The Costs of Leader Biases: Evidence from Superstitious Chinese Mayors*

Justin Jihao Hong† *Boston University*

Yuheng Zhao‡ *Renmin University of China*

This draft: September 2024

Abstract

Throughout history, biased and false beliefs – such as denialism and superstitions – have played substantial roles in leadership. Yet, we lack evidence on the economic costs of such widespread phenomena. This paper studies the macro-level impact of governors' misbeliefs in China, exploiting prevalent traditional beliefs in Asia that allow us to link quasi-random, leader-specific spatial biases to regional development. We find that municipal zones that are supernaturally unfavorable to mayors have an average 2 percent lower GDP compared to other zones. Exploiting mayor reports and administrative micro-level data, we show reduced policy support and public investment as the key drivers. Downstream changes in firms and households further amplify the loss, with a 6% decrease in firm entry, a 4% reduction in the productivity of remaining firms, and a minor population decline. Leaders' supernatural biases matter less in better institutional environments, yet may nonetheless persist as they help assuage perceived uncertainty. Our back-of-the-envelope calculation suggests Chinese mayors' spatial misbeliefs are associated with at least a 0.1% annual GDP loss over the past two decades. Collectively, we highlight subjective beliefs as an important determinant of leader performance, contributing to a deeper understanding of why individual leaders matter for economic growth.

JEL classification: D73, H70, R10, P00, Z10

* We thank Raymond Fisman, Martin Fiszbein, Siddharth George, Gordan Hansen, Benjamin Marx, Dilip Mookherjee, Raul Sanchez de la Sierra, Xiaodong Zhu, and seminar/conference participants at the BU, RUC, Chinese Economists Society, AMES, and IAAE Annual Meeting for helpful feedback. Qikai Ding, Diqing Liu, Shuaichen Liu, and Eric Zhang have provided excellent research assistance. The authors have no material interests related to the research described in this paper.

† Hong: Department of Economics, Boston University (E-mail: hjihao@bu.edu)

‡ Zhao: School of Applied Economics, Renmin University of China (E-mail: zhaoyuheng@ruc.edu.cn)

1 Introduction

Leaders matter: their individual decisions influence the performance of organizations and states (e.g., Bertrand and Schoar, 2003; Jones and Olken, 2005; Malmendier and Tate, 2005; Ottinger and Voigtländer, 2021; Fenizia, 2022; Otero and Munoz, 2022; Bai, Jia and Yang, 2023). It is therefore central to understand their objective functions, which may, as the existing literature shows, include monetary gains, promotion, and social welfare. Yet leaders also hold subjective beliefs – many of which are biased and misspecified – that can impose substantial costs on the economy by virtue of their control over resources (World Bank Group, 2015). This paper shows for the first time the macro-level impact of individual governors' misbeliefs. Leveraging the context of China, we find that Chinese mayors' misbeliefs about space have led to a GDP loss of more than 0.1%. In doing so, we contribute to the broader question of what drives leaders to perform differently in promoting growth.

In his seminal work on European leaders, historian Frederick Adams Woods identifies a monarch's personal beliefs – apart from their capacity and networks – as an important determinant of state performance (Woods, 1913). A rich qualitative record validates this view. For instance, the Reagans were known to incorporate astrology in their event planning while in the White House, and there is even an anecdote that these beliefs played a role in shaping President Reagan's stance toward the Soviet Union. In South Africa, President Thabo Mbeki's misbelief about HIV and herbal remedies resulted in an estimated 330,000 premature deaths. In India, sitting chief ministers seldom visit Noida City, due to an age-old taboo that doing so may result in the inability to assume office again. Meanwhile, in Ireland, local governments allocated additional taxpayer money to reroute motorways away from "vindictive" fairy bushes.[1] However, it remains challenging to establish the causal impact of leaders' misbeliefs on development, due to the difficulty of separating beliefs from other confounders, conducting large-scale experiments involving leaders, and linking belief differences to real economic consequences. To make progress on these fronts, the ideal setting would feature a large sample of comparable leaders, with quasi-random, individual-specific variation generated by one set of beliefs that clearly map to macro-level outcomes.

In this paper, we study the consequences of biased beliefs among local leaders in China.

[1] For details about these anecdotal accounts, see: https://www.nytimes.com/1988/05/04/us/white-house-confirms-reagans-follow-astrology-up-to-a-point.html, https://www.hsph.harvard.edu/news/magazine/spr09aids/, https://www.indiatimes.com/explainers/news/assembly-elections-2022-superstitions-myths-jinxes-in-indian-politics-559729.html, and https://europe.stripes.com/travel/2019-09-05/the-fairy-tree.html.

We address empirical challenges by exploiting the enduring spatial superstitions – a set of traditional cultural beliefs about space in Asian societies. This belief system enables causal and meaningful empirical investigation: it allows us to link differences in regional development – a real and important macro-level outcome – to individual leadership. While such traditional beliefs remain significant in many Asian countries, the Chinese setting is particularly well-suited for two reasons. First, in China, these pseudo-scientific beliefs are individual-specific: certain orientations can be deemed unfavorable for certain individuals (because these zones may potentially bring bad fortune and unexpected obstacles), a determination based on their birth time and ancient astrological rules. For example, for those who were born in June 1942, southern regions are considered unfavorable, using one's residence as the origin.[2] As such, certain places within a leader's jurisdiction may be idiosyncratically regarded as unfavorable, independent of other socioeconomic factors. Second, political leaders play an important role in China's economic growth, and their frequent turnover generates rich within-region variation in leadership for identification (Li and Zhou, 2005; Yao and Zhang, 2015). Despite China being an atheistic country, official reports revealed that 7 out of 11 top-ranked politicians under investigation in 2014 factored religious or superstitious beliefs into public investment decisions.

The leaders in our study are the city leaders. A city, or prefecture, is considered the basic unit of residence and local market in China. An average city has approximately 3 million residents and includes 8.5 subordinate counties.[3] City leaders in China wield substantial authority in high-stakes decisions on local policies and public investment, influencing regional economic growth (Yao and Zhang, 2015). While subordinate counties retain a degree of autonomy, critical policies and investment necessitate the endorsement of upper-level city leaders. Accordingly, city governors' spatial misbeliefs – which can alter their perception about the merits of projects in their "unfavorable" zones – may lead to lower government inputs in treated counties and thus impede economic production. Moreover, firms and households may also react to government-side changes, further aggravating the economic loss in treated zones.

The frequent turnover of city leaders in China generates rich shocks among subordinate counties. These within-county shocks allow us to compare a given county's development when it is located in the unfavorable zone of the upper-level leader *versus* when it is not. To this end,

[2] In Chinese society, these beliefs are commonly referred to as *Feng-shui*. Similar traditional beliefs exist in other societies, such as *Vatsu* in India and *Kumalak* in Central Asia. While all these belief systems connect space with the supernatural (and thus alter perceptions of events in particular regions), the Chinese tradition emphasizes *individual-specific* applicability, providing an ideal setting for causal identification.

[3] A city ranks below provinces and above counties as the second-level administrative division in the country. As of 2020, China is officially divided into 333 city-level divisions, consisting of 2,851 county-level divisions.

we construct a new dataset that captures the spatial superstitions of all Chinese city leaders between 2000 and 2018. Combining leaders' birth-time information with the input of expert astrologists, the dataset identifies the unfavorable zones, if any, for each leader (e.g., southwest for leaders born in July 1958; west for leaders born in September 1958). We then determine whether a county falls within leader-specific unfavorable zones during a particular year, using its orientation to the city government where leaders work and live.

We begin by validating our empirical strategy. We show that the ever-treated counties and never-treated counties in our sampled period (2000 - 2018) share similar *ex-ante* geographic, demographic, and economic conditions in 1999. Moreover, a county's past socioeconomic outcomes do not systematically predict its treatment status under future city leaders. These patterns collectively bolster the validity of our empirical design.

The results indicate that leaders' spatial misbeliefs have a substantial economic impact. Counties located in leaders' unfavorable zones experience a 2 to 3 percent relative decrease in GDP, compared with other counties under the same leader in the same year. To put this disparity into perspective, it is about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the hometown favoritism effect documented in the existing literature (Hodler and Raschky, 2014). The effects are primarily driven by mayors, the officials that head the government and are in direct charge of formulating and administering socioeconomic policies.[4] The impact is greater for mayors from more superstitious hometowns. Using an event-study design, we find no differential trends in local output before the treatment, reinforcing a causal interpretation. The results are robust to a range of robustness checks.

We then investigate the mechanisms driving the growth disparity. Guided by a simple conceptual framework, we document mayors make lower policy support and government investment in treated counties, alongside with subsequent firm-side and citizen-side changes that can magnify the impact. First, we find that mayors reveal a lower willingness to develop and invest in their unfavorable counties during policy making. A textual analysis of government work plans shows that these counties are mentioned less frequently in mayors' development plans and are associated with less positive sentiment. Using government expenditure statistics and administrative land use records, we observe a consistent decline in public investment, particularly for transportation infrastructure that can likely facilitate productivity in the near term. Further disaggregating the impacts on projects by approval authority (mayors *versus*

[4]Each city is co-governed by a Party Secretary, who maintains greater political authority to set general agendas and oversee personnel work, and a Mayor, who heads the government agency and is in direct charge of formulating and administering socioeconomic policies. Our findings on mayors' roles are largely in line with prior work (e.g., Cao, 2022; Fang, Li and Wu, 2022).

subordinate counties), we confirm that it is the mayors themselves who reduce inputs in their supernaturally unfavorable zones. In addition, there are no notable changes in public investment in neighboring non-treated regions. These patterns corroborate leader-driven shifts in government input as the leading mechanism.

Second, we show firm dynamics and household reactions as downstream mechanisms. Using 1.8 million administrative firm-year level observations, we find that industrial firms remaining in treated counties not only hire fewer employees and invest less, but are also less productive (as measured by firm-level TFP). On the extensive margin, these counties experience slower growth in firm numbers, primarily due to a decline in firm entry. We additionally show suggestive evidence that such changes reflect a worse allocative efficiency. Concurrently, treated counties exhibit a marginally lower population and a consistent decrease in employment, with no significant changes in the number of registered households. Although more speculative, these patterns might potentially reflect labor reallocation in response to deteriorating economic conditions, which can further aggravate economic losses in treated zones.

Having established the substantial local impacts, we move to assess the aggregate output cost at the country level. Motivated by our mechanism analyses, we leverage different designs to account for cross-county spillovers and benchmark the macro significance of our findings. First, we use a cleaner set of control counties (that are not adjacent to a treated one) to re-estimate the impact on treated counties. Doing so shifts the estimated coefficient on GDP from -2.3 percent to -2.1 percent. This indicates that the growth disparity is mostly driven by a real economic loss in treated regions. Second, we move the analysis to a higher level of aggregation – the city level, which corresponds more to the local market – to subsume inter-regional spillovers in subordinate counties (Criscuolo et al., 2019; Siegloch, Wehrhöfer and Etzel, 2024).[5] We find a lower aggregate output when a city has more shares of its area/population affected by mayors' spatial biases. The back-of-the-envelope calculation based on either approach yields a comparable estimated aggregate cost, which is about at least 0.1% of the country's GDP per year. This translates to over 40 billion CNY (about 6 billion USD) each year, equivalent to the annual output of a country like Rwanda or Mongolia.

We close by discussing further implications of our study. First, how could we mitigate the influence of leader biases? Consistent with cross-country evidence (Jones and Olken, 2005; Ottinger and Voigtländer, 2021), we find that institutions matter: the influence of mayor misbeliefs

[5]Specifically, we leverage the different scope of treatment — measured by the share of population or area affected in a city — attributable to the pre-existing differences in city shapes.

is limited in regions with less-interventionist governments and after the county empowerment reform which expands subordinate autonomy. In contrast, less-institutional approaches such as Party's ideological training make no marked changes in the short run. Second, one may further wonder why non-scientific beliefs with such substantial costs even preserve among these elites. Apart from the cultural transmission explanation, we show evidence suggesting that supernatural beliefs may help leaders mitigate their perceived uncertainty – a perspective that applies to a variety of contexts, since most political leaders manage substantial resources and frequently make high-stakes decisions in complex situations.

Collectively, this paper contributes to three main strands of literature. To our knowledge, we present the first causal analysis establishing the role of leaders' misbeliefs in development, speaking to long-standing theories of leadership by scholars and the public. Our findings thus add to the broader literature on how key individuals impact organizations and economies (Bertrand and Schoar, 2003; Malmendier and Tate, 2005; Jones and Olken, 2005; Besley, Montalvo and Reynal-Querol, 2011; Easterly and Pennings, 2020; Dippel and Heblich, 2021; Ottinger and Voigtländer, 2021). A growing body of work documents that past experiences and identity can contribute to leader performance, and a key conceptual channel through which these factors operate is their influence on personal beliefs.[6] However, it is notoriously challenging to separate the causal role of individual beliefs in politics (Levitt, 1996; Washington, 2008), and empirical evidence has largely been limited to qualitative accounts. Our setting allows us to quantify the prevalence of such distortions in a large and important polity. Moreover, our heterogeneity analyses add to the cross-regime evidence on the interaction between leadership and institutions (Jones and Olken, 2005; Clark, Murphy and Singer, 2014; Besley and Reynal-Querol, 2017; Ottinger and Voigtländer, 2021; Martinez, 2022).

Second, we contribute to the literature on culture and development (Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales, 2006; Nunn, 2022). While prior work has shown that collective cultural practices affect growth (Campante and Yanagizawa-Drott, 2015; Schofield, 2020; Montero and Yang, 2022), we demonstrate that cultural beliefs of key individuals can generate aggregate economic impacts. The cultural aspect in our study – beliefs in supernatural forces – is also of relevance

[6] See for example: leader gender (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004; Clots-Figueras, 2011; Ferreira and Gyourko, 2014; Brollo and Troiano, 2016; Besley et al., 2017; Dube and Harish, 2020; Lippmann, 2022), ethnicity (Hodler and Raschky, 2014; Burgess et al., 2015; Nye, Rainer and Stratmann, 2015; Beach and Jones, 2017; De Luca et al., 2018; Assouad, 2020; Logan, 2020), and religious identity (Bhalotra et al., 2014; Bhalotra, Clots-Figueras and Iyer, 2021; Wang, 2021). For leader experience, see for example: Göhlmann and Vaubel (2007), Washington (2008), Dreher et al. (2009), Diaz-Serrano and Pérez (2013), Jochimsen and Thomasius (2014), Mercier (2016), Van Effenterre (2020), Carreri and Teso (2021), Li, Wang and Zhang (2023), and Guo, Gao and Liang (2023).

given its ubiquity and persistence across societies (Leeson, 2012, 2013; Gershman, 2015; Leeson and Suarez, 2015; Nunn and Sanchez de la Sierra, 2017). Economists have recently begun to quantify the role of religious and other non-standard beliefs in shaping individual/community behavior.[7] We contribute by adding to the very limited work in the context of politics (Lowes et al., 2023), which features high-stakes decision-making affecting millions of citizens. We show that even in an irreligious polity like China, traditional, religious-like beliefs can shape governors' decisions. In addition, we expand the agenda beyond Abrahamic and African belief systems to those in Asia (Chen, Ma and Sinclair, 2022; Ciscato, Do and Nguyen, 2023; Becker, Rubin and Woessmann, 2024). The quasi-random nature of spatial biases leveraged by this paper also opens doors to more empirical research.

Finally, we see our findings as contributing to the flourishing work on Chinese bureaucracy, and more generally incentives and performance in public organizations (Finan, Olken and Pande, 2017; Besley et al., 2022). Our results echo the findings of recent empirical work showing that a proportion of variation in state performance can be attributed to individual decisions (e.g., Fenizia, 2022; Otero and Munoz, 2022; Best, Hjort and Szakonyi, 2023).

2 Background

2.1 Spatial (Mis)beliefs as an Ideal Source of Variation

Traditional beliefs associating space with the supernatural remain prevalent across Asia (e.g., *Fengshui* in China, Singapore, and Korea; *Fusui* in Japan; *Vatsu* in India; and *Kumalak* in Central Asia). These superstitions typically link good or bad to certain spaces relative to one's residence or workplace, distorting perceptions about the merits of activities or investment in specific areas. To leverage individual-specific variation for causality, this paper exploits the belief system in China. [8]

In China, such beliefs are commonly known as *Fengshui* – a traditional culture that has persisted for centuries, especially among the ruling and elite classes. It posits that surrounding environments can generate invisible forces that affect human lives. Factors such as the location and structure of dwellings and workplaces, along with the shapes of surrounding mountains

[7] See for example: Halla, Liu and Liu (2019), Le Rossignol, Lowes and Nunn (2022), Butinda et al. (2023), Fisman et al. (2023), and Ciscato, Do and Nguyen (2023).

