

The Oriental City:

Political Hierarchy and Regional Development in China, AD 1000-2000

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June, 2018

Motivation: an example

In A.D. 1000, [Kaifeng](#) had an estimated urban pop. around 1 million.

- ▶ the most prosperous city in China and arguably the largest in the world (Mote 2003, Morris 2013).
- ▶ London, <10K

In 2015, Kaifeng's GDP is ranked 129th among Chinese cities and 12th within Henan province.

Not so puzzling (Hartwell 1967, Heng 1999). [Kaifeng](#):

- ▶ lost the political prestige as the national capital in the 12th century & further lost the status of the provincial capital in the 20th century
- ▶ exemplifies the model of “[the Oriental city](#)” bequeathed by Max Weber (Weber 1921).

Motivation: the question & the challenges

The Oriental city vs. the Occidental city (Weber 1921)

- ▶ politics vs. market in economic geography

Since Weber, scholars have studied how politics shape economic geography.

- ▶ e.g., De Long and Shleifer 1993, Ales and Glaeser 1995, Davis and Henderson 2003...
- ▶ less studied than the role of markets

The challenge: most rely on cross-sectional variation (e.g., capitals)

- ▶ difficult to know what drives the political status of certain regions.

This paper: political hierarchy in China, 1000-2000

China: fertile research ground for politics and economic geography

- ▶ a stable political hierarchy system (province-prefecture-county)
- ▶ regime changes systematically altered the political importance of regions
 - ▶ national and prov capitals vary across regimes

By tracing the evolution of prov cap. and economic activities, we hope to

- ▶ understand how politics shape economic geography;
- ▶ speak to the research on persistence of economic activities in the long run.
 - ▶ locational fundamentals (David and Weinstein 2002, Miguel and Roland 2011)
 - ▶ large economic shocks (Redding, Sturm, and Wolf 2011, Bleakley and Lin 2012, Kline and Moretti 2013, Michaels and Rauch 2016, Hanlon 2017)

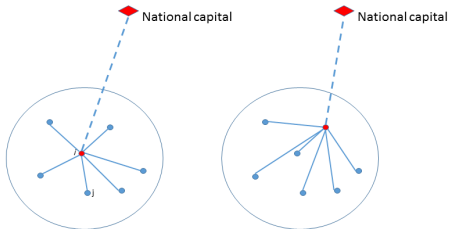
Bottom line: economic advantages driven by political factors do not necessarily persist.

▶ Relationship to the literature

Preview

① Why did provincial capitals get relocated?

- ▶ regime changes → national capital relocation and provincial boundary redivision
- ▶ the ruler minimizes the costs of gathering taxes and information: according to the logic of political control
- ▶ hierarchical dist.: to their peer prefectures & to the national capital.
- ▶ to guide our analysis on the effects of capital status



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- ▶ to guide our analysis on the effects of capital status

② Do gaining and losing capital status matter?

- ▶ Yes, both matter.
- ▶ 40-50% change in population density (and urbanization rates).
- ▶ based on 11-period pop. data in 1078, 1102, 1580, 1776, 1820, 1851, 1910, 1964, 1982, 1990, and 2000.

③ Why does capital status matter?

- ▶ The spatial hierarchy mirrors the political hierarchy.
- ▶ Evidence: change in capital status affects the position (e.g., centrality) in the transportation networks.

Outline

① Background and A Simple Algorithm

- ▶ Administrative hierarchy & capitals
- ▶ Changes in provincial capital: a simple algorithm

② Data and Descriptive Pattern

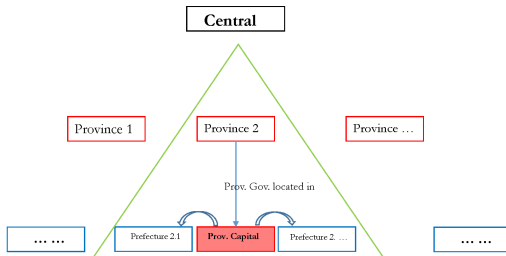
③ Empirical Results

④ From Political Hierarchy to Spatial Hierarchy

⑤ Conclusions

Background: administrative hierarchy & capitals

- ① China's administrative system is amazingly stable.
 - ▶ A.D. 1000-2000, China has been using a hierarchical system



- ▶ Each province has one capital except in the Song.
 - ▶ The center limited the power of local governments by spatially separating fiscal affairs, judicial affairs, and welfare (Mostern 2011).
 - ▶ Usually 2 capitals, one for fiscal affairs and welfare, the other for judicial affairs.
 - ▶ Good to have more candidates to start with. Will use both in the baseline and either for robustness.

Background: administrative hierarchy & capitals

- ① China's administrative system is amazingly stable.
 - ▶ A.D. 1000-2000, China has been using a hierarchical system
- ② A prefecture's political status can vary greatly.
 - ▶ (i) Our analysis: 63 out of 261 pref. have ever been a prov. capital.



- ▶ 8 have always been capitals;
- ▶ 11 gained capital status once;
- ▶ 36 lost capital status once;
- ▶ 8 experienced multiple changes.

Background: administrative hierarchy & capitals

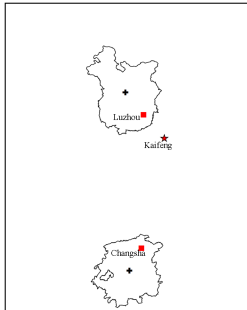
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 - ▶ A.D. 1000-2000, China has been using a hierarchical system
- ② A prefecture's political status can vary greatly.
 - ▶ (i) Our analysis: 63 out of 261 pref. have ever been a prov. capital.
 - ▶ (ii) (Six major) regimes & national capitals
 - ▶ Song (960-1127): **Kaifeng** (central China) coexisted with other states
 - ▶ Yuan (1271-1368): **Beijing** (northern China)
 - ▶ Ming (1368-1644): **Nanjing** (central-south China) ¹
 - ▶ Qing (1644-1912): **Beijing**
 - ▶ the Republic (1912-1949): **Nanjing**
 - ▶ the People's Republic (1949-now): **Beijing**
 - ▶ (iii) Re-defining provincial boundaries ▶ Two principles

¹a double-capital (Nanjing-Beijing) system since 1421

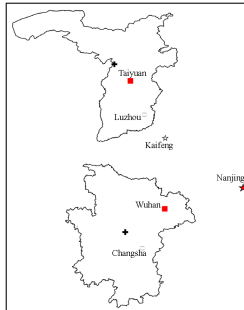
Background: administrative hierarchy & capitals

Relocation of national capitals and revidision of provinces affected the relative location of a prefecture.

