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The Effects of Political Persecution on Education in China

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Abstract

This paper investigates the education outcome effects that political persecution had on members of the so-called bad classes in China using CHARLS life history data. We find that a bad class origin is associated with less years of schooling, lower probability of attending and completing primary, middle and high school. We separate the persecution caused by their high SES from that because of their wrong political attitude, and find that the former one has more severe negative effects. We also find that persecution has a greater negative impact on bad-class men than women. Persecution had a similar effect in urban areas for men and women, but a bigger effect for men in rural areas. While bad class education advantages were eliminated by persecution in the short term, they still have positive effects on next generation's level of education.

I. Introduction

After the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came to power, it instigated political campaigns to dispossess those who had high SES, deemed "bad classes" from the early 1950s. These "bad classes" were persecuted in the thirty years to follow. Individuals said to belong to one of these classes and their family members were subjected to systematic humiliation and mistreatment that intensified during the Cultural Revolution between 1966 and 1976. For example, their children were denied educational opportunities.

In this paper, we investigate the effects of political persecution on education in the Chinese context. The existing literature studies the impacts of persecution under communist regimes in Europe after World War II. To illustrate, Myck and Bohacek (2011), using data from SHARELIFE, analyse the effects of job-related persecution under communist regimes after World War II in the Czech Republic and Poland. Persecution was found to have strong negative effects on individuals' life satisfaction and work experience. Perceptions of on-the-job persecution depended upon respondents' recollections about being persecuted at work while Chinese persecution, based on class labels, differed as these labels were affixed to them by the government. Using the same SHARE data, Kesternich et al. (2014) analyze possible pathways of the World War II effects and find strong effects for hunger, dispossession, and persecution in later life. Those who experienced war had an increased probability of suffering health problems, had less life satisfaction, and, for women, a decreased probability of ever marrying. Interestingly there was an increased probability for men due to the male shortage.

However, there is less literature studying the effects of political persecution in China. Sato and Li (2007), using CHIPs data, take family class origin as a proxy for family human

capital, and assume that a bad class origin indicates a once well-off family. They argue that the socialist revolution did not destroy family human capital in well-off families, although children of a bad class had lower educational levels compared with children of a good class. It also plays a role in the revival of the family's status in terms of grandchildren's educational level. Deng and Treiman (1997) also find that discrimination against bad-class children during the Cultural Revolution produces a weak association between a father's educational level and his son's level of education. Although bad-class fathers are better educated than fathers from other classes, the bad-class sons lose this advantage.

There is some evidence of the negative effects of persecution on bad-class children's education, but this is not well identified in previous work, which could be easily underestimated. Bad-class families were once at the top of society, which included advantages of education that offset the negative effects of persecution.

Using nationally representative life history data from the China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study (CHARLS), we separate those who were persecuted at pivotal stages of their life for education outcomes from those who were persecuted after these pivotal life stages, according to the timeline of persecution. The latter are considered reference groups as they were not influenced by persecution in terms of the specific outcomes of these pivotal stages. We use DID analysis to rule out effects from unobservable advantages that bad-class families had on children's education. This approach highlights the varied intensity of persecution across cohorts.

When we separate the persecution caused by their high social economic status from that due to their wrong political attitude, we find that the former has more severe negative effects. Persecution also has a greater negative impact on bad-class men than women. Persecution had a similar effect in urban areas for men and women, but a bigger effect for men in rural areas. Finally, when we introduce respondents' children sample, we find that bad class education advantages were eliminated by persecution in a short term, but still have positive effects on next generation's revival of education.

The paper is organized as follows. First, we describe the types of bad classes and CHARLS data. Second, we give the historical background of persecution in China. Third, we present our empirical strategy. Fourth, we interpret the empirical results and finally, we offer concluding remarks.

II. Bad Classes and CHARLS Data

Soon after the Chinese Communist Party took power from Kuomintang in 1949, the new government carried out the Land Reform, in which land was confiscated from landlords and rich farmers and redistributed to poor farmers. During this movement, every rural person received a political label called "class" to distinguish the exploiting from the exploited.[1] In the exploited class, a landlord is defined as one who does not farm the land but collects rents for a living, and a rich farmer is primarily an owner-operator, though he may hire laborers to work for him or rent out a portion of his land to others. Around the same time, the urban sector went through a series of ownership changes that eventually led to the nationalization of

[1] In areas that had fallen into Communist control beforehand went through a round of land reform right after liberation but a second land reform was deemed necessary to classify people.

all firms. During this movement an exploiting class of capitalists is defined to be business owners who hired workers to make profits. Aside from these three undesirable (thereafter referred to as "bad") classes, the government also defined two other categories of enemy classes. A counter-revolutionary is a former Kuomintang government or military official, or an individual who engaged in subversive activities afterwards. A "bad element" is a lower-class former Kuomintang employee or soldier. Those belonging to the bad classes not only lost their houses and other assets, but were also subject to active persecutions in the form of open denunciation and physical punishments.

In 1957, the label 'right' was born. Following an accelerated movement to collectivize agricultural land and nationalize urban businesses, some people, especially the educated elites, voiced dissenting opinions on the communist party. To supress the dissent, Mao first encouraged open discussions among the intellectuals and then labelled those who voiced criticisms of the Communist government as "rightists" and harshly punished them. The total population of the "bad" class reached 30 million, or 10% of the population, most of whom are landlords and rich farmers.[2]

[2] Mao was quoted to have said: "If we were to add up all the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists, their number would reach thirty million." (Zhisui Li, Private Life of Mao Zedong, 1994). Prior to the end of the Civil War, the Communist Party had stipulated that the scope of persecution during the forthcoming Land Reform in newly liberated areas would be set at 8% of the farmer households or 10% of the farming population ("Main Points of Land Reform in Newly Liberated areas," issued on February 15, 1948, in Volume 4 of Selected Works of Mao Zedong, People's Publishing House, Second Edition, Published in June 1991. The rural population at the beginning of the PRC was around 300 million.

Once labelled as belonging to one of the six bad classes, persecution of an individual began and continued over the following thirty years. Their families were affected too. To take one example, the label of "class origin" is printed on every person's resident registration page (hukou) until well into the 1980s. One has to report the class label in every application form, be it school or employment related. A landlord's children or grandchildren may be born long after the Land Reform, but since they are descendants of a landlord, they bear the label nonetheless. The bad classes were the subject of mass humiliation and physical punishment at every political movement. During the Cultural Revolution of 1966-76, persecution of those belonging to the "bad" class reached apex levels. In both urban and rural areas, those determined as being from a bad class were beaten, ordered to clean public toilets or do other menial and degrading work in the community. Not only was physical punishment escalated, children of the bad class were also subject to heightened scrutiny at employment and education. Many were ordered to denounce their own families to avoid more persecution. Most people, including their relatives and former friends, avoided contact with them to avoid being tainted by association, leaving the bad-class families with no reliable network of people or access to the resources necessary to solve their problems.