[8] While still prevalent, spatial beliefs in other contexts often produce similar predictions for most individuals. For instance, in some Indian schools, the south is generally considered less favorable due to its association with the god of death. This prevents us from separating the influence of individual leaders.

and rivers, can all potentially affect one's fortune. The implications of these spatial (mis)beliefs are always individual-specific: the same place can hold different implications for individuals with different time of birth, providing quasi-exogenous variation for causal research. Historically, spatial beliefs were widely applied in the placement and design of royal buildings, spiritual structures (e.g., temples and ancestral tombs), and overall city planning. More broadly, emperors and officials used them to guide decisions on high-stakes spatially related events, such as initiating military expeditions and developing state infrastructure in specific regions. Today, vivid examples of these beliefs are also evident in the design of skyscrapers and business headquarters – from Shanghai to Hong Kong, and even in cities outside Asia, such as New York.[9] According to the *China Family Panel Studies* in 2018 – a nearly nationally representative survey – about 47% of Chinese citizens still explicitly reported holding these traditional beliefs about space. Figure A1 visualizes the share of believers by region based on the survey.

In relevance to our empirical design is the notion of individual-specific "unfavorable zones". This concept serves as a core component of the Chinese spatial belief system, providing high-level indications that guide more detailed decisions. Taking one's residence or workplace as the origin, there can be eight equally divided zones by orientation (N, NE, E, SE, S, SW, W, NW). Some of these zones, typically one or two, may be seen as inauspicious and could bring unexpected bad to one's life and career. Importantly, these zones are determined by one's birth time and exogenous astrological rules.[10] In some cases, there may be no inherent unfavorable zones for an individual (due to astrological rules). A simplified version of this (mis)belief is reflected in the well-known Chinese saying: "Never disturb the ground in the supernaturally unfavorable zone."

There are two additional points worth mentioning. First, when mapping local leaders' birth events to their unfavorable zones, we seek the assistance of established spatial astrologers and cross-validate their predictions. While there are simplified supernatural tips in the media and on the internet, determining one's *Fengshui* is technical and complex.[11] An established

[9] See for example the spatial layout of Trump Tower (https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/13/donald-trump-feng-shui-master-pun-yin).

[10] Specifically, each individual may have their own birth chart according to their birth time (year-month-date-hour), with their birthplace further shifting the internal energy balance of the birth chart. Spatial astrology then maps one's endowed birth chart to different zones. Generally, the inauspicious zones are the ones featuring the most powerful supernatural energy – as they are, philosophically, too powerful and extreme to be utilized and are thus unfavorable.

[11] The first step – producing one's birth chart – can nowadays be done with the help of computer programs. However, the second step – applying astrological rules and determining one's unfavorable zones – requires experts' input: each sub-component of the birth chart can interact with each other, and other external factors like birthplaces further add complexity.

astrologer needs years of training and practice, and many well-known experts are trained via the mentoring-based system. Accordingly, most believers, especially those political elites facing high-stakes situations, will invest heavily to consult expert astrologers periodically for private advice. Second, although there are finer practices for utilizing spatial zones associated with various aspects (e.g., career, relationship, health, and even exams), these techniques primarily apply to the layout within one's house or workplace.[12] These components are less related to macro-level outcomes and are therefore not our focus.

2.2 Qualitative Evidence

There exist rich historical and contemporary accounts showcasing the significance of spatial supernatural in shaping leadership and governance in China. In Imperial China, spatial supernatural were treated seriously by rulers and elites. Examples can be seen from official historical records:

> Since the *Zhou Dynasty* (1046 BC), all rulers have maintained the *Imperial Astronomical Bureau* (or similar institutions) responsible for the study and use of astrology and supernatural. According to official *Qing Dynasty* records, the Bureau's spatial astrologers were tasked with "inspecting the placement and layout of palaces and cities, overseeing the supernatural aspects of mountains and rivers, and assisting decisions on spatially related events like military expeditions in specific directions."

> According to the "New Book of the Tang Dynasty", a work of official history, the horse-keeper of *Emperor Dezong* (742 AD - 805 AD) avoided driving through the Southern Gate, because the South is the inauspicious zone of the emperor.

In today's China, beliefs about spatial supernatural still play a substantial role in leader performance. Although it is hard to obtain statistics for political elites on such sensitive issues, there exists one exception: a 2007 internal survey conducted by the *National Academy of Governance* suggests more than 52.4% of surveyed officials in China believe in supernatural in some form.[13] Due to the materialist nature of the Chinese Communist Party, the survey result can likely be a conservative lower bound. Media and official reports offer eye-opening cases that support the survey outcome:

[12] For instance, an official may be advised to place an indoor plant in some special position of their bedroom to improve health, adjust their desks to boost their career prospects, or erect a special statue in front of the government building to reduce unexpected obstacles.

[13] See https://www.cas.cn/xw/zyxw/yw/200705/t20070511_1021150.shtml (in Chinese).

In 2005, a tragic incident occurred in a middle school in Qinyuan County. Du, the then-mayor, was supposed to arrive at the scene around 9 am. However, he deliberately took a detour to avoid the inauspicious region and did not arrive at the scene until noon.

As demonstrated in the investigation report of Wu, the former deputy governor of Yubei District, "[he] even studied spatial superstitions for years himself and brutally determined the construction of projects by asking the supernatural."

As an extreme case, Fang, the then-leader of Huainan City in 2014, resorted to explosives to destroy an ongoing hotel project, asserting that the construction in that specific region would bring him bad fortune. This scandal led to the end of his political career.

A new documentary by China Central Television in 2024 reveals that Chen, the then-leader of Zhangzhou City, relied heavily on his *Fengshui* consultant and wasted 211 million CNY (about 29 million USD) in associated projects, despite facing opposition from grassroots bureaucrats and citizens.

The above qualitative evidence suggests that, even today, spatial beliefs – though almost certainly false – still influence governors' perceptions and substantially shape their investment decisions.

2.3 City Leaders in China

The Chinese political structure is marked by a multi-tiered administrative hierarchy, consisting of central, provincial, city, county/district, and township-level authorities. At each level, two officials share top administrative power – the secretary of the local Communist Party committee and the head of the executive branch (e.g., the mayor at the city level). A typical division of labor emerges from this structure: the party secretary oversees personnel and political matters; and the mayor assumes responsibility for daily operations of the government, with a focus on promoting socioeconomic development. Local leaders in China exercise considerable authority over governance and public investment, and a large body of empirical research has underscored the influential role these individuals play in economic growth (Li and Zhou, 2005; Yao and Zhang, 2015). Since the city is considered the fundamental unit of residence and local markets, our analysis will focus on these city leaders.

An intriguing aspect of the Chinese polity is the frequent turnover of local leaders (Li and Zhou, 2005). This constant reshuffling is characterized by a top-down organizational framework. Typically, there are limited candidates – often only one or a few – for any given vacancy. In most cases, candidates are unlikely to refuse an appointment, as such refusal is often perceived as a direct challenge to the established leadership hierarchy. The regular movement of city leaders between localities, therefore, creates useful *within-locality* shocks for identification. It is also worth noting that, as an atheistic regime, the Communist Party of China explicitly forbids any religious or supernatural-related beliefs and activities among its leaders.[14]

3 Data and Empirical Design

3.1 Data and Sources

Leaders' Unfavorable Regions. Our measure of leaders' inauspicious zones builds on three steps. First, we collect the birth year and month, as well as the birthplace of each city leader. The information, as well as other leader characteristics used in this paper, are extracted from official biographies from city yearbooks.

Second, based on leaders' birth event information, three expert astrologers help derive each leader's supernaturally unfavorable zones separately. While obtaining an accurate prediction requires one's birth date and hour, an advantage is that *Fengshui* assigns disproportionately high weights to one's birth year and month, which enables experienced astrologers to infer. From the econometric angle, this may induce some standard measurement errors to our explanatory variables, which will yield more conservative estimates and thus not a threat.

Third, we cross-validate astrologers' outputs and request them to re-check observations from which they draw different conclusions, and we iterate this process until all astrologers reach a consensus regarding the supernaturally unfavorable orientations of all leaders. The first-round rate of overlapping is 86%, suggesting the underlying astrological rules, though complex, can largely yield consistent predictions.

Determining County Location. With leaders' unfavorable orientations identified, we determine whether a county falls within these orientations of a particular leader. Following

[14] See the *Chinese Communist Party Disciplinary Regulations*: https://www.12371.cn/2024/05/06/ARTI1714995665242128.shtml.

the spatial belief system, the reference point (i.e., origin) is set to be one's residence or office. In our context, this corresponds to the location of the city government where leaders work and reside.[15] In relation to the origin point, we can equally divide a city into eight zones by orientation: N (337.5° - 22.5°), NE (22.5° - 67.5°), E (67.5° - 112.5°), SE (112.5° - 157.5°), S (157.5° - 202.5°), SW (202.5° - 247.5°), W (247.5° - 292.5°), NW (292.5° - 337.5°).

In our baseline analysis, we directly refer to official descriptions from local gazetteers to ascertain the orientation of each county in a city. This approach capitalizes on the common practice in local gazetteers, where the geographical location of each county relative to the city government is explicitly detailed. For instance, in the gazetteer of *Meizhou* City, it states that "*Da-bu* County is located in the eastern area of *Meizhou* City." These descriptions are typically determined by spatial planning authorities, making them reliable and relevant. For robustness checks, we also manually construct county locations using the Geographic Information System (GIS), computing the geometric centers of counties and deriving their Azimuth angles in relation to the city government.

Finally, we construct our key explanatory variable at the county-year level, which is a dummy that is 1 if the county falls within the then-leader's supernaturally unfavorable zone(s). As an example, if a county is in the southeast of the city government, and the mayor's inauspicious zone is to the southeast, then the county is viewed as treated.

Data on Economic Outcomes. Data on economic outcomes come from a variety of sources.

(1) *County-level data*. Our primary data on economic outcomes derive from the *China County-level Statistical Yearbook* from 2000 to 2018, which offers a detailed overview of socioeconomic development through our sample period. The main variables encompass county-year level GDP, GDP sub-components (outputs from the Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary sectors), the number of large-scale enterprises,[16] outputs of large-scale enterprises, fiscal expenditure, employment, and population. We supplement the Yearbook data with nighttime luminosity data obtained from the Defense Meteorological Satellite Program (DMSP) operated by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). The dataset offers a consistent measure of nighttime light intensity extending from 1992 to 2013. Although the nighttime light measure can be relatively unstable at the county level (Gibson et al., 2021), it serves as a useful proxy to corroborate what we observe reflect real changes.

[15] In the Chinese setting, local leaders are to reside in designated housing areas near local governments.

[16] "Large-scale enterprises" are defined as industrial enterprises with annual revenue exceeding the size threshold established by the Chinese government, which was 5 million RMB before 2011 and 20 million RMB after 2011. The original data sources are managed vertically by the National Bureau of Statistics.

(2) *Land usage data*. Our analysis also incorporates the administrative land transaction data from 2005 to 2018. Land usage is categorized into 41 distinct types according to associated projects. In China, governments are the exclusive providers of land. As many public projects include the use of land, changes in the area of specific land types may proxy changes in related government investment, which can in turn reflect changes in leader decisions. We describe the data in more detail as they become relevant for our analysis later.

(3) *Firm-level data*. We utilize administrative firm-level data between 2000 and 2007 from the Annual Surveys of Industrial Production (ASIP). The ASIP dataset encompasses all non-state-owned enterprises generating revenue exceeding 5 million RMB, as well as all state-owned enterprises in the Chinese manufacturing sector. Adopting the methodology of Brandt, Van Biesebroeck and Zhang (2012), we track firms over time using their unique numerical identifiers and calculate the capital stock and investment employing the perpetual inventory method. To address the dynamics of restructuring, mergers, and acquisitions, we additionally match firms using information on their names, industry classifications, addresses, and other relevant details, as a supplement to their IDs. In alignment with standard procedures (Hsieh and Klenow, 2009), we trim the 1% tails of output, capital distortions, and total factor productivity in each year to ensure our findings are robust to potential outliers. Our refined sample comprises approximately 1.8 million observations across 29 two-digit industries within the manufacturing sector. This sample includes data from 117,386 firms in 1998, expanding to 284,447 firms by 2007, and provides comprehensive information on ownership, employment, capital, and value-added.

(4) *Other data*. We also use additional data sources, including textual data from government work reports, individual-level surveys, and compiled statistics and measures developed by research institutes. The use of these data is detailed as they become relevant in the subsequent sections.

3.2 Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for our primary variables spanning from 2000 to 2018. **Panel A** details the economic outcomes at the county-year level, measured in 2014 CNY, along with the status of being located in local leaders' supernaturally unfavorable zones. On average, counties in our sample have a GDP of 11.6 trillion CNY and host 97 large-scale enterprises. The term "*Treated zone*" represents the explanatory variable of interest, which is a dummy that is 1 if the county is located in the then-leader's unfavorable orientations according to

spatial superstitions. At the county-year level, approximately 5.4% of counties are located in the unfavorable zone of its city party secretary, and 5.8% fall within the unfavorable zone of its city mayor. It is noteworthy that these two zones largely do not overlap: the probability of a county being located in an unfavorable zone of either the party secretary or the mayor is 10.8%, allowing us to separate the effects attributable to the mayor from those of the party secretary.

Panel B of Table 1 shows the demographic characteristics of city leaders throughout our sample period. The majority of party sectaries and mayors are males, and they exhibit similar levels of tertiary education (inclusive of on-the-job education experience). Compared with party sectaries, mayors tend to be younger both at the inception and conclusion of their tenure in office, and they demonstrate a moderately higher propensity to serve in their native provinces.

3.3 Empirical Design

To investigate how leaders' spatial misbeliefs shape local development, we hold constant a county and exploit the variation induced by the turnover of upper-level city leaders. This design provides both *within-locality* variation (comparing the same county under different city leaders) and *cross-locality* variation (comparing different counties within the jurisdiction of the same leader). For county c in city p in year t, we estimate:

$$y_{ct} = \beta \times Treated\ Zone_{ct} + \lambda_c + \mu_{pt} + \varepsilon_{ct} \tag{1}$$

The unit of observation is at the county-year level. $Treated\ Zone_{ct}$ is a dummy that is one if county c is located in supernaturally unfavorable orientations of its city leader in year t. λ_c refers to county fixed effects that remove time-invariant or slow-moving differences across counties. μ_{pt} represents the city-year fixed effects, which absorb all city-wide (and also leader-level) temporal shocks. This leads to a clear interpretation of β, the key coefficient of interest: it captures the average impact on treated counties relative to other counties under the same leader in the same year. We later also explore if there exist significant cross-county spillovers. Finally, we allow the error term, ϵ_{hc}, to be correlated at the city level to obtain a more conservative inference. Figure A2 provides a visual illustration of our empirical strategy.

The main identification assumption is that, conditioned on the above fixed effects, the outcomes of treated and untreated counties should evolve similarly in the absence of leaders' spatial misbeliefs. As noted, a leader's unfavorable zones are determined by their birth event with exogenous astrological rules and thus quasi-random. Therefore, the remaining concern

is whether the appointment of leaders is simultaneously correlated with their astrological characteristics and the differential evolvement of outcomes in potentially treated *versus* untreated counties – which is conceptually far-fetched. An advantage of the Chinese setting is that the appointment of city leaders is top-down and mandated: chosen individuals, who are usually promoted, may not alter assignment decisions unless they would like to end their political careers. Quantitatively, we will use event-study specifications to corroborate the lack of differential trends in economic outcomes between treated and untreated counties.

To further buttress the validity of our empirical strategy, we present three sets of quantitative checks. First, we compare the *ex-ante* characteristics of ever-treated counties to those of non-treated counties during our sample period (2000 - 2018). Table A1 shows that the average geographical, demographic, and economic characteristics of ever-treated counties are highly comparable to those of non-treated counties in 1999.

Second, we move beyond by investigating whether a county's past socioeconomic conditions can predict the astrological features of its city leader (and thus its treatment status). Specifically, we regress a county's future treatment status (under the next leader's term) on its current socioeconomic characteristics. The estimates in Table A2 suggest no significant predictors, providing additional support for our identification assumptions.

Lastly, we turn to leader-level characteristics. Notably, there is a group of city leaders that do not have cross-county variation in their jurisdiction. Two reasons may explain this: (1) there may not be salient unfavorable orientations for these leaders, determined by exogenous astrological rules, or (2) no counties are located in their unfavorable orientations due to the location of the city government and the city's shape.[17] If the turnover of leaders is not predominantly associated with supernatural considerations, we should expect no salient difference between city leaders with unfavorable counties in their jurisdiction and those without. Consistent with this notion, Table A3 finds a strong balance in terms of leaders' gender, tenure length, age, and educational background.

[17] For instance, a mayor's unfavorable zone is the southeast, while the city government is located in the southeast of the city. In this case, there will be no treated counties.

4 Main Results

4.1 Regional Disparities in Economic Growth

Table 2 presents the baseline results. The outcome variable is the (log) county-year level GDP.[18] As each city is co-governed by a Party Secretary and a Mayor, we investigate the impact of each leadership in different columns. Column 1 pools either leader's spatial biases into one treatment dummy. The estimate reveals that counties located in either leader's unfavorable zones are associated with a relative reduction in economic output by about 1.3 percent each year.

