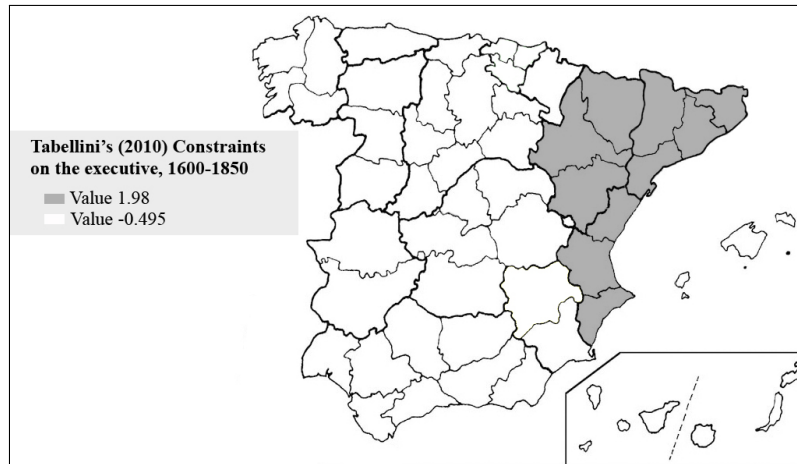


Figure 4: Tabellini's (2010) constraints on the executive, 1600-1850

However, Tabellini's perspective does not account for the special political situation at that time in the regions of Basque Country and Navarre. They also had a *pactist* relationship with Spanish central power. *Fuero General de Navarra*, *Fuero de Vizcaya*, *Fuero de Guipúzcoa* and *Fueros de Álava* had to be sworn by the monarch -just as *Fueros Generales de Aragón*, *Furs de Valencia* and *Constitucions de Catalunya*- and *Cortes de Navarra*, *Juntas Generales de Vizcaya*, *Juntas Generales de Guipúzcoa* and *Juntas Generales de Álava*, respectively, were in charge of their administration and protection. Following his logic, we create a new variable that accounts for this situation, ***Modified Constraints on the Executive***, being a modification of Tabellini's one.

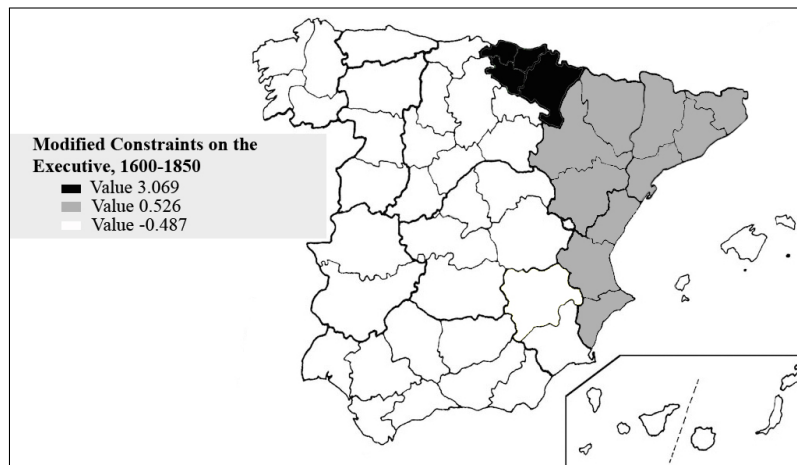


Figure 5: Modified variable on constraints on the executive

Navarra and Basque provinces take a value of 3 in 1600, 1700, 1750 and 1800. This situation officially remains until 1841 in Navarra and 1876 in Basque Country. However, central power's aspirations had been gradually eroding their autonomy from time before;

for this reason we assign to Basque provinces in 1850 the same value as the rest of regions. Our variable, *Modified Constraints on the Executive*, is made up from the principal component of these modified measures of constraints on the executive for years 1600, 1700, 1750 and 1800 -there is no variation in 1850. The geographical pattern of the resulting variable is shown in Figure 5.

## 4. Empirical analysis

### 4.1. Historical political institutions and political culture (I): Regional-level

This paper attempts to demonstrate that there exist empirical reasons to believe that the current regional differences in these political culture traits have, at least partly, a historical and essentially political origin<sup>21</sup>. However, as Gabriel Almond (1990) suggests, the causality chain linking culture and political structure operates in both directions.

The case that is proposed here is a so-called natural experiment, in which it is possible to study political culture in isolation from political institutions. As we have seen above, regions followed substantially distinctive political paths, showing relevant disparities in terms of institutional features that have been associated with the development of these cultural traits. These regionally distinctive political paths end with the unification process, i.e. the Bourbon centralization in the eighteenth century and the constitutional and administrative unification processes of the Liberal State in the nineteenth century. The former unifies the Crown of Castile and the Crown of Aragon under the political institutions of Castile. In the nineteenth century, under the framework of the reforms toward the Liberal State, Basque and Navarrian autonomy are gradually eroded until the complete official suppression of their particular laws (*fueros*): in Navarre with the *Ley de Modificación de Fueros* (1841) and in the Basque provinces with the end of the Third Carlist War (1876). However, these regions' autonomy had already been substantially reduced after the enactment of *Ley de Confirmación de Fueros* in 1839. This fact is of fundamental importance, since it homogenizes the formal institutional environment for all regions. Thus we do not consider formal institutions to transmit variation since then. This is how we theoretically isolate political culture from the effect of subsequent formal political institutions. However, this is a very strong assumption, since certain regionally-distinctive formal institutional features did transcend or appeared after unification. For instance, distinctive civil laws of Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, Basque provinces and Navarre persisted somehow until nowadays. In subsection 4.2, we will discuss and test the role of these regionally-distinctive private laws and other neglected institutional issues that make this assumption too simple, such as the Spanish decentralization in the 1980s.

