Online Appendix

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A Summary Statistics

Table A.1: Descriptive Statistics for CGSS2010

Variable/Question	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Men should prioritize career and women should prioritize family.	11,753	2.406	1.234	1	5
Men are naturally more competent than women.	11,736	3.026	1.276	1	5
It's better (for women) to marry well than to do well.	11,716	2.877	1.225	1	5
During economic downturn, women should be fired first.	11,688	3.891	1.034	1	5
Social value	11,780	0	1	-2.513	2.488
Male	11,780	0.482	0.500	0	1
Age	11,780	47.303	15.679	17	96
Edulevel	11,765	2.140	1.072	1	4
Urban	11,780	0.613	0.487	0	1
Party	11,780	0.124	0.329	0	1
Party enrollment year	1,414	1986.941	15.857	1938	2010
Cadre	11,780	0.019	0.138	0	1
Intellectual	11,780	0.154	0.361	0	1
Middle class	11,780	0.140	0.347	0	1
Income level	11,780	2.790	1.366	1	5

Table A.2: Descriptive Statistics for CGSS2012

Variable/Question	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Men should prioritize career and women should prioritize family.	11,748	2.506	1.158	1	5
Men are naturally more competent than women.	11,733	2.999	1.205	1	5
It's better (for women) to marry well than to do well.	11,732	2.883	1.171	1	5
During economic downturn, women should be fired first.	11,711	3.883	0.980	1	5
Social value	11,765	0	1	-2.751	2.693
Male	11,765	0.512	0.500	0	1
Age	11,764	48.907	16.256	17	96
Edulevel	11,761	2.140	1.085	1	4
Urban	11,765	0.607	0.489	0	1
Party	11,765	0.119	0.323	0	1
Party enrollment year	1,370	1986.880	16.232	1938	2012
Cadre	11,765	0.017	0.128	0	1
Intellectual	11,765	0.160	0.366	0	1
Middle class	11,765	0.139	0.346	0	1
Income level	11,765	2.733	1.298	1	5

Table A.3: Descriptive Statistics for CGSS2013

Variable/Question	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Men should prioritize career and women should prioritize family.	11,416	2.584	1.129	1	5
Men are naturally more competent than women.	11,404	3.024	1.164	1	5
It's better (for women) to marry well than to do well.	11,399	2.917	1.125	1	5
During economic downturn, women should be fired first.	11,322	3.776	0.986	1	5
Social value	11,437	0	1	-2.786	2.632
Male	11,437	0.503	0.500	0	1
Age	11,437	48.597	16.388	17	97
Edulevel	11,431	2.161	1.082	1	4
Urban	11,437	0.608	0.488	0	1
Party	11,437	0.102	0.302	0	1
Party enrollment year	1,104	1989.017	16.618	1941	2013
Cadre	11,437	0.015	0.122	0	1
Intellectual	11,437	0.163	0.369	0	1
Middle class	11,437	0.144	0.351	0	1
Income level	11,437	2.739	1.298	1	5

Table A.4: Descriptive Statistics for CGSS2015

Variable/Question	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Men should prioritize career and women should prioritize family.	10,875	2.633	1.167	1	5
Men are naturally more competent than women.	10,861	2.988	1.167	1	5
It's better (for women) to marry well than to do well.	10,795	2.891	1.133	1	5
During economic downturn, women should be fired first.	10,600	3.778	0.987	1	5
Social value	10,934	0	1	-2.712	2.641
Male	10,934	0.468	0.499	0	1
Age	10,934	50.416	16.895	18	95
Edulevel	10,906	2.127	1.089	1	4
Urban	10,934	0.589	0.492	0	1
Party	10,934	0.103	0.304	0	1
Party enrollment year	1,003	1987.826	17.182	1944	2015
Cadre	10,934	0.013	0.111	0	1
Intellectual	10,934	0.161	0.368	0	1
Middle class	10,934	0.119	0.323	0	1
Income level	10,934	2.537	1.232	1	5

Table A.5: Descriptive Statistics for CFPS2014

	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Children should give up their personal ambitions and try to achieve their parent	29408	2.394	1.262	1	5
Sons should live with their parents after getting married.	29503	2.507	1.349	1	5
In order to pass on the family, men should have at least one son.	29506	2.595	1.512	1	5
Men should prioritize career and women should prioritize family.	29506	2.014	1.168	1	5
It's better (for women) to marry well than to do well.	29432	2.429	1.313	1	5
A woman is only complete when she has a child.	29484	1.871	1.138	1	5
Social value	34731	0	1	-1.940	3.330
Male	34731	0.506	0.500	0	1
Age	34719	45.737	17.283	16	104
Education level	32821	1.763	0.932	1	4
Urban	31973	0.477	0.499	0	1
Party	34731	0.077	0.267	0	1
Party enrollment year	2154	1987.448	16.070	1941	2014
Cadre	34731	0.053	0.225	0	1
Intellectual	34731	0.067	0.250	0	1
Middle class	24125	0.141	0.348	0	1
Income level	34731	2.293	1.302	1	5

Table A.6: Descriptive Statistics for ABS3

Variable/Question	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Even if parents' demands are unreasonable, children still should do what they ask.	3,403	2.622	0.639	1	4
When a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law come into conflict,	3,313	2.313	0.663	1	4
even if the mother-in-law is in the wrong, the husband should still persuade his wife to obey his mother.					
Being a student, one should not question the authority of their teacher.	3,316	2.509	0.654	1	4
Wealth and poverty, success and failure are all determined by fate.	3,393	2.745	0.749	1	4
If one could have only one child, it is better to have a boy than a girl.	3,418	2.917	0.656	1	4
Women should not be involved in politics as much as men.	3,363	3.000	0.714	1	4
We should get rid of the people's congress and elections and have a strong leader decide things.	3,015	2.729	0.665	1	4
The army should be allowed to rule our country.	2,973	2.861	0.661	1	4
We should get rid of elections and the people's congress and have experts make decisions on behalf of the people.	2,987	2.874	0.606	1	4
You can generally trust the people who run our government to do what is right.	3,266	2.565	0.681	1	4
A citizen should always remain loyal only to his country, no matter how imperfect it is or what wrong it has done.	3,320	1.897	0.582	1	4
Government leaders are like the head of a family; we should all follow their decisions.	3,288	2.291	0.628	1	4
The government should decide whether certain ideas should be allowed to be discussed in society.	3,075	2.416	0.628	1	4
Harmony of the community will be disrupted if people organize lots of groups.	3,023	2.249	0.598	1	4
If we have political leaders who are morally upright, we can let them decide everything.	3,227	2.542	0.689	1	4
If people have too many different ways of thinking, society will be chaotic.	3,211	2.401	0.638	1	4
Our country should defend our way of life instead of becoming more and more like other countries.	2,999	2.034	0.576	1	4
We should protect our farmers and workers by limiting the import of foreign goods.	2,916	2.457	0.648	1	4
Foreign goods are hurting the local community.	2,858	2.484	0.642	1	4
Social value	3,472	0	1	-3.768	3.572
Political value	3,472	0	1	-4.005	3.923
International value	3,472	0	1	-2.787	3.238
Overall modern value	3,472	0	1	-4.594	3.657
Male	3,471	0.525	0.499	0	1
Age	3,472	45.290	15.641	18	93
Edulevel	3,455	2.064	0.979	1	4
Urban	3,472	0.463	0.499	0	1
Party	3,472	0.151	0.358	0	1
Intellectual	3,472	0.103	0.304	0	1
Income level	3,472	3.792	1.485	1	5
Criminal officials often escape punishment	3,082	0.334	0.472	0	1
Officials often conceal information from the public	2,902	0.487	0.500	0	1
Government officials often violate law and abuse power	3,128	0.271	0.444	0	1
No doubts about the survey	3,472	1.524	0.570	1	3
Answer reliable	3,472	1.048	0.214	1	2

