Appendix A  The Chinese high school curriculum

All students in the first year of senior high school take the same courses in languages (Chinese and English), math, science, and social studies (Politics, History, and Geography). Students then choose to specialize in either the science track or the humanities track. The choice of track determines both students’ coursework in the last two years of senior high school, and the content on which they will be tested in the high-stakes National Higher Education Entrance Examination, known as the *gaokao* (as seen in Figure A.1). In our empirical analysis below, we focus on changes to the tenth grade Politics textbooks for senior high school students, before the track split. All students face an examination on the Politics curriculum that is a component of their university admissions process: students in the science track are examined on the content of the first year Politics textbook in the “little gaokao” during eleventh grade, while students in the humanities track are examined on this material in the (very high stakes) gaokao exam at the end of senior high school.

![Diagram of the Chinese secondary education system](image-url)

Figure A.1: The Chinese secondary education system
Appendix B  Textbooks

B.1  New curriculum introduction dates by province

In Table B.1, we show for each province the high school entry cohort to which the new curriculum was introduced. We also provide an official source that indicates the introduction date for each province.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Year of Introduction</th>
<th>Document Title</th>
<th>Source Title</th>
<th>Document Website Link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>安徽省中部改革推进高中深度课程实施方案</td>
<td>Shanghai Municipal Education Commission</td>
<td>goo.gl/Ro3knX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>北京市普通高中课程改革实验校试点指导意见</td>
<td>Beijing Municipal Education Commission</td>
<td>goo.gl/1K4PXE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chongqing</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>重庆市普通高考方案</td>
<td>Chongqing Municipal Education Commission</td>
<td>goo.gl/15Cv3o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>我省各普通高中新课程改革方案</td>
<td>The Education Department of Fujian</td>
<td>goo.gl/8qr31e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>关于转发《甘肃省普通高等学校招生考试改革方案》的通知</td>
<td>The Education Department of Gansan</td>
<td>goo.gl/tSCJFp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>佛山市普通高中新课程改革实施方案</td>
<td>The Education Department of Guangdong</td>
<td>goo.gl/yfc6Nj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>广西普通高中新课程改革实施方案</td>
<td>The Education Department of Guangxi</td>
<td>goo.gl/bi6jN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>省教育厅召开普通高中新课程改革实施方案</td>
<td>The Education Department of Guizhou</td>
<td>goo.gl/v2cH48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hainan</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>海南3.5万高中生迎来新课程</td>
<td>Shanghai Municipal Education Commission</td>
<td>goo.gl/DXI70i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebei</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>河北省普通高中新课程改革实施方案</td>
<td>The Education Department of Hebei</td>
<td>goo.gl/1u0pf0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>黑龙江省人民政府办公厅联合印发有关文件</td>
<td>Provincial Government of Heilongjiang</td>
<td>goo.gl/9FYA2zM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>河南省教育厅关于印发《河南省普通高等学校（中等）招生考试改革方案》的通知</td>
<td>The Education Department of Henan</td>
<td>goo.gl/9g4hqL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>省人民政府办公厅关于印发湖北省普通高中新课程改革实施方案的通知(试行)</td>
<td>The Education Department of Hubei</td>
<td>goo.gl/bdWbR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>我省同意在高考综合改革中率先实行高中新课程改革</td>
<td>Provincial Government of Hunan</td>
<td>goo.gl/SSp033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner Mongolia</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>全区普通高中将从明年起实行新课程改革方案</td>
<td>The Education Department of Inner Mongolia</td>
<td>goo.gl/tTo2kG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>江苏省普通高中课程改革实施方案</td>
<td>Municipal Government of Suqian</td>
<td>goo.gl/am21Xq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>全省高中新课程改革方案的研究（试行）</td>
<td>Provincial Government of Jiangxi</td>
<td>goo.gl/R2P9UZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>关于印发《吉林省普通高中新课程方案（试行）》的通知</td>
<td>Provincial Government of Jilin</td>
<td>goo.gl/z3qczh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaoning</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>辽宁省普通高中课程改革实施方案</td>
<td>The Education Department of Liaoning</td>
<td>goo.gl/qBTxh7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ningxia</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>宁夏普通高中课程改革实施方案</td>
<td>The Education Department of Jiangsu</td>
<td>goo.gl/3FrXH4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qinghai</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>青海省普通高中新课程改革实施方案（试行）</td>
<td>County Government of Haixi</td>
<td>goo.gl/KqzMLV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaanxi</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>陕西省教育厅关于印发《陕西省普通高中新课程改革实施方案》的通知</td>
<td>The Education Department of Shaanxi</td>
<td>goo.gl/JK0MUp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>关于全省教育工作情况的报告</td>
<td>Shandong Province People’s Congress</td>
<td>goo.gl/D9YwvJ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Continued on next page*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>省份</th>
<th>年份</th>
<th>内容</th>
<th>部门</th>
<th>链接</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>认真贯彻落实党的十七大精神推动全省教育事业又好又快发展</td>
<td>The Education Department of Shanxi</td>
<td>goo.gl/JPKM5N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>四川出台普通高中课程改革方案</td>
<td>Ministry of Education of PRC</td>
<td>goo.gl/HWSY2b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjin</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>天津进行新课程改革高中生选课修学分</td>
<td>The Central People’s Government of PRC</td>
<td>goo.gl/nmJvN0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibet</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>西藏普通高中新课程改革工作有序推进</td>
<td>Provincial Government of Hunan</td>
<td>goo.gl/SSpo33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>关于印发《新疆维吾尔自治区普通高中课程改革实施方案》的通知</td>
<td>The Education Department of Xinjiang</td>
<td>goo.gl/ZgikL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>罗崇敏坚定不移全面实施高中新课程改革</td>
<td>The Education Department of Yunnan</td>
<td>goo.gl/7ZPiAu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>浙江普通高中今秋实行新课改</td>
<td>Municipal Education Department of Fuzhou</td>
<td>goo.gl/j9adNY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B.2 Textbook covers

1. Old politics textbook

“Senior High School Politics (Module A)”, People’s Education Press.

2. New politics textbook

B.3 A few words on the new senior high school Politics textbook, from the author (2009)

In July 2009, the chair of the committee in charge of rewriting the Politics textbook, Tian Xinming, who was appointed by the Ministry of Education, published an essay on his thoughts on the new textbook. To our knowledge, this is the only example of the author of a Chinese textbook reflecting on how he wrote the textbook. The following are translated excerpts:

The new textbook features two prominent characteristics: First, it unequivocally upholds the correct political and ideological point of view, as well as Marxist education. Second, it reflects the basic concepts of the curriculum reform, focusing on guiding the learning process.

... We believe that high school students are at an age of rapid development and transformation of their own political ideology. Since the founding of the People’s Republic of China, many years of experience has shown that the high school Politics curriculum may have a profound impact on the students’ entire lives. The Politics textbook is the spiritual material that the country provides for the students. Writing the Politics textbook is an act at the state level, rather than an academic activity of the individual author. Although the high school Politics textbook teaches very basic knowledge, it possesses extremely strong political, policy-oriented, and scientific characteristics. With a large readership, it will influence an entire generation of young people.

... The Education Ministry has explicitly indicated to us that the fundamental goal for the Politics curriculum is to educate students in morality and ideology. Similar to other subjects, it also teaches students knowledge and equips students with skills. However, its fundamental characteristic is that it is a curriculum designed for moral and ideological education. This is the major difference between the Politics curriculum and other subjects. Whether it is writing the textbook or teaching the material at school, we must tightly uphold this curriculum’s basic feature and fundamental goal. Otherwise, we will go in the wrong direction.

... [Regarding new material that needed to be covered in the textbook.] The CCP’s basic guiding principles, which are explicitly summarized and stated in the Party’s 15th congress: namely, the basic goals and policies of the construction of the Socialist economy, politics, and culture with Chinese characteristics. This is the expansion of the CCP’s basic roadmap, and the curriculum needs to accurately reflect this. After the Party’s 16th congress, the CCP introduced the strategic ideology of a harmonious society. These ideas must also be promptly reflected in the new curriculum, and become a part of the moral and ideological educational content.

... In order to write the textbook well, we must maintain a correct and clear understanding of the current ideological and political situation. The overall situation of China’s ideological theory field is good. The mainstream is positive and healthy. However, the ideological field is not peaceful. There exist noises: ideological struggles and competition; foreign hostile forces’ attempts to westernize or separate China. This would be reflected in the textbook writing process.

1The original text in its entirety can be found at http://www.pep.com.cn/sxzz/js/tbjx/kb/jsys/bx1/201008/t20100830_824446.htm.
Appendix C  Government documents

C.1  Summary of government documents consulted

1. “Decision on Deepening the Education Reform, and Comprehensively Promoting the ‘Quality-oriented Education’”
   Issued by the State Council of the People’s Republic of China, in June 1999. This document marks the beginning of the planning phase of the 8th Curriculum Reform. It emphasizes that education is essential to China’s continuous growth during 21st century, and that its education policy needs substantial reform. In particular, the document calls for a reform of the curriculum structure and content.

2. “Framework for Basic Education Reform”
   Issued by the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of China, in June 2001. In this document, the Ministry delineates the motivation and objectives for the coming curriculum reform. This document also specifies that the corresponding “curriculum framework” would be set up to support the implementation of these new educational objectives.

3. “Strengthening the Ideological and Moral Construction of the Youth”
   Issued by the State Council of the People’s Republic of China, in February 2004. The memo specifies the particular political and moral education objectives that should be achieved through the high school “Politics” curriculum. Note that while the Ministry of Education’s “curriculum framework” guided writing of the high school textbooks for all subjects, the “Politics” subject is unique in the sense that it is guided by this additional memo issued by the State Council.

4. “Curriculum Framework for the Senior High School Politics Subject”
   Issued by the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of China, in March 2004. This document describes the specific goals of the curriculum, as well as the key items that the curriculum would cover. The document serves as the guiding framework for textbook authors, high school teachers, exam preparation book publishers, as well as students.

C.2  Translated excerpts of relevant government documents


   Education is at the fundamental position of a nation’s power accumulation process. Whether a nation is powerful or not increasingly depends on its labor force’s human capital – the number and quality of various types of labor forces. This poses a more urgent demand for China to

   The original document can be found at http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_177/200407/2478.html.

   The original document can be found at http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2002/content_61386.htm.

   The original document can be found at http://www.people.com.cn/GB/jiaoyu/1053/2408224.htm.

   The original document can be found at http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_711/201001/78375.html.
The Ministry of Education’s “Framework for Basic Education Reform” (2001)

In this document, the ministry delineates the motivation and the objectives for the future curricular reforms. The previous basic educational curriculum, it is said, cannot satisfy the needs of development in this new age. Thus, a new curriculum should meet the following objectives (in the order of appearance in the original document): it should reflect the times, and make students patriotic, comunitarian, and love socialism. Students should inherit and carry forward the great traditions of the Chinese nation and its revolution; and be equipped with an awareness of the legal system under a socialist democracy. The new curriculum should promote compliance with national laws and with societal ethics, and gradually form in students a correct worldview, a correct view of life, and a correct value system.

A “National Curriculum Framework” was set up in order to support the implementation of the new educational objectives. The June, 2001, document describes the Framework as the guideline for the drafting of textbooks, for the development of learning activities, and for assessment and examinations. It is the basis for centralized curriculum management and evaluation. Some of the objectives of the education reforms are reaffirmed when describing the Framework; the document indicates that the development of the curriculum framework should, according to the specific content of each subject area, strengthen ideological education with respect to its relevance, effectiveness, and ability to motivate; it should educate students in patriotism, communitarianism, and socialism; it should increase education in the great traditions of the Chinese nation; it should increase revolutionary and national defense education; it should strengthen thought quality and moral education; it should guide students to establish a correct worldview, a correct view on life, and a correct value system; it should advocate a scientific spirit and attitude, and the scientific method, guiding students toward innovation and practice.

State Council’s memo of “Strengthening the Ideological and Moral Construction of the Youth” (2004)

The main tasks and goals of the ideological and moral construction of our youths are:

1. Beginning with strengthening the love of country, promote and foster patriotism as the core of our great national character. Thoroughly carry out the education of the fine traditions of the Chinese nation, the Chinese revolutionary traditions, and Chinese history, especially modern history. Guide the vast numbers of youths to recognize the history and traditions of the Chinese nation and to understand the grave national disasters and the heroic struggles of the Chinese people in modern times. Establish from a young age a sense of national self-esteem, confidence and pride.