Table 1 reports ordinary least-squares (OLS) regressions of the summary measure for political culture of participation -*Political Culture Index*- on the historical political variables presented in section 3 -*Liber Iudiciorum*, *Customary Law*, *Tabellini's Constraints on the Executive*, and *Modified Constraints on the Executive*. In Columns (1)-(4), the political variables are introduced one at a time and, in columns (5)-(8), they are combined. All these historical variables' coefficients are highly significant when they are individually used -regressions (1)-(4). However, when they are combined in the same regression, all remain significant except *Tabellini's Constraints on the Executive*<sup>22</sup>-equations (5) and (6). Our modified measure for constraints on the executive does remain significant when combined with variables on municipal autonomy -equations (7) and (8). Subsequent tables introduce sets of controls in the regressions to assess the robustness of the results.



**Table 1.** The impact of political institutions on political culture

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
					Political Culture Index			
Liber Iudiciorum in Middle Ages	-1.17*** (0.23)				-1.08*** (0.25)		-0.78*** (0.23)	
Customary Law in Middle Ages		1.32*** (0.24)				1.22*** (0.26)		0.94*** (0.23)
Tabellini's Constraints on the Executive			0.34** (0.14)		0.12 (0.13)	0.16 (0.12)		
Modified Constraints on the Executive				0.62*** (0.11)			0.44*** (0.12)	0.39*** (0.11)
_cons	0.59*** (0.20)	-0.53*** (0.10)	0.00 (0.13)	0.00 (0.11)	0.54*** (0.17)	-0.49*** (0.10)	0.39** (0.15)	-0.38*** (0.13)
<i>N</i>	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.3380	0.4149	0.0977	0.3669	0.3372	0.4252	0.4831	0.5276

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses: robust errors in columns (1), (2) and (6) and uncorrected errors in the rest. \*Significant at 10%; \*\*Significant at 5%; \*\*\*Significant at 1%. Estimation method: OLS.

In table 2, prolonged historical factors that could have left a cultural imprint are introduced as control variables: comparative economic development, literacy and access to land. These three issues will be captured in 1860, when main political transformations towards unification can be said to be completed. In this way, we account for the starting conditions at the moment of unification. Modernization theory asserts that culture evolves with socioeconomic conditions. Although a persistent component still remains, “economic development is associated with shifts away from absolute norms and values toward values that are increasingly rational, tolerant, trusting, and participatory” (Inglehart and Baker, 2000). In the model, regressions will be controlled for an estimate of *GDP per capita in 1860*<sup>23</sup> (Carreras et al., 2005). Additionally, education also stands out as one of the main factors that improve political culture of participation. This alternative must thus be controlled for, and it will be done by including provincial *Literacy rates in 1860* (DGIGE, 1863), proportion of people that can read and write on the overall population. Finally, inequality in its various forms is supposed to affect negatively to these traits (Putnam et al., 1993; Kyriacou and López-Fernández, 2015). A control variable related to the access to land in 1860, when Spain was an essentially agrarian society, provides information on this issue. *Access to land in 1860* is the proportion of land owners over the population employed in agrarian activities in the province (DGIGE, 1863). Appendix A and Appendix B present, respectively, the descriptions and the main descriptive statistics of all the used variables. In the five regressions conducted in this table 2, political variables’ coefficients remain highly significant, present the expected sign and do not show important alteration from those obtained in Table 1.

**Table 2.** The impact of political institutions on political culture: controlling for economic development, education and inequality in 1860

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Political Culture Index				
Liber Iudiciorum in Middle Ages	-1.18*** (0.26)			-0.75*** (0.27)	
Customary Law in Middle Ages		1.53*** (0.31)			1.09*** (0.29)
Constraints on the Exec. (1600-1850)			0.59*** (0.12)	0.42*** (0.12)	0.35*** (0.12)
GDP per capita 1860	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01* (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Literacy rate in 1860	-0.27 (1.55)	-2.60 (1.62)	0.83 (1.45)	-0.16 (1.40)	-1.88 (1.46)
Access to land 1860	-1.92 (1.23)	-1.79 (1.12)	0.57 (1.20)	-0.53 (1.19)	-0.69 (1.11)
_cons	1.06 (0.70)	0.32 (0.59)	-0.91 (0.57)	0.27 (0.68)	-0.09 (0.54)
<i>N</i>	50	50	50	50	50
adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.3468	0.4490	0.3857	0.4674	0.5257

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses: robust errors in column (2) and uncorrected errors in the rest. \*Significant at 10%; \*\*Significant at 5%; \*\*\*Significant at 1%. Estimation method: OLS.

Table 3 includes geographical factors as controls, which were also suggested to have a role in shaping individual preferences and cultural traits. The geographical control

variables included in the regressions are *Latitude*, *Longitude*, *Altitude*, and *Coast Density* -length of the coast divided by province area. As in the latter table, political variable's coefficients remain significant and present no big alteration from the baseline model. It is noteworthy that Latitude is always significant and shows a positive sign, this means that being in northern regions is associated to a higher extension of these traits: it may be reflecting both the effect of climate and proximity to continental Europe.