In terms of education, family class origin was an admissions criterion, allowing educational priority to be given to children of good or desirable class parents. The government introduced many educational reforms during its first thirty years in power, especially during the Cultural Revolution. These reforms promoted the educational

development of children of peasants and workers, but at the expense of children of bad classes.

Throughout this paper we will use data from The China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study (CHARLS). CHARLS is a nationally representative longitudinal survey of those 45+ in China and their spouses (Zhao, et al, 2012). CHARLS includes assessments of social, economic, family, and health circumstances of community residents (Zhao et al., 2013). The purpose of CHARLS is to provide publicly available data to researchers in China and around the world and to those in government free of charge to help prepare China for health and economic adjustments to rapid population aging in China. The national baseline survey was conducted between June 2011 and March 2012 on 17,708 respondents with an average response rate of 80.5%. Sample sizes increased over time with the introduction of new younger cohorts becoming age eligible. CHARLS respondents have been followed in 2013 and 2015 and will be followed indefinitely using a face-to-face CAPI interview. Physical measurements are conducted in every wave so far, while blood sample collection takes place every two waves. CHARLS is closely modelled after the Health and Retirement Surveys around the world so that tight comparisons can be made across countries at various stages of economic development.

A special wave to collect life histories of CHARLS respondents was fielded in 2014. Life histories greatly add to aging surveys because they help fill in important details regarding earlier periods in respondents lives that are germane to understanding outcomes including cognition when respondents are older. CHARLS life histories were developed

using as a base ELSA and SHARE life histories, the most complete life histories within the HRS-type aging surveys. They were also based on life-histories placed in the PSID in 2014 by Dr. James Smith.

Ways to minimize recall error have greatly improved primarily through the use of calendars anchored to key lifetime events (Smith, 2009). Similar calendars were developed in CHARLS so that own and child birthdays, marriage dates, and residential histories were used to improve recall of dates. Complete residential history for moves lasting six months or more (including type of housing, fuel, heating, clean water, electricity, toilets, etc.) were obtained at the beginning of the survey. In addition, important national events following his/her birth were loaded and shown on the screen, such as the National Day on October 1, 1949, date of Mao's death on September 9, 1976, the Cultural Revolution, the Great Famine and local events like a major flood that are salient to respondent's memory. To illustrate, if someone did not remember when a move occurred and if it was around any important national event, the interviewer asked: was this before or after this event. In addition to adding recall of other events, personal experiences during these landmark events in the history of China are also recorded. As an illustration of the quality of the recall data, excessive deaths during the Great Famine of 1959-61 match well with previous national statistics. Similarly spurs of abortions also coincide with events of government crack-down of out-of-quota births.

CHARLS life history includes retrospectives on domains covering family background when a respondent was a child, demographic histories including marriages. Extensive information is available on the education histories of respondents including when each level

of education started and ended. These details enable us to analyse education as an outcome of political persecution in this paper. Additionally, we know the education status of each child of the respondent. This enables us to examine whether the effect of the persecution persists across the generation.

CHARLS life history survey allows us to define the bad class for all individuals based on their own, their parents', or their grandparents' background. If a respondent is 80 years or older (above 18 years old in 1951), then he/she was old enough to have a class label (except for 'rightist') on his/her own, so CHARLS asks them their own class label as part of their family background. For those less than age 80, CHARLS asks the class labels of both parents. CHARLS Life History survey has extensive information on all parents —years of birth and death, causes of death, levels of education, religion, communist membership, etc. We will utilize this information to control for the effects of family background. For those who said their parents had no bad class label, CHARLS asked about their grandparents' class labels. If their grandparents had bad class label, we also define them as being in bad class. If based on their own, a parent, or a grandparent's background, a respondent is classified as 'bad class', we assign the CHARLS respondent the 'bad class' label.

In addition, people who were persecuted badly may not be from these six bad classes, so respondents were also asked whether their parents died for political reasons.[3] For this research, we classed those whose parents died for political reasons between 1950 and1970,

[3] For example, during the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards labeled many intellectuals "counter-revolutionary academic authorities" and many government officials "persons in power down the path to

Table 1. Bad Classes

	% Respondents answering)	Number in bad class	Total answering	%(Persecuted)
Own class was landlord	0.023	17	752	0.010
Own class was rich farmer	0.033	25	752	0.014
Own class was capitalist	0.003	2	752	0.001
Own class was counter-revolutionary	0	0	752	0
Own class was bad elements	0	0	752	0
Own class was rightists	0.013	10	752	0.006
Father or grandfather's class was landlord	0.025	477	19138	0.265
Father or grandfather's class was rich farmer	0.030	574	19138	0.319
Father or grandfather's class was capitalist	0.001	15	19138	0.009
Father or grandfather's class was Counter-revolutionary	0.001	10	19138	0.005
Father or grandfather's class was bad elements	0.000	2	19138	0.001
Mother or maternal grandfather's class was landlord	0.022	410	19086	0.228
Mother or maternal grandfather's class was rich farmer	0.025	471	19086	0.262
Mother or maternal grandfather's class was capitalist	0.000	8	19086	0.004
Mother or maternal grandfather's class was counter-revolutionary	0.000	2	19086	0.001
Mother or maternal grandfather's class was bad elements	0	0	19086	0.000
Parent or grandparent’s class was rightist	0.021	403	19121	0.225
Any parent died for political reasons before 1970	0.003	50	19140	0.028
Persecuted	0.094	1797	19157	1.000
Persecuted in 1951	0.077	1477	19157	0.822
Persecuted in 1957	0.023	448	19157	0.249

capitalism” and punished them as well. Many were beaten to death or committed suicide. The height of the persecution was 1966-69.

Note: Numbers in each category exceed the total number of persecuted because there are overlaps of persons belonging to different types of bad class. Persons persecuted in 1951 and 1957 are less than the total numbers of persecuted because the time of persecution in some cases are unknown.

which is the period persecution lasted, as belonging to a bad class in spite of the respondents not belonging to one of the above bad classes. We excluded those who did not answer any of the questions on class labels from our sample (nearly 7.25% of respondents did not answer). Those individuals with partial answers were still included if, from the answers given, we could ascertain that they belonged to one of the bad class groups. This leaves us with a sample size of 19157. Nearly 1800 of CHARLS respondents (10%) were persecuted at that time, an indication of the scope of the persecution.

