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Study of Policing in China

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Studying Chinese Policing: How we can do better?

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ABSTRACT
This article is a critique of Western approach to the study of Chinese policing, with a proposition, i.e., the study of policing in China should be conducted from bottoms up and inside out, by adopting an indigenous perspective and as informed by local data. This article is organized into three sections. Section I discusses “Problems with the Study of Chinese Policing in the West.” It points out that Western study of Chinese law and policing is factually ill informed and theoretically unsubstantiated. Section II: “Policing with Chinese Characteristics: Another Approach” argues for the studying of Chinese policing from inside out and bottom’s up, being informed by indigenous perspective and supported with local data. Finally, Section III concludes with the observation that cross-cultural research into Chinese policing must be conducted with an intimate understanding of local history, deep appreciation of indigenous culture, and broad knowledge about and identification with Chinese people’s ways and means.
Studying Chinese Policing: How we can do better?

“Everyone is entitled to his own opinions but not his own facts.”

Daniel Patrick

Introduction

Chinese policing is a much neglected field of study, outside of China. Our knowledge about Chinese policing is sketchy, spotty and superficial. Until very recently (1990s), research into China is handicapped by lack of scholarly interests, unavailability of data, inaccessibility to places/people, scarcity of bi-lingual researchers, and incompatible of scholarship style. Chinese research in non Western countries fared no better, e.g., Japan, Vietnam, confronted similar problems and experienced other unique difficulties.

There is a dire need for more understanding of Chinese criminal justice system in general, and policing in particular. As early as June of

2 Jianhong Liu, Lening Zhang, and Steven F. Messner, Crime and Social Control in a Changing China (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001). (Research into PRC criminal justice system is handicapped by: (1) Language barrier; (2) Political considerations – secrecy; (3) Cultural misunderstanding (p. vii)
3 Before PRC open her door in 1980s, American Consulate in Hong Kong was translating and archiving Chinese newspaper items and Berkley, Hoover, and Harvard were collecting primary documents for their depositories.
4 Field research before 1980s involved exit interviews of refugees conducted in Hong Kong.
6 Jianhong Liu, Lening Zhang, and Steven F. Messner, Crime and Social Control in a Changing China. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001). (The editors lamented the difficulties in translating and conforming Chinese style of scholarship to that of Western protocol in getting the volume published.)
1909, the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, on occasion of its first inauguration, has called for the translation of important foreign criminology works into English to facilitate cross cultural research. As recent as 1997, Alford, has lamented the total misreading of Chinese legal history as a result of cultural ignorance.

In the China studies field there long existed two parallel scholarly worlds, one Chinese, the other Western. Each of these intellectual domains has its own paradigm, tradition, agenda, methods and findings. For example, Western notion of police differs from that of the Chinese. Western vs. Chinese practice of problem oriented policing (“POP”) also differs. To the American POP means discovering and eradicating the larger (social and communal) problem underlying a citizen’s (individual and personal) complaint. To the Chinese POP entails understanding and solving the individual and personal problems of the citizen; emotional, physical, material, and all. Last but not least, Western formal criminal justice system fails to capture the expansive reach, integrated nature and comprehensive

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10 Michael Agelasto, Bob Adamson, *Higher Education in Post-Mao China* (H.K.: Hong Kong University Press, 1998). (In 1990, measured by output in international journals, USA ranked first with 34.9% of all publications worldwide, and China ranked last (with Spain) with 1.3%. Others constituted 13%), Figure 4.1, p.62.
scope of the informal social control system in China, from self-cultivation\textsuperscript{14} to family discipline\textsuperscript{15} to clan rule\textsuperscript{16} to social surveillance\textsuperscript{17} to communal self-help,\textsuperscript{18} to government administration.\textsuperscript{19}

A review of (occidental) literature on Chinese social control-policing shows that there is an imbalance in research output. There is a lot of research into social control system in imperial China; its historical roots, philosophical foundation, structural framework, and functional process. However, there are very little raw data and research output on how Chinese police worked in the past\textsuperscript{20} or PRC public security functions at present.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{14} Donald J. Munro, \textit{The Concept of Man in Early China} (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969).
\textsuperscript{15} Fei, Chengkang, \textit{The family and clan rules in China}, (Shanghai; Shanghai shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998).
\textsuperscript{18} Men Juntian, \textit{China Bao Jia system} (Shanghai: Commercial Press 1936).
\textsuperscript{19} B.E. McKnight, \textit{Law and Order in Sung} (Cambridge University Press, 1992).
\textsuperscript{20} Jia Yuying, \textit{Zhongguo gudai jiancha zhidu fazhang shi} (A developmental history of traditional China supervision system” (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2004), p. 3.
A disturbing trend in the study of policing in China is that it is dominated by Western paradigm, theories and methods. Since inception, the focus, methods, theories, and style of policing scholarship in and about China are clearly and pre-dominantly Euro and Anglo-centric. As yet very few indigenous theories of Chinese crime have emerged and made it into mainstream Western scholarship. For example, the practice of community policing and the idea of re-integration shame had been practiced in China for centuries, and are now being (re)introduced to China from the West, as a novelty. Western countries, and especially the Americans, are net exporters of criminological, including policing, theories, while China is a passive consumer.

This article is a critique of Western approach to the study of Chinese policing, with a proposition, i.e., the study of policing in China should be conducted from bottoms up and inside out, by adopting an indigenous perspective and as informed by local data. This article is organized into four sections. Section I discusses “Problems with the Study of Chinese Policing in the West.” It points out that Western study of Chinese law and policing is factually ill informed and theoretically unsubstantiated. Section II: “Policing with Chinese Characteristics: Another Approach” argues for the studying of Chinese policing from inside out and bottom’s up, being informed by indigenous perspective and supported with local data. Finally Section III concludes with the observation that cross-cultural research into Chinese policing to be meaningful and useful must be conducted with an intimate understanding of local history, deep appreciation of indigenous culture, and broad knowledge of people’s ways and means.

I

Problems with the Study of Chinese Policing in the West

Western studies of Chinese law and policing have been afflicted with ethnocentrism and cultural ignorance.

Legal studies

In law, a generation of Western legal scholars has adopted the view that China has no rational or functional legal system. However, historical

26 See Sherman, “Evidence Based Policing” Police Foundation (July 1, 1998) http://www.policefoundation.org/pdf/Sherman.pdf Whereas Sherman wants to subject police work – theory and practice - to stringent field tests in order to find out “what works” or to discover “best practice,” I insist on gathering empirical evidence as a research strategy to give voices to people who matters most in any research process, here domestic scholars and grassroots officers, as a mean to keep outside observers in check and foreign researchers at bay.
evidences suggest otherwise, e.g. Qing dynasty has a sophisticated legal code and effective justice administration system.  

One of the earliest reviews of Chinese law literature (in Japanese, Western and Chinese) was compiled by Cyrus H. Peake. The review spans 50 years, i.e. 1880s to 1937. Peake observed contrasting views between the West vs. East over the role of law and functions of punishment. The West condemned Chinese legal system as being undeveloped, primitive and barbaric in adopting collective criminal responsibility principle, e.g., collective guilt, and inhuman punishment scheme, e.g., torture inquisition.

Western condemnation of Chinese criminal justice system is a very recent phenomenon. Before the mid-18th century, Western visitors and missioners, the likes of Juan Gonzalez de Mendeza (1588), spoke highly of Chinese law. Notwithstanding its harshness, foreign observers admired Chinese judicial system for its comprehensiveness, meticulousness and effectiveness. Such favorable attitudes towards the Chinese legal system turned sour with the departure of compassionate missionaries and pragmatic diplomats, and arrival of calculating traders.

In time, the social and political conditions in Europe changed. European justice administration became less arbitrary and punishment more humane. Ideas and ideal of humanism started to take roots and spread all over the world. Chinese criminal justice system, especially when applied to

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29 Id. 118.
32 Id. 120.
foreigners, e.g., miscarriage of justice in Hughes (1748) and Terranova (1821) cases, were found to be objectionable and unacceptable. Extraterritoriality resulted.

Serious study of China, beyond anecdotal accounts of missionaries and routine reports of officials, began in late 1800s, when foreign powers imposed extra-territoriality on China. Straunton found Chinese legal codes to be “copious and consistent” and free of “bigotry.” Ernest Alabaster observed that the Qing Code was infinitely more exact and satisfactory than English law.

Peake noted two major problems with Chinese legal studies during this time, i.e., a lack of comparative methodology, an issue Escarra (1885 – 1955) spent much time and effort in elucidating. For example, A.H. Post (1881) compared Qing law to primitive law. The other is a lack of language facility of foreign observers. “In the future the fullest significance can be derived from the study of Chinese Law only by those scholars trained both in Chinese language and in the field of law in general…” Peake also pointed out the need to study Chinese philosophy in order to fully

33 Id.
35 Chinese Marinetime Custom Office.
comprehend and appreciate Chinese law. In this area Professor J.J.L.
Duyvendak has set the precedent in translating The Book of Lord Shang: A
Classic of the Chinese School of Law (London 1928) into English.

Peake closed with the following observations. First, Chinese law
research was just beginning and has a long way to go, e.g., there was no
investigation into procedure laws nor studying of the influence of Buddhism
on legal development. Second, legal scholars should look beyond classical
text or historical materials to inform their research. Chinese literary work of
the time, such as novels, fairly describes the real operations of the system
and true attitude of the people. Court cases also tell us about how the law
was applied in practice.

Police studies

In policing, Michael R. Dutton wrote the seminal book on Chinese
policing. The book addressed the question: How does traditional
technology of policing fuse with the present social control framework?

Dutton began with the observation that the PRC’s household
registration system is a reproduction and sublimation of past practices, rather
than a new invention. Specifically, China's present control method is a
"remnant" of past feudal practices, i.e., the old imperial bao jia system was
conveniently borrowed to serve new communist governance needs.

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40 Id. 134.
41 Frederic, Jr. Wakeman, Policing Shanghai, 1927-1937 (University of California Press; Reprint edition (November 6, 1996) covers only a short 10 years of China history.
43 Id. pp. 5-6.
44 Id. P. 6.
In terms of method, Dutton employed Foucault’s "genealogical method" to (re)construct “histories of the present.” In the main, Dutton relied on secondary English materials to complete his study.

In terms of theory, Dutton adopted Foucault’s theoretical insights to analyze China’s household registration regime. He observed that Chinese state control has moved away from inflicting pain on the body to marking files of the person. As evidence, Dutton pointed to Chinese (communist) use of statistical records to effectively track and keep people in place, i.e., hukou system.

In terms of thesis, Dutton postulated that in imperial China the state controlled a person’s behavior by anchoring the person within an intricate web of relationship starting with the family. Individuals were kept in place by critical self-introspection, stern family discipline, and ubiquitous community surveillance. In contemporary China, the state replaces communal supervision with state administration, in the guise of a comprehensive household registration system: "[W]e may now see a regime which centers on work and production rather than on family and Confucian ethics, but the form of its policing, the modes of its regulation and the way it constitutes its disciplinary subjects all have resonance in the past."46

As a critique, Dutton’s book tells us more about social control than law enforcement, and focuses on administrative regulation than police supervision. In seeing China through Foucault’s lens, Dutton tells us more

46 *Id. P. 5.
about what the Western people think of effective social control in China, forcefully imposed, than what Chinese people feel about necessary official supervision, naturally embraced.

Radcliffe-Brown has cautioned against such Western cultural imposition, sold as sociological imagination: “In the primitive societies that are studied by social anthropology there are no historical records… Anthropologists, thinking of their study as a kind of historical study, fall back on conjecture and imagination, and invent "pseudo-historical" or "pseudo-casual" explanations.”

In essence, where Dutton discovered clear and convincing archeological evidence of historical continuity in a disciplinary state, Chinese experienced accidental and coincidental confluence of people, events, and circumstances vying for influence over the individuals. Where Dutton reached out for a grand design in explaining state governance, the Chinese people settled upon human nature (“renxin”) and heavenly providence (“tianming”) as reasons for personal discipline and collective obedience.

Finally, whereas Dutton sought to make sense of Chinese social phenomenon abstractly and from afar, the Chinese people give meaning to their life circumstances concretely and intimately. Thus observed, Dutton’s

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48 Mills, C. Wright, *The Sociological Imagination*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959 [1976]) (Sociological imagination allows us to see mundane and random social facts in revealing and patterned ways.)


“theory of policing” is irrelevant to the Chinese people’s conception of and feelings towards their police.

The existence of two divergent views of Chinese life, raises larger issues of intellectual discourse from what counts as a sound theory (i.e., validity issues) and accepts as good evidence (i.e., reliability problems), to whose perspective counts (i.e., political consideration) and what issues matters (i.e., policy concerns) in reconstructing social reality in and of China. The shift in discourse further implicates paradigmatic issues of positivism vs. post modernism.

On a still larger intellectual compass, Westerners, the likes of Dutton, go about (re)constructing Chinese experience out of whole cloth and in accordance with a grand scheme (vision) of things, while Chinese people continue to weave their life course stitch by stitch corresponding with the dynamic “way” (“dao”) of the universe.

This line of critique of the West finds empirical support in recent Chinese law and society research. Theoretically, it has been observed that law in action is mediated by powerful social actors as driven by a convergence of economic, social and cultural forces. In “The Practice of Law as an Obstacle to Justice: Chinese Lawyers at Work,” Ethan Michelson found that that legal justice in China was subjected to and subverted by the lawyers who acted as gatekeepers to law and justice. Accessibility to the legal system was dictated by professional interests (i.e., who can paid) and circumscribed by cultural values (i.e., who is deserving of help). Empirically, He Xin found in “Why Do They Not Comply with the Law? Illegality and Semi-Legality among Rural-Urban Migrant

Entrepreneurs in Beijing,” 53 that in practice the “hukou” system did not comport with the administrators’ design or live up to the legislators expectations. Ultimately, the “hu kou” system did not serve to “discipline” the migrant’s (as intimated by Dutton) but was negotiated by all those who were affected by it (police, migrants, business) to serve their respective institutional or personal interests. The lessons to be learned is that grand theory of law in the book seldom, if ever, explains the behavior of law in the streets of China.

If we find Dutton’s approach to studying policing in China wanting – sterile and irrelevant, how might we improve? To this central issue we now turn.

II

Policing with Chinese Characteristics: Another Approach

As intimated above, Western study of Chinese policing suffers from received cultural (pre-) (e.g., universality of political ideology)54 as fortified with embraced ignorance (e.g., lack of language skills).55

Harry Harding once observed that the misperception of reform in China has more to do with observers’ disposition towards China than reflecting true conditions in China. Our views on China changed with “intellectual assumptions” of the time; sentiments towards China ran from unrestrained romanticism over Mao’s egalitarianism and utopianism in the 1970s to bitter resentment over China’s oppressive policy and repressive practices in the 1980. By far the most established assumption shared by many who engaged in State and society research in China is the idea that there is a connection between economic development and demands for political liberation, i.e., individualism prevails over communitarianism, despotism replaced by liberalism.

Taking this admonition to heart, we find that few if any existing Western social or police theories fit well with China’s particularistic cultural pattern and complex social conditions. Many of them suffer from various minor inaccuracies and/or gross distortions. More significantly, there is

56 P. 396.
58 Lucian W. Pye, "Review: Social Science Theories in Search of Chinese Realities," CQ No. 132: 1161-1170 (1992) (Career minded young Asian scholars wanting to establish themselves or seeking to secure tenure tried to force ill fitting western theories in their respective disciplines to explain complex and complicated world of China.)
59 See “3. Jingcha xue xueke yanjiu ben tu hua de wenti.” In Zhu Xudong, “Regarding certain issues regarding research on police studies” (“Guanyu jingcha xuexi yanjiu zhong jige wenti de tantao”) PSUJ Vol. 101: 149 - 155 (2002) (“Ben tu hua” or “domestication” of foreign ideas and practices, privileged Western ideas and ideal over domestic ones, starting with the importation of science in the late 19th century. In the 20th century scientism is increasingly being changed by multiculturalism and postmodernism, Since policing research is a local knowledge (“di fang sheng zhishi”) (C. Geerz), police studies must reflect Chinese historical, social and cultural characteristics. Police research must focus on Chinese problems and issues, and must purge itself of foreign influences, entirely. (pp. 153-4).
not enough valid and reliable empirical data\textsuperscript{60} to support any theory building. \textsuperscript{61}

Reflecting on my own experience, I can make three observations to improve upon China police studies:

First, geographically and culturally, China is made up of many distinctive parties to an ill fitting whole.\textsuperscript{62} But there is a tendency to reference PRC police as a monolithic entity or treat Chinese policing as uniform activities. This is caused by a misconception that Confucius culture is ubiquitous and communist ideology all consuming;\textsuperscript{63} i.e., Chinese people think and act alike.\textsuperscript{64} Northing can be further from the truth.\textsuperscript{65} The public reception of and reaction to government policy in China varies, depending on locale,\textsuperscript{66} contingent on issues\textsuperscript{67} and change with people.\textsuperscript{68} In like manner and for same reasons, police in China policed differently.

\textsuperscript{60} Philip C. C. Huang, "County Archives and the Study of Local Social History: Report on a Year's Research in China," \textit{MC} Vol. 8: (1)133-143 (1982).

\textsuperscript{61} Philip C. C. Huang, "Theory and the Study of Modern Chinese History: Four Traps and a Question," \textit{MC} Vol. 24(2): 183-208 (Empirical historical research is better than theoretically driven one in understanding China. Western theories might be too simplistic, ideological or ethnocentric to obscure in capturing true conditions in China.)

\textsuperscript{62} Tao Tao Liu, David Faure, \textit{Unity and Diversity: Local Cultures and Identities in China} (H.K.: Hong Kong University Press, 1996).

\textsuperscript{63} Lucian W. Pye, "On Chinese Pragmatism in the 1980s," \textit{CQ} No. 106: 207-234 (1986) (The ideological furor of Maoism in the 1950s has given way to economic utilitarianism, technocratic managerialism and pragmatic socialism in the 1980s.)


\textsuperscript{65} James Q. Wilson, \textit{Varieties of Police Behavior} (Boston, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968). (Style of policing contingent on community make up.)


\textsuperscript{67} Julia Kwong, "The 1986 Student Demonstrations in China: A Democratic Movement?" \textit{AS} Vol. 28 (9), No. 9: 970-985 (1988) (Students from various universities took to the
China is a big country with diverse conditions; in geography, ethnicity and culture. In as much as policing is a grass roots activities and public order is a local concern, we can expect national priorities are not equally shared locally. Similarly, social problems and political dynamics affect different communities, differently. When devising legislative solutions, national law must be made to fit local conditions. Local government, especially the police, must be afforded the flexibility to creatively apply national law and boldly experiment with local regulations.

Thus, as one might expect, CPC directives and MPS policies were interpreted and applied differently in local context. For example when national police leadership called for police reform in 2001, provincial police bureaus chiefs reported different focus and achievements in 2002:

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71 *Id.* The Ministry of Public Security amended Article 39 of the “Regulations of the PRC on Administrative Penalties for Public Security” with Article 3 of the “Explanation of Various Problems of the Public Security Bureau's Implementation of the Regulations of the PRC on Administrative Penalties for Public Security which interpreted Article 39 of the Regulations of the PRC on Administrative Penalties for Public Security” (Adopted by the NPC Standing Committee on September 5, 1986) to shorten the period for application for relief from 5 days (Article 39) to 2 days (Article 3). This was rejected by the Xingyang District Intermediate Court.

72 Peter Howard Corne, “Creation and Application of Law in the PRC,” 50 *Am. J. Comp. L.* 369 (2002) (Flexibility in national law, manifested as open ended rules and vague provisions, is deemed necessary to accommodate local conditions and needs, experimentation and change (pp. 375 – 376)
(1) Shanghai Public Security Bureau reported focusing on modernization of the police department, i.e., systemization (zhiduhua), regularization (guifan hua), and legalization ( fazhi hua);

(2) Henan Public Security Bureau reported focusing on improving political ideology and professional accountability of the police when engaging in “strike hard” (yanda) campaigns. The major focus was on purging the police of corruption and abuse, e.g., the existence of “protective umbrella” (baohu san).

(3) Anhui Public Security Bureau reported focusing on eradicating organized gangs and secret societies (heshehui). The other focus was in reforming the police work style with the conduct of three education campaign. Four police reform projects were at hand: establish and perfect the education and training system (jiaoyu peixun); management and appraisal process (guanli kaohe); command and control structure (jiandu zhiyue); protection for police work (jingwu baozhang).

(4) Jingsu Public Security Bureau reported focusing on improving upon police service quality through enhancing police law enforcement standards, introducing police management review and adopting technology upgrade, i.e., “Golden Shield” (“Jindun”) project.

(5) Sichuan Public Security Bureau reported focusing on making police work more efficient, transparent and accountable to the public. The police reformed the household registration system to make it more rationalize and efficient. It also tried to address recurring and persistent police service problems, e.g., impolite and unresponsive police attitude.

(6) Xianxi Public Security Bureau reported focusing on “yanda” over serious crimes. The major focus was on building a comprehensive public security prevention and control system (zhian fangkong xitun). The police reform
process should be further strengthened to lay a foundation for the future economic development of the western region.

(7) The Helungjian Public Security reported focusing on “break through” in six reform areas: (1) maintaining public order; (2) “striking hard” at criminal offenders; (3) promoting social order; (4) serving the nation’s open door and economic reform needs; (5) using technology to enhance police performance (*kexue qiangjing*); (5) facilitating police troop construction (*duiwu jaingshe*).

(8) The Guangzhou Public Security reported focusing on six objectives, to improve public security and social order within two years and to deal with anticipated public order problems associated with WTO. The six objectives were: liberating ideas, working economic reform, stepping up with public security and social order campaign, speeding up public security reform and enhancing public security quality and standards.73

The implication of this observation for police scholars bound for China is clear: any attempt to theorize about Chinese policing in universal and essentialist terms, without indigenous perspective and grounded research, is likely to fail.74

Second, we need more reliable data than critical opinions. Most, if not all, China bound police researchers relied heavily on government data. Information supplied by Chinese government (official statistics, policy papers, legislative documents, court cases, journal articles, media accounts) deserves careful reading, paying attention to possible incompleteness,

omission, distortion, misrepresentation, bias, lack of uniformity and/or sheer incompetence. Data and analysis provided by elites are more likely

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75 Li Jianhe, “Thinking about “A Topic of General Interest” in Comparative Police Discipline,” *PSUJ*, Vol. 101: 43 – 48 (2002) (Chinese crime rates cannot be meaningfully compared with those from the West because of “dark figures” of crime resulting from: (1) PRC Criminal Law have fewer kinds of crime. (2) PRC official crime rate - “Criminal Case Recording Rate” - ("Xingshi anjian fa an shu") only reports/records cases from public security, not other branches of law enforcement, e.g., custom, court, procuratorates; (3) China reports minor public order cases ("zhian guanli chaoli") while Western countries do not count misdemeanors as crimes. (4) Western countries record all property crimes. China only records crime when minimum "li an biaozhun" is met. (5) In the US about 35% of crimes happened in supermarket. In China most businesses do not report such crimes, preferring to taking care of them in house. (6) Urbanization has a direct relationship with crime rates. In the US 80-90% of the country is urbanized. In China only 30% is.)

76 Media scholars and communication experts have long pointed out that in the public domain there is no reality but “socially constructed” ones. The media is a prime institution in the construction of news – setting agenda, providing for interpretation framework, evoking emotions. Ray Surette, *Media, Crime, and Criminal Justice: Images and Realities, Second Edition* (Wadsworth 1998), especially Chapter 1: “Media and the Construction of Crime and Criminal Justice”, pp. 1 – 23. In the context of China, Public Security Legal News has been relied upon by many police researchers, inside and outside China, to provide empirical data for research or use case studies as illustration. But such media reporting has little guarantee of validity and reliability. Zhang Jing, “Getting out of problems areas in Public Security Legal News reporting” (“Jiuchu Gongan fazhi baodao de wuqu”) *PSUJ* Vol. 54: 79 – 81 (1995). (The quality and reliability of “Public Security Legal News” is put into question. The reporting has been pandering to the public, i.e., violence and sex, reporting on crime details and investigation process. The reporting is driven by the market, compromised by irresponsible reporters with little supervision and still less accountability.) For the political role and function of the mass media in reformed China, see also Daniel C. Lynch *After the Propaganda State: Media, Politics and 'Thought Work' in Reformed China* (Stanford University Press, 1999).

77 Police and legal documents might not have been carefully written with proper use of terms and terminologies. This caused confusion and misunderstanding. First, officers who are not familiar with the legal terminologies have a tendency to substitute common social usage of terms instead of specific legal ones required by law: (1) “yingwei fazuizi” (not “consider” as crime) was used in lieu of “bukou cheng fazuizi” (not “constituting” a crime(75R)); (2) “airen” (love ones – spouse) was used in lieu of “fufu” (husband and wife”; (3) “zhengdang fanwei guodang” (“improper use of justifiable defense”) was written as “zhengdang fanwei guodang” (“justifiable defense in the excess”) (p. 75L). Second, officers might choose to use non-recognized police terms, either in terms of abusive use or inappropriate application.” For example: (1) “beigao” (accused) is not to be confused with those arrested or detained. They might or might not be the accused (p.
to be driven by theory than practice, ideology than facts. Both information sources are unlikely to have been informed by grassroots experience and bottom up perspective. All this is to remind China bound researchers that it is difficult to ascertain the truth about policing in China once we get away from official pronouncements and expert analysis. It is appropriate to end this observation with the often quoted statement: “Everyone is entitled to his own opinions but not his own facts.”

The implications for Chinese policing research is clear, we need to look at China from inside out and bottom’s up.

Third, China must be understood on her own terms: in context of Chinese history and culture, more recently ideology and personalities. If we were to make an effort to understand Chinese policing in China’s own terms, we should start by investigating local communal, familial and self control. That is to say we should take a bottom’s up more so than top down approach, seeking/explicating rich empirical observations than imposing/expounding essentialistic theoretical postulates.

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76R.); (2) “xingxiong sharen” (“murder” PYECD p. 773R) does not distinguish between “guyi sharen” (intentional murder) or “guoshi saren” (negligent homicide) (p. 76L.). Third, officials might be using vague and confusing terminologies. For example: (1) “duoci suo an” (commit many crimes) is not as clear as a given number (76R); (2) “quzhong” (people) is not as clear a description of the kinds of people by name or type (76R). Tian Rushua and Zheng Baitong, “Avoiding Five Misused of Terms in Police and Justice Documents,” *PSUJ* Vol. 54: 75 - 79 (1995).

78 It should be pointed out that “inside out” research, i.e., seeing things from inside or with an indigenous perspective is not the same as engaging in “insider” research. While an a person from inside is likely to possess an indigenous perspective and have access to local views, it does not automatically follow, e.g. whereas the “yu shi” (censorial officials) in imperial China as with the New York Times reporters in the Iraq war were embedded within the rank and file, they do not necessarily share the insiders’ perspective to things. “Insiders” research might also raise thorny methodological issues, i.e., myopic view and partiality of judgment. What is gained by intimacy of knowledge and uniqueness of perspective might in turn causes narrowness of vision and bias of opinion, leading to invalid and unsound findings.
If we should look at China from bottom up and empirically, we will find that “policing” as function starts with self and ends with the family/community, i.e. self governance. Kongfu (Confucius) household in imperial China is an ideal type of self-governance and informal social control. More significant for our illustration purpose, the Kongfu household enjoyed delegated rights of self-government and autonomous powers of social control. Kongfu enjoyed hereditary nobility. Kongfu was given property to manage. Kongfu has a right to appoint officials, to levy tax, to select local magistrates. The head of Kongfu has a right to govern its household members exclusively and discipline its charges summarily. Kongfu household has full authority to establish