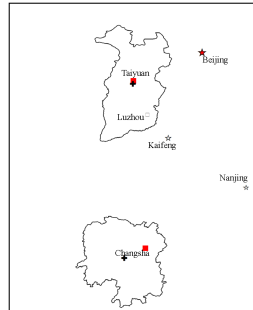
- ▶ Ex 1: Changsha lost and regained its capital status.
- ▶ Ex 2: Luzhou lost and did not regain its capital status.



1078



1580



1820

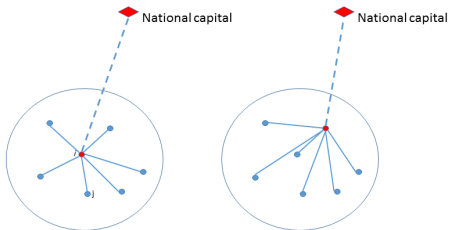
Changes in provincial capital: a simple algorithm

The decision maker: the central government who cares about

- ▶ governing a province
- ▶ gathering resources and information from the province

Two types of costs become important, the costs of

- ▶ gathering resources from all pref in a prov to the prov capital
- ▶ delivering part of them to the national capital



Changes in provincial capital: a simple algorithm

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The central government's problem:

$$\operatorname{argmin}_i \operatorname{HierDist}_{i,t} \equiv \sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,j,t} + \lambda \sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,\text{NationalCap},t}$$

- ▶ $D_{i,j,t}$: dist from pref i to another pref j in the same prov.
- ▶ $D_{i,\text{NCap},t}$: dist from pref i to the national capital.
- ▶ A_j : scale, e.g. area
- ▶ $\lambda \in [0,1]$: the share to deliver to the center

We term the weighted sum **hierarchical distance**.

▶ alternative

Hierarchical distance: remarks

We take prov boundary as given when considering changes in capitals.

- ▶ documented by administrative histories (e.g., Zhang 1739)
- ▶ if the center only wanted to elevate a pref's status, it could do so without changing boundaries. But we observe boundary changes accompany capital changes.

The choice of λ in $\sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,j,t} + \lambda \sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,NationalCap,t}$

- ▶ start from $\lambda = 0.19$ – highest R-squared in the following specification

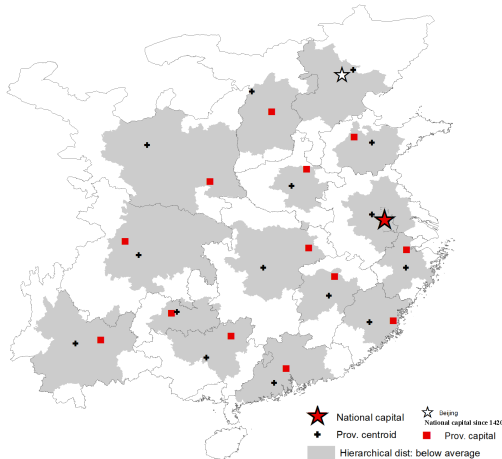
$$ProvCap_{i,t} = \theta HierDist_{i,t} + Prefecture_i + year_t$$

▶ Figure

- ▶ also vary λ from 0 to 1.
- ▶ $\lambda = 0$: capital in the prov centroid
- ▶ $\lambda > 0$: deviate toward the national capital

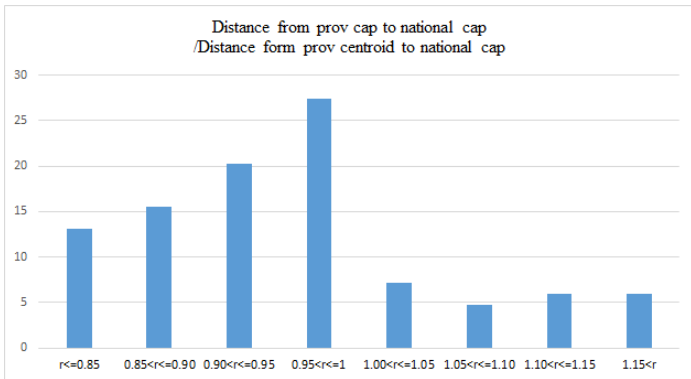
Hierarchical distance: depiction 1

The capitals deviate from prov. centroid toward the national capital.
We see orbits around the national capital [▶ More](#)



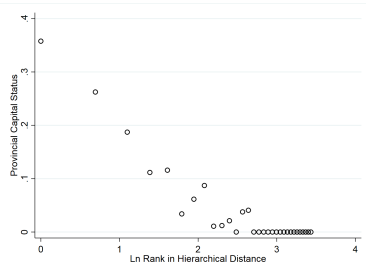
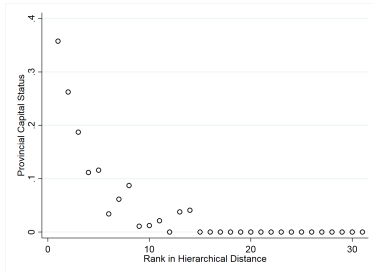
Hierarchical distance: depiction 2

Distance from prov cap to national capital / Distance from prov centroid to national capital: less than 1



Hierarchical distance: depiction 3

(ln) Rank in Hierarchical Distance vs. Prob. of Being Capital



Summary

Part I: Why Did Capitals Change?

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→ provincial capital relocation
- ▶ Prov capital relocation is not random but follows the logic of political control, and hierarchical dist. provides us a measure to describe the political logic:
 - ▶ Later we will show that rank in hierarchical distance is a reasonable instrument for capital status.

Outline

- ① Background and Conceptual Framework
- ② Data and Descriptive Pattern
- ③ Empirical Results
- ④ From Political Hierarchy to Spatial Hierarchy
- ⑤ Conclusions

Economic development and capital status

(i) Population density 1078-2000

- ▶ baseline: 1078, 1102, 1580, 1776, 1820, 1851, 1910, 1964, 1982, 1990, and 2000 ▶ Trend
- ▶ other years: 1393, 1880, 1953
 - ▶ not far from the deadliest wars in the world (Mongolian conquest, Taiping Rebellion, WWII).
 - ▶ included as robustness check

(ii) Urbanization: 1580, 1820, 1964, 1982, 1990, and 2000

(iii) Capitals and boundaries

- ▶ CHGIS (2007): Ming–2000.
- ▶ We digitize the map in Song based on the Treatise of the Nine Regions from the Yuanfeng Reign.

Note: To build a panel dataset

- ▶ first fix the boundary based on prefectures in 2000.
- ▶ also conduct grid-level analysis.

Control variables: prefecture characteristics

Allow the impact of the time-invariant variables to vary over time.

