

**Technical Supplement  
to  
“What Do Chinese Lawyers Want? Political Values and Legal Practice”**

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This supplement contains technical details we do not report in our paper owing to space constraints. It is divided into two sections. In the first section we describe our key measures. In the second section we present the multivariate regression models we report and discuss in the paper. Table 4, Model 1 in this supplement is used to calculate predicted probabilities in Figure 6 in the paper. Table 4, Model 3 in this supplement is used to calculate predicted probabilities in Figure 7A in the paper. Table 4, Model 6 in this supplement is used to calculate predicted probabilities in Figure 7B in the paper.

## Key Measures

### DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Our key measure of political values using the 2009 CLE Survey is derived from responses of “0 very rare”, 1, 2, 3, 4, or “5 very prevalent” to the statement: “Many lawyers are inclined toward political reform.” (“许多律师都倾向于政治体制改革。”)

Our key measures of political values using items in the 2005-2007 wave of the World Values Survey: (1) the “extent to which political rights should trump economic rights” and (2) the “extent to which democratic aspirations are fulfilled.”

First, our measure of the “extent to which political rights should trump economic rights” = political rights – economic rights,

where “political rights” is the average score of the following three items:

- (1) “Civil rights protect people’s liberty against oppression.” (“人们的自由不受侵犯是受宪法保护的公民权利”),
- (2) “People choose their leaders in free elections.” (“人们通过自由选举来选择领导人”),  
and
- (3) “People can change the laws in referendums.” (“人民可以通过公决修改法律”),

and where “economic rights” is the average score of the following three items:

- (1) “Governments tax the rich and subsidize the poor.” (“政府向富人收税补贴穷人”),
- (2) “People receive state aid for unemployment.” (“政府提供失业救济”), and
- (3) “The economy is prospering.” (“经济繁荣”).

The opening question prefacing the above items is as follows: “Many things may be desirable, but not all of them are essential characteristics of democracy. Please indicate for each of the following things how essential you think it is as a characteristic of democracy. Use this scale where 1 means ‘not at all an essential characteristic of democracy’ and 10 means it definitely is an essential characteristic of democracy.” (“民主包括很多内容，但其中只有一些是最基本的。在您看来，下列各项内容是不是民主的最基本要素？这个量表中，1表示这项内容不是民主的基本要素，10表示是民主的基本要素。请在量表上标出您的看法。”)

A higher value of this measure means political rights are perceived to be more important elements of democracy than economic rights. In other words, a higher value reflects a greater

relative importance attached to political rights. With respect to the three “political rights” items: Cronbach’s alpha is 0.68 for whole sample, 0.65 for lawyers only, and 0.56 for the 2007 China World Values Survey sample. With respect to the three “economic rights” items: Cronbach’s alpha is 0.66 for whole sample, 0.67 for lawyers only, and 0.60 for the 2007 China World Values Survey sample.

Second, our measure of the “extent to which democratic aspirations are fulfilled” =

$$\left(1 - \frac{\text{importance of democracy} - \text{current level of democracy}}{\text{importance of democracy}}\right) \times 100$$
, where “importance of democracy” is the response to the following question: “How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically? On this scale where 1 means it is ‘not at all important’ and 10 means ‘absolutely important’ what position would you choose?” (“对您个人来说，生活在一个民主的国家有多重要？这个量表中，1 表示一点儿也不重要，10 表示非常重要。请在量表上标出您的看法。”), and where “current level of democracy” is the response to the following question: “And how democratically is this country being governed today? Again using a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means that it is ‘not at all democratic’ and 10 means that it is ‘completely democratic,’ what position would you choose?” (“那么，您觉得我国的民主程度如何？这个量表中，1 表示一点儿也不民主，10 表示非常民主。请在这个量表上标出您的看法。”) The few values greater than 100 are set to 100.

A higher value of this measure means democratic aspirations are more fulfilled. In other words, a lower value reflects greater political discontent and aspirations for more democracy.

## INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

### Economic Vulnerability

- “work independently of firm”: Answers of “yes” to both “I don’t work with a team; I work alone” (我不在团队中工作，完全独立办案) and “In reality I work independently of my law firm” (我的工作实际上独立于我所在的律师事务所)
- “dissatisfaction with firm perks/benefits”: “0 very satisfied,” 1, 2, 3, 4, “5 very dissatisfied” in response to the statement: “social security benefits supplied by my firm” (“事务所提供的社会保障待遇”)
- “hope to exit bar within 5 years”: An answer of “yes” to: “Do you hope to be working in the same job in 5 years?” (“如果可以重来的话，您还会选择从事律师工作吗？”)

### Institutional Vulnerability

- “litigation as % of effort”: “Over the past year, what proportion of your total legal work was accounted for by litigation?” (“在您过去十二个月（一年）内的全部法律工作量当中，诉讼业务占多大比例？”)
- self-identified rights-defender: “Do you consider yourself a “rights-protection lawyer?” (“您是否认为自己是一名维权律师？”)
- “sources of state obstructionism in the past year”: “Over the past year, in the process of carrying out your legal work, have any of the following organizations obstructed your

work or failed to provide reasonable and lawful cooperation in other ways?” (“在过去十二个月（一年）内，在您从事法律工作的过程中，以下组织是否阻碍了您的工作或者在其它方面没有提供合理合法的协助？”） Sum of the following: public security (公安), procuracy (检察), court (法院), bureau of justice/lawyers association (司法局、律协), and other government agency (其它政府机关)

- at least 1 negative evaluation of institutional environment: Response categories for each of the following items are: “0 very rare,” 1, 2, 3, 4, “5 very prevalent.” Negative evaluation = yes if any of the following conditions is satisfied: response 4 or 5 to Questions A, B, or C, or response 1 or 2 to Questions D, E, F, or G. Otherwise negative evaluation = no.

**Table 1. Items Included in Measure of “At Least 1 Negative Evaluation of Institutional Environment”**

A.	“In criminal cases, public security organs always find ways to obstruct lawyers’ investigation work.” (公安机关对律师在刑事侦察阶段的介入总是设置各种障碍。)
B.	“In criminal cases, the prosecution has an advantage over the defense; there is no equality to speak of between the prosecution and the defense.” (在刑事公诉案件中，控方处于优势地位，控辩双方无平等可言。)
C.	“Lawyers I know about spend a lot of time fostering personal relationships with judges.” (我所知道的一些律师把很多时间花在和法官搞好个人关系上。)
D.	“The quality of a relationship between a lawyer and a judge will not influence how a court case is tried.” (律师和法官个人关系的好坏不会影响案件的审判。)
E.	“In general, in the process of gathering evidence, lawyers get the full cooperation of related individuals and civil organizations.” (一般情况下，律师在调查和取证的过程中能得到相关民间个人和团体的有关部门的良好合作。)
F.	“In general, in the process of gathering evidence, lawyers get the full cooperation of the related government offices.” (一般情况下，律师在调查和取证的过程中能得到国家的有关部门的良好合作。)
G.	“Currently the laws concerning the rights of lawyers are sufficient to guarantee that lawyers’ functions are brought into full play.” (我国目前法律对律师权利的规定已经足以保证律师应有作用的发挥。)

Cronbach’s alpha among these items: 0.76, which is higher than the 0.65 of Michelson’s 2000 survey (Michelson 2007).

## Multivariate Regression Models and Descriptive Characteristics of Included Variables

**Table 2. Determinants of Political Values, Unstandardized OLS Regression Coefficients, 2009 CLE Survey, All Occupations**

