

# Meritocracy as Authoritarian Co-Optation: Political Selection and Upward Mobility in China

Hanzhang Liu\*

Online Appendix

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\* Assistant Professor of Political Studies, Pitzer College ([hanzhang.liu@pitzer.edu](mailto:hanzhang.liu@pitzer.edu)).

Figure A1: NCSE Selection Process

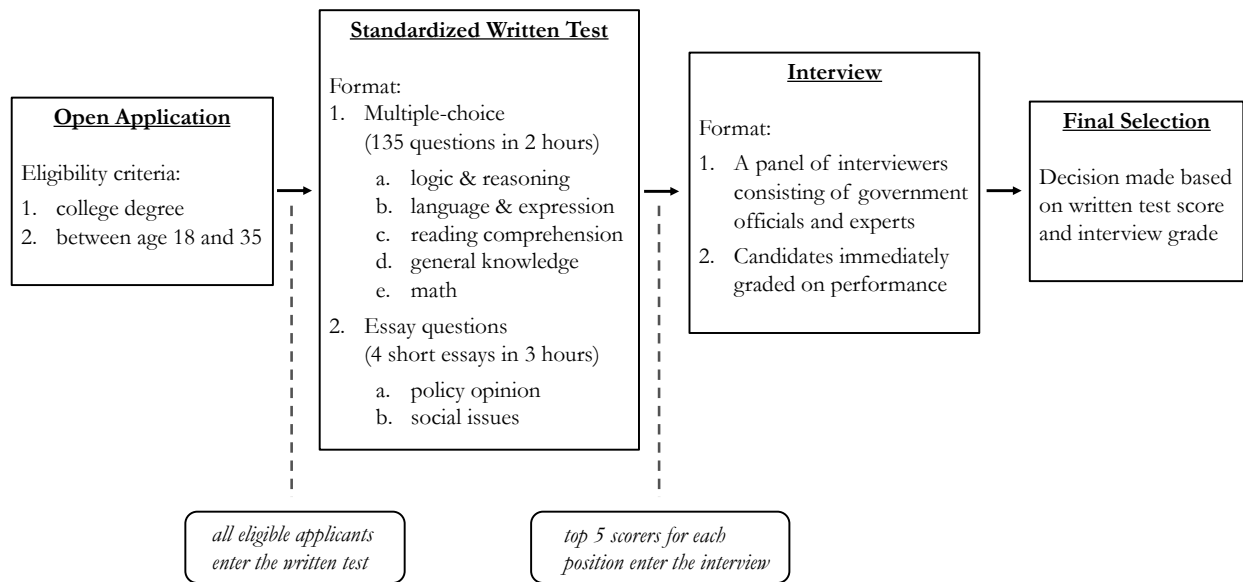
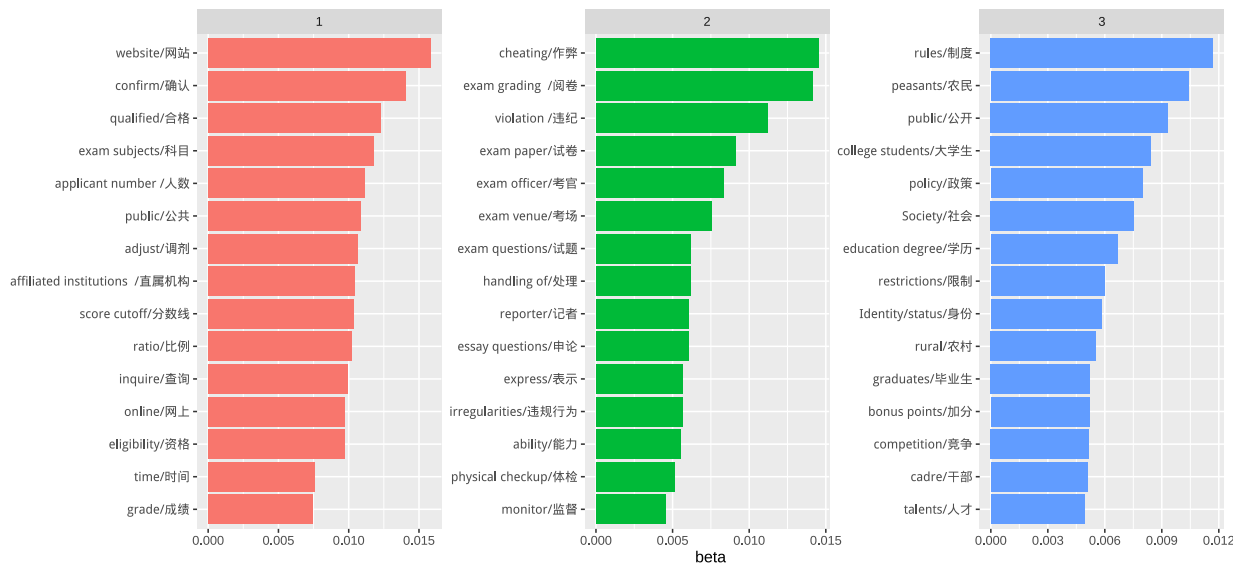
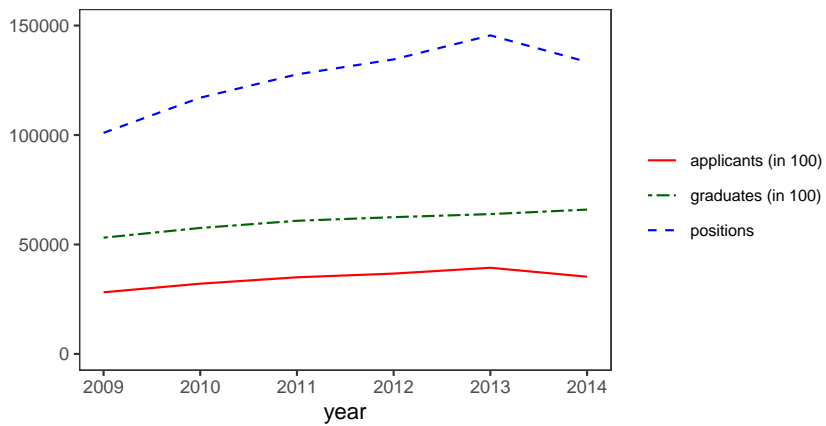