(i) geographical features

- ▶ whether a pref. contains a plain (slope in a 0.25×0.25 grid $< 1^\circ$)
- ▶ whether it is on a major river/on the coast
- ▶ its slope, elevation, longitude, latitude

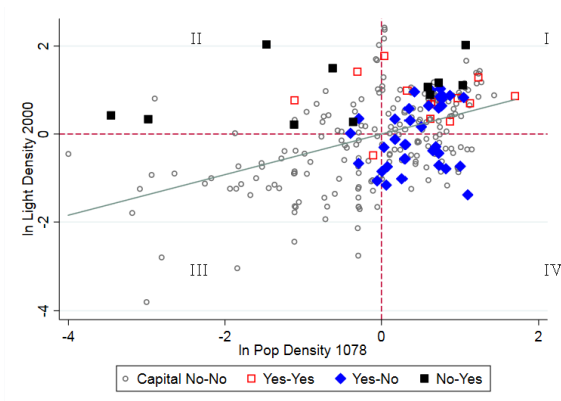
(ii) agriculture

- ▶ suitability for wheat, rice, fox millet, maize, sweet potato

(iii) Skinner's 9-physiographic macroregions

- ▶ based on geomorphological features: north, northwest, lower/mid/upper Yangtze, southeast coast, lingnan, Yun-Gui, Manchuria
- ▶ Provincial boundaries emerged as a result of a series of “administrative accidents” (Skinner 1977).

Descriptive: pop density in 1078 vs. lightness (or pop) density in 2000



Three patterns

- ▶ some persistence
- ▶ systematic changes with change in capital status – will test it (part II).
- ▶ heterogeneity within those that lost status – will explain (part III).

Outline

- ① Background and A Simple Algorithm
- ② Data and Descriptive Pattern
- ③ Empirical Results
 - ▶ Differences-in-differences: 1078-2000
 - ▶ IV estimates
 - ▶ Additional results
- ④ From Political Hierarchy to Spatial Hierarchy
- ⑤ Conclusions

DID analysis

- ① Using data from 1078, 1102, 1580, 1776, 1820, 1851, 1910, 1964, 1982, 1990 and 2000:

$$\ln \text{PopDensity}_{i,t} = \beta \text{Capital}_{i,t} + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \theta \mathbf{X}_i \times \gamma_t + \theta' \pi_m \times \gamma_t + \epsilon_{i,t}$$

- ▶ i : prefecture; t year
- ▶ \mathbf{X}_i : three sets of pref. characteristics
- ▶ m : 9-regions (as provinces are not stable)

- ② Can also look at $\Delta \ln \text{PopDensity}$ vs. $\Delta \text{Capital}$

- ▶ useful to differ losing from gaining capital status
- ▶ if a pref. became a capital due to certain advantages, losing status may not matter.

DID results

Capital status → 40%-50% increase in pop density

| | In Pop Density | | | | Δ In Pop Density | | | |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| Prov. Capital | 0.518*** (0.125) | 0.484*** (0.106) | 0.432*** (0.102) | 0.433*** (0.101) | | | | |
| Δ Prov. Capital | | | | | 0.414*** (0.106) | 0.321*** (0.082) | | |
| Gaining Status | | | | | | | 0.459** (0.220) | 0.476*** (0.156) |
| Losing Status | | | | | | | -0.392*** (0.116) | -0.242** (0.094) |
| L. In Pop Density | | | | | | -0.344*** (0.017) | | -0.345*** (0.017) |
| Year FE * Crop suit. | | | | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE * Geography | | | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE * In Area | | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE * Region FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Pref. FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | |
| Year FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Observations | 2,871 | 2,871 | 2,871 | 2,871 | 2,610 | 2,610 | 2,610 | 2,610 |
| R-squared | 0.771 | 0.841 | 0.856 | 0.865 | 0.656 | 0.738 | 0.656 | 0.739 |
| #Prefectures | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 |
| Magnitude: gaining vs. losing capital (p-value): | | | | | | | 0.790 | 0.203 |

Two reasons to emphasize the finding on losing status.

DID: pre-trends

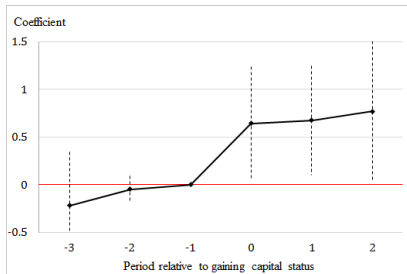


Figure 1: *

Gaining Status

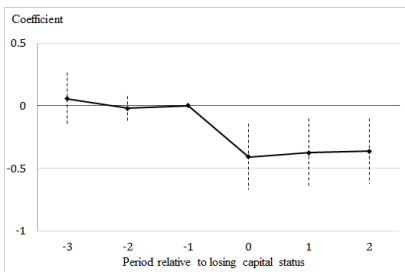


Figure 2: *

Losing Status

No high-frequency data for a thousand years

- ▶ weakness: not possible to pin down the number of years.
- ▶ advantage: the pre-trends consider very long periods.

Robust to considering period length [▶ results](#)

IV approach

The rank in hierarchical distance provides us an instrument for capital status if it

- ① affects capital status – yes in Part I.
- ② is driven by regime change, not any pref's characteristics – testable.
- ③ affects development only via capital status (exclusion restriction).

On condition 2: $\Delta \ln \text{RankHierDist}$ is driven by regime changes.

- ▶ $\Delta \ln \text{RankHierDist}$ is uncorr. with past (change) in pop density. [▶ More](#)
- ▶ The impacts on losing and gaining status are symmetric. [▶ More](#)
 - ▶ Again, the finding on losing status is reassuring.

On condition 3, we conduct four sets of tests

IV estimates

First-stage:

$$Capital_{i,t} = \delta \ln RankHierDist_{i,t} + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \theta \mathbf{X}_i \times \gamma_t + \theta' \pi_m \times \gamma_t + \epsilon_{i,t},$$

Second-stage:

$$\ln PopDen_{i,t} = \beta' \widehat{Capital}_{i,t} + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \theta \mathbf{X}_i \times \gamma_t + \theta' \pi_m \times \gamma_t + \epsilon_{i,t},$$

Comparing OLS estimate - 0.433

| | (1) | (2) |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Dependent Var.: ln Pop Density</i> | | |
| | Reduced-form | IV |
| Prov. Capital | | 0.663*** (0.201) |
| ln Rank in Hierarchical distance | -0.069*** (0.022) | |
| All controls | Y | Y |
| F-Stat (Weak instrument test) | | 145.9 |

IV Estimates: Exclusion Restriction?