Columns 2 to 4 disaggregate the roles of party secretaries and mayors. We find the effect is largely driven by city mayors, and the impact of party secretaries is close to zero. On average, counties located in mayors' unfavorable zones experience a 2.3 percent decrease in their GDP, compared to other counties under their governance. This pattern is consistent with most studies of the Chinese economy, in which mayors are in more direct charge of implementing socioeconomic policies and administering local projects (Cao, 2022; Fang, Li and Wu, 2022). Accordingly, our later analysis focuses on city mayors. During our sample period (2000 – 2018), the estimated output gap translates to approximately 39 USD million in annual GDP or about 135 USD per capita (deflated to 2014). To put this disparity into perspective, the effect is about 1/3 of the hometown favoritism documented in the existing literature (Hodler and Raschky, 2014).[19]

Table A4 extends by examining the impact on GDP sub-components. This may help us gain a broad sense of which aspects of the local economy drive the overall change. The statistics follow a standard three-sector decomposition: the primary sector (agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, and fishery), the secondary sector (manufacturing, mining, and construction), and the tertiary sector (services, commerce, and others). We see that while all GDP subcomponents decline, the secondary sector is most affected. This aligns with China's growth mode over the past decades, where the secondary sector acts has acted as the main driver of the local economy and has been heavily affected by government intervention (Naughton, 2007; Chow, 2015).

Event Studies. A key assumption for our empirical design is that treated and untreated counties should be otherwise identical in terms of development trends in the absence of leaders'

[18] In the spirit of Easterly and Pennings (2020), we use the level of GDP rather than its growth rate to partially assuage the volatility issues associated with growth rate measures.

[19] Hometown favoritism refers to a new leader's hometown gains excess economic growth, which can result from favor-exchange, informational advantage, and/or social preferences.

supernatural biases. While this assumption is not directly testable, we provide supporting evidence by adopting an event-study framework. To this end, we allow β in Equation 1 to vary by each relative year. For comparability, we restrict the analysis to status transition observed over at least an 8-year window (4 years before/after the treatment).

Panel A of Figure 1 presents visual evidence for the year-by-year differences in GDP for counties entering the treatment status (compared to non-treated counterparts). The differences beyond 4 years before the treatment are omitted as the benchmark. The estimated coefficients show that ahead of being in mayors' unfavorable zones (due to leader turnovers), there is no differential output trend of the to-be-treated county. After entering the treatment status, there is a gradual and significant reduction in GDP relative to other non-treated counties. Additionally, **Panel B** of Figure 1 investigates the effect of exiting the treatment status. The differences beyond 4 years after the treatment ends are omitted as the benchmark. The relative GDP gap does not immediately disappear once a new leader assumes office but steadily declines over time. Treated and untreated counties end up evolving in similar trends again after exiting the treatment status. The roughly opposite and symmetric patterns of transitions into and out of the treatment status together reinforce a causal interpretation of our main results.

4.2 Robustness

We conduct various additional checks to strengthen our baseline results.

Treatment Measures. Our baseline uses pre-packaged official descriptions to determine the location of a county. Table A5 defines county orientations based on Azimuth angles relative to the city government calculated by the GIS. The estimates are virtually unchanged.

Relatedly, a small proportion of city government heads have moved during our sample period. Conceptually, this is not likely to threaten our finding as re-allocating a government head is extremely costly in the Chinese setting, requiring approval by the central government and usually years of administrative coordination. Table A6 excludes leaders experiencing government head moves, which decreases county-year observations by only 1.97%. The empirical patterns remain unchanged.

Outcome Measures. To corroborate what we observe reflects real changes, Table A7 replicates the exercise using the nighttime light intensity as the dependent variable. Conceptually, the issue of data reporting is also not particularly problematic in our context: as county-level economic statistics are gathered and reported by county-level governments from the outset,

if any, treated counties may have greater incentives to compensate for their growth loss via exaggeration, which may drive our estimates toward zero.[20] Moreover, we do not find a difference in nightlight-GDP elasticity between treated and untreated counties, suggesting data falsification is not a chief factor in our setting. We later also use industrial outputs collected independently by the National Bureau of Statistics to further validate.

Heterogeneity by Mayor Hometown and Workplace. The cultural aspect of the treatment allows us to further corroborate the role of individual leadership. In theory, individuals may hold their identity and beliefs shaped during their formative young ages in later life, even in a new environment. Therefore, mayors grown up in more superstitious hometowns may held spatial misbeliefs to a greater extent in their workplace. Empirically, we use the China Family Panel Studies (2018) – a nearly representative survey of Chinese individuals – which contains a question about whether one believes in spatial supernatural.[21] We calculate province-specific shares of spatial-supernatural believers as a proxy for the strength of related culture, and link this measure to each mayor based on their hometown province.

Table 3 presents the heterogeneity results. Consistent with our hypothesis, Column 2 shows that the impact of supernatural biases is more pronounced among mayors who originate from regions with a more entrenched supernatural culture. As a comparison, Column 3 instead uses the spatial supernatural culture in the current province of work as the mediator. The estimate for the interaction term is small and insignificant, implying our finding is driven by the inherent subjective beliefs held by mayors themselves.

Permutation Test. To attenuate the concern that our results might be driven by outliers or high-leverage observations (Young, 2019), we further conduct a randomized permutation test. Specifically, we randomly permute the unfavorable zones of mayors and re-estimate the impact using this placebo treatment, with 1,000 iterations. Figure A3 presents the placebo estimates. Comparing the empirical distribution of the permuted coefficients to the baseline, we find that the likelihood of the original estimate being a result of coincidence is zero.

Cumulative Effects. In addition, we consider the cumulative impact of being located in leaders' unfavorable zones. This approach helps better understand the longer-run implications

[20] As discussed by Gibson et al. (2021), when down to county and more local level, the indication of nighttime light luminosity can be ambiguous and unstable; we therefore only use it for robustness checks.

[21] As culture tends to remain relatively stable in the short run, utilizing measures from 2018 may not pose a significant endogenous threat.

and resilience of affected counties.[22] Empirically, we investigate the current cross-county GDP differences as a function of the cumulative treated years throughout our sample period. The outcome variable is the logarithm of a county's average GDP in 2017 and 2018.[23] Figure A4 visualizes the estimated coefficients across four categories: counties located in mayors' unfavorable zones for 1 - 3 years, 4 - 6 years, 7 - 9 years, and over 10 years, spanning the period from 2000 to 2016. The estimated coefficients show that counties that experienced unfavorable treatment for a longer period exhibit relatively lower GDP levels today. The relationship is not linear, indicating a compounding pattern in growth disadvantages.

5 Mechanisms

5.1 Conceptual Framework

Having established the causal effect, we now turn to probe through which channels mayors' individual misbeliefs translate into macro-level consequences. We consider three main actors in the local economy: government, firms, and households.

As mayors head the local government, shifts in their decision-making can directly affect government inputs in subordinate counties, including policy support and public investment. Mayors may reduce these inputs in counties they perceive as unfavorable. This can not only lower the demand for local goods and services but also potentially undermine productivity. For instance, transportation and communication infrastructure can boost efficiency by facilitating firm interactions and reducing commuting times for workers (Henderson et al., 2022).

Accordingly, there will be downstream effects on firms and households that can further amplify economic losses. As noted, reduced government investment can lead to lower productivity among remaining firms, while firms may also adjust their employment and capital investment decisions. On the extensive margin, limited policy support and poorer facilities in affected regions may discourage the entry of new firms and influence existing firms' decisions to exit. Finally, as public amenities and economic conditions worsen in these regions, local households may adjust labor supply or relocate to other counties with better amenities and opportunities. This could further reduce consumption and impede production, negatively

[22]The event study confirms that treated and non-treated counterparts end up evolving in similar trends after treated ones exited the treatment status. Yet, it remains silent about whether an to what extent those ever-treated counties catch up to non-treated counterparts in terms of the level of output.

[23]We average the outcomes of two years to reduce the volatility in growth. The results remain similar when averaging the outcomes of three years (2015 -2018).

impacting economic growth in the affected counties.

In summary, mayors' spatial misbeliefs can impact the local economy by directly shrinking government input and triggering a series of firm and household adjustments. In Appendix B, we present a standard spatial model incorporating the notions discussed here.

5.2 Government-side Changes

To probe government-side changes, we investigate mayors' work plans and government investment. The former enables us to more directly establish the role of individual mayors' decisions, and the latter reflects corresponding real input.

Mayor Decisions and Government Investment. We begin by showing that mayors have a lower willingness to input in treated regions. At the start of each year, local mayors release government reports summarizing the previous year's work and outlining major development plans for the new year. Though preliminary and coarse, mayors' development plans signal policy support and help guide public investment in subordinate regions. This setting provides a window for us to more directly observe leader-specific changes. Combining hand-collected report data with machine learning techniques, we use the frequency of mentioning a county and the associated sentiment score as proxies of leaders' perception toward a county. In the Chinese context, governmental development plans will outline major projects and the regions associated with them, avoiding any use of negative terms. Accordingly, the variation in mayors' sentiment mostly arise from the adverbs they use to describe each project. For instance, they might use terms such as "unconditionally," "vigorously," or "steadily" when discussing the promotion of public infrastructure. While all these adverbs reflect leaders' commitment to investment, the first two are perceived as more positive than the third. For the sentiment measure, we use GPT's evaluation of the report content, with 0 representing the most negative and 1 the most positive.

Columns 1 and 2 of Table 4 present the results. Counties supernaturally unfavorable to mayors are mentioned significantly fewer times in their work plans, compared to non-treated counterparts. Moreover, though less precise, we find a less positive sentiment of mayors toward projects in their treated counties. These combined results suggest Chinese mayors are affected by their spatial misbeliefs in governance decisions, leading to lower policy support toward their unfavorable zones.

Next, we use changes in government investment to corroborate the shift in mayor decisions.

Column 3 of Table 4 examines changes in the overall public spending. We find that treated counties have on average 1% lower annual public spending, compared to their non-treated counterparts. A caveat is that we do not have systematic statistics of finer investment entries at the county level. To further understand which aspects mayors affect, we complement by investigating land usage records. This approach takes advantage of two administrative features in China: (1) major public projects of a county – which require joint approvals of county and city leaders – usually involve related land usage, and (2) governments are the exclusive providers of land. Accordingly, changes in the area of different types of land can serve as a proxy for changes in associated economic activities. To this end, we use 1.9 million administrative land transaction records. The sample period starts from 2005, when nationwide administrative records are formally established. We categorize these records by type of land usage according to official classifications and collapse them to county-year level. For each category, we normalize its land usage area by the total county area and use this share as the dependent variable.

Figure 2 visualizes the impacts on different categories of public investment. To ensure comparability, we standardize each coefficient by the sample average of its corresponding dependent variable. **Panel A** of Figure 2 presents the overall effects, pooling projects approved by city and county governments. In line with the decreased public expenditure, we see negative estimates across most types of public investment. Row 1 looks at changes in transport infrastructure, which has been shown to be essential for promoting economic growth. Compared to other public projects, transport-related projects are relatively large-scale, associated with demanding administrative processes and coordinating costs; therefore, it is plausible that they can trigger leaders' spatial misbeliefs and also leave large room for them to intervene. Rows 2 and 3 show similar declining patterns for other public facilities, such as expansion/updates of hydraulic structures, power grids, and piping systems. For categories in Rows 4 and 5 – state organizations, education, health, and social welfare projects – of which county governments have more discretion or projects are relatively small-scale, we obtain insignificant coefficients. Though suggestive, it can be seen that the estimated magnitudes are positively associated with the scale of related projects and the extent of city governments' involvement.

Panel B of Figure 2 further decomposes the outcome variables into two categories: land usage associated with projects approved by city governments (i.e., mayors) *versus* county

governments.[24] These features enable us to better separate changes in mayors' behavior. Two patterns emerge. First, consistent with the above evidence, public projects managed by city mayors decrease significantly across almost all categories. Second and in contrast, treated counties do not exhibit a similar pattern. Though the estimate is imprecise, it appears that they may promote more projects under their discretion in response, such as education, health, and social security facilities. Although changes in land usage only partially capture shifts in government investment, these combined results corroborate the central role of individual mayors in shaping the observed macro-level consequence.

Government Investment in Non-treated Zones. As a complementary step in understanding leader-driven changes, we assess whether mayors' misbeliefs about treated zones further alter their perception of non-treated zones under their governance. This could potentially affect government investment in the control group. Conceptually, this remains an open empirical question, which hinges on how leaders incorporate spatial superstitions into their decision-making and how we model this process.[25] To evaluate the role of such indirect spillovers, we leverage a unique advantage of our setting: some cities have none of their subordinate counties treated during our sample period.[26] Using these counties as a stringent set of "cleaner" controls, we can re-estimate the impact on treated counties, while excluding those non-treated counterparts in the same city that might be indirectly affected. Specifically, for each county that has ever been treated, we pair it with "cleaner" control counties; we then stack all these comparisons into a single regression to re-estimate the average treatment impact. This estimate thus avoids the potential spillovers into non-treated counterparts under the same leaders. As reported in Table A8, we do not find significant changes in government input in non-treated counterparts under the same leaders.

Collectively, these combined results suggest that reduced government support and in-

[24]The analysis leverages that we can observe the entity responsible for approval in land usage records. For projects where subordinate counties can have more discretion, county governments generally serve as the approval authority. However, for large-scale projects requiring city-level support and oversight, the approval authority typically falls to city mayors.

[25]For instance, if we suppose leaders have a fixed budget to invest (which is not likely in the Chinese setting), when the marginal benefit of a project in treated zones is comparable to that of potential projects in untreated zones, a re-allocation of public investment would occur. Alternatively, in an approval-pending framework when leaders have soft budget constraints, if mayors are more likely to pend and limit projects in treated zones while keeping their evaluation in other zones stable, then there would be no salient spillover.

[26]As noted in Section 3.3, two reasons underpin why some mayors do not have treated counties in their cities: (1) there may not be salient unfavorable orientations for these leaders, determined by exogenous astrological rules, or (2) no counties are located in their unfavorable orientations due to the location of the city government and the city's shape.

vestment in mayors' unfavorable zones act as a key mechanism driving the observed growth disparity.

5.3 Downstream Changes in Firms and Households

As described, the negative impact on economic output in treated regions can be magnified by subsequent changes in firm and household outcomes.

Firm Outcomes. We begin by examining firm-related outcomes from county statistical yearbooks. The data provide the number and output of large-scale industrial enterprises at the county-year level. The statistics of these enterprises, with a minimum annual revenue threshold of 5 million CNY (0.7 million USD) before 2011 and 20 million CNY (2.8 million USD) afterward, are considered essential indicators of local economic growth. Table 5 presents the results. Column 1 shows that mayors' unfavorable zones are associated with a 5% decrease in the economic output of large-scale industrial enterprises. In theory, the observed decline in firm output can result from a combination of reduced firm numbers and lower productivity of an average firm. Columns 2 and 3 explore these two perspectives. Column 2 finds that treated counties have 3% fewer large-scale enterprises on average, translating to roughly four fewer firms meeting the "large-scale" threshold compared to non-treated counterparts. Although the estimate is less precise, Column 3 indicates a 2.6% relative decrease in output per remaining firm in treated counties.

To understand micro-level changes in firm behavior, we use firm-level data from the *Annual Surveys of Industrial Production* (ASIP), which covers the universe of large-scale industrial firms between 2000 and 2007.[27] Table 6 reports the results. Columns 1 and 2 examine input-related measures, reflecting how firms adjust their production in response to mayors' spatial biases. We find that remaining firms in regions unfavorable to the mayors hire fewer employees and invest less in capital assets. These findings suggest lower firm inputs, which would naturally lead to reduced output levels, as shown in Table 5. Column 3 then examines firm-level productivity by comparing the TFP of a given firm when its county is unfavorable to mayors versus when it is untreated. The estimate indicates a moderate yet significant loss in the firm's production efficiency (producing less with the same amount of input). It is worth noting that, since the ASIP firm census only surveys firms meeting the 5 million revenue threshold, the decline in firm productivity can likely represent a conservative lower bound, as less productive firms

[27] After 2007, the ASIP dataset no longer provided information on firm value-added.

may not be covered by the ASIP survey or may exit the market.[28] The finding speaks to the role of public infrastructure and government support in enhancing regional economic efficiency.

To gain a better understanding beyond these leading enterprises, we complement our analysis with firm registration data from the State Administration for Industry and Commerce of China (SAIC). The SAIC data allow us to observe the numbers of all new and exited firms at the county-year level. According to Columns 4 - 5 in Table 6, treated counties firm entry rates that are 1.42 percentage points lower. The exit rate is slightly higher, but the estimate is statistically insignificant.

Taking stock of the above analyses, we see that firms in mayors' unfavorable zones not only produce less but also do so less efficiently. In the extensive margin, these zones experience slower growth in the number of firms, attributed to a decrease in firm entry. Together, these firm-side changes may exacerbate the economic loss associated with mayors' spatial biases. While more suggestive, Appendix C shows additionally that such changes might be associated with a worse allocative efficiency.

Household-side changes. The remaining key actor in our analysis is local households. In response to deteriorating public amenities and economic prospects, households may adjust their labor supply and/or reallocate themselves accordingly. Given China's rigid household registration system, we expect that any such reallocation may be relatively limited in magnitude.

