Memo Harry He July 24, 2023 Summary:

- 1. We don't see sharp difference across the three party congress in terms of age, gender, and education (top\_ba captures the percentage of members who went to top universities for bachelor's degrees and top\_uni captures the percentage of members who attended top universities throughout their careers).
- 2. We do see a jump in the percentage of minority representatives (almost doubled between 2017 and 2022).
- 3. We also see significantly a decrease in share of state council officials and an increase in PLA officials in 2022. There are more to say about the trends within the 10 years.
- 4. Significantly fewer full members from Anhui under Xi and significantly more officials from Fujian and Shaanxi under Xi (especially in 2022).
- 5. Decrease in average career width of Central Committee members. Increase in the percentage of members with narrow career paths (I used two measures and both yield similar results).

The career width variable is calculated using the following formula:

career width =
$$n_{\text{province}} + n_{\text{ministry}} + n_{\text{party organ}} + n_{\text{PLA region}} + \text{NPC} + \text{CPPCC} + 0.3 \times (\text{SOE} + \text{University} + \text{Mass Organization})$$
 (1)

where  $n_{\text{province}}$ ,  $n_{\text{ministry}}$ ,  $n_{\text{party organ}} + n_{\text{PLA region}}$  denote the number of provinces, ministries, party organs, and PLA regions the member has worked in. NPC, CPPCC, SOE, University, and Mass Organization are all dummy variables indicating whether the member has held positions in these institutions (disregarding the number of different positions held). Since individuals who predominantly work in SOEs, universities, and mass organizations have narrower career paths, I inserted the 0.3 so that it is always clear whether and how many of the less powerful positions (SOEs, universities, and mass organizations) a given member has held, since no combination of the three can be mistaken for a position in a province or a ministry.

The two measures of narrow career paths are calculated by assigning 1 to all members with a career width of less than 2 and less than or equal to 1.3, respectively. The first measure takes into account any individuals who have worked in less than 2 provinces, ministries, party organs, PLA regions, NPC, and CPPCC combined, regardless of how many SOEs, universities, and mass organizations they have worked in. In the second measure, an individual is only considered to have a narrow career if he/she has no provincial, ministrial, party, PLA, NPC, and CPPCC experience or if he/she only has one of the above mentioned experience plus only one of the three (SOEs, universities, and mass organizations) experience.