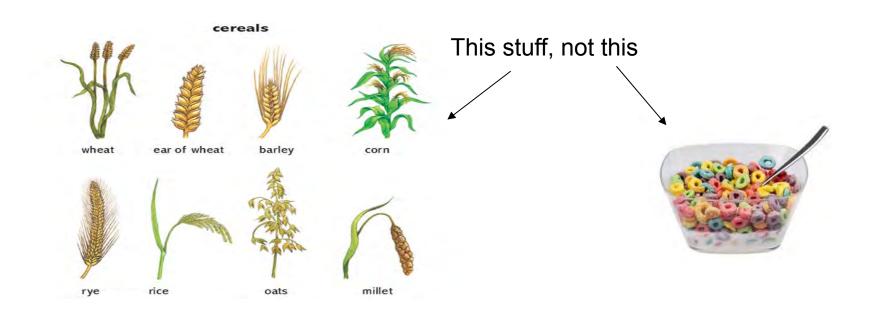
Cereals, Appropriability and Hierarchy

Joram Mayshar Omer Moav Zvika Neeman Luigi Pascali Hebrew University of Jerusalem University of Warwick & IDC Tel-Aviv University UPF & University of Warwick

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Following the Neolithic Revolution some regions of the world developed complex hierarchies, leading to city-states and the great civilizations of antiquity

- How did farming trigger this change?
- Why did some regions remain with only simple hierarchy, in spite of adopting farming?

Outline of the presentation

- 1. Existing theories and our explanation
- 2. The model
- 3. Empirical evidence on a large cross-section of precolonial societies and on a country-level panel dataset.
- 4. Supportive evidence

Existing literature

- Neolithic Revolution \rightarrow
 - Increased productivity \rightarrow
 - Food surplus \rightarrow (various mechanisms)
 - Hierarchy (an elite that did not produce food) \rightarrow
 - The emergence of the state

Existing literature

• Neolithic Revolution \rightarrow

Increased productivity \rightarrow Food surplus \rightarrow (various mechanisms) Hierarchy (an elite that did not produce food) \rightarrow The emergence of the state

 Differences between regions in productivity → differences in surplus → differences in social institutions

Existing literature recent summaries

Jared Diamond (1997)

"In short, plant and animal domestication meant much more food ... The resulting food *surpluses* ... were a *prerequisite* for the development of settled, *politically centralized, socially stratified*, economically complex, technologically innovative societies."

Existing literature recent summaries

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Douglas Price and Ofer Bar-Yosef (2010)

"Cultivation ... supported a stable economy with *surplus* that resulted in the *formation of elite groups*..."

We argue that the surplus explanations are flawed:

• Surplus is neither *necessary* nor *sufficient* for appropriation

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We argue that the surplus explanations are flawed:

- Surplus is neither *necessary* nor *sufficient* for appropriation
- Surplus is unlikely to emerge following the very slow transition to farming

(Population size adjusts to prevent the creation of surplus following the slow rise in productivity, as predicted by Malthus and supported empirically by Ashraf-Galor, 2011, and others)



• Neolithic Revolution \rightarrow

Increased appropriability \rightarrow

Hierarchy (an elite that did not produce food) \rightarrow

The emergence of the state

• Neolithic Revolution \rightarrow

Increased appropriability \rightarrow Hierarchy (an elite that did not produce food) \rightarrow The emergence of the state

Differences between regions in land suitability for cereals vs. roots/tubers →

Differences in appropriability → Differences in hierarchical complexity

- Appropriability generates the demand for the state and it allows its existence
 - →Encourages robbery and creates a demand for protection
 - →Facilitated the finance of the elite and the provision of protection

- Appropriability generates the demand for the state and it allows its existence
 - →Encourages robbery and creates a demand for protection
 - →Facilitated the finance of the elite and the provision of protection
- Surplus is an outcome of hierarchy rather than its cause

Carneiro (1970) "circumscription theory"

Conflict \rightarrow states (when the losers cannot escape) In the Amazon Basin, "almost unlimited agricultural land," In Peru, "The mountains, the desert, and the sea ... blocked escape in every direction"

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Conflict \rightarrow states (when the losers cannot escape) In the Amazon Basin, "almost unlimited agricultural land," In Peru, "The mountains, the desert, and the sea ... blocked escape in every direction"

We note that: the environmental theory of Carniero is incompatible with the geographical evidence that motivated Diamond and vice versa. In both the Amzon Basin and New Guinea cerals are not the staple crop

Acemoglu & Robinson (2012)

Institutions→ Transition to farming & Surplus

Acemoglu & Robinson (2012)

Institutions→ Transition to farming & Surplus

Should we look for one unified theory to explain the transition to farming?

Related Literature

Geography, Transparency and Institutions Mayshar, Moav & Neeman (2013)

- Once a state exist, how environmental factors shape: Land ownership (private vs elite)
 State concentration (center vs periphery)
 State capacity
- Application to Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia

A Model of Anarchy and Hierarchy

- The model illustrates how high productivity of tubers prevents the emergence of hierarchy and a state
- It also shows how a non-benevolent state dominates anarchy efficiency-wise by reducing distortions: higher farming output and less extraction

Agents

- Farmers (measure 1) and Non-Farmers (measure *N*)
- Non-Farmers employment:
 - Bandits in anarchy/Tax collectors in hierarchy (measure λ)

or

- Subsistent foragers (measure $N \lambda$) with income *s*
- λ endogenous ratio of bandits or tax collectors to farmers
- Agents are risk neutral

Production

- Each farmer can grow 1 unit of cereals or 1δ units of tubers, or any linear combination
 - $\delta \le 1$ tubers' productivity loss (we restrict attention to $\delta > 0$)
 - δ is the key difference between regions

Appropriation technology

- Tubers cannot be appropriated
- τ ∈ [0,1) appropriation rate of cereals
 (by bandits in anarchy, by the state in hierarchy)

 $\tau = \tau(\lambda), \ \tau(0) = 0, \ \tau'(\lambda) > 0, \ \tau''(\lambda) < 0,$ and $\lim_{\lambda \to 0} \tau'(\lambda) = \infty$

Farmers optimization

- $\beta \in [0, 1]$ the fraction of land allocated to cereals
- Farmers' income:

$$I = (1-\tau)\beta + (1-\delta)(1-\beta)$$

• Farmers choose β to maximize income

Anarchy

A bandit's income:

$$\pi = rac{ au(\lambda)eta}{\lambda}$$

Equilibrium - a pair (β, τ) such that:

1.
$$\beta = \arg \max I$$

2. $\pi = s$

$$s=\frac{\tau\beta}{\lambda(\tau)}$$

where $\lambda(\tau)$ is the inverse function of $\tau(\lambda)$ Define $\hat{\delta}_A$ by: $\frac{\hat{\delta}_A}{\lambda(\hat{\delta}_A)} = s$

 \rightarrow

Proposition: Unique equilibrium (β_A , τ_A)

$$(eta_A, au_A) = \left\{ egin{array}{cc} \left(rac{\lambda(\delta)s}{\delta}, \delta
ight) & if \;\; \delta < \hat{\delta}_A \ \left(1, \hat{\delta}_A
ight) & if \;\; \delta \geq \hat{\delta}_A \end{array}
ight.$$

where β_A, τ_A are weakly increasing with δ \rightarrow Farmers welfare is decreasing with δ

Output

\overline{Y} - The maximal level of output

If
$$\beta = 1$$
 and $\lambda = 0 \rightarrow Y = \overline{Y}$
 $\overline{Y} = 1 + sN$

Output and distortions

The equilibrium (β_A , τ_A) introduces two distortions:

- 1. Farmers growing tubers
- 2. Forgone output of bandits
- → Equilibrium output (per farmer) is:

$$Y = \bar{Y} - (1 - \beta_A)\delta - \lambda_A s.$$

where $\lambda_A = \lambda(\tau_A)$

Corollary: Loss of output:

$$(1 - \beta_A)\delta + \lambda_A s = \begin{cases} \delta & \text{if } \delta < \hat{\delta}_A \\ \hat{\delta}_A & \text{if } \delta \ge \hat{\delta}_A \end{cases}$$

where bandits income $\lambda_A s = \beta_A \tau_A$

Hierarchy

- The state has monopoly over the use of force
- This monopoly comes at a fixed cost $G_0 > 0$
- The state employs λ tax collectors at cost s per collector and the tax rate is a fraction τ = τ(λ) of cereals
- The state can commit to $\tau \leq \delta \rightarrow \beta = 1$

The state's maximization problem:

$$\max_{\tau} R(\tau) \equiv \tau \beta - \lambda(\tau) s$$

subject to:

$$\beta = \arg \max(1-\tau)\beta + (1-\delta)(1-\beta)$$

→ The optimal tax rate is $au_H = \min\{\delta, \hat{\delta}_H\}$ where $\hat{\delta}_H$ is given by $s\lambda'(\hat{\delta}_H) = 1$