Table 7 presents the related results. As shown in Column 1, mayors' unfavorable counties show no significant difference in the number of registered households compared to non-treated counterparts. However, Column 2 indicates that the population in treated counties has experienced a moderate decrease (about 0.3%). Since formally relocating from one county or city to another can be costly in the short run in China, this relative decrease in population might speculatively suggest a minor reallocation of labor. Column 3 of Table 7 examines changes in the number of secondary and tertiary sector employees reported by county yearbooks. The estimate indicates a consistent decline in employment in treated counties, partially confirming our speculation. The estimate suggests a consistent decline in employment in treated counties, partially confirming our speculation. Notably, similar to many developing countries, migrant workers and informal-sector employees are typically hard to observe in Chinese statistics. Given the scarcity and potential issues with local-level employment data in China, we refrain from

[28] Consistent with this notion, we find that a pre-existing firm is 6.7% more likely to be excluded from the ASIP survey when its county is treated. At the time of this study, we do not have data on whether an ASIP firm exits the market.

drawing further conclusions here.

6 Economic Significance and Discussion

6.1 Estimated Aggregate Output Costs

Our previous results have established that Chinese mayors' spatial biases lead to significant disparities in regional development. To better benchmark the economic significance, we move toward assessing the aggregate output cost at the country level. This question cannot be directly answered by our baseline estimate, which essentially quantifies the relative difference between treated and untreated counties under the same leaders. Equilibrium effects may arise due to regional externality in public infrastructure, shifts in firm entries, and re-allocation of labor within the same local market. We adopt two different strategies for a back-of-the-envelope calculation, with a discussion on the potential bias in our calculation.

Approach 1: Addressing Regional Spillovers. Our baseline estimate quantifies the output difference between treated counties versus non-treated counties under the same city leader. Since a city acts as the basic unit of local market, we focus on cross-county spillovers within a city. We take advantage that some cities have none of their subordinate counties treated during our sample period. Using these counties as a stringent set of "cleaner" controls, we can re-estimate the impact of mayors' spatial biases on treated counties, while excluding those non-treated counterparts in the same city that may be indirectly affected.

We find that excluding regional spillovers reduces our baseline estimate by only 8%, with statistically similar magnitudes (from -2.3 to -2.1). The virtually unchanged result suggests that the observed disparity is largely driven by the economic loss in treated counties. Built upon these estimates, we conduct a back-of-the-envelope calculation on the aggregate output change. Specifically, we multiply the average annual loss (-2.1 percent) and the share of treated county-year observations in our sample period (6.1%); if we would like to have a more conservative estimate, we may take the face value of the close-to-zero compensation gain in non-treated counterparts, subtracting them from our calculation (0.2 percent $\times$ 21.1%). In this framework, the estimated annual output loss would be 0.09% – 0.13% of the country's GDP.

Approach 2: Aggregating to the City-level. An alternative approach is to examine output changes at a more aggregate level, so agglomeration or spillover effects across subordinate counties can be subsumed (Criscuolo et al., 2019; Siegloch, Wehrhöfer and Etzel, 2024). In our

setting, the city-level aggregation serves as an ideal level of aggregation: it corresponds to the whole jurisdiction of city mayors under our study, and it also serves as the common definition for local market and household registration. To identify plausibly causal effects, we measures the extent a city is affected. The explanatory variable is the share of population or area located in unfavorable zones of the then mayor. As an illustration of our identification strategy, consider two hypothetical cities: City A, where 50% of its population resides in southern counties, and City B, which has only 10% of its population situated in southern counties. Should both cities be administered by mayors who disfavor the south, City A would experience a more pronounced effect of such leader bias. This variation in treatment intensity stems exclusively from pre-existing differences in the city shape and is, plausibly, presumed to be orthogonal to other potential confounders.[29] In this way, we can estimate the impact of city mayors' spatial biases on city-level output.

Table A9 presents the results. We see cities that are more affected by mayors' spatial biases have lower economic output. This is consistent with the finding of our county-level analysis. Assuming no significant spillovers beyond the local market (defined by a city), we can use the city-level estimate to compute the overall output cost for the whole country. Using this approach, the average annual loss would be 0.11% - 0.26% of the country's GDP. Compared to the estimated loss from our county-level analysis, the number here is larger yet still comparable in terms of the order of magnitude.

Potential Bias of Calculation. Several factors suggest that the above calculation may understate the actual aggregate costs of China's leaders' spatial misbeliefs. First, GDP and recorded firm output do not fully capture informal sectors and non-registered businesses, which can constitute a significant portion of the economy in emerging markets like China. Omitting these unlisted outputs leads to an understatement of the true economic costs.

Second, the magnitude of the estimated impact in treated counties can likely be a conservative lower bound. Our empirical design relies solely on the birth year and month of city leaders, while private supernatural advice is often based on more precise date and time information. As the exogenous astrological rules determine treated zones quasi-randomly, using only year-month data to predict spatial biases will introduce a standard measurement error, which can bias our estimates toward zero.

Third, the share of affected regions can be greater. Even leaders without significant, en-

[29] To mitigate the endogeneity, we utilize population and area at the end of the previous leader's term to construct the independent variable.

during unfavorable zones can receive year-by-year spatial-related advice from their astrologers. Although these shocks are orthogonal to our explanatory variables, the actual share of regions affected by leaders' spatial biases can therefore be greater than the number used by us. Accordingly, the estimated macroeconomic costs are likely understated.

6.2 Interaction with Institutional Factors

Considering the substantial cost of leaders' subjective biases, one may wonder what tools may be useful in mitigating their negative influence. Motivated by the cross-country evidence (e.g., Jones and Olken, 2005; Ottinger and Voigtländer, 2021), this section extends our focus to how institutional factors interact with individual leadership. The Chinese setting features rich cross-region differences in institutional quality and policy shocks. We exploit prominent measures of institutional quality, and further examine less-institutional shocks that aim to remove governors' malfeasance.

Government Intervention in Local Economy. While Chinese governments generally play highly active roles in economic development, there still exist discernible cross-province differences in government interventionism (i.e., marketization). [30] We hypothesize that in places with heavy political intervention and thus more room for local leaders to sway socioeconomic trajectories, leaders' personal beliefs matter more. The heterogeneity analysis takes advantage of two province-year level measures: one is the share of government business-related expenditures over GDP, and the other is the pre-packaged marketization score by the National Economic Research Institute (NERI) (Wang, Fan and Hu, 2018).[31] As shown by Jia, Lan and Padró i Miquel (2020), these two measures serve as useful proxies for the extent of political intervention in the local economy. Leveraging provincial-level variation can help attenuate concerns about endogenous institutions at the city level, as a province acts as the first-level administrative division above its cities.

Table 8 presents the results. An increase in government intervention in the local economy by a standard deviation is associated with an additional -2.2% change in treated counties' GDP, while the mean treatment effect is -3.1%. Column 3 further controls provincial GDP per capita

[30] In an emerging economy, the extent of marketization can be a potentially useful measure that captures, at least partially, institutional quality and thus the constraint on political powers. For instance, the provincial marketization indexes constructed by Wang, Fan and Hu (2018) are widely used as local institutional indicators.

[31] The NERI index quantitatively assesses marketization progress based on five dimensions: the interplay between the government and market, the growth of the private sector, the development of product markets, the development of factor markets, and the development of market intermediaries. Conceptually, a higher marketization index score indicates that the market plays a more fundamental role in resource allocation.

and the mayor hometown's superstitious norms, and the interaction term for government intervention remains virtually unchanged. The null mediating effect of GDP per capita additionally suggests that power abuse and institutional weakness may not necessarily decrease with increased prosperity. Finally, Column 4 uses the pre-packaged marketization index as an alternative indicator, which produces the same result.

Subordinate Autonomy. There have been several rounds of policy experiments aimed at empowering counties with more administrative authority (Cai and Huang, 2010; Zheng, Wang and Zhao, 2011; Jia, Zhang and Guo, 2013; Liu, Qiao and Zhou, 2014; Chen and Lu, 2014; Li, Lu and Wang, 2016). Specifically, the empowerment allows county governments to (1) administer major socioeconomic affairs without excessive intervention from upper-level governments, and (2) bypass city leaders to directly interact with provincial governments for local fiscal matters. Consequently, this decentralization shock can potentially limit the power held by city leaders, providing another perspective on the role of institutional constraints. Column 2 of Table 9 explores this perspective. We construct a county-year-specific dummy, which takes the value of 1 if the county is empowered with high governance independence. The timing of empowerment is derived from associated official documents. In line with the conceptual notion, we find that the impact is concentrated on counties with low autonomy that rely more on city leaders.

Ideological Training and Anti-corruption Campaigns. The past decade has seen intensive top-down efforts within Chinese bureaucracies to curb leaders' misbehavior. The associated shocks provide interesting opportunities for us to examine whether such less-institutional designs can be effective in reducing mayors' spatial biases. Columns 3 and 4 of Table 9 investigate the two most prominent efforts under Xi's term – ideological training and anti-corruption inspections.

Column 3 looks at the Chinese Communist Party's ideological training of city leaders. The ideological training of Party members gains particular emphasis in Xi's agenda, aiming at reinforcing the Marxist and socialist ideology (including materialism and anti-supernatural) and promoting the "serve-the-people" mission. For city leaders, the most common approach is that the provincial government initiates a short-term and intense campaign, gathering leaders and cadres for seminar-style training. Based on provincial yearbooks, we construct a province-year-specific dummy for whether a province conducts ideological training of its local leaders. The estimated coefficient for the interaction term is relatively smaller without statistical significance, suggesting that such treatment has no salient impact (at least in the

short run). In Column 4, we construct a province-year-specific dummy with an assigned value of 1 if an anti-corruption inspection takes place in a particular province in a particular year (Chen and Kung, 2019).[32] The estimate suggests no significant differences between mayors who face anti-corruption deterrence and those who do not.[33] At any rate, these findings rise to the speculation that campaign-style treatment, compared to institutional constraints, may not be highly effective in assuaging the cost of embedded leader biases.

Taken together, the analyses throughout this section speak to the notion of Clark, Murphy and Singer (2014) – "leaders matter most when ownership and governance structures correspond with a weak or ambiguous institutional logic." Compared to the existing literature, our results move by showing that even in an overall weak institutional regime, an increment in institutional quality can likely be useful in improving leader performance.

6.3 Why Do Supernatural Biases Preserve Among Leaders?

Finally, a separate yet intriguing question is why supernatural (mis)beliefs, despite their substantial macro costs, are preserved among highly capable elites? Moreover, as shown in Column 5-6 of Table A9, it appears that mayors' promotion prospects are weakened by their spatial biases, suggesting that such behaviors are also objectively costly for themselves.[34] There exist at least two prominent explanations. First, it is possible that leaders might not fully realize the counter-factual of removing their biases. This perspective can be reconciled with cultural and behavioral models, where biased beliefs persist through endogenous socialization processes (Bisin and Verdier, 2011). While we cannot directly test this notion, our heterogeneity analysis offers partial evidence: spatial biases are more pronounced among mayors from hometowns where supernatural beliefs are more prevalent (Table 3).

Second, supernatural beliefs may help leaders mitigate perceived uncertainty in governance. This explanation speaks to the functionality view of costly misbeliefs and traditions (Leeson and Suarez, 2015; Nunn and Sanchez de la Sierra, 2017): as political leaders make

[32] This variable is constructed based on the *Central Commission for Discipline Inspection*'s reports of its inspection activities, where the central government dispatches inspection teams to conduct intense audits and ferret out corrupt officials. Between 2013 and 2018, 14 waves of inspections took place, with each wave targeting 4 to 10 provinces and lasting for approximately two to three months.

[33] It is worth noting that the underlying explanation here can be complicated, as anti-corruption inspections may yield multi-faceted changes. On the one hand, it may deter power abuse and the revelation of individual biases. On the other hand, it may induce career uncertainty that increases leaders' demand for the supernatural (Dudley, 1999). Alternatively, leaders might not read their supernatural beliefs as sensitive issues, or that these cultural beliefs can be particularly deep-rooted, so they will be difficult to change in the short term.

[34] For a long time, local economic growth has been an important determinant of mayoral promotion in China (Li and Zhou, 2005).

complex decisions while managing substantial resources, supernatural forces may serve as a tool to regulate perceived threats toward the unknown and gain a sense of control. We provide suggestive evidence in Table A10. Mayors are responsible for the socioeconomic development of their cities, and safety accidents associated with industrial production pose a serious threat to their career prospects (Fisman and Wang, 2017). Accordingly, we leverage a strategy similar to Wen (2022), taking the interaction of previous-year accident shocks in other regions and the local share of industrial sectors to measure the perceived threat of mayors. We find that when the perceived threat of safety accidents increases – due to temporal shocks in other regions – mayors in cities with similar industrial or population structures tend to exhibit stronger supernatural biases.

7 Conclusion

Individual leaders have substantial impacts on firm and state performance. Economists have recently moved toward causal analysis of why leaders matter, highlighting determinants such as their ability and networks (e.g., Ottinger and Voigtländer, 2021; Bai, Jia and Yang, 2023). This paper contributes by showing subjective beliefs of individual leaders – many of which may be biased and false – as an important determinant. This is of particular conceptual relevance, as many studies demonstrate that individual identity and experience are associated with leader performance, with a key mechanism being their impact on leaders' personal beliefs about the state of the world.

This paper provides one among the first causal quantification on the macro-level impact of leaders' (mis)beliefs. We study this question in China, which features the largest polity and a sizeable number of local leaders. Our empirical strategy leverages enduring traditional beliefs about space and the supernatural, which define individuals' unfavorable zones based on one's birth time and exogenous astrological rules. This setting thus provides a unique opportunity for us to link quasi-random differences in leader-specific beliefs to regional development. We show that subordinate counties that are misperceived as unfavorable by city mayors exhibit significantly lower economic output. These changes are driven by reduced government investment from mayors, accompanied by lower firm entry, decreased productivity, and shifts in household labor supply. Combining our estimates with various empirical approaches, we calculate the overall economic cost of Chinese mayors' spatial misbeliefs. We estimate at least a 0.1% annual GDP loss between 2000 and 2018, amounting to over 40 billion CNY (approximately 6 billion

USD) each year – which is equivalent to the output of 2.8 average Chinese counties, or that of a country like Rwanda or Mongolia.

Overall, we view our findings as a novel contribution to the study of individual leaders. We extend the agenda by highlighting the importance of strongly-held idiosyncratic beliefs in shaping leadership and subsequent economic consequences. Our analysis not only establishes the existence of such effects but also quantifies the associated macro costs in a relevant context. Additionally, by examining the real consequences of traditional beliefs in politics, this article further bridges the rich literature on culture and political leadership.

References

Assouad, Lydia. 2020. "Charismatic leaders and nation building." *Mimeo*.

Bai, Ying, Ruixue Jia, and Jiaojiao Yang. 2023. "Web of power: How elite networks shaped war and politics in China." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 138(2): 1067–1108.

Beach, Brian, and Daniel B Jones. 2017. "Gridlock: Ethnic diversity in government and the provision of public goods." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 9(1): 112–36.

Becker, Sascha O, Jared Rubin, and Ludger Woessmann. 2024. "Religion and growth." *Journal of Economic Literature* (*Forthcoming*).

Bertrand, Marianne, and Antoinette Schoar. 2003. "Managing with style: The effect of managers on firm policies." *The Quarterly journal of economics*, 118(4): 1169–1208.

Besley, Timothy, and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2017. "The logic of hereditary rule: theory and evidence." *Journal of Economic Growth*, 22: 123–144.

Besley, Timothy, Jose G Montalvo, and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2011. "Do educated leaders matter?" *The Economic Journal*, 121(554): F205–227.

Besley, Timothy, Olle Folke, Torsten Persson, and Johanna Rickne. 2017. "Gender quotas and the crisis of the mediocre man: Theory and evidence from Sweden." *American Economic Review*, 107(8): 2204–42.

Besley, Timothy, Robin Burgess, Adnan Khan, and Guo Xu. 2022. "Bureaucracy and development." *Annual Review of Economics*, 14: 397–424.

Best, Michael Carlos, Jonas Hjort, and David Szakonyi. 2023. "Individuals and organizations as sources of state effectiveness." *American Economic Review*, 113(8): 2121–2167.

Bhalotra, Sonia, Irma Clots-Figueras, and Lakshmi Iyer. 2021. "Religion and abortion: The role of politician identity." *Journal of Development Economics*, 153: 102746.

Bhalotra, Sonia, Irma Clots-Figueras, Guilhem Cassan, and Lakshmi Iyer. 2014. "Religion, politician identity and development outcomes: Evidence from India." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 104: 4–17.

Bisin, Alberto, and Thierry Verdier. 2011. "The economics of cultural transmission and socialization." In *Handbook of social economics*. Vol. 1, 339–416. Elsevier.

Brandt, Loren, Johannes Van Biesebroeck, and Yifan Zhang. 2012. "Creative accounting or creative destruction? Firm-level productivity growth in Chinese manufacturing." *Journal of Development Economics*, 97(2): 339–351.

Brollo, Fernanda, and Ugo Troiano. 2016. "What happens when a woman wins an election? Evidence from close races in Brazil." *Journal of Development Economics*, 122: 28–45.

Burgess, Robin, Remi Jedwab, Edward Miguel, Ameet Morjaria, and Gerard Padró i Miquel.