2. Beginning with the setting of broad aspirations for the youths, foster and cultivate in them correct ideals and beliefs. Carry out education on the history of China’s revolution, nation building, and “The Reform and Opening-up.” Guide the vast numbers of youths...
to correctly recognize the patterns of social development, to correctly recognize the nation’s future and destiny; integrating individual growth with the great cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and with the prosperity and power of the homeland. Prepare the youths for taking on the honorable mission of building China and revitalizing China.

3. Beginning with the regulation of youths’ behavior and habits, develop in them good moral character and civil conduct. Intensely promote basic codes of ethics: “patriotism and respect for the law; civility and honesty; unity and friendship; diligence, frugality and self-reliance; and professional dedication.” Promote communitarianism and socialist humanitarianism. Guide the vast numbers of youths to firmly establish a place in their heart for the homeland, for the community, and for other people; to understand the basic principles of conduct; and to be equipped with the basic upbringing necessary for living a civilized life. Teach the youths how to handle interpersonal relationships, the relationship between the individual and society, and the relationship between the individual and the natural world.

4. Beginning with improvements in the development of character, promote the overall development of young people. Strive to cultivate in youths a work ethic, creativity, efficiency, and environmental awareness; an enterprising spirit, a scientific mind, and an awareness of democracy and the rule of law. Enhance the development of young people’s practical skills, autonomy, and the ability to protect themselves; guide them so that they maintain their vitality, their exuberance, their high-spirited yearning for self-betterment; encourage them to study diligently, to implement boldly, and to dare to create; comprehensively improve their ideological and moral character, their scientific and cultural literacy, and their physical health.

School is the primary channel for transmitting ideological and moral education to young people. We must follow the party’s education policy, and prioritize ideological and moral education among all general education goals, and throughout all aspects of education and teaching activities. We should place extremely high importance on the cultivation of a national spirit, incorporating this throughout the primary and secondary education experience.


The goals of the Politics subject:

1. Knowledge:
   - Know that the Chinese Communist Party has always represented the development trend of China’s advanced productive forces, the orientation of China’s advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people.
   - Understand the meaning of developing socialist market economy, the socialist democracy, and the socialist advanced culture.
   - Know the principles and the basic methodology of materialism and historical materialism.
   - Understand contemporary China’s basic needs for moral construction among its citizens, as well as the establishment of China’s rule of law.
   - Obtain the relevant knowledge in order to make the correct decisions regarding career development.

2. Abilities:
• Enhance the ability to use Marxist principles and methodology to solve real issues. Be able to make the correct value judgment and behavior choices.
• Enhance the ability to actively participate in economic, political, and cultural activities.
• Enhance the ability to correctly handle the relationship between competition and cooperation in the society.
• Foster the ability to individually and voluntarily study, choose, and discover.
• Enhance the ability to do everything in accordance to the law: constrain self conduct according to the law, and use law to protect own rights and interests.
• Develop the ability to collect and filter societal information using multiple methods, especially the modern information technology.

3. Sentiments, Attitudes, and Values:
• Love the Chinese Communist Party. Be persistent in the belief in the socialist development path with Chinese characteristics.
• Love the nation, love its people. Pay close attention to the destiny of the nation. Enhance the self-esteem, self-confidence, and pride of the Chinese nation. Be willing to promote the Chinese ethnic spirit. Establish the ambition to strive for the revival of the Chinese nation.
• Pay close attention to social development. Take initiative in participating in social activities. Be honest, faithful, and trustworthy. Enhance social responsibilities. Continue to establish perspectives and concepts of democracy and the rule of law. Foster the idea of citizenship.
• Love the community. Be devoted to the society. Care for others, and be willing to help others. Foster the spirits of cooperation and friendliness.
• Love to study. Respect science. Chase after truth. Obtain the scientific attitudes and innovation spirits.
• Love life. Take initiative to engage in healthy cultural activities. Maintain an upbeat spirit, and aim for higher moral goals.
• Love peace. Respect for the diverse ethnic culture around the globe. Pay close attention to the common interests of all mankind. Foster a global perspective.
C.3 Search words relating to five major categories of attitude change, taken from the 2004 State Council memo

In our quantitative analysis of the old and new Politics textbooks, we examined the frequency of 67 words found in the State Council’s memo, “Strengthening the Ideological and Moral Construction of the Youth” (2004), which were related to the five attitudes on which we focus. The 67 words are provided in Table C.2, below.

Table C.2: Search words (five main categories)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word in English</th>
<th>Word in Chinese</th>
<th>Count in Old Curr.</th>
<th>Count in New Curr.</th>
<th>Percent Change in Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Party</td>
<td>党</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>537%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeland</td>
<td>祖国</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>4,191%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialism with Chinese characteristics</td>
<td>社会主义</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>1,940%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our country</td>
<td>我国</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese ethnic group</td>
<td>中国民族</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8,313%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>国家</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>民族</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2,114%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inheritance</td>
<td>传统</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>1,130%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine tradition</td>
<td>党</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>237%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialism</td>
<td>社会主义</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately prosperous society</td>
<td>小康社会</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotism</td>
<td>爱国主义</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>783%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen</td>
<td>公民</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>181%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>环境</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>337%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unity</td>
<td>团结</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>724%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>中国</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>150%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market economy</td>
<td>市场经济</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>-73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop</td>
<td>发展</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic sectors</td>
<td>经济成分</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational structure</td>
<td>组织形式</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>就业</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>124%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>利益</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>138%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abuse of power</td>
<td>以权谋私</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>腐败</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>文化</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1174</td>
<td>2,047%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority</td>
<td>少数</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>475%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great revival</td>
<td>伟大复兴</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revival</td>
<td>复兴</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific view of development</td>
<td>科学发展观</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People-oriented</td>
<td>以人为本</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule for the people</td>
<td>执政为民</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate</td>
<td>参与</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>497%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discuss</td>
<td>讨论</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>194%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unification</td>
<td>统一</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>法律</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>行政</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalist</td>
<td>爱国</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1,751%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued on next page
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>497%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>142%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic pride</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform &amp; Opening-up</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law-abiding</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>2,057%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal institution</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>497%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engage in</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law compliance</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>4,948%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil administration</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>321%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil participation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>983%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party and govt bodies</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>360%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislation</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The people’s government</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>110%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus on</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1,330%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>1,068%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations of the masses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulfill (duty)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>112%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to the law</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>820%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>110%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic parties</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without party affiliation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintain</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>163%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The entire party</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Frequency equals the count of a word divided by the total number of words in the textbooks in the new or old curriculum. The old curriculum textbooks contained a total of 145,062 words; the new curriculum textbooks contained a total of 172,424 words. All terms come from the State Council Document, “Suggestions on Strengthening the Ideological and Moral Construction of Our Youths,” issued in 2004. Terms are listed in the order of appearance in the State Council Document.
Appendix D Government’s aims, changes in the curriculum, and changes in the gaokao framework

D.1 Governance

- State Council (1999): mentions “the rule of law” as one of the main goals of moral education at school.
- Ministry of Education (2001): the new curriculum should make students understand the principle of “the rule of law.”
- State Council (2004): emphasizes that “the rule of law” should be integrated into the school curriculum.
- Ministry of Education (2004): one of the main objectives of the curriculum is to make students understand the “basic requirement of legal system construction in contemporary China.” Also, the new curriculum shall establish students’ sentiment of “loving CCP and the nation.” The framework adds several sections related to the rule of law. For example, “government should exercise its power and duties according to law,” “government’s power shall be supervised, and government should not abuse its power.” The framework also adds sections related to supervision of the government, such as “citizens’ responsibility to participate in government supervision,” “government’s power shall be supervised, and government should not abuse its power.”
- Added sections in the new curriculum:
  - “Various methods of democratic supervision”
  - “Responsible exercise of the supervision right”
  - “A government that benefits its people”
  - “Ways to seek help; legal channels to voice complaints”
  - “The specific requirements for government to adhere to the rule of law”
  - “The significance of restricting and supervising government’s power”
  - “Cheers for the ‘Sunshine Project’ [local government operational transparency project]”
  - “End-of-chapter research topic: where does the government’s authority come from?”
- Added items in the new gaokao framework:
  - Chinese citizens’ rights of democratic supervision
  - The legal channels to conduct democratic supervision
  - Citizens need to exercise the right of democratic supervision in a responsible manner
  - The duties of the Chinese government
  - The fundamental guidelines of the Chinese government; the basic principles of government operations
  - The significance and requirement of the rule of law
  - To improve the government’s ability to adhere to the rule of law
- The significance of restricting and supervising government’s power
- China’s administrative supervision system
- The origin and establishment of the Chinese government’s authority

D.2 Political institutions

- State Council (1999): mentions “(socialist) democracy” as a goal of moral education at school.
- Ministry of Education (2001): Specifies that to equip students with the ideas of “socialist democracy” is one of the main objectives of the new curriculum.
- State Council (2004): To establish the consciousness of “(socialist) democracy” is one of the main objectives of moral construction.
- Ministry of Education (2004): a main goal of the curriculum is to make students understand the meaning of “socialist democracy.” Also, the curriculum is to “enhance students’ ability to actively participate in political life.” The framework also adds related sections such as “citizens’ participation in political life,” “rights and duties of political participation”, etc.

- Added sections in the new curriculum:
  - “Main components of political life”
  - “How to participate in political life”
  - “The choice of election methods and its basis”
  - “Various ways of participating in democratic decision-making”
  - “The importance of citizens’ direct participation in democratic decision-making”
  - “The most comprehensive democratic practices in China”
  - “End-of-chapter research topic: orderly and disorderly political participation”

- Added items in the new Gaokao framework:
  - Basic principles and content of Chinese citizens participating in political life
  - Channels for Chinese citizens to participate in political life
  - China’s election system and method
  - Various ways for citizens to participate in democratic decision-making
  - The significance of citizens directly participating in democratic decision-making
  - The meaning and significance of Chinese villages and urban dwellers governing themselves

D.3 Economic institutions

- State Council (1999): not mentioned.
• State Council (2004): the document states that “the moral education of the youth should correspond to the reality of the socialist market economy.”

• Ministry of Education (2004): the document specifies that one of main goals of the curriculum is to make students understand the meaning of “socialist market economy.” The framework also adds sections such as “the role government plays in market activities,” “one cannot construct the socialist market economy without the state’s macro-adjustment and intervention.”

• Added and modified sections in the new curriculum:
  – “Limitations of market allocation of resources”
  – “Basic characteristics of the socialist market economy”
  – “Strengthening the state’s macroeconomic regulations and controls”
  – “Functions of fiscal policies”
  – “How to correctly utilize fiscal policies”
  – “The concept of public goods”

• Added and modified items in the new gaokao framework:
  – Market adjustment and its limitations
  – Market allocation of resources
  – Basic characteristics of the socialist market economy
  – Public finance and infrastructure construction
  – Public finance and macroeconomic regulations and controls
  – Public finance and the guarantee of people’s living standards

D.4 Identity

• State Council (1999): specifies that teaching “multi-ethnic harmony” is a goal of moral education at school. Also states goal of teaching students about “China’s fine traditions” and China’s place in international affairs.

• Ministry of Education (2001): the document mentions that one of the main objectives of the new curriculum is to make students become proud of their Chinese cultural heritage.

• State Council (2004): the document mentions several times the importance of educating youth regarding Chinese cultural and ethnic heritage. It also states that moral education needs to establish the sentiment of Chinese ethnic pride among the youth.

• Ministry of Education (2004): specifies Chinese ethnic pride as one of the main objectives of the new curriculum.

• Added and modified sections in the new curriculum:
  – “Principles of dealing with relationships among ethnic groups: equality, unity, and all prosperous together”
• “The eternal Chinese ethnic spirit”
• “Promoting the Chinese ethnic spirit”

• Added and modified items in the new Gaokao framework:
  – The basic principles of dealing with multi-ethnic relationships in China
  – The inclusiveness of the Chinese culture
  – Each ethnic group contributes to the Chinese culture
  – The core of the Chinese ethnic spirit
  – The contemporary characteristics of the Chinese ethnic spirit

D.5 Attitudes toward the environment

• State Council (1999): not mentioned.

• Ministry of Education (2001): specifies that equipping students with “basic consciousness of the environment” is one of the objectives of the new curriculum.

• State Council (2004): one of the main goals of youths’ moral construction is to establish their “consciousness of the environment,” as well as “the basic ability to handle the relationship between men and nature.”