Table A.7: Descriptive Statistics for ABS4

Variable/Question	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Even if parents' demands are unreasonable, children still should do what they ask.	3,797	2.662	0.700	1	4
When a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law come into conflict,	3,657	2.466	0.750	1	4
even if the mother-in-law is in the wrong, the husband should still persuade his wife to obey his mother.					
Being a student, one should not question the authority of their teacher.	3,616	2.436	0.682	1	4
Wealth and poverty, success and failure are all determined by fate.	3,767	2.793	0.800	1	4
If one could have only one child, it is better to have a boy than a girl.	3,856	2.878	0.709	1	4
Women should not be involved in politics as much as men.	3,639	3.040	0.805	1	4
We should get rid of the people's congress and elections and have a strong leader decide things.	3,313	2.895	0.654	1	4
The army should be allowed to rule our country.	3,226	2.744	0.725	1	4
We should get rid of elections and the people's congress and have experts make decisions on behalf of the people.	3,190	3.005	0.604	1	4
You can generally trust the people who run our government to do what is right.	3,622	2.487	0.679	1	4
A citizen should always remain loyal only to his country, no matter how imperfect it is or what wrong it has done.	3,647	1.917	0.585	1	4
Government leaders are like the head of a family; we should all follow their decisions.	3,590	2.248	0.661	1	4
The government should decide whether certain ideas should be allowed to be discussed in society.	3,311	2.395	0.662	1	4
Harmony of the community will be disrupted if people organize lots of groups.	3,277	2.184	0.638	1	4
If we have political leaders who are morally upright, we can let them decide everything.	3,528	2.424	0.743	1	4
If people have too many different ways of thinking, society will be chaotic.	3,535	2.299	0.695	1	4
Our country should defend our way of life instead of becoming more and more like other countries.	3,227	2.045	0.591	1	4
We should protect our farmers and workers by limiting the import of foreign goods.	3,174	2.376	0.720	1	4
Do you think the government should increase or decrease the inflow of foreign immigrants into the country?	2,714	2.633	0.866	1	4
Social value	4,026	0	1	-3.660	3.245
Political value	4,026	0	1	-3.757	4.064
International value	4,026	0	1	-2.773	3.324
Overall modern value	4,026	0	1	-4.385	3.986
Male	4,026	0.488	0.500	0	1
Age	4,026	48.253	16.299	18	94
Edulevel	4,009	1.954	1.020	1	4
Urban	4,026	0.339	0.473	0	1
Party	4,026	0.100	0.300	0	1
Party enrollment year	369	1991.184	16.626	1953	2015
cadre	4,026	0.018	0.133	0	1
Intellectual	4,026	0.114	0.317	0	1
Middle class	4,026	0.137	0.344	0	1
Income level	4,026	2.777	1.349	1	5
Criminal officials often escape punishment	3,132	0.378	0.485	0	1
Officials often conceal information from the public	3,056	0.444	0.497	0	1
Government officials often violate law and abuse power	3,207	0.363	0.481	0	1
No doubts about the survey	3,987	1.602	0.574	1	3
Answer reliable	3,996	1.051	0.221	1	2

B Internal Consistency Among Survey Instruments

Figure A.1: PCA and Cronbach's α
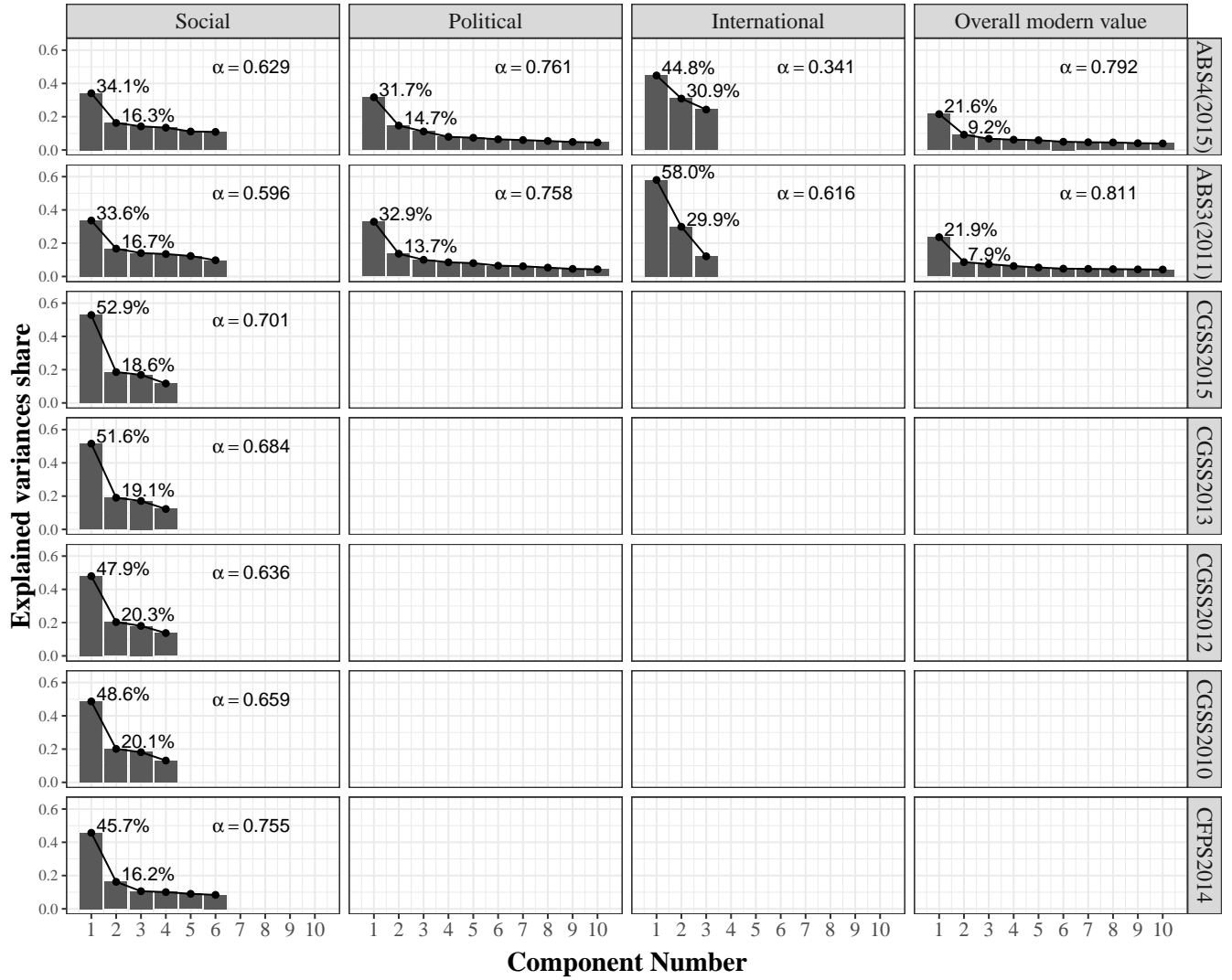
C Survey Question and the Chinese Version

Table A.8: Original Survey Questions in Chinese: Social Domain

Survey	Questions
ABS 3, 4	Even if parents' demands are unreasonable, children still should do what they ask. 即使父母的要求不合理，子女仍应该照着去做。
ABS 3, 4	When a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law come into conflict, even if the mother-in-law is in the wrong, the husband should still persuade his wife to obey his mother. 婆媳闹矛盾时，即使婆婆不对，做丈夫的也应该劝妻子听婆婆的话。
ABS 3, 4	Being a student, one should not question the authority of their teacher. 作为学生，不应该质疑老师的权威。
ABS 3, 4	Wealth and poverty, success and failure are all determined by fate. 一个人富贵贫贱，成功失败都是命中注定的。
ABS 3, 4	If one could have only one child, it is better to have a boy than a girl. 如果只要一个孩子，生儿子比生女儿好。
ABS 3, 4	Women should not be involved in politics as much as men. 妇女不应该享有和男性一样的参与政治的权利。
CGSS (10-15)	Men should prioritize career and women should prioritize family. 男人以事业为重，女人以家庭为重。
CGSS (10-15)	Men are naturally more competent than women. 男性能力天生比女性强。
CGSS (10-15)	It's better (for women) to marry well than to do well. 干得好不如嫁得好。
CGSS (10-15)	During economic downturn, women should be fired first. 在经济不景气时，应该先解雇女性员工。
CFPS2014	Children should give up their personal ambitions and try to achieve their parents' wishes first. 子女应放弃个人的志向，达成父母的心愿。
CFPS2014	Sons should live with their parents after getting married. 儿子结婚后应和父母住在一起。
CFPS2014	In order to pass on the family, men should have at least one son. 为了传宗接代，人应至少生一个儿子。
CFPS2014	Men should prioritize career and women should prioritize family. 男人以事业为主，女人以家庭为主。
CFPS2014	It's better (for women) to marry well than to do well. 女人干得好不如嫁得好。
CFPS2014	A woman is only complete when she has a child. 女人应该有孩子才算完整。