Figure A2: Topics and Keywords in Reporting on NCSE by *People's Daily*



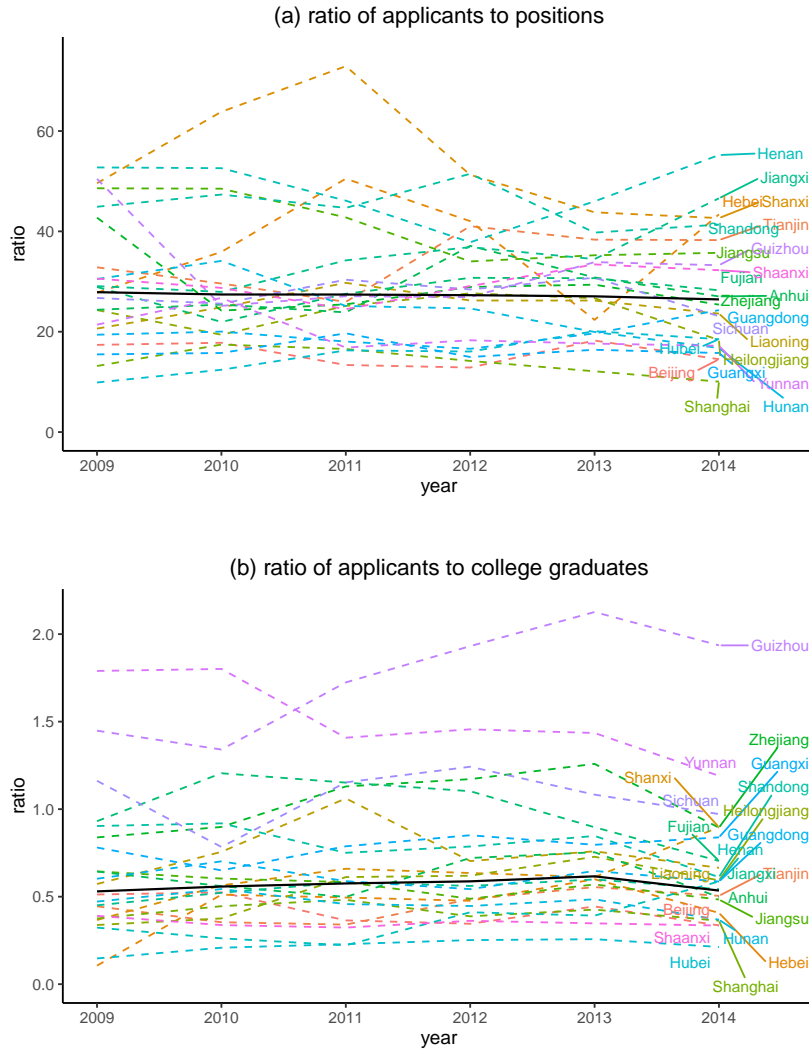
Note: This figure presents the results of a Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) topic model analysis based on all 97 articles published in the *People's Daily* on the topic of civil service exam between 1994 and 2016. Based on the keywords, topic 1 focuses on exam policy and procedure, topic 2 on government effort of reinforce meritocratic practice, and topic 3 on success stories by people from humble origins.

Figure A3: Provincial Exams: Aggregate Numbers



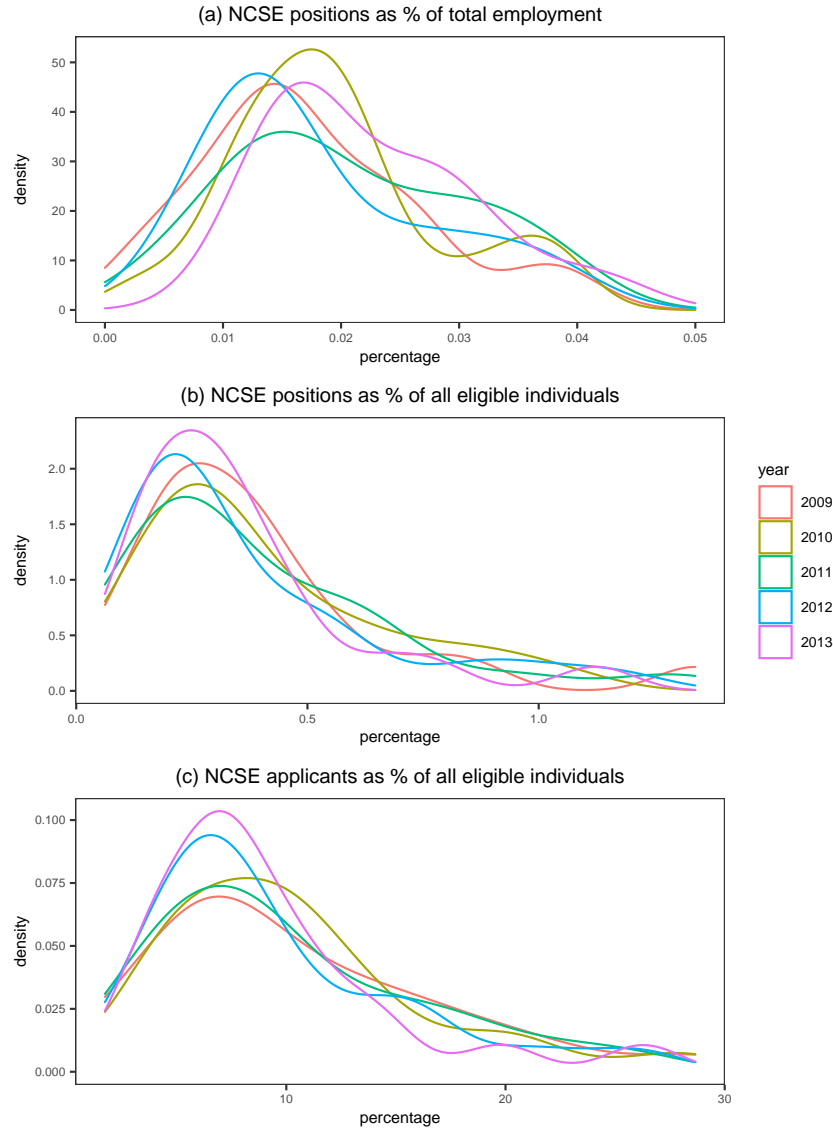
*Note:* This figure reports the aggregated yearly numbers of NCSE positions and applicants in the provincial exams from 22 provinces, as well as the aggregated numbers of new college graduates from these provinces. Data used in this graph are compiled by author from media reports; some provinces are missing due to lack of information.

Figure A4: Provincial Exams: Trends in Individual Provinces



*Note:* Data used in this graph are compiled by author from media reports. In each plot, the color dashed lines in color represent trends in individual provinces, whereas the solid black line represents the national average.

Figure A5: Provincial Exams: Size of Recruitment



*Note:* Plots in this figure are based on province-level data between 1995 and 2013; they illustrate the size of NCSE recruitment relative to the size of the labor market. The number of all eligible individuals in a province in a give year is calculated by summing the 13 cohorts of college students who graduated between that year and 12 years prior, such that everyone was between age 22 and 35. Data on NCSE recruitment are compiled by author from media reports.