• Ministry of Education (2004): the document does not explicitly mention the environment in its main objectives section. However, the framework adds sections on topics such as “sustainable development path” into the new curriculum.

• Added sections in the new curriculum:
  – “New demands of economic development”
  – “Scientific outlook on development”
  – “Sustainable and balanced economic development”

• Added items in the new Gaokao framework:
  – Scientific outlook on development
  – Sustainable and balanced economic development
Appendix E  Survey

E.1  Detailed description of survey sections

In this section we first provide a complete description of our survey including every question asked.
Complete Set of Survey Questions
Survey of Peking University Undergraduates

This document includes all questions asked in our Peking University survey. In Appendix F, below, we plot estimated effects of the new curriculum one question at a time for all survey questions, using responses to the main (online) wave of our survey. We regress each survey question outcome on the New Curriculum dummy variable in a model including province and cohort fixed effects (i.e., the baseline model in the main text of the paper). We then plot the estimated coefficient on the New Curriculum dummy for each survey question. In addition to showing the estimated effect of the new curriculum on each survey question outcome, we also show confidence intervals and p-values using the FDR adjustment within survey question category (further detail is provided in Appendix F). To calculate the FDR adjusted p-values and to ease the presentation of the results, we re-organize the questions into conceptually-related categories (original ordering available from the authors upon request). For several questions listed at the end of the survey, there is no variation conditional on province and cohort, so we will not estimate effects of the curriculum on these questions.

A. Individual background characteristics, media consumption, and risk preferences

Our survey asked a range of questions about students’ backgrounds. Specifically, the survey included four sets of questions that we include in our balance table in the main text of the paper: (i) a set of questions regarding students’ own background characteristics; (ii) a set of questions about students’ parents; (iii) a set of questions about students’ educational backgrounds; and (iv) a question about students’ participation in the Communist Youth League. We do not expect these variables to have been affected by the curriculum change. The survey also asked students about: (v) whether their parents voted in local elections in the past; (vi) students’ media consumption; and, (vii) students’ risk preferences. We do not expect these variables to have been affected by the curriculum change, though students’ exposure to the new curriculum might have affected parents’ voting or students’ knowledge of parents’ voting behavior and it is possible that changed political attitudes would change students’ media choices.

(i) Background characteristics included in the balance table: personal

1. Date of birth (year/month/day)
2. Height (cm)
3. Ethnicity
   a = Han   b = Zhuang   c = Man   d = Hui
   e = Miao   f = Uyghur   g = Others
4. Gender
5. Hukou/migration status before entering college
   a = Urban     b = rural

6. Number of siblings

(ii) Background characteristics included in the balance table: parents
7. Father’s educational attainment (only count the level that is completed)
   a = No schooling    b = Elementary school
c = Junior high
d = High school    e = Vocational college
f = College and above

8. Father’s Hukou/migration status
   a = Urban     b = rural

9. Father’s occupation
   a = Agricultural    b = Non-agricultural

10. Mother’s educational attainment (only count the level that is completed)
    a = No schooling    b = Elementary school
c = Junior high
d = High school    e = Vocational college
f = College and above

11. Mother’s Hukou/migration status
    a = Urban     b = rural

12. Mother’s occupation
    a = Agricultural    b = Non-agricultural

13. Either parent a member of CCP?
    a = Yes     b = No

(iii) Background characteristics included in the balance table: education
14. Have you ever taken the gaokao?

15. Besides Chinese, Math and English, what other subjects did you choose to be tested on
during gaokao? (multiple choice)
   a = Physics    b = Chemistry    c = Biology
d = Politics    e = History    f = Geography

16. Indicate your college major.

(iv) Background characteristics included in the balance table: politics prior to college
17. Have you been you a member of the Communist Party youth organization?
    a = Yes     b = No

(v) Parents’ voting experience (as reported by students)
18. My parents have voted for local (county or district) People’s Congress representatives before.
(vi) Students’ media consumption

19. Where do you obtain news and other important information?
   Please rank your top three information sources from the following:
   a = Domestic TV       b = Domestic radio       c = Domestic internet sites
   d = Domestic newspaper and magazines   e = SMS
   f = Friends       g = Others

20. How often do you obtain news and other important information from foreign websites?
   a = More than once a day       b = Once a day
   c = Once a week       d = Once a month
   e = Less often than once a month

21. Typically, how do you get access to foreign websites?
   a = Do not go to foreign websites at all
   b = Free access from the library
   c = Peking University internet service bundle
   d = Other private internet services (e.g. Netpass)
   e = Other channel (please specify)

22. What’s your typical purpose going on foreign websites? Please rank your top 3 purposes.
   a = Reading news       b = Entertainment
   c = Social network       d = Searching for information/resources
   e = Applying for foreign schools       f = Academic reasons
   g = Others (please specify)

23. Do you own a computer on campus?
   a = Yes
   b = No, use dorm mate’s computer
   c = No, use library’s computer       d = Others (please specify)

(vii) Students’ risk preferences

24. Generally speaking (either in life or work), please tick a box on the scale, where the value 0 means: “unwilling to take risks” and the value 10 means: “fully prepared to take risk.”

25. Regarding your future career life, please tick a box on the scale, where the value 0 means: “unwilling to take risks” and the value 10 means: “fully prepared to take risk.”

26. If you had 10,000RMB that you were saving in the bank, how much, if any, would you choose to invest in the stock market?
   a = 0%       b = More than 0% but less than 25%
   c = Between 25% and 50%       d = Between 50% and 75%
   e = Between 75% and 100%       f = 100%
B. “First stage”: changes in factual political knowledge
Our survey asked students factual questions about political institutions that were discussed in much greater depth under the new curriculum. Note: these questions appeared later in the actual survey, so students did not begin the survey attempting to respond to our questions with “factually correct” answers.

27. I know that the village head is elected by ordinary people through vote (one-man one-vote).
   a = Yes      b = No
28. I know that I can participate in the voting of local (county or district) People’s Congress representatives.
   a = Yes      b = No

C. Primary attitudes of interest
Our survey asked students a number of questions about beliefs and attitudes that the curriculum reform was aimed at changing. These questions belong to 5 broad categories that we examine in the text, with each of these broad categories split into narrower sub-categories. The 5 broad categories are as follows:

I. Governance, split into (i) trust in government officials and (ii) views on the civic-mindedness of officials and on the necessity of unofficial payments.

II. Political Institutions, split into (i) perception of the degree to which Chinese political institutions are democratic; (ii) students’ views on the wisdom of the masses and unconstrained democracy; and, (iii) students’ views of the defining characteristics of democracy.

III. Economic Institutions, which includes a question on (i) attitudes toward unconstrained, free-market economic institutions.

IV. Identity, split into (i) views on ethnic identity (i.e., on minorities and a unified Chinese ethnic heritage) and (ii) students’ sense of national (as opposed to international) identity.

V. Environment, which includes questions on (i) attitudes toward environmental regulation.

I. Governance
   (i) Trust in government officials
   On a 1-5 scale, with 1 meaning complete distrust, and 5 meaning complete trust, describe your level of trust in the following institutions:
   29. Central government
   30. Provincial government
   31. Local government
32. Courts
33. Armed forces
34. Police

(ii) Views on the civic-mindedness of officials and on the necessity of unofficial payments
For the following questions, please choose:

a = Strongly disagree  b = Disagree
     c = Neutral           d = Agree
     e = Strongly agree

35. Village heads put their own interest before those of people.
36. Village heads care primarily about the powerful and rich people, and neglect the interests of ordinary people.

In your opinion, how often is it necessary for people like you to have to make unofficial payments/gifts in the following situations:

a = Never  b = Seldom  c = Sometimes
    d = Usually  e = Always

37. Interacting with the traffic police?
38. Requesting official documents (such as passport or birth certificate)?
39. Interacting with the civil courts?
40. Interacting with the providers of primary or secondary education?
41. Interacting with doctors?

For the following questions, please choose:

a = Yes  b = No

42. Do you think that paying a bribe is an acceptable way to accomplish something?
43. Do you think that paying a bribe is an effective way to accomplish something?
44. From the perspective of local government officials, do you think they would accept bribe when it is offered to them?

II. Political Institutions
(i) Beliefs about the degree to which Chinese political institutions are democratic

45. Where would you place our country under the present government?

Completely undemocratic  Completely democratic

1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10

46. In reality, ordinary people are able to influence who becomes the village head.
(ii) Views on the wisdom of the masses and unconstrained democracy

For the following questions, please choose:

a = Strongly disagree  b = Disagree
  c = Neutral  d = Agree
  e = Strongly agree

47. Ordinary people can judge who would make a better village head.
48. Theoretically speaking, ordinary people should be able to influence the decision of who becomes the village head.
49. Ordinary people know clearly which leader is doing a better job.

50. For the following statements regarding democracy, choose one that you agree the most:
   a = Democracy is preferable to any other form of political system.
   b = Under some circumstances, an authoritarian government may be preferable to a democratic one.
   c = For people like me, it does not matter whether a government is democratic or authoritarian.
   d = Do not know.

51. Here is a scale of 1 to 10 measuring the extent to which people think democracy is suitable for our country.
   Completely unsuitable  Perfectly suitable
   1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10

(iii) Characteristics of “democracy”

52. From your own perspective, which of the following do you think are characteristics of a democracy? List them in order of importance to you. (1=most important, 5=least important)
   a = Direct election of national government representatives
   b = Freedom of speech and press
   c = The management of the country reflects the will of the ruling class
   d = People’s participation in the political process
   e = Competitive election

III. Economic Institutions

(i) Attitudes toward unconstrained, free-market economic institutions

53. For the following statements regarding a market economy, choose one that you agree the most:
a = A market economy is preferable to any other form of economic system.
b = Under some circumstances, a planned economy may be preferable to a market economy.
c = For people like me, it does not matter whether the economic system is organized as a market economy or as a planned economy.
d = Do not know.

IV. Identity

(i) Ethnic identity
54. Generally speaking, would you say that people in minority groups can be trusted, or that you cannot be too careful in dealing with them?
   a = Completely trustworthy  b = Relatively trustworthy
   c = Neutral  d = Relatively careful
   e = Completely untrustworthy, need to be very careful

55. China is a country made up of multiple ethnic groups. Which one of the following statements regarding ethnic minority groups do you agree more?
   a = Comparing to Han Chinese, ethnic minority groups are relatively independent groups.
   b = Ethnic minority groups are the same as Han Chinese, and they are all Chinese people.

56. China is a country made up of multiple ethnic groups. Which one of the following statements regarding ethnic minority groups do you agree more?
   a = Ethnic minority groups share the same historic heritage and cultural traditions as the Han Chinese.
   b = Ethnic minority groups have different historic heritage and cultural traditions with the Han Chinese.

57. Can you imagine yourself marrying a member from a different ethnic group in the future?
   a = Can imagine  b = Cannot imagine

(ii) National identity
58. Where would you place your identity on a spectrum, with being Chinese on one end and being a world citizen on the other end?
   Chinese identity only  Equal mixture  World citizen only
   Chinese and world citizen
   1 2 3 4 5

V. Environment

(i) Attitudes toward environmental regulation
59. As we all know, the government’s fiscal resources are limited. Would you be willing to give
part of your income or pay more taxes, if you were sure that the extra money was used to protect the environment?
   a = Support                                       b = Don’t support
60. People often talk about what the goals of this country should be for the next ten years. Listed below are some common goals for a nation. Please pick the one that you consider as primary for a nation.
   a = A high level of economic growth
   b = Maintaining economic stability
   c = Maintaining order in the nation
   d = Giving people more say in important government decisions
   e = Protecting the environment
61. Here are two statements people sometimes make when discussing the environment and economic growth. Which of them comes closer to your own point of view?
   a = Protecting the environment should be given priority, even if it causes slower economic growth and some loss of jobs.
   b = Economic growth and creating jobs should be the top priority, even if the environment suffers to some extent.

D. Behavior related to primary outcomes of interest
Our focus in the survey was to determine whether the change in educational content affected students’ political beliefs and attitudes. In addition to asking about attitudes, the survey asked students about several actions that they may have taken that are plausibly related to attitudes that the curriculum aimed to change. Specifically, the survey asked about: (i) political behavior (related to views on Chinese political institutions); (ii) investments in risky financial securities (related to views on markets); and, (iii) interactions with members of minority ethnic groups (related to attitudes toward and beliefs about ethnic minorities).