Rank in hierarchical distance matters even without capital status. Tests:

- 1 check whether it matters for the never-capital prefs [▶ results](#)
- 2 exploit placebo hier. distances due to changes in natl capitals [▶ results](#)
- 3 use one component as the instrument and examine whether the other has any direct effect [▶ results](#)

$$\blacktriangleright \operatorname{argmin}_i \operatorname{HierDist}_{i,t} = \lambda \left(\sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,j,t} + \sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i, \text{NationalCap}, t} \right) + (1 - \lambda) \sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,j,t}$$

Rank in hier. dist. is correlated with dist. to other economic centers. Test:

- ▶ include distances to economic centers [▶ results](#)

Additional results

- ① Using capital-ever subsample [▶ results](#)
- ② Urbanization (instead of pop density)
 - ▶ urbanization in 1580, 1820, 1964, 1982, 1990, 2000 [▶ results](#)
- ③ Grid-level analysis (instead of pref in 2000) [▶ results](#)
- ④ Dropping any period [▶ results](#)
- ⑤ Other changes: deadly wars [▶ results](#)

Summary

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→ provincial capital relocation
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Part II: Capital Status Matters.

- ▶ Both gaining and losing capital status matter.
- ▶ The finding on losing status implies that economic advantages driven by political factors do not necessarily persist.

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- ④ From Political Hierarchy to Spatial Hierarchy
 - ▶ Transportation Networks
 - ▶ Heterogeneous Effects
- ⑤ Conclusions

Why does capital status matter?

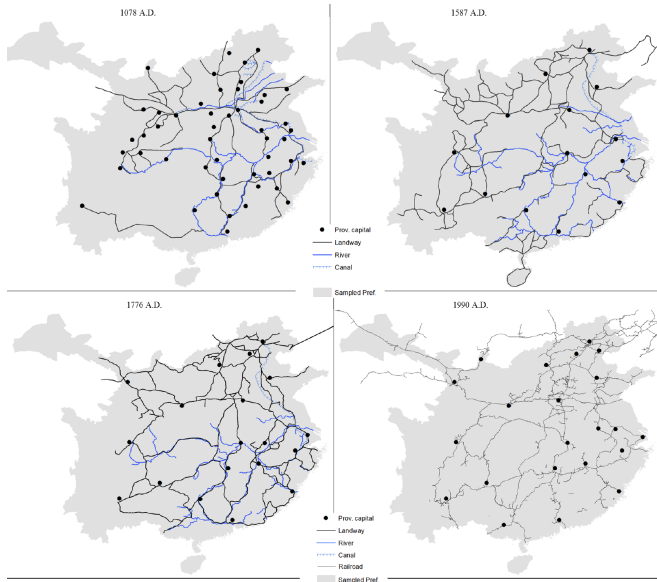
Our take: in a centralized political regime, the ruler gathers & distributes **information and resources** through a political hierarchy.

- ▶ The spatial importance of a region mirrors its status in the political hierarchy.

Testable: the transportation networks

- ▶ The government has been the largest single investor in transportation facilities.
- ▶ Historical transportation networks
 - ▶ comprised of the Grand Canal (connecting many waterways) + a state courier system (supported by post offices)
 - ▶ used for the flow of information, revenues, and personnel on which the state relied (Brook 1998)
 - ▶ costly to maintain
- ▶ Modern transportation networks are much more complicated.
 - ▶ We choose to focus on railway because it is monopolized by the state.

Transportation networks in Song, Ming, Qing and 1990



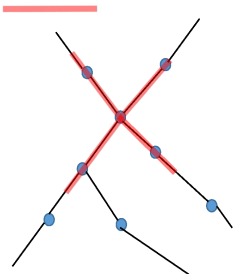
Transportation networks: measurement

Just count...

- ▶ being connected or not, # roads, length etc.

Useful network characteristics to capture the hierarchy:

Within a given search radius, how many ...



$$Gravity_i^r = \sum_{j \neq i, d_{i,j} \leq r} \frac{W_j}{e^{\beta d_{i,j}}}$$

- ▶ smaller r /larger β : more local
- ▶ $d_{i,j}$ shortest distance btw. i and j in the network
- ▶ W_j : all equal to 1 or wgt by area

Transportation networks: descriptive patterns

standardized gravity across the political hierarchy:

| | Standardized gravity | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | Song | Ming | Qing | 1990 |
| National Capital | 3.30 (Kaifeng) | 2.08 (Nanjing) | 0.38 (Beijing) | 0.59 (Beijing) |
| Provincial capitals | 0.58 (0.74) | 0.34 (0.76) | 0.55 (0.85) | 0.40 (0.97) |
| Non-capital prefectures | -0.15 (0.98) | -0.03 (1.00) | -0.04 (1.00) | -0.04 (1.00) |

Transportation: capital status and spatial gravity

Dependent var.: std gravity

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | Gravity | Gravity | Δ Gravity | | Gravity (no restriction of r) | | |
| | | $\beta=1, r=500, W=1$ | | | $\beta=1$ | $\beta=1$ | $\beta=10$ |
| | | | | | $W=1,$ | $W=area$ | $W=1$ |
| Prov. Capital | 0.413*** (0.086) | 0.361*** (0.089) | | | 0.312*** (0.093) | 0.315*** (0.094) | 0.293*** (0.103) |
| Δ Prov. Capital | | | 0.334*** (0.106) | | | | |
| Gaining Capital Status | | | | 0.403** (0.176) | | | |
| Losing Capital Status | | | | -0.302** (0.137) | | | |
| Year FE * Crop suit. | | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE * Geography | | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE * In Area | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE * Region FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Pref. FE, Year FE | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | Y |
| Observations | 1,044 | 1,044 | 783 | 783 | 1,044 | 1,044 | 1,044 |
| R-squared | 0.178 | 0.293 | 0.302 | 0.302 | 0.239 | 0.259 | 0.210 |
| #Prefectures | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 |

No pre-trends

► More

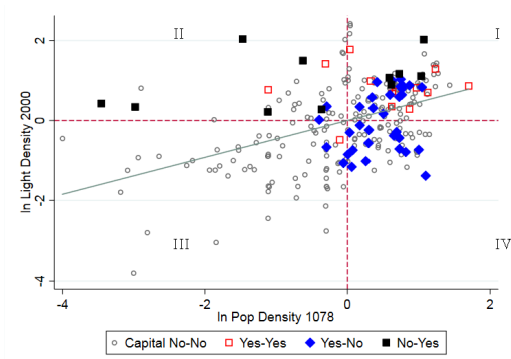
Further evidence from heterogeneous effects

Transportation matters for reallocation of resources – difficult to measure.

- ▶ Less important for prefs with more natural advantages. [▶ results](#)

Heterogeneity within those that lost capital status.

- ▶ Crop suitability of those remain above average is 15-20% higher.



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Part II: Capital Status Matters.

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Part III: Why Does Capital Status Matter?

- ▶ The spatial hierarchy mirrors the political hierarchy: via the construction/maintenance of transportation

Conclusions

Regime changes btw 1000-2000 systematically altered the relative importance of different regions in the political hierarchy

- ▶ an opportunity to study how politics shape economic geography

We find economic advantages driven by political factors do not persist.