Table A.9: Original Survey Questions in Chinese: Political Domain

Survey	Questions
ABS 3, 4	We should get rid of the people's congress and elections and have a strong leader decide things. 应该让一个强有力的领导人来决策，不需要人大和选举。
ABS 3, 4	The army should be allowed to rule our country. 应该让军队来统治我们的国家。
ABS 3, 4	We should get rid of elections and the people's congress and have experts make decisions on behalf of the people. 应该让专家来决策，不需要人大和选举。
ABS 3, 4	You can generally trust the people who run our government to do what is right. 我们可以相信，政府领导人所做的决定总是正确的。
ABS 3, 4	A citizen should always remain loyal only to his country, no matter how imperfect it is or what wrong it has done. 不管一个国家是如何不好或者做错了什么，作为一个国家的公民都应该保持对国家的忠诚。
ABS 3, 4	Government leaders are like the head of a family; we should all follow their decisions. 政府的领导人就像大家庭的家长，他们关于国家事务的决定，人民都应该服从。
ABS 3, 4	The government should decide whether certain ideas should be allowed to be discussed in society. 一种意见能否在社会上流传，应由政府决定。
ABS 3, 4	Harmony of the community will be disrupted if people organize lots of groups. 在地方上东一个团体西一个团体，会影响地方的安定与和谐。
ABS 3, 4	If we have political leaders who are morally upright, we can let them decide everything. 只要有道德高尚的领导人，我们就可以让他们决定一切。
ABS 3, 4	If people have too many different ways of thinking, society will be chaotic. 大家的想法若不一致，社会就会混乱。

Table A.10: Original Survey Questions in Chinese: International Domain

Survey	Questions
ABS 3, 4	Our country should defend our way of life instead of becoming more and more like other countries. 我们应该维护自己的生活方式，以免逐渐变成其他国家的翻版。
ABS 3, 4	We should protect our farmers and workers by limiting the import of foreign goods. 为保护农民和工人，政府应该限制进口外国产品。
ABS 4	Do you think the government should increase or decrease the inflow of foreign immigrants into the country? 政府应该增加还是减少来我国的外国移民数量。
ABS 3	Foreign goods are hurting the local community. 进口外国商品会伤害地方经济。

D   Weight Calibration

For the comparison between party and non-party members to be valid, a key assumption is that the our samples of party members are representative of the overall population of CCP members. While all the surveys that we use were designed to be representative of the national population as a whole, they do not always guarantee that the subset of party members will also be representative of party members as a whole. To address this problem, we carry out a weight calibration procedure.

The exercise takes a set of key demographic variables as input and produces adjusted weights that match the (weighted) distributions of targeted variables with the distribution of the same variables in the population. Weight calibration is often used to enhance sample representatives and reduce coverage or non-response bias in sample surveys (Kott 2006). In this paper, we implement weight calibration using an iterated proportional fitting procedure (also known as "raking") (Kolenikov et al. 2014).

For information about the population, we use both the population census and the CCP's annual census, which is published by the Central Organization Department. The party census reports the total number of party members in the previous year, as well as the breakdown of party members by age, gender, ethnicity, and education. We target the following statistics: the percentage of party members, the cross-tabulations between party membership and gender, age (younger than 35), and education level (college or above). For each survey, we perform calibration based on the original weights provided by the survey team. The calibration procedure successfully converges in all seven surveys.

It should be noted, however, that weight calibration may incur additional costs, primarily by increasing sample variation. This is reflected in the increase in the coefficient of variation (CV). A closer inspection, however, suggests that the cost is moderate for most of the surveys that we use in this paper. Table A.11 reports the ratio of increase in CV. We can see that six out of the seven surveys witness an increase in CV by only about 10% or less after calibration. The maximum increase is found in ABS3 (67.1%), but the magnitude is still reasonable by the standards of survey research (usually around 100%, see Kolenikov et al. 2014, p28).

Table A.11: Weight Calibration Result and the Cost

Survey	Weight	Mean	Std	Min	Max	CV	Cost
ABS4	Orig weights	1	0.593	0.121	8.581	0.593	2.9%
	Raked weights	1	0.610	0.069	8.943	0.610	
ABS3	Orig weights	1	0.195	0.769	1.932	0.195	67.1%
	Raked weights	1	0.326	0.166	2.115	0.326	
CGSS2015	Orig weights	1	0.550	0.163	2.415	0.550	5.1%
	Raked weights	1	0.578	0.081	2.543	0.578	
CGSS2013	Orig weights	1	0.645	0.113	3.676	0.646	3.7%
	Raked weights	1	0.669	0.082	3.843	0.669	
CGSS2012	Orig weights	1	0.646	0.146	3.506	0.646	6.4%
	Raked weights	1	0.687	0.086	3.738	0.687	
CGSS2010	Orig weights	1	0.440	0.262	4.190	0.440	11.2%
	Raked weights	1	0.489	0.090	4.450	0.489	
CFPS2014	Orig weights	1	0.898	0.040	5.779	0.898	1.1%
	Raked weights	1	0.908	0.025	5.849	0.908	

# E   Item Parameters from IRT Models

Table A.12: Discrimination of IRT model in ABS 3,4

Dimension	Survey	Questions	ABS 4		ABS 3	
			Discrim-ination	Confidence interval	Discrim-ination	Confidence interval
Social	ABS3, 4	Even if parents' demands are unreasonable, children still should do what they ask.	1.259	[1.097, 1.421]	2.081	[1.779, 2.383]
	ABS3, 4	When a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law come into conflict, even if the mother-in-law is in the wrong, the husband should still persuade his wife to obey his mother.	1.335	[1.154, 1.516]	0.933	[0.813, 1.054]
	ABS3, 4	Being a student, one should not question the authority of their teacher.	0.870	[0.721, 1.019]	1.584	[1.376, 1.792]
	ABS3, 4	Wealth and poverty, success and failure are all determined by fate.	1.579	[1.367, 1.792]	0.951	[0.812, 1.091]
	ABS3, 4	If one could have only one child, it is better to have a boy than a girl.	0.869	[0.729, 1.009]	0.814	[0.669, 0.959]
	ABS3, 4	Women should not be involved in politics as much as men.	0.952	[0.809, 1.095]	0.684	[0.555, 0.813]
Political	ABS3, 4	We should get rid of the people's congress and elections and have a strong leader decide things.	0.995	[0.824, 1.166]	1.265	[1.083, 1.446]
	ABS3, 4	The army should be allowed to rule our country.	1.234	[1.063, 1.406]	1.285	[1.102, 1.469]
	ABS3, 4	We should get rid of elections and the people's congress and have experts make decisions on behalf of the people.	1.063	[0.877, 1.249]	1.434	[1.216, 1.653]
	ABS3, 4	You can generally trust the people who run our government to do what is right.	1.431	[1.287, 1.574]	1.425	[1.286, 1.564]
	ABS3, 4	A citizen should always remain loyal only to his country, no matter how imperfect it is or what wrong it has done.	0.813	[0.670, 0.956]	0.447	[0.342, 0.552]
	ABS3, 4	Government leaders are like the head of a family; we should all follow their decisions.	1.815	[1.584, 2.046]	1.784	[1.576, 1.993]
	ABS3, 4	The government should decide whether certain ideas should be allowed to be discussed in society.	2.025	[1.817, 2.233]	2.050	[1.777, 2.322]
	ABS3, 4	Harmony of the community will be disrupted if people organize lots of groups.	0.390	[0.267, 0.512]	0.611	[0.474, 0.747]
	ABS3, 4	If we have political leaders who are morally upright, we can let them decide everything.	1.782	[1.611, 1.953]	1.777	[1.614, 1.941]
	ABS3, 4	If people have too many different ways of thinking, society will be chaotic.	0.822	[0.699, 0.945]	1.022	[0.882, 1.162]
International	ABS3, 4	Our country should defend our way of life instead of becoming more and more like other countries.	0.758	[0.584, 0.933]	0.552	[0.419, 0.684]
	ABS3, 4	We should protect our farmers and workers by limiting the import of foreign goods.	2.274	[1.394, 3.155]	2.783	[2.061, 3.505]
	ABS4	Do you think the government should increase or decrease the inflow of foreign immigrants into the country?	0.527	[0.380, 0.674]	-	-
	ABS3	Foreign goods are hurting the local community.	-	-	3.544	[2.017, 5.07]