(i) Political behavioral outcomes
62. I have voted for local (county or district) People’s Congress representatives before.
63. I plan to vote for local (county or district) People’s Congress representatives.
64. Are you a CCP member, or reserved member of the CCP?
   a = Yes                                       b = No
65. Have you ever participated in political groups other than CCP and Communist Party Youth Organization?
   a = Yes                                       b = No
(ii) Investment in risky financial securities
Have you had the following investment experiences before?
66. Stocks?
67. Bonds?

(iii) Interactions with members of minority ethnic groups
68. Have you worked with minority group students at school before (in study groups or class projects)?
   a = Yes  b = No

E. Additional political attitudes that are of interest
Our survey included questions asking students about political attitudes that are of interest to us, but that are not our focus in the body of the paper because they are not discussed in the government documents outlining the curriculum reform, are not associated with changes in the textbooks’ content, or because there is some ambiguity in the government’s desired attitudes. Specifically, the survey included questions regarding: (i) generalized trust and trust in non-governmental organizations (which we did not expect to have been affected by the curriculum change); (ii) efficiency/equity preferences; (iii) views on infrastructure investment; (iv) views on civil disobedience; (v) the “Three Represents” political ideology espoused by ex-President Jiang Zemin; (vi) students’ perceptions of current political institutions; and, (vii) nationalistic and militaristic attitudes.

(i) Generalized trust and trust in non-governmental organizations
69. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you cannot be too careful in dealing with people?
   a = Completely trustworthy  b = Relatively trustworthy
   c = Neutral  d = Relatively careful
   e = Completely untrustworthy, need to be very careful

On a 1-5 scale, with 1 meaning complete distrust, and 5 meaning complete trust, describe your level of trust in the following institutions:
70. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
71. Banks and financial system
72. Foreign investors

(ii) Equity/efficiency preferences
73. As we all know, the government’s fiscal resources are limited. Would you be willing to give part of your income or pay more taxes, if you were sure that the extra money was used to improve social welfare (education, support for the poor, health care, etc.)?

74. Which of the following statements do you agree with more?
   a = Government should enact policies that make the distribution of income more equal, even if they reduce the rate of economic development.
   b = Government should enact policies that increase the rate of economic development, even if they make the distribution of income more unequal.

(iii) Views on infrastructure investment
75. As we all know, the government’s fiscal resources are limited. Would you be willing to give part of your income or pay more taxes, if you were sure that the extra money was used to improve infrastructure (roads, ports, railroads, etc.)?
   a = Support
   b = Don’t support

(iv) Views on civil disobedience
For the following questions, please choose:
   a = Strongly disagree
   b = Disagree
   c = Neutral
   d = Agree
   e = Strongly agree

76. If government does not operate according to the law, people should have the rights to disobey the government.

77. I’m not fearful of officials and I don’t hesitate to object to any official who has done something wrong, or report his misconduct to the authorities.

(v) The “Three Represents”
78. Which of the following groups and their interests should influence government policy?
   (Please rank the top three)
   a = Farmer/peasants
   b = Township or village enterprise employees
   c = Factory workers
   d = SOE employees
   e = Private enterprise employees
   f = SOE managers
   g = Private enterprise managers/owners
   h = Teachers
   i = Intellectuals
   j = Celebrities
   k = Civil servants
   l = Government officials
   m = CCP members

A.27
n = Bank owners (or managers in financial sector)
o = Employees at foreign firm

79. What qualities should qualify a person for membership in the CCP?
   a = Ideology                    b = Political mission
   c = Income                     d = Social status
   e = Family ties                f = Others

(vi) Perceptions of current institutions

80. Which of the following groups and their interests, to the best of your knowledge, are actually
    influencing government policy? (Please rank the top three)

   a = Farmer/peasants             b = Township or village enterprise employees
   c = Factory workers             d = SOE employees
   e = Private enterprise employees f = SOE managers
   g = Private enterprise managers/owners
   h = Teachers                    i = Intellectuals
   j = Celebrities                 k = Civil servants
   l = Government officials        m = CCP members
   n = Bank owners (or managers in financial sector)
o = Employees at foreign firm

81. What qualities, to the best of your knowledge, actually do qualify a person for membership in
    the CCP?
   a = Ideology                    b = Political mission
   c = Income                      d = Social status
   e = Family ties                 f = Others

(vii) Nationalistic and militaristic attitudes

82. Does Japan do more good or harm to the region?
   a = Much more good than harm     b = Somewhat more good than harm
   c = Equal harm and good         d = Somewhat more harm than good
   e = Much more harm than good    f = Don’t know

83. Of course, we all hope that there will not be another war, but if it were to come to that, would
you be willing to fight for your country?
\[ \text{a = Yes} \quad \text{b = No} \]

F. Additional behavioral outcomes that are of interest

Our survey asked students about behaviors that may be related to students’ views on Chinese political and economic institutions more broadly. Specifically, the survey asked about: (i) experience with less risky financial transactions (which we expect should not have been affected by the curriculum change); (ii) pro-social behavior; (iii) complaining to authority figures and participation in civil disobedience; and, (iv) participation in patriotic protests (which we expect should not have been affected by the curriculum change).

(i) Experience with less-risky financial transactions

Have you had the following investment experiences before?
84. Bank savings account
85. Credit card
86. Bank loan
87. None of {bank savings account, credit card, bank loan, stocks, bonds}

(ii) Pro-social behavior

88. Have you donated money to charity before?
\[ \text{a = Yes} \quad \text{b = No} \]
89. Have you ever participated in the activities of a non-profit (such as volunteer services)?
\[ \text{a = Yes} \quad \text{b = No} \]

(iii) Complaining to authority figures and participation in civil disobedience

90. Have you ever complained to school authorities to protect your personal interest (e.g. regarding tuition, dorm assignment)?
\[ \text{a = Yes} \quad \text{b = No} \]
91. Have you ever reported government misconduct to either relevant agencies, or representatives, or civil servants?
\[ \text{a = Yes} \quad \text{b = No} \]
92. Have you ever participated in protests concerning social issues (such as pollution and education)?
\[ \text{a = Yes} \quad \text{b = No} \]
(iv) Participation in patriotic protests
93. Have you ever participated in anti-Japanese protests?
a = Yes b = No

G. Behavior in incentivized games
Our survey included two incentivized preference elicitation games. We elicited students’ risk preferences as well as their preferences for redistribution.

94. Certainty equivalent of a risky gamble in risk preference elicitation game (larger certainty equivalent implies less risk aversion).

95. Average payment allocated toward “self” (rather than “other”) in game eliciting preferences for redistribution (larger value implies less equity-minded).

H. High school teachers’ methods of instruction
Our survey asked students about instructional methods in their high schools to study whether teaching practices changed along with the change in educational content. On the one hand, one aim of the curriculum reform was to increase student interaction with teachers; on the other hand, the very high stakes of the gaokao college entrance exam did not change.

96. On a scale of 1 to 5, how much did your high school teacher encourage participation during lecture?
97. On a scale of 1 to 5, how much did your high school teacher encourage you to study and explore the answers on your own, as opposed to telling you the answer up front?
98. On a scale of 1 to 5, how much do you think memorizing material was important for doing well in high school?
99. On a scale of 1 to 5, how much do you think class/lecture and teaching activities in high school were centered on gaokao preparation?

I. Textbook covers: checking policy implementation and student recollection
Our survey asked students to identify the Politics textbooks they used in high school, providing them with images of the covers of textbooks published under the old and new curricula. We check that our treatment assignment by provinceXcohort cell (based on official reports) matched actual exposure to textbooks. Responses to this question also provide evidence of students’ recollection of their high school Politics course. Note: we only showed pictures of the textbook covers; they were not labeled as belonging to either the old or new curriculum.
100. Please choose the covers of the textbooks that you used in your high school political science courses.
   a = High school new curriculum
   b = High school old curriculum
   c = Can’t remember
   d = Others; please specify the publisher’s name if you remember

I. Students’ personalities
Our survey included 25 questions about students’ personalities measuring the “Big 5” personality traits. The 5 traits are: (i) neuroticism; (ii) extraversion; (iii) openness; (iv) agreeableness; and, (v) conscientiousness. We do not expect these variables to have been affected by the curriculum change. Note that the questions are organized by personality trait below, rather than listed in the order in which they appeared in the survey (as noted above, the original survey ordering is available from the authors).

(i) Neuroticism
On each numerical scale that follows, indicate which point is generally more descriptive of you. If the two terms are equally descriptive, mark the midpoint.

101. Calm Eager
   1  2  3  4  5
102. Confident Cautious
   1  2  3  4  5
103. Upbeat Discouraged
   1  2  3  4  5
104. Don’t Give a Darn Easily Embarrassed
   1  2  3  4  5
105. Unflappable Distractible
   1  2  3  4  5

(ii) Extraversion
On each numerical scale that follows, indicate which point is generally more descriptive of you. If the two terms are equally descriptive, mark the midpoint.

106. Prefer Being Alone Prefer Being with Other People
    1  2  3  4  5
107. Pessimistic Optimistic
    1  2  3  4  5
108. Private Exhibitionist
    1  2  3  4  5
(iii) Openness
On each numerical scale that follows, indicate which point is generally more descriptive of you. If the two terms are equally descriptive, mark the midpoint.

111. No-nonsense  A Dreamer
     1  2  3  4  5

112. Practical  Theoretical
     1  2  3  4  5

113. Following Authority  Following Imagination
     1  2  3  4  5

114. Seek Routine  Seek Novelty
     1  2  3  4  5

115. Prefer Things Clear-cut  Comfortable with Ambiguity
     1  2  3  4  5

(iv) Agreeableness
On each numerical scale that follows, indicate which point is generally more descriptive of you. If the two terms are equally descriptive, mark the midpoint.

116. Abrupt  Courteous
     1  2  3  4  5

117. Selfish  Generous
     1  2  3  4  5

118. Cold  Warm
     1  2  3  4  5

119. Independent  Team Player
     1  2  3  4  5

120. Skeptical  Trusting
     1  2  3  4  5

(v) Conscientiousness
On each numerical scale that follows, indicate which point is generally more descriptive of you.
If the two terms are equally descriptive, mark the midpoint.

121. Messy  Neat
1  2  3  4  5

122. Open-ended  Decisive
1  2  3  4  5

123. Easily Distracted  Stay Focused
1  2  3  4  5

124. Comfortable with Chaos  A Preference for Order
1  2  3  4  5

125. Procrastinate  On Time
1  2  3  4  5

K. Students’ values and beliefs about the determinants of success

Our survey asked students about: (i) their values; as well as (ii) whether they believed success was more determined by internal or external factors.

(i) Values

Here is a list of qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important? (can choose up to three)

126. Chose “independent”?
127. Chose “hard work”?
128. Chose “feeling of responsibility”?
129. Chose “imagination”?
130. Chose “tolerance and respect for other people”?
131. Chose “thrift, saving money and things”?
132. Chose “determination, perseverance”?
133. Chose “religious faith”?
134. Chose “unselfishness”?
135. Chose “obedience”?
136. Chose “self-expression”?

137. One’s wealth is the measure of one’s personal worth.
   a = Strongly disagree  b = Disagree  
   c = Neutral  d = Agree  
   e = Strongly agree

138. If you were making decisions for a company. Would you let your company carry on profitable
activities that are not illegal, but not quite moral?

For the following question, please choose:

a = Strongly disagree   b = Disagree

139. I can’t stand the powerful and influential bullying the powerless and the weak. I like to stand up for the weak.

c = Neutral   d = Agree

e = Strongly agree

140. I see myself as an autonomous individual.

a = Strongly disagree   b = Disagree

c = Neutral   d = Agree

e = Strongly agree

(ii) Internal versus external determinants of success

141. What determines the success of a business? Pick two of the following:

a = Guanxi   b = Business strategy

c = Corruption   d = Quality of the product

e = Corporate management   f = Luck

142. In China today, hard work has fair returns.

a = Strongly disagree   b = Disagree

c = Neutral   d = Agree

e = Strongly agree

143. In China today, ability and talent earn fair returns.

a = Strongly disagree   b = Disagree

c = Neutral   d = Agree

e = Strongly agree

144. In China today, corruption is unavoidable if you want to be successful.

a = Strongly disagree   b = Disagree

c = Neutral   d = Agree

e = Strongly agree

L. Perceptions of returns to schooling, occupational preferences, and labor market experience

Our survey included (i) a set of questions eliciting students’ beliefs about the returns to schooling, which we do not expect to have been affected by the curriculum change; (ii) questions about students’
occupational preferences (both sector and location); and, (iii) questions about students' actual work experience as interns.