**Table 3.** The impact of political institutions on political culture: controlling for geographic factors

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Political Culture Index				
Liber Iudiciorum in Middle Ages	-1.36*** (0.27)			-1.05*** (0.28)	
Customary Law in Middle Ages		1.31*** (0.25)			1.04*** (0.28)
Constraints on the Exec. (1600-1850)			0.50*** (0.13)	0.33*** (0.10)	0.29** (0.11)
Latitude	0.10** (0.04)	0.07** (0.04)	0.09* (0.05)	0.08** (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)
Longitude	0.06 (0.04)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Altitude	-1.04*** (0.36)	-0.83** (0.33)	-0.12 (0.36)	-0.68** (0.31)	-0.56* (0.29)
Coast Density	-0.64 (1.95)	1.78 (1.28)	2.62 (2.32)	-0.06 (1.55)	1.78 (1.07)
_cons	-3.10** (1.54)	-3.26** (1.48)	-3.58* (1.90)	-2.53* (1.44)	-2.72* (1.42)
<i>N</i>	50	50	50	50	50
adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.4448	0.5020	0.3903	0.5135	0.5512

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses: robust errors in columns (1), (2), (4) and (5) and uncorrected errors in (3). \*Significant at 10%; \*\*Significant at 5%; \*\*\*Significant at 1%. Estimation method: OLS.

## 4.2. About the unification assumption

As mentioned above, the assumption of perfect institutional integration in the empirical strategy is too simple. Certain institutional features did transcend after the unification process and other regional political particularities emerged. Two issues will be explicitly addressed: the persistence of regional private laws and the decentralization into autonomous communities in 1980s.

### 4.2.1. The persistence of the historical private law

An issue about the assumptions that could raise doubts is the continuity of part of the historical formal institutions that were regionally distinctive and may have functioned as an alternative origin and factor of persistence<sup>24</sup>. Formal differences in private law actually transcended and they have not been taken into account in the stylized outline of the case.

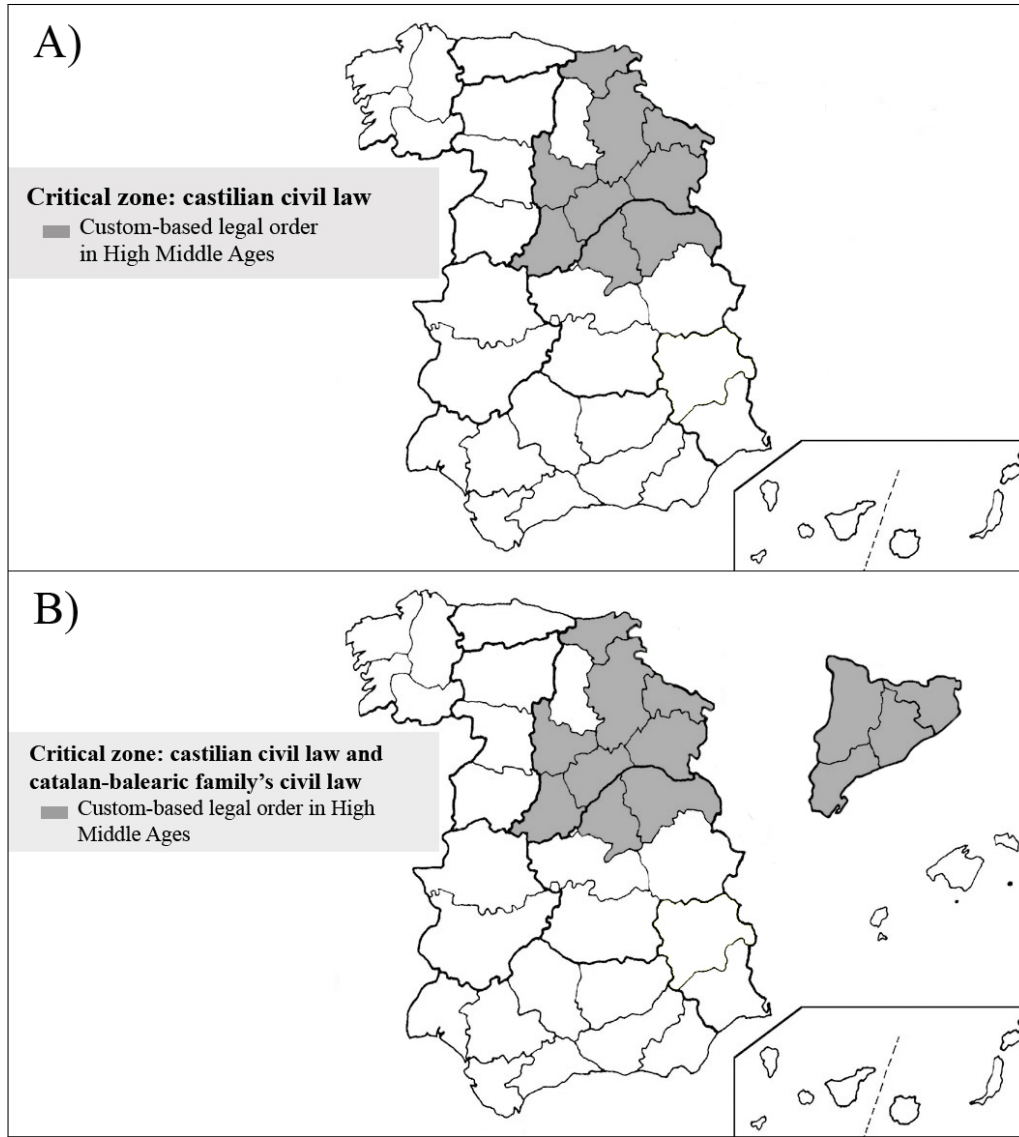


Figure 6: Critical zones where historical variables' effect can be isolated from the effect of civil codes