F   Estimation Results from Bayesian IRT Models

Figure A.2: Party-Public Comparison based on Bayesian IRT Results (ABS Only)
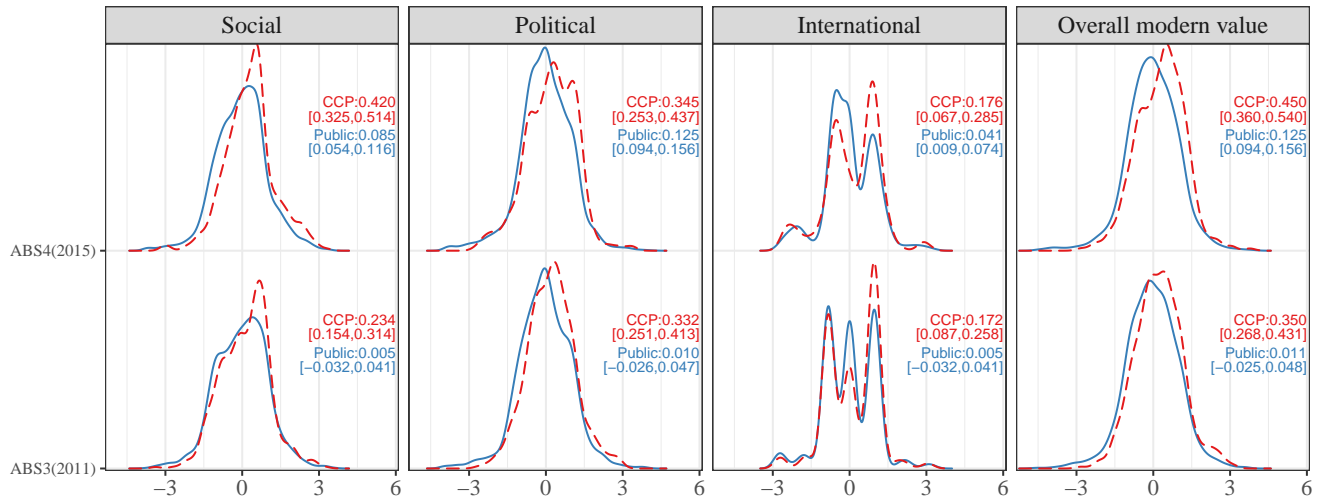
Note: This figure presents the distributions of Bayesian IRT estimates for CCP members (dashed) and non-members (solid).

G   Comparing Demographics of Party Members and Non-Members

G.1   Surveys

Table A.13: Party Member's Demographic Traits

	All	CGSS2010	ABS3(2011)	CGSS2012	CGSS2013	CFPS2014	CGSS2015	ABS4(2015)
Age	0.0027***	0.0026***	0.0033***	0.0024***	0.0023***	0.0028***	0.0027***	0.0030***
	(0.0001)	(0.0002)	(0.0004)	(0.0003)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0003)	(0.0004)
Female	-0.0508***	-0.0429***	-0.0609***	-0.0473***	-0.0438***	-0.0608***	-0.0440***	-0.0311**
	(0.0019)	(0.0041)	(0.0086)	(0.0041)	(0.0046)	(0.0026)	(0.0061)	(0.0113)
Education level	0.0701***	0.0553***	0.0812***	0.0540***	0.0554***	0.0886***	0.0600***	0.0757***
	(0.0024)	(0.0023)	(0.0093)	(0.0036)	(0.0039)	(0.0042)	(0.0043)	(0.0078)
Urban residency	0.0085***	0.0096	0.0018	0.0102*	0.0102	0.0071*	0.0043	0.0041
	(0.0022)	(0.0057)	(0.0093)	(0.0051)	(0.0066)	(0.0037)	(0.0049)	(0.0078)
Income level (reference: lowest 25%)								
25%-50%	-0.0034	0.0040	-0.0134	0.0013	0.0068	-0.0293***	0.0098***	0.0098
	(0.0027)	(0.0044)	(0.0125)	(0.0050)	(0.0065)	(0.0066)	(0.0034)	(0.0121)
50%-75%	0.0200***	0.0290***	-0.0046	0.0201***	0.0297***	0.0247***	0.0407***	0.0220*
	(0.0024)	(0.0052)	(0.0130)	(0.0063)	(0.0090)	(0.0032)	(0.0062)	(0.0121)
75%-100%	0.0390***	0.0738***	0.0087	0.0638***	0.0675***	0.0169***	0.0683***	0.0170
	(0.0041)	(0.0062)	(0.0213)	(0.0108)	(0.0129)	(0.0044)	(0.0068)	(0.0132)
Income missing	-0.0047	0.0045	-0.0045	-0.0053	0.0113	-0.0593***	0.0091	0.0013
	(0.0037)	(0.0055)	(0.0130)	(0.0115)	(0.0086)	(0.0169)	(0.0061)	(0.0103)
Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
R^2	0.108	0.095	0.114	0.088	0.085	0.143	0.095	0.105
Observation	83502	11765	3454	11760	11431	30177	10906	4009

Note: This table presents regression results on the demographic difference between party members and non-members. The dependent variable is a binary indicator for party membership..

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed test)

G.2 Party and Population Censuses

Figure A.3: Comparing Demographics of CCP Members and Population Census
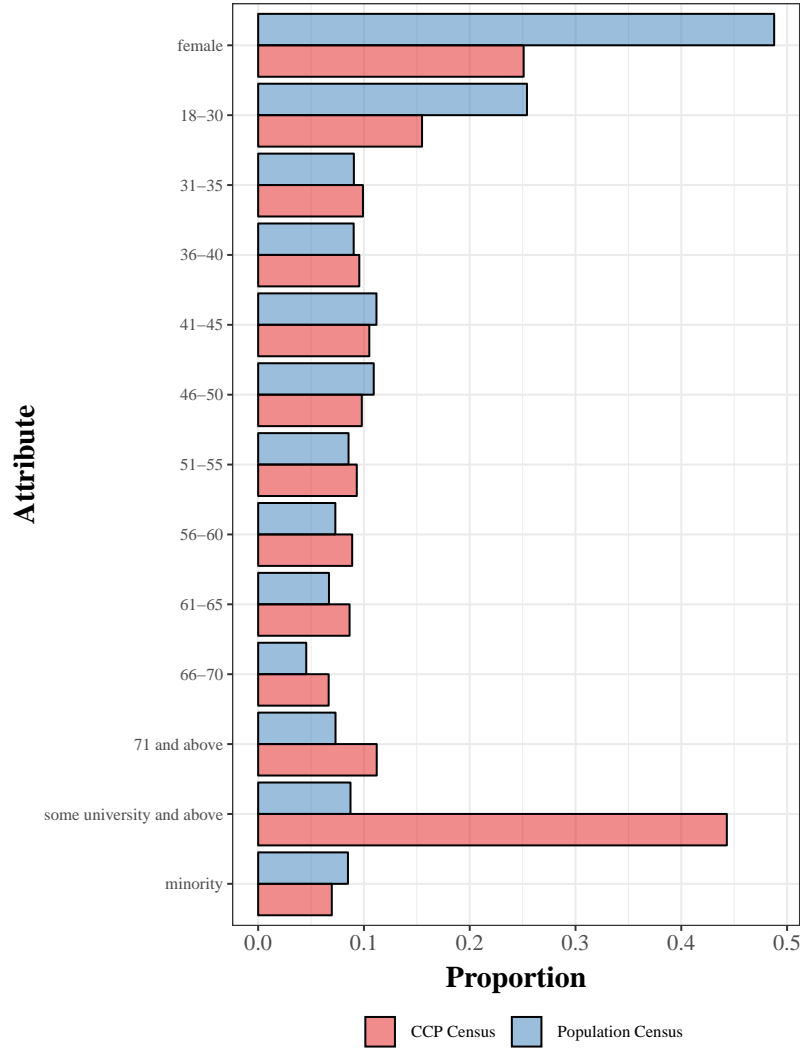
H Evaluating Ideological Congruence between the Party and the Mass

We evaluate the degree of congruence between CCP members and non-members ideological preferences using the Earth Mover's Distance (Lupu, Selios, and Warner 2017). The EMD method measures the degree of similarity between two distributions by calculating the minimum amount

of "work" needed to change one distribution to the other. We apply this method to the two rounds of ABS surveys (2011 and 2015) and compare our estimate with similar estimates of politician-voter congruence in Latin American democracies as provided by Lupu, Selios, and Warner (2017). Interestingly, we see that despite the absence of competitive election, the congruence between the party and the public in China is much stronger than all countries in the Latin American sample. China's edge shrinks a little bit, but remains substantial, even when we focus only comparing values between cadre and non-party members.