2015. "The value of democracy: evidence from road building in Kenya." *American Economic Review*, 105(6): 1817–51.

Butinda, Lewis Dunia, Aimable Amani Lameke, Nathan Nunn, Max Posch, and Raul Sanchez de la Sierra. 2023. "On the importance of African traditional religion for economic behavior." *Mimeo*.

Cai, WG, and LX Huang. 2010. "The Determinants and Economic Impacts of Government Flattening Reform." *Management World* (*Chinese*), 8: 73–83.

Campante, Filipe, and David Yanagizawa-Drott. 2015. "Does religion affect economic growth and happiness? Evidence from Ramadan." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 130(2): 615–658.

Cao, Yiming. 2022. "Institutional Weakness and Societal Vulnerability: Evidence from the Sichuan Earthquake." *Mimeo*.

Carreri, Maria, and Edoardo Teso. 2021. "Economic recessions and congressional preferences for redistribution." *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 1–29.

Chattopadhyay, Raghabendra, and Esther Duflo. 2004. "Women as policy makers: Evidence from a randomized policy experiment in India." *Econometrica*, 72(5): 1409–1443.

Chen, S, and S Lu. 2014. "Does decentralization increase the public services expenditures: a quasi-experiment of "County Administrated by Province" in China." *China Economic Quarterly* (*Chinese*), 13: 1261–82.

Chen, Ting, and James Kai-sing Kung. 2019. "Busting the "Princelings": The campaign against corruption in China's primary land market." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 134(1): 185–226.

Chen, Zhiwu, Chicheng Ma, and Andrew J Sinclair. 2022. "Banking on the Confucian clan: why China developed financial markets so late." *The Economic Journal*, 132(644): 1378–1413.

Chow, Gregory C. 2015. *China's economic transformation.* John Wiley & Sons.

Ciscato, Edoardo, Quoc-Anh Do, and Kieu-Trang Nguyen. 2023. "Astrology and Matrimony: Social Reinforcement of Religious Beliefs on Marriage Matching in Vietnam." *Mimeo*.

Clark, Jonathan R, Chad Murphy, and Sara J Singer. 2014. "When do leaders matter? Ownership, governance and the influence of CEOs on firm performance." *The Leadership Quarterly*, 25(2): 358–372.

Clots-Figueras, Irma. 2011. "Women in politics: Evidence from the Indian States." *Journal of Public Economics*, 95(7-8): 664–690.

Criscuolo, Chiara, Ralf Martin, Henry G Overman, and John Van Reenen. 2019. "Some causal effects of an industrial policy." *American Economic Review*, 109(1): 48–85.

De Luca, Giacomo, Roland Hodler, Paul A Raschky, and Michele Valsecchi. 2018. "Ethnic favoritism: An axiom of politics?" *Journal of Development Economics*, 132: 115–129.

Diaz-Serrano, Luis, and Jessica Pérez. 2013. "Do more educated leaders raise citizens' education?" *Mimeo*.

Ding, Sai, Wei Jiang, Shengyu Li, and Shang-Jin Wei. 2018. "Fiscal policy volatility and capital misallocation: Evidence from china." *Mimeo*.

Dippel, Christian, and Stephan Heblich. 2021. "Leadership in social movements: Evidence from the "forty-eighters" in the civil war." *American Economic Review*, 111(2): 472–505.

Dreher, Axel, Michael J Lamla, Sarah M Lein, and Frank Somogyi. 2009. "The impact of political leaders' profession and education on reforms." *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 37(1): 169–193.

Dube, Oeindrila, and SP Harish. 2020. "Queens." *Journal of Political Economy*, 128(7): 2579–2652.

Dudley, R Thomas. 1999. "The effect of superstitious belief on performance following an unsolvable problem." *Personality and Individual Differences*, 26(6): 1057–1064.

Easterly, William, and Steven Pennings. 2020. "Leader value added: Assessing the growth contribution of individual national leaders." *NBER Working Paper*.

Fang, Hanming, Ming Li, and Zenan Wu. 2022. "Tournament-Style Political Competition and Local Protectionism: Theory and Evidence from China." *NBER Working Paper*.

Fenizia, Alessandra. 2022. "Managers and productivity in the public sector." *Econometrica*, 90(3): 1063–1084.

Ferreira, Fernando, and Joseph Gyourko. 2014. "Does gender matter for political leadership? The case of US mayors." *Journal of Public Economics*, 112: 24–39.

Finan, Frederico, Benjamin A Olken, and Rohini Pande. 2017. "The personnel economics of the developing state." *Handbook of economic field experiments*, 2: 467–514.

Fisman, Ray, Wei Huang, Bo Ning, Yue Pan, Jiaping Qiu, and Yongxiang Wang. 2023. "Superstition and risk taking: Evidence from "Zodiac Year" beliefs in China." *Management Science*, 69(9): 5174–5188.

Fisman, Raymond, and Yongxiang Wang. 2017. "The Distortionary effects of incentives in government: evidence from china's "death ceiling" program." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 9(2): 202–218.

Gershman, Boris. 2015. "The economic origins of the evil eye belief." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 110: 119–144.

Gibson, John, Susan Olivia, Geua Boe-Gibson, and Chao Li. 2021. "Which night lights data should we use in economics, and where?" *Journal of Development Economics*, 149: 102602.

Göhlmann, Silja, and Roland Vaubel. 2007. "The educational and occupational background of central bankers and its effect on inflation: An empirical analysis." *European Economic Review*, 51(4): 925–941.

Guiso, Luigi, Paola Sapienza, and Luigi Zingales. 2006. "Does culture affect economic outcomes?" *Journal of Economic perspectives*, 20(2): 23–48.

Guo, Shiqi, Nan Gao, and Pinghan Liang. 2023. "Winter is Coming: Early-life Experiences and Politicians' Decisions." *The Economic Journal*, 134(657): 295–321.

Halla, Martin, Chia-Lun Liu, and Jin-Tan Liu. 2019. "The effect of superstition on health: Evidence from the Taiwanese Ghost month." *Mimeo*.

Henderson, J Vernon, Dongling Su, Qinghua Zhang, and Siqi Zheng. 2022. "Political manipulation of urban land markets: Evidence from China." *Journal of Public Economics*, 214: 104730.

Hodler, Roland, and Paul A Raschky. 2014. "Regional favoritism." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 129(2): 995–1033.

Hsieh, Chang-Tai, and Peter J Klenow. 2009. "Misallocation and manufacturing TFP in China and India." *The Quarterly journal of economics*, 124(4): 1403–1448.

Jia, JX, YJ Zhang, and J Guo. 2013. "The fiscal system reform on direct province control of counties, counties' economic growth and the overcome of fiscal difficulties." *China Soft Science Magazine*, 6: 22–29.

Jia, Ruixue, Xiao Ma, and Victoria Wenxin Xie. 2022. "Expecting floods: Firm entry, employment, and aggregate implications." *NBER Working Paper*.

Jia, Ruixue, Xiaohuan Lan, and Gerard Padró i Miquel. 2020. "Doing Business in China: Parental Background and Government Intervention as Determinants of Entrepreneurship."

Jin, Keyu. 2023. *The New China Playbook: Beyond Socialism and Capitalism.* Penguin.

Jochimsen, Beate, and Sebastian Thomasius. 2014. "The perfect finance minister: Whom to appoint as finance minister to balance the budget." *European Journal of Political Economy*, 34: 390–408.

Jones, Benjamin F, and Benjamin A Olken. 2005. "Do leaders matter? National leadership and growth since World War II." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120(3): 835–864.

Krugman, Paul, et al. 1980. "Scale economies, product differentiation, and the pattern of trade." *American economic review*, 70(5): 950–959.

Le Rossignol, Etienne, Sara Lowes, and Nathan Nunn. 2022. "The social consequences of traditional religion in contemporary Africa." *Mimeo*.

Leeson, Peter T. 2012. "Ordeals." *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 55(3): 691–714.

Leeson, Peter T. 2013. "Vermin trials." *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 56(3): 811–836.

Leeson, Peter T, and Paola A Suarez. 2015. "Superstition and self-governance." In *New Thinking in Austrian Political Economy*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Levitt, Steven D. 1996. "How do senators vote? Disentangling the role of voter preferences, party affiliation, and senator ideology." *The American Economic Review*, 425–441.

Li, Cheng, Le Wang, and Junsen Zhang. 2023. "Politician's childhood experience and government policies: Evidence from the Chinese Great Famine." *Journal of Comparative Economics*.

Li, Hongbin, and Li-An Zhou. 2005. "Political turnover and economic performance: the incentive role of personnel control in China." *Journal of public economics*, 89(9-10): 1743–1762.

Li, Pei, Yi Lu, and Jin Wang. 2016. "Does flattening government improve economic performance? Evidence from China." *Journal of Development Economics*, 123: 18–37.

Lippmann, Quentin. 2022. "Gender and lawmaking in times of quotas." *Journal of Public Economics*, 207: 104610.

Liu, Chong, Kunyuan Qiao, and Li'an Zhou. 2014. "The Di§erent Impacts of Administrative and Fiscal Decentralization: Evidence from Chinese Counties." *Journal of World Economy* (*Chinese*).

Logan, Trevon D. 2020. "Do black politicians matter? evidence from reconstruction." *The Journal of Economic History*, 80(1): 1–37.

Lowes, Sara, Eduardo Montero, Nathan Nunn, and James A. Robinson. 2023. "Bokoko: Supernatural authority and political power in the DRC." *Mimeo*.

Malmendier, Ulrike, and Geoffrey Tate. 2005. "CEO overconfidence and corporate investment." *The journal of finance*, 60(6): 2661–2700.

Martinez, Luis R. 2022. "How much should we trust the dictator's GDP growth estimates?" *Journal of Political Economy*, 130(10): 2731–2769.

Mercier, Marion. 2016. "The return of the prodigy son: Do return migrants make better leaders?" *Journal of Development Economics*, 122: 76–91.

Montero, Eduardo, and Dean Yang. 2022. "Religious festivals and economic development: Evidence from the timing of Mexican saint day festivals." *American Economic Review*, 112(10): 3176–3214.

Naughton, Barry. 2007. *The Chinese economy: Transitions and growth.* MIT press.

Nunn, Nathan. 2022. "On the causes and consequences of cross-cultural differences." *Handbook of Advances in Culture and Psychology*, 9: 125.

Nunn, Nathan, and Raul Sanchez de la Sierra. 2017. "Why being wrong can be right: Magical warfare technologies and the persistence of false beliefs." *American Economic Review* (*Papers and Proceedings*), 107(5): 582–87.

Nye, John VC, Ilia Rainer, and Thomas Stratmann. 2015. "Do black mayors improve black relative to white employment outcomes? Evidence from large US cities." *The Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization*, 31(2): 383–430.

Otero, Cristobal, and Pablo Munoz. 2022. "Managers and public hospital performance." *University of California, Berkeley*.

Ottinger, Sebastian, and Nico Voigtländer. 2021. "History's masters: The effect of european monarchs on state performance." *NBER Working Paper*.

Schofield, Heather. 2020. "Ramadan fasting and agricultural output." *Mimeo*.

Siegloch, Sebastian, Nils Wehrhöfer, and Tobias Etzel. 2024. "Spillover, efficiency and equity effects of regional firm subsidies." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* (*Forthcoming*).

Van Effenterre, Clémentine. 2020. "Papa does preach: Daughters and polarization of attitudes toward abortion." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 179: 188–201.

Wang, Tianyi. 2021. "Media, pulpit, and populist persuasion: Evidence from Father Coughlin." *American Economic Review*, 111(9): 3064–92.

Wang, Xiaolu, Gang Fan, and Lipeng Hu. 2018. "Marketization Index of China's Provinces: Neri Report 2018." *Social Sciences Academic Press* (*Beijing*), 39–61.

Washington, Ebonya L. 2008. "Female socialization: How daughters affect their legislator fathers." *American Economic Review*, 98(1): 311–32.

Wen, Jaya. 2022. "State Employment as a Strategy of Autocratic Control in China." *Mimeo*.

Woods, Frederick Adams. 1913. *The influence of monarchs: Steps in a new science of history.* Macmillan.

World Bank Group. 2015. *World development report 2015: Mind, society, and behavior.* The World Bank.

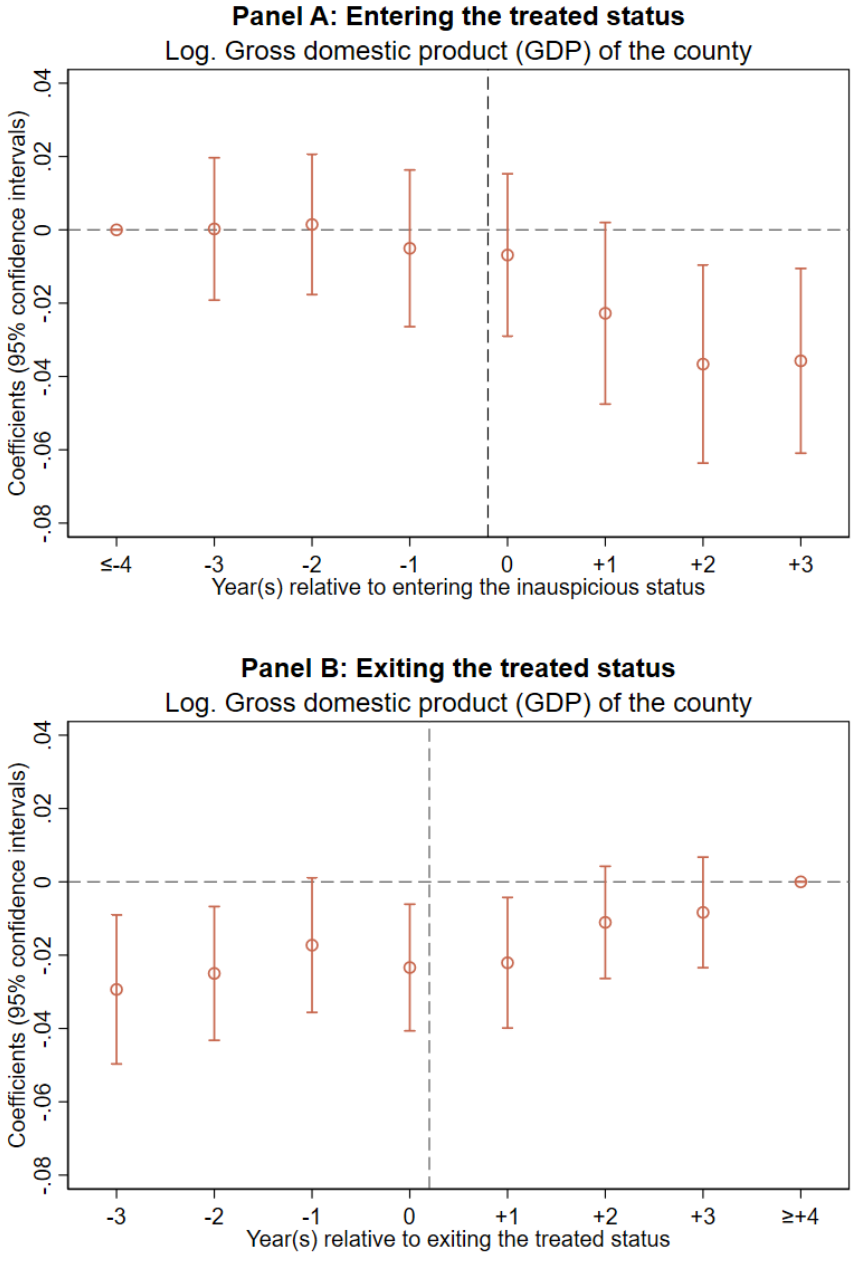
Yao, Yang, and Muyang Zhang. 2015. "Subnational leaders and economic growth: Evidence from Chinese cities." *Journal of Economic Growth*, 20: 405–436.

Young, Alwyn. 2019. "Channeling fisher: Randomization tests and the statistical insignificance of seemingly significant experimental results." *The quarterly journal of economics*, 134(2): 557–598.

Zheng, XY, H Wang, and YZ Zhao. 2011. "Does Province-Managing-County Reform Promote Economic Growth? A Difference-in-Difference Approach." *Management World* (*Chinese*), 8: 34–44.