	extent to which political rights should trump economic rights		extent to which democratic aspirations are fulfilled		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<b>BACKGROUND</b>					
female	-.410** (.156)	-.328* (.158)	1.778 (1.781)	1.909 (1.846)	.820 (1.769)
age 30-39	.489** (.156)	.366* (.162)	-11.360*** (1.782)	-10.467*** (1.846)	-9.252*** (1.794)
age 40-49	.681** (.220)	.515* (.231)	-11.138*** (2.335)	-10.060*** (2.416)	-8.351*** (2.276)
age 50-59	.543 (.372)	.430 (.370)	-12.497*** (3.486)	-11.187** (3.573)	-9.761** (3.423)
age 60-69	1.005 (.679)	.941 (.691)	-16.551** (6.378)	-15.596* (6.414)	-12.472* (5.800)
age 70+	1.802*** (.198)	1.865*** (.203)	-38.446*** (2.358)	-37.609*** (2.424)	-31.418*** (2.393)
age 19-29 (reference group)					
subjective income decile	.001 (.039)	-.029 (.040)	2.420*** (.438)	2.473*** (.449)	2.376*** (.422)
<b>EDUCATION</b>					
junior college	1.564 (1.538)	1.618 (1.557)	9.328 (14.415)	9.744 (14.391)	15.114 (11.585)
self-study	.437 (.612)	.207 (.666)	9.070 (10.015)	9.900 (10.248)	10.588 (9.180)
Community Party School	-1.391* (.671)	-1.255* (.669)	12.484* (6.390)	12.515* (6.568)	8.350 (6.449)
BA	.537* (.278)	.428 (.279)	-2.156 (2.987)	-2.008 (3.028)	-.587 (2.838)
MA	.636* (.338)	.480 (.339)	-1.269 (3.378)	-.802 (3.431)	.793 (3.246)
PhD	.594 (.745)	.463 (.754)	-.955 (8.718)	-.590 (8.502)	.946 (7.937)
education missing	.378 (.278)	.242 (.280)	-.099 (3.038)	.562 (3.078)	1.367 (2.885)
less than junior college (reference group)					
<b>PARTY AFFILIATION</b>					
member CCP	-.253* (.151)	-.254* (.152)	6.954*** (1.645)	6.653*** (1.660)	5.809*** (1.596)
member Youth League	-.533** (.196)	-.462* (.198)	4.892* (2.303)	4.751* (2.323)	3.218 (2.221)
member democratic party	-.018 (.378)	-.129 (.380)	-2.411 (3.006)	-1.841 (3.059)	-2.270 (2.663)
no affiliation (reference group)					

Table 2 continued on next page.

Table 2., continued

	extent to which political rights should trump economic rights		extent to which democratic aspirations are fulfilled		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<b>OCCUPATION</b>					
work outside law		-539** (.182)		2.017 (2.033)	.229 (1.941)
basic-level legal worker		-.936* (.434)		16.642** (5.726)	13.535* (5.730)
in legal aid organization		-1.048* (.553)		10.748 (6.704)	7.271 (6.878)
in government agency		-.433 (.728)		3.778 (5.949)	2.342 (5.775)
law teaching or research faculty		.376 (.577)		-4.149 (6.859)	-2.900 (6.226)
house counsel in state-owned enterprise		-.520 (.373)		5.573 (4.063)	3.845 (3.640)
house counsel in foreign or private enterprise		-.514 (.361)		8.437* (4.115)	6.730+ (4.002)
legal consultant		-.888 (.580)		7.940 (5.798)	4.994 (5.837)
police, procuracy, or court		-.380 (.536)		8.920+ (5.388)	7.659 (5.538)
law student		-.205 (.572)		5.691 (6.449)	5.010 (5.309)
patent agent or other IP worker		.015 (.453)		10.608 (7.554)	10.657 (7.611)
in mass media		-.055 (1.232)		5.812 (11.578)	5.628 (10.880)
occupation missing		-.553** (.180)		2.203 (2.001)	.368 (1.905)
lawyer (reference group)					
<b>ATTITUDES</b>					
extent to which political rights should trump economic rights					-3.319*** (.249)
Constant	.660* (.336)	1.282*** (.379)	48.182*** (3.535)	45.034*** (3.978)	49.289*** (3.840)
R <sup>2</sup>	1,782 .043	1,782 .053	1,782 .074	1,782 .083	1,782 .171

NOTE: This analysis double-counts individuals who reported more than one occupation; N=1,291 individuals.  
+  $p \leq .10$  \*  $p \leq .05$  \*\*  $p \leq .01$  \*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ , two-tailed tests. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Descriptive information on all variables is contained in the Appendix, Table A2.