- ▶ one perspective to link the cross-sectional political economy literature with those emphasizing path dependence using long-term data.

The underlying logic: the spatial hierarchy mirrors the political hierarchy.

May be applied to centralized regimes (e.g., the Ottoman Empire), less so in decentralized regimes.

Thanks

Relationship to the literature

- ▶ **spatial distribution of economic activities in the long run**

- ▶ Davis and Weinstein 2002, Miguel and Roland 2011;
- ▶ Redding et al. 2011, Bleakley and Lin 2012, Kline and Moretti 2013...
- ▶ Our findings are different because they are driven by political factors.

- ▶ **the political economy of regions/cities**

- ▶ De Long and Shleifer 1993, Ades and Glaeser 1995, Davis and Henderson 2003, Galiani and Kim 2011, Campante and Do 2014
- ▶ Ours: exploit multiple changes and uncover factors underlying the changes

Other related research:

- ▶ the importance of market access

- ▶ e.g., Redding and Sturm 2008, Donaldson and Hornbeck 2015
- ▶ **Ours: political status → infrastructure → market access**

- ▶ causes and consequences of national/subnational divisions

- ▶ Alesina and Spolaore 1997, Gennaioli and Rainer 2007, Michalopoulos and Papaioannou 2013

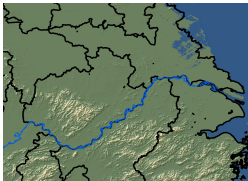
▶ back

Two principles of defining provincial boundaries

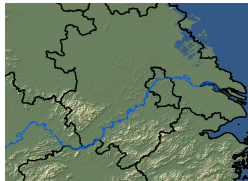
- ▶ *following mountains and rivers* (随山川形便)
- ▶ *interlocking like dog's teeth* (犬牙交错)

Evolution

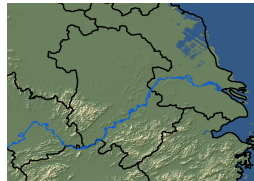
- ▶ In the Song, prov. boundaries by large followed rivers and mountains.
- ▶ Mongolians (the Yuan) used interlocking to an extreme.
- ▶ Later regimes gradually adjusted the boundaries.
- ▶ In China proper: 28 prov in Song, 10 in Yuan, 14 in Ming, 18 in Qing, 24 today.



1078



1580



1820

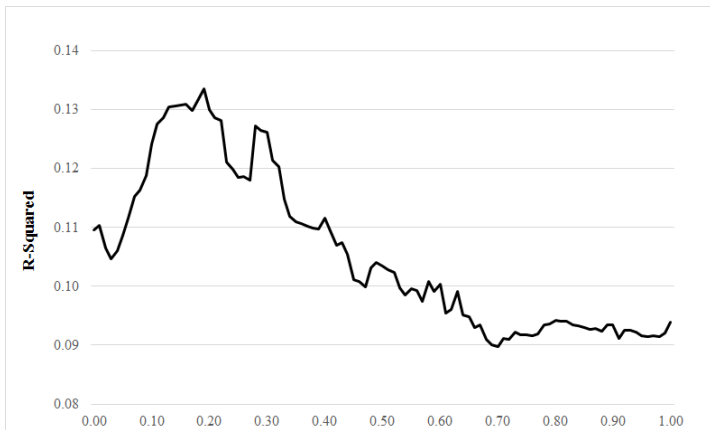
A simple algorithm

$$\begin{aligned}\operatorname{argmin}_i \textit{HierDist}_{i,t} &\equiv \sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,j,t} + \lambda \sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,\textit{NationalCap},t} \\ &= \lambda \left(\sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,j,t} + \sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,\textit{NationalCap},t} \right) + (1 - \lambda) \sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,j,t}\end{aligned}$$

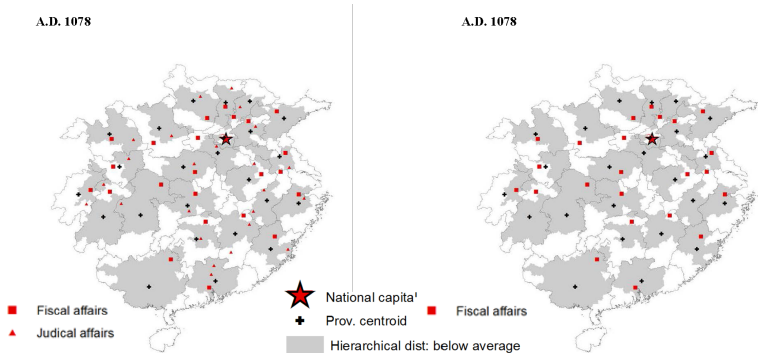
► back

Optimal λ

$$ProvCap_{i,t} = \theta HierDist_{i,t} + Prefecture_i + year_t$$

[▶ back](#)

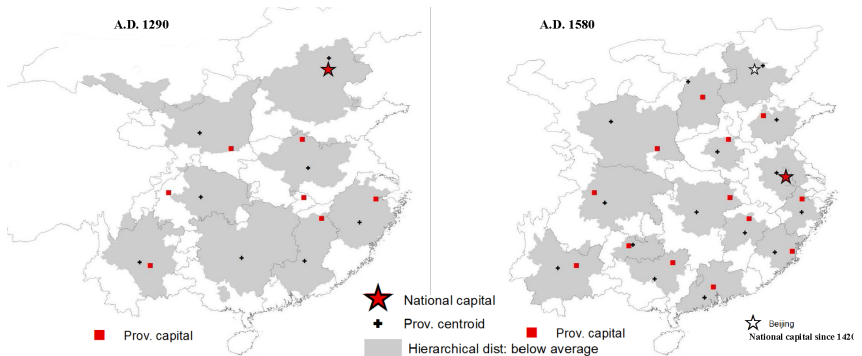
Hierarchical distance: depiction 2



The capitals deviate from prov. centroid toward the national capital.
We see orbits around the national capital

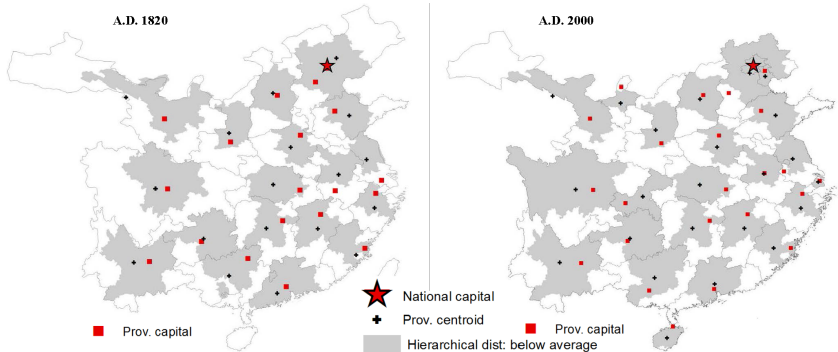
[▶ back](#)