In order to isolate the direct effect of political paths on these cultural traits from the possible effect of these distinctive legal orders, strategically-reduced samples will be used. These sub-samples represent critical zones in where we can observe variability of at least one of our historical variables within a specific civil code. The effect of our historical political variables on the *Political Culture Index* is assessed in two sub-samples:

- A) Those regions in which Castilian private code already formally ruled before the processes of unification: all the provinces under the Crown of Castile except Basque Country and Navarre. The geographic location of this critical zone of 35 observations is illustrated in figure 6.A). In columns (1) and (2) of Table 4, we can see how *Customary Law* and *Liber Iudiciorum* respectively remain highly significant and their coefficients show the expected sign. However, the size of their coefficients was notoriously altered.
- B) Those provinces of critical zone A plus Catalan provinces and Balearic Islands are included here. Despite the unification of both Crowns under the political institutions of Castile, Mallorca and Catalonia maintained their civil codes, unlike Valencia and Aragon -though Aragon recovered it in 1711. If we consider the very generalizer assumption that the Catalan and Balearic legal orders share common roots, we could

identify them as belonging to a common legal family within which we can observe variation in our variable *Customary Law*. This can make sense, since, according to Orduña (2003:147) “the conquest of Mallorca was an enterprise driven by the bourgeoisie of Barcelona, which conditioned the development of its legal order”. The variable *Customary Law* shows variability across both areas -Castilian and Catalan-Balearic-, as shown in Figure 6.B). In column (3), we carry out the same regression on this new subsample and control for the fixed effects of these legal codes by including the dummy *Castilian Private Law*, which takes value 1 in the critical zone A. Results are again satisfactory: *Customary Law*’s coefficient is significant and *Castilian Private Law* is not.

**Table 4.** On the unification assumptions

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Political Culture Index					
Liber Iudiciorum in Middle Ages	-0.70*** (0.24)			-0.58*** (0.21)		
Customary Law in Middle Ages		0.81*** (0.25)	0.84*** (0.28)		0.89*** (0.24)	
Constraints on the Exec. (1600-1850)						0.24** (0.09)
Castilian Private Law			-0.61 (0.46)			
Andalusia				-1.03*** (0.31)	-0.94*** (0.27)	-1.32*** (0.36)
Aragon				0.52 (0.42)	0.31 (0.41)	0.57 (0.38)
Canary Islands				-0.39 (0.27)	-0.30 (0.22)	-0.68** (0.33)
Castilla-La Mancha				-0.64 (0.39)	-0.38 (0.25)	-0.58 (0.44)
Castilla y Leon				-1.00*** (0.32)	-1.08*** (0.28)	-0.97** (0.38)
Catalonia				0.21 (0.68)	-0.01 (0.67)	0.25 (0.65)
Com. Valenciana				-0.67* (0.39)	-0.19 (0.35)	-0.82** (0.37)
Extremadura				-1.32*** (0.27)	-1.23*** (0.21)	-1.61*** (0.32)
Galicia				0.03 (0.39)	0.13 (0.35)	-0.26 (0.43)
Basque Country				1.07** (0.51)	0.86* (0.50)	0.50 (0.41)
_cons	0.10 (0.20)	-0.58*** (0.13)	0.02 (0.45)	0.69** (0.30)	0.02 (0.21)	0.52* (0.28)
<i>N</i>	35	35	40	50	50	50
adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.1743	0.2133	0.3180	0.6031	0.6524	0.5712

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses: robust errors in columns (3)-(6) and uncorrected errors in the rest. \*Significant at 10%; \*\*Significant at 5%; \*\*\*Significant at 1%. Estimation method: OLS. Columns (1) and (2) show reduced samples according to Figures 6.A) and column (3) according to 6.B).

#### 4.2.2. Decentralization in the 1980s

In the decade of the 1980s, Spanish democracy evolved towards a federal political system, decentralizing decision-making and delegating an important set of competences in the so called autonomous communities. One could argue that this fact provides regions with distinctive and parallel political experiences at regional level.

In columns (4)-(6) of table 4, dummy variables for each autonomous community with more than one province are included. In this way, we can control for the fixed effects that correspond at least to some of the autonomous communities. Political variable's coefficients are again significant and show the correct sign, but are substantially modified with regard to the baseline.

#### 4.3. Historical political institutions and political culture (II): Individual-level

This approach would be strengthened if we were able to discern this effect also at individual level. In this subsection, individual level regressions are conducted. Specifically, some of the considered components<sup>25</sup> of political culture of participation are separately regressed on the political variables and a set of individual-level control variables: respondent's level of education<sup>26</sup>, respondent's self-location in the left-right ideological spectrum<sup>27</sup>, respondent's age and some dummy variables that respectively take value 1 when the respondent is religious, is male, has a public employment, works for a non-profit organization, is a pensioner, is a student and is currently unemployed.