Table A.14: Comparing Ideological Congruence

Country	Ideological congruence (smaller value = more congruent)
China (CCP vs. Public)	0.317
Chile	0.482
China (Cadre vs. Public)	0.561
Uruguay	0.729
Costa Rica	0.756
El Salvador	0.787
Colombia	0.875
Guatemala	0.934
Honduras	1.062
Nicaragua	1.262
Argentina	1.455
Dominican Republic	1.662
Bolivia	2.306

Note: All congruence measures are calculated using Earth Mover's Distance method. The figures for China are based on two rounds of ABS surveys (2011 and 2015) and the figures for Latin American countries are obtained from Lupu, Selios, and Warner (2017).

I Numerical Results for Predicted Ideology

Table A.15: Heterogeneous Party Effect

	Social	Political	International	Overall value
Party membership	-0.0900*	-0.1761	-0.2629	-0.1929
	(0.0525)	(0.1623)	(0.1913)	(0.1705)
Party membership × Female	0.2014***	0.1171*	0.0526	0.1187*
	(0.0262)	(0.0697)	(0.0620)	(0.0657)
Party membership × Age	0.0066***	0.0059**	0.0037	0.0069***
	(0.0008)	(0.0024)	(0.0031)	(0.0024)
Party membership × College	-0.1520***	-0.1207*	-0.2212**	-0.1618**
	(0.0309)	(0.0713)	(0.1088)	(0.0728)
Party membership × Urban residency	-0.0268	0.0581	0.1208	0.0562
	(0.0271)	(0.0742)	(0.0907)	(0.0795)
Party membership × Income level				
Party membership × 0%-25%	-0.0221	-0.0935	0.2952***	0.0143
	(0.0376)	(0.1011)	(0.0845)	(0.0895)
Party membership × 75%-100%	0.0290	0.0408	0.1526	0.0646
	(0.0259)	(0.1184)	(0.1331)	(0.1091)
Party membership × Income missing	-0.0385	0.0360	0.1387	0.0183
	(0.0457)	(0.0826)	(0.0900)	(0.0767)
Female	0.0434***	-0.0695**	-0.0778***	-0.0744**
	(0.0106)	(0.0286)	(0.0252)	(0.0295)
Age	-0.0124***	-0.0177***	-0.0098***	-0.0196***
	(0.0007)	(0.0012)	(0.0010)	(0.0012)
College	0.3287***	0.4847***	0.4234***	0.5656***
	(0.0242)	(0.0528)	(0.0422)	(0.0472)
Urban residency	0.2190***	0.1654***	0.0064	0.1886***
	(0.0134)	(0.0421)	(0.0363)	(0.0404)
Income level				
0%-25%	-0.1113***	-0.1233***	-0.0808**	-0.1856***
	(0.0172)	(0.0404)	(0.0401)	(0.0447)
75%-100%	0.0535***	0.1035**	0.1052***	0.1357***
	(0.0187)	(0.0424)	(0.0377)	(0.0405)
Income missing	0.0431**	0.1453***	0.0864***	0.1429***
	(0.0172)	(0.0385)	(0.0313)	(0.0339)
Province-survey FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
R^2	0.118	0.216	0.093	0.269
Observation	85379	7497	7497	7497

Note: This table presents the numerical results that are associated with Figure 5. Standard errors clustered at province-survey level are reported in parentheses.

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed test)
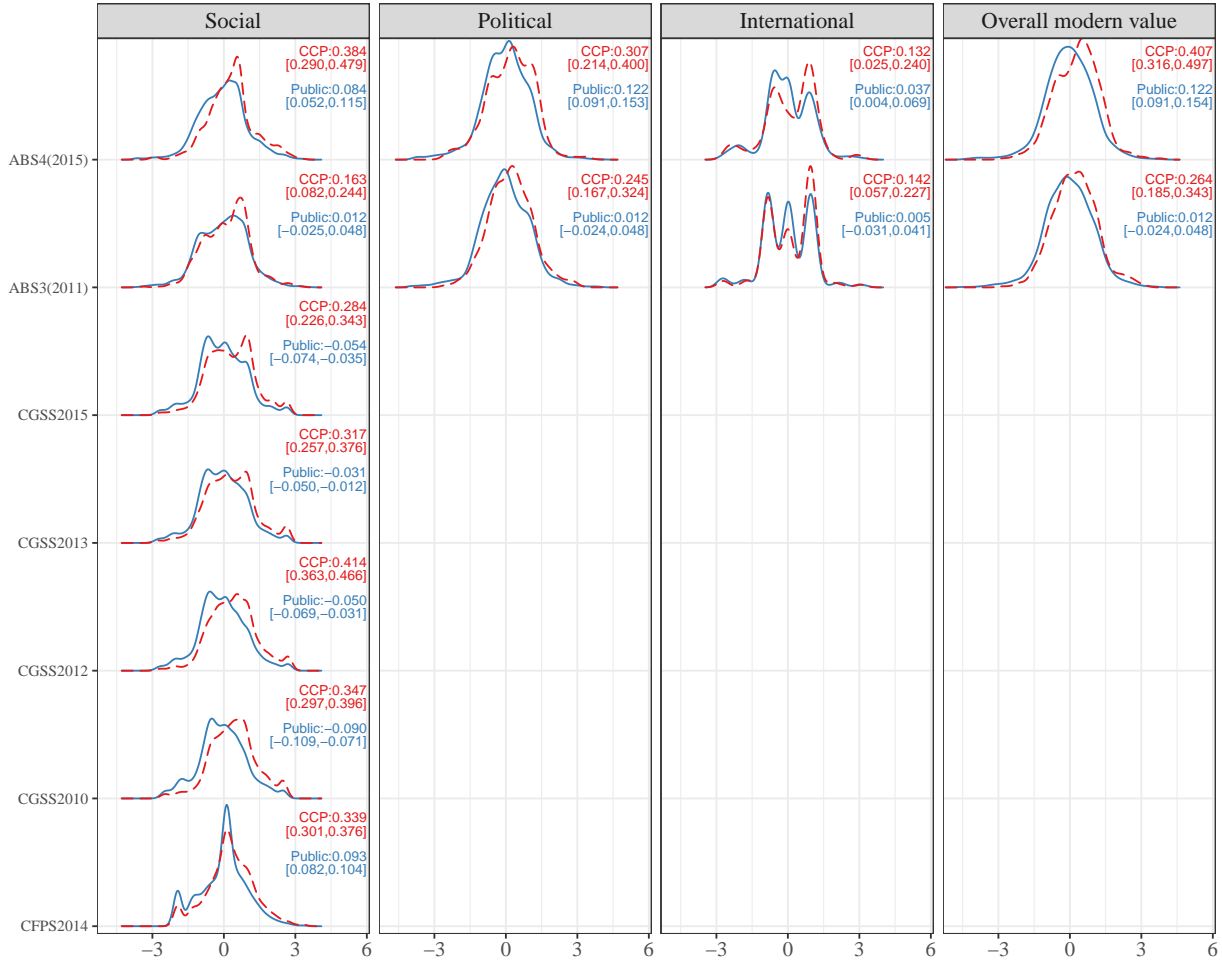
J Robustness Checks