Assumption:

$$R(\hat{\delta}_H) > G_0$$

(otherwise a state cannot exist for any δ) \rightarrow there exists a unique $\underline{\delta}_H < \hat{\delta}_H$ such that $\delta < \underline{\delta}_H \leftrightarrow R(\tau_H) < G_0$

Anarchy vs. Hierarchy

- The state employs tax collectors such that: marginal tax revenue $\geq s$
 - In anarchy:

 \rightarrow

average theft revenue = *s*

$$\underline{\delta}_H < \hat{\delta}_H < \hat{\delta}_A$$

If δ < δ_H → anarchy, β < 1 and τ = δ
If δ ∈ [δ_H, δ_H] → anarchy, β < 1 and τ = δ or → hierarchy, β = 1 and τ = δ

• If
$$\delta \in (\hat{\delta}_H, \hat{\delta}_A]$$

 \rightarrow anarchy, $\beta \leq 1$ and $\tau = \delta$
or
 \rightarrow hierarchy, $\beta = 1$ and $\tau = \hat{\delta}_H < \delta$

• If
$$\delta > \hat{\delta}_A$$

 \rightarrow anarchy, $\beta = 1$ and $\tau = \hat{\delta}_A < \delta$
or
 \rightarrow hierarchy, $\beta = 1$ and $\tau = \hat{\delta}_H < \hat{\delta}_A$

Hierarchy is Pareto dominant

Farmers' income is (weakly) larger, the state creates a surplus (above G_0), and all others are unaffected

For $\delta > \underline{\delta}_H$

 $Y_H > Y_A$

Main conclusions

- 1. A state dominates anarchy efficiency-wise
- **2**. High productivity of tubers prevents the emergence of a state

3. The correlation between efficiency and hierarchy across regions may be negative

→ Additional structure to the model can capture the *long run* effect of hierarchy (state capacity) on growth

Remarks

1. Heterogenous δ among farmers

 $\rightarrow \tau_H < \tau_A$

2. Risk averse farmers

 $\rightarrow \tau_H > \tau_A$

Example

 $au = au(\lambda) =
ho \lambda^{1/2};
ho \in (0,1)$ o $\lambda = \lambda(au) = (au/
ho)^2$

Anarchy

$$\hat{\delta}_{A} = rac{
ho^{2}}{s}$$
 $(eta_{A}, au_{A}) = \left\{ egin{array}{c} \left(rac{s\delta}{
ho^{2}}, \delta
ight) & if \;\; \delta < \hat{\delta}_{A} \ (1, \hat{ au}_{A}) & if \;\; \delta \geq \hat{\delta}_{A} \end{array}
ight.$

Hierarchy

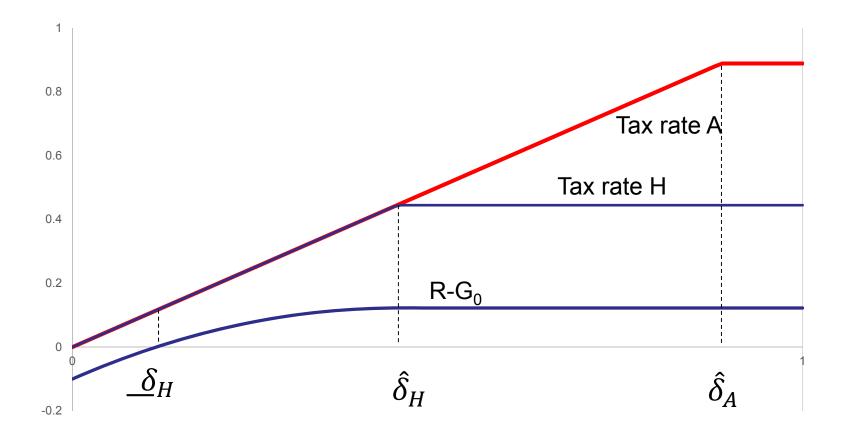
$$\hat{\delta}_H = \frac{\rho^2}{2s} = \frac{\hat{\delta}_A}{2}$$

For $\underline{\delta}_H \leq \delta$ a state can exist and generates a tax revenue, net of the cost of taxation:

$$R(\delta) = \begin{cases} \delta - s(\frac{\delta}{\rho})^2 & \delta < \hat{\delta}_H \\ \frac{1}{4s}\rho^2 & \delta \ge \hat{\delta}_H \end{cases}$$

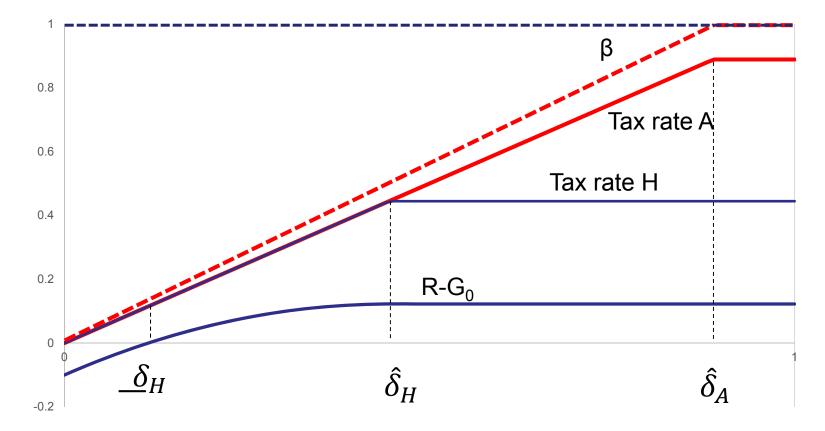
$R'(\delta) > 0 \text{ for } \delta < \hat{\delta}_H$ $\underline{\delta}_H \text{ is given by } R(\underline{\delta}_H) = G_0$ $\underline{\delta}_H = \frac{\rho}{2s} \left(\rho - \sqrt{\rho^2 - 4G_0 s}\right)$

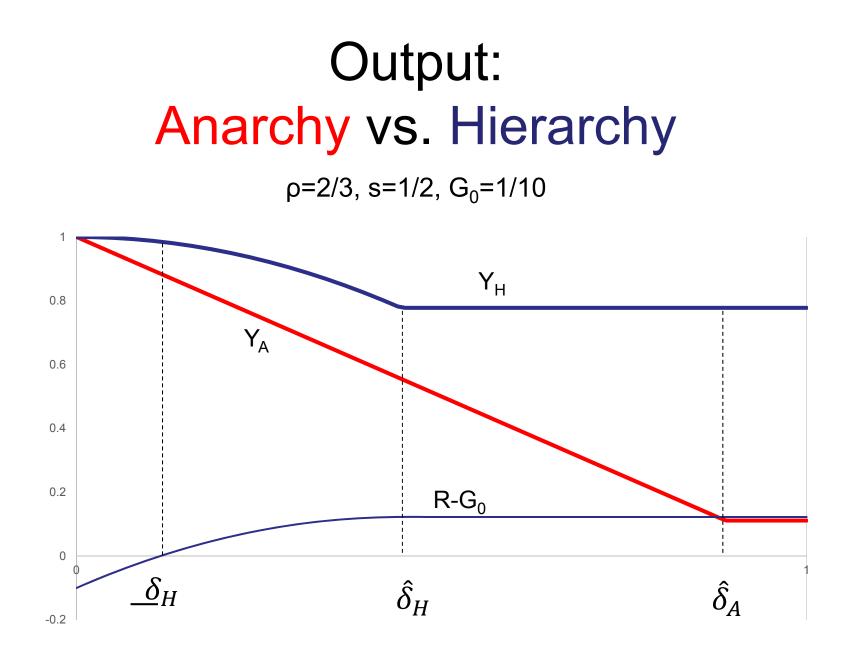
Tax and net revenue: Anarchy vs. Hierarchy $\rho=2/3, s=1/2, G_0=1/10$



Tax, cereals and net revenue: Anarchy vs. Hierarchy

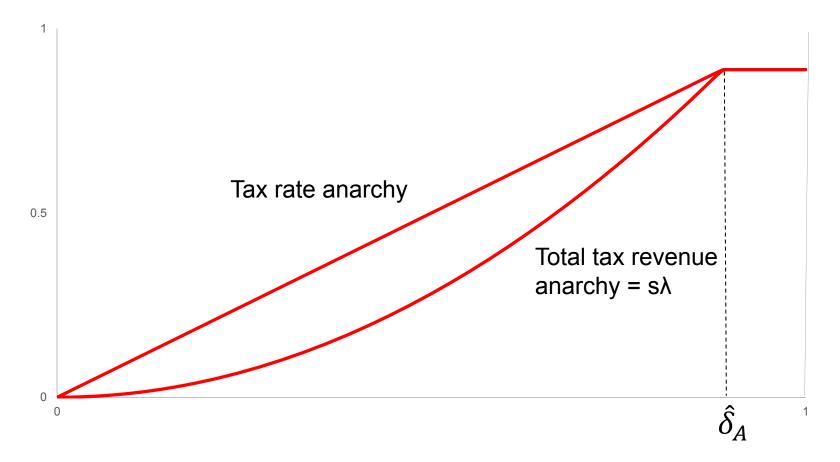
 ρ =2/3, s=1/2, G₀=1/10





Tax rate and revenue: Anarchy

ρ=2/3, s=1/2,



Risk averse farmers

$$u = (1 - \tau) \log(\beta + (1 - \beta)(1 - \delta))$$
$$+ \tau \log((1 - \beta)(1 - \delta))$$