Due to space reasons, these regressions are presented in two tables. In table 5, following variables are considered: interest in politics (*intpol*) -columns (1), (2) and (3)-, feeling of being informed on political activity (*infogov*) -columns (4), (5) and (6)-, habits of information on politics in 1992 (*infopol1992*) -column (7), (8) and (9)- and 2010 (*infopol2010*)<sup>28</sup> -column (10), (11) and (12). Table 6 presents regressions with unconventional political actions (*action*)<sup>29</sup> -columns (1), (2) and (3)-, participation in voluntary organizations (*association*) -columns (4), (5) and (6)-, and the frequency of political conversations at home when respondent was child (*polhome*) -columns (7), (8) and (9).

All political variables' coefficients are most of times significant and present the expected sign. The only political variable that is always significant is **Customary Law**. The variable **Liber Iudiciorum** loses its significance in column (4) of table 5 and column (1) of table 6, and **Modified Constraints on the Executive** is not significant in column (12) of table 5 and columns (3) and (9) of table 6. However, we may conclude that even when in these regressions equations are controlled for all these variables at individual level, regional political pasts have often a significant effect. Although not shown in the table, it is interesting to remark that the level of education is always significant at individual-level. Higher levels of education are associated to higher levels of political involvement and other traits that are proper of a political culture of participation.



**Table 5.** The impact of historical political institutions on political culture traits: Individual-level regressions

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	intpol	intpol	intpol	infogov	infogov	infogov	infopol1992	infopol1992	infopol1992	infopol2010	infopol2010	infopol2010
Liber Iudiciorum in Middle Ages	-0.06*** (0.01)			-0.02 (0.02)			-0.06*** (0.02)			-0.10*** (0.02)		
Customary Law in Middle Ages		0.05*** (0.01)			0.05** (0.02)			0.06*** (0.02)			0.10*** (0.02)	
Const. on the Exec. (1600-1850)			0.02*** (0.01)			0.07*** (0.01)			0.06*** (0.01)			0.00 (0.01)
-cons	-0.26*** (0.03)	-0.31*** (0.03)	-0.29*** (0.03)	-0.65*** (0.06)	-0.67*** (0.05)	-0.66*** (0.05)	-0.43*** (0.05)	-0.48*** (0.04)	-0.47*** (0.04)	-0.95*** (0.06)	-1.04*** (0.06)	-1.00*** (0.06)
Individual-level controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>N</i>	25220	25220	25220	9651	9651	9651	15450	15450	15450	7462	7462	7462
adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.1166	0.1162	0.1162	0.1459	0.1464	0.1512	0.0373	0.0372	0.0403	0.0917	0.0917	0.0890

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*Significant at 10%; \*\*Significant at 5%; \*\*\*Significant at 1%. Estimation method: OLS. Dependent variables are: *intpol*, interest in politics; *infogov*, feeling of being informed on politicians' activities; *infopol1992*, information habits on politics in survey 1992; and *infopol2010*, information habits on politics in survey 2010. All regressions are controlled for individual-level variables: respondent's level of education, respondent's self-location in the left-right ideological spectrum, respondent's age and a set of dummy variables that respectively take value 1 when the respondent is religious, is male, has a public employment, works for a nonprofit organization, is a pensioner, is a student and is currently unemployed.

**Table 6.** The impact of historical political institutions on political culture traits: Individual-level regressions (cont.)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	action	action	action	association	association	association	polhome	polhome	polhome
Liber Iudiciorum in Middle Ages	-0.02 (0.02)			-0.10*** (0.02)			-0.03** (0.01)		
Customary Law in Middle Ages		0.05*** (0.02)			0.08*** (0.02)			0.04*** (0.01)	
Const. on the Exec. (1600-1850)			-0.01 (0.01)			0.05*** (0.01)			0.01 (0.01)
-cons	0.47*** (0.05)	0.44*** (0.05)	0.46*** (0.05)	-0.13* (0.07)	-0.21*** (0.07)	-0.18*** (0.07)	0.29*** (0.04)	0.25*** (0.04)	0.27*** (0.04)
Individual-level controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>N</i>	13153	13153	13153	9718	9718	9718	3794	3794	3794
adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.1862	0.1866	0.1862	0.0747	0.0736	0.0750	0.0645	0.0653	0.0633

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*Significant at 10%; \*\*Significant at 5%; \*\*\*Significant at 1%. Estimation method: OLS. Dependent variables are: *action*, participation in unconventional political activities; *association*, participation in voluntary organizations; and *polhome*, how frequent conversations on politics were at home when the respondent was child. All regressions are controlled for individual-level variables: respondent's level of education, respondent's self-location in the left-right ideological spectrum, respondent's age and a set of dummy variables that respectively take value 1 when the respondent is religious, is male, has a public employment, works for a nonprofit organization, is a pensioner, is a student and is currently unemployed.

#### 4.4. On the causality relations

In our narrative, as in similar works, early political institutions were treated as exogenous accidents that subsequently gave rise to cultural traits. A legitimate question is to what extent we can consider political paths to be accidental or rather they had actually something to do with previous cultural circumstances; that is to say, whether political structure is exogenous or endogenous with regard to political culture. If the exogeneity of historical political paths is not demonstrated we cannot confirm a causality relation from political structure to political culture.

It is indeed difficult to argue for the exogeneity of political institutions in the Modern Age. However, something can still be said in favor of our approach with regard to municipal political organization in High Middle Ages. Municipal organization had actually an important accidental or exogenous component due to the impact of the Christian Reconquest.

