# What We Do in the Shadows: How Urban Density Facilitates Information Diffusion

Qing Zhang Google Evan Plous Kresch Oberlin College Clare Stevens Stanford (SIEPR)

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#### Motivation

- Density is one of the defining characteristics of cities
  - Important source of agglomeration economies: Rosenthal and Strange (2004)
  - Increased knowledge diffusion leads to higher productivity: Jacobs (1969)

- However, testing how density affects information diffusion is difficult:
  - Density is an endogenous decision, based of local conditions
  - "Information" is generally unobservable to the researcher

#### This Paper

- Exploits national policy in China that requires minimum amount of sunlight for all residential buildings
  - China's expansive size  $\rightarrow$  northern cities face shallower solar angles
  - Developers must place taller buildings farther apart  $\rightarrow$  Southern cities are more dense

#### This Paper

- Exploits national policy in China that requires minimum amount of sunlight for all residential buildings
  - China's expansive size → northern cities face shallower solar angles
  - Developers must place taller buildings farther apart → Southern cities are more dense

- Study difference in speed of information diffusion across latitudes in China
  - Measure government and user activity on Local Leader Message Boards
  - Document S-shaped response to increase in government response rates
  - Cumulative increase to posts is 2.7 times higher in southern cities
  - Survey data: similar individuals more likely to gossip in the South

#### Sunlight Policy in China

- Access to sunlight influenced by feng shui and Soviet building practices

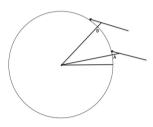
- Codified into law in 1993:
  - Urban Residential Planning and Design Ordinance (GB50180-93)
  - Lowest level of any residential building required to have at least 2 hours of sunshine on *Dahan* (trans: Major Cold) around January 20th
  - Implication: buildings must be farther apart in the North

#### Latitude and Solar Angle

- Solar angle ( $\alpha$ ) as a function of latitude ( $\phi$ ) in radians:

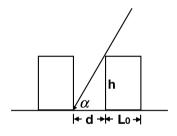
$$\alpha(\phi) = \arcsin\left[\sin(\delta)\,\sin\phi + \cos(\delta)\,\cos(h)\,\cos\phi\right]$$

- Where the declination  $\delta$  on *Dahan* is approximately -20 degrees ( $\delta \approx -\frac{\pi}{9}$ )
- Sunlight must reach building by 11am  $o h pprox -rac{\pi}{12}$  (approximately -15 degrees)

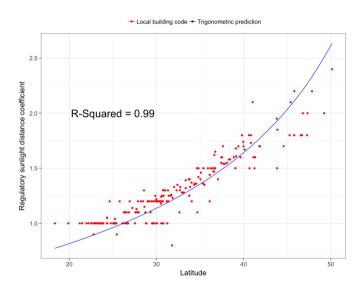


# Sunlight Policy in China

- Local building codes reflect sunlight policy
  - Sunlight distance coefficient = ratio of building distance to height

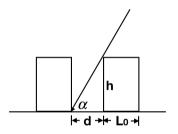


## **Local Building Codes Reflect Policy**



## Sunlight Policy in China

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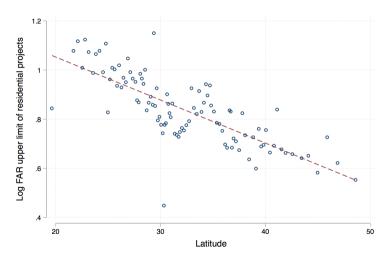


- Substantial variation in building codes:
  - Changchun (43.79° N) requires buildings 1.95x as far apart as in Kunming (25.19° N)
- Developers required to use officially-sanctioned sunlight analysis software

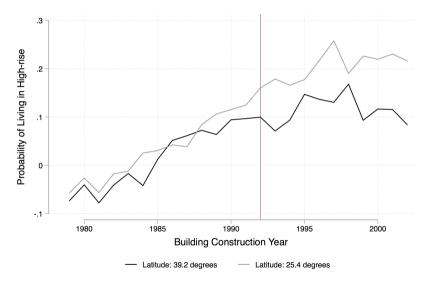
#### Data

- Land Transactions from Ministry of Land and Resources
  - Location, zone use, FAR, contract date, etc.
  - Scraped in 2017  $\rightarrow$  1.3 million transactions
  - 40% of parcels for residential use
- 2005 1% population census (National Bureau of Statistics)
  - HH and individual data, including whether HH lives in high-rise
- Postings on the Local Leader Message Board, run by the People's Daily
  - Sub-boards for all administrative units
  - Government responses to posts viewable to everyone
  - Jiang, Meng and Zhang (2018) scraped data through 2016  $\rightarrow$  900,000 postings

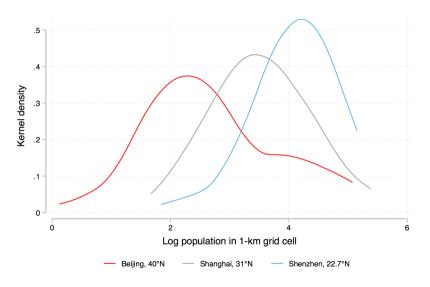
## Latitude Explains Building Density Well



# Difference in High Rise Construction after 1993



# Population Density Across China's Biggest Cities



#### Information Diffusion

- How does this affect information diffusion?