Figures

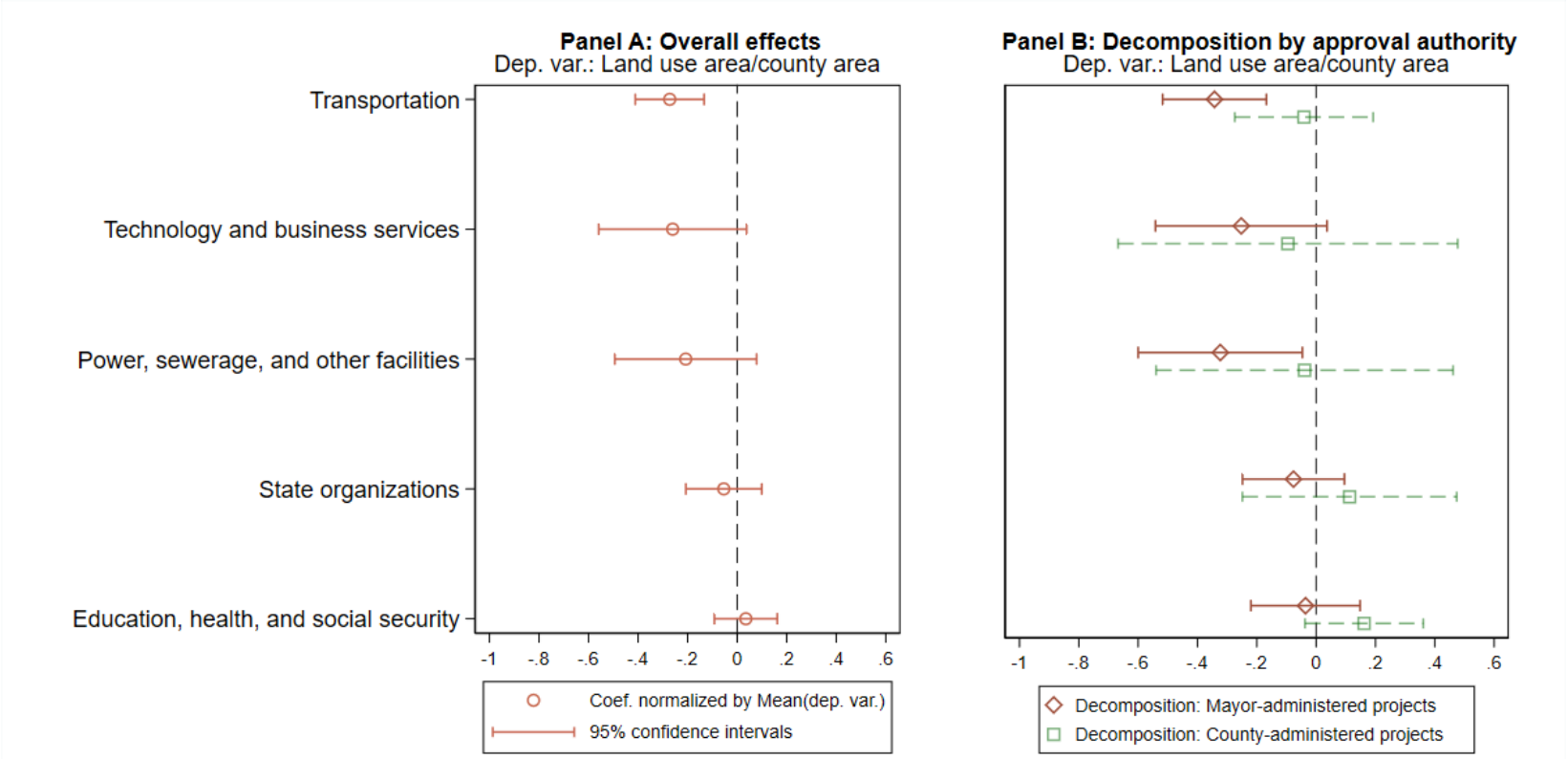
Figure 1: Event study plots



Notes: Unit of observation: county-year. Sample period: 2000 - 2018. For comparability, we restrict the analysis to status transition observed over at least an 8-year window (4 years before/after the change). Each panel presents the estimates from one augmented event-study-type regression, with county fixed effects and city-year fixed effects (same as the baseline specification). Standard errors are clustered at the city level.

[Back to Page 16]

Figure 2: Mayors' unfavorable zones and public investment



Notes: The graph depicts the estimated impacts of being located in mayors' supernaturally unfavorable zones on land use area (normalized by the county's area), categorized by type of public investment. In China, governments are the exclusive providers of land, and changes in the land use area can thus proxy changes in associated investment. **Panel A** shows the overall effects, while **Panel B** decomposes these effects by approved authority (the mayor vs. subordinate county). Each dot presents the estimate from one regression, with county fixed effects and city-year fixed effects. For comparability, each coefficient is normalized by the mean of the corresponding outcome variable. Unit of observation: county-year. Sample period: 2005 - 2018. Standard errors are clustered at the city level.

[Back to Page 21]

Tables

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of main variables

	Mean	Standard deviation	Observations
Panel A: County-Year			
GDP (10,000 CNY in 2014)	2,000,979	6,175,405	42,736
Log. GDP	13.459	1.393	42,736
Log. Primary-sector output	11.684	1.103	42,671
Log. Secondary-sector output	12.503	1.705	42,663
Log. Tertiary-sector output	12.375	1.474	42,559
Number of large enterprises	137.237	369.649	40,631
Log. Output of large enterprises	12.920	2.138	36,692
Log. Fiscal expenditure	11.750	1.344	42,402
Log. Fiscal revenue	10.475	1.720	42,377
Treated zone: Secretary	0.058	0.234	39,990
Treated zone: Mayor	0.061	0.239	39,937
Treated zone: either leader	0.110	0.313	40,567
Panel B: Individual leader			
Secretary: Female (binary)	0.041	0.199	1,628
Secretary: Age of taking office	50.684	3.751	1,521
Secretary: Age of leaving office/turnover	53.990	3.778	1,521
Secretary: Work in native province (binary)	0.664	0.473	1,531
Secretary: Any tertiary education	0.959	0.197	1,479
Mayor: Female (binary)	0.058	0.234	1,821
Mayor: Age of taking office	48.167	4.218	1,730
Mayor: Age of leaving office/turnover	50.215	4.214	1,730
Mayor: Work in native province (binary)	0.730	0.444	1,719
Mayor: Any tertiary education	0.948	0.223	1,628

Notes: Sample period: 2000 - 2018. In **Panel A**, all output, expenditure, and revenue related outcomes are measured in 2014 CNY. "*Large enterprises*" refer to industrial enterprises with annual revenue exceeding the size threshold established by the Chinese government, which was 5 million RMB before 2011 and 20 million RMB after 2011. Data on the annual output value of large enterprises are available for the years 2000 to 2016. "*Treated zone*" is the explanatory variable of interest, which is a dummy that is 1 if the county is located in the then leader's unfavorable zone according to the traditional beliefs about space. In **Panel B**, leaders' tertiary education includes on-the-job experience.

[Back to Page 12]

Table 2: Leaders' spatial biases and economic development

	Log. County GDP			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean of dep. var	13.612	13.612	13.612	13.612
Treated zone (either leader)	-0.013*			
	(0.007)			
Treated zone (Secretary)		-0.007		-0.006
		(0.008)		(0.008)
Treated zone (Mayor)			-0.023***	-0.023***
			(0.008)	(0.008)
County FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	37,854	37,854	37,854	37,854
Adjusted R-squared	0.986	0.986	0.986	0.986

Notes: Unit of observation: county-year. Sample period: 2000 - 2018. "*Treated zone*" is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to its then city leader(s). Each city is co-governed by a Party Secretary and a Mayor. The Secretary has more bearing on the general political agenda and personnel decisions; the Mayor heads the government agency responsible for formulating and implementing socioeconomic policies and their administration. A city oversees an average of 8.5 subordinate counties in China. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 15]

Table 3: Heterogeneity by mayor hometown and workplace

	Log. County GDP		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Mean of dep. var	13.612	13.610	13.610
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.023***	-0.021**	-0.021**
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)
× Spatial belief prevalence in mayor hometown (centered)		-0.145**	
		(0.060)	
× Spatial belief prevalence in workplace (centered)			-0.018
			(0.012)
County FEs	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y
Observations	37,854	37,387	37,387
Adjusted R-squared	0.986	0.986	0.986

Notes: Unit of observation: county-year. Sample period: 2000 - 2018. "*Treated zone (Mayor)*" is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to its city mayor. A city oversees an average of 8.5 subordinate counties in China. "*Spatial belief prevalence*" is a province-specific continuous variable, constructed by calculating the share of individuals who hold supernatural beliefs about space; the individual belief holding (as a binary) is obtained from the China Family Panel Studies (2018), a nearly-representative survey of Chinese individuals. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 17]

Table 4: Leaders' spatial biases, mayor decisions, and public spending

	Textual analysis of mayors' annual development plans		Log. Public expenditure
	Frequency	Sentiment (0, negative – 1, positive)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Mean of dep. var	3.557	0.602	11.910
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.375**	-0.018*	-0.011*
	(0.172)	(0.011)	(0.006)
County FEs	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y
Observations	32,028	32,028	37,715
Adjusted R-squared	0.800	0.873	0.969
Sample period	2004 – 2018 (due to availability)		2000 – 2018

Notes: Unit of observation: county-year. Sample period: 2000 - 2018. "*Treated zone* (*Mayor*)" is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to its then city mayor. The outcomes in Columns 1 and 2 are elicited from development plans detailed in annual government reports by local mayors. These plans outline major initiatives for the upcoming year. Column 1 examines how often a county is mentioned. Column 2 examines the textual sentiment when mayors describing projects of a county, using sentiment analysis based on GPT's textual evaluation of the report content (where 0 represents the most negative and 1 the most positive). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 19]

Table 5: Leaders' spatial biases and industrial firm outcomes

	Log. Total output of large enterprises (1)	Log. Number of large enterprises (2)	Log. Output per large enterprise (3)
Mean of dep. var	13.110	3.883	9.103
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.048**	-0.030**	-0.026
	(0.023)	(0.015)	(0.017)
County FEs	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y
Observations	33,996	33,194	31,437
Adjusted R-squared	0.953	0.959	0.935

Notes: Unit of observation: county-year. Sample period: 2000 - 2016. The county yearbooks did not collect firm output data after 2017. "Large enterprises" refer to industrial enterprises with annual revenue exceeding the size threshold established by the Chinese government, which was 5 million RMB before 2011 and 20 million RMB after 2011. "*Treated zone (Mayor)*" is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to its then city mayor. A city oversees an average of 8.5 subordinate counties in China. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 22]

Table 6: Firm-level changes, entry, and exit rates

	Outcomes of remaining ASIF firms			Firm entry and exit	
	Log. Employees (#)	Log. Capital stock	Log. TFP	Entry rate (%)	Exit rate (%)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Mean of dep. var	4.681	8.360	0.522	21.973	2.443
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.009**	-0.015**	-0.037*	-1.420*	0.131
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.070)	(0.119)
Unit of Obs.	Firm-Year	Firm-Year	Firm-Year	County-Year	County-Year
Firm FEs	Y	Y	Y	-	-
County FEs	-	-	-	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	1,533,913	1,533,913	1,533,913	37,854	37,854
Sample	ASIP (2000 - 2007): Large-scale industrial firm census			SAIC (2000 - 2018): Universe firm registration records	

Notes: ASIP refers to the *Annual Surveys of Industrial Production*; it contains all non-state-owned enterprises generating revenue exceeding 5 million RMB, as well as all state-owned enterprises in the Chinese manufacturing sector. SAIC refers to the *State Administration for Industry and Commerce of China*. *"Treated zone (Mayor)"* is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to its then city mayor. A city oversees an average of 8.5 subordinate counties in China. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. $^{*}\ p < 0.10$, $^{**}\ p < 0.05$, $^{***}\ p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 22]

Table 7: Leaders' spatial biases and household-side changes

	Log. Registered households (1)	Log. Population (2)	Log. Employment of secondary and tertiary sectors (3)
Mean of dep. var	11.558	12.978	10.758
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.001	-0.003***	-0.014*
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.008)
County FEs	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y
Observations	37,760	37,760	11,263
Adjusted R-squared	0.996	0.988	0.942
Sample period	2000 - 2018	2000 - 2018	2012 - 2018

Notes: Unit of observation: county-year. Employment-related statistics are available only for the secondary and tertiary sectors from 2012 to 2018. "*Treated zone* (*Mayor*)" is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to its then city mayor. A city oversees an average of 8.5 subordinate counties in China. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 23]

Table 8: Heterogeneity by institutional environments

	Log. County GDP			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean of dep. var.	13.576	13.576	13.576	13.576
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.023***	-0.022**	-0.022**	-0.023**
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
× Government intervention (standardized)		-0.022**	-0.023**	
		(0.011)	(0.011)	
× Alternative measure: Marketization index (standardized)				0.028**
				(0.011)
× Provincial GDP per capita (standardized)			-0.003	-0.011
			(0.008)	(0.009)
× Spatial belief prevalence in mayor hometown (standardized)			-0.021**	-0.026***
			(0.011)	(0.012)
County FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	38,800	38,800	38,800	38,800
Adjusted R-squared	0.986	0.986	0.986	0.986

Notes: Unit of observation: county-year. For consistency, we keep observations for which all explanatory variables are available. "*Treated zone (Mayor)*" is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to its city mayor. "*Spatial belief prevalence in mayor hometown*" is a province-specific continuous variable, constructed by calculating the share of individuals who hold supernatural beliefs about space; the individual belief holding (as a binary) is obtained from the China Family Panel Studies (2018), a nearly-representative survey of Chinese individuals. All other mediator variables are at the province-year level. "*Government intervention*" is the share of provincial government business-related expenditures over GDP (Jia, Lan and Padró i Miquel, 2020), and "*Marketization index*" is the pre-packaged score constructed by Wang, Fan and Hu (2018). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 26]

Table 9: The role of institutional and less-institutional reforms

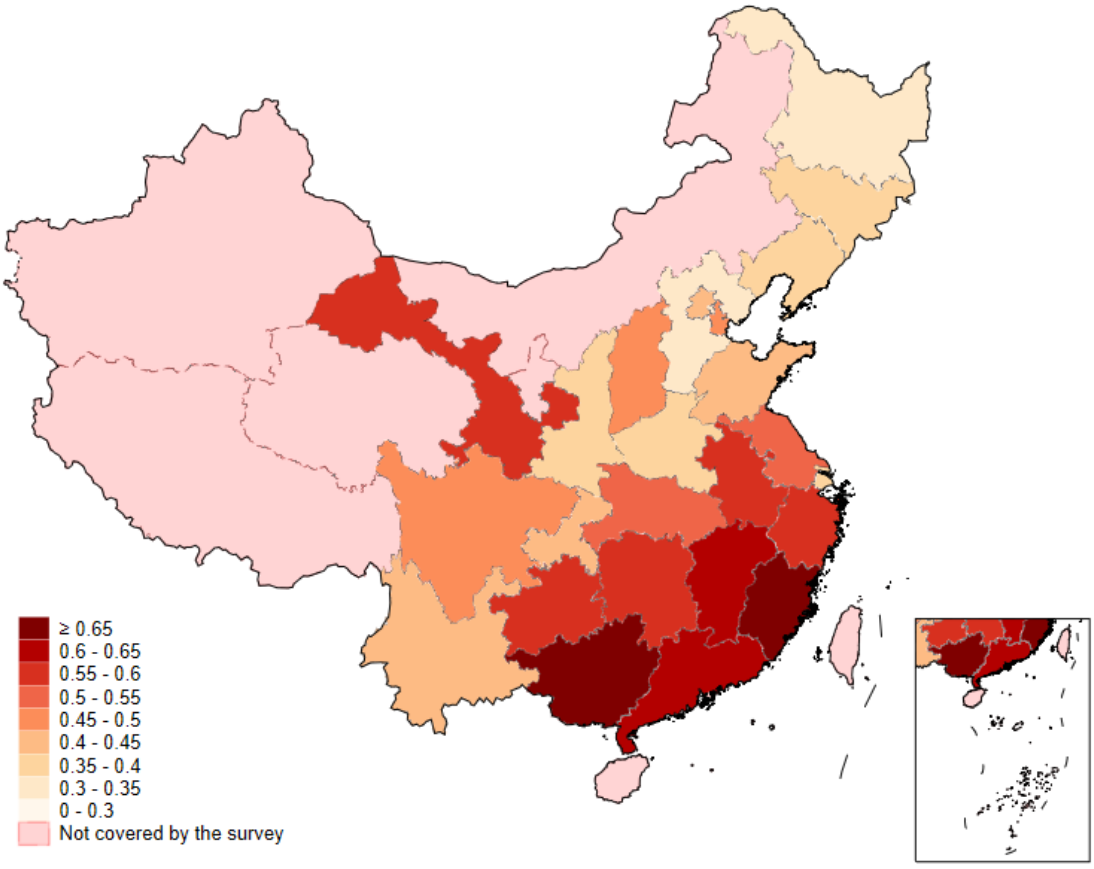
	Log. County GDP			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean of dep. var.	13.612	13.612	13.612	13.612
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.023***	-0.025***	-0.023***	-0.021***
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.008)
× County autonomy empowerment		0.020*		
		(0.011)		
× Party's ideological training of leaders			0.010	
			(0.007)	
× Anti-corruption				-0.018
				(0.018)
County FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	37,854	37,854	37,854	37,854
Adjusted R-squared	0.986	0.986	0.986	0.984

Notes: Unit of observation: county-year. "*Treated zone (Mayor)*" is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to its city mayor. Each intermediate variable is a binary. "*County autonomy empowerment*" is a county-year specific dummy that is 1 if the county is delegated a high degree of autonomy in its local socioeconomic policies and budgets by the provincial government; this variable itself (the direct effect) is controlled in the regression since it varies by county-year. "*Party's ideological training*" is a province-year specific dummy that is 1 if the Provincial Party Committee gathers local city leaders for an intensive political training and materialist ideological education. "*Anti-corruption*" is a province-year specific dummy that is 1 if the province is targeted by the central anti-corruption inspection team in the particular year. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. $^{*}\ p < 0.10$, $^{**}\ p < 0.05$, $^{***}\ p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 27]

Appendix A Additional Figures and Tables

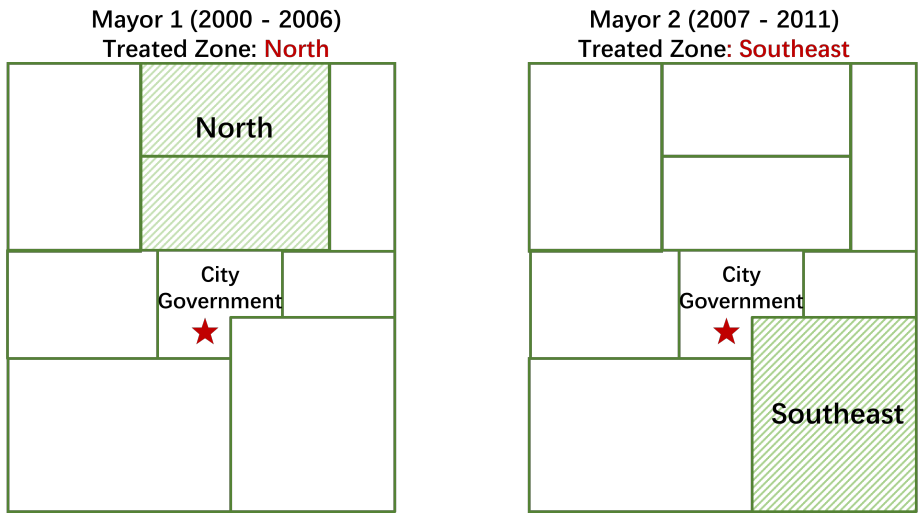
Figure A1: Share of people with traditional beliefs about space in China



Notes: The map visualizes the share of surveyed individuals who reported holding spatial beliefs, broken down by province. The data are from the 2018 wave of the China Family Panel Studies, a nearly nationally representative survey with about 95% representativeness. The survey question is "Do you believe in *Feng-shui* (i.e., spatial supernatural)?" with responses recorded in a binary format (yes/no).