The Muslim invasion and the Christian Reconquest marked a break with previous political organization in the Iberian peninsula. The subsequent local political configuration results as a consequence of the different needs of warfare and repopulation, the different identity of the individuals or organizations in charge of them -clergymen, military organizations, free peasants, etc.- and the different power imbalances.

In the first stages of the Reconquest, repopulation in the northeastern quarter of the Iberian Peninsula was more spontaneous. The need to make appealing for settlers the new conquered territories, uninhabited and desolated by war, led the monarchs to offer better arrangements for those areas. That was materialized into a broad set of civil and political rights and freedoms and the granting of land ownership to the settler who first ploughed it. In the last stages of the reconquest process towards the south, the increasingly powerful religious-military orders, nobility and royal power were mainly the organizations in charge of not only the reconquest but also the repopulation, the selection of legal orders and the distribution of land in the new areas, giving rise to a highly concentrated distribution of land and more politically hierarchical societies. This means that, as war was progressing toward the south, political organizations were more and more hierarchical and the distribution of economic resources and political power was more and more concentrated, with this being reflected in the local legal codes. We can thus recognize an important component of exogeneity in the political institutions that were set across regions in the Middle Ages.

### 5. Concluding remarks

Tons of ink have been devoted to the features that citizenry should have to make democracy work. Previous research have remarked the importance of an active citizenry, more interested in political matters, more informed and conscious, more willing to make the elites accountable and to engage in organizations, etc. This research has been focused on what we have called here political culture of participation, and a set of variables have been used to account for its interregional variability within Spain. However, we must not forget that they are only proxies for a broader cultural environment. This work did not aim to make a comprehensive description of the political culture but to account for regional variability.

This paper addressed the origins of these differences in political culture across Spanish regions. For that purpose, the paper delved into Spanish history and exposed the different political paths that regions followed before unification. As proxies to account for the comparative level of inclusiveness in the political organization, two factors were considered: experiences of municipal autonomy in the Middle Ages and constraints on the executive in the Modern Age.

According to the empirical analysis, both historical political factors seem to have played

an important role in shaping the political culture of the regions. However the interpretation raises some concerns. Certainly, constraints on the executive have been considered as having a direct effect on culture; however, it may have also served as a contention to centralist aspirations from the royal power with regard to municipal life. The progressive oligarchization of municipal life was a common process for all the regions since the last centuries of the Middle Ages, but the regional paces seem to have been different. In the early modern era, popular participation in decision making and access to official positions was more extensive in the Crown of Aragon (Forteza, 2004:25, Domínguez-Ortiz, 1988:568), Navarra and Basque provinces (Orduña, 2003:177-183). For instance, local entities in the Crown of Aragon and Navarra were comparatively less affected by the sale of public offices (Tomás, 1999:151, Ostozola, 2011). Thus, they could have been a restraint for distortions from the executive central power in the local arrangements<sup>30</sup>. In this sense, when considering constraints on the executive, instead of accounting for their direct effect on these cultural traits, we may be accounting for the effect of having conserved (longer) more autonomous and inclusive municipal life until Early Modern Age. This is consistent with Putnam and Guiso, Sapieza and Zingales' perspective, who point that prolonged experiences of horizontal cooperation and citizens' empowerment are the factors that leave this persistent legacy. In turn, an open-access environment for the elites at the top of the political hierarchy -in the style of North et al. (2009)- may be insufficient to bring about cooperation and participation dynamics in the lower strata of society.

This work contributes to a growing body of research that demonstrates that political institutions may leave a highly persistent cultural legacy and invite to the reinterpretation of previous works on institutional path-dependence. Nevertheless, many unknowns still remain. Further research could be aimed at understanding the specific political elements that gave rise to the distinctive development of these cultural traits and the mechanism through which they operate. Understanding the dialectical relation between democratic institutions and political culture of participation will be of great usefulness for policy design.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Some traits that are usually included in the broader concept of civic culture, such as satisfaction with performance of politicians and support to the system, are left aside. The works interested in the survival of the democratic system or in the likelihood of its emergence are usually more centred in them (Inglehart, 1988; Muller and Seligson, 1994)

<sup>2</sup>From WVS we use the waves from 1991 first wave Spain is included- to 2005.

<sup>3</sup>From ESS we take every available wave: 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012.

<sup>4</sup>Cultural transmission has also received attention within Political Economy -e.g. see Bisin and Verdier (2001) or Guiso et al. (2008b).

<sup>5</sup>From the question: “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?” Two options are offered: “Most people can be trusted” and “Can’t be too careful”.

<sup>6</sup>From similar question to WVS’ one: “Using this card, generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means you can’t be too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted.”

<sup>7</sup>From CIS (1998). We obtain this information from question: “From following associations and organizations, can you tell me about each of these organizations whether you belong, whether you have ever belonged or whether you never belonged to...?”. Being the kinds of associations listed: “sport associations and groups”, “local or regional societies”, “religious associations”, “educative, artistic and cultural associations and groups”, “juvenile organizations or groups”, “charitable associations”, “ecologist associations”, “labor unions”, “political parties”, “human rights organizations”, “pacifist movement’s association”, “feminist associations”. We use the provincial percentage of people who answer that they belong to it for each case and extract the principal component from all organizations.

<sup>8</sup>From CIS’s (2000) question: “Could you tell me if you remember, when you were child or adolescent, how frequent conversations about politics were held at home?” Being the options “very frequently”, “sometimes”, “rarely” and “practically never”. This variable consider the proportion of respondents who answer “very frequently” and “sometimes”.