(i) Beliefs about the returns to schooling
145. Suppose, hypothetically, you were to stop school after finishing junior high. Think about the kinds of jobs you might be offered and that you might accept. How much do you think you will earn in a typical week, month or year when you are about 30 to 40 years old?
146. How about if you were to stop school after finishing senior high?
147. How about if you were to stop school after finishing this school year?
148. How about if you were to stop school after finishing college?
149. Now, we would like you to think about adult men who are about 30 to 40 years old and who have completed only elementary school. Think not just about the ones you know personally, but all men like this throughout the country. How much do you think they earn in a typical week, month or year?
150. How about if he were to stop school after finishing junior high?
151. How about if he were to stop school after finishing senior high?
152. How about if he were to stop school after finishing college?

(ii) Preferences regarding occupational sector and location
153. Rank the top three types of jobs from the following in terms of their appeal to you:
   a = Working in the national civil service
   b = Working in the local civil service
   c = Working in the military
   d = Working for a Chinese private firm
   e = Working for a foreign firm in China
   f = Working for a state-owned enterprise
   g = Working for institutional organizations (e.g. school, hospital, research institute, etc.)
   h = Starting your own firm as an entrepreneur
   g = Others
154. Rank the following locations in terms of their appeal to you as places to live and work:
   a = Hometown
   b = Beijing / Shanghai / Guangzhou
   c = Hong Kong / Macau
   d = A foreign country
   e = Others

(iii) Prior work experience
155. Have you worked in an internship before?
   a = Yes
   b = No
156. If you have interned before, in which sector is your internship organization?
   (Choose all that apply)
M. Additional survey questions excluded from the analysis in the dot plots

Our survey included a final group of questions which are not easily analyzed as outcomes in our baseline model. The dorm names and addresses are unstandardized text; students’ provinces and dates of educational transitions exhibit practically no variation conditional on cohort and province fixed effects. We thus do not present estimated effects of the curriculum change on these variables in Appendix F, but list them here for completeness.

157. Dorm address and room number.
158. Birthplace (province/city).
159. Province where you completed 10th grade.
160. In which province did you take the gaokao?
161. Date of entry into high school (year/month).
162. Date of high school graduation (year/month).
E.2 Recruitment email for Peking University online survey (2013)

*In English:*

Dear Students,

Greetings! This is a research study about young people in China, consisting of online survey questions and some simple online economic games. It is distributed to all undergraduate students at Peking University. This survey is organized by University of California at Berkeley, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, and Guanghua School of Management at Peking University. We welcome your participation.

Our survey aims to understand Chinese young people’s opinions on political institutions, social issues, economic activities, and so on. The information we collect will only be used for academic research. There is no right or wrong answer to these questions. Your honesty and patience in answering these questions will be extremely helpful to our academic study, which will foster the creation of human knowledge.

The entire study (online survey & online economic games) will take about 30 minutes to complete. Each student can only complete one survey. With your student ID, you will be rewarded with at least RMB 40 for your participation. Depending on your responses, you can also earn up to RMB 110 in the economic games. Furthermore, you will be entered into a drawing that gives out 1 iPad with Retina Display, 5 iPad Minis, and 10 iPod Shuffles.

Please note that you have to be at least 18 years old to be able to participate in this survey.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please click on the link below:
<link>

Peking University, Guanghua School of Management
May 6th, 2013

*In Chinese:*

亲爱的同学们：

见解独到的你，是否对中国的政治和社会有自己的见解？天资聪颖的你，是否想体验一下“高智商”的经济学游戏？现在，我们提供了一个机会让如此优秀的你发表独到见解，并且赢取高端大气上档次的iPad 4和iPad Mini幸运大奖！

这是一份针对中国年轻人“社会观念和风险态度”的问卷调查和在线经济学小游戏，由美国加州大学伯克利分校（UC Berkeley）、斯坦福大学（Stanford）、香港科技大学（HKUST）和北京大学光华管理学院（PKU GSM）联合组织。本次调查针对北京大学本科生（年满18周岁）。我们的研究主要为了了解中国年轻人的社会观念、价值偏
好和风险规避行为等，我们搜集到的所有信息将只用于学术研究。你的回答将直接有利于学术研究，推动人类知识的开拓。每一个北大学生的参与都对研究的结果至关重要！

整个在线调查只需花费你30分钟时间，但报酬非常丰厚！完成整个问卷你即可凭借学号获得至少40元，至多110元的现金奖励！参加此次研究，你更有机会抽奖获得1台iPad with Retina Display, 5台iPad Mini和10台iPod Shuffle！

开始行动起来吧！马上点击以下链接：<link>

北京大学光华管理学院
2013年5月6日
E.3 Screenshot of online survey

N. 人们经常谈论这个国家未来十年的目标。以下列出了一些常见的国家的目标，请您选择您所认为的最值得优先考虑的国家目标。

- 迅速的经济增长
- 强大的经济稳定
- 维护国家的秩序
- 让人民在重要政策决策上有更多的发言权
- 保护环境

NQ. 以下是在谈论环境和经济发展问题的时候，经常会用到的两个论断，这两个论断哪一个更接近您自己的观点？请勾选。

- 环境保护应该给予优先考虑，即便这样做会导致经济发展缓慢，就业机会减少
- 经济发展和创造就业机会应该给予优先考虑，即便这样做会导致环境遭到一定程度上的损害

继续
E.4  Photo of student respondent (raffle winner)
E.5 Follow-up survey

As an additional check that the treatment effects we estimate from the online survey do not significantly differ from what we would find among non-respondents at Peking University, we conducted a small, paper and pencil follow-up survey using in-person recruitment, in June and July, 2014. The follow-up survey was conducted by a team of 18 Peking University undergraduates, who recruited survey participants from a broad (albeit non-random) sample of the Peking University dorms, and handed out a paper version of the same survey questionnaire as was used online (to be completed individually, and privately). In order to recruit students across majors and genders, the survey team included a mix of men and women; teams recruited in dorms across the Peking University campus, including on the medical campus.

Potential participants in the follow-up survey were reminded of the online survey, and were asked not to complete the in-person survey if they had already completed the online survey. The survey team emphasized that the survey data would only be used for academic research and that respondents’ privacy would be protected. Overall, 446 students who had not completed the online survey were asked to complete the paper survey; the response rate in the follow-up survey was 78%, for a total of 347 respondents. Respondents were paid 30 RMB (around $5) for participating in the follow-up survey, and required around 30 minutes to complete the survey. A data entry firm digitized the responses, and two research assistants manually checked a random subset of the responses for accuracy.
Appendix F  Estimated effects on all survey outcomes

We estimate our baseline difference in differences model using every survey question as an outcome (other than those regressions that cannot be estimated in a model with province and cohort fixed effects). We present the estimates for the survey questions in the same order as that in which they are provided in the complete survey in Appendix E.1; the questions excluded from this analysis are noted at the end of the survey. We summarize the results in a dot plot that shows the coefficient estimate on the NewCurriculum dummy variable from estimating equation 1, as well as the 95% confidence interval, for each outcome variable indicated.

For ease of presentation, we standardize each outcome variable and we plot the absolute value of the coefficient; coefficients with positive signs are denoted with closed symbols, while coefficients with negative signs are denoted with open symbols (we also indicate the sign of the estimate in brackets). The figure also includes p-values (adjusted using the false discovery rate procedure across questions within a category marked by light dashed lines) from a test that the coefficient on NewCurriculum equals zero.

Our results support the evidence provided in the main text of the paper. Moving down the dot plot, one can see that students’ background variables are not significantly affected by the new curriculum, nor is their media consumption or their risk preferences. Factual knowledge, attitudes regarding governance, political institutions, and economic institutions generally are significantly affected, with much larger point estimates than for the background variables. Attitudes regarding the environment move in the opposite direction of what the government intended; and, behavioral outcomes are mixed, as discussed in the main text.

Following the behavioral outcomes, we show the questions asked about trust in non-government organizations and individuals—one can see there is no systematic effect here, and the effect on the z-score is almost exactly 0. Attitudes about which we did not have a strong prediction generally were not significantly affected, though one sees a shift toward favoring growth over equity among students exposed to the new curriculum. Behaviors about which we did not have a strong prediction also do not show significant effects of the new curriculum.

Next, we present responses to survey questions about instructional practices. One can see that while two of the questions appear to be statistically significant, they actually move in opposite directions. Overall the z-score index captures the mixed results on the impact of the reform on instruction: there is no significant effect.\footnote{Note also that the FDR-adjusted p-values are quite low in this section; this captures the fact that we always run two-sided statistical tests, and the FDR adjustment does not take into account the fact that one result is statistically significantly different from 0, but falls far short of rejecting the null that the reform had no effects on instructional methods in the desired direction.}

We then present results for a series of questions regarding students’ personalities. One can see that, individually, these estimates are never statistically significant. For two of the “Big Five” personality traits (openness and conscientiousness), we do find statistically significant z-score estimates. These differences may be the result of noise, may reflect an effect of the new curriculum, or may result from a lack of balance along this dimension. To determine whether this potential imbalance may affect our results, we estimated our baseline model for our six broad outcome categories, controlling for an individual’s 5 personality z-scores, and our results are unchanged (indeed, they are somewhat stronger—see Appendix G, Table G.7).

Next we examine students’ values: two of sixteen outcomes show effects significant at the 10% level; we find no effects on students’ views on the determinants of success. We also find no ef-
fects on students’ estimates of the returns to education, on students’ job preferences, or on their self-reported internship experience. Finally, we show the estimated effect of our NewCurriculum dummy variable on students’ identifying the new curriculum textbook as their own. This is on a different scale because the estimated effect is extremely large—students we assign to new curriculum status overwhelmingly recall the new curriculum textbooks as their own.
### BIG 5: NEUROTICISM
- Eager vs. calm [+] (1.000)
- Cautious vs. confident [-] (1.000)
- Discouraged vs. upbeat [+] (1.000)
- Embarrassed vs. don't care [+] (1.000)
- Distractible vs. unflappable [+] (1.000)

### BIG 5: EXTRAVERSION
- With others vs. alone [-] (0.445)
- Optimistic vs. pessimistic [+] (0.445)
- Exhibitionist vs. private [-] (0.445)
- Outgoing vs. cool [-] (0.500)
- Conversational vs. thoughtful [+] (0.445)

### BIG 5: OPENNESS
- Dreamer vs. no nonsense [+] (0.634)
- Theoretical vs. practical [+] (0.634)
- Imagination vs. authority [-] (0.634)
- Novelty vs. routine [+] (0.634)
- Ambiguity vs. clear-cut [-] (0.634)

### BIG 5: AGREEABLENESS
- Courteous vs. abrupt [-] (0.566)
- Generous vs. selfish [+] (0.130)
- Warm vs. cold [-] (0.180)
- Team player vs. independent [+] (0.566)
- Trusting vs. skeptical [-] (0.139)

### BIG 5: CONSCIENTIOUSNESS
- Neat vs. messy [-] (0.202)
- Decisive vs. open-ended [-] (0.881)
- Focused vs. Distracted [+] (0.202)
- Order vs. chaos [+] (0.386)
- On time vs. procrastinate [+] (0.438)

### PERSONAL VALUES
- Values: independence [+] (0.370)
- Values: hard work [+] (0.588)
- Values: responsibility [+] (0.602)
- Values: imagination [-] (0.890)
- Values: tolerance [-] (0.971)
- Values: thrift [+] (0.424)
- Values: perseverance [-] (0.892)
- Values: faith [-] (0.586)
- Values: unsatisfiability [-] (0.056)
- Values: obedience [-] (0.889)
- Values: self-expression [-] (0.889)
- Personal worth beyond wealth [+] (0.243)
- Moral decisions for business [-] (0.880)
- Stand up for the weak [-] (0.971)
- Identity: non-autonomous person [+] (1.000)

### INTERNAL DETERMINANTS OF SUCCESS
- Business success [-] (0.765)
- Return to hard work [-] (0.765)
- Return to ability and talent [-] (0.765)
- Corruption is avoidable [-] (0.765)
- z-score [-] (0.334)

### RETURN TO EDUCATION
- Own earnings: junior high [+] (0.904)
- Own earnings: senior high [+] (0.904)
- Own earnings: college [+] (0.904)
- Own earnings: this year [-] (0.904)
- Other's earnings: elementary [-] (0.904)
- Other's earnings: junior high [-] (0.904)
- Other's earnings: senior high [+] (0.904)
- Other's earnings: college [+] (0.904)
- z-score [-] (0.054)

### OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES
- Prefer public sector jobs [+] (1.000)
- Prefer domestic locations [+] (1.000)
- z-score [-] (0.044)

### CAREER EXPERIENCES
- Internship experience [+] (1.000)
- Interned in public sector [+] (1.000)
- z-score [-] (0.035)
Figure F.2: Dot plot showing effect of the new curriculum on all questions in our survey. Figure shows estimated coefficients on the NewCurriculum dummy variable from a regression of the (standardized) outcome listed on NewCurriculum and province and cohort fixed effects. Coefficients are presented as absolute values; coefficients with positive signs are denoted with closed symbols, while coefficients with negative signs are denoted with open symbols (the sign of the coefficient is indicated in brackets as well). Figure also shows 95% confidence intervals calculated using standard errors clustered at the province × cohort level (censored below at 0) and p-values calculated using the false discovery rate procedure (in parentheses).
Appendix G  Additional results

G.1  Response rates by province×cohort cell

In the main text we noted that there is not a significantly different response rate to our survey by curriculum studied, conditional on province and cohort fixed effects. In Table G.3, we present for each province×cohort cell the number of students in our survey, as well as the number of students enrolled at Peking University from each cell (the number of students by cell was provided by the admissions office of Peking University). To estimate whether the new curriculum was associated with a significantly different response rate from the old curriculum, we run a regression in which the unit of observation is the province×cohort cell, the outcome variable is the response rate, the explanatory variable is the NewCurriculum dummy variable analyzed in our main text, and province and cohort fixed effects are included as controls.