Table 1 reports the number of cases belonging to each type of persecution. Most of the class labels come from the parent questions. 0.2 percent (50 persons) received the label by oneself, among them 43 were landlords, rich peasants and capitalists . Most of the individuals in our sample who were subjected to persecution were the children of parents determined as being bad class: 9 percent (1754 persons) received the label from the parents or grandparents. 0.2 percent (50 persons) were defined as bad class because their parents died of political reasons. Overall, roughly ten percent of our sample is deemed to have been labelled by the government as belonging to a bad class. This is about the same proportion of the bad class when they were first labelled. The largest sub-category within the umbrella term bad classes was rich peasants with 818 individuals, next were the landlords with 686 individuals. There were 415 rightists, 10 counterrevolutionaries, and 3 bad elements. However, it is possible that many people who were judged to belong to one of the categories which suffered the most severe persecution simply did not survive, and so could not take part in CHARLS. This may

partly explain why there are less than 15 individuals who were labelled either counter-revolutionaries or bad elements; many of these people may have been killed as they were seen as enemies of the new government.

III. The Effects of Persecution on Respondents' Education

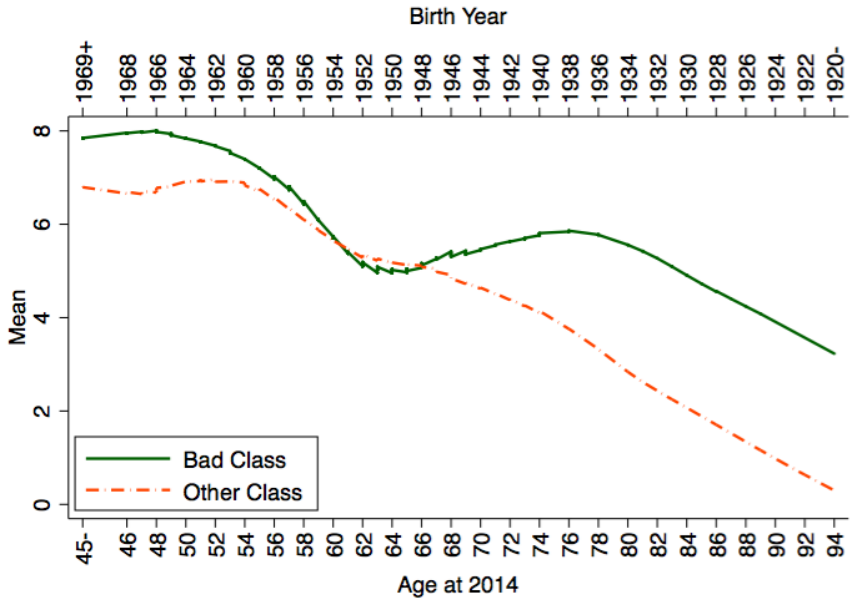

Figure 2. Years of schooling of Men by Class and Age

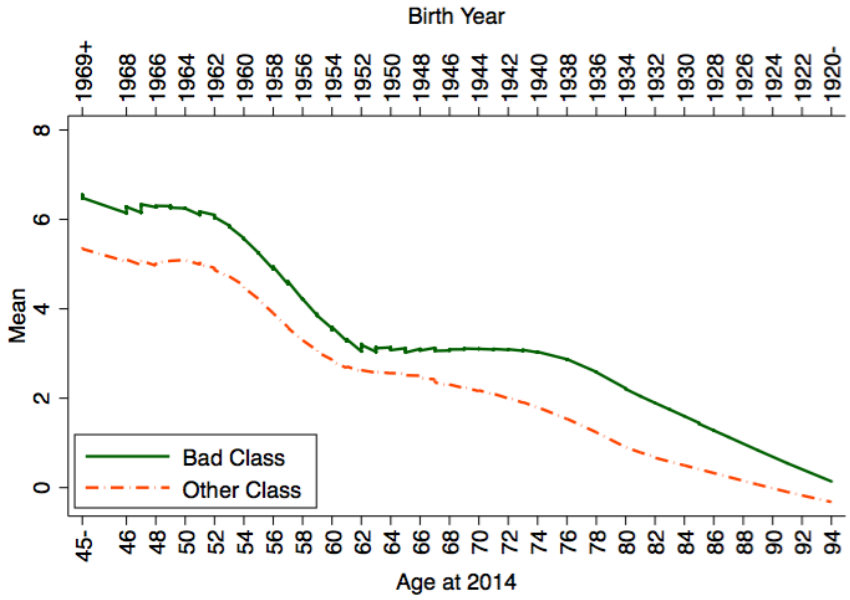

Figure 3. Years of schooling of Women by Class and Age

Figures 2 and 3 plot mean years of schooling of CHARLS respondents by their family class and age group.[4] We see that average number of years spent in school was higher for bad-class men than for those of other classes, especially for those who were seven years old before they were persecuted in 1951: that is born before 1944. This gap becomes smaller for cohorts born after 1951, but it comes back for those born after 1964. As for women, this pattern is similar but not as significant since at that time women were not as well-educated as men so bad-class women had less educational advantages to be deprived of.

Although educational priority was given to the children of desirable class parents, bad-class families were once at the top of society, and so had educational advantages to offset the negative effects of persecution. This was especially true during the time when bad-class children were in primary school as their courses were very simple, and only included political activities rather than regular classes during that period.

Our analysis has two main steps: We first analyse possible negative effects of persecution on education. Initially we do not distinguish between the two kinds of reasons for persecution (economical and political). By doing that, we are comparing differences in outcomes between all bad-class individuals and people from other classes.

The first step includes both OLS and DID analysis to illustrate the total difference between the persecuted class and the non-persecuted class, and for DID the change in the difference between the persecuted class and the non- persecuted class when persecution

[4] We combine some age groups because of their small sample size as illustrated in figures, for example, we combine those aged 74 and 75 in 2014 into age group 74-75.

started. To do this, it is necessary to separate those who were persecuted at pivotal stages of education from those who were persecuted after these pivotal educational stages were completed, according to the timeline of when persecution started. The latter (persecuted after these pivotal educational stages) were not influenced by the time relevant pre-persecution in terms of that stage of their education so they are designated as control groups. For every education stage, we define an age cut-off to separate them. For example, as seven years old is the age at which formal education begins in China, we define those turning seven years old after 1951 as part of the persecution period while those who turned seven years old before 1951 are part of the pre-persecution period for attending primary school.

Since at that time primary school lasted 5 years, we similarly define those turning 12 years old after 1951 as the persecution period for finishing primary school and attending middle school. As for finishing middle school and attending high school, we define those turning 15 years old after 1951 as the persecution period. Similarly, 18 is the age of finishing high school and attending college; 22 is the age of finishing college.

We know that bad-class families have educational advantages in the pre-persecution period, which can be controlled by DID analysis. To compare the persecuted period and the pre-persecuted period, we use appropriate control groups for estimations related to education for each stage of education, since each stage starts at different age. Our regression for each stage also includes results conditional on those who finished the earlier stage to illustrate conditional effects on a higher education stage.