Table A1: Official Policies Governing NCSE

Year	Document	Issued By
1994	国家公务员录用暂行规定 Provisional Regulations on National Civil Service Recruitment	DoO, MoP
2001	国家公务员录用面试暂行办法 Provisional Measures on Interviews for National Civil Service Recruitment	MoP
2001	国务院工作部门面试考官资格管理暂行细则 Provisional Regulations on Interviewer Qualifications	MoP
2001	国家公务员通用能力标准框架 General Competency Standard Framework for National Civil Service	MoP
2005	中华人民共和国公务员法 Civil Service Law of People's Republic of China	People's Congress
2005	公务员录用体检通用标准 General Standards of Physical Exam for Civil Service Recruitment	MoP, MoH
2007	公务员录用规定 Regulations on Civil Service Recruitment	DoO, MoP
2007	公务员考核规定 Regulations on Civil Service Assessment	DoO, MoP
2007	行政机关公务员处分条例 Regulations on Disciplinary Punishment in Civil Service	State Council
2008	新录用公务员任职定级规定 Regulations on Ranks for Newly Recruited Civil Servants	DoO, MoHRSS
2008	关于加强防范和打击利用无线电设备及互联网在公务员录用考试中 在公务员录用考试中进行作弊活动的通知 Prevention & Crackdown on Cheating in NCSE with Electronic Equipment	MoHRSS; MIIT; MPS
2009	公务员录用考试违纪违规行为处理办法 Measures for Handling Disciplinary and Regulatory Violations in NCSE	DoO, MoHRSS
2011	新录用公务员试用期管理办法 Administrative Measures on Trial Period of Newly Recruited Civil Servants	DoO, MoHRSS
2011	公务员回避规定 Regulations on Recusal in Civil Service	DoO, MoHRSS
2013	公务员公开遴选办法 Measures on Open Selection in Civil Service	DoO, MoHRSS
2013	人事考试工作人员纪律规定 Disciplinary Regulations for Personnel in NCSE	MoHRSS
2015	公务员录用面试组织管理办法 Measures on Organization and Management of NCSE Interviews	MoHRSS
2019	关于办理组织考试作弊等刑事案件适用法律若干问题的解释 Judicial Interpretation of Applying Criminal Law to Handling Cheating in NCSE	SPC, SPP
2021	公务员录用考察办法 Measures on Civil Service Recruitment Inspection	DoO

*Note:* This list presents a sample of laws, administrative regulations, and judicial opinions that govern and institutionalize civil service recruitment under the NCSE framework.

DoO: CCP Department of Organization; MoP: Ministry of Personnel; MoH: Ministry of Health; MoHRSS: Ministry of Human Resource and Social Security (replaced MoP in 2008); MIIT: Ministry of Industry and Information Technology; MPS: Ministry of Public Security; SPC: Supreme People's Court; SPP: Supreme People's Procuratorate.

Table A2: CGSS Data: Summary Statistics

	N	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
<i><u>Predictor</u></i>					
eligibility at introduction	4648	0.820	0.384	0	1
<i><u>Outcomes of Interest</u></i>					
mobility experience	4627	0.685	1.490	-9	9
mobility prospect	4616	1.415	1.479	-6	9
redistributive preference	2668	3.427	0.992	1	5
political influence	2010	2.629	1.297	1	5
right to political participation	1332	3.876	1.029	1	5
trust in government: central	2003	3.862	1.028	1	5
trust in government: local	2613	3.384	1.080	1	5
trust in government: cadres	2007	2.945	0.950	1	5
<i><u>Respondent Characteristics</u></i>					
male	4648	0.523	0.500	0	1
age	4648	33.53	9.765	18	60
current eligibility for NCSE	4648	0.587	0.492	0	1
Han ethnic	4648	0.933	0.250	0	1
parent(s) in CCP	4648	0.332	0.471	0	1
urban	4633	0.871	0.335	0	1
postgraduate degree	4648	0.039	0.192	0	1
CCP member	4648	0.264	0.441	0	1
civil servant	4648	0.079	0.270	0	1
income (logged)	3920	9.557	2.939	0	14.8
local <i>Hukou</i> before NCSE intro	4648	0.906	0.292	0	1
media consumption: newspaper	4644	3.009	1.139	1	5
media consumption: TV	4642	3.891	1.010	1	5
media consumption: internet	4644	4.120	1.067	1	5



Table A3: Balance of Respondent Characteristics

	eligible=0	eligible=1	unconditional		conditional	
	mean	mean	difference	<i>p</i> -value	difference	<i>p</i> -value
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<b>A. full sample</b>						
male	0.630	0.499	-0.131	0.000	-0.104	0.003
Han ethnic	0.934	0.933	-0.001	0.892	0.006	0.697
urban	0.963	0.851	-0.112	0.000	-0.059	0.001
CCP member	0.457	0.222	-0.235	0.000	-0.192	0.000
civil servant	0.137	0.066	-0.071	0.000	-0.055	0.009
parent(s) in CCP	0.387	0.320	-0.067	0.000	0.021	0.504
newspaper	3.496	2.902	-0.594	0.000	-0.161	0.025
local <i>Hukou</i> before NCSE	0.945	0.898	-0.047	0.000	0.007	0.623
<i>no. of observations</i>	838	3,810				
<b>B. age bandwidth=(-10, 10)</b>						
male	0.622	0.514	-0.109	0.000	-0.092	0.010
Han ethnic	0.938	0.931	-0.007	0.543	0.007	0.645
urban	0.961	0.936	-0.026	0.019	-0.038	0.039
CCP member	0.415	0.325	-0.090	0.000	-0.172	0.000
civil servant	0.145	0.105	-0.040	0.010	-0.048	0.030
parent(s) in CC	0.391	0.399	0.008	0.724	0.004	0.903
newspaper	3.449	3.234	-0.215	0.000	-0.130	0.085
local <i>Hukou</i> before NCSE	0.939	0.916	-0.023	0.067	0.017	0.302
<i>no. of observations</i>	675	1,252				
<b>C. age bandwidth=(-5, 5)</b>						
male	0.619	0.547	-0.072	0.021	-0.089	0.025
Han ethnic	0.941	0.926	-0.014	0.361	0.013	0.396
urban	0.961	0.944	-0.017	0.218	-0.033	0.130
CCP member	0.400	0.369	-0.030	0.320	-0.103	0.007
civil servant	0.155	0.114	-0.041	0.053	-0.034	0.180
parent(s) in CCP	0.379	0.416	0.037	0.229	0.061	0.108
newspaper	3.432	3.355	-0.077	0.266	-0.066	0.413
local <i>Hukou</i> before NCSE	0.927	0.938	0.011	0.485	0.017	0.356
<i>no. of observations</i>	438	596				

*Note:* This table reports the summary statistics of respondent characteristics by their NCSE eligibility at the time of introduction. Columns (1) and (2) report the means for the eligible group and the ineligible group, respectively; columns (3) and (4) report the *raw* differences in means and the *p*-value for a *t*-test of differences in means; columns (5) and (6) report differences in means *conditional* on cohort and province fixed effects.