Figure A.4: Party-Public Value Differences (No Weights)
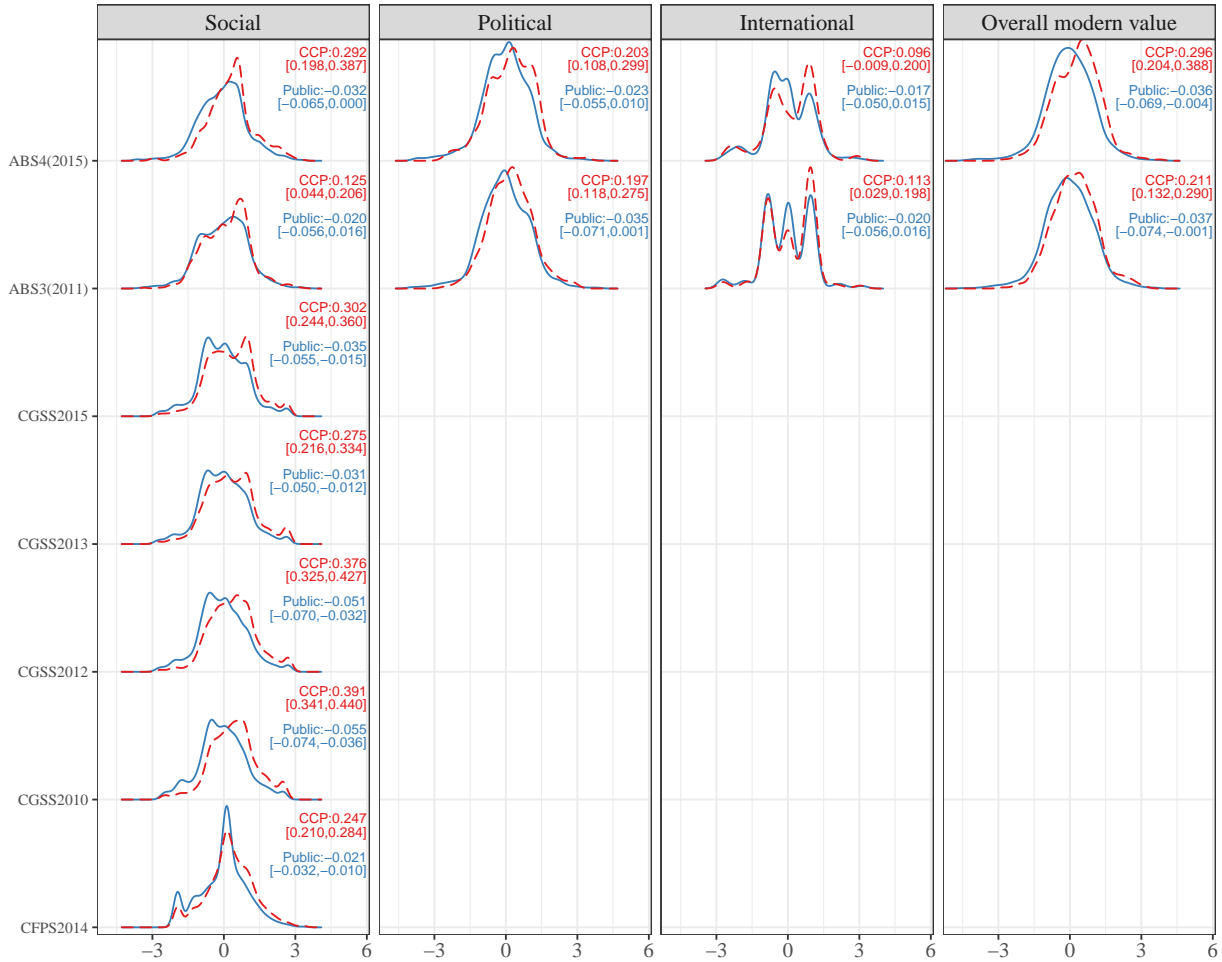
Note: This figure presents the (unweighted) ideological distributions for CCP members (dashed) and non-members (solid).

Figure A.5: Party-Public Value Differences (Original Survey Weights)

Note: This figure presents the ideological distributions for CCP members (dashed) and non-members (solid), weighted by original survey weights.

Table A.16: Testing the Impact of Social Desirability Bias

	Social		Political		International		Overall modern value	
	(1) Non-party	(2) Party	(3) Non-party	(4) Party	(5) Non-party	(6) Party	(7) Non-party	(8) Party
No doubts about the survey.	-0.1085***	0.0767	0.0256	-0.0010	-0.0665***	-0.0494	-0.0318	0.0376
	(0.0222)	(0.0719)	(0.0221)	(0.0690)	(0.0229)	(0.0815)	(0.0220)	(0.0679)
R^2	0.004	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.000
Observation	6540	919	6540	919	6540	919	6540	919

Note: This table presents bivariate regression result on how doubts about survey are associated with respondents' answers. We run separate regressions for both party members and non-members and for all issue domain. We find that having doubts about the survey have no consistent impact on the direction of responses. In particular, there is no strong relationship between doubts and answers to more sensitive questions in the political domain.
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed test)

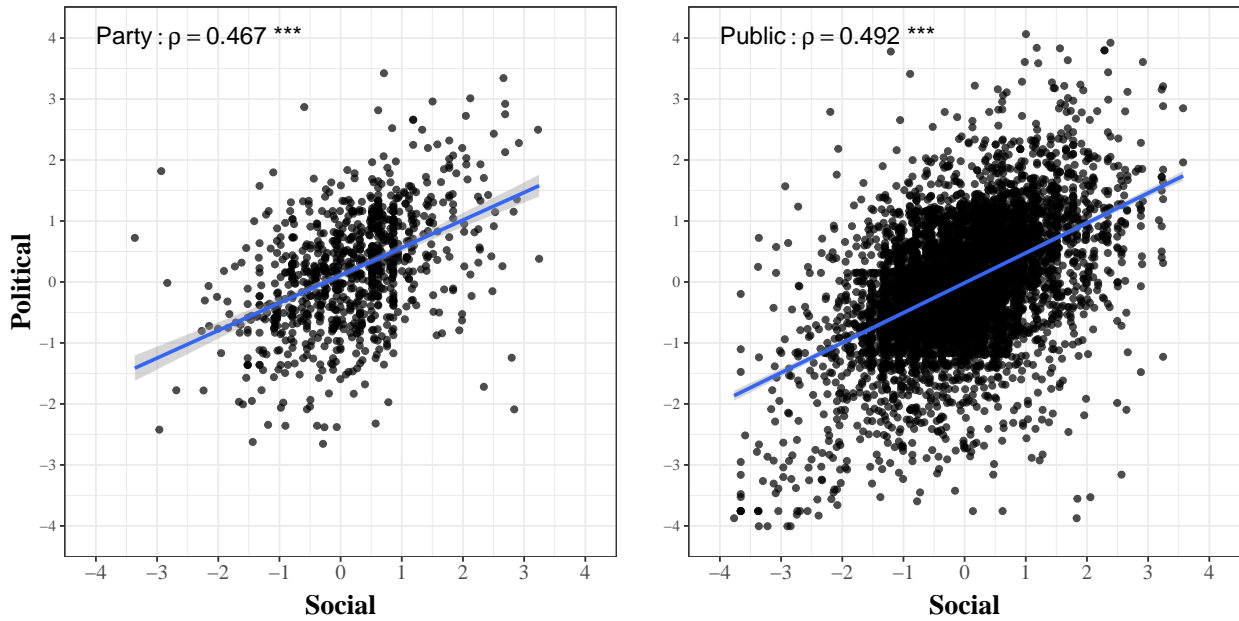Figure A.6: Correlations between Social and Political Domains for Party Members and Non-Members