In the first step, the OLS regression form is:

$$(1)\quad Y_{ik} = \alpha_i + \sum_{k=i}^{N} \gamma_k P_i{*}Cohort_{ik} + \eta Cohort_{ik} + \theta X_i + \varepsilon_{ik}$$

Where Y_{ik} represents the outcomes in our regression analysis--- years of schooling, etc. Variable P_i indicates whether individual i was in the persecuted class. If $P_i = 1$ then this individual was labelled as belonging to a bad class. Variable $Cohort_{ik}$ indicates whether individual i was in cohort k in 1951. The set of controls indicated as X_i are parents' educational levels. We also control for $Cohort_{ik}$, being a member of a specific birth cohort. In this specification, variable γ_k donates the differences between the persecuted and not persecuted class.

The DID regression form is:

$$(2)\quad Y_{ik} = \alpha_i + \sum_{k=i}^{N} \gamma_k P_i{*}Cohort_{ik} + \sigma P_i + \eta Cohort_{ik} + \theta X_i + \varepsilon_{ik}$$

To illustrate the change in difference, we leave out the cohort who reached the cut-off age before persecution and add dummy variable P_i in equation (2). The omitted group is a control group whose specific education stage were not influenced by persecution since they were too old to be affected. Therefore variable γ_k donates the differences between the treatment groups and the control groups.

Next we separate persecution beginning in 1951 caused by high social economical status from that beginning in 1957 because of wrong political attitudes. By doing that, we can compare their different effects on individuals' social economical status.

The DID regression is:

(3) $Y_{ik} = \alpha_i + \sum_{k=i}^{N} \gamma_k P_i^{51} * Cohort_{ik}^{51} + \sigma P_i^{51} + \eta Cohort_{ik} + \sum_{k=i}^{N} \gamma_k P_i^{57} * Cohort_{ik}^{57} + \pi P_i^{57} + \theta X_i + \varepsilon_{ik}$

Variable P_i^{51} indicates whether individual i was persecuted in 1951. If $P_i^{51} = 1$ then this individual was labelled as belonging to a bad class. Variable $Cohort_{ik}^{51}$ indicates whether individual i was in cohort k in 1951. Variable P_i^{57} indicates whether individual i was persecuted in 1957. If $P_i^{57} = 1$ then this individual was labelled as belonging to a bad class. Variable $Cohort_{ik}^{57}$ indicates whether individual i was in cohort k in 1957.

To ascertain what effects persecution had on education, we divide education into its most important stages: primary school, middle school, high school and college. At each stage, we estimate the models described in the previous section. In table 2, we start with OLS and DID analysis for attending and finishing primary school. For men, the first column shows OLS results and the second one is difference in difference analysis using those aged 7 before 1951 as the reference group. The probability to attend primary school for bad-class men aged 7 before 1951 is nearly 8 percentage points higher compared with men from other class, but those who reached aged 7 after 1951 were not significantly more likely to attend. Thus using the DID analysis, the initial advantage held by the male persecuted class disappeared. Similarly, before the persecution years the 'bad class' women had a 9.5 percentage point advantage in attending primary school but this advantage disappeared during the persecution years.

The difference in these differences can be interpreted as the causal effect of the persecution under the assumption that in the absence of the persecution, the increase patterns in educational attainment would not have been systematically different in bad and other

classes. The identification assumption should not be taken for granted: The pattern of increase in education could vary systematically across different classes. In particular, there could be mean reversion. However, an implication of the identification assumption can be tested because individuals aged 22 or older in 1951 were not affected by persecution in terms of their schooling. The increase in education between cohorts in this age-group should not differ systematically across different classes. As shown in figure 2 and 3, the educational advantages of the persecuted classes were persistent in pre-persecution years. We see that bad-class individuals had more advantages because bad-class individuals who were born between pre-1920 to 1929 (22 years old at 1951) had longer years of schooling compared with individuals from other-classes, while bad-class and other-class individuals have similar increase patterns of years of schooling. These results provide some suggestive evidence that the differences in differences are not driven by inappropriate identification assumptions, although they are imprecisely estimated.

This interpretation relies on the identification assumption that there are no omitted time varying and class-specific effects correlated with the persecution. The assignments of bad class labels to each person were based on respondents' families' social-economic status before persecution. Therefore, the estimate could potentially confound the effect of the program with mean reversion that would have taken place even in its absence. The identification assumption will also be violated if the enforcements of other governmental policies initiated as a result of the expanding national educational system (and potentially narrowing education gap across different classes) was correlated with the persecution. And

we infer the narrowing gap is not due to national educational expansion because these kinds of policies would not decrease bad class individuals' schooling. Thus, we present specifications that control for parents' educational level, which is an indicator of respondents' family social-economic status given that most of bad-classes were second generations.

Table 2. Primary School Effects

	Attending Primary (Year of Age 7)				**Finishing Primary (Year of Age 12)**			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
VARIABLES	Men: OLS	Men: DID	Women: OLS	Women: DID	Men: OLS	Men: DID	Women: OLS	Women: DID
1976+	-0.027	-0.106*	-0.068	-0.163**	0.015	-0.130*	0.042	0.104
	(0.054)	(0.062)	(0.050)	(0.066)	(0.032)	(0.070)	(0.034)	(0.102)
1971-75	0.021	-0.058	0.008	-0.087	-0.067*	-0.213***	-0.006	0.057
	(0.033)	(0.046)	(0.039)	(0.058)	(0.040)	(0.074)	(0.049)	(0.108)
1966-70	-0.025	-0.104**	-0.002	-0.097	0.008	-0.138*	-0.025	0.038
	(0.035)	(0.047)	(0.043)	(0.061)	(0.035)	(0.071)	(0.047)	(0.107)
1961-65	0.044	-0.035	0.036	-0.059	-0.174***	-0.319***	-0.098*	-0.036
	(0.031)	(0.044)	(0.039)	(0.058)	(0.036)	(0.072)	(0.051)	(0.109)
1956-60	-0.005	-0.084*	-0.035	-0.130**	-0.009	-0.155**	0.164**	0.226*
	(0.032)	(0.045)	(0.041)	(0.060)	(0.045)	(0.077)	(0.064)	(0.116)
1951-55	0.016	-0.064	-0.006	-0.101	0.036	-0.110	0.057	0.119
	(0.039)	(0.050)	(0.054)	(0.069)	(0.054)	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.127)
pre1951	0.079**		0.095**		0.146**		-0.062	
	(0.032)		(0.044)		(0.062)		(0.096)	
Constant	0.656***	0.656***	0.672***	0.672***	0.395**	0.395**	0.520***	0.520***
	(0.147)	(0.147)	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.177)	(0.177)	(0.069)	(0.069)
Observations	9,257	9,257	9,882	9,882	8,241	8,241	6,701	6,701
R-squared	0.104	0.104	0.180	0.180	0.089	0.089	0.103	0.103
Joint F Test p	0.217	0.308	0.306	0.229	4.18e-05	5.12e-05	0.0742	0.0490

Standard errors in parentheses- *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

To analyze effects on finishing primary school, we use those aged 12 before 1951 as the reference group since their primary school experiences were not influenced by persecution. From columns (5) & (6), men in the persecuted class had a significant advantage in pre

persecution years but this advantage disappeared during the persecution years. There was no pre-persecution advantage for the 'bad class' women and no consistent change after that.