Farmers' optimization given $\tau \leq \delta$: $\beta_A = \frac{\delta - \tau}{\delta}$

Tax rate (number of bandits) given β_A :

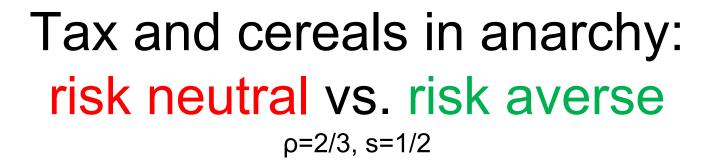
$$\tau_A = \frac{\rho^2 \beta_A}{s}$$

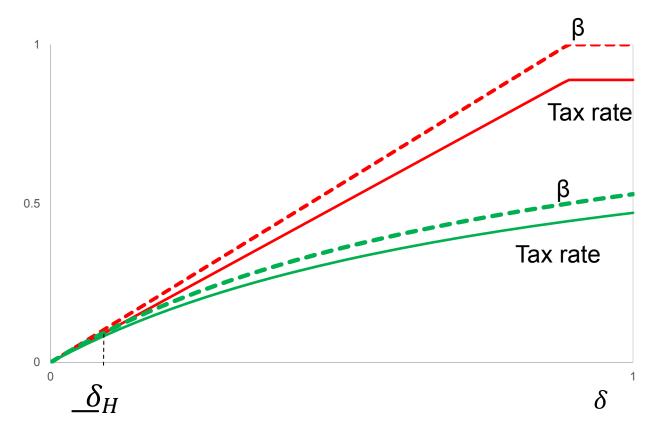
In equilibrium:

$$\beta_A = \frac{s\delta}{\rho^2 + s\delta} < \frac{s\delta}{\rho^2}$$

$$\tau_A = \frac{\rho^2 \delta}{\rho^2 + s\delta} < \frac{\rho^2}{s}$$

- In comparison with the risk neutral case: β_A and τ_A , are smaller
- Inefficiency $(1 \beta_A)\delta + \lambda_A s$ is also smaller: $\lambda_A s = \tau_A \beta < \delta \beta$
- Total revenue of bandits is smaller
 → transition to hierarchy is less likely





Comment: Endogenous population

In a Malthusian setting there is an additional source of inefficiency in anarchy: a smaller population

Data

Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas

Database of 1,267 societies from around the world. Ideally, it should cover societies at an idealized moment of first European contact.

- Jurisdictional Hierarchy Beyond Local Community
- Major Crop Type
- Dependence on agriculture
- Farming surplus
- Other controls (e.g. population density)
- Food and Agriculture Organization GAEZ
 - Land productivity
 - Productivity advantage of cereals vs roots and tubers
 - Other controls (e.g. precipitation, temperature, elevation etc.)
- Hierarchy Index (Borcan et al, 2014)

Cover 159 modern day countries for every half century from 50 CE to 2000 CE.

Several other sources

 HYDE (Historical population reconstruction), MAP database (Incidence of malaria), Fenske (2013) (several other correlates)

Data

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

| | SOURCE | Mean | p50 | SDev | Min | Max | N |
|-------------------------------------|--|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| PANEL A: Societies in Ethnoatlas | 3 | | | | | | |
| Hierarchy beyond Local Community | Ethnoatlas | 1.89 | 2.00 | 1.04 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 1,059 |
| Major Crop: Cereals | Ethnoatlas | 0.54 | 1.00 | 0.50 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 1,092 |
| Dependence on agriculture | Ethnoatlas | 0.45 | 0.50 | 0.27 | 0.03 | 0.93 | $1,\!178$ |
| Farming surplus | Tuden and Marshall (1972) | 0.49 | 0.00 | 0.50 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 162 |
| Population density (categorical) | Pryor (1985) | 3.83 | 4.00 | 1.57 | 2.00 | 7.00 | 168 |
| Cal/ha Best Crop (std) | authors | 0.00 | 0.23 | 1.00 | -1.92 | 2.66 | $1,\!179$ |
| Cal/ha Cereals- Cal/ha Tubers (std) | authors | 0.00 | -0.13 | 1.00 | -1.73 | 4.16 | 1,179 |
| Precipitation (std) | FAO-GAEZ | 0.00 | -0.13 | 1.00 | -1.39 | 10.65 | 1,179 |
| Temperature (std) | FAO-GAEZ | 0.00 | 0.37 | 1.00 | -2.57 | 1.32 | 1,179 |
| Elevation (std) | FAO-GAEZ | 0.00 | 0.17 | 1.00 | -9.24 | 3.58 | 1,179 |
| Ruggedness (std) | FAO-GAEZ | 0.00 | -0.35 | 1.00 | -0.90 | 6.41 | 1,179 |
| Absolute Latitude (std) | Ethnoatlas | 0.00 | -0.43 | 1.00 | -1.21 | 3.36 | 1,179 |
| Distance to major river (std) | Fenske (2013) | 0.00 | -0.63 | 1.00 | -0.63 | 1.58 | 1,179 |
| Distance to coast (std) | Fenske (2013) | 0.00 | -0.30 | 1.00 | -1.11 | 3.14 | 1,179 |
| Pct Malaria | MAP | 0.17 | 0.06 | 0.21 | 0.00 | 0.69 | 1,179 |
| Population density 1995 (std) | FAO-GAEZ | 0.00 | -0.38 | 1.00 | -0.62 | 7.23 | 1,161 |
| Historical Population Density (std) | HYDE | 0.00 | -0.23 | 1.00 | -0.30 | 25.85 | $1,\!179$ |
| PANEL A: Countries X 50 years | | | | | | | |
| Hierarchy index | Borcan et al. (2014) | 0.72 | 1.00 | 0.45 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 2,869 |
| Cal/ha Best Crop (std) | authors | 0.00 | 0.35 | 1.00 | -1.64 | 2.69 | 2,809 2,959 |
| Cal/ha Cereals- Cal/ha Tubers (std) | authors | 0.00 | -0.00 | $1.00 \\ 1.00$ | -1.04 -1.49 | $\frac{2.09}{3.12}$ | 2,959 2,959 |
| Precipitation (std) | FAO-GAEZ | 0.00 | -0.29 | $1.00 \\ 1.00$ | -1.38 | $\frac{5.12}{2.89}$ | 2,939 2,940 |
| Temperature (std) | FAO-GAEZ | 0.00 | -0.29 0.20 | $1.00 \\ 1.00$ | -1.58 -2.68 | 1.52 | 2,940 2,884 |
| Elevation (std) | FAO-GAEZ | 0.00 | -0.33 | $1.00 \\ 1.00$ | -1.10 | 4.65 | $2,834 \\ 2,845$ |
| Ruggedness (std) | Nunn and Puga (2012) | 0.00 | -0.33 | $1.00 \\ 1.00$ | -1.10 | 4.05 4.25 | 2,849 2,959 |
| Absolute Latitude (std) | Nunn and Puga (2012) Nunn and Puga (2012) | 0.00 | -0.31 -0.17 | 1.00 1.00 | -1.12 -1.51 | $\frac{4.25}{2.18}$ | 2,959 2,959 |
| Legal Origin: English common law | La Porta et al. (1999) | $0.00 \\ 0.27$ | 0.00 | 0.44 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 2,959 2,959 |
| Legal Origin: French civil law | La Porta et al. (1999) La Porta et al. (1999) | 0.27 0.45 | 0.00 | $0.44 \\ 0.50$ | 0.00 | $1.00 \\ 1.00$ | 2,959 2,959 |
| Legal Origin: Socialist law | La Porta et al. (1999) La Porta et al. (1999) | $0.43 \\ 0.22$ | 0.00 | $0.30 \\ 0.41$ | 0.00 | $1.00 \\ 1.00$ | 2,959 2,959 |
| Legal Origin: German civil law | La Porta et al. (1999) La Porta et al. (1999) | 0.22 0.03 | 0.00 | $0.41 \\ 0.18$ | 0.00 | $1.00 \\ 1.00$ | 2,959 2,959 |
| Legal Origin: German civin law | La Porta et al. (1999) La Porta et al. (1999) | 0.03 | 0.00 | $0.18 \\ 0.18$ | 0.00 | $1.00 \\ 1.00$ | |
| Population density 1500 (std) | Acemoglu et al. (2002) | 0.03 | -0.05 | 1.00 | -2.96 | $1.00 \\ 2.78$ | $2,959 \\ 2,959$ |
| | | 0.00 | -0.05 | $1.00 \\ 1.00$ | -2.90 -2.91 | $2.70 \\ 2.56$ | $2,959 \\ 1,519$ |
| Mortality of early settlers (std) | Acemoglu et al. (2002) | 0.00 | -0.11 -0.26 | | -2.91 -0.26 | $2.50 \\ 9.01$ | / |
| Slaves exported (std) | Nunn (2008) | | | 1.00 | | | 2,959 |
| Distance to major river (std) | www.pdx.edu/econ/ | 0.00 | -0.29 | 1.00 | -0.89 | 7.63 | 2,845 |
| Distance to coast (std) | www.pdx.edu/econ/ | 0.00 | -0.41 | 1.00 | -0.75 | 4.48 | 2,845 |
| Pct Malaria | MAP | 0.65 | 0.94 | 0.41 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 2,883 |
| % country with tropical climate | Nunn and Puga (2012) | 0.35 | 0.00 | 0.43 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 2,959 |