<sup>9</sup>Past two variables come from WVS’ question: “Here is a list of qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important? Please choose up to five”. The offered qualities are: independence, hard work, feeling of responsibility, imagination, tolerance and respect for other people, thrift, obedience, perseverance, religious faith, and unselfishness.

<sup>10</sup>From surveys CIS (1992), CIS (1998), and CIS (2002). The three of them ask the same question is asked: “Generally speaking, would you say that you are interested in politics a lot, considerably, a little or nothing at all?”. We use the provincial percentage of people who answer “A lot” or “quite” and create a single variable from the principal component of all of them.

<sup>11</sup>From surveys CIS (1998) and CIS (2002). Both surveys ask “Generally speaking, would you consider you are very informed, quite informed, a little informed or not informed at all about the activities developed by your autonomous community’s government? What about the activities of your autonomous community’s parliament? What about your city council’s activities?”. We use the provincial percentage of people who answer “Very informed” or “quite informed” and create a single variable from the principal component of all of them.

<sup>12</sup>From survey CIS (1992) we use the question “Could you tell me how often you read general-information newspapers? How often do you listen the news on the radio? How often do you watch the news on TV?”. And from CIS (2010) we use the slightly different question “Now, I would like to make you some questions about newspapers, radio and television. How often do you listen or watch the news in radio or television? Apart from news, do you listen or watch other shows about politics in radio or television? Apart from sport press, do you read newspaper (in paper or the Internet)? Do you use internet in order to get information about politics or society?”. We use provincial percentage of people who answer “Everyday” and create a single variable from all media in both surveys.

<sup>13</sup>From surveys CIS (2000), CIS (2008), and CIS (2011). The three of them ask a similar question: “I am going to read a list with some possible actions that people may pursue in order to make known their opinion about an issue. I would like you to tell me, for each of them, whether you have realized it on many occasions, sometime or never”. However, surveys do not present the same options every year. CIS (2002) offers “signing a petition”, “participating in a demonstration”, “sending a letter to the media to expose a problem”, “visiting public officer or political representatives”, “participating in a strike”, “occupying buildings, participating in a lock-down or blocking the traffic”, “spraying graffiti or damaging traffic signs or other urban furniture” and “using personal violence to confront other demonstrators or the police”. CIS (2008) presents “participating in a demonstration”, “buying or refusing to buy a product for ethical reasons or to protect the environment”, “participating in a strike” and “occupying buildings, participating in a lock-down or blocking the traffic”. CIS (2011) offers “participating in a demonstration”, “buying or refusing to buy a product for ethical reasons or to protect the environment”, “participating in a strike”, “occupying buildings, participating in a lock-down or blocking the traffic” and “participating in a discussion forum or group about politics in the Internet”. For every year, provincial average of each action is computed and

one summary indicator is built by extracting the principal component from all available actions. Finally, one single variable *-action-* is created by obtaining the principal component of the three years.

<sup>14</sup>For a research on unconventional political participation in Spain, see Cantijoch and San Martín (2009)

<sup>15</sup>In some places of the so-called Extremadura leonesa -Zamora and Salamanca-, legislative flexibility was permitted, even when *Liber Iudiciorum* was the official legislation. Local law was complemented to adapt local organization to frontier (warfare) conditions. However, we do not equalize this legal flexibility to the custom-based law of northeastern regions.

<sup>16</sup>Although some of the Canary Islands were not explicitly recipients of *Liber Iudiciorum*-based codes, all the islands were ruled de facto under models related to it (Almond, 1983:47).

<sup>17</sup>In that context, by mentioning Castile the author refers to current provinces Ávila, Burgos, Guadalajara, La Rioja, Madrid, Santander, Segovia, Soria and part of Palencia and Valladolid.

<sup>18</sup>For an explanation of why Tabellini considers constraints on the executive to affect the development of similar cultural traits, see Tabellini (2010:694).

<sup>19</sup>It assigns values from 1 to 7 to his evaluation of constraints on the executive, being 1 “unlimited authority” and 7 “accountable executive, constrained by checks and balances”. Between both extremes other situations are defined: 3, if executive have to face real but limited constraints -e.g. a legislative body with more than consultative functions-; and 5, when executive power is subject to substantial constraints -e.g. a legislature that often modifies or defeats executive proposals for action or refuses funds to the executive. Even values correspond to transitions between them.

<sup>20</sup>Original values for this principal component in Tabellini (2010) from his sample of five countries are different, since here we compute a new principal component from a sample reduced to only the Spanish regions.

<sup>21</sup>Appendix C provides the correlation coefficients between our participation measures and the historical political variables.

<sup>22</sup>In order to save space, *Tabellini’s Constraints on the Executive* will not be taken into account hereafter.

<sup>23</sup>Relative index of autonomous communities’ GDP per capita in 1860 imputed to the province (Spain=100).

<sup>24</sup>For instance, Berkowitz and Clay (2006) suggest that, within the United States, those states that had Civil Law in the past are today less likely to believe that the judiciary must be independent than those that had not.

<sup>25</sup>Only those variables from CIS surveys.

<sup>26</sup>Variable education may take 6 values: from 1, that means no education, until 6, that means holding a postgraduate degree.

<sup>27</sup>It may take 11 values, with 0 meaning left and 10 meaning right.

<sup>28</sup>Components of infopol in 1992 and 2010 are different. Due to this fact, two different variables - *infopol1992* and *infopol2010*- are used.