Table A.17: Robustness of Multivariate Analysis

	Social		Political		International		Overall modern value	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Party membership	0.3105***	0.1708***	0.2408***	0.0725**	0.1254***	0.0368	0.2916***	0.0950***
	(0.0137)	(0.0135)	(0.0329)	(0.0325)	(0.0402)	(0.0426)	(0.0335)	(0.0317)
Education level								
Middle school		0.2892***		0.3065***		0.0085		0.3644***
		(0.0117)		(0.0365)		(0.0334)		(0.0407)
High school		0.4736***		0.4798***		0.1405***		0.5683***
		(0.0188)		(0.0337)		(0.0419)		(0.0372)
College and above		0.6041***		0.7865***		0.4286***		0.9169***
		(0.0256)		(0.0537)		(0.0391)		(0.0520)
Female	0.0568***	0.0850***	-0.0642**	-0.0200	-0.0800***	-0.0697***	-0.0713**	-0.0189
	(0.0116)	(0.0112)	(0.0257)	(0.0263)	(0.0237)	(0.0233)	(0.0275)	(0.0278)
Age	-0.0132***	-0.0081***	-0.0190***	-0.0125***	-0.0110***	-0.0085***	-0.0211***	-0.0135***
	(0.0007)	(0.0009)	(0.0011)	(0.0009)	(0.0009)	(0.0009)	(0.0012)	(0.0010)
Urban residency	0.2379***	0.1373***	0.2362***	0.1052***	0.0666*	-0.0010	0.2649***	0.1118***
	(0.0129)	(0.0124)	(0.0386)	(0.0374)	(0.0347)	(0.0345)	(0.0385)	(0.0350)
Income level								
25%-50%	0.0286*	0.0259*	0.0745*	0.0540	0.0297	0.0296	0.1169**	0.0924**
	(0.0150)	(0.0143)	(0.0428)	(0.0399)	(0.0407)	(0.0405)	(0.0457)	(0.0420)
50%-75%	0.1657***	0.1209***	0.1873***	0.1438***	0.0681	0.0700	0.2507***	0.1987***
	(0.0188)	(0.0191)	(0.0430)	(0.0409)	(0.0447)	(0.0427)	(0.0438)	(0.0408)
75%-100%	0.2123***	0.1100***	0.2934***	0.1618***	0.2169***	0.1636***	0.3899***	0.2353***
	(0.0177)	(0.0160)	(0.0471)	(0.0423)	(0.0506)	(0.0493)	(0.0472)	(0.0417)
Income missing	0.1555***	0.1174***	0.3155***	0.2501***	0.1782***	0.1454***	0.3673***	0.2907***
	(0.0224)	(0.0216)	(0.0530)	(0.0528)	(0.0403)	(0.0396)	(0.0498)	(0.0483)
Province-survey FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
R^2	0.112	0.140	0.202	0.241	0.081	0.093	0.249	0.303
Observation	83502	83502	7463	7463	7463	7463	7463	7463

Note: This table replicates the multivariate regression analysis presented in Table 3, using a 4-level discrete measure of education instead of a continuous one.

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed test)

K Numerical Results from the Mediation Analysis

Table A.18: Mediation Analysis

|	Social	Political	International	Overall modern value
ACME	0.142***	0.168***	0.081***	0.197***
Total Effect	0.324***	0.223***	0.110**	0.274***
Prop Mediated	44.0%***	75.1%***	73.3%**	72.1%***

Note: This table presents the results from mediation analysis based on Imai et al. (2011). Different surveys on the same value dimension are combined. The mediation model controls for respondents' gender, age, residential status (urban vs. rural), and income level, as well as survey fixed effects. ACME = average causal mediation effect.
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed test)
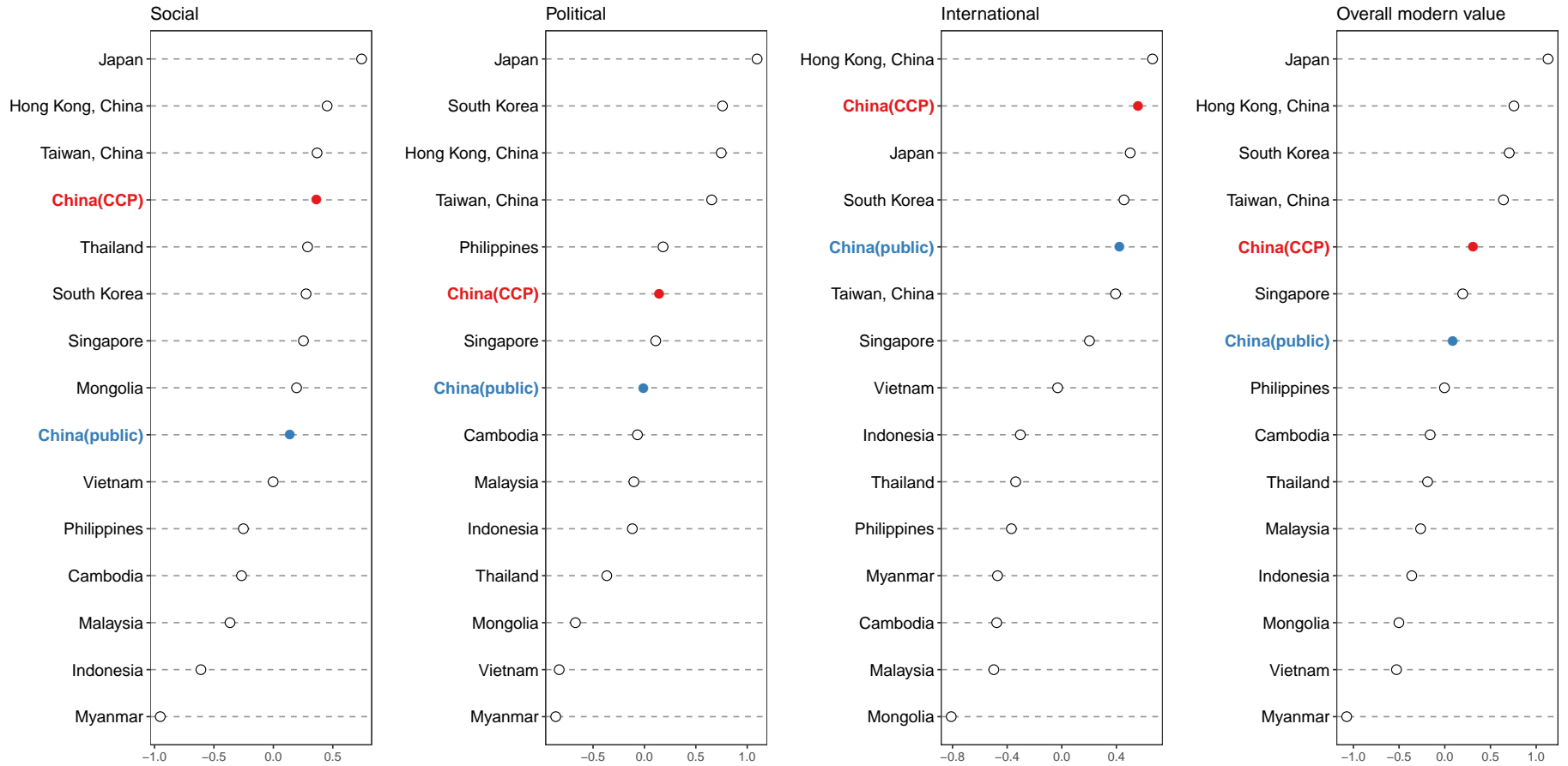
L Additional Results