Figure C.3: Optimal crop in terms of caloric yields among cereals, roots and tubers

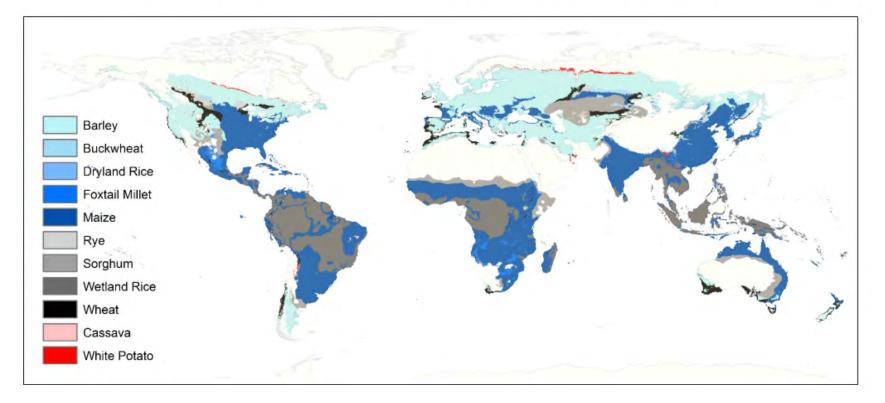


Figure 7: Difference in potential yields (calories per hectare) of cereals versus roots and tubers.

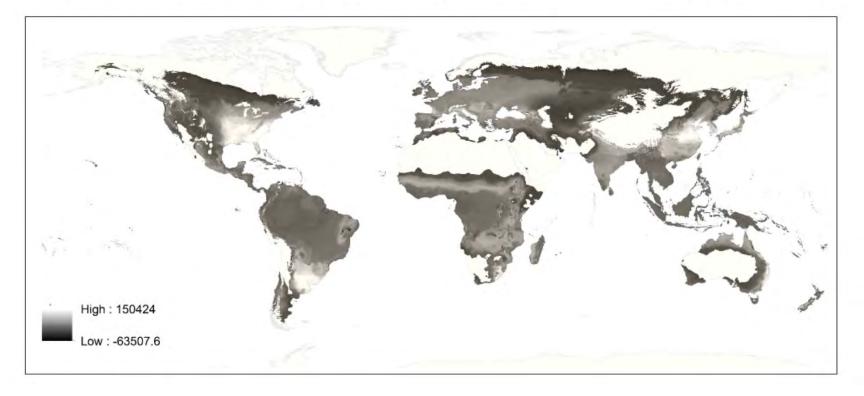


Figure 5: Major crop in pre-colonial societies

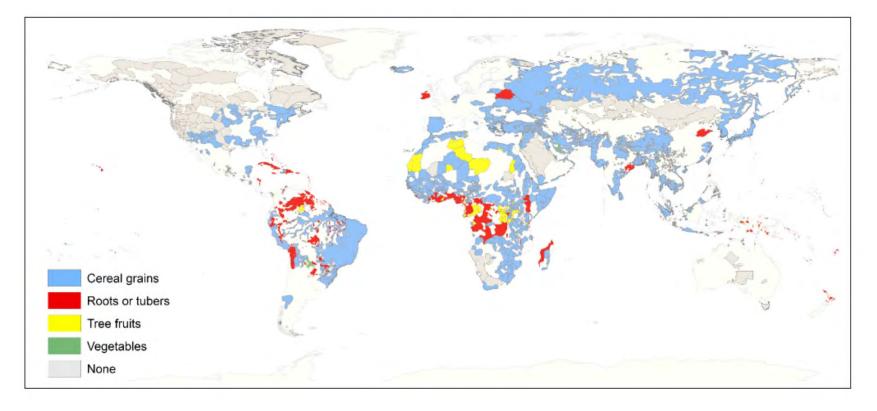


Table 2: Potential Crop Yields, Choice of Crops and Reliance on Agriculture

| | Dependent variable is: | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|------------|--|--|--|
| | | Major crop | is | Reliance on | | | | | |
| | cerea | cereal grains (dummy) | | | a griculture | | | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | | | |
| CALORIC DIFF | 0.205*** | 0.210*** | 0.253^{***} | 0.0812^{***} | -0.0978*** | -0.0464*** | | | |
| (CER - TUB) | (0.0168) | (0.0310) | (0.0329) | (0.00945) | (0.0134) | (0.0136) | | | |
| MAX CALORIES | | -0.00664 | -0.137*** | | 0.230*** | 0.128*** | | | |
| (ALL CROPS) | | (0.0338) | (0.0386) | | (0.0153) | (0.0178) | | | |
| CONTINENT FE | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO | YES | | | |
| r2 | 0.132 | 0.132 | 0.359 | 0.0733 | 0.235 | 0.387 | | | |
| Ν | 982 | 982 | 982 | 1063 | 1063 | 1063 | | | |

The table reports cross-sectional OLS estimates and the unit of observation is the society in Murdock's Ethnoatlas. The dependent variable is either a dummy that identifies societies that cultivate cereal grains as main crop (columns 1-3) or the reliance of the these societies on agriculture (columns 4-6). CALORIC DIFF (CER-TUB) is the standardized difference between the maximum potential calorie yield per hectare that can be obtained from cereals versus the one that can be obtained from either roots or tubers. MAX CALORIES (ALL CROPS) is the standardized maximum potential calorie yield per hectare that can be obtained from cereals versus the one that can be obtained from either roots or tubers. MAX CALORIES (ALL CROPS) is the standardized maximum potential calorie yield per hectare that can be obtained from cultivating the most productive crop among cereal grains, roots and tubers. Societies that live on lands that are suitable for neither cereals nor roots and tubers are excluded from the sample. Robust standard errors in parentheses *** significant at less than 1 percent; ** significant at 10 percent

Crop yields, agriculture and main crop: Robustness checks

• Results are robust when controlling for:

- PRECIPITATION
- TEMPERATURE
- ELEVATION
- RUGGEDNESS
- ABSOLUTE LATITUDE
- DISTANCE MAJOR RIVER
- DISTANCE COAST
- MALARIA
- POPULATION DENSITY (1995)
- HISTORICAL POPULATION DENSITY (HYDE)
- HISTORICAL POPULATION DENSITY (Pryor, 1995)

2SLS estimates

2nd stage:

*Hierarchy*_{*i*} / *Surplus*_{*i*} = α *I*(*Main Crop*=*Cereals*_{*i*}) + X' β + ϵ

1st stage:

 $I(Main Crop=Cereals_i) = \gamma_0(YieldCereals_i - YieldTubers_i) + X'\beta + \varepsilon$

Figure 4: Jurisdictional hierarchy beyond the local community in pre-colonial societies