The negative effect persecution had on finishing primary school is greater than on attending with larger negative impacts on bad-class men than women. The gender differences could be explained as follows: firstly, bad-class men were persecuted more severely compared with women since men were seen as bigger threat at that time. Secondly, men were better educated, so 'bad class' women had less education advantages to be deprived of.

Table 3.1. Attending Middle School

	Unconditional				**Conditional**			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Year of Age 12	Men: OLS	Men: DID	Women: OLS	Women: DID	Men: OLS	Men: DID	Women: OLS	Women: DID
1981+	0.032	-0.181**	0.152***	0.146**	0.062	-0.269***	0.187***	0.176
	(0.064)	(0.084)	(0.045)	(0.072)	(0.064)	(0.099)	(0.059)	(0.146)
1976-80	0.034	-0.179***	0.020	0.014	-0.007	-0.338***	-0.009	-0.020
	(0.039)	(0.067)	(0.036)	(0.066)	(0.038)	(0.085)	(0.045)	(0.141)
1971-75	-0.059	-0.273***	0.016	0.011	0.024	-0.307***	0.024	0.013
	(0.042)	(0.068)	(0.040)	(0.069)	(0.043)	(0.087)	(0.052)	(0.143)
1966-70	-0.002	-0.215***	-0.004	-0.010	-0.021	-0.352***	-0.041	-0.052
	(0.037)	(0.066)	(0.036)	(0.066)	(0.040)	(0.086)	(0.059)	(0.146)
1961-65	-0.132***	-0.345***	-0.053	-0.059	-0.044	-0.375***	-0.064	-0.075
	(0.038)	(0.066)	(0.037)	(0.067)	(0.050)	(0.091)	(0.077)	(0.154)
1956-60	-0.079*	-0.292***	0.012	0.007	-0.099*	-0.430***	-0.059	-0.070
	(0.046)	(0.071)	(0.050)	(0.075)	(0.053)	(0.093)	(0.074)	(0.152)
1951-55	0.086	-0.127*	0.038	0.032	0.075	-0.256***	0.048	0.036
	(0.054)	(0.077)	(0.057)	(0.080)	(0.059)	(0.096)	(0.101)	(0.167)
pre1951	0.213***		0.006		0.331***		0.011	
	(0.054)		(0.056)		(0.076)		(0.133)	
Constant	0.154	0.154	0.339***	0.339***	0.570**	0.570**	0.642***	0.642***
	(0.176)	(0.176)	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.241)	(0.241)	(0.083)	(0.083)
Observations	9,258	9,258	9,883	9,883	6,020	6,020	4,175	4,175
R-squared	0.175	0.175	0.184	0.184	0.116	0.116	0.104	0.104
Joint F Test p	1.75e-05	8.14e-06	0.0760	0.0739	0.000903	0.000505	0.131	0.101

Standard errors in parentheses- *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.1 & 3.2 shows OLS and DID results using those aged 12 (attending middle school) and aged 15 (finishing middle school) and once again using before 1951 as the reference group. To estimate effects on attending and finishing middle school, we use both unconditional (all respondents) and conditional (individuals who finished primary school) samples.

Table 3.2. Finishing Middle School

	Unconditional				Conditional			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Year of Age 15	Men: OLS	Men: DID	Women: OLS	Women: DID	Men: OLS	Men: DID	Women: OLS	Women: DID
1981+	0.041	-0.101	0.066**	0.104	0.032	-0.352***	0.070	0.247
	(0.041)	(0.081)	(0.031)	(0.076)	(0.047)	(0.133)	(0.046)	(0.383)
1976-80	-0.048	-0.190**	0.069**	0.107	-0.025	-0.409***	0.081*	0.258
	(0.036)	(0.079)	(0.034)	(0.078)	(0.042)	(0.132)	(0.049)	(0.383)
1971-75	-0.000	-0.142*	-0.018	0.020	-0.007	-0.391***	-0.071	0.105
	(0.040)	(0.080)	(0.038)	(0.080)	(0.047)	(0.134)	(0.065)	(0.386)
1966-70	-0.100***	-0.242***	-0.024	0.014	-0.066	-0.450***	-0.034	0.143
	(0.036)	(0.078)	(0.032)	(0.077)	(0.053)	(0.136)	(0.072)	(0.387)
1961-65	-0.072*	-0.214***	-0.057	-0.019	-0.058	-0.442***	-0.118	0.059
	(0.041)	(0.081)	(0.040)	(0.081)	(0.058)	(0.138)	(0.078)	(0.388)
1956-60	0.069	-0.073	0.050	0.088	0.063	-0.321**	0.099	0.276
	(0.049)	(0.086)	(0.050)	(0.086)	(0.063)	(0.140)	(0.097)	(0.392)
1951-55	0.142**	-0.000	0.040	0.079	0.133	-0.251*	0.043	0.220
	(0.061)	(0.093)	(0.058)	(0.091)	(0.082)	(0.150)	(0.114)	(0.397)
pre1951	0.142**		-0.038		0.384***		-0.177	
	(0.070)		(0.070)		(0.125)		(0.380)	
Constant	-0.118	-0.118	0.296***	0.296***	-0.107	-0.107	0.527***	0.527***
	(0.172)	(0.172)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.272)	(0.272)	(0.090)	(0.090)
Observations	9,261	9,261	9,883	9,883	6,022	6,022	4,175	4,175
R-squared	0.165	0.165	0.155	0.155	0.127	0.127	0.115	0.115
Joint F Test p	0.00157	0.000880	0.103	0.103	0.0358	0.0217	0.255	0.227

From these tables, we see that in the pre-persecution years there was a significant education advantage enjoyed by ‘bad class’ men but no education advantage for ‘bad’ class women for both attending and finishing middle school. Then, during the years of persecution

