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# Social value orientation and topography in urbanization: A case of Beijing, China

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# Social value orientation and topography in urbanization: A case of Beijing, China

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## Abstract

Urbanization leads to cultural changes that shape social values and behavior. Topographical variation in mountainous, hilly and plains areas is considered one of the main indicators of the degree of urbanization, following distance to urban cities. Therefore, it is hypothesized that there may be a topographical difference in distributions of social value orientations (SVOs), which categorize people's social preferences into the prosocial, the proself and unidentified. To examine this hypothesis, we conduct field surveys and experiments in mountainous, hilly and plains areas of Beijing, collecting the sociodemographic information and SVOs of 596 samples. We find that proportions of proself people are higher in plains and hilly areas than in mountainous areas as the distance to the center of Beijing becomes shorter. In addition, the proportion of unidentified people is prominent in hilly areas, as they represent transitional societies. Overall, this result suggests that social preferences transition from the prosocial to the unidentified and then to the proself with topographical changes, implying that new social mechanisms are necessary to shift people's social preferences toward prosocial behavior in the urbanization process. Otherwise, important social problems such as air pollution and sustainability, which require cooperation, will pose more danger in the future.

**Key Words:** Social value orientation; topography; urbanization

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## Nomenclature

SD Standard deviation

SVO Social value orientation

## 1 Introduction

As the second largest economy in the world, China has been recognized as an important economic contributor to world development in the 21st century (Fang et al., 2015). From 1985 to 2015, China's population ratio in rural areas dramatically declined from 76.29% to 43.90% in contrast to the high population growth in urban areas (National Bureau of statistics of China, 2016). Along with this urban expansion, China faces a series of challenges such as environmental deterioration and air pollution (Chan and Yao, 2008, Chen et al., 2017). Many scholars suggest that individual voluntary contributions and efforts are essential to address such environmental and sustainability problems together with government interventions (See, e.g., Van Vugt et al., 1995, Van Lange et al., 2007). For instance, Sovacool (2009) reports that an individualistic or selfish orientation in people's personalities becomes an obstacle for public acceptance of renewable energy. Thus, it is claimed that proenvironmental and cooperative behaviors must be promoted at the individual levels for the solutions of various social

13 problems that arise in the progress of urbanization (Ostrom et al., 2002, Dawkins, 2006, Wilson et al.,  
14 2009, Shahrier et al., 2016).

15 Urbanization together with technological advancement or economic development brings about  
16 cultural changes, potentially changing people's values and behaviors (Zeng and Greenfield, 2015).  
17 At the same time, it is suggested that the progress or degree of urbanization could be captured by  
18 topographical variation, and such topographical environments can explain human psychology, prefer-  
19 ences and behaviors (Rentfrow et al., 2013, 2015, Bach et al., 2016, Huggins and Thompson, 2016).  
20 For the betterment of environmental and sustainability problems that arise in the process of urbaniza-  
21 tion, it is valuable to understand how people's preferences and behaviors change with topographical  
22 differences. Therefore, this paper addresses individual social preferences in relation to topography.

23 Geographical differences play a role in the distribution of personality traits. Rentfrow et al. (2013)  
24 reveal that people in the United States exhibit three state-level personality traits: "friendly and con-  
25 ventional" in the central US, "relaxed and creative" in the west coast, mountainous and sunbelt re-  
26 gions, and "temperamental and uninhibited" in the Mid-Atlantic and the northeast. Rentfrow et al.  
27 (2015) replicates the previous research on geographical psychology and find that personality changes  
28 with geographical differences, and people in neighboring regions share a similar personality in Great  
29 Britain. These studies focus on personality differences by region that are characterized by north or  
30 south, east or west, state or city at national level.

31 Other works focus on value shifts shaped by cultures in combinations of different environments.  
32 Zeng and Greenfield (2015) demonstrate that people tended to be more individualistic than collec-  
33 tivist during ecological changes in China from 1970 to 2008.<sup>1</sup> Talhelm et al. (2014) and Henrich  
34 (2014) document that people in wheat-planting regions of China and in Europe exhibit more indi-  
35 vidualistic traits than those in rice-planting regions of China and Japan owing to different patterns of  
36 farming culture. Ockenfels and Weimann (1999) and Brosig-Koch et al. (2011) conduct a solidarity  
37 experiment, reporting that people in East Germany are more selfish than West Germany. Shahrier  
38 et al. (2016) compare individual social preferences among three regions of Bangladesh, finding that

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<sup>1</sup>Ecological change means a change in economic development, urbanization, technology development and education levels.