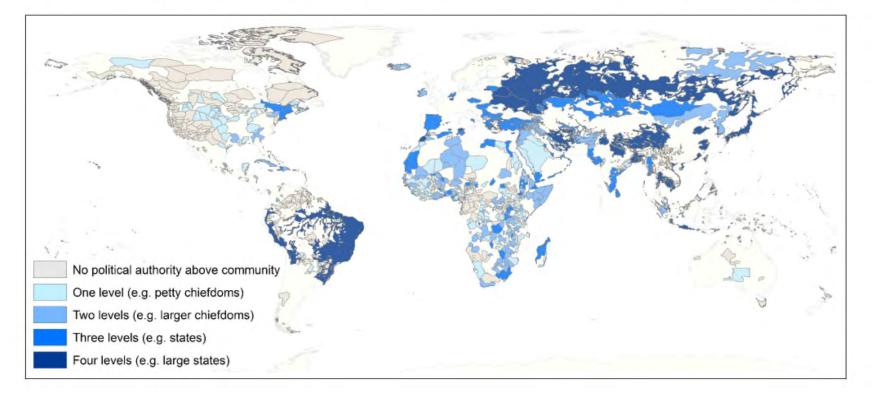


Figure 6: Farming surplus in pre-colonial societies

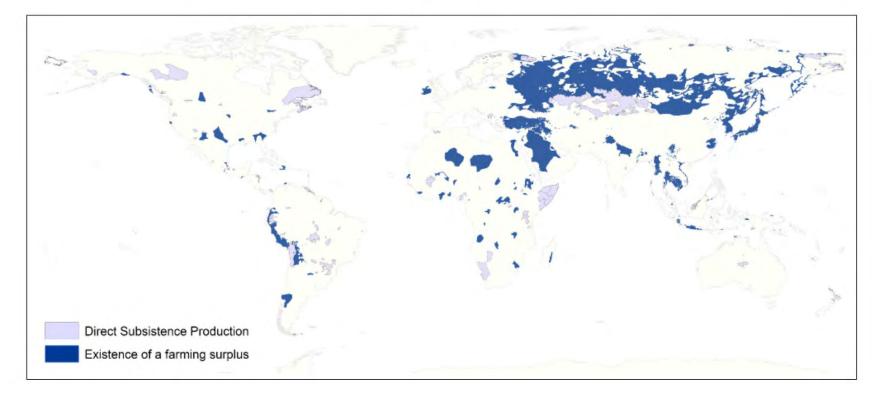


Table 3: Cereals, Surplus and Hierarchy - Reduced Form

| | | | Dependent | variable is: | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|----------|----------|--|--|
| | Jurisd | ictional Hie | - | Existence of | | | | |
| | Beyond | Local Con | nmunity | farming surplus | | | | |
| | (1) (2) (3) | | | (4) | (5) | (6) | | |
| CALORIC DIFF | 0.244*** | 0.179** | 0.274*** | 0.141*** | 0.241*** | 0.202*** | | |
| (CER - TUB) | (0.0394) | (0.0732) | (0.0758) | (0.0319) | (0.0681) | (0.0742) | | |
| MAX CALORIES | | 0.0825 | -0.188** | | -0.132 | -0.0985 | | |
| (ALL CROPS) | | (0.0713) | (0.0886) | | (0.0870) | (0.0985) | | |
| CONTINENT FE | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO | YES | | |
| r2 | 0.0416 | 0.0429 | 0.249 | 0.0757 | 0.0911 | 0.157 | | |
| Ν | 952 | 952 | 952 | 140 | 140 | 140 | | |

The table reports cross-sectional OLS estimates and the unit of observation is the society in Murdock's Ethnoatlas. The dependent variable is either a dummy that identifies societies that produce a farming surplus or Murdock's (1967) index of jurisdictional hierarchy beyond the local community and it takes the following values: 1 (no political authority beyond community), 2 (petty chiefdoms), 3 (larger chiefdoms), 4 (states), 5 (large states). CALORIC DIFF (CER-TUB) is the standardized difference between the maximum potential calorie yield per hectare that can be obtained from cereals versus the one that can be obtained from either roots or tubers. MAX CALORIES (ALL CROPS) is the standardized maximum potential calorie yield per hectare that can be obtained from cultivating the most productive crop among cereal grains, roots and tubers. Societies that live on lands that are suitable for neither cereals nor roots and tubers are excluded from the sample. Robust standard errors in parentheses *** significant at less than 1 percent; ** significant at 5 percent; * significant at 10 percent

Cereals and hierarchy

Table 4: Cereals and Hierarchy - OLS and 2SLS

| | Dependent variable: Jurisdictional Hierarchy Beyond Local Community | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| | OLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | OLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | 2SLS |
| MAIN CROP: | 0.707*** | 1.170^{***} | 0.863** | 1.040^{***} | 0.304^{***} | 0.892*** | 1.064^{***} | 0.993*** |
| CEREALS | (0.0630) | (0.195) | (0.364) | (0.245) | (0.0762) | (0.261) | (0.332) | (0.277) |
| MAX CALORIES | | | 0.0811 | | | | -0.0368 | |
| (ALL CROPS) | | | (0.0714) | | | | (0.0564) | |
| DEPENDENCE ON | | | | 0.334 | | | | -0.419 |
| AGRICULTURE | | | | (0.298) | | | | (0.644) |
| CONTINENT FE | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | YES | YES | YES |
| Ν | 952 | 952 | 952 | 952 | 952 | 952 | 952 | 952 |
| F excl instrum. | | 145.6 | 42.53 | 63.39 | | 95.00 | 58.58 | 22.37 |
| A-R Test (p-val) | | 0.000 | 0.0147 | 0.000 | | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |

The table reports cross-sectional OLS and 2SLS estimates and the unit of observation is the society in Murdock's Ethnoatlas. The dependent variable is Murdock's (1967) index of jurisdictional hierarchy beyond the local community and it takes the following values: 1 (no political authority beyond community), 2 (petty chiefdoms), 3 (larger chiefdoms), 4 (states), 5 (large states). The main regressor is a dummy that identifies society in which the major crop is a cereal grain. MAX CALORIES (ALL CROPS) is the standardized maximum potential calorie yield per hectare that can be obtained from cultivating the most productive crop among cereal grains, roots and tubers. DEPENDENCE ON AGRICULTURE is the percentage calorie dependence on agriculture for subsistence. Societies that live on lands that are suitable for neither cereals nor roots and tubers are excluded from the sample. "A-R Test" is the Anderson-Rubin test: the null hypothesis that the endogenous regressor is equal to zero. Robust standard errors in parentheses *** significant at less than 1 percent; ** significant at 5 percent; * significant at 10 percent

Cereals and Hierarchy: Robustness checks

• Results are robust when controlling for:

- PRECIPITATION
- TEMPERATURE
- ELEVATION
- RUGGEDNESS
- ABSOLUTE LATITUDE
- DISTANCE MAJOR RIVER
- DISTANCE COAST
- MALARIA
- POPULATION DENSITY (1995)
- HISTORICAL POPULATION DENSITY (HYDE)
- HISTORICAL POPULATION DENSITY (Pryor, 1995)
- USING ETHNIC BOUNDARIES AS IN FENSKE (2013)
- INCLUDING SOCIETIES LIVING IN DESERTIC SOILS

Cereals and surplus

Table 5: Cereals and Surplus - OLS and 2SLS

| | Dependent variable: Existence of a farming surplus | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|--|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | |
| | OLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | OLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | 2SLS | 2SLS | |
| MAIN CROP: | 0.359^{***} | 0.940*** | 0.846^{***} | 0.846^{***} | 0.299*** | 1.005^{***} | 0.797^{**} | 0.799^{**} | |
| CEREALS | (0.0791) | (0.260) | (0.273) | (0.275) | (0.0901) | (0.316) | (0.314) | (0.317) | |
| MAX CALORIES | | | 0.0186 | | | | 0.0361 | | |
| (ALL CROPS) | | | (0.0626) | | | | (0.0611) | | |
| DEPENDENCE ON | | | | 0.191 | | | | 0.438 | |
| AGRICULTURE | | | | (0.663) | | | | (0.775) | |
| CONTINENT FE | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | YES | YES | YES | |
| N | 139 | 139 | 139 | 139 | 139 | 139 | 139 | 139 | |
| F excl instrum. | | 16.08 | 17.37 | 5.486 | | 15.35 | 12.44 | 4.338 | |
| A-R Test (p-val) | | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | | 0.000 | 0.00878 | 0.000 | |

The table reports cross-sectional OLS and 2SLS estimates and the unit of observation is the society in Murdock's Ethnoatlas. The dependent variable is a dummy that identifies societies that produce a farming surplus. The main egressor is a dummy that identifies society in which the major crop is a cereal grain. MAX CALORIES (ALL CROPS) is the standardized maximum potential calorie yield per hectare that can be obtained from cultivating the nost productive crop among cereal grains, roots and tubers. DEPENDENCE ON AGRICULTURE is the percentage alorie dependence on agriculture for subsistence. Societies that live on lands that are suitable for neither cereals nor oots and tubers are excluded from the sample. "A-R Test" is the Anderson-Rubin test: the null hypothesis that the indogenous regressor is equal to zero. Robust standard errors in parentheses *** significant at less than 1 percent; * significant at 10 percent

Cereals and Surpus: Robustness checks

• Results are robust when controlling for:

- PRECIPITATION
- TEMPERATURE
- ELEVATION
- RUGGEDNESS
- ABSOLUTE LATITUDE
- DISTANCE MAJOR RIVER
- DISTANCE COAST
- MALARIA
- POPULATION DENSITY (1995)
- HISTORICAL POPULATION DENSITY (HYDE)
- HISTORICAL POPULATION DENSITY (Pryor, 1995)
- USING ETHNIC BOUNDARIES AS IN FENSKE (2013)
- INCLUDING SOCIETIES LIVING IN DESERTIC SOILS

Cereals and hierarchy

Panel estimates

 $Hierarchy_{c,t} = \alpha (YieldsCereals_{c,t} - YieldsTubers_{c,t}) + \eta_c + \eta_t + X'\beta_t + \varepsilon_{c,t}$

Note:

-Hierarchy: (=0: Tribe; =0.75: Chiefdom; =1: State)

-Variation in YieldsCereals_{c,t} and YieldsTubers_{c,t} over time are generated by the Columbian exchange.