Table 4.1. Attending High School

	Unconditional				Conditional	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Year of Age 15	Men: OLS	Men: DID	Women: OLS	Women: DID	Men: OLS	Men: DID
1981+	0.060*	-0.139**	0.041*	0.020	0.095	-0.069
	(0.034)	(0.067)	(0.022)	(0.055)	(0.062)	(0.181)
1976-80	0.036	-0.163**	0.100***	0.079	0.081	-0.084
	(0.030)	(0.065)	(0.024)	(0.056)	(0.051)	(0.178)
1971-75	0.009	-0.191***	0.016	-0.004	-0.026	-0.191
	(0.033)	(0.066)	(0.028)	(0.058)	(0.055)	(0.179)
1966-70	-0.083***	-0.283***	-0.025	-0.045	-0.114	-0.279
	(0.030)	(0.065)	(0.024)	(0.056)	(0.075)	(0.186)
1961-65	-0.074**	-0.273***	-0.062**	-0.082	-0.100	-0.264
	(0.034)	(0.067)	(0.029)	(0.059)	(0.105)	(0.200)
1956-60	0.008	-0.192***	0.020	0.000	-0.022	-0.187
	(0.041)	(0.071)	(0.036)	(0.062)	(0.093)	(0.194)
1951-55	0.149***	-0.051	-0.001	-0.022	0.151	-0.014
	(0.051)	(0.077)	(0.042)	(0.066)	(0.125)	(0.211)
pre1951	0.199***		0.020		0.165	
	(0.058)		(0.051)		(0.170)	
Constant	-0.054	-0.054	0.071*	0.071*	-0.049	-0.049
	(0.142)	(0.142)	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.289)	(0.289)
Observations	9,254	9,254	9,880	9,880	3,538	3,538
R-squared	0.094	0.094	0.088	0.088	0.064	0.064
Joint F Test p	7.89e-06	4.20e-06	0.000909	0.00154	0.208	0.175

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

this 'bad' class male advantage disappeared while little changed for 'bad' class women. For men the conditional effects are more significant than unconditional effects. When we examine the pattern of the effects across the years of persecution, not surprisingly there is no pattern for women since there was no real effect. For men, the general tendency is for the 'bad' class education advantage to fall quickly and even to the point of becoming a disadvantage with slow but real recovery happening after that. The bad-class families' initial educational advantages offset some of social discrimination against their children's educational opportunities. However, when a child was at a more pivotal stage in their

education, such as in middle school, the restriction to their formal education and their mistreatment during adolescence had far-reaching negative consequences on their middle school completion.

Table 4.2. Finishing High School

	Unconditional				Conditional	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Year of Age 18	Men: OLS	Men: DID	Women: OLS	Women: DID	Men: OLS	Men: DID
1981+	0.060**	-0.194**	0.058***	0.010	0.091**	-0.193
	(0.024)	(0.078)	(0.017)	(0.061)	(0.043)	(0.251)
1976-80	-0.018	-0.272***	-0.005	-0.052	-0.001	-0.285
	(0.033)	(0.081)	(0.025)	(0.064)	(0.056)	(0.254)
1971-75	-0.027	-0.281***	-0.015	-0.063	-0.051	-0.334
	(0.028)	(0.080)	(0.023)	(0.063)	(0.059)	(0.255)
1966-70	-0.068**	-0.322***	-0.044*	-0.092	-0.110	-0.394
	(0.030)	(0.080)	(0.025)	(0.063)	(0.099)	(0.266)
1961-65	-0.005	-0.259***	0.026	-0.022	0.077	-0.206
	(0.036)	(0.083)	(0.032)	(0.066)	(0.103)	(0.268)
1956-60	-0.004	-0.258***	-0.004	-0.051	-0.119	-0.403
	(0.042)	(0.085)	(0.037)	(0.069)	(0.099)	(0.267)
1951-55	0.149**	-0.105	-0.056	-0.104	0.276*	-0.008
	(0.058)	(0.094)	(0.054)	(0.080)	(0.165)	(0.298)
pre1951	0.254***		0.048		0.284	
	(0.075)		(0.058)		(0.248)	
Constant	-0.051	-0.051	0.076**	0.076**	-0.067	-0.067
	(0.135)	(0.135)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.285)	(0.285)
Observations	9,266	9,266	9,883	9,883	3,545	3,545
R-squared	0.085	0.085	0.086	0.086	0.055	0.055
Joint F Test p	0.000127	7.25e-05	0.0247	0.0205	0.120	0.100

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 follow a similar structure on the probability of attending and finishing high school unconditionally and conditionally for men and women. In China during the pre-persecution time period, there are not enough women reaching the conditional threshold to do a conditional analysis at the high school level for women.[5] For women, once again we find

[5] To illustrate, only 7 women finished middle school before 1951, and among them only 1 was from bad class.

little ‘bad’ class education advantage which did not significantly change during the persecution years. We also see a very similar pattern at the high school level for men as we found at lower education levels. For both attending and finishing high school,’ in the pre-persecution years ‘bad’ class men had a distinct education advantage- ‘bad’ class men were twenty percentage points more likely to attend high school and twenty five percentage points more likely to finish high school. These male ‘bad’ class educational advantages at high school level declined significantly during the years of persecution becoming aneducational deficit for ‘bad’ class men during the 1960s after which there was some but not complete recovery for ‘bad’ class men.

Table 5.1. Attending College

	Unconditional				Conditional	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Year of Age 18	Men: OLS	Men: DID	Women: OLS	Women: DID	Men: OLS	Men: DID
1976+	0.076***	-0.010	0.044***	0.011	0.199***	-0.185
	(0.011)	(0.042)	(0.007)	(0.030)	(0.041)	(0.264)
1971-75	-0.027*	-0.114***	-0.019*	-0.053*	-0.038	-0.422
	(0.016)	(0.044)	(0.011)	(0.032)	(0.073)	(0.271)
1966-70	-0.007	-0.093**	0.001	-0.033	0.173	-0.211
	(0.016)	(0.044)	(0.012)	(0.032)	(0.153)	(0.302)
1961-65	0.019	-0.068	0.028*	-0.006	0.040	-0.344
	(0.020)	(0.046)	(0.016)	(0.034)	(0.119)	(0.287)
1951-60	0.025	-0.061	0.010	-0.024	0.047	-0.337
	(0.019)	(0.045)	(0.015)	(0.033)	(0.096)	(0.278)
pre1951	0.086**		0.034		0.384	
	(0.041)		(0.030)		(0.261)	
Constant	-0.038	-0.038	0.040**	0.040**	-0.221	-0.221
	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.399)	(0.399)
Observations	9,263	9,263	9,882	9,882	1,451	1,451
R-squared	0.043	0.043	0.060	0.060	0.125	0.125
Joint F Test p	0	1.67e-07	4.25e-08	7.36e-05	0.000110	0.0607

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5.2. Finishing College

	Unconditional				Conditional	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Year of Age 22	Men: OLS	Men: DID	Women: OLS	Women: DID	Men: OLS	Men: DID
1976+	0.046***	-0.039	0.026***	0.028	0.135***	-0.739
	(0.009)	(0.068)	(0.006)	(0.041)	(0.035)	(0.540)
1971-75	-0.016	-0.101	0.002	0.004	0.015	-0.858
	(0.016)	(0.069)	(0.012)	(0.042)	(0.133)	(0.555)
1966-70	0.008	-0.077	0.026*	0.028	0.068	-0.805
	(0.019)	(0.070)	(0.015)	(0.043)	(0.130)	(0.554)
1961-65	0.013	-0.072	0.003	0.005	0.180	-0.693
	(0.022)	(0.071)	(0.018)	(0.044)	(0.123)	(0.553)
1951-60	0.028	-0.057	-0.008	-0.005	-0.050	-0.924*
	(0.024)	(0.071)	(0.019)	(0.045)	(0.114)	(0.551)
pre1951	0.085		-0.002		0.873	
	(0.067)		(0.040)		(0.539)	
Constant	-0.035	-0.035	0.043**	0.043**	-0.211	-0.211
	(0.072)	(0.072)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.393)	(0.393)
Observations	9,265	9,265	9,883	9,883	1,453	1,453
R-squared	0.039	0.039	0.057	0.057	0.120	0.120
Joint F Test p	1.60e-05	0.0117	0.00141	0.239	0.00380	0.374

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 follow a similar structure but now for attending and finishing college. Once again at the college level, there are not enough women reaching the conditional threshold to do a conditional analysis at the college level for women.[6] In the pre- persecution years, 'bad' class men but not women had an educational advantage which disappeared during the years of persecution.