39 people tend to be more competitive as societies become capitalistic. Overall, these papers capture the  
40 tendency of changes in individual social values under various cultures such as political, economic or  
41 technological environments.

42 None of these previous works have analyzed how social preferences and behaviors are charac-  
43 terized by topographical characteristics together with ongoing urban expansion at the micro level.  
44 As noted by Bach et al. (2016), geographical variation in personalities, preferences and behaviors  
45 needs to be examined from not only the macro level (i.e., country or state) but also the micro level  
46 (i.e., within-state); otherwise, important variations might be neglected. In most cases, topographical  
47 variation in mountainous, hilly and plains areas is believed to play a large role in different degrees  
48 of urbanization, following distance to urban cities. Therefore, it is hypothesized that there may be a  
49 topographical difference in distributions of social value orientations (SVOs) that categorize people's  
50 social preferences as prosocial, proself and unidentified. To examine this hypothesis, we conducted  
51 field surveys and experiments in the mountainous, hilly and plains areas of Beijing, China, collecting  
52 sociodemographic information and SVOs of 596 samples.

## 53 **2 Data and Methodology**

### 54 **Study area**

55 China has the largest population and highest economic growth in the world. As China's capital  
56 city and also the political, economic and cultural center, Beijing embodies China's rapid urbanization  
57 and economic development. Beijing's population reached 19.6 million in 2010, a 44.5 % rise as re-  
58 ported at the time of 2000 (Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics, 2016b). Overall, Beijing has an  
59 area of 16 410.5 km<sup>2</sup>, comprising 6 urban and 10 suburban and rural districts. In addition to relatively  
60 smaller urban areas (1368.3 km<sup>2</sup>), 92 % of Beijing belongs to suburban and rural areas (Beijing Mu-  
61 nicipal Government, 2012). Another important fact is that there is a wide variation among the districts  
62 of Beijing with respect to the topography and the degree of urbanization, while they share similar cli-  
63 mate and culture (Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics, 2016a). Hence, we consider Beijing an

64 appropriate field for the micro-level analysis in our research.

65 In March of 2016, we implemented field surveys and experiments to collect people's social value  
66 orientations (SVOs) and sociodemographic information in suburban and rural Beijing. As described,  
67 Beijing has a topographical difference in mountainous, hilly and plains areas, reflecting different lev-  
68 els of urbanization because of the distance to the center of Beijing (Beijing Municipal Bureau of  
69 Statistics, 2016a). Our study areas cover five suburban and rural districts in Beijing (See figure 1 for  
70 the distance to the center of Beijing): Yanqing, Miyun, Pinggu, Fangshan and Daxing. Regarding  
71 topographical and socioeconomic differences, these districts are categorized into three groups: moun-  
72 tainous areas (Yanqing and Miyun), hilly areas (Pinggu and Fangshan) and a plains area (Daxing). To  
73 clarify distance from the survey areas to the center of Beijing, we draw rings from the survey spots in  
74 each district around the center of urban Beijing (the center of the ring circle) in figure 1. The bigger  
75 the size of the ring, the further the distance is.

76 As shown in figure 1, these rings divide the five districts into plains, hilly and mountainous ar-  
77 eas. The smallest ring represents the plains area (Daxing), which is closest to the center of Beijing.  
78 Fangshan and Pinggu are marked by inner and outer rings of hilly areas, respectively, and exhibit  
79 the second closest distance to the center of Beijing. The inner and outer rings of mountainous areas  
80 represent Yanqing and Miyun, reflecting the most remote distance to urban areas. Although the rings  
81 of Pinggu and Yanqing to the center of Beijing appear to be close, the transportation conditions are  
82 different. The main roads from urban areas to Yanqing are mountainous, but the roads from the urban  
83 areas to Pinggu are flat. Subsequently, it is much more difficult and time-consuming to reach Yanqing  
84 than Pinggu from the center of Beijing.

85 [Figure 1 about here.]