Hierarchical distance: depiction 2



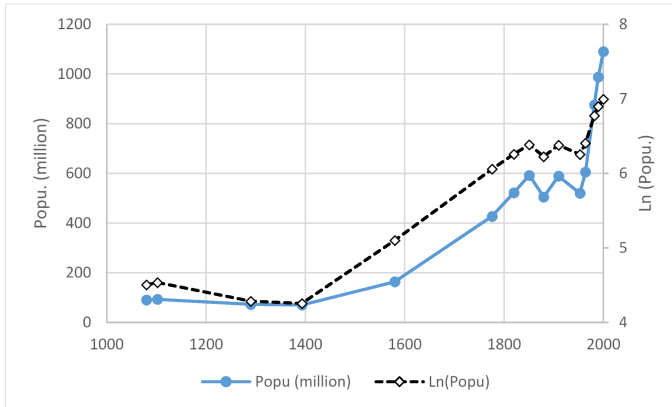
The capitals deviate from prov. centroid toward the national capital.
We see orbits around the national capital [▶ back](#)

Hierarchical distance: depiction 2



The capitals deviate from prov. centroid toward the national capital.
We see orbits around the national capital [▶ back](#)

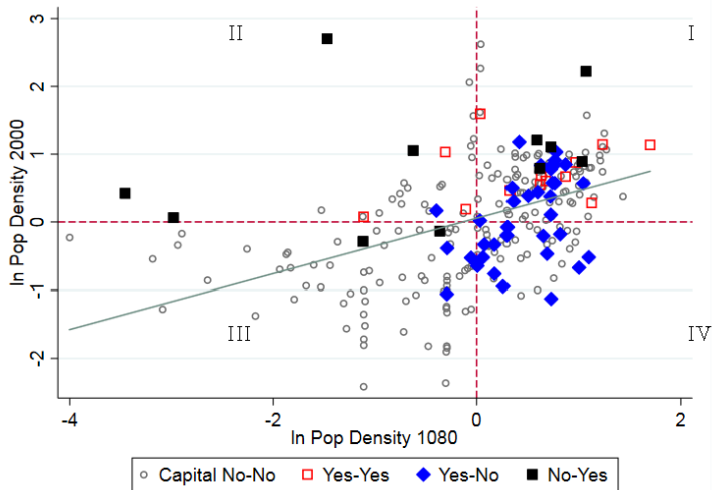
population trend



Macroregions



Pop Density 1078 vs. Pop Density 2000



DID: pre-trends

- ① period by period, using β_{-1} as reference

$$\ln PopDensity_{i,t} = \sum_{\tau=-3+}^{2+} \beta_{\tau} Capital_{i,\tau} + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \theta \mathbf{X}_i \times \gamma_t + \theta' \pi_m \times \gamma_t + \epsilon_{i,t}$$

- ② consider period length $\Delta Y_{r_{i,t}}$

$$\begin{aligned} \ln PopDensity_{i,t} = & \rho_1 PRE_{i,t} + \rho_2 PRE_{i,t} \times \Delta Y_{r_{i,t}} + \rho_3 POST_{i,t} + \rho_4 POST_{i,t} \times \Delta Y_{r_{i,t}} \\ & + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \theta \mathbf{X}_i \times \gamma_t + \theta' \pi_m \times \gamma_t + \epsilon_{i,t}, \end{aligned}$$

Pre-trend II [▶ back](#)

| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
|---------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Pre-Gaining | 0.005 (0.128) | | -0.002 (0.127) |
| Pre-Gaining * Time trend | 0.773 (0.556) | | 0.717 (0.558) |
| Post-Gaining | 0.509** (0.218) | | 0.506** (0.221) |
| Post-Gaining * Time trend | 0.615 (0.879) | | 0.562 (0.901) |
| Pre-Losing | | -0.038 (0.051) | -0.039 (0.051) |
| Pre- Losing * Time trend | | -0.405 (0.284) | -0.351 (0.293) |
| Post- Losing | | -0.359** (0.157) | -0.364** (0.158) |
| Post- Losing * Time trend | | -0.055 (0.209) | 0.004 (0.214) |
| All controls | Y | Y | Y |
| Observations | 2,783 | 2,783 | 2,783 |
| R-squared | 0.865 | 0.862 | 0.867 |
| #Prefectures | 253 | 253 | 253 |

change in HierDis vs. pre-change conditions [▶ back](#)

| | Δ ln Rank in Hierarchical Distance | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| I. ln Pop Density | -0.031 (0.032) | | -0.059 (0.061) | | | |
| I2. ln Pop Density | | 0.008 (0.020) | 0.036 (0.034) | | | |
| I. Δ ln Pop Density | | | | -0.044 (0.041) | | -0.036 (0.038) |
| I2. Δ ln Pop Density | | | | | 0.011 (0.011) | 0.002 (0.011) |
| All controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Observations | 2,610 | 2,349 | 2,349 | 2,349 | 2,088 | 2,088 |
| R-squared | 0.301 | 0.300 | 0.302 | 0.301 | 0.197 | 0.199 |
| #Prefectures | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 |

change in HierDis vs. change in cap status [▶ back](#)

| | Δ Capital Status | Seemingly Unrelated Regression | |
|--|-------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| | | Losing | Gaining |
| $\Delta \ln$ Rank in Hierarchical Distance | -0.057*** (0.019) | 0.031*** (0.005) | -0.026*** (0.004) |
| All controls | Y | Y | Y |
| Observations | 2,610 | 2,610 | 2,610 |
| R-squared | 0.183 | 0.298 | 0.196 |
| #Prefectures | 261 | 261 | 261 |

IV: First-stage [▶ back](#)

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
|--|-------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>First-stage: Provincial Capital</i> | | | | | | | | |
| In Rank Hier. dist. | | -0.104*** (0.009) | -0.153*** (0.012) | -0.085*** (0.009) | -0.088*** (0.009) | -0.097*** (0.009) | -0.100*** (0.009) | -0.105*** (0.009) |
| In Rank H dist. KF * Post- | | | 0.076*** (0.013) | | | | | |
| In Rank H dist. NJ * Pre- | | | | -0.084*** (0.014) | | | | |
| In Rank H dist. BJ * Pre- | | | | | -0.085*** (0.014) | | | |
| In Rank H dist. to econ region | | | | | | -0.037*** (0.009) | | |
| In Rank H dist. to Shanghai | | | | | | | -0.024** (0.010) | |
| In Rank H dist. to Guangzhou | | | | | | | | 0.002 (0.009) |
| All controls | | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Observations | 2,871 | 2,871 | 2,871 | 2,871 | 2,871 | 2,871 | 2,871 | 2,871 |
| R-squared | 0.861 | 0.864 | 0.864 | 0.863 | 0.864 | 0.864 | 0.863 | 0.863 |
| # Prefectures | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 |
| F-Stat | | 145.9 | 164.6 | 87.5 | 96.2 | 122.0 | 128.5 | 143.2 |