[6] To illustrate, only 3 women finished middle school before1951, and among them only 1 was from bad class.

To this point we have conducted our analysis at separate stages of the education distribution. To provide an overall summary measure of the effects of persecution of the 'bad

	All			Economical			Political	
	(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)		(5)	(6)
Year of Age 7	Men	Women	Year of Age 7	Men	Women	Year of Age 7	Men	Women
1976+	-0.993*	-0.081	1976+	-1.522**	-0.416	1977+	1.013	1.670
	(0.587)	(0.522)		(0.662)	(0.571)		(1.272)	(1.069)
1971-75	-0.687	0.145	1971-75	-0.847*	-0.469	1972-76	1.106	0.797
	(0.430)	(0.462)		(0.475)	(0.494)		(0.763)	(0.909)
1966-70	-1.690***	-0.468	1966-70	-2.219***	-1.033**	1967-71	0.504	2.218**
	(0.443)	(0.486)		(0.489)	(0.522)		(0.727)	(0.924)
1961-65	-1.358***	-0.501	1961-65	-1.635***	-0.858*	1962-66	0.534	1.293
	(0.416)	(0.460)		(0.448)	(0.492)		(0.761)	(0.914)
1956-60	-2.346***	-1.070**	1956-60	-2.373***	-1.047**	1957-61	-0.578	-0.373
	(0.422)	(0.472)		(0.450)	(0.494)		(0.764)	(0.974)
1951-55	-1.758***	-0.500	1951-55	-1.746***	-0.212			
	(0.473)	(0.550)		(0.500)	(0.566)			
Constant	2.959**	4.670***	Constant	2.965**	4.616***	Constant	2.965**	4.616***
	(1.379)	(0.479)		(1.379)	(0.479)		(1.379)	(0.479)
Observations	9,232	9,870	Observations	9,232	9,870	Observations	9,232	9,870
R-squared	0.161	0.207	R-squared	0.161	0.211	R-squared	0.161	0.211
Joint F Test p	9.40e-07	0.144	Joint F Test p	1.40e-06	0.280	Joint F Test p	0.337	0.0401

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 6. Years of Schooling

class' group, Table 6 presents a DID analysis that uses years of schooling as the outcome variable. When analyzing possible negative effects on years of schooling in table 6, we choose those reached age 7 before 1951 as control group since 7 is the start age of formal

education. In the pre- persecution years before 1951 our OLS estimates (not shown) indicate that 'bad class' men had a 1.5 year of schooling advantage and 'bad class' women a 0.6 year of schooling advantage over non bad-class people. DID estimates in Table 6 show that this 'bad class' education advantage for men deteriorated quickly during the early years of persecution after which there was some but not full recovery. The much smaller initial bad class advantage for women also diminished but at a much smaller rate. The models in Table 6 also separate the changes in the education advantage of the persecuted class into those who were persecuted for economic reasons and those who were persecuted for political reasons. When we separate different reasons for persecution, we see that persecution caused by high social and economic status has much greater negative effects than that because of wrong political attitudes.

Table 7. Years of Schooling (Rural and Urban Comparison)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Year of Age 7	Men: Rural	Men: Urban	Women: Rural	Women: Urban
1976+	-0.662	-5.265***	-0.189	-2.913*
	(0.647)	(1.650)	(0.538)	(1.608)
1971-75	-0.950**	-1.702	0.089	-1.356
	(0.456)	(1.215)	(0.466)	(1.552)
1966-70	-1.659***	-3.140**	-0.226	-3.225*
	(0.472)	(1.247)	(0.486)	(1.670)
1961-65	-1.051**	-3.962***	-0.530	-3.879***
	(0.440)	(1.254)	(0.470)	(1.488)
1956-60	-2.274***	-4.253***	-0.851*	-3.757**
	(0.444)	(1.265)	(0.472)	(1.646)
1951-55	-1.681***	-2.832**	-0.667	-3.348**
	(0.495)	(1.413)	(0.560)	(1.683)
Constant	2.668*	13.281***	4.952***	7.685***
	(1.587)	(2.193)	(0.473)	(1.927)
Observations	8,059	876	8,643	894

R-squared	0.153	0.265	0.205	0.241
Joint F Test p	2.27e-05	0.00404	0.378	0.0952

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7 contains an analysis of the years of schooling effects separating our sample into those who had rural hukou and urban hukou when they were seven years old. Hukou in China is a registration system that determines based on residence one's eligibility for local government benefits including education. For both men and women, persecution years effects on education were largest in the urban hukou sample and roughly similar for men and women. However, in the rural hukou sample there were smaller effects on men but still significant but basically no effects on women. We see that most of our sample had rural hukou so that the education results are dominated by the rural hukou results. This in a nutshell accounts for the much smaller education effects we find for women in our analysis.

IV. The Effects of Persecution on Respondents' Children's Education

In the previous section, we concluded that the education advantage for the "bad class" deteriorated quickly during the early years of persecution after which there was some but not full recovery. In this section, we investigate whether the negative effects of persecution on

education persisted into the next generation. To do so, we examine effects of bad class origins on CHARLS respondents' children's education. By examining the children of CHARLS respondents, we can identify the influence of bad class origins in the longer run.

Figure 4 plots mean years of schooling of the children of CHARLS respondents by the birth year of the children. The pattern in figure 4 is similar to what we find when we employ OLS estimation on respondents' education by respondents' birth cohorts. That is, the average number of years spent in school was higher for bad-class children born after 1954 (attended school after 1960) than for those of other classes (see text on Table 6). The bad class education advantage is also higher for male children.

