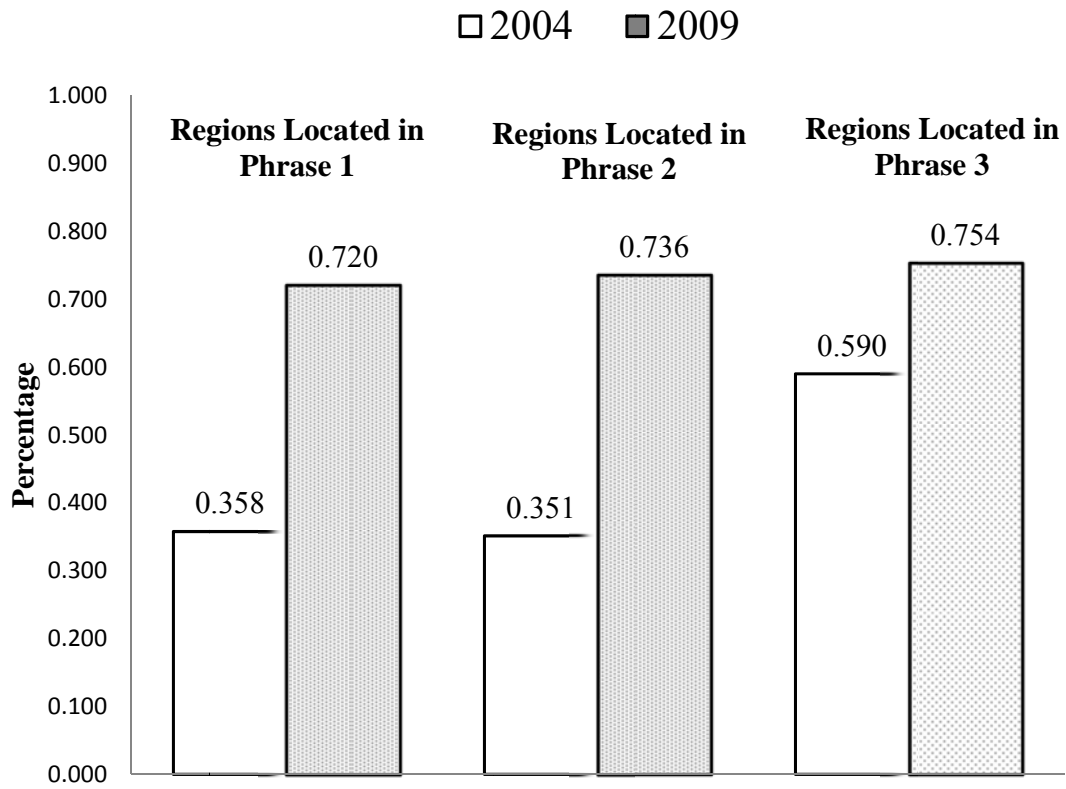


Online Appendix – Figure A1



Source: 2004 and 2009 “Chinese Attitudes toward Inequality and Distributive Injustice” survey.

Online Appendix - Tables

TABLE A1 Mean Estimates and Difference in Mean Test of Attitudes

Gov. Responsibility of Financing Compulsive Edu.			
Implementation Timing			
	Phase 1 (2006)	Phase 3 (2008)	Difference
	(1)	(2)	(3)
2009 Survey	0.720 (0.027)	0.754 (0.012)	-0.033 (0.030)
2004 Survey	0.358 (0.025)	0.590 (0.013)	-0.232 (0.028)
Difference	0.363 (0.039)	0.163 (0.018)	0.199 (0.041)
	Phase 2 (2007)	Phase 3 (2008)	Difference
	(1)	(2)	(3)
2009 Survey	0.736 (0.012)	0.754 (0.012)	-0.018 (0.017)
2004 Survey	0.351 (0.013)	0.590 (0.013)	-0.239 (0.018)
Difference	0.385 (0.018)	0.163 (0.018)	0.221 (0.025)

Note: The data is based on 10 multiple-imputed datasets. Column 1-2 report the mean estimates for survey response in each group, with standard errors in the parentheses. Column 3 reports the difference in mean tests, with standard errors in the parentheses.