Placebo test 1: by subsample

In Rank Hierarchical dist does not matter for the never-capital prefs.

| Sample | (1) | (2) |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| | In Pop Density Ever-Capital | Never-Capital |
| In Rank in Hierarchical distance | -0.159*** (0.037) | 0.006 (0.029) |
| All Controls | Y | Y |
| Observations | 693 | 2,178 |
| R-squared | 0.917 | 0.864 |
| #Prefectures | 63 | 198 |

▶ back

Placebo test 2: using change in national cap. to obtain placebo ranks

In Rank Hierarchical distance to national capital when they were not capitals: no impact on population density

| <i>Dependent Var.: In Pop Density</i> | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| | Reduced-form | IV | IV | IV | IV |
| Prov. Capital | | 0.663*** (0.201) | 0.624*** (0.190) | 0.688*** (0.261) | 0.638** (0.249) |
| In Rank in Hierarchical distance | -0.069*** (0.022) | | | | |
| In Rank in H dist. KF * Post- | | | -0.006 (0.024) | | |
| In Rank in H dist. NJ * Pre- | | | | 0.012 (0.047) | |
| In Rank in H dist. BJ * Pre- | | | | | -0.013 (0.046) |
| All controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| F-Stat (Weak instrument test) | | 145.9 | 164.6 | 87.5 | 96.2 |

Placebo test 3: two-components - over-identification test

$$HierDist_{i,t} = \lambda \left(\sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,j,t} + \sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,NationalCap,t} \right) + (1 - \lambda) \sum_{j=1}^N A_j D_{i,j,t}$$

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|--|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Dependent var.:</i> | In Rank in Hierarchical distance ($\lambda = 0.19$) | Reduced-form | In Pop Density IV | IV | IV |
| Prov. Capital | | | 0.761** (0.358) | 0.907*** (0.305) | 0.844*** (0.207) |
| In Rank in H dist. ($\lambda = 1$) | 0.280*** (0.010) | -0.042** (0.021) | | 0.008 (0.029) | |
| In Rank in H dist. ($\lambda = 0$) | 0.769*** (0.011) | -0.066*** (0.023) | -0.011 (0.037) | | |
| All controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| <i>First-stage: Provincial Capital</i> | | | | | |
| In Rank in H dist. ($\lambda = 1$) | | | -0.056*** (0.008) | -0.056*** (0.008) | -0.056*** (0.008) |
| In Rank in H dist. ($\lambda = 0$) | | | -0.073*** (0.009) | -0.073*** (0.009) | -0.073*** (0.009) |
| All controls | | | Y | Y | Y |
| Observations | 2,871 | 2,871 | 2,871 | 2,871 | 2,871 |
| R-squared | 0.819 | 0.861 | 0.862 | 0.860 | 0.861 |
| # Prefectures | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 |
| F-Stat (Weak instrument test) | | | 46.1 | 64.9 | 69.7 |
| Over-identification test (P-value) | | | | | 0.778 |

Placebo test 4: hierarchical distance to economic center

None explains the role of hierarchical distance

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|---|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Dependent Var.: In Pop Density</i> | | | | | |
| | Reduced-form | IV | IV | IV | IV |
| Prov. Capital | | 0.663*** (0.201) | 0.631*** (0.220) | 0.726*** (0.215) | 0.681*** (0.203) |
| In Rank in Hierarchical distance | -0.069*** (0.022) | | | | |
| In Rank in H dist. to major econ region | | | -0.017 (0.024) | | |
| In Rank in H dist. to the East (Shanghai) | | | | 0.036 (0.026) | |
| In Rank in H dist. to the South (Guangzhou) | | | | | 0.012 (0.022) |
| All controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| F-Stat (Weak instrument test) | | 145.9 | 122.0 | 128.5 | 143.2 |

Capital ever

| | Capital-ever Prefectures | | | | Capital-ever Prefs + Comparison Group | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) Neighbors<100 km | (6) | (7) Propensity Score Matching | (8) |
| Prov. Capital | 0.470*** (0.151) | 0.426*** (0.132) | 0.280** (0.105) | 0.295*** (0.110) | 0.467*** (0.126) | 0.341*** (0.104) | 0.512*** (0.129) | 0.375*** (0.127) |
| Capital-ever * Year FE | | | | | | Y | | Y |
| Year FE * Crop suitability | | | | Y | | Y | | Y |
| Year FE * Geography | | | Y | Y | | Y | | Y |
| Year FE * In Area | | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y |
| Year FE * Region FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Pref. FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Observations | 693 | 693 | 693 | 693 | 1,397 | 1,397 | 1,221 | 1,221 |
| R-squared | 0.778 | 0.880 | 0.904 | 0.919 | 0.798 | 0.914 | 0.781 | 0.878 |
| #Prefectures | 63 | 63 | 63 | 63 | 127 | 127 | 111 | 111 |

► back

Determinants of capital ever

| | (1) OLS | (2) OLS | (3) OLS | (4) OLS | (5) OLS | (6) OLS | (7) Probit |
|------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Plain | 0.228*** (0.046) | 0.238*** (0.056) | 0.235*** (0.060) | 0.233*** (0.060) | 0.231*** (0.060) | 0.248*** (0.061) | 0.224*** (0.048) |
| Main River | 0.152*** (0.050) | 0.113** (0.056) | 0.149** (0.066) | 0.162** (0.068) | 0.163** (0.068) | 0.169** (0.066) | 0.154*** (0.056) |
| In Area | | | -0.062 (0.087) | -0.055 (0.088) | -0.054 (0.088) | -0.099 (0.098) | -0.090 (0.075) |
| Coastal | | | 0.003 (0.023) | 0.002 (0.023) | 0.002 (0.023) | -0.003 (0.026) | -0.010 (0.027) |
| Slope | | | 0.034 (0.039) | 0.032 (0.039) | 0.032 (0.039) | 0.028 (0.046) | 0.030 (0.042) |
| In Elevation | | | 0.014 (0.012) | 0.007 (0.014) | 0.006 (0.014) | 0.014 (0.013) | 0.015 (0.014) |
| Latitude | | | 0.005 (0.015) | 0.010 (0.016) | 0.011 (0.016) | -0.010 (0.017) | -0.010 (0.016) |
| Longitude | | | 0.003 (0.039) | -0.030 (0.047) | -0.033 (0.046) | 0.003 (0.039) | 0.005 (0.040) |
| In Calories: Old World Crops | | | | 0.032 (0.028) | | | |
| In Calories: All Crops | | | | | 0.035 (0.027) | | |
| Suitability: wheat | | | | | | -0.011 (0.047) | -0.007 (0.043) |
| Suitability: rice | | | | | | -0.065 (0.051) | -0.069 (0.044) |
| Suitability: maize | | | | | | 0.084*** (0.027) | 0.087*** (0.027) |