**Table 3. Descriptive Characteristics of Variables in Table 2, Legal Environment Web Survey, All Occupations, 2009**

	Mean	St. Dev.	Min.	Max.
extent to which political rights should trump economic rights	1.251	2.672	-9	9
extent to which democratic aspirations are fulfilled	53.785	29.201	10	100
male	.823	.382	0	1
female	.172	.377	0	1
gender missing	.006	.075	0	1
age 19-29	.314	.464	0	1
age 30-39	.403	.491	0	1
age 40-49	.145	.352	0	1
age 50-59	.043	.203	0	1
age 60-69	.012	.110	0	1
age 70+	.001	.033	0	1
age missing	.081	.273	0	1
subjective income decile	4.583	1.704	1	10
work outside law	.205	.404	0	1
lawyer	.434	.496	0	1
basic-level legal worker	.012	.108	0	1
in legal aid organization	.009	.094	0	1
in government agency	.009	.094	0	1
law teaching or research faculty	.010	.100	0	1
house counsel in state-owned enterprise	.021	.145	0	1
house counsel in foreign or private enterprise	.029	.168	0	1
legal consultant	.015	.120	0	1
police, procuracy, or court	.012	.110	0	1
law student	.011	.105	0	1
patent agent or other IP worker	.007	.085	0	1
in mass media	.004	.063	0	1
occupation missing	.221	.415	0	1
education missing	.377	.485	0	1
lower	.075	.263	0	1
junior college	.004	.063	0	1
self-study	.004	.063	0	1
Community Party School	.006	.075	0	1
BA	.423	.494	0	1
MA	.104	.305	0	1
PhD	.008	.088	0	1
no party membership	.508	.500	0	1
member CCP	.269	.444	0	1
member Youth League	.141	.224	0	1
member democratic party	.053	.348	0	1
party membership missing	.029	.167	0	1

NOTE: N=1,782. This analysis double-counts individuals who reported more than one occupation; N=1,291 individuals.

**Table 4. Determinants of Political Values, 2009 CLE Survey, Lawyers**

	Unstandardized Ordered Logit Coefficients		Unstandardized OLS Regression Coefficients			
	prevalence of support for political reform	extent to which political rights should trump economic rights		extent to which democratic aspirations are fulfilled		
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<b>BACKGROUND</b>						
female	-.337 (.224)	-.090 (.306)	.213 (.325)	3.504 (3.833)	-1.157 (3.595)	-.751 (3.594)
age 30-39	.215 (.201)	.387 (.295)	.075 (.291)	-4.768 (3.555)	-1.873 (3.217)	-1.731 (3.214)
age 40-49	.498* (.238)	.695* (.341)	.222 (.342)	-6.961* (3.965)	-1.948 (3.762)	-1.525 (3.747)
age 50-59	.540 (.459)	1.462 (.931)	1.370 (.941)	-.623 (6.359)	-.942 (5.917)	1.668 (6.087)
age 60-69	.334 (1.079)	-1.396 (.955)	-1.085 (.905)	17.462 (15.797)	5.139 (11.311)	3.073 (10.085)
age 19-29 (reference group)						
<b>PARTY AFFILIATION</b>						
member CCP	.047 (.167)	-.212 (.251)	-.125 (.247)	6.169* (2.588)	3.922* (2.381)	3.683 (2.341)
member Youth League	.191 (.331)	-1.223** (.413)	-1.229** (.420)	12.674** (5.120)	13.531** (4.900)	11.189* (4.880)
member democratic party	-.016 (.252)	-.096 (.472)	-.085 (.431)	-1.724 (3.643)	-3.617 (3.208)	-3.779 (3.079)
no party affiliation (reference group)						
REGRET OR PLAN TO STOP PRACTICING LAW	.332* (.163)		.408* (.231)		-5.120* (2.258)	-4.344* (2.221)
<b>ECONOMIC VULNERABILITY</b>						
owed at least ¥100K from clients	.005 (.223)		.696* (.356)		-.607 (3.097)	.719 (3.017)
work independently of firm	-.128 (.153)		.464* (.208)		-5.980** (2.149)	-5.097* (2.118)
dissatisfaction with firm's perks/benefits	.163** (.053)		.001 (.074)		-.206 (.700)	-.204 (.694)
subjective income decile	-.069 (.048)		.186** (.072)		.481 (.740)	.835 (.728)
<b>INSTITUTIONAL VULNERABILITY</b>						
litigation as % of effort	.001 (.003)		.013** (.004)		-.120** (.045)	-.095* (.044)
self-identified rights-defender	.149 (.147)		-.129 (.213)		-.204 (2.069)	-.450 (2.026)
at least 1 negative evaluation of institutional environment	.732** (.265)		.968* (.396)		-13.835*** (3.940)	-11.991** (3.933)
# sources of state obstructionism in past year	.160** (.052)		-.066 (.070)		-3.099*** (.708)	-3.225*** (.690)
<b>ATTITUDES</b>						
prevalence of support for political reform			.332*** (.075)		-4.788*** (.655)	-4.156*** (.665)
extent to which political rights should trump economic rights						-1.905*** (.380)
Constant		1.432*** (.272)	-2.383*** (.699)	51.370*** (3.486)	96.583*** (7.201)	92.043*** (7.179)
N	709	656	656	656	656	656
R <sup>2</sup> (Pseudo R <sup>2</sup> )	.031	.030	.121	.043	.260	.289