L.1 Party Members' Value by Year of Entry

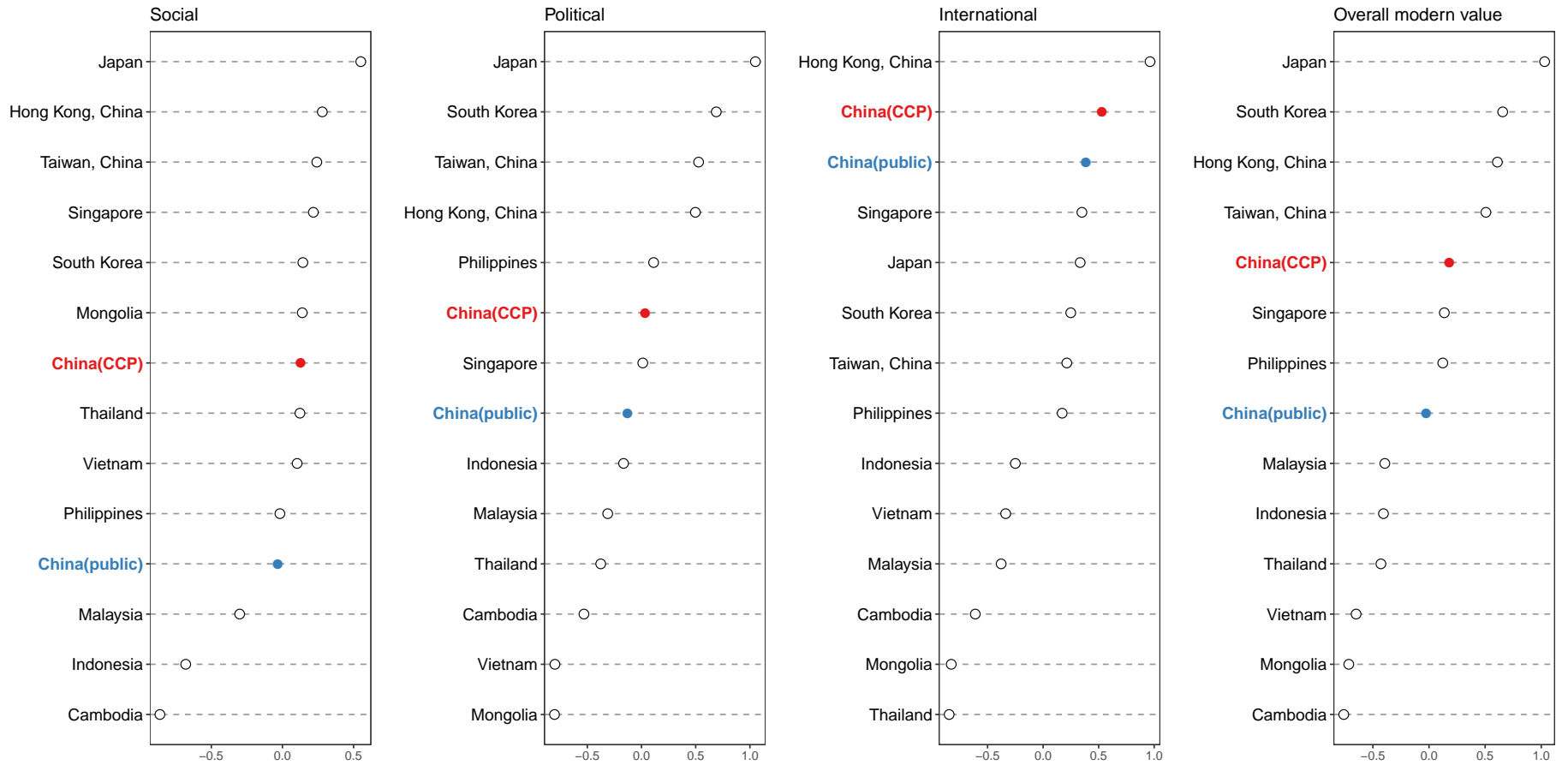Figure A.7: By Year of Party Enrollment
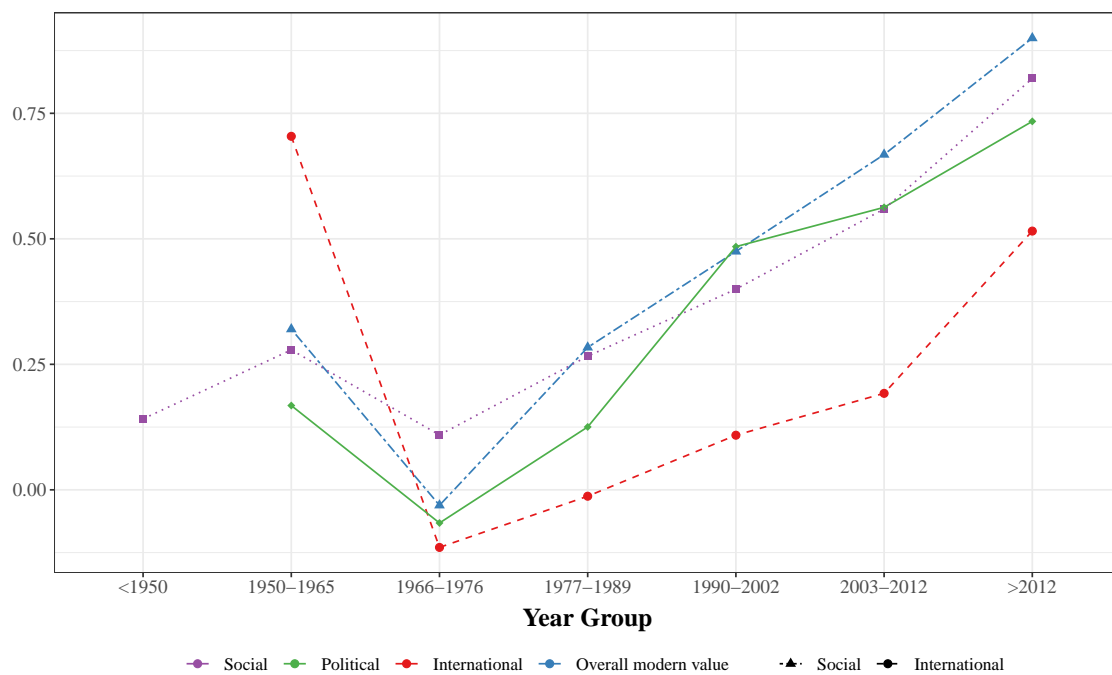
L.2 Comparing China with East Asia

Figure A.8: Comparing China with Other East Asian Countries/Regions (ABS 2015)

Note: This figure presents results comparing China with other East Asian countries/regions covered in ABS4 (2015).
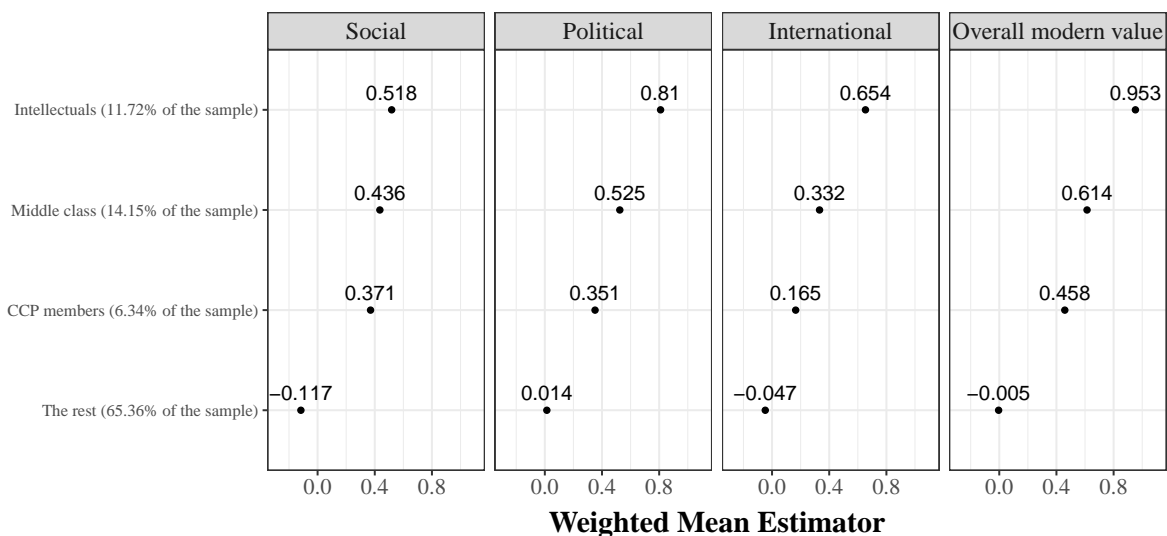
Figure A.9: Comparing China with Other East Asian Countries/Regions (ABS 2011)

Note: This figure presents results comparing China with other East Asian countries/regions covered in ABS3 (2011).

L.3 Comparing Party with Other Social Sectors

Figure A.10: Compare Party with Intellectuals and Middle-Class

Note: This figure presents results comparing the ideology means of CCP members with those of other selected groups. "Intellectuals" encompass all non-CCP respondents with a college (or higher) degree. For "Middle class", we follow the approach by Chen (2013) to include non-CCP respondents with the following occupations: managerial personnel 管理人员, private business people 私营企业主, professionals 专业技术人员, and office workers 一般职员. This criterion identifies about 15% of the sample as having middle class status. "The rest" is a residual category that includes respondents who belong to none of the three groups above.