Table A4: Perceived Upward Mobility by Age Groups

	having moved up		expecting to move up	
	(1)		(2)	
<i>Ineligible Age Groups</i>				
age: 40 and above	0.016	(0.060)	0.064	(0.066)
age: 39	0.041	(0.079)	0.041	(0.085)
age: 38	0.050	(0.072)	0.093	(0.081)
age: 37	0.043	(0.073)	0.081	(0.083)
age: 36	0.003	(0.062)	0.130	(0.079)
<i>Eligible Age Groups</i>				
age: 34	0.128**	(0.062)	0.183**	(0.072)
age: 33	0.132**	(0.065)	0.143*	(0.076)
age: 32	0.164**	(0.064)	0.183***	(0.070)
age: 31	0.145**	(0.066)	0.259***	(0.066)
age: 30 & below	0.182***	(0.053)	0.285***	(0.060)
constant	0.352***	(0.047)	0.404***	(0.055)
observations	1919		1912	
$R^2$	0.182		0.085	

*Note:* The estimates are based on a linear probability regression of each outcome on a set of dummy variables indicating respective age groups, all within 10 years above or below age 35 when NCSE was introduced. The regression controls for province, cohort and survey year fixed effects; standard errors reported in parentheses are clustered at the province  $\times$  cohort level.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table A5: Placebo Test of Baseline Model

	mobility experience	mobility prospect	
	(1)	(2)	(3)
<b>A. NCSE Implemented 5 Years Earlier</b>			
eligibility at introduction	0.106 (0.130)	-0.016 (0.116)	-0.016 (0.116)
current eligibility			0 (.)
observations	672	666	666
$R^2$	0.115	0.146	0.146
<b>B. NCSE Implemented 5 Years Later</b>			
eligibility at introduction	0.061 (0.090)	0.205** (0.090)	0.122 (0.099)
current eligibility			0.254* (0.135)
observations	1345	1343	1343
$R^2$	0.082	0.074	0.077

*Note:* Robust standard errors at the province $\times$ cohort level are reported parentheses. All regressions include province, cohort and survey year fixed effects.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table A6: Predicting the Timing of Province-Level NCSE Introduction

	Year of NCSE Intro				Cox Hazard Model			
	OLS		Panel		Cross-Sectional		Panel	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
GDP (logged)	-0.175 (0.298)	5.421 (19.02)	-0.0490 (0.106)	0.512 (0.422)	0.157 (0.259)	-0.263 (10.51)	0.270 (0.210)	9.578 (6.285)
GDP per capita (logged)	-1.664* (0.819)	-6.322 (18.50)	-0.0224 (0.101)	-0.488 (0.399)	1.149** (0.537)	2.206 (9.919)	0.158 (0.358)	-8.539 (5.965)
GDP growth	-0.615** (0.233)	-0.184 (0.360)	0.00937* (0.00495)	0.00974 (0.00630)	0.328* (0.192)	-0.0260 (0.259)	0.0716 (0.0663)	0.106 (0.0883)
fiscal revenue (logged)	-0.203 (0.312)	0.596 (3.796)	-0.0405 (0.0354)	0.0252 (0.0644)	0.166 (0.278)	-2.379 (2.133)	0.210 (0.182)	0.745 (1.528)
fiscal expenditure (logged)	-0.0166 (0.398)	-2.509 (5.181)	-0.0654 (0.0542)	-0.175 (0.121)	0.0825 (0.320)	2.998 (2.922)	0.184 (0.291)	-2.212 (1.580)
population (logged)	0.349 (0.430)	-4.870 (23.18)	-0.131 (0.0782)	-0.470 (0.305)	-0.0711 (0.253)	-0.401 (12.02)	0.269 (0.231)	-12.20** (6.058)
college graduates (logged)	-0.0319 (0.323)	0.701 (1.845)	0.0117 (0.0562)	0.0440 (0.0767)	0.0418 (0.243)	-0.393 (0.687)	0.253 (0.201)	0.136 (0.666)
employment (logged)	0.279 (0.423)	1.139 (5.979)	-0.104 (0.0766)	-0.0400 (0.135)	-0.0410 (0.236)	0.240 (3.596)	0.275 (0.217)	3.701* (2.165)
unemployment rate	0.334 (0.368)	-0.534 (0.682)	-0.00982 (0.0130)	-0.0123 (0.0178)	-0.225 (0.294)	0.211 (0.419)	-0.601* (0.313)	-0.553 (0.372)
<i>jins</i> hi in Ming (logged)	-0.156 (0.145)	-0.414 (0.380)	-	-	0.0872 (0.0763)	0.289 (0.229)	0.0850 (0.0728)	-0.150 (0.136)
Observations	29	29	465	453	29	29	310	298

*Note:* This table reports regression results on whether province-level characteristics have any predictive power on the timing of NCSE introduction in each province. Columns (1) and (2) report OLS coefficients using cross-sectional data from 1999, i.e., the first year NCSE was introduced at the province level, with the outcome being the year of NCSE introduction. Columns (3) and (4) report coefficients from a fixed effect model using panel data between 1995 and 2009, with the outcome being a dichotomous variable indicating whether a province introduced NCSE in a given year and robust standard errors clustered at the province level. Columns (5) to (8) report Cox hazard coefficients, first using a cross-sectional model at the 1999 level and then using a panel model. Coefficients in odd-numbered columns are from regressions with one predictor, receptively; coefficients from even-numbered columns are from a horse race regression with all predictors. Robust standard errors are shown in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table A7: Robustness of Baseline Estimation with Alternative Model Specifications