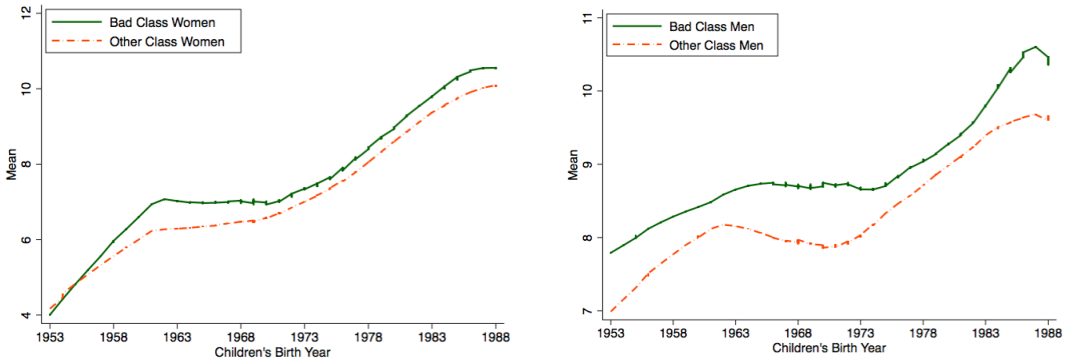

Figure 4. Children's Years of Schooling by Children's Birth Year

Moreover, we also see from Figure 4 that bad class and other class children's years of schooling grow very slowly among cohorts who were born between 1960 and 1971 (who began school at 1966-1977), which captures the period of Culture revolution (1966-1977) effects on education across the country. These effects apparently were very similar on the children of bad class and other class children.

In addition, a gender difference still exists in children's sample—men had higher educational levels than women. There was also a bigger "bad class" advantage for men than women. Figure 4 demonstrates that the gap becomes bigger among boys born later than 1983, implying that bad class origins played a more important role in men's revival of education.

Figure 5 further plots children's years of schooling by CHARLS respondents' birth cohorts. This is useful since respondents' birth cohort measures the intensity of persecution respondents themselves not that their children experienced.

Figure 5. Children's Years of Schooling by Respondents' Birth Year

Figure 5 demonstrates that children of bad class respondents have more schooling than those of other classes among all respondents' cohorts showing that bad class origins have positive effects on respondents' children's education. Even for respondents born between 1940 and 1955, who suffered from persecution according to our previous analysis, their children still benefited from bad class origins although the gap did become slightly smaller. This pattern is because bad class education advantages were not totally eliminated by persecution. Although educational priority was given to the desirable class respondents, bad-class families were once at the top of society, and their children still maintained their

educational advantages.

To further investigate effects of persecution on respondents' children's educational attainments, we employ OLS estimation at the children's level. To do so, we do not include children who had not finished their schooling when respondents were interviewed. The explanatory variables are children's gender, children's age, parents' (CHARLS respondents) hukou type, parents' maximum age, parents' bad class origins, maximum years of schooling of the two parents, parents' age cohorts at 1951 (we divide respondents into two groups according to whether they reached 22 at 1951, which is the age of finishing college), and the interactions of bad class with them. With education as the outcome we model, parents' age is a cohort index to capture the significant growth in education over time in China. The parents' age coefficient we present in the table is the negative of the estimated coefficient so a positive coefficient indicates secular growth in schooling in China.

In column (1) which is the conventional model of intergenerational education transmission, we find that the effects of children's age, children's gender, parents' age, parents' hukou type and maximum years of schooling of parents are consistent with our general knowledge of China and with the literature on intergenerational correlation in education. The statistically significant coefficient for parents' years of schooling reflects positive intergenerational education transmission of about a third of an extra year for every additional year of parents schooling. The parents' age coefficient captures the improvement in the average level of education over time in China. The male dummy is positive and significant indicating the gender gap in education. Rural hukou type also has a statistically

significant effect, reflecting the large rural-urban disparity in education. Controlling for parents age, the negative coefficient for children's age indicates that older children in the same family have lower education levels, another reflection of the secular growth in education over time in China. The coefficients of variables included in the model in column 1 of Table 8 do not change much when we add variables to the basic model.

Table 8. Children's Educational Levels

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Parents' Max Education	0.334***	0.335***	0.325***	0.334***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Parents' Max Age	0.028***	0.028***	0.029***	0.031***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Male Children	0.927***	0.925***	0.925***	0.926***
	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Parents' Rural Hukou	-2.441***	-2.426***	-2.415***	-2.410***
	(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.102)
Children's Age	-0.035***	-0.034***	-0.034***	-0.034***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
(Parents' Max Age)*Parents' Max Education		-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Age 22- at 1951				-0.267
				(0.175)
Bad*Age 22- at 1951				0.129*
				(0.069)
Bad*Age 22+ at 1951				0.971**
				(0.444)
Bad*Parents' Max Education*Age 22- at 1951				0.000
				(0.000)
Bad*Parents' Max Education*Age 22+ at 1951				-0.048
				(0.101)
Parents' Max Education*Age 22- at 1951				0.000
				(0.000)
Parents' Max Education*Age 22+ at 1951				0.019
				(0.068)
Bad Class			-0.176	
			(0.112)	
Bad Class*Parents' Max Education			0.062***	
			(0.017)	
Constant	10.483***	10.451***	10.474***	10.716***
	(0.159)	(0.159)	(0.160)	(0.242)
Observations	22,294	22,294	22,294	22,294
R-squared	0.226	0.228	0.229	0.228

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

In column (2), we add a variable measuring the interaction of parents' maximum age and maximum parents' years of schooling, the value[7] is significantly negative, implying weaker intergenerational education transmission among younger CHARLS respondents. Similarly, the interaction of bad class origins and maximum years of schooling of parents in column (3) shows that bad class respondents have a larger intergeneration transmission of their educational advantages to their children. In column (4), we separate CHARLS respondents who were older than 22 in 1951 from those who were younger than 22 in 1951. By doing this, we differentiate parental bad class respondents who finished college before persecution started from those whose education stages were negatively influenced by persecution. From the coefficients for bad class origins interacted with these two respondents' cohorts, we find that the children of older respondents who finished college before persecution started better maintained their educational advantages. Moreover, even for respondents whose education stages were affected by persecution, their children still have a statistically significant .129 more years of schooling than children from other class. This in a nutshell illustrates that bad class education advantages were eliminated by persecution in a short term, still have positive effects on next generation's revival of education.

V. Conclusion

In this paper, we investigate the effects of political persecution on the 'bad classes' in terms of their education outcomes using data from the life history survey of CHARLS. The analysis shows that bad-class men who turned seven years old after 1951 have significantly

[7] The interaction value is -0.00001***, which is shown as -0.000*** in table 8.

fewer total years of schooling, lower probabilities of attending and completing primary, middle and high school compared with men from other classes. As for women, this pattern is not as significant as men. Persecution had a similar effect in urban areas for men and women, but a bigger effect for men in rural areas. When we separate different reasons for persecution, we see that persecution caused by high social economical status has greater negative effects than that because of wrong political attitudes. However, the negative effects of persecution on education did not persist into younger generation and bad class origins continue to have positive effects on children's education.

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