NOTE: +  $p \leq .10$  \*  $p \leq .05$  \*\*  $p \leq .01$  \*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ , two-tailed tests. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Models also include dummy variables for missing information on gender, age, party affiliation, regret or plan to stop practicing law, negative evaluation, client arrears, and rights-defender (not presented). Descriptive information on all variables is contained in the Appendix, Table A3.

**Table 5. Descriptive Characteristics of Variables in Table 3, Legal Environment Web Survey, Lawyers, 2009**

	Model 1				Models 2-6			
	Mean	St. Dev.	Min.	Max.	Mean	St. Dev.	Min.	Max.
extent to which political rights should trump economic rights					1.746	2.711	-9	9
extent to which democratic aspirations are fulfilled					49.689	28.029	10	100
prevalence of support for political reform	3.323	1.625	0	5	3.355	1.612	0	5
female	.087	.283	0	1	.088	.284	0	1
male	.907	.291	0	1	.907	.291	0	1
gender missing	.006	.075	0	1	.005	.068	0	1
age 19-29	.148	.355	0	1	.148	.355	0	1
age 30-39	.518	.500	0	1	.518	.500	0	1
age 40-49	.216	.412	0	1	.218	.413	0	1
age 50-59	.031	.174	0	1	.030	.172	0	1
age 60-69	.007	.084	0	1	.008	.087	0	1
age missing	.080	.272	0	1	.078	.268	0	1
work independently of firm	.458	.499	0	1	.465	.499	0	1
dissatisfaction with firm's perks/benefits	3.245	1.569	0	5	3.259	1.569	0	5
owed at least ¥100K from clients	.138	.345	0	1	.133	.339	0	1
client arrears missing	.100	.300	0	1	.095	.293	0	1
regret or plan to stop practicing aw	.326	.469	0	1	.329	.470	0	1
subjective income decile	5.016	1.499	1	10	5.020	1.505	1	10
litigation as % of effort	65.226	23.131	0	95	65.572	23.126	0	95
at least 1 negative assessment of institutional environment	.932	.251	0	1	.939	.239	0	1
0 negative assessments of institutional environment	.068	.251	0	1	.061	.239	0	1
assessment of institutional missing	.006	.075	0	1	.005	.068	0	1
# sources of state obstructionism in past year	2.209	1.557	0	5	2.255	1.550	0	5
self-identified rights-defender	.464	.499	0	1	.465	.499	0	1
rights-defense missing	.027	.162	0	1	.024	.154	0	1
no party membership	.560	.497	0	1	.556	.497	0	1
member CCP	.267	.442	0	1	.270	.444	0	1
member Youth League	.094	.293	0	1	.095	.293	0	1
member democratic party	.049	.217	0	1	.053	.225	0	1
party membership missing	.030	.170	0	1	.026	.159	0	1
N				709				656