86 In 2015, Daxing had the highest population density of 1507 people km<sup>-2</sup>, while Yanqing and  
87 Miyun had the lowest population density of 157 people km<sup>-2</sup> and 215 people km<sup>-2</sup>, respectively (Bei-  
88 jing Municipal Bureau of Statistics, 2016a). As a transitional group, Fangshan and Pinggu have a  
89 population density of 526 people km<sup>-2</sup> and 445 people km<sup>-2</sup>, respectively. If we further compare the  
90 change of population density from 2011 to 2015, the same tendency is observed (Beijing Municipal

91 Bureau of Statistics, 2012, 2016a). In this five-year period, Daxing led in growth of population density  
92 by 128 people km<sup>-2</sup>, which is in sharp contrast to the decline in population density by 3 people km<sup>-2</sup>  
93 in Yanqing. Taking Fangshan as a case of hilly areas, population density grows by 40 people km<sup>-2</sup> in-  
94 between. In summary, a distinct variation among plains, hilly and mountainous areas can be detected  
95 by the above statements. This distinction is in accordance with our expectation that due to the prox-  
96 imity to urban areas and convenient transportation, the plains areas are influenced by the economic  
97 development and urbanization in Beijing. Next, hilly areas could be considered a transitional society  
98 in the process of urbanization and economic development. Remote mountainous areas fall into the  
99 least-urbanized group due to their distance from urban areas and inconvenient transportation.

## 100 **Field surveys and experiments**

101 We conducted field surveys and experiments based on 605 respondents; sociodemographic infor-  
102 mation and SVOs, respectively, were collected through face-to-face interviews in Beijing. The head  
103 of household or the decision maker in the household was asked to be responsible for the interview.  
104 In the end, 596 samples were used in the data set because of the missing observations in 8 question-  
105 naires. The respondents' sociodemographic information contains age, gender, education, occupation,  
106 annual household income and the number of children in a household. Table 1 lists the detailed defini-  
107 tions for all the sociodemographic variables collected in surveys. Education is an ordered categorical  
108 variable from 1 to 4 representing the orders of education levels from low to high. Age and household  
109 income are numerical variables to capture their influence on SVOs. The occupation and the number of  
110 children in the household are hypothesized as important determinants of people's social preferences,  
111 following Shahrier et al. (2016). In regard to occupation, we take it as a dummy variable by asking  
112 whether they engage in farming as a main occupation. If "No," it means that they do not engage in  
113 farming, taking jobs in the business and service sectors.

114 [Table 1 about here.]

115 A decomposed social value orientation (SVO) game is employed to measure people's social pref-  
116 erences, categorizing the social preferences into four types of SVOs: prosocial, competitive, individ-

117 ualistic or unidentified (Van Lange et al., 1997, 2007). This SVO game consists of 9 questions, each  
118 of which asks subjects to choose one option among three. Each option comes with two numbers as  
119 in the enumeration of options *A*, *B* and *C* shown below, representing the payoffs for “oneself” (You)  
120 and “the other,” respectively. The oneself (You) and the other are considered a pair of two persons  
121 where “the other” is unknown to the other. A specific example for one question in the SVO game is  
122 as follows:

123 Option *A*: You receive 500; the other receives 100.

124 Option *B*: You receive 500; the other receives 500.

125 Option *C*: You receive 550; the other receives 330.

126 Suppose that one subject chooses one option among three options *A*, *B* or *C*. Subjects who choose  
127 option *A* are considered to be competitive since this option reflects the motivation to maximize the gap  
128 between oneself and the other ( $500 - 100 = 400$ ). Subjects who choose option *B* are considered to be  
129 prosocial because they tend to maximize the joint outcome ( $500 + 500 = 1000$ ). Option *C* represents  
130 an individualistic orientation because of the highest personal outcome among the three options (550),  
131 regardless of the outcome of the other.