[Back to Page 7]

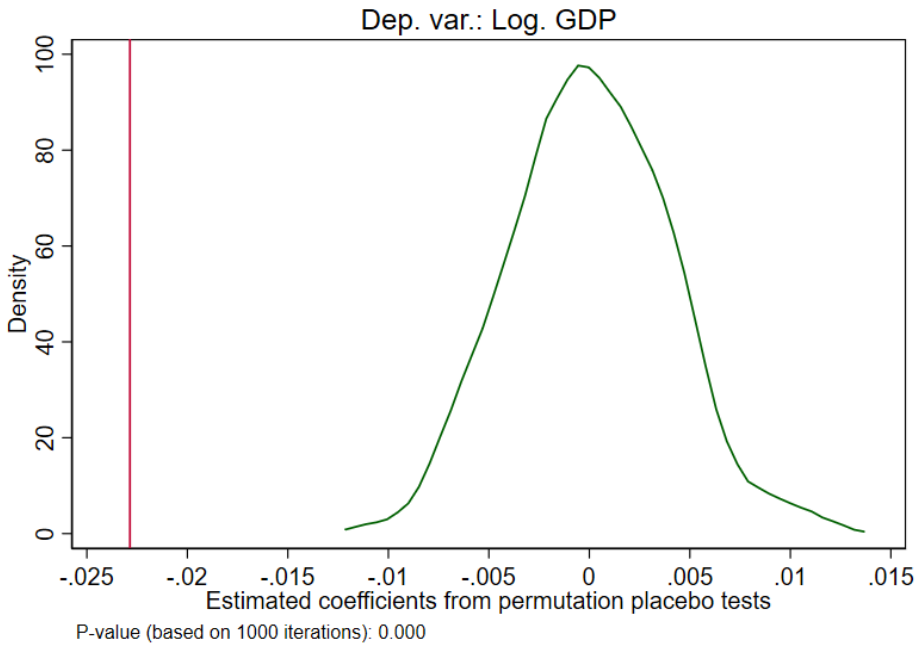
Figure A2: Illustration of the baseline identification strategy



Notes: This figure illustrates our baseline empirical strategy graphically. Each sub-block represents a county. The prefectural government is where the city leader lives and works. Given a city, the left panel represents Mayor 1's governance period (whose unfavorable zone is North), and the right panel represents Mayor 2's governance period (whose unfavorable zone is Southeast). Shaded counties represent regions that were treated. Each county is oriented according to its geometric center's azimuth angle to the city government. There are two sources of variation. First is the *within-locality* variation – for a given county, whether it is treated or not varies by the year depending on the city leader in office. Second is the *cross-locality* variation – in the same year, the treatment status varies across counties (i.e., under the jurisdiction of a leader, there are both treated and untreated counties).

[Back to Page 13]

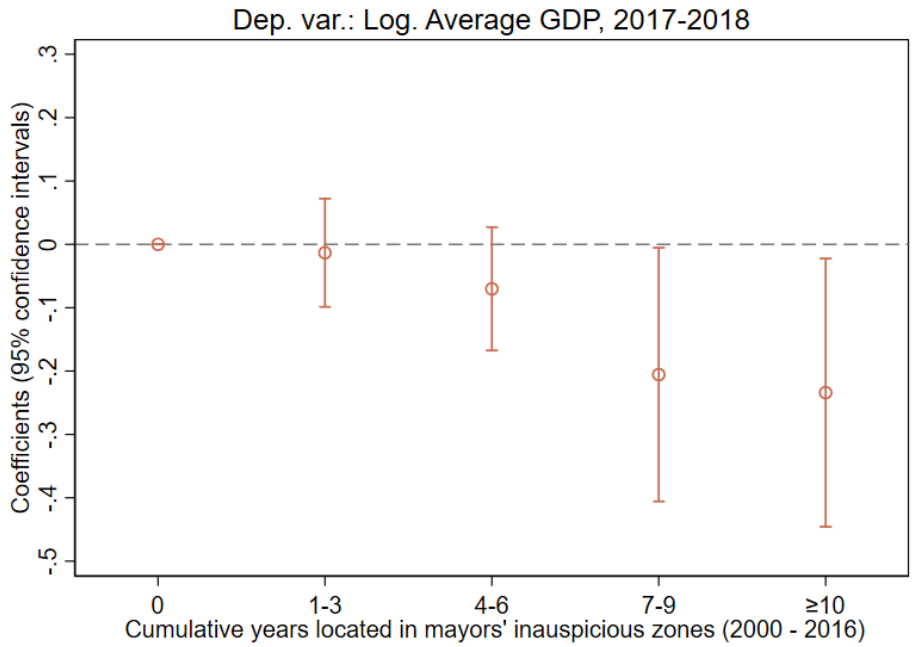
Figure A3: Permutation exercise – Placebo treatment



Notes: The figure presents the distribution for the estimated coefficient for the permutation exercise. Specifically, we conduct 10,000 simulations where we randomly permute whether or not a county is supernaturally unfavorable to its then mayor and use this placebo treatment to re-estimate our main specification. The vertical line represents the baseline estimated coefficient.

[Back to Page 17]

Figure A4: Cumulative impacts of locating in mayors' unfavorable zones



...

Notes: Unit of observation: county. Sample period for outcome average: 2017 - 2018. The figure presents the estimates from one augmented cross-sectional regression:

$$y_c = \Sigma \beta_K \times \mathbf{1}[Past\ treated\ years = K]_c + \mu_p + \Gamma x_c^{'} + \varepsilon_c$$

where μ_p are city fixed effects; $x_c^{'}$ are county-level geographic and socioeconomic controls in 1999. Geographic controls comprise the logarithm of county's area, longitude, latitude, the logarithm of the distance to the nearest coast, and the number of subordinate districts/townships in 1999. Socioeconomic controls comprise the logarithm of the population, the share of rural workers, the logarithm of total GDP, the shares of primary/secondary/tertiary-sector GDP, the logarithm of fiscal expenditure, and the logarithm of fiscal revenue in 1999. For comparability, we also hold constant the latest treated year cohort. Standard errors are clustered at the city level.

[Back to Page 17]

Table A1: Balance checks – county characteristics in 1999

	Mean (standard deviation)		Mean difference: (2)−(1)	
Variable	Non-treated counties (1)	Ever-treated counties (2)	Raw (3)	Conditional (4)
Latitude	33.421	32.850	0.571	-0.010
	(0.458)	(0.505)	(0.464)	(0.021)
Longitude	110.377	111.252	-0.874	-0.046
	(0.750)	(0.739)	(0.795)	(0.031)
Log. Area (km^2)	7.763	7.716	0.047	0.023
	(0.062)	(0.057)	(0.060)	(0.032)
Log. Distant to coast (km)	6.058	5.946	0.112	-0.006
	(0.079)	(0.089)	(0.086)	(0.020)
Number of subordinate towns	17.593	18.331	0.738	0.026
	(8.745)	(8.488)	(0.477)	(0.036)
Log. Population (10 thousand)	3.422	3.484	0.062	-0.019
	(1.006)	(0.867)	(0.077)	(0.032)
Primary schooler share	0.112	0.111	-0.001	0.003
	(0.029)	(0.034)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Rural worker share	0.414	0.421	0.007	-0.001
	(0.113)	(0.099)	(0.007)	(0.003)
Log. GDP (10 thousand)	11.669	11.724	0.055	-0.039
	(1.283)	(1.139)	(0.095)	(0.037)
Primary-sector GDP share	0.355	0.366	0.011	-0.002
	(0.154)	(0.147)	(0.008)	(0.006)
Secondary-sector GDP share	0.341	0.338	-0.003	0.002
	(0.142)	(0.142)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Tertiary-sector GDP share	0.304	0.296	-0.008	-0.001
	(0.088)	(0.072)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Log. Fiscal expenditure (10 thousand)	9.257	9.267	0.010	-0.022
	(0.739)	(0.623)	(0.054)	(0.022)
Log. Fiscal revenue (10 thousand)	8.473	8.526	0.053	-0.031
	(1.194)	(1.025)	(0.093)	(0.037)
Observations	1,346	948	2,295	2,295

Notes: Unit of observation: county (in 1999). "*Non-treated counties*" refer to counties that have not been in leaders' unfavorable zones from 2000 to 2018. Mean differences in Column 4 are obtained by regressions with city fixed effects and county orientation fixed effects (N, NE, E, SE, S, SW, W, NW). For mean differences, standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. $^{*}\ p < 0.10$, $^{**}\ p < 0.05$, $^{***}\ p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 14]

Table A2: County characteristics and future treatment status

	Treated under the next city leader (binary)		
	Party Secretary	Mayor	Either leader
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Mean of dep. var	0.056	0.058	0.106
Log. Area	-0.048	0.011	-0.032
	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.066)
Log. Population	-0.018	-0.039	-0.020
	(0.030)	(0.033)	(0.044)
Log. GDP	0.025	0.022	0.041
	(0.030)	(0.032)	(0.046)
Log. Primary-sector output	-0.008	-0.035	-0.038
	(0.021)	(0.025)	(0.033)
Log. Secondary-sector output	0.015	0.015	0.007
	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.023)
Log. Tertiary-sector output	-0.008	0.002	-0.027
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.020)
Log. Large-scale enterprises (#)	0.003	0.003	-0.005
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.007)
Log. Fiscal expenditure	0.009	-0.005	-0.007
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.021)
Log. Fiscal revenue	-0.018	-0.005	0.006
	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.015)
Log. Beds per hospital (#)	0.008	-0.001	-0.008
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.015)
Log. Social welfare institutions (#)	0.005	0.013	0.007
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Log. Primary and middle schoolers	-0.031	-0.031	-0.025
	(0.020)	(0.023)	(0.030)
Log. Total loans	-0.012	-0.014	0.000
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Log. Household saving	0.011	-0.003	0.002
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.015)
County FEs	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y
Observations	37,322	34,160	32,875
F-test of overall significance (P value)	0.483	0.247	0.845

Notes: Unit of observation: county-year (2000 - 2018). The outcome variable is a dummy for the future treatment status, which is 1 if the county is located in its succeeding city leader's supernaturally unfavorable zones. Each city is co-governed by a Party Secretary and a Mayor. There can be vacancies for the positions of Secretary or Mayor in some transition years. A city oversees an average of 8.5 subordinate counties in China. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 14]

Table A3: Balance checks – city leader characteristics

	Mean (standard deviation)		Mean difference
	Within-leader variation >0 (1)	Within-leader variation = 0 (2)	Raw: (2)-(1) (3)
Panel A: Party Secretaries			
Secretary: Female (binary)	0.040	0.045	-0.004
	(0.005)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Secretary: Age of taking office	50.722	50.651	0.071
	(0.112)	(0.230)	(0.247)
Secretary: Age of stepping down/turnover	53.982	54.023	-0.041
	(0.131)	(0.235)	(0.264)
Secretary: Work in native province (binary)	0.660	0.680	-0.020
	(0.016)	(0.028)	(0.029)
Secretary: Bachelor degree (binary)	0.242	0.267	-0.025
	(0.012)	(0.024)	(0.028)
Secretary: Master degree (binary)	0.550	0.513	0.037
	(0.014)	(0.026)	(0.030)
Secretary: Doctorate degree (binary)	0.169	0.173	-0.004
	(0.011)	(0.021)	(0.024)
Observations	1,315	313	1,628
Panel B: Mayors			
Mayor: Female (binary)	0.059	0.054	0.005
	(0.006)	(0.012)	(0.014)
Mayor: Age of taking office	48.232	48.076	0.156
	(0.119)	(0.218)	(0.246)
Mayor: Age of stepping down/turnover	50.252	49.981	0.271
	(0.134)	(0.242)	(0.259)
Mayor: Work in native province (binary)	0.725	0.745	-0.020
	(0.014)	(0.024)	(0.025)
Mayor: Bachelor degree (binary)	0.208	0.230	-0.022
	(0.012)	(0.022)	(0.025)
Mayor: Master degree (binary)	0.560	0.581	-0.021
	(0.015)	(0.028)	(0.031)
Mayor: Doctorate degree (binary)	0.176	0.151	0.025
	(0.011)	(0.019)	(0.022)
Observations	1,451	370	1,821

Notes: Unit of observation: city leader (2000 - 2018). "*Within-leader variation*" refers to the presence of any unfavorable zones within the city governed by a leader, according to spatial superstitions. For mean differences, standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 14]

Table A4: Leaders' spatial biases and GDP subcomponents

	Log. GDP sub-components		
	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Tertiary sector
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Mean of dep. var	11.552	12.226	12.060
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.018**	-0.044***	-0.020**
	(0.007)	(0.015)	(0.009)
County FEs	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y
Observations	37,461	37,461	37,461
Adjusted R-squared	0.967	0.974	0.980

Notes: Unit of observation: county-year. Sample period: 2000 - 2018. *"Treated zone (Mayor)"* is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to its then city mayor. A city oversees an average of 8.5 subordinate counties in China. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 15]

Table A5: Robustness to GIS-defined county orientations

	Log. County GDP			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean of dep. var	13.612	13.612	13.612	13.612
Treated zone (either leader)	-0.010*			
	(0.005)			
Treated zone (Secretary)		-0.009		-0.008
		(0.008)		(0.008)
Treated zone (Mayor)			-0.022***	-0.022***
			(0.008)	(0.007)
County FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	37,854	37,854	37,854	37,854
Adjusted R-squared	0.986	0.986	0.986	0.986

Notes: In this table, we define the orientation of a county (relative to its city government) by its geometric center and associated Azimuth angle. Unit of observation: county-year. Sample period: 2000 - 2018. "*Treated zone*" is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to its then city leader(s). Each city is co-governed by a Party Secretary and a Mayor. The Secretary has more bearing on the general political agenda and personnel decisions; the Mayor heads the government agency responsible for formulating and implementing socioeconomic policies and their administration. A city oversees an average of 8.5 subordinate counties in China. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 16]

Table A6: Excluding moves of city government heads

	Log. County GDP			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean of dep. var	13.607	13.607	13.607	13.607
Treated zone (either leader)	-0.011			
	(0.007)			
Treated zone (Secretary)		-0.006		0.004
		(0.008)		(0.008)
Treated zone (Mayor)			-0.021**	-0.021**
			(0.008)	(0.008)
County FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	37,108	37,108	37,108	37,108
Adjusted R-squared	0.986	0.986	0.986	0.986

Notes: In this table, we exclude leaders who have experienced a move of city government heads. Unit of observation: county-year. Sample period: 2000 - 2018. "*Treated zone*" is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to its then city leader(s). Each city is co-governed by a Party Secretary and a Mayor. The Secretary has more bearing on the general political agenda and personnel decisions; the Mayor heads the government agency responsible for formulating and implementing socioeconomic policies and their administration. A city oversees an average of 8.5 subordinate counties in China. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 16]

Table A7: Robustness to nighttime light measures

	Log. County GDP		Log. Nighttime light (mean)	Log. Nighttime light (maximum)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mean of dep. var	13.612	13.406	4.670	8.120
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.023***	-0.018**	-0.059**	-0.076*
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.027)	(0.043)
County FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	39,291	28,277	27,987	24,516
Adjusted R-squared	0.986	0.987	0.980	0.731
Sample period	2000 - 2018	2000 - 2013	2000 - 2013	2000 - 2013
Data source	County statistical yearbooks		NOAA DMSP (1992-2013)	