coefficient on <i>eligibility at introduction</i>	mobility experience		mobility prospect	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	
A: Baseline				
full sample	0.323	0.325	0.240	
<i>p-value</i>	[0.0002]***	[0.0004]***	[0.0084]***	
<i>Wild bootstrap p-value</i>	[0.0006]***	[0.0005]***	[0.0047]***	
age bandwidth=(-10, 10)	0.336	0.298	0.255	
<i>p-value</i>	[0.0002]***	[0.0008]***	[0.0044]***	
<i>Wild bootstrap p-value</i>	[0.0014]***	[0.0003]***	[0.0022]***	
age bandwidth=(-5, 5)	0.281	0.208	0.190	
<i>p-value</i>	[0.0087]***	[0.0589]*	[0.0771]*	
<i>Wild bootstrap p-value</i>	[0.0177]**	[0.0294]**	[0.0635]*	
B: With Province×Cohort-Level Controls				
full sample	0.320***	0.324***	0.240***	
	(0.086)	(0.091)	(0.091)	
age bandwidth=(-10, 10)	0.352***	0.308***	0.264***	
	(0.089)	(0.090)	(0.091)	
age bandwidth=(-5, 5)	0.306***	0.217*	0.199*	
	(0.107)	(0.111)	(0.108)	
C: With Individual-Level Controls				
full sample	0.326***	0.303***	0.227**	
	(0.086)	(0.092)	(0.092)	
age bandwidth=(-10, 10)	0.340***	0.276***	0.236***	
	(0.088)	(0.090)	(0.091)	
age bandwidth=(-5, 5)	0.293***	0.201*	0.182*	
	(0.106)	(0.112)	(0.108)	
D: Controlling for Provincial Economy×Cohort Fixed Effects				
full sample	0.298***	0.616***	0.293***	
	(0.073)	(0.076)	(0.078)	
age bandwidth=(-10, 10)	0.250***	0.226***	0.169**	
	(0.082)	(0.079)	(0.082)	
age bandwidth=(-5, 5)	0.187*	0.194*	0.178*	
	(0.098)	(0.101)	(0.099)	

*Note:* This table reports coefficient estimates on *eligibility at introduction*; standard errors clustered at the province×cohort level are reported in parentheses. All regressions include province, cohort and survey year fixed effects, which can be found in the online replication repository. Panel A reports coefficient estimates from the baseline model with *p*-values for two standard errors, one at the province×cohort level and the other at the province level with wild bootstrap implemented. Panel B controls for GDP, GDP per capita, fiscal revenue, fiscal expenditure, population, and employment at the province×cohort level. Panel C controls for individual covariates including gender, ethnicity, *hukou*, parent(s) in CCP and civil servant. Panel D includes an interaction between a province's 1999 GDP per capita and cohort fixed effects.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table A8: Robustness of Baseline Estimation with Alternative Samples

	mobility experience	mobility prospect	
	(1)	(2)	(3)
A: Excluding Respondents with <i>Hukou</i> Change			
<b>full sample</b>			
eligibility at introduction	0.323*** (0.085)	0.333*** (0.094)	0.247*** (0.093)
current eligibility			0.545*** (0.076)
observations	4189	4182	4182
$R^2$	0.063	0.156	0.167
<b>age bandwidth=(-10, 10)</b>			
eligibility at introduction	0.329*** (0.091)	0.303*** (0.091)	0.261*** (0.092)
current eligibility			0.256** (0.117)
observations	1774	1767	1767
$R^2$	0.075	0.078	0.080
<b>age bandwidth=(-5, 5)</b>			
eligibility at introduction	0.293*** (0.109)	0.210* (0.115)	0.192* (0.112)
current eligibility			0.406 (0.572)
observations	960	956	956
$R^2$	0.088	0.113	0.114
B: Excluding Respondents with Postgraduate Degrees			
<b>full sample</b>			
eligibility at introduction	0.333*** (0.087)	0.332*** (0.093)	0.248*** (0.092)
current eligibility			0.538*** (0.075)
observations	4445	4434	4434
$R^2$	0.062	0.160	0.170
<b>age bandwidth=(-10, 10)</b>			
eligibility at introduction	0.347*** (0.089)	0.316*** (0.090)	0.269*** (0.091)
current eligibility			0.288** (0.115)
observations	1864	1858	1858
$R^2$	0.077	0.078	0.081
<b>age bandwidth=(-5, 5)</b>			
eligibility at introduction	0.292*** (0.108)	0.218* (0.111)	0.198* (0.108)
current eligibility			0.473 (0.560)
observations	1003	999	999
$R^2$	0.090	0.108	0.109

*Note:* Panel A replicates the baseline model without respondents who obtained *Hukou* in current locality after NCSE introduction in that province; Panel B replicates the baseline model without respondents with a postgraduate degree. All regressions include province, cohort, and survey year effects, which can be found in the online repository repository. Robust standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the province  $\times$  cohort level.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table A9: Effects of Mobility Prospect on Political Attitude

	political attitude			trust in government		
	redistribution (1)	influence (2)	participation (3)	central (4)	local (5)	cadres (6)
<b>A: OLS</b>						
mobility prospect	-0.043*** (0.016)	0.032 (0.024)	0.016 (0.023)	-0.024 (0.017)	-0.006 (0.016)	-0.028** (0.014)
observations	2651	1993	1321	1986	2589	1993
$R^2$	0.040	0.068	0.056	0.138	0.095	0.195
<b>B: Reduced Form</b> ( <i>predictor: eligibility at introduction</i> )						
full sample	-0.194** (0.092)	-0.057 (0.137)	-0.075 (0.121)	-0.126 (0.090)	0.010 (0.094)	0.026 (0.089)
observations	2666	2007	1329	2000	2610	2004
$R^2$	0.038	0.069	0.055	0.136	0.095	0.192
age bandwidth=(-10, 10)	-0.175* (0.096)	-0.141 (0.139)	-0.135 (0.128)	-0.136 (0.094)	0.047 (0.099)	0.035 (0.093)
observations	1103	870	596	867	1119	859
$R^2$	0.047	0.109	0.142	0.155	0.119	0.229
age bandwidth=(-5, 5)	-0.200* (0.110)	-0.160 (0.166)	-0.095 (0.149)	-0.011 (0.113)	0.106 (0.104)	0.110 (0.099)
observations	569	478	324	478	625	461
$R^2$	0.102	0.151	0.181	0.200	0.176	0.343
<b>C: Instrumental Variable</b> ( <i>predictor: mobility prospect</i> )						
full sample ( <i>F-stat=12.64</i> )	-0.627** (0.285)	-0.215 (0.424)	-0.230 (0.372)	-0.388 (0.281)	0.004 (0.284)	0.104 (0.275)
observations	2651	1993	1321	1986	2589	1993
age bandwidth=(-10, 10) ( <i>F-stat=11.34</i> )	-0.620* (0.325)	-0.508 (0.471)	-0.460 (0.431)	-0.462 (0.320)	0.115 (0.325)	0.158 (0.314)
observations	1099	864	594	861	1108	855
age bandwidth=(-5, 5) ( <i>F-stat=3.59</i> )	-1.048* (0.534)	-0.792 (0.803)	-0.494 (0.725)	-0.108 (0.546)	0.475 (0.499)	0.624 (0.480)
observations	566	475	323	475	620	458