In the note to Table G.3, we report the coefficient on the NewCurriculum dummy variable in this regression, as well as the p-value from a test that the coefficient equals zero. We find that the point estimate is small (response rates differ by less than 2 percentage points), and statistically indistinguishable from 0 (the p-value is 0.519).

G.2  Do students try to provide “correct” (or politically correct) answers?

This can be best examined in the case of the variables relating to trust in government officials, as they are measured on a 1–5 scale, allowing one to see shifts across the distribution of attitudes (we present the distributions of responses to these questions by curriculum in Table G.4). A first indication that respondents are likely not attempting to provide “correct” responses is the broad range of answers to all of the questions we asked. In each curriculum, for all outcomes, we found responses in the full range, from 1 to 5, and in every case the modal response was provided by less than 60% of students. Another indication that in the new curriculum there was not a clearly “correct” answer to our questions about trust is that modal responses were not located at an end of the distribution. Nor was there always the same modal response: we see either modes of 3 or 4 for our various outcomes.

The changes in the distribution of responses across curricula are also consistent with students’ opinions changing, rather than simply moving to a new “correct” response. One can see that for many outcomes, not only are there are shifts in the distribution toward the new curriculum modal response (from below), but there are also movements away from the modal response (moving up). For example, we asked students about their trust in local government on a 1–5 scale. Under the old curriculum, the modal response was 3, with nearly 48% of students indicating this level of trust. Under the new curriculum, the mode remained 3 (indicating no change in a “correct” answer), with 45.25% of students choosing this response. Interestingly, responses of 1, 2, and the modal response of 3 are all less common under the new curriculum, while the number of responses of “4” increased by nearly 12 percentage points (over 50%).

G.3  Heterogeneous effects depending on students’ risk aversion

One might be concerned that students who are more risk averse (and so likely to be more concerned about responding in a socially or politically acceptable way) exhibit different effects of the new curriculum from students who are less risk averse. To determine whether this is the case, we estimate our baseline regression model (equation 1) including an interaction between the
NewCurriculum dummy variable and an indicator that a student is “risk seeking” (at or above the median in the self-reported risk preferences question), along with the main effects. We find that the more risk averse respondents in the study do not show significantly different effects of the new curriculum: for half of the 12 outcomes we examine in our six categories of interest the interaction term is positive, and in six it is negative; it is never statistically significant (see Table G.5).

**G.4 Principal component analysis**

As another check of the robustness of our results, we present estimates of the effects of the new curriculum on our various indices, but rather than using a weighted sum of standardized outcomes within a category, we examine the first principal component of the outcomes within a category. In Table G.6, we show our baseline regressions for the outcomes for which we previously used z-score indices (compare to Table 4, Panel A, in the main text). One can see that our results are very similar constructing our indices in this alternative manner.

**G.5 Alternative approach to inference using permutation tests**

Because we have a relatively small number of treated units in our sample, we next make our statistical inferences in an alternative manner, by comparing the treatment effect we estimate for each index outcome to the distribution of placebo treatment effects we estimate when randomly assigning new curriculum introduction dates to provinces. To be precise, we randomly assign new curriculum introduction dates to provinces, with the dates drawn from the actual set of introduction dates of the new curriculum, without replacement (so in a given year, the same number of provinces have the placebo new curriculum introduced as had the actual new curriculum introduced, but the placebo assignment will be to a random selection of provinces). We randomly draw 10,000 sets of placebo treatment assignments, and estimate equation 1, for each of the six main index variable categories (12 total outcomes).

We plot the distribution of t-statistics from the 10,000 estimated placebo treatment effects for each outcome, in Figure G.3, and mark in the figure the location of the t-statistic of the actual treatment effect within the placebo treatment effect distribution. We also report the share of the placebo t-statistics that is larger than the actual statistic, in absolute value. One can view this measure as analogous to a p-value in this placebo exercise. Across the outcomes considered, one can see that the inferences drawn are very similar to the standard regressions.

**G.6 The effects of student personalities**

In Section Appendix F we noted that there was some evidence of differences in students’ Big 5 personality traits across curricula, conditional on province and cohort fixed effects. This might lead one to wonder whether differences in students’ personalities might play some role in the differences in political attitudes that we attributed to the new curriculum. We thus estimate our baseline model (equation 1), but control for students’ z-score indices for all five Big 5 personality traits. One can see in Table G.7 that including these controls does not affect our findings.

**G.7 An omnibus test for selection**

Our analysis in the text shows that (i) student characteristics are balanced across curricula (see Table 2); and, (ii) controlling for all of the student and household characteristics in our balance
table (other than student high school track, due to missing values) does not greatly affect our results (see Table 4, Panel B). We next conduct a more general test of the importance of selection on observables driving our results by estimating our outcome variables (the 12 index variables for the six categories of interest) using the full set of variables shown in the balance tables (again, excluding high school track), and testing whether predicted outcomes significantly change across curricula, controlling for province and cohort fixed effects. In Table G.8, we present the estimated coefficient on the NewCurriculum dummy from estimating equation 1 with predicted index variables as the outcomes. In every case, the estimated effect of the new curriculum on the predicted outcomes based on observables is close to 0 and statistically insignificant.

G.8 The effects of provincial political transitions on student attitudes

An important question about our analysis is whether the introduction of the new curriculum coincided with other provincial variation which might affect attitudes at the province \times cohort level. One possibility is that students who experienced important political transitions while in high school may have differing views on governance, political institutions, etc. To examine this possibility, we collected information on all of the transitions of provincial governors and provincial party secretaries (from baike.baidu.com and www.wikipedia.org) that occurred while students in our sample were in high school. We then estimate our baseline specification, but controlling for either the experience of a provincial governor turnover or a provincial party secretary turnover while a student was in high school. In Table G.9, one can see that including these controls does not affect our results.

G.9 Non-random introduction of the new curriculum across provinces

As described in the main text, the introduction of the new curriculum across provinces was non-random, with richer, coastal provinces generally introducing the curriculum prior to the poorer inland provinces. As discussed in Section 4.2, our identification strategy addresses a variety of concerns about endogenous introduction of the new curriculum. We now more formally examine the determinants of the introduction date of the new curriculum.

In Table G.10, we use two approaches to study the determinants of the introduction date of the new curriculum. First, we treat China’s provinces as a cross-section, and allow province characteristics in 2003 (just prior to the first wave of introduction) to determine the timing of adoption; second, we consider a panel (observations at the province \times year level), with province characteristics in a given year determining new curriculum adoption in the following year. For each dataset we estimate OLS models and Cox proportional hazard models. One can see in Table G.10, that our most robust finding is that greater 2003 province income is quite predictive of earlier introduction of the new curriculum (as are other variables correlated with income, such as fiscal revenues and employment). Educational variables are generally less predictive, except for the percentage of primary school students enrolling in secondary school, which again is correlated with income.

To determine whether higher 2003 incomes were associated with systematic differences in attitudes across cohorts, in Table 4, Panel D, we presented estimated effects of the new curriculum, but controlling for a province’s 2003 gross regional product per capita interacted with the four cohort fixed effects. One can see that including these controls does not affect our findings.
G.10 Estimation using a “short panel”

We next address concerns about the effects of our sample’s composition on the estimated treatment effects. Some provinces do not have any variation in curriculum studied among the four cohorts in our sample, but these provinces are included in our baseline estimates (though they were excluded from our comparison of means in Figure 3). One might wish to estimate the effects of the new curriculum on a balanced panel that includes only provinces in which we observe variation in curriculum. We thus estimate the effects of the new curriculum using a “short panel” that includes only students from the last cohort under the old curriculum and the (adjacent) first cohort of the new curriculum, from the 13 provinces for which we observe students from both of these cohorts in our sample. We present the results in Table G.11: one can see that using this alternative dataset, our results are very similar to those estimated using the entire set of province × cohort cells.

G.11 Attitudes and behavior

In section 5.3, we relate our finding of increased trust in government officials to behavioral outcomes, generalizing from the relationship between reported attitudes and reported behavior observed in the Asian Barometer Survey. This survey asks respondents about their trust in local government officials, as we do; the only difference between our survey question and the Asian Barometer question is that Asian Barometer respondents indicate their level of trust on a 1–4 scale, rather than a 1–5 scale (for ease of interpretation, we standardized responses to the trust question). To ensure comparability with our survey sample, we limit our analysis to Chinese respondents with at least 12 years of schooling.

The Asian Barometer Survey asks the following two questions about political action:

| 1. Attended a demonstration or protest march. |
| 2. Refused to pay taxes or fees to the government. |

We construct dummy variables indicating engagement in the two political actions, and regress these on (standardized) reported levels of trust in government officials. In robustness specifications, we control for respondents’ age, age squared, and gender. For both behavioral outcomes, we find that greater trust in local government officials is associated with significantly less frequent engagement in disruptive political action (results are presented in Table G.12). In section 5.3, we then place these findings in relation to the changes in trust induced by the new curriculum: under the assumption that the relationship between an individual’s trust in government officials and their political behavior is similar for students in our survey to that for the broader set of educated individuals in the Asian Barometer sample, the new curriculum would make students around 15–20% less likely to engage in these disruptive political activities relative to their mean.

G.12 Heterogeneous treatment effects

It is of interest to examine heterogeneity in the effects of the new curriculum for at least two reasons: first, one might wish to wonder whether particular types of students were more susceptible to persuasive content included in high school textbooks. Second, examining heterogeneity in the
effect of the curriculum in our sample can be suggestive of whether the treatment effects we estimate are likely to be very different from those estimated on other groups of students. (Note that our finding of generally similar results between our follow-up survey sample and our main survey suggests that our survey findings have some generalizability to the broader population of Peking University students.)

We consider three dimensions of heterogeneity that ex ante we believed might be important determinants of students’ susceptibility to persuasion. First, we compare the effects of the new curriculum on students whose parents were Chinese Communist Party members to those whose parents were not. One might believe that children of CCP members would be more receptive to government messages in textbooks than other students. Second, we compare the effects of the new curriculum on students who report rarely acquiring information from foreign websites to the effects on other students. One might expect students who only read Chinese news to be more likely to have the lessons of the textbooks “stick”—exposure to foreign media might undo any treatment effect of exposure to the new curriculum. Third, we use students’ predicted levels of trust in government (we predict the government trust index variable using students’ background characteristics) and test whether students with above-median levels of predicted trust reveal different treatment effects from students with below-median levels. One might expect that characteristics associated with higher levels of trust in government officials would also be associated with receptivity to the persuasive content of the new curriculum.

We estimate our baseline model (equation 1), but including the interaction between the NewCurriculum dummy variable and the dimensions of heterogeneity we examine (plus lower order terms). In Table G.13, Panel A, we examine the effects of the new curriculum by parents’ CCP membership. While parents’ CCP status is significantly predictive of some political attitudes, it is not predictive of differential effects of the new curriculum. In Panels B and C we conduct analogous exercises, but examining heterogeneity by students’ media consumption and their predicted trust. Again, these student characteristics are often predictive of students’ political attitudes, but they are not associated with heterogeneity in the effects of the new curriculum.