132 When a subject makes at least 6 consistent choices of options with one orientation among the  
133 prosocial, the competitive and the individualistic over 9 questions, she is judged to have a specific  
134 orientation and is otherwise “unidentified” (Van Lange et al., 2007). For the explanation of the SVO  
135 game, we distributed a written instruction and made the presentation to the respondents. They were  
136 informed that all the numbers in the options of questions represent the payoffs for oneself and the  
137 other in a pair. The respondents are informed when they are randomly paired with another person  
138 in this game, but the identity of the partner is never revealed. We explain that the payment to each  
139 subject is calculated by summing the payoffs earned from 9 options selected by oneself for “oneself”  
140 and 9 options selected by the partner for “the other.” The maximal individual gain is 10 RMB ( $\approx$   
141 1.54 USD) and the mean of the individual’s gain is 8 RMB ( $\approx$  1.24 USD).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>In the March of 2016, the exchange rate is 1 USD  $\approx$  6.48 RMB.



## 142 **Empirical method**

143 To characterize people’s social value orientation, the multinomial logit model is employed taking  
144 the SVO as a dependent variable and other sociodemographic variables as independent variables. As  
145 mentioned, the SVOs consist of the prosocial, the individualistic, the competitive and the unidentified,  
146 and only 20 samples (3.36 %) in our data are identified as competitive. Therefore, we decided to  
147 merge the individualistic and competitive orientations into the “proself” for simplicity of analysis.<sup>3</sup>  
148 Subsequently, a dependent variable in the multinomial logit model becomes an unordered categorical  
149 variable to consider the three categories of prosocial, proself and unidentified, assuming that the base  
150 group is prosocial. The model is utilized to estimate the marginal probability of being in one of the  
151 social value orientations when one independent variable increases by one unit. The multinomial logit  
152 model can be described as:

$$\text{Prob}_i(j) = \text{Prob}(S_{ji} \geq S_{Ji}), \quad \forall J \neq j \quad (1)$$

153 where  $i$  is the ID number of the respondents ( $i = 1, \dots, 596$ ),  $j$  represents one orientation among  
154 three social value orientations  $J$  where  $J = \{\text{prosocial, proself, unidentified}\}$ .  $\text{Prob}_i(j)$  represents  
155 the probability that respondent  $i$  falls into orientation  $j$ , and this predicted orientation  $j$  represents the  
156 outcome with the highest tendency for individual  $i$  among three orientations.  $S_{ji}$  is assumed to be a  
157 linear function of independent variables:

$$S_{ji} = \beta_j \mathbf{X}_i + \epsilon_{ji}, \quad (2)$$

158 where  $\mathbf{X}_i$  represents the vector of independent variables for respondent  $i$ ,  $\beta_j$  refers to the vector of  
159 regression coefficients depending on orientation  $j$ , and  $\epsilon_{ji}$  is an error term. From equations (1) and (2),

---

<sup>3</sup>In the literature, prosocial and proself behaviors are widely used as two essential aspects of human behavior (Van Lange et al., 1998, Bogaert et al., 2008, Wilson et al., 2009, Timilsina et al., 2016, Wei et al., 2016).

160 the multinomial logit models can be specified as:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Prob}_i(j) &= \text{Prob}(\beta_j \mathbf{X}_i + \epsilon_{ji} \geq \beta_J \mathbf{X}_i + \epsilon_{Ji}), \quad \forall J \neq j \\ &= \text{Prob}(\beta_j \mathbf{X}_i - \beta_J \mathbf{X}_i \geq \epsilon_{Ji} - \epsilon_{ji}).\end{aligned}\tag{3}$$

161 The reduced form of equation (3) is:

$$\text{Prob}_i(j) = \frac{\exp \beta_j \mathbf{X}_i}{\sum_J \exp \beta_J \mathbf{X}_i}.\tag{4}$$

162 where the vector of regression coefficients  $\beta_j$  are estimated from a standard maximum likelihood  
163 method. The set of independent variables  $\mathbf{X}_i$  contains age, gender, education, number of children in  
164 a household, occupation, annual household income and area dummies.<sup>4</sup>

## 165 **Ethics statement**

166 This study was approved by the research ethics committee of Kochi University of Technology.  
167 Subjects provided their written consent to participate in this study.