*Note:* This table presents the estimated effects of mobility prospect on individual attitude. Panel A reports OLS estimates; full results are reported in Table A11. Panel B reports reduced form estimates, and Panel C presents IV estimates. All regressions include province, cohort and survey year fixed effects, which can be found in the online replication repository. Robust standard errors clustered at the province  $\times$  cohort level are reported in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table A10: OLS Estimate of Mobility Experience on Political Attitude

	political attitude				trust in government							
	redistribution		influence		participation			central		local		cadres
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
mobility experience	-0.033** (0.013)	-0.030** (0.015)	0.059*** (0.019)	0.046** (0.021)	-0.022 (0.017)	-0.028 (0.019)	0.036** (0.016)	0.043** (0.018)	0.063*** (0.018)	0.078*** (0.019)	0.043*** (0.014)	0.046*** (0.015)
male		0.012 (0.043)		0.095 (0.065)		0.200*** (0.065)		-0.028 (0.049)		-0.087* (0.046)		-0.042 (0.049)
age		0.015** (0.006)		-0.004 (0.009)		0.015 (0.009)		0.020*** (0.006)		0.008 (0.006)		0.012* (0.007)
Han ethnic		-0.070 (0.100)		-0.068 (0.137)		-0.079 (0.147)		0.008 (0.100)		-0.075 (0.093)		-0.070 (0.097)
urban		0.284*** (0.065)		-0.170 (0.123)		0.015 (0.131)		-0.142 (0.092)		0.036 (0.084)		-0.049 (0.075)
CCP member		-0.056 (0.056)		0.157** (0.080)		-0.096 (0.075)		0.038 (0.060)		0.078 (0.055)		0.043 (0.055)
civil servant		0.069 (0.080)		0.192 (0.125)		0.192* (0.098)		0.181** (0.080)		0.375*** (0.084)		0.167** (0.084)
parent in CCP		-0.082* (0.047)		0.062 (0.068)		-0.076 (0.068)		0.043 (0.055)		0.037 (0.049)		0.010 (0.047)
income (logged)		-0.006 (0.008)		-0.009 (0.014)		0.005 (0.013)		-0.015* (0.009)		-0.010 (0.009)		-0.008 (0.008)
newspaper		0.024 (0.021)		0.047 (0.030)		0.010 (0.032)		0.024 (0.025)		0.030 (0.024)		0.040* (0.023)
TV		0.008 (0.024)		0.042 (0.033)		-0.075** (0.033)		0.070*** (0.025)		0.067*** (0.022)		0.035 (0.024)
Internet		0.011 (0.022)		0.027 (0.035)		0.050 (0.034)		-0.024 (0.026)		-0.006 (0.024)		-0.023 (0.023)
constant	3.455*** (0.021)	2.709*** (0.257)	2.585*** (0.031)	2.468*** (0.418)	3.893*** (0.029)	3.420*** (0.385)	3.833*** (0.027)	3.142*** (0.284)	3.345*** (0.024)	2.848*** (0.267)	2.911*** (0.022)	2.480*** (0.284)
observations	2653	2202	1999	1623	1324	1046	1992	1617	2600	2112	1996	1629
R <sup>2</sup>	0.040	0.058	0.072	0.086	0.057	0.101	0.138	0.169	0.100	0.139	0.197	0.229

Note: This table represents the OLS estimates of *mobility experience* on political attitude. All regressions include province, cohort and survey year fixed effects, which can be found in the online replication repository. Robust standard errors clustered at the province  $\times$  cohort level are reported in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$



Table A11: OLS Estimate of Mobility Prospect on Political Attitude

	political attitude				trust in government							
	redistribution		influence		participation			central		local		cadres
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
mobility prospect	-0.043*** (0.016)	-0.037** (0.017)	0.032 (0.024)	0.025 (0.027)	0.016 (0.023)	0.037 (0.026)	-0.024 (0.017)	-0.009 (0.020)	-0.006 (0.016)	0.014 (0.018)	-0.028** (0.014)	-0.041** (0.017)
male		0.018 (0.042)		0.090 (0.065)		0.188*** (0.066)		-0.020 (0.050)		-0.079* (0.046)		-0.026 (0.049)
age		0.015** (0.006)		-0.005 (0.009)		0.017** (0.009)		0.017*** (0.006)		0.006 (0.006)		0.008 (0.007)
Han ethnic		-0.089 (0.100)		-0.078 (0.138)		-0.071 (0.147)		-0.011 (0.101)		-0.093 (0.095)		-0.082 (0.098)
urban		0.279*** (0.066)		-0.169 (0.124)		0.030 (0.133)		-0.135 (0.093)		0.036 (0.084)		-0.075 (0.073)
CCP member		-0.067 (0.056)		0.170** (0.080)		-0.097 (0.075)		0.049 (0.060)		0.089 (0.055)		0.045 (0.055)
civil servant		0.065 (0.080)		0.193 (0.126)		0.201** (0.098)		0.170** (0.081)		0.368*** (0.085)		0.163* (0.083)
parent in CCP		-0.076 (0.046)		0.053 (0.068)		-0.076 (0.069)		0.031 (0.054)		0.035 (0.050)		0.007 (0.046)
income (logged)		-0.009 (0.008)		-0.008 (0.014)		0.005 (0.013)		-0.014 (0.009)		-0.009 (0.009)		-0.006 (0.008)
newspaper		0.023 (0.021)		0.044 (0.031)		0.008 (0.032)		0.021 (0.025)		0.032 (0.025)		0.042* (0.023)
TV		0.004 (0.024)		0.047 (0.033)		-0.071** (0.033)		0.072*** (0.025)		0.072*** (0.023)		0.027 (0.024)
Internet		0.014 (0.022)		0.029 (0.035)		0.049 (0.034)		-0.022 (0.026)		-0.007 (0.025)		-0.020 (0.023)
constant	3.488*** (0.029)	2.777*** (0.269)	2.585*** (0.041)	2.471*** (0.435)	3.853*** (0.039)	3.225*** (0.398)	3.894*** (0.031)	3.268*** (0.294)	3.390*** (0.031)	2.911*** (0.278)	2.988*** (0.027)	2.736*** (0.288)
observations	2651	2199	1993	1620	1321	1043	1986	1614	2589	2105	1993	1626
R <sup>2</sup>	0.040	0.059	0.068	0.084	0.056	0.102	0.138	0.165	0.095	0.132	0.195	0.228

Note: This table represents the OLS estimates of *mobility prospect* on political attitude. All regressions include province, cohort and survey year fixed effects, which can be found in the online replication repository. Robust standard errors clustered at the province  $\times$  cohort level are reported in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table A12: BCPS Data: Summary Statistics