- Years 1500-1600 are excluded from the regression.

Cereals and hierarchy

 Table 6: Cereals and Hierarchy - Panel Regressions

| | | | Dep. Vari | able: Hierar | chy Index | | |
|-----------------------|----------|----------|-----------|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| CALORIC DIFF | 0.189*** | 0.272*** | 0.282*** | 0.240*** | 0.255^{***} | 0.261^{***} | 0.197** |
| (CER - TUB) | (0.0683) | (0.0834) | (0.0760) | (0.0857) | (0.0889) | (0.0839) | (0.0795) |
| MAX CALORIES | | -0.163 | -0.193 | -0.152 | -0.115 | -0.148 | -0.165 |
| (ALL CROPS) | | (0.141) | (0.131) | (0.139) | (0.142) | (0.138) | (0.123) |
| Controls (x Year FE): | | | | | | | |
| Precipitation | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO | NO | NO |
| Temperature | NO | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO | NO |
| Elevation | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO |
| Ruggedness | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | NO |
| Abs Latitude | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES |
| COUNTRY FE | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES |
| TIME FE | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES |
| r2 | 0.680 | 0.682 | 0.716 | 0.684 | 0.681 | 0.686 | 0.705 |
| Ν | 2869 | 2869 | 2850 | 2812 | 2755 | 2869 | 2869 |

The table reports panel OLS estimates and the unit of observation is the territory delimited by modern-country borders every 50 years. The dependent variable is an hierarchy index: it equals 0 if there is not a government above tribal level, 0.75 if the political organization can be at best described as a paramount chiefdom and 1 otherwise. CALORIC DIFF (CER-TUB) is the standardized difference between the maximum potential calorie yield per hectare that can be obtained from cereals versus the one that can be obtained from either roots or tubers. MAX CALORIES (ALL CROPS) is the standardized maximum potential calorie yield per hectare that can be obtained from cultivating the most productive crop among cereal grains, roots and tubers. Robust standard errors in parentheses *** significant at 1 percent; ** significant at 5 percent; * significant at 10 percent

Cereals and Surpus: Robustness checks

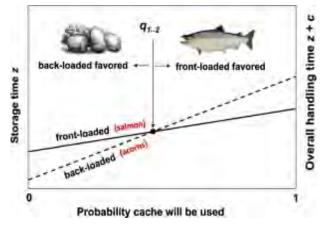
Results are robust when controlling for:

- EXCLUDING YEARS 1500-1750
- DISTANCE MAJOR RIVER
- DISTANCE COAST
- MALARIA
- TROPICAL LAND
- POPULATION DENSITY (1500)
- SETTLERS MORTALITY
- SLAVE EXPORTS

Supportive evidence: productivity vs appropriability

Native Americans in California (Tushingham and Bettinger 2013)

- Despite the fact that salmon is a better source of nutrition, earlier foragers preferred to rely on acorns
- Unlike salmon, gathering and storage of acorns involves little effort but its subsequent preparation for consumption is costly
- The rapid transition to salmon intensification was possible after a sedentary community was large enough and storage facilities where constructed



- \rightarrow
- (1) selection of food sources is affected by their appropriability
- (2) appropriable food and complex hierarchy are correlated

Supportive evidence: productivity vs appropriability

Women in Malawi and bitter cassava (Chiwona-Karltun et al. 2002)

- Women in Malawi, particularly single women, prefer to grow bitter and toxic cassava variants that require more processing
- "We grow bitter, toxic cassava because it gives a certain level of food security. If we are to grow sweet cassava, look at our neighbors! Their whole field was harvested by thieves while they slept and now they have no food. Nobody wants to die from hunger."



- \rightarrow
- (1) the extra post-harvest effort provides protection against thievery; thieves prefer the nonbitter variant that requires less processing
- (2) Again a correlation between vacuum of state and less appropriable/inefficient crops

Supportive evidence: storage and hierarchy before farming

Native Americans in the northwestern coast Testart (1982)

• Testart criticizes the idea of that the adoption of an agricultural way of life was a turning point in the organization of human societies. According to Testart, the turning point is the adoption of storing techniques.

In particular, he takes a cross-section of 40 hunter-gatherers societies and • shows that storing societies present three characteristics (sedentarism, high population density and socioeconomic inequalities) which have been considered typical of agricultural societies.

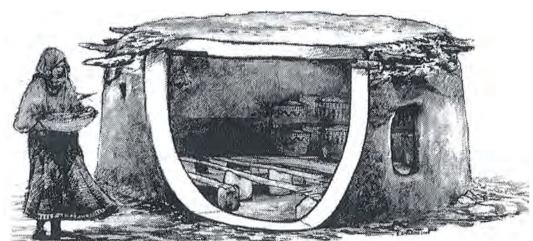
- Hunter-gatherers who relied on seasonal and storable resources such as acorns or dried salmon developed complex hierarchical societies similar to the Neolithic farmers that cultivated cereals
- (Testart refrained from identifying a causal mechanism that relates storage to hierarchy)
- \rightarrow it isn't farming that explains the emergence of hierarchy it is appropriability

Supportive evidence: storage and hierarchy before farming

The Natufian age Kuijt and Finlayson (2009)

Evidence for large-scale storage in sophisticated granaries before the domestication of plants from 11,000 years ago indicate social organization





Strorage structure constructed 11,300-11,200 B.P (Before Present) from the Jordan valley (Dhra' Jordan). (Kuijt and Finlayson, PNAS 2009).

Supportive evidence: appropriability and stationary bandits Mining in the DRC De la Sierra (2013)

- A rise in the price of Coltan produced from a relatively bulky and hence transparent ore led to the monopolization of violence
- An increase in the price of gold, which is easier to conceal and is hence less transparent, did not
- → it isn't productivity/surplus that explains the emergence of hierarchy it is appropriability

Supportive evidence: appropriability and stationary bandits

Sulphur mines and the mafia Buonanno et al. (2012)

Buonanno et al. support the hypothesis that the mafia in Sicily emerged after the • collapse of the Bourbon Kingdom.

A vacuum of power made it easy for a new hierarchy to emerge, disproportionally • more where the local product was more appropriable: the mines and in particular the sulphur mines.

→ it isn't productivity/surplus that explains the emergence of hierarchy – it is appropriability

Conclusions

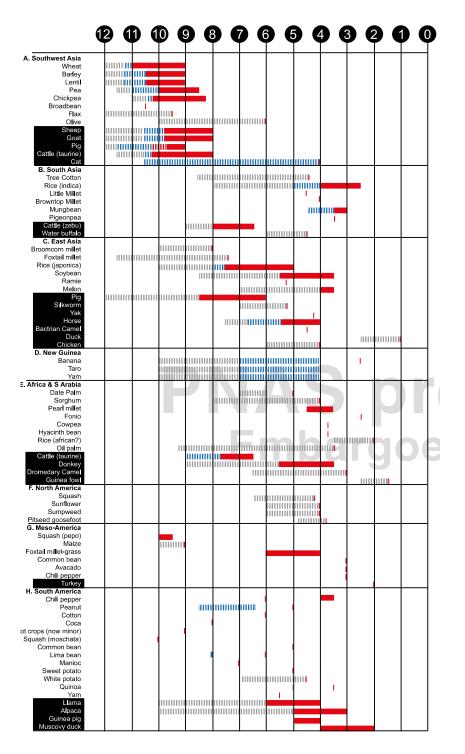
• Geography, through its effect on appropriability, can explain differences in hierarchy and institutions

Conclusions

- Geography, through its effect on appropriability, can explain differences in hierarchy and institutions
- A key factor that explains low state capacity is *high productivity* of less appropriable crops

Conclusions

- Geography, through its effect on appropriability, can explain differences in hierarchy and institutions
- A key factor that explains low state capacity is *high productivity* of less appropriable crops
- The literature which proposes that productivity and surplus are a precondition for hierarchy is flawed



Concluding remarks:

- Two motivating stylized observations:
 - In *Egypt*, state hierarchy evolved rapidly following the adoption of farming in the Nile valley, facilitating the construction of the great pyramids as early as the third millennium BCE
 - Farming was initiated in *New Guinea* at about the same time as in Egypt, but there it did not lead to the emergence of states

More generally, the table reports the • centers of crop domestication The only regions that did not • generate complex hierarchical organizations were those that did not domesticate cereals (but rather roots/tubers/fruits)