## 168 **3 Result and discussion**

169 Table 2 describes the distributions of social value orientations (SVOs) in three areas of Beijing.  
170 In general, 59.90 % of the respondents are identified as prosocial, and only 30.54 % and 9.56 % are  
171 proself and unidentified, respectively. This result indicates that a majority of people in Beijing's  
172 suburban and rural areas are prosocial. In particular, a proportion of prosocial people is high in  
173 mountainous areas (75.56 %), and consequently a proportion of proself people is the lowest (19.26 %).  
174 The proportion of proself people reaches the highest in plains areas (35.33 %), followed by hilly

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<sup>4</sup>Some researchers may claim that there might be reverse causality in our regression; i.e., competitive people move to and live in urban cities. However, regarding rural-urban migration, many studies establish that poor economic conditions mainly push people to migrate from rural to urban areas (Dudwick et al., 2011, Young, 2013, Brueckner and Lall, 2015), or a wide variety of opportunities including health and employment in urban areas are found to be the main motivations (Todaro, 1996, Zhang and Song, 2003). In other words, none of these studies suggest that more competitive or individualistic people tend to migrate to more urbanized or competitive societies. Shahrier et al. (2016) further illustrate that there is no reverse causality between area dummies and SVOs in Bangladesh.

175 areas (33.12 %). A proportion of unidentified people is found to be high in hilly areas (12.86 %). In  
176 summary, table 2 reveals that distributions of SVOs correlate with the topography or the degree of  
177 urbanization.

178 [Table 2 about here.]

179 Table 3 provides summary statistics for the independent variables. On average, annual household  
180 income is the highest in plains areas, and the lowest is in mountainous areas, and the income gap  
181 between these two areas is considerably large. Average household income in hilly areas is lower but  
182 closer to that in plains areas. However, the highest household income is found in hilly areas followed  
183 by plains and mountainous areas. This result exhibits evidence of economic development across the  
184 suburban and rural areas of Beijing. Plains and hilly areas take the lead in economic development due  
185 to shorter distance from urban areas in Beijing, while mountainous areas are the least developed due  
186 to distance and transportation limitations.

187 On average, the age of the subjects across the three areas are close each other. The youngest group  
188 is represented by people in plains areas, followed by those in hilly and mountainous areas. Subjects  
189 have reached the primary school level on average. Among the three areas, people in mountainous  
190 areas have the lowest education level. The number of household children below 15 years old is the  
191 highest in plains areas and the lowest in mountainous areas. With respect to the occupation dummy,  
192 the proportion of farmers (95 %) is highest in mountainous areas, with a significant decline (71 %) in  
193 hilly areas, and it turns out to be the lowest (69 %) in plains areas. This result verifies that with  
194 locations closer and more convenient to city areas in Beijing, societies are influenced by urbanization  
195 with more business or job engagement other than farming activities.

196 [Table 3 about here.]

197 Table 4 reports the marginal effects of each independent variable on the probability that a subject is  
198 proself or unidentified, taking the prosocial as the reference group in the multinomial logit regression.  
199 In general, age and education do not have a significant effect on people's SVOs. Household income  
200 and occupation dummy (farmer or not) are significant factors that affect the likelihood that a subject

201 is unidentified in SVOs. There is a negative relationship between number of children in a household  
202 and the proself orientation. Gender positively influences proself orientation. With respect to area  
203 dummies, people in plains and hilly areas are more likely to have a proself orientation compared to  
204 those in mountainous areas. More interestingly, people in hilly areas tend to be more unidentified in  
205 SVOs.

206 [Table 4 about here.]

207 More specifically, an increase in household income by 10 000 RMB significantly leads to a higher  
208 probability that a subject will be unidentified by 1.3 %, taking the prosocial orientation as a reference  
209 group (table 4). In Beijing's rural area, 10 000 RMB ( $\approx$  1543.2 USD) is a large amount of money that  
210 accounts for 39 % of the average household income in our survey. As a consequence, it is less likely  
211 that such an increase in household income would materialize within a short period for a household.  
212 Thus, the magnitude of the income effect can be considered practically insignificant because the  
213 marginal probability that a subject will be unidentified changes very slowly.

214 As described in Table 4, males appear to have a higher tendency to be proself than females by  
215 7.1 %, which is consistent with the previous findings in Van Lange et al. (1997) and Eckel and Gross-  
216 man (1998). They report that females exhibit higher prosocial preferences than males. Our result  
217 reflects a gender difference in the proself orientations in China. In reality, as in most other countries,  
218 males are for the most part the head of household and bread earner in China. They need to work very  
219 hard for family survival or better living conditions. Given these conditions in China, it is expected  
220 that males would have the higher probability of being proself than females.