	N	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
years of NCSE	4664	5.756	1.888	0	10
<i>Career Preference</i>					
government organs	4718	0.103	0.304	0	1
civil service	4718	0.128	0.334	0	1
<i>Respondent Characteristics</i>					
male	4718	0.526	0.499	0	1
Han ethnic	4718	0.885	0.319	0	1
parent(s) in CCP	4718	0.475	0.499	0	1
parent(s) in government	4718	0.184	0.388	0	1
parent(s) as state official	4718	0.155	0.361	0	1
hometown in big city	4718	0.309	0.462	0	1
<i>Gaokao</i> score	4463	580.0	76.20	35	886
CCP member	4718	0.154	0.361	0	1
extra-curricular activity	4710	1.086	0.908	0	4.51

Table A13: College Students' Career Preference

<b>Most preferred work place</b>	Frequency	Percent
foreign or joint venture enterprises	1,583	33.55
large state-owned enterprises	711	15.07
CCP and government organs	486	10.3
research institutes	421	8.92
other state- or collectively-owned enterprises	385	8.16
schools	355	7.52
start-ups	314	6.65
public institutions	253	5.36
private enterprises	107	2.27
others	93	1.97
missing	10	0.23
<b>total</b>	<b>4,718</b>	<b>100</b>

<b>Most desirable profession</b>	Frequency	Percent
corporate Manager	1,315	27.87
researcher	736	15.6
skilled professional (engineer, doctor, lawyer, etc.)	686	14.54
civil servant	604	12.8
media, culture, and sports professional	521	11.04
teacher	293	6.21
salesperson	168	3.56
technician	151	3.2
clerk	116	2.46
others	122	2.59
missing	6	0.15
<b>total</b>	<b>4,718</b>	<b>100</b>

Table A14: Average Career Preference by NCSE Implementation Years

	gov organs		civil service	
<b>A: provinces and municipalities</b>				
0 year	0.039	(0.017)	0.070	(0.023)
2 years	0.090	(0.018)	0.090	(0.018)
4 years	0.080	(0.012)	0.084	(0.012)
5 years	0.104	(0.009)	0.117	(0.010)
6 years	0.097	(0.013)	0.125	(0.014)
7 years	0.117	(0.008)	0.160	(0.009)
8 years	0.124	(0.015)	0.159	(0.016)
10 years	0.080	(0.029)	0.057	(0.025)
<b>B: provinces only</b>				
0 year	0.039	(0.017)	0.070	(0.023)
2 years	0.090	(0.018)	0.090	(0.018)
4 years	0.080	(0.012)	0.084	(0.012)
5 years	0.104	(0.009)	0.117	(0.010)
6 years	0.107	(0.014)	0.130	(0.016)
7 years	0.102	(0.021)	0.093	(0.020)
8 years	0.124	(0.015)	0.159	(0.016)

*Note:* This table reports the means of dummy variables, *government organs* and *civil service*, based on the number of years NCSE has been implemented in a province as of 2009; standard errors of means are reported in parentheses.

Table A15: Heterogeneous Effects of NCSE Institutionalization

	government organs			civil service		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<b>A: students with parents as state official</b>						
years of NCSE	0.030 (0.056)	0.016 (0.087)	-0.002 (0.085)	0.103** (0.050)	0.064 (0.082)	0.043 (0.081)
male		0.502** (0.233)	0.507** (0.233)		0.238 (0.236)	0.243 (0.237)
Han ethnic		-0.234 (0.254)	-0.230 (0.252)		-0.126 (0.274)	-0.129 (0.274)
parent(s) in CCP		1.065** (0.513)	1.066** (0.515)		0.615 (0.439)	0.585 (0.435)
parent(s) in government		1.246** (0.485)	1.245** (0.485)		0.728** (0.350)	0.724** (0.351)
hometown in big city		-0.204 (0.288)	-0.202 (0.286)		-0.326 (0.231)	-0.327 (0.229)
<i>Gaokao</i> score		-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)		-0.001 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.002)
CCP member		0.536** (0.272)	0.529** (0.269)		0.652*** (0.225)	0.648*** (0.224)
extra-curricular activity		0.006 (0.114)	0.006 (0.113)		-0.024 (0.111)	-0.024 (0.111)
<i>province characteristics</i>		<i>current</i>	<i>lagged</i>		<i>current</i>	<i>lagged</i>
constant	-1.829*** (0.345)	3.645 (12.752)	0.707 (11.495)	-2.125*** (0.314)	14.112 (12.397)	11.266 (11.624)
observations	724	659	659	724	659	659
pseudo $R^2$	0.001	0.134	0.133	0.006	0.102	0.101
<b>B: students without parents as state official</b>						
years of NCSE	0.103*** (0.038)	0.122** (0.051)	0.121** (0.051)	0.119** (0.051)	0.103** (0.048)	0.104** (0.047)
male		0.114 (0.110)	0.114 (0.110)		-0.108 (0.112)	-0.107 (0.111)
Han ethnic		-0.629*** (0.191)	-0.625*** (0.190)		-0.450** (0.180)	-0.453** (0.180)
parent(s) in CCP		-0.073 (0.114)	-0.070 (0.114)		-0.023 (0.089)	-0.024 (0.089)
parent(s) in government		0.685*** (0.228)	0.685*** (0.228)		0.542* (0.304)	0.544* (0.303)
hometown in big city		-0.559*** (0.119)	-0.562*** (0.117)		-0.591*** (0.114)	-0.588*** (0.115)
<i>Gaokao</i> score		-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)		-0.002** (0.001)	-0.002** (0.001)
CCP member		0.471*** (0.153)	0.474*** (0.153)		0.442*** (0.132)	0.438*** (0.131)
extra-curricular activity		0.188** (0.078)	0.188** (0.078)		0.092 (0.077)	0.093 (0.078)
<i>province characteristics</i>		<i>current</i>	<i>lagged</i>		<i>current</i>	<i>lagged</i>
constant	-2.885*** (0.234)	-10.890 (7.239)	-8.477 (6.566)	-2.704*** (0.267)	-17.674*** (6.621)	-13.914** (6.047)
observations	3940	3761	3761	3940	3761	3761
pseudo $R^2$	0.005	0.085	0.084	0.007	0.077	0.076