Crop yields, agriculture and main crop

Table C.1: Potential Crop Yields and Choice of Crops - Robustness Checks 1

| | Dep. Va | riable: Majo | or crop is ce | real grains (| dummy) |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| CALORIC DIFF | 0.139^{***} | 0.268^{***} | 0.195^{***} | 0.198^{***} | 0.271*** |
| (CER - TUB) | (0.0345) | (0.0334) | (0.0307) | (0.0315) | (0.0358) |
| MAX CALORIES | 0.0791** | -0.103** | 0.00835 | 0.0138 | -0.0981** |
| (ALL CROPS) | (0.0374) | (0.0412) | (0.0336) | (0.0353) | (0.0457) |
| Precipitation | -0.0995^{***} (0.0238) | | | | |
| Temperature Abs Latitude | (0.0200) | 0.0781^{***} (0.0183) | | | |
| Elevation | | × , | 0.120^{***} (0.0154) | | |
| Ruggedness | | | `````````````````````````````````````` | 0.0302^{**} (0.0153) | |
| Abs Latitude | | | | 、 / | -0.0670^{**2} (0.0205) |
| r2 | 0.161 | 0.146 | 0.160 | 0.136 | 0.141 |
| Ν | 982 | 982 | 982 | 982 | 982 |



Crop yields, agriculture and main crop

 Table C.2: Potential Crop Yields and Choice of Crops - Robustness Checks 2

| | D | ep. Variable | : Major cro | p is cereal gr | ains (dumm | y) |
|----------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| CALORIC DIFF | 0.211*** | 0.209^{***} | 0.256^{***} | 0.198^{***} | 0.207*** | 0.276*** |
| (CER - TUB) | (0.0308) | (0.0310) | (0.0307) | (0.0313) | (0.0313) | (0.0630) |
| MAX CALORIES | -0.00949 | -0.00947 | -0.0804** | -0.0143 | -0.00862 | -0.235*** |
| (ALL CROPS) | (0.0336) | (0.0338) | (0.0366) | (0.0341) | (0.0338) | (0.0758) |
| Major River | -0.0359^{**} (0.0144) | | | | | |
| Distance Coast | | 0.0355^{**} (0.0154) | | | | |
| Pct. Malaria | | , | 0.0711^{***} (0.0152) | | | |
| Pop Dens. 1995 | | | , | 0.0668^{***} (0.0154) | | |
| Hist Pop Dens | | | | `` , | $0.0324 \\ (0.0323)$ | |
| Pop Dens | | | | | . , | 0.235^{***} (0.0332) |
| r2 | 0.138 | 0.137 | 0.149 | 0.148 | 0.137 | 0.313 |
| Ν | 982 | 982 | 982 | 966 | 982 | 144 |



Table C.3: Cereals and Hierarchy - 2SLS. Controlling for geography.

| | Dependen | t variable: | Jurisdictiona | l Hierarchy | Beyond Local Community |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ |
| MAIN CROP: CEREALS | 0.478 | 0.599^{**} | 0.900^{**} | 0.887^{**} | 0.590** |
| | (0.570) | (0.298) | (0.394) | (0.396) | (0.300) |
| MAX CALORIES | 0.178 | 0.172*** | 0.0731 | 0.0725 | 0.167** |
| (ALL CROPS) | (0.120) | (0.0653) | (0.0771) | (0.0846) | (0.0693) |
| Precipitation | -0.112 | | | | |
| | (0.0744) | | | | |
| Temperature | . , | -0.0734* | | | |
| | | (0.0394) | | | |
| Elevation | | | -0.0631 | | |
| | | | (0.0635) | | |
| $\operatorname{Ruggedness}$ | | | | -0.0126 | |
| | | | | (0.0377) | |
| Abs Latitude | | | | | 0.0622 |
| | | | | | (0.0402) |
| Ν | 952 | 952 | 952 | 952 | 952 |
| F excl instrum. | 15.39 | 59.50 | 37.45 | 36.76 | 55.55 |
| A-R Test (p-val) | 0.403 | 0.0458 | 0.0185 | 0.0205 | 0.0502 |



Table C.4: Cereals and Hierarchy - 2SLS. Controlling for isolation and population density.

| | Dependent | variable: | Jurisdictional | l Hierarchy | Beyond Local Community |
|--------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| | 2SLS | 2SLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ |
| MAIN CROP: CEREALS | 0.840** | 0.870** | 0.777^{**} | 1.317^{*} | 0.730** |
| | (0.356) | (0.366) | (0.329) | (0.685) | (0.328) |
| MAX CALORIES | 0.0899 | 0.0835 | 0.0631 | 0.0250 | 0.0317 |
| (ALL CROPS) | (0.0695) | (0.0706) | (0.0659) | (0.103) | (0.0636) |
| Major River | 0.102^{***} | | | | |
| 0 | (0.0356) | | | | |
| Distance to Coast | · · · · | -0.0323 | | | |
| | | (0.0364) | | | |
| Pop Density (HYDE) | | | 0.257^{**} | | |
| | | | (0.125) | | |
| Pop Density (SCSS) | | | | 0.415^{**} | |
| | | | | (0.183) | |
| Pop Density 1995 | | | | | 0.334^{***} |
| | | | | | (0.0481) |
| Ν | 952 | 952 | 952 | 142 | 936 |
| F excl instrum. | 43.86 | 41.93 | 40.91 | 17.63 | 37.13 |
| A-R Test (p-val) | 0.0160 | 0.0149 | 0.0161 | 0.0243 | 0.0223 |



Table C.5: Cereals and Hierarchy - 2SLS. Potential calorie yields refer to ethnic boundaries in Fenske (2013)

| |] | Dependent v | zariable: Ju | risdictional | Hierarchy B | eyond Local | Communit | У |
|--------------------|----------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| | OLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | 2SLS | OLS | 2SLS | 2SLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ |
| MAIN CROP: CEREALS | 0.707*** | 1.109^{***} | 0.845^{**} | 1.040^{***} | 0.304^{***} | 0.841^{***} | 1.080^{***} | 0.994^{***} |
| | (0.0630) | (0.188) | (0.333) | (0.245) | (0.0762) | (0.236) | (0.302) | (0.257) |
| MAX CALORIES | | | 0.0692 | | | | -0.0542 | |
| (ALL CROPS) | | | (0.0646) | | | | (0.0546) | |
| DEPENDENCE ON | | | | 0.334 | | | | -0.574 |
| AGRICULTURE | | | | (0.298) | | | | (0.583) |
| CONTINENT FE | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | YES | YES | YES |
| Ν | 952 | 942 | 942 | 952 | 952 | 942 | 942 | 942 |
| F excl instrum. | | 162.7 | 52.46 | 63.39 | | 118.7 | 74.18 | 28.21 |
| A-R Test (p-val) | | 0.000 | 0.00859 | 0.000 | | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |



Table C.6: Cereals and Hierarchy - 2SLS. Sample including societies living in desertic soils.

| | ١ | Dom om domt a | | mia di ati ana l | II: manahar D | | Commence | |
|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | | * | | | v | e . | l Community | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| | OLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | OLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ |
| MAIN CROP: CEREALS | 0.712^{***} | 1.200^{***} | 0.831^{**} | 0.999^{***} | 0.313^{***} | 0.839^{***} | 1.180^{***} | 1.092^{***} |
| | (0.0596) | (0.206) | (0.360) | (0.262) | (0.0703) | (0.273) | (0.322) | (0.284) |
| MAX CALORIES | | | 0.0667 | | | | -0.0489 | |
| (ALL CROPS) | | | (0.0520) | | | | (0.0418) | |
| DEPENDENCE ON | | | | 0.327 | | | | -0.513 |
| AGRICULTURE | | | | (0.257) | | | | (0.434) |
| | | | | | | | 1150 | |
| CONTINENT FE | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | YES | YES | YES |
| Ν | 1059 | 1059 | 1059 | 1059 | 1059 | 1059 | 1059 | 1059 |
| F excl instrum. | | 130.2 | 44.59 | 56.16 | | 81.93 | 64.09 | 51.98 |
| A-R Test (p-val) | | 0.000 | 0.0183 | 0.000 | | 0.00163 | 0.000 | 0.000 |



Table C.7: Cereals and Surplus - 2SLS. Controlling for geography.

| | Depend | lent variable: | Existence | of a farming | surplus |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ |
| MAIN CROP: CEREALS | 0.774^{**} | 0.764^{***} | 0.921^{***} | 0.930^{***} | 0.681** |
| | (0.375) | (0.261) | (0.301) | (0.315) | (0.267) |
| MAX CALORIES | 0.0334 | 0.0387 | 0.00222 | -0.0215 | 0.0534 |
| (ALL CROPS) | (0.0793) | (0.0686) | (0.0677) | (0.0811) | (0.0637) |
| Precipitation | -0.0344 | | | | |
| | (0.0785) | | | | |
| Temperature | | -0.0281 | | | |
| | | (0.0475) | | | |
| Elevation | | | -0.155*** | | |
| | | | (0.0543) | | |
| Ruggedness | | | | -0.109 | |
| | | | | (0.0714) | |
| Abs Latitude | | | | | 0.0511 |
| | | | | | (0.0468) |
| Ν | 139 | 139 | 139 | 139 | 139 |
| F excl instrum. | 10.41 | 19.42 | 15.50 | 14.83 | 15.68 |
| A-R Test (p-val) | 0.0162 | 0.00198 | 0.000 | 0.000875 | 0.00822 |



Table C.8: Cereals and Surplus - 2SLS. Controlling for isolation and population density.

| | Depend | ent variable: | Existence | of a farming | ; surplus |
|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | 2SLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | 2SLS | 2SLS |
| MAIN CROP: CEREALS | 0.823^{***} | 0.851^{***} | 0.820*** | 0.848^{***} | 0.916*** |
| | (0.277) | (0.275) | (0.300) | (0.288) | (0.314) |
| MAX CALORIES | 0.0215 | 0.0191 | 0.0132 | 0.0208 | 0.0117 |
| (ALL CROPS) | (0.0625) | (0.0626) | (0.0589) | (0.0530) | (0.0616) |
| Major River | 0.0363 | | | | |
| - | (0.0409) | | | | |
| Distance to Coast | · · · · | -0.0150 | | | |
| | | (0.0448) | | | |
| Pop Density (HYDE) | | · · · · · | 0.0291 | | |
| | | | (0.0379) | | |
| Pop Density (SCSS) | | | | -0.00815 | |
| | | | | (0.0847) | |
| Pop Density 1995 | | | | | 0.00146 |
| | | | | | (0.0358) |
| N | 139 | 139 | 139 | 139 | 137 |
| F excl instrum. | 15.86 | 17.09 | 13.35 | 17.91 | 12.99 |
| A-R Test (p-val) | 0.00127 | 0.000635 | 0.00353 | 0.000 | 0.00111 |



Table C.9: Cereals and Surplus: Potential calorie yields refer to ethnic boundaries in Fenske (2013).

| | | Ι | Dependent v | ariable: Exist | tence of a fa | rming surplu | s | |
|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| | OLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | OLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ |
| MAIN CROP: CEREALS | 0.359^{***} | 0.909^{***} | 0.894*** | 0.846^{***} | 0.299*** | 0.953^{***} | 0.845^{**} | 0.864^{***} |
| | (0.0791) | (0.274) | (0.297) | (0.275) | (0.0901) | (0.318) | (0.336) | (0.303) |
| MAX CALORIES | | | 0.00286 | | | | 0.0196 | |
| (ALL CROPS) | | | (0.0657) | | | | (0.0657) | |
| DEPENDENCE ON | | | | 0.191 | | | | 0.210 |
| AGRICULTURE | | | | (0.663) | | | | (0.723) |
| CONTINENT FE | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | YES | YES | YES |
| N | 139 | 138 | 138 | 138 | 139 | 138 | 138 | 138 |
| F excl instrum. | | 15.52 | 17.23 | 5.486 | | 16.90 | 13.56 | 4.786 |
| A-R Test (p-val) | | 0.0000310 | 0.000326 | 0.0000119 | | 0.0000802 | 0.00548 | 0.0000920 |



Table C.10: Cereals and Surplus: OLS and 2SLS. Sample including societies living in desertic soils.

| | | De | ependent va | riable: Exist | tence of a fat | rming surp | lus | |
|--------------------|----------|----------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|----------|-----------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| | OLS | 2SLS | 2SLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ | OLS | 2SLS | 2SLS | $2\mathrm{SLS}$ |
| MAIN CROP: CEREALS | 0.368*** | 0.630*** | 0.871*** | 0.871^{***} | 0.294^{***} | 0.657^{**} | 0.814*** | 0.821*** |
| | (0.0733) | (0.220) | (0.279) | (0.283) | (0.0849) | (0.260) | (0.300) | (0.316) |
| MAX CALORIES | | | -0.0368 | | | | -0.0215 | |
| (ALL CROPS) | | | (0.0501) | | | | (0.0473) | |
| DEPENDENCE ON | | | | -0.362 | | | | -0.244 |
| AGRICULTURE | | | | (0.488) | | | | (0.540) |
| CONTINENT FE | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | YES | YES | YES |
| N | 161 | 161 | 161 | 161 | 161 | 161 | 161 | 161 |
| F excl instrum. | | 18.58 | 17.37 | 14.46 | | 19.68 | 14.27 | 7.531 |
| A-R Test (p-val) | | 0.00711 | 0.000 | 0.000 | | 0.0109 | 0.00391 | 0.00191 |



Table 7: Cereals and Hierarchy - Panel Regressions - Robustness Checks

| | | | De | p. Variable: | : Hierarchy | Index | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| CALORIC DIFF | 0.160^{*} | 0.127 | 0.206* | 0.274^{***} | 0.245*** | 0.258*** | 0.273*** | 0.254*** |
| (CER - TUB) | (0.0892) | (0.0843) | (0.116) | (0.0833) | (0.0928) | (0.0957) | (0.0840) | (0.0675) |
| MAX CALORIES | -0.0507 | 0.0471 | -0.261 | -0.176 | -0.121 | -0.133 | -0.199 | -0.211** |
| (ALL CROPS) | (0.133) | (0.132) | (0.192) | (0.143) | (0.151) | (0.151) | (0.145) | (0.102) |
| Controls (x Year FE): | | | · · | | | | | |
| Legal Origin | YES | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO |
| Pop Density 1500 | NO | YES | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO |
| Settlers Mortality | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO |
| Slave Exports | NO | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO | NO | NO |
| Distance River | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO | NO |
| Distance Coast | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO |
| Pct Malaria | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | NO |
| Tropical Land | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES |
| COUNTRY FE | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES |
| TIME FE | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES |
| r2 | 0.699 | 0.714 | 0.707 | 0.683 | 0.678 | 0.679 | 0.681 | 0.744 |
| N | 2869 | 2869 | 1501 | 2869 | 2755 | 2755 | 2793 | 2869 |



Table C.11: Cereals and Hierarchy - Panel Regressions

| | Dep. Variable: Government above tribal level | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|----------|----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|--|--|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | | |
| CALORIC DIFF | 0.188^{***} | 0.270*** | 0.280*** | 0.235^{***} | 0.252^{***} | 0.259^{***} | 0.192^{**} | | |
| (CER - TUB) | (0.0683) | (0.0835) | (0.0758) | (0.0855) | (0.0890) | (0.0840) | (0.0791) | | |
| MAX CALORIES | | -0.159 | -0.189 | -0.150 | -0.110 | -0.145 | -0.161 | | |
| (ALL CROPS) | | (0.140) | (0.131) | (0.138) | (0.142) | (0.138) | (0.122) | | |
| Controls (x Year FE): | | | | | | | | | |
| Precipitation | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO | NO | NO | | |
| Temperature | NO | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO | NO | | |
| Elevation | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO | | |
| $\operatorname{Ruggedness}$ | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | NO | | |
| Abs Latitude | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | | |
| COUNTRY FE | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | | |
| YEAR FE | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | | |
| r2 | 0.672 | 0.674 | 0.707 | 0.677 | 0.673 | 0.677 | 0.699 | | |
| Ν | 2869 | 2869 | 2850 | 2812 | 2755 | 2869 | 2869 | | |



Table C.12: Cereals and Hierarchy - Panel Regressions.Robustness Checks: Excluding years1500-1750

| | Dep. Variable: Hierarchy Index | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|----------|---------------|---------------|----------|--------------|--|--|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | | |
| CALORIC DIFF | 0.198^{***} | 0.272*** | 0.282*** | 0.235^{***} | 0.249^{***} | 0.260*** | 0.190^{**} | | |
| (CER - TUB) | (0.0720) | (0.0889) | (0.0811) | (0.0912) | (0.0946) | (0.0892) | (0.0846) | | |
| MAX CALORIES | | -0.145 | -0.176 | -0.140 | -0.0889 | -0.130 | -0.148 | | |
| (ALL CROPS) | | (0.149) | (0.140) | (0.146) | (0.150) | (0.146) | (0.129) | | |
| Controls (x Year FE): | | | | | | | | | |
| Precipitation | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO | NO | NO | | |
| Temperature | NO | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO | NO | | |
| Elevation | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | NO | NO | | |
| $\operatorname{Ruggedness}$ | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | NO | | |
| Abs Latitude | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | NO | YES | | |
| COUNTRY FE | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | | |
| YEAR FE | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | | |
| r2 | 0.711 | 0.712 | 0.743 | 0.715 | 0.711 | 0.716 | 0.735 | | |
| Ν | 2416 | 2416 | 2400 | 2368 | 2320 | 2416 | 2416 | | |