TABLE A2 Robustness Check: Political Attitudes of Government Responsibility in Other Policy Dimensions

	Reducing Income Inequality		Financing College Education		Financing Healthcare		Financing Pension		Providing Jobs	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Policy Effect ($\delta_{1,3}$)	0.108 (0.224)		-0.000 (0.199)		-0.162 (0.206)		0.215 (0.345)		0.332 (0.308)	
Policy Effect ($\delta_{2,3}$)		-0.030 (0.188)		0.100 (0.142)		0.311** (0.150)		0.368** (0.184)		0.157 (0.156)
Demographic Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Provincial Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3420	5539	3420	5539	3420	5539	3420	5539	3420	5539

Note: These are probit results. The dependent variables are dichotomous measures, and they are coded 1 for respondents who support the statement on government responsibility and 0 otherwise. The analyses are based on 10 multiple-imputed datasets. Clustered standard errors at the county level are reported in the parentheses. I do not report the estimates for demographic controls, which include age, gender, education attainment, marital status, party membership, household income level, and residential registration (hukou) status. I also do not report the estimates for constants, provincial and year dummies. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

TABLE A3 Robustness Check: Program Induced Migration and Endowment Effect

Government Responsibility in Financing Compulsory Education						
	Non-Migrant Only		W/T Child Under 18		W/ Child Under 18	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Policy Effect ($\delta_{1,3}$)	0.439** (0.203)		0.450 (0.287)		0.396 (0.248)	
Policy Effect ($\delta_{2,3}$)		0.502*** (0.156)		0.473** (0.197)		0.586*** (0.168)
Demographic Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Provincial Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2501	4470	1814	3025	1606	2514

Note: These are probit results. The analyses are based on 10 multiple-imputed datasets. Clustered standard errors at the county level are reported in the parentheses. I do not report the estimates for demographic controls, which include age, gender, education attainment, marital status, party membership, household income level, and residential registration (hukou) status. I also do not report the estimates for constants, provincial and year dummies. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

TABLE A4 Robustness Check: Impacts of Economic Well-being

	Government Responsibility in Financing Compulsory Education							
	Annual Family Income ≤10,000 RMB		Annual Family Income > 10,000 RMB		Full Sample			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Policy Effect ($\delta_{1,3}$)	0.249 (0.270)		0.472* (0.275)		0.358* (0.213)		0.366* (0.213)	
Policy Effect ($\delta_{2,3}$)		0.502** (0.221)		0.414*** (0.165)		0.527*** (0.160)		0.528*** (0.161)
Economic Welfare in the last 5 years					-0.042 (0.032)	-0.037 (0.027)		
Economic Welfare in the next 5 years							-0.060 (0.042)	-0.034 (0.033)
Demographic Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Provincial Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1142	2278	2280	3259	3420	5539	3420	5539

Note: These are probit results. The analyses are based on 10 multiple-imputed datasets. Clustered standard errors at the county level are reported in the parentheses. I did not report the estimates for demographic controls, which include age, gender, education attainment, marital status, party membership, household income level, and residential registration (hukou) status. I also did not report the estimates for constants and provincial dummies. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