Note: This table presents logistic regression estimates of respondents' career preference on *years of NCSE* in their respective home provinces; standard errors clustered at home city level are reported in parentheses. All regressions include fixed effects of academic major, class year, and college type, which, along with coefficient estimates on province characteristics, can be found in the online replication depository.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table A16: Heterogeneous Effects of NCSE Institutionalization: Alternative Subgroups

	government organs			civil service		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<b>A1: students with parents in government</b>						
years of NCSE	0.114*	0.066	0.057	0.121*	0.037	0.029
	(0.061)	(0.079)	(0.078)	(0.069)	(0.075)	(0.074)
male		0.360	0.360*		0.215	0.216
		(0.219)	(0.219) *		(0.206)	(0.205)
Han ethnic		-0.358	-0.346		-0.399	-0.399
		(0.222)	(0.221)		(0.246)	(0.247)
parent(s) in CCP		0.444*	0.447*		0.176	0.179
		(0.229)	(0.231)		(0.203)	(0.204)
parent(s) in government		0	0		0	0
		(.)	(.)		(.)	(.)
hometown in big city		-0.186	-0.190		-0.293	-0.296
		(0.238)	(0.240)		(0.203)	(0.203)
<i>Gaokao</i> score		-0.002	-0.002		-0.002	-0.003*
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.002)	(0.002)
CCP member		0.275	0.280		0.434*	0.436*
		(0.287)	(0.289)		(0.234)	(0.234)
extra-curricular activity		0.105	0.104		0.002	-0.000
		(0.123)	(0.123)		(0.152)	(0.151)
<i>province characteristics</i>		<i>current</i>	<i>lagged</i>		<i>current</i>	<i>lagged</i>
constant	-2.212***	-8.787	-7.219	-2.127***	-5.644	-5.567
	(0.348)	(10.775)	(9.590)	(0.350)	(11.099)	(10.101)
observations	864	796	796	864	796	796
pseudo $R^2$	0.007	0.087	0.087	0.007	0.080	0.080
<b>A2: students with parents in CCP</b>						
years of NCSE	0.058	0.076	0.071	0.073*	0.065	0.058
	(0.040)	(0.063)	(0.061)	(0.039)	(0.051)	(0.050)
male		0.286**	0.283**		0.086	0.088
		(0.141)	(0.140)		(0.143)	(0.143)
Han ethnic		-0.390**	-0.382**		-0.318*	-0.316*
		(0.179)	(0.179)		(0.182)	(0.182)
parent(s) in CCP		0	0		0	0
		(.)	(.)		(.)	(.)
parent(s) in government		0.909***	0.908***		0.640***	0.640***
		(0.181)	(0.181)		(0.205)	(0.206)
hometown in big city		-0.396**	-0.401**		-0.498***	-0.502***
		(0.169)	(0.168)		(0.143)	(0.143)
<i>Gaokao</i> score		-0.002*	-0.002*		-0.002**	-0.002**
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
CCP member		0.620***	0.626***		0.560***	0.560***
		(0.181)	(0.183)		(0.152)	(0.152)
extra-curricular activity		0.163*	0.161*		0.095	0.094
		(0.093)	(0.093)		(0.083)	(0.083)
<i>province characteristics</i>		<i>current</i>	<i>lagged</i>		<i>current</i>	<i>lagged</i>
constant	-2.374***	-9.014	-6.922	-2.244***	-4.410	-2.228
	(0.259)	(8.661)	(7.725)	(0.227)	(7.679)	(6.967)
observations	2213	2052	2052	2213	2052	2052
pseudo $R^2$	0.002	0.123	0.123	0.003	0.082	0.082

(Table continues on next page)

Table A16 (continued)

	government organs			civil service		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<b>B1: students without parents in government</b>						
years of NCSE	0.074** (0.036)	0.099* (0.051)	0.094* (0.050)	0.114*** (0.043)	0.109** (0.047)	0.106** (0.046)
male		0.094 (0.119)	0.093 (0.119)		-0.140 (0.108)	-0.141 (0.108)
Han ethnic		-0.605*** (0.195)	-0.603*** (0.195)		-0.375** (0.174)	-0.374** (0.174)
parent(s) in CCP		-0.062 (0.123)	-0.060 (0.124)		0.027 (0.104)	0.027 (0.104)
parent(s) in government		0 (.)	0 (.)		0 (.)	0 (.)
hometown in big city		-0.637*** (0.158)	-0.641*** (0.157)		-0.672*** (0.134)	-0.670*** (0.134)
<i>Gaokao</i> score		-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)		-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001* (0.001)
CCP member		0.566*** (0.144)	0.568*** (0.144)		0.485*** (0.136)	0.481*** (0.136)
extra-curricular activity		0.172** (0.068)	0.171** (0.068)		0.096 (0.064)	0.097 (0.064)
<i>province characteristics</i>		<i>current</i>	<i>lagged</i>		<i>current</i>	<i>lagged</i>
constant	-2.778*** (0.228)	-3.537 (7.207)	-2.010 (6.654)	-2.730*** (0.240)	-10.245 (6.561)	-6.789 (6.060)
observations	3800	3624	3624	3800	3624	3624
pseudo $R^2$	0.002	0.089	0.089	0.006	0.075	0.075
<b>B2: students without parents in CCP</b>						
years of NCSE	0.110** (0.045)	0.115* (0.062)	0.111* (0.062)	0.158*** (0.056)	0.128** (0.057)	0.130** (0.057)
male		0.087 (0.136)	0.088 (0.136)		-0.166 (0.138)	-0.163 (0.137)
Han ethnic		-0.677*** (0.240)	-0.674*** (0.237)		-0.453** (0.216)	-0.451** (0.215)
parent(s) in CCP		0 (.)	0 (.)		0 (.)	0 (.)
parent(s) in government		0.548* (0.316)	0.550* (0.316)		0.618** (0.295)	0.622** (0.294)
hometown in big city		-0.561*** (0.146)	-0.565*** (0.146)		-0.606*** (0.146)	-0.605*** (0.146)
<i>Gaokao</i> score		-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)		-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
CCP member		0.362* (0.189)	0.363* (0.189)		0.434*** (0.157)	0.430*** (0.157)
extra-curricular activity		0.149** (0.074)	0.150** (0.074)		0.058 (0.086)	0.060 (0.087)
<i>province characteristics</i>		<i>current</i>	<i>lagged</i>		<i>current</i>	<i>lagged</i>
constant	-2.927*** (0.269)	-4.594 (8.941)	-3.010 (8.428)	-2.949*** (0.298)	-17.383** (8.213)	-14.285* (7.398)
observations	2451	2368	2368	2451	2368	2368
pseudo $R^2$	0.005	0.071	0.071	0.011	0.080	0.080

Note: This table presents logistic regression estimates of respondents' career preference on *years of NCSE* in their respective home provinces; standard errors clustered at home city level are reported in parentheses. All regressions include fixed effects of academic major, class year, and college type, which, along with coefficient estimates on province characteristics, can be found in the online replication depository.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$