221 Regarding the number of children under 15 years old, our results reveal that one more child in a  
222 household brings about a 5.9 % decline in the likelihood that a subject is proself, taking the prosocial  
223 as a reference group. On the contrary, Shahrier et al. (2016) report that people become more individ-  
224 ualistic or unidentified with the increased number of children per household. Unlike other countries  
225 such as Bangladesh, China has implemented the one-child and two-child policies since 1979 and  
226 2015, respectively. Hence, unlike in Bangladesh, it is neither substantially difficult nor affordable to  
227 raise one or two children in Beijing; having children is welcomed. In addition, Chinese parents place

228 particularly high expectations and importance on the next generation because of the one-child policy  
229 of the past three decades. Thus, people can be cooperative in sharing information or experience for  
230 the development of children in the future.

231 As shown in Table 4, farmers tend to have a higher probability than nonfarmers of being uniden-  
232 tified by 10.9%, relative to the probability of a subject being prosocial. This result indicates that  
233 farmers' social preferences are more unpredictable than those of nonfarmers. In one sense, agri-  
234 culture in China has gradually shifted from traditional to modern approaches due to the progress of  
235 agricultural technologies. Beijing has taken the lead in this transition, and the modernization of agri-  
236 culture enables people to easily and independently engage in farming and the sale of products using  
237 new technologies and online networks. On the other hand, traditional agriculture requires a larger  
238 labor force or more engagement by local people, which might stimulate collaboration among farming  
239 households. Based on these two aspects, farmers might have unstable or unidentified values owing to  
240 this transition in agriculture.

241 With respect to area dummies, the results reveal that in comparison with people in mountainous  
242 areas, those in plains and hilly areas exhibit a greater tendency to be proself than prosocial by 14.3 %  
243 and 14.4 %, respectively. More interestingly, people in hilly areas are more likely to be unidentified  
244 by 6.4 % compared with mountainous areas. These results illustrate our expectation that topograph-  
245 ical variation in mountainous, hilly and plains areas is an important determinant of people's social  
246 preferences regarding the distance to urban areas. As mentioned, plains areas (Daxing) are located  
247 the shortest distance from the center of Beijing, followed by hilly areas (Fangshan and Pinggu) and  
248 mountainous areas (Yanqing and Miyun), which are the furthest from the center of Beijing. Due to  
249 the advantages or disadvantages of each district in topography, urbanization in Beijing has been de-  
250 veloped at different speeds, and thus, this result appears to suggest that topographical variation shapes  
251 lives and people's social preferences.

252 The plains area of Daxing experiences the first round of urbanization among these districts and  
253 is influenced by Beijing in the form of sharp increase in population, which is in sharp contrast to  
254 mountainous areas. Under these conditions, industries are rapidly expanding in the plains area, at-  
255 tracting people to this area for job opportunities and a new life. Thus, villages in the plains area have

256 developed along the lines of “urban villages,” with sound infrastructure, services and housing condi-  
257 tions. As a consequence, these rural residents can easily get access to goods, services or resources  
258 by themselves. Once people adapt themselves to such an independent life, they are more likely to  
259 become individualistic (Henrich, 2014). Based on the above set of life changes in the plains area, it is  
260 plausible that these people tend to fall within the proself orientation.

261 Mountainous areas are now viewed mainly as important ecological assets or barriers to protect  
262 nature and the Beijing environment. Due to the beauty of the wilderness and environment, eco-based  
263 services and tourism have grown, and to prevent natural disasters such as floods and mudflows, local  
264 people voluntarily cooperate and help each other on a daily basis in both their jobs and private life.  
265 Therefore, people in mountainous areas are usually friendly with not only neighbors but also other  
266 people, implying that cooperation in the culture remains, as shown by certain Chinese traditions such  
267 as *Luoye Guigen*, mutual cooperation among households is sustained to maintain each other’s houses.<sup>5</sup>  
268 Hilly areas (Fangshan and Yanqing) could be viewed as having just begun the process of urbaniza-  
269 tion, and they are now going through a transition from the mountainous and plains areas. Therefore,  
270 people’s values and behavior may also be transitioning, resulting in individual social preferences to  
271 be the unidentified, which is consistent with Shahrier et al. (2016).