Notes: Unit of observation: county-year. "*Treated zone (Mayor)*" is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavored to its city mayor. A city oversees an average of 8.5 subordinate counties in China. "*NOAA DMSP*" refers to the nighttime luminosity data sourced from the Defense Meteorological Satellite Program (DMSP) by National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), offering comparable nighttime light measures spanning from 1992 to 2013. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to page 16]

Table A8: Assessing spillovers in government input

	Baseline estimate	Excluding spillovers to non-treated counterparts under the same leaders	Spillovers: (2) - (1)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Panel A: Mayor report analysis – Frequency			
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.375**	-0.344**	0.031
	(0.172)	(0.168)	(-)
Panel B: Mayor report analysis – Sentiment			
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.018*	-0.018*	0.000
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(-)
Panel C: Log. Public expenditure			
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.011*	-0.013**	-0.002
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(-)

Notes: Unit of observation: county-year. Sample period: 2000 - 2018. "*Treated zone (Mayor)*" is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to its then city mayor. Column 1 reports the baseline estimates (comparing treated counties to non-treated counties governed by the same leaders). In Column 2, we use a "cleaner" set of controls – counties within cities where none of the subordinate counties have ever been treated. The outcome variables are defined as those of Equation Table 4. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. $^{*}\ p < 0.10$, $^{**}\ p < 0.05$, $^{***}\ p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 21]

Table A9: City-level aggregate outcomes

	Log. City GDP		Log. Nighttime light (mean)		Mayor promotion (binary)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Mean of dep. var	15.107	15.107	1.235	1.235	0.224	0.224
Share of treated area	-0.025		-0.047***		-0.097**	
	(0.016)		(0.015)		(0.038)	
Share of treated population		-0.052*		-0.032**		-0.081*
		(0.030)		(0.015)		(0.043)
Mean of explanatory var.	0.059	0.055	0.058	0.054	0.059	0.055
City FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mayor characteristics	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	4,323	4,323	3,518	3,518	4,309	4,309
Data source	City statistical yearbooks (2000 - 2018)		NOAA DMSP (2000 - 2013)		Local yearbooks and official websites (2000 - 2018)	

Notes: Unit of observation: city-year. A city oversees an average of 8.5 subordinate counties in China. "*Share of treated area*" is calculated by $\frac{\text{Area of counties in mayors' unfavorable zones}}{\text{Total area of the city}}$. "*Share of treated population*" is calculated by $\frac{\text{Population in mayors' unfavorable zones}}{\text{Total population of the city}}$. To avoid endogeneity, we use population and area at the end of the previous leader' term to construct each independent variable. Mayor characteristics include the full set of fixed effects for mayor tenure, age, gender, education attainment, and hometown province. "*NOAA DMSP*" refers to the nighttime luminosity data sourced from the *Defense Meteorological Satellite Program* (DMSP) by the *National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration* (NOAA), offering comparable nighttime light measures spanning from 1992 to 2013. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to page 25]

Table A10: Perceived uncertainty and leaders' supernatural biases

	Log. County GDP	
	(1)	(2)
Mean of dep. var	13.584	13.584
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.028***	-0.028***
	(0.010)	(0.010)
× City industrial sector share × Lag. # Safety accidents (centered)	-0.003**	-0.002*
	(0.001)	(0.001)
Sector share measure	GDP	Worker (population)
County FEs	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y
Lower-order interaction terms	Y	Y
Observations	39,291	38,976
Adjusted R-squared	0.986	0.986

Notes: Unit of observation: county-year. Sample period: 2000 - 2018. *"Treated zone (Mayor)"* is a dummy that is 1 if the county is located in the supernaturally unfavorable orientation of the then city mayor. *"City industrial sector share"* is the industrial output or population share in 2000. *"Lag. # Safety accidents"* is the number of one-year-lagged industrial safety accidents in all other Chinese cities. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

[Back to Page 28]

Appendix B Conceptual Framework

Here, we present a simple theoretical framework to motivate our mechanism analysis. The model is not meant to provide a comprehensive theoretical exploration; instead, it intends to help articulate how leaders' spatial biases can affect key actors in the local economy – the government, firms, and households – and shape local GDP. Our empirical setting features quasi-random, leader-driven shocks to subordinate regions. Like most contexts, we assume leaders primarily impact government behavior (e.g., policy support and public infrastructure), which can enhance productivity and stimulate demand. Using a spatial equilibrium framework (e.g., Henderson et al., 2022; Jia, Ma and Xie, 2022), we analyze how regional-specific shocks driven by mayors affect local economic output.

To incorporate firm entry and household allocation in a tractable manner, we consider the following timeline. Upon assuming office, mayors make development plans that signal potential governmental support to subordinate counties. Firms then decide on entry, while households make decisions regarding location and labor supply.[35] Once government input (e.g., public investment) is realized, production and consumption take place.

Consider a local economy with M regions. Let state G_m denote the government inputs in region m, decided by its mayors.

Production side. Regional economic production is similar to that of the canonical framework by Krugman et al. (1980). In each region, the final output is determined by the CES technology:

$$Y_m = \left(\int_{\omega \in \Omega_m} y(w)^{\frac{\sigma-1}{\sigma}} dw \right)^{\frac{\sigma}{\sigma-1}}$$

where Ω_m is the set of varieties produced in region m. The price index is:

$$P_m = \left(\int_{\omega \in \Omega_m} p(w)^{1-\sigma} dw \right)^{\frac{1}{1-\sigma}}$$

Establishing a firm in region m requires f_m units of labor (i.e., fixed labor input), and each firm is engaged in monopolistic competition. To produce output, each firm employs l_m^d units of labor, with a constant-returns-to-scale production technology:

[35] This setup is largely in line with how Chinese local governments promote regional growth (Jin, 2023).

$$y_m = A_m l_m^d$$

The productivity level is $A_m(G) = \overline{A}_m \cdot e^{\delta G_m}$. The parameter δ captures the extent to which firm productivity is affected by government input determined by mayors. Following the standard approach, we assume there is an exogenous rate of firm exit prior to production: $\kappa = \overline{k} \cdot e^{-\delta_k G_m}$, with δ_k capturing the extent to which a portion of firms that fail due to poorer governmental support.

Let W_m be the wage rate. In a world of monopolistic competition, the optimal price charged by a firm in region m will be:

$$\frac{\sigma}{\sigma - 1} \frac{W_m}{A_m} = \tilde{\sigma} \frac{W_m}{A_m}$$

Accordingly, a firm's total profit will be:

$$\pi_m = \frac{1}{\sigma} \left(\tilde{\sigma} \frac{W_m}{A_m} \right)^{1-\sigma} P_m^{\sigma} Y_m = \frac{W_m l_m^d}{\sigma - 1}$$

In equilibrium, the expected cost of establishing a firm should equal the expected profit of a firm in each region:

$$W_m f_m = (1 - \kappa) \pi_m$$

Household side. Households' utility is given by:

$$U_m = v_m B_m \left(c_m l_m - \psi_m \frac{l_m^{1+1/\phi_L}}{1 + 1/\phi_L} \right)$$
$$\text{s.t.} \quad P_m c_m \leq W_m$$

c_m represents consumption per labor. v_m represents location preferences for households in region m, following a standard i.i.d. Frechet distribution $F(v) = exp(-v^{-\phi_M})$. B_m represents amenities, with $B_m = \overline{B}_m^{\frac{1}{\psi_M}} e^{-\eta G_m}$. The parameter $\eta > 0$ captures the extent to which local amenity is negatively affected by leader-driven shocks. We allow a positive labor supply elasticity $\phi_L > 0$. That is, changes in local employment are not solely due to households' relocation but also their endogenous labor supply. As noted, we assume each household selects

its location and labor supply to maximize its utility after mayors signal their policies:

$$\text{Max}_{m,l_m} U_m$$

In equilibrium, we have the population share Λ_m and the optimal labor supply l_m:

$$l_m = \left(\frac{W_m}{\psi_m P_m}\right)^{\phi_L}$$

$$\Lambda_m = \frac{\left(B_m \psi_m l_m^{1+1/\phi_L}\right)^{\phi_M}}{\sum_{m'} \left(\psi_{m'} B_{m'} l_{m'}^{1+1/\phi_L}\right)^{\phi_M}}$$

The total labor supply in region m is then given by $L_m = \Lambda_m l_m \overline{L} = \Lambda_m l_m$ (we normalize the total number of households $\overline{L}$ to 1 for simplicity).

Equilibrium. The market clearing for final goods in region m requires that households' consumption and government investment equal the total production:

$$P_m L_m c_m + P_m G_m = P_m Y_m$$

Let N_m be the number of firm entrants in region m before leader shocks occur, and let $N_m = N_m(1-\kappa)$ be the number of actively operating firms, reflecting the effects of firm exits. The labor market clearing requires:

$$N_m f_m + N_m l_m^d = L_m$$

Since $W_m f_m = (1-\kappa)\pi_m$ and $\pi_m = \frac{W_m l_m^d}{\sigma - 1}$, we have:

$$N_m = \frac{L_m}{\sigma f_m}$$

$$l_m^d = \frac{(\sigma - 1) f_m}{1 - \kappa}$$

Comparative statics. Combining the above equilibrium conditions, we have:

$$\text{Labor supply:} \quad d\hat{l}_m = -\phi_L \frac{-\delta + \frac{1}{\sigma-1}\bar{\kappa}\delta_\kappa + \frac{1}{\sigma-1}\phi_M \eta}{1 - \frac{1}{\sigma-1}\left(\phi_L + (\phi_L + 1)\,\phi_M\right)} dG_m,$$

$$\text{Population share:} \quad d\hat{\Lambda}_m = \phi_M \left[(1 + 1/\phi_L)\, d\hat{l}_m - \eta dG_m\right],$$

$$\text{Employment:} \quad d\hat{L}_m = d\hat{l}_m + d\hat{\Lambda}_m,$$

$$\text{Firm count:} \quad d\widehat{N}_m = d\hat{L}_m - \bar{\kappa}\delta_k dG_m,$$

$$\text{Output:} \quad d\widehat{Y}_m = \delta dG_m + d\hat{L}_m + \frac{1}{\sigma - 1} d\widehat{N}_m,$$

We can see that output changes result from shifts in productivity, firm entry and exit, and labor. The latter two components are both influenced by mayors' investment through changes in productivity and demand.

Appendix C Further Results on Firm Outcomes

C.1 Heterogeneity Analyses

We present additional findings to further characterize firm-level consequences in mayors' unfavorable zones. Table C1 examines the heterogeneity by firm ownership. Columns 1 - 2 indicate that the reduction in hiring is primarily driven by private firms. This finding speaks to the well-known personnel rigidity of SOEs. Meanwhile, state-owned enterprises (SOEs) also experience a less significant decline in capital accumulation (Columns 3 - 4). In line with these patterns, Columns 5 - 6 show a greater productivity decline among SOEs in treated regions.

Table C1: Changes in remaining ASIF firms (by ownership)

	Log. Employees (#)		Log. Capital stock		Log. TFP	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Mean of dep. var	4.656	4.852	8.333	8.543	0.563	0.240
Treated zone (Mayor)	-0.011**	-0.004	-0.016**	-0.011	-0.030***	-0.041***
	(0.005)	(0.013)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.016)
Ownership	Private	SOE	Private	SOE	Private	SOE
Firm FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	1,339,107	194,806	1,339,107	194,806	1,339,107	194,806
Sample	ASIP (2000 - 2007): Large-scale industrial firm census					

Notes: The unit of observation is at the firm-year level. ASIP refers to the *Annual Surveys of Industrial Production*; it contains all non-state-owned enterprises generating revenue exceeding 5 million RMB, as well as all state-owned enterprises in the Chinese manufacturing sector. "*Treated zone (Mayor)*" is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to its then city mayor. "*SOE*" refers to state owned enterprises. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the city level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

We also break down the impact by industry type to assess whether the effects are concentrated in industries with specific characteristics. Table C2 presents the estimates. Nearly all manufacturing industries in mayors' unfavorable counties experience a decline in productivity. However, the most significant drop is observed in high-tech firms, likely because their development often depends heavily on local government support, such as public facilities and subsidies. Overall, the results indicate a broad impact of mayors' decisions on local firms.

Table C2: Changes in remaining ASIF firms (by industry type)

Dep. var.: Log. TFP		
Industry type	Classification code	Estimate
Food and beverage	13, 14, 15, 16	-0.030*
		(0.019)
Textile and leather	17, 18, 19	-0.042***
		(0.013)
Wood processing, furniture, and paper	20, 21, 22	-0.079***
		(0.025)
Art and sport	23, 24	-0.086***
		(0.031)
Petroleum and chemistry	25, 26	-0.045**
		(0.021)
Medicine	27	0.026
		(0.051)
Non-metal products	28, 29, 30	-0.055*
		(0.029)
Metal products	31, 32, 33	-0.038**
		(0.015)
Machinery	34, 35	-0.043***
		(0.018)
Vehicle	36, 37	-0.036
		(0.025)
Computer, communication, and high-tech	38, 39, 40	-0.110***
		(0.028)
Others	41, 42	-0.037
		(0.044)
Specification: Firm FEs + City-Year FEs		

Notes: The unit of observation is at the firm-year level. The dataset used is the *Annual Surveys of Industrial Production*, which contains all non-state-owned enterprises generating revenue exceeding 5 million RMB, as well as all state-owned enterprises in the Chinese manufacturing sector. Classification codes are based on official industry codes established by the Chinese government. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

C.2 Suggestive Evidence on Allocative Efficiency

We extend our firm analysis by probing potential changes in misallocation. As mayors' spatial biases have disproportionately harmed the productivity of high-tech and SOE firms, it is conceptually plausible that such biases could distort the allocative efficiency of a county. Align with the literature, we estimate the revenue total factor productivity (TFPR) of industrial enterprises within each county between 2000 and 2007, positing that greater TFPR dispersion is

indicative of higher resource misallocation and suggests a larger scope for improvement (Ding et al., 2018). The underlying rationale is that resource allocation among firms depends on both levels of firm-specific TFP and the distortions they encounter. In an efficient resource allocation, the marginal revenue products of capital and labor are equalized across firms. Accordingly, the extent of misallocation is worse when there is greater TFP dispersion, and higher marginal revenue products signal the presence of disincentives impacting firm performance.

Table C3: Leaders' spatial biases and misallocation

	TFPR dispersion (std. dev. of log.)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Mean of dep. var	1.833	0.867	0.834
Treated zone (Mayor)	0.219***	0.038**	0.024
	(0.075)	(0.017)	(0.016)
Model	Hsieh-Klenow	Levinsohn-Petrin	Ackerberg-Caves-Frazer
County FEs	Y	Y	Y
City-Year FEs	Y	Y	Y
Observations	9,124	9,124	9,124
Std. dev. of dep. var	1.129	0.220	0.218

Notes: Unit of observation: county-year. Sample period: 2000 - 2007. "*Treated zone* (*Mayor*)" is a dummy that is 1 if the county is supernaturally unfavorable to is then city mayor. We restrict to counties with more than 5 large-scale enterprises to ensure a reliable estimation of TFPR dispersion. The outcome variables are constructed based on firm-level data from the Annual Surveys of Industrial Production (ASIP). The ASIP encompasses all non-state-owned enterprises generating revenue exceeding 5 million RMB, as well as all state-owned enterprises, wherein we focus on manufacturing firms. Adopting the methodology of Brandt, Van Biesebroeck and Zhang (2012), we track firms over time and calculate the capital stock and investment employing the perpetual inventory method. Our refined firm-level sample comprises approximately 1.8 million observations across 29 two-digit industries within the manufacturing sector. $^{*}\ p < 0.10$, $^{**}\ p < 0.05$, $^{***}\ p < 0.01$.

Table C3 examine the impact of being in leaders' unfavorable zones on a county's allocation efficiency (in terms of its industrial firm production). The positive coefficients suggest that mayors' spatial biases would decrease the allocation efficiency within a county, featuring an increase in the TFPR dispersion. To contextualize the magnitude of mayors' supernatural biases, we conduct a back-of-the-envelope calculation based on Hsieh-Klenow's framework as follows: Firstly, we multiply the coefficient of *Treated Zones* (*Mayor*) on TFPR dispersion by the proportion of counties treated (located in unfavorable zones of mayors) in our sample.

Subsequently, we divide this product by the disparity in TFPR dispersion between China and the United States as of 2001. Finally, we multiply this quotient by the potential TFP gain that could be realized from a hypothetical shift of China to the U.S. level of dispersion in TFPR.

The calculation indicates that removing mayors' spatial misbeliefs could contribute to a TFP gain of approximately 1.8% to 4.1%. Compared to the potential gains in China's TFP from a marketization shift, which range between 30% and 50% as documented by Hsieh and Klenow (2009). Under an assumption of hypothetically efficient reallocation of capital and labor, the effect in our context appears modest yet consequential. This comparison underscores the relevance and substantial nature of leader-driven biases in the context of overall economic efficiency.