Urbanization

| Dependent Var. | (1) Urbanization Ratio | (2) Urbanization Ratio | (3) ln Urban Pop | (4) ln Urban Pop | (5) ln Rural Pop | (6) ln Rural Pop |
|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Prov. Capital | 11.011*** (2.100) | 10.934*** (2.287) | 0.636*** (0.166) | 0.595*** (0.151) | 0.197** (0.081) | 0.186** (0.094) |
| Year FE * Crop suit. | | Y | | Y | | Y |
| Year FE * Geography | | Y | | Y | | Y |
| Year FE * Ln Area | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE * Region FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Pref. FE, Year FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Observations | 1,531 | 1,531 | 1,531 | 1,531 | 1,531 | 1,531 |
| R-squared | 0.782 | 0.814 | 0.879 | 0.892 | 0.845 | 0.872 |
| # Prefectures | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 |

▶ back

Dropping Periods

| | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
|--------------|------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | | Baseline | | | | | | | |
| Prov Capital | | 0.429*** (0.102) | 0.366*** (0.128) | 0.415*** (0.109) | 0.519*** (0.116) | 0.397*** (0.127) | 0.469*** (0.100) | 0.410*** (0.119) | 0.547*** (0.134) |
| All controls | | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Observations | | 2,871 | 2,349 | 2,610 | 1,827 | 1,827 | 1,044 | 783 | 522 |
| R-squared | | 0.865 | 0.856 | 0.866 | 0.889 | 0.836 | 0.875 | 0.822 | 0.913 |
| #Prefectures | | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 |
| Song | 1080 | Y | | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| | 1102 | Y | | Y | Y | Y | | | |
| Ming | 1580 | Y | Y | | Y | Y | Y | Y | |
| Qing | 1776 | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | |
| | 1820 | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | |
| | 1851 | Y | Y | Y | | Y | Y | Y | |
| | 1910 | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | |
| P R China | 1964 | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | |
| | 1982 | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | |
| | 1990 | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | |
| | 2000 | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y |

Grid-level Data

1×1 degree

| | ln Pop Density | | | | Δ ln Pop Density | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Prov. Capital | 0.328*** (0.065) | 0.328*** (0.065) | 0.304*** (0.059) | 0.295*** (0.054) | | |
| Δ Prov. Capital | | | | | 0.293*** (0.053) | |
| Gaining Capital status | | | | | | 0.225*** (0.083) |
| Losing Capital status | | | | | | -0.344*** (0.063) |
| Year FE * Crop suitability | | | | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE * Geography | | | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE * ln Area | | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE * Region FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Grid FE, Year FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | | |
| Observations | 3,971 | 3,971 | 3,971 | 3,971 | 3,610 | 3,610 |
| R-squared | 0.797 | 0.797 | 0.825 | 0.836 | 0.526 | 0.526 |
| # grids | 361 | 361 | 361 | 361 | 361 | 361 |

Including the years after deadly wars

| | ln Pop Density | | | | Δ ln Pop Density | | | |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| Prov. Capital | 0.502*** (0.119) | 0.489*** (0.101) | 0.432*** (0.097) | 0.440*** (0.098) | | | | |
| Δ Prov. Capital | | | | | 0.420*** (0.105) | 0.339*** (0.086) | | |
| Gaining Capital Status | | | | | | | 0.457** (0.218) | 0.471*** (0.164) |
| Losing Capital Status | | | | | | | -0.401*** (0.117) | -0.272*** (0.100) |
| L. ln Pop Density | | | | | | -0.292*** (0.017) | | -0.293*** (0.017) |
| Year FE * Crop suitability | | | | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE * Geography | | | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE * ln Area | | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Year FE * Region FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Pref. FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | |
| Year FE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Observations | 3,654 | 3,654 | 3,654 | 3,654 | 3,393 | 3,393 | 3,393 | 3,393 |
| R-squared | 0.782 | 0.849 | 0.866 | 0.874 | 0.718 | 0.789 | 0.718 | 0.789 |
| # prefectures | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 |
| Magnitude: gaining vs. losing capital (p-value): | | | | | | | 0.825 | 0.305 |

Gravity: Pre-trends [▶ back](#)

| | Standardized Gravity | | |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| Gaining Pre-2 | 0.038 (0.151) | | 0.056 (0.154) |
| Gaining Post-1 | 0.610** (0.252) | | 0.593** (0.258) |
| Gaining Post-2 | 0.495*** (0.184) | | 0.461** (0.182) |
| Losing Pre-2 | | 0.128 (0.212) | 0.126 (0.216) |
| Losing Post-1 | | -0.329** (0.156) | -0.318** (0.156) |
| Losing Post-2 | | -0.390*** (0.123) | -0.374*** (0.123) |
| All controls | Y | Y | Y |
| Observations | 1,016 | 1,016 | 1,016 |
| R-squared | 0.274 | 0.276 | 0.283 |

Further evidence from heterogeneous effects

Transportation matters for reallocation of resources – difficult to measure.

- ▶ Less important for prefs with more natural advantages. [▶ back](#)

| | (1) | ln Pop Density | | (4) | Δ ln Pop Density | |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| | | (2) | (3) | | (5) | (6) |
| Prov. Capital | 0.454*** (0.103) | 0.444*** (0.102) | 0.457*** (0.102) | 0.443*** (0.101) | | |
| Prov. Capital * max suitability (old world) | -0.169** (0.083) | | | | | |
| Prov. Capital * max suitability (old+new) | | -0.139* (0.084) | | | | |
| Prov. Capital * avg. suitability (old world) | | | -0.169** (0.079) | | | |
| Prov. Capital * avg. suitability (old+new) | | | | -0.150* (0.078) | | |
| Δ Prov. Capital | | | | | 0.436*** (0.110) | |
| Δ Prov. Capital * max suitability (old world) | | | | | -0.186* (0.096) | |
| Gaining Capital Status | | | | | | 0.444** (0.210) |
| Losing Capital Status | | | | | | -0.431*** (0.127) |
| Gaining Status * max suitability (old world) | | | | | | -0.193* (0.110) |
| Losing Status * max suitability (old world) | | | | | | 0.179 (0.149) |