## 272 **4 Conclusion**

273 Urbanization can lead to cultural changes that influence human values and behavior. Topograph-  
274 ical differences in plains, hilly and mountainous areas can reflect different degrees of urbanization  
275 based on distances to city areas. Hence, it is likely that there are topographical differences in social  
276 value orientation (SVOs). To examine this relationship, we conducted field surveys and experiments in  
277 Beijing, finding that the proportions of proself people are higher in plains and hilly areas than in moun-  
278 tainous areas, where the distance to the center of Beijing is shorter. As a transitional society, people  
279 in hilly areas tend to be more unidentified in SVOs. Overall, we demonstrate that social preferences  
280 transition from the prosocial to the unidentified and then to the proself with topographical changes.

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<sup>5</sup>*Luoye Guigen* refers to the traditional belief that human spirits and souls go back to their birth places for peaceful rest.

281 This result implies that new social mechanisms are necessary to influence social preferences, inducing  
282 prosocial behavior in the process of urbanization. Otherwise, important social problems such as air  
283 pollution or sustainability, which require further cooperation for solutions, will pose more danger in  
284 the future.

285 We note some limitations of our study and directions for future research. This study does not  
286 take into account samples of people who live in the center of Beijing. In reality, it was extremely  
287 difficult for us to find and contact such people for data collection under time and budget constraints,  
288 and thus, we have mainly collected samples in suburban and rural areas. However, we conjecture  
289 that the qualitative results will not change even if we add the sample of residents in the center of  
290 Beijing. As for future research, similar types of research could be explored in other countries that  
291 experience rapid urbanization and serious social problems. In that case, it is meaningful to confirm  
292 the robustness of this analysis by comparing our results with those in different countries. Although  
293 we admit that our research has certain limitations and possibilities, it is our belief that this paper  
294 represents an important first step in addressing how social preferences are shaped by topographical  
295 differences in the urbanization process. Based on these findings, we suggest new social mechanisms  
296 are needed to induce prosocial behavior in urban societies and to secure human sustainability; we also  
297 hope that the robustness of our results will be established in the near future.

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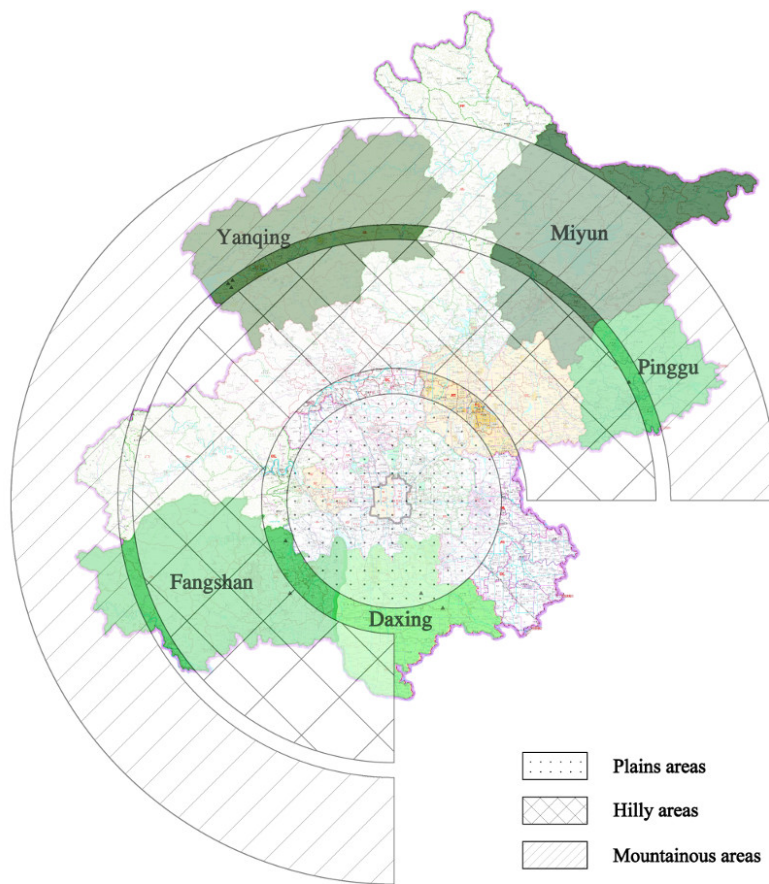