TABLE A5 Newspaper Article Counts in Provincial Newspaper

Province	Relevant Articles		Total Articles		% of Total Articles	
	2008	2009	2008	2009	2008	2009
Anhui	24	24	3750	3767	0.64%	0.64%
Beijing	15	11	5226	4405	0.29%	0.25%
Fujian	59	25	4437	4178	1.33%	0.60%
Guangdong	49	33	6183	4708	0.79%	0.70%
Guangxi	37	25	5060	4555	0.73%	0.55%
Guizhou	66	41	6008	5084	1.10%	0.81%
Hainan	63	34	4125	3670	1.53%	0.93%
Hebei	37	10	5006	4276	0.74%	0.23%
Heilongjiang	44	20	4425	6436	0.99%	0.31%
Henan	78	32	7098	4596	1.10%	0.70%
Hubei	34	39	7372	7578	0.46%	0.51%
Hunan	31	24	4809	3999	0.64%	0.60%
Jiangsu	53	12	5344	4584	0.99%	0.26%
Jiangxi	26	27	2532	3173	1.03%	0.85%
Liaoning	52	15	5548	3898	0.94%	0.38%
Ningxia	44	12	3942	3957	1.12%	0.30%
Shaanxi	76	59	6915	6058	1.10%	0.97%
Shandong	53	27	7187	4964	0.74%	0.54%
Shanghai	17	0	4604	4086	0.37%	0.00%
Shanxi	83	70	6162	5935	1.35%	1.18%
Yunan	73	48	5315	4973	1.37%	0.97%
Zhejiang	19	18	2125	2689	0.89%	0.67%
Mean	20.65	16.59	1397.34	1107.57	0.33%	0.29%
S.D.	46.95	27.55	5144.23	4616.77	0.92%	0.59%

Note: The news articles were counted by searching the *China Core Newspapers Full-text Database* for all the provinces except for Shandong. The news articles from the Shandong provincial newspaper were counted by using *Wisers Information Portal*. I first used the following three Chinese keywords to search the content of the news articles: “two eliminations and one subsidy” (*liangmian yibu*); “school fees” (*xueza fei*); “compulsory education” (*yiwu jiaoyu*). I then read through each article in the search results to ensure it is about the policy of school fees abolition. I only conducted this analysis for the provinces that have data in the survey.

TABLE A6 Robustness Check: Alternative News Reporting Intensity Measure I

Panel 1	Central Government		Local Government	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Standardized # of 2009 News Articles	0.311*** (0.024)	0.318*** (0.036)	-0.081** (0.033)	-0.087** (0.033)
# of Children Under 18		-0.025 (0.033)		0.011 (0.030)
Standardized # of 2009 News Articles × # of Children Under 18		-0.009 (0.040)		0.011 (0.035)
Demographic Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,029	3,029	3,029	3,029

Panel 2				
Standardized # of 2008-2009 News Articles	0.191*** (0.045)	0.210*** (0.049)	-0.098 (0.059)	-0.108* (0.055)
# of Children Under 18		-0.026 (0.034)		0.011 (0.029)
Standardized # of 2008-2009 News Articles × # of Children Under 18		-0.032 (0.035)		0.018 (0.033)
Demographic Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,029	3,029	3,029	3,029

Note: These are ordered probit results. The analyses are based on 10 multiple-imputed datasets. Clustered standard errors at the county level are reported in the parentheses. I did not report the estimates for demographic controls, which include age, gender, education attainment, marital status, party membership, household income level, and residential registration (hukou) status. I also did not report the estimates for constants and county dummies. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

TABLE A7 Robustness Check: Alternative News Reporting Intensity Measure II

Panel 1	Central Government		Local Government	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Percent of 2009 News Articles	0.506** (0.235)	0.456** (0.244)	0.255 (0.161)	0.188 (0.164)
# of Children Under 18		-0.091 (0.088)		-0.072 (0.090)
Percent of 2009 News Articles × # of Children Under 18		0.102 (0.128)		0.132 (0.129)
Demographic Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,029	3,029	3,029	3,029

Panel 2				
Percent of 2008-2009 News Articles	0.558*** (0.183)	0.488* (0.247)	0.231 (0.134)	0.157 (0.162)
# of Children Under 18		-0.045 (0.104)		-0.121 (0.097)
Percent of 2008-2009 News Articles × # of Children Under 18		0.025 (0.120)		0.176 (0.120)
Demographic Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,029	3,029	3,029	3,029

Note: These are ordered probit results. The analyses are based on 10 multiple-imputed datasets. Clustered standard errors at the county level are reported in the parentheses. I did not report the estimates for demographic controls, which include age, gender, education attainment, marital status, party membership, household income level, and residential registration (hukou) status. I also did not report the estimates for constants and county dummies. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.