- Use Local Leader Message Boards (LLMBs) from (Jiang, Meng and Zhang, 2018)
  - Often grievances or petitions not easily resolved through the legal system
  - Analyze topics of postings using LDA model (Blei, Ng and Jordan, 2003)
  - Wide range of topics: housing expropriation, pollution, teacher compensation, pyramid schemes...
  - Local governments leave public replies to approximately 60% of postings

## **Dynamic Responses to Government Postings**

- Measure dynamic response to increase in government postings as:

$$\mathsf{Posts}_{\mathit{ict}} = \gamma_{\mathit{c}} + \delta_{\mathit{it}} + \sum_{i=0}^{J} \beta_{\mathit{j}} \mathsf{Reply}_{\mathit{ict}-\mathit{j}} + \epsilon_{\mathit{ict}}$$

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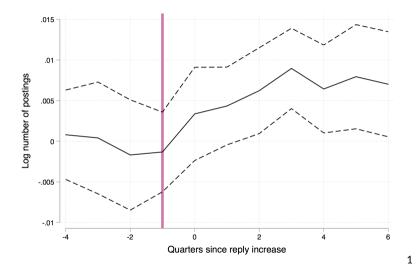
$$\mathsf{Posts}_{\mathit{ict}} = \gamma_{\mathit{c}} + \delta_{\mathit{it}} + \sum_{j=0}^{J} \beta_{j} \mathsf{Reply}_{\mathit{ict}-j} + \epsilon_{\mathit{ict}}$$

- Study whether density causes differing dynamics with the specification:

$$\begin{aligned} \mathsf{Posts}_{\textit{ict}} &= \gamma_c + \delta_{\textit{it}} + \sum_{j=0}^{J} \beta_j \mathsf{Reply}_{\textit{ict}-j} + \sum_{j=0}^{J} \eta_j \mathsf{Reply}_{\textit{ict}-j} \times \widehat{\mathsf{log} \ \mathsf{FAR}_c} \\ &+ \sum_{j=0}^{J} \mathsf{Reply}_{\textit{ict}-j} \times \sigma_j' \mathsf{X}_c + \epsilon_{\textit{ict}} \end{aligned}$$

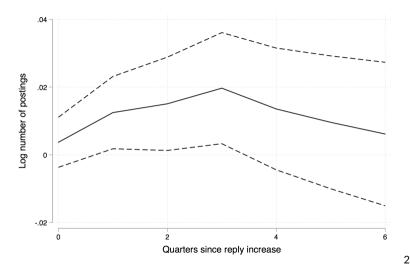
- If density leads to faster information diffusion, should expect that Southern cities to respond faster to government replies
- log FAR<sub>c</sub> is "predicted FAR" and is a function of latitude
- Add in rich set of city-level controls  $(X_c)$

#### **Dynamic Response to Government Postings**



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Coefficient and 95% CI of dynamic model with 6 lags and 4 leads of reply rate

# Cumulative Differential Response Across Latitude



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Difference in response to 10% increase in postings for cities in the 75th and 25th percentile of latitude

#### **Extensions and Robustness**

- Suggestive evidence on word-of-mouth from China Social Governance Survey
  - Extensive survey run by Zheng, Su and Zhang (2018)
  - Residents in Southern cities are more likely to gossip or have heard gossip
  - 5 degree increase in latitude → approximately 3% decrease in gossip

- Address threats to validity
  - Attitudes toward government similar across latitude
  - Trust in public institutions similar across latitude
  - Internet use not systematically different across latitude

#### Next Step - Exploit COVID Lockdown

- Extend analysis using COVID lockdown in China
  - Internet channel still active (on LLMBs)
  - Lockdown "shuts down" the physical proximity from denser buildings
  - Study whether physical interactions play a large part in information diffusion

- Currently scraped LLMBs through 2023
  - Use the lockdown in 2019 as a natural experiment
  - If density's role is through physical proximity  $\to$  expect the difference between northern and southern cities to disappear during lockdown

#### **Summary**

- Use plausibly exogenous variation in urban density caused by sunlight policy in China

- Find that
  - ... Southern cities are more dense than Northern cities
  - ... Southern cities have faster responses to government postings than Northern ones
  - ... residents of Southern cities more likely to gossip
  - ... cannot be explained by difference in internet usage or attitudes toward government

- Paper points to the role that urban density plays in the diffusion of information