Figure 1: The survey areas in Beijing

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Table 1: Descriptions of the independent variables

Variable	Description
Education	An ordered categorical variable that takes 1 when a respondent is educated at primary school level, 2 is middle high school level, 3 is high school level and 4 is university level.
Household income	Annual household income for the year of 2015 in 10 000 RMB.
Age	Age of the respondent
Gender	A dummy variable that takes 1 when the respondent is male, otherwise 0.
Children	The number of the children in a household who are below 15 years old.
Farmer	A dummy variable that takes 1 when a respondent engages in farming as a main occupation, otherwise 0.
Area dummy	A dummy variable that takes 1 when a respondent resides in plains (hilly) areas, taking mountainous areas as a base group.

Table 2: Distribution of social value orientation (SVO) in three areas

	Prosocial	Proself	Unidentified
Mountain	102 (75.56 %)	26 (19.26 %)	7 (5.19 %)
Hilly	168 (54.02 %)	103 (33.12 %)	40 (12.86 %)
Plains	87 (58.00 %)	53 (35.33 %)	10 (6.67 %)
Overall	357 (59.90 %)	182 (30.54 %)	57 (9.56 %)

Table 3: Summary statistics for all the independent variables

	Areas			Overall
	Mountain	Hilly	Plains	
<b>Household income in 10 000 RMB</b>				
Average (Median) <sup>1</sup>	1.47 (1.00)	2.84 (3.00)	2.97 (3.00)	2.56 (2.00)
SD <sup>2</sup>	1.02	1.98	1.78	1.85
Min	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Max	5	12	8	12
<b>Age</b>				
Average (Median)	56.45 (56.00)	54.19 (56.00)	53.86 (54.00)	54.62 (55.00)
SD	11.30	14.08	10.71	12.72
Min	20	20	21	20
Max	91	88	86	91
<b>Education (categorical variables)</b>				
Average (Median)	1.65 (2.00)	1.97 (2.00)	1.79 (2.00)	1.85 (2.00)
SD	0.64	0.84	0.74	0.78
Min	1	1	1	1
Max	3	4	4	4
<b>Children (&lt; 15 year-old)</b>				
Average (Median)	0.34 (0.00)	0.49 (0.00)	0.59 (1.00)	0.48 (0.00)
SD	0.51	0.60	0.64	0.59
Min	0	0	0	0
Max	2	2	2	2
<b>Gender (Male = 1)</b>				
Average (Median)	0.65 (1.00)	0.55 (1.00)	0.80 (1.00)	0.64 (1.00)
SD	0.48	0.50	0.40	0.48
Min	0	0	0	0
Max	1	1	1	1
<b>Farmer (YES = 1)</b>				
Average (Median)	0.95 (1.00)	0.71 (1.00)	0.69 (1.00)	0.76 (1.00)
SD	0.22	0.45	0.46	0.43
Min	0	0	0	0
Max	1	1	1	1
Sample size	135	311	150	596

<sup>1</sup> Median in parentheses.

<sup>2</sup> SD stands for standard deviation.



Table 4: Marginal effects of the multinomial logit regression

	Multinomial logit regression	
	Proself	Unidentified
Household income (in 10 000 RMB)	0.015 (0.012)	0.013** (0.006)
Education	-0.046 (0.030)	0.010 (0.016)
Children	-0.059* (0.035)	0.003 (0.016)
Gender (base group = female)	0.071* (0.041)	0.002 (0.020)
Age	-0.003 (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)
Farmer	-0.069 (0.057)	0.109*** (0.019)
Area dummy (base group = mountainous areas)		
Plains areas	0.143** (0.068)	0.016 (0.038)
Hilly areas	0.144*** (0.054)	0.064** (0.030)

The regression takes the prosocial as the reference group.

Children refer to the number of children in a household whose age is below 15 years old.

\*\*\*significant at the 1 percent level, \*\*significant at the 5 percent level and \*significant at the 10 percent level.

The LR  $\chi^2$  value in the multinomial logit regression is 63.10 and significant at the 1 percent level.