G.13 Estimating weighted regressions

One might wonder whether, due to variation in response rates, our estimates differ from what one would find from a sample that matched the composition of Peking University. As a check of the external validity of our estimates to the broader Peking University population, we next estimate our baseline model (equation 1), but we re-weight each observation by the inverse of the survey response rate for the respondent’s province × cohort cell. Thus, if a particular cell was under-represented in our survey sample due to low response rates, we now give observations in that cell additional weight in our regressions to match the composition of Peking University. We present our findings in Table G.14 and one can see that the results very closely match estimates from the unweighted regressions.
Figure G.3: Distribution of t-statistics resulting from 10,000 random assignments of provinces to treatment status, as well as t-statistics from actual treatment status.
Table G.3: Survey response rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>13/78</td>
<td>16/76</td>
<td>21/69</td>
<td>20/63</td>
<td>70/286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>44/393</td>
<td>51/406</td>
<td>54/405</td>
<td>41/403</td>
<td>190/1607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chongqing</td>
<td>7/95</td>
<td>13/104</td>
<td>12/88</td>
<td>20/80</td>
<td>52/367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>12/79</td>
<td>13/75</td>
<td>21/72</td>
<td>17/83</td>
<td>63/309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>8/31</td>
<td>7/31</td>
<td>9/29</td>
<td>6/28</td>
<td>30/119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>13/97</td>
<td>17/116</td>
<td>26/95</td>
<td>24/90</td>
<td>80/398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>6/33</td>
<td>6/30</td>
<td>8/30</td>
<td>11/30</td>
<td>31/123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>9/35</td>
<td>8/37</td>
<td>3/36</td>
<td>9/36</td>
<td>29/144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebei</td>
<td>17/78</td>
<td>18/74</td>
<td>16/79</td>
<td>30/65</td>
<td>81/296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>15/114</td>
<td>15/98</td>
<td>14/91</td>
<td>16/91</td>
<td>60/394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>33/135</td>
<td>19/147</td>
<td>41/143</td>
<td>40/129</td>
<td>133/554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>27/108</td>
<td>20/118</td>
<td>28/128</td>
<td>23/119</td>
<td>98/473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>14/108</td>
<td>12/94</td>
<td>25/102</td>
<td>21/114</td>
<td>72/418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner Mongolia</td>
<td>7/32</td>
<td>4/36</td>
<td>4/35</td>
<td>14/32</td>
<td>29/135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>13/140</td>
<td>24/146</td>
<td>44/159</td>
<td>23/185</td>
<td>104/630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>21/70</td>
<td>8/66</td>
<td>22/74</td>
<td>20/75</td>
<td>71/285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>14/75</td>
<td>12/82</td>
<td>16/85</td>
<td>12/80</td>
<td>54/322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaoning</td>
<td>13/107</td>
<td>19/110</td>
<td>22/99</td>
<td>26/116</td>
<td>80/432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ningxia</td>
<td>4/23</td>
<td>5/26</td>
<td>9/26</td>
<td>11/26</td>
<td>29/101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qinghai</td>
<td>5/18</td>
<td>2/19</td>
<td>3/15</td>
<td>2/16</td>
<td>12/68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaanxi</td>
<td>21/96</td>
<td>15/82</td>
<td>23/116</td>
<td>19/104</td>
<td>78/398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>30/131</td>
<td>18/125</td>
<td>26/114</td>
<td>42/115</td>
<td>116/485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>16/79</td>
<td>19/70</td>
<td>22/70</td>
<td>12/76</td>
<td>69/295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>7/129</td>
<td>13/88</td>
<td>21/95</td>
<td>25/99</td>
<td>66/411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjin</td>
<td>11/93</td>
<td>14/86</td>
<td>22/98</td>
<td>24/94</td>
<td>71/371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibet</td>
<td>0/9</td>
<td>0/5</td>
<td>0/13</td>
<td>0/12</td>
<td>0/39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>8/53</td>
<td>11/59</td>
<td>15/52</td>
<td>11/70</td>
<td>45/234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>6/37</td>
<td>3/35</td>
<td>6/36</td>
<td>7/32</td>
<td>22/140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>23/141</td>
<td>21/138</td>
<td>37/150</td>
<td>22/171</td>
<td>103/600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table shows the number of student responses in our survey, as well as the number of students enrolled at Peking University, for each province × cohort cell (data provided by the admissions office of Peking University). Shaded cells represent students who studied the new curriculum. To estimate whether the new curriculum was associated with a significantly different response rate from the old curriculum, we construct a dataset at the province × cohort level and regress a cell’s response rate on the NewCurriculum dummy variable, as well as province and cohort fixed effects. The estimated coefficient on NewCurriculum is 0.019 (s.e. 0.029; p-value = 0.519).
### Table G.4: Distribution of responses: trust in government institutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable:</th>
<th>Trust central government</th>
<th>Trust provincial government</th>
<th>Trust local government</th>
<th>Trust courts</th>
<th>Trust armed forces</th>
<th>Trust police</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>1.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>7.53</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>19.50</td>
<td>14.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>17.71</td>
<td>14.40</td>
<td>35.84</td>
<td>27.82</td>
<td>47.76</td>
<td>45.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>56.89</td>
<td>59.19</td>
<td>48.57</td>
<td>57.12</td>
<td>23.83</td>
<td>35.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>21.11</td>
<td>23.10</td>
<td>6.99</td>
<td>8.86</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>2.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Observations</th>
<th>Mean DV</th>
<th>Std.Dev. DV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table shows the distribution of responses to the various questions regarding trust in government officials and government bodies, split by curriculum studied.
Table G.5: Heterogeneous effects of the new curriculum by risk-aversion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum</td>
<td>0.245</td>
<td>0.177</td>
<td>0.238</td>
<td>0.251</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>0.086</td>
<td>0.082</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>-0.236</td>
<td>0.055</td>
<td>0.109</td>
<td>0.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.111]</td>
<td>[0.082]</td>
<td>[0.096]</td>
<td>[0.104]</td>
<td>[0.052]</td>
<td>[0.051]</td>
<td>[0.103]</td>
<td>[0.092]</td>
<td>[0.119]</td>
<td>[0.112]</td>
<td>[0.104]</td>
<td>[0.039]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risk-Seeking</td>
<td>0.071</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>0.166</td>
<td>-0.080</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.146</td>
<td>-0.070</td>
<td>-0.074</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>-0.235</td>
<td>0.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.094]</td>
<td>[0.092]</td>
<td>[0.077]</td>
<td>[0.075]</td>
<td>[0.050]</td>
<td>[0.035]</td>
<td>[0.104]</td>
<td>[0.061]</td>
<td>[0.107]</td>
<td>[0.083]</td>
<td>[0.100]</td>
<td>[0.027]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum × Risk-Seeking</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>-0.027</td>
<td>-0.041</td>
<td>-0.137</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>-0.029</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>0.120</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td>0.162</td>
<td>-0.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.110]</td>
<td>[0.114]</td>
<td>[0.092]</td>
<td>[0.095]</td>
<td>[0.060]</td>
<td>[0.046]</td>
<td>[0.120]</td>
<td>[0.074]</td>
<td>[0.124]</td>
<td>[0.103]</td>
<td>[0.120]</td>
<td>[0.034]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>1,765</td>
<td>1,733</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>1,603</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>1,803</td>
<td>1,702</td>
<td>1,708</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>1,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean DV</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.392</td>
<td>0.698</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.542</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std.Dev. DV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.488</td>
<td>0.459</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.717</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All regressions include a full set of province and cohort fixed effects (not reported). Robust standard errors in brackets, clustered at the province × cohort level.
Table G.6: First principal components

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum</td>
<td>0.440</td>
<td>0.269</td>
<td>0.234</td>
<td>0.193</td>
<td>0.084</td>
<td>-0.173</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.173]</td>
<td>[0.128]</td>
<td>[0.081]</td>
<td>[0.119]</td>
<td>[0.088]</td>
<td>[0.113]</td>
<td>[0.123]</td>
<td>[0.081]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>1,765</td>
<td>1,733</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>1,603</td>
<td>1,803</td>
<td>1,708</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>1,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean DV</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std.Dev. DV</td>
<td>1.910</td>
<td>1.777</td>
<td>1.097</td>
<td>1.357</td>
<td>1.202</td>
<td>1.141</td>
<td>1.178</td>
<td>1.094</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All regressions include a full set of province and cohort fixed effects (not reported). Robust standard errors in brackets, clustered at the province × cohort level.
Table G.7: Robustness to controlling for Big Five personality traits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panel A: Baseline</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum</td>
<td>0.247</td>
<td>0.161</td>
<td>0.213</td>
<td>0.164</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>0.087</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td>0.053</td>
<td>-0.162</td>
<td>0.082</td>
<td>0.207</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.088]</td>
<td>[0.065]</td>
<td>[0.074]</td>
<td>[0.089]</td>
<td>[0.034]</td>
<td>[0.041]</td>
<td>[0.075]</td>
<td>[0.081]</td>
<td>[0.099]</td>
<td>[0.092]</td>
<td>[0.074]</td>
<td>[0.032]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panel B: Controlling for Big Five personality characteristics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum</td>
<td>0.315</td>
<td>0.177</td>
<td>0.236</td>
<td>0.156</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>0.100</td>
<td>0.106</td>
<td>0.062</td>
<td>-0.144</td>
<td>0.110</td>
<td>0.194</td>
<td>0.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.084]</td>
<td>[0.071]</td>
<td>[0.074]</td>
<td>[0.086]</td>
<td>[0.035]</td>
<td>[0.043]</td>
<td>[0.073]</td>
<td>[0.076]</td>
<td>[0.101]</td>
<td>[0.091]</td>
<td>[0.074]</td>
<td>[0.032]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean DV</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.392</td>
<td>0.698</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.542</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std.Dev. DV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.488</td>
<td>0.459</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.717</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All regressions include a full set of province and cohort fixed effects (not reported). Robust standard errors in brackets, clustered at the province × cohort level. Panel B includes controls for z-score index variables for all five “Big Five” personality traits. Median number of observations across columns: 1705 (Panel A), 1660 (Panel B).
Table G.8: Test for selection on observable characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>0.020</td>
<td>-0.004</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>-0.011</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
<td>-0.007</td>
<td>-0.024</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>-0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.010]</td>
<td>[0.011]</td>
<td>[0.013]</td>
<td>[0.022]</td>
<td>[0.006]</td>
<td>[0.005]</td>
<td>[0.010]</td>
<td>[0.009]</td>
<td>[0.017]</td>
<td>[0.018]</td>
<td>[0.020]</td>
<td>[0.006]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>1,765</td>
<td>1,733</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>1,650</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>1,803</td>
<td>1,702</td>
<td>1,708</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>1,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean DV</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>-0.009</td>
<td>0.394</td>
<td>0.697</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>3.553</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. Dev. DV</td>
<td>0.197</td>
<td>0.202</td>
<td>0.226</td>
<td>0.284</td>
<td>0.097</td>
<td>0.092</td>
<td>0.231</td>
<td>0.136</td>
<td>0.241</td>
<td>0.345</td>
<td>0.271</td>
<td>0.103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Predicted z-scores are based on a full set of variables from Table 2 (except for HS humanities track), province and cohort fixed effects. All regressions include a full set of province and cohort fixed effects (not reported). Robust standard errors in brackets, clustered at the province × cohort level.
### Table G.9: Robustness to experience of provincial government turnover