<sup>29</sup>Only information that is repeated for the three surveys -2000, 2008 and 2010- is used in building this variable *action*: participation in demonstrations, participation in strikes and participation in a building occupation, a lock-down or a traffic blockade.

<sup>30</sup>See, for example, the description of how Cortes of Navarra designed mechanisms to defend the local municipalities in Orduña (2003:181).



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## Appendix A Variables' description, aggregation and source

Variable	Description	Aggreg.	Source
Variables on political culture			
infopol	Information habits about politics	Province	CIS (1992, 2010)
infogov	Feeling of being informed on politicians' activities	Province	CIS (1998, 2002)
intpol	Interest in politics	Province	CIS (1992, 1998, 2002)
association	Participation in twelve kinds of associations	Province	CIS (2002)
action	Participation in unconventional political actions	Province	CIS (2000, 2008, 2011)
polhome	Frequency in which conversations on politics were held at home when child or adolescent	Province	CIS (2000)
obedience	Importance of obedience in children	Province	WVS
independence	Importance of independence in children	Province	WVS
trust	Generalized interpersonal trust	Province	WVS and ESS
Political Culture Index	Principal component from all political culture variables	Province	Own
Variables on historical political institutions			
Liber Iudiciorum	Legal code based on Liber Iudiciorum in Middle Ages	Province	Barrero and Alonso (1989), García-Gallo (1979) and Gacto et al. (2009)
Customary Law	Customary-based legal order in Middle Ages	Province	García-Gallo (1979) and Gacto et al. (2009)
Tabellini Constr. on the Exec.	Assesment of constraints on the executive during 1600-1850 by Tabellini (2010)	Province	Tabellini (2010)
Modified Constr. on the Exec.	Modified version of Tabellini's indicator	Province	Own
Regional-level control variables			
GDP per capita 1860	Relative index of GDP per capita in 1860 imputed to the province (Spain=100)	Community	Carreras et al. (2005)
Literacy rates 1860	% population that could read and write in 1860	Province	DGIGE (1863)
Access to land 1860	% land owners over the population employed in agrarian activities in 1860	Province	DGIGE (1863)
Latitude	Latitude (degrees) of the province capital	Province	aemet.es
Longitude	Longitude (degrees) of the province capital	Province	aemet.es
Altitude	Altitude in meters of the province capital	Province	AEMET (2012)
Coast density	Coast length divided by province area	Province	INE (2003)
Castilian Private Law	Castilian private law before unification	Province	Own
Individual-level control variables			
education	Respondents level of education	Individual	CIS
leftright	Self-location in the ideological spectrum	Individual	CIS
religious	The respondent is religious	Individual	CIS
male	The respondent is male	Individual	CIS
age	Respondents age	Individual	CIS
publicempl	The respondent has a public employment	Individual	CIS
nonprofitempl	Employment in a nonprofit organization	Individual	CIS
pensioner	The respondent is pensioner	Individual	CIS
student	The respondent is student	Individual	CIS
unemployed	The respondent is currently unemployed	Individual	CIS

## Appendix B Main descriptive statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean/freq.	Std.	Min	Max
infopol	50	0	1	-1.91	2.26
infogov	50	0	1	-2.18	3.16
intpol	50	0	1	-2.07	2.07
association	50	0	1	-0.31	0.52
action	50	0	1	-2.17	2.37
polhome	50	0.18	0.08	0	0.4
obedience	50	0.41	0.07	0.28	0.53
independence	50	0.06	0.06	0.23	0.44
trust	50	0	1	-1.69	1.90
Political Culture Index	50	0	1	-1.78	2.64
Liber Iudiciorum	50	25*			
Customary law	50	20*			
Tabellinis Constraints on the exec.	50	0	1	-0.50	1.98
Modified Constraints on the exec.	50	0	1	-0.49	3.07
Literacy rate in 1860	50	0.21	0.08	0.10	0.41
GDP per capita in1860	50	97.55	37.09	51.3	309.7
Access to land in 1860	50	0.35	0.10	0.14	0.52
Latitude	50	40.10	3.16	28.2	43.5
Longitude	50	3.84	3.73	-2.82	16.25
Altitude	50	0.37	0.368	0.01	1.13
Coast Density	50	0.03	0.06	0	0.29
Castilian private law	50	35*			

\*Instead of mean, frequency of times the dummy variable takes value 1 is displayed.



## Appendix C Participation measures and historical political variables: Correlation

		[1] Liber Iudiciorum	[2] Customary law	[3] Mod. Cons. executive
[1]	Political Culture Index	-0.5929***	0.6533***	0.6163***
[2]	infopol	-0.4200***	0.4202***	0.2865**
[3]	intpol	-0.2747*	0.3509**	0.2194
[4]	infogov	-0.2551*	0.345**	0.2987**
[5]	action	-0.3944***	0.4858***	0.2845**
[6]	polhome	-0.2873**	0.3006**	0.2845**
[7]	association	-0.3949***	0.4055***	0.3452**
[8]	trust	-0.4157***	0.3462**	0.5860***
[9]	obedience	0.5204***	-0.5589***	-0.4917***
[10]	independence	-0.4194***	0.4857***	0.4779***

\*Significant at 10%; \*\*Significant at 5%; \*\*\*Significant at 1%.

## Appendix D Map of Spanish autonomous communities and province



Figure 7: Map of Spanish autonomous communities and provinces. Source: Ministry of Education, Science and Sport