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Panel A: Baseline</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum</td>
<td>0.247</td>
<td>0.161</td>
<td>0.213</td>
<td>0.164</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>0.087</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td>0.053</td>
<td>-0.162</td>
<td>0.082</td>
<td>0.207</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.088]</td>
<td>[0.065]</td>
<td>[0.074]</td>
<td>[0.089]</td>
<td>[0.034]</td>
<td>[0.041]</td>
<td>[0.075]</td>
<td>[0.081]</td>
<td>[0.099]</td>
<td>[0.092]</td>
<td>[0.074]</td>
<td>[0.032]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Panel B: Controlling for experiences of provincial government head turnover</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum</td>
<td>0.247</td>
<td>0.154</td>
<td>0.210</td>
<td>0.169</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>0.088</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.054</td>
<td>-0.166</td>
<td>0.079</td>
<td>0.208</td>
<td>0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.087]</td>
<td>[0.059]</td>
<td>[0.072]</td>
<td>[0.086]</td>
<td>[0.034]</td>
<td>[0.041]</td>
<td>[0.070]</td>
<td>[0.080]</td>
<td>[0.100]</td>
<td>[0.091]</td>
<td>[0.075]</td>
<td>[0.032]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Panel C: Controlling for experiences of provincial party secretary turnover</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum</td>
<td>0.227</td>
<td>0.167</td>
<td>0.236</td>
<td>0.177</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>0.098</td>
<td>0.095</td>
<td>0.054</td>
<td>-0.118</td>
<td>0.092</td>
<td>0.217</td>
<td>0.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.093]</td>
<td>[0.064]</td>
<td>[0.075]</td>
<td>[0.087]</td>
<td>[0.035]</td>
<td>[0.041]</td>
<td>[0.075]</td>
<td>[0.084]</td>
<td>[0.106]</td>
<td>[0.098]</td>
<td>[0.074]</td>
<td>[0.034]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>1,765</td>
<td>1,733</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>1,603</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>1,803</td>
<td>1,702</td>
<td>1,708</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>1,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean DV</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.392</td>
<td>0.698</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.542</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. Dev. DV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.488</td>
<td>0.459</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.717</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Individuals assigned a “1” for a given turnover experience dummy variable (government head or party secretary) if the relevant official position changed hands while the student was enrolled in high school. All regressions include a full set of province and cohort fixed effects (not reported). Robust standard errors in brackets, clustered at the province × cohort level.
Table G.10: Predicting the timing of the new curriculum’s introduction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable:</th>
<th>Year of Introduction</th>
<th>Post New Curriculum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cross Section (Measured in 2003)</td>
<td>Panel (Lagged by 1 Year)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample:</td>
<td>OLS</td>
<td>Cox Proportional Hazard Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial characteristics:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panel A: Overall Economic Performance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross regional product per capita</td>
<td>-0.136 (0.062)</td>
<td>0.062 (0.025)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total fiscal revenue</td>
<td>-0.037 (0.009)</td>
<td>0.027 (0.008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total fiscal expenditure</td>
<td>-0.025 (0.011)</td>
<td>0.018 (0.007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual disposable income (urban)</td>
<td>-0.364 (0.150)</td>
<td>0.184 (0.098)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment rate</td>
<td>-0.323 (3.037)</td>
<td>-0.735 (3.101)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panel B: Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio of total fiscal expenditure on culture, education, social security and public health</td>
<td>-9.085 (11.254)</td>
<td>3.993 (5.050)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers per 1000 people for regular high school</td>
<td>-0.757 (0.671)</td>
<td>0.577 (0.361)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers per student for regular high school</td>
<td>-12.14 (75.44)</td>
<td>11.03 (35.83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student per 1000 people for regular high school</td>
<td>-0.041 (0.033)</td>
<td>0.029 (0.021)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of primary graduates entering secondary school</td>
<td>-0.287 (0.095)</td>
<td>0.173 (0.090)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of school-age children enrolled in school</td>
<td>-0.224 (0.151)</td>
<td>0.092 (0.095)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observations: 30 30 360 244

Column (1) estimates an OLS regression on a cross section of provinces, predicting the year of the new curriculum’s introduction using 2003 province characteristics. Column (2) estimates a Cox proportional hazard model, predicting the introduction event using 2003 province characteristics. Column (3) estimates an OLS regression on a panel of provinces, predicting the new curriculum’s introduction using 1-year lagged province characteristics. Column (4) estimates a Cox proportional hazard model, predicting the introduction event using 1-year lagged province characteristics.
Table G.11: Estimates using a “short panel”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum</td>
<td>0.268</td>
<td>0.206</td>
<td>0.174</td>
<td>0.170</td>
<td>-0.091</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>0.070</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>-0.009</td>
<td>-0.167</td>
<td>0.208</td>
<td>0.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.088]</td>
<td>[0.057]</td>
<td>[0.053]</td>
<td>[0.066]</td>
<td>[0.023]</td>
<td>[0.034]</td>
<td>[0.069]</td>
<td>[0.059]</td>
<td>[0.081]</td>
<td>[0.072]</td>
<td>[0.066]</td>
<td>[0.022]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean DV</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.392</td>
<td>0.698</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.542</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. Dev. DV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.488</td>
<td>0.459</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.717</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regressions estimated using the final cohort studying the old curriculum and the (adjacent) first cohort studying the new curriculum, for provinces with variation in curriculum in our sample. All regressions include a full set of province and cohort fixed effects (not reported). Robust standard errors in brackets, clustered at the province × cohort level.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable:</th>
<th>Attended a demonstration or protest march</th>
<th>Refused to pay taxes or fees to the government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust in local government</td>
<td>-0.017</td>
<td>-0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.006]</td>
<td>[0.006]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual controls</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean DV</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>0.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std.Dev. DV</td>
<td>0.166</td>
<td>0.166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regression results based on Asian Barometer Survey Wave 2 (2008) China module. Samples restricted to individuals who completed at least high school education. Individual controls are gender, age, and age$^2$. Trust in local government is standardized.
Table G.13: Heterogeneous effects of the new curriculum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panel A: Parents’ CCP membership</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum</td>
<td>0.232</td>
<td>0.122</td>
<td>0.275</td>
<td>0.239</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>0.102</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>0.087</td>
<td>-0.167</td>
<td>0.141</td>
<td>0.097</td>
<td>0.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.106]</td>
<td>[0.089]</td>
<td>[0.088]</td>
<td>[0.106]</td>
<td>[0.040]</td>
<td>[0.047]</td>
<td>[0.115]</td>
<td>[0.081]</td>
<td>[0.122]</td>
<td>[0.103]</td>
<td>[0.090]</td>
<td>[0.037]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents CCP members</td>
<td>-0.100</td>
<td>-0.030</td>
<td>0.147</td>
<td>0.275</td>
<td>-0.047</td>
<td>-0.038</td>
<td>-0.082</td>
<td>0.040</td>
<td>-0.095</td>
<td>0.189</td>
<td>-0.354</td>
<td>0.050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.088]</td>
<td>[0.095]</td>
<td>[0.076]</td>
<td>[0.077]</td>
<td>[0.024]</td>
<td>[0.043]</td>
<td>[0.104]</td>
<td>[0.068]</td>
<td>[0.102]</td>
<td>[0.068]</td>
<td>[0.091]</td>
<td>[0.025]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum ×</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>0.067</td>
<td>-0.104</td>
<td>-0.119</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>-0.028</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>-0.058</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>-0.102</td>
<td>0.189</td>
<td>-0.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents CCP members</td>
<td>[0.099]</td>
<td>[0.114]</td>
<td>[0.095]</td>
<td>[0.096]</td>
<td>[0.039]</td>
<td>[0.051]</td>
<td>[0.121]</td>
<td>[0.077]</td>
<td>[0.123]</td>
<td>[0.089]</td>
<td>[0.103]</td>
<td>[0.032]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panel B: Rarely acquire information from foreign websites</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum</td>
<td>0.242</td>
<td>0.221</td>
<td>0.160</td>
<td>0.135</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>0.116</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>-0.011</td>
<td>-0.100</td>
<td>0.121</td>
<td>0.199</td>
<td>0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.103]</td>
<td>[0.076]</td>
<td>[0.085]</td>
<td>[0.105]</td>
<td>[0.042]</td>
<td>[0.044]</td>
<td>[0.099]</td>
<td>[0.089]</td>
<td>[0.114]</td>
<td>[0.106]</td>
<td>[0.098]</td>
<td>[0.036]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely foreign websites</td>
<td>0.183</td>
<td>0.154</td>
<td>-0.012</td>
<td>-0.124</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>-0.060</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>0.201</td>
<td>-0.068</td>
<td>0.215</td>
<td>-0.039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.075]</td>
<td>[0.084]</td>
<td>[0.071]</td>
<td>[0.096]</td>
<td>[0.049]</td>
<td>[0.041]</td>
<td>[0.105]</td>
<td>[0.061]</td>
<td>[0.082]</td>
<td>[0.074]</td>
<td>[0.086]</td>
<td>[0.027]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum ×</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td>-0.127</td>
<td>0.112</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>-0.058</td>
<td>0.070</td>
<td>0.137</td>
<td>-0.134</td>
<td>-0.083</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>-0.036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely foreign websites</td>
<td>[0.097]</td>
<td>[0.104]</td>
<td>[0.089]</td>
<td>[0.113]</td>
<td>[0.057]</td>
<td>[0.050]</td>
<td>[0.122]</td>
<td>[0.073]</td>
<td>[0.097]</td>
<td>[0.105]</td>
<td>[0.101]</td>
<td>[0.034]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panel C: Predicted trust in government officials (above median)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum</td>
<td>0.239</td>
<td>0.154</td>
<td>0.208</td>
<td>0.158</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>0.129</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>-0.196</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>0.202</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.106]</td>
<td>[0.075]</td>
<td>[0.087]</td>
<td>[0.110]</td>
<td>[0.039]</td>
<td>[0.043]</td>
<td>[0.079]</td>
<td>[0.093]</td>
<td>[0.107]</td>
<td>[0.100]</td>
<td>[0.089]</td>
<td>[0.038]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicted trust in govt.</td>
<td>0.169</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>0.050</td>
<td>-0.161</td>
<td>-0.056</td>
<td>0.169</td>
<td>0.102</td>
<td>-0.040</td>
<td>0.067</td>
<td>-0.314</td>
<td>0.254</td>
<td>-0.049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.117]</td>
<td>[0.114]</td>
<td>[0.101]</td>
<td>[0.097]</td>
<td>[0.043]</td>
<td>[0.052]</td>
<td>[0.090]</td>
<td>[0.079]</td>
<td>[0.094]</td>
<td>[0.086]</td>
<td>[0.108]</td>
<td>[0.037]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum ×</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>0.067</td>
<td>-0.116</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>0.086</td>
<td>0.120</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicted trust in govt.</td>
<td>[0.120]</td>
<td>[0.122]</td>
<td>[0.112]</td>
<td>[0.110]</td>
<td>[0.050]</td>
<td>[0.056]</td>
<td>[0.103]</td>
<td>[0.090]</td>
<td>[0.108]</td>
<td>[0.107]</td>
<td>[0.110]</td>
<td>[0.040]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>1,765</td>
<td>1,733</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>1,603</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>1,803</td>
<td>1,702</td>
<td>1,708</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>1,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean DV</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.542</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std.Dev. DV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.488</td>
<td>0.459</td>
<td>1.717</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All panels add to our baseline specification the interaction between an indicator variable and the NewCurriculum dummy variable, plus the main effect of the indicator. In Panel A, the indicator is equal to 1 if at least one of the student’s parents was a member of the Chinese Communist Party. In Panel B, the indicator is equal to 1 if a student reported obtaining news from foreign websites less than once per month. In Panel C, the indicator is equal to 1 if a student’s predicted level of trust (based on background characteristics) was above the median. All regressions include a full set of province and cohort fixed effects (not reported). Robust standard errors in brackets, clustered at the province×cohort level.
Table G.14: Weighted regressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Curriculum</td>
<td>0.262</td>
<td>0.219</td>
<td>0.188</td>
<td>0.161</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>0.067</td>
<td>-0.155</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>0.177</td>
<td>-0.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.087]</td>
<td>[0.066]</td>
<td>[0.066]</td>
<td>[0.092]</td>
<td>[0.034]</td>
<td>[0.046]</td>
<td>[0.073]</td>
<td>[0.095]</td>
<td>[0.102]</td>
<td>[0.096]</td>
<td>[0.075]</td>
<td>[0.031]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>1,765</td>
<td>1,733</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>1,603</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>1,803</td>
<td>1,702</td>
<td>1,708</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>1,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean DV</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.542</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std.Dev. DV</td>
<td>1.910</td>
<td>1.777</td>
<td>1.097</td>
<td>1.357</td>
<td>0.488</td>
<td>0.459</td>
<td>1.202</td>
<td>0.717</td>
<td>1.141</td>
<td>1.178</td>
<td>1.094</td>
<td>0.365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regression weights used are the inverse survey response rates, calculated by province×cohort cell. All regressions include a full set of province and cohort fixed effects (not reported). Robust standard errors in brackets, clustered at the province×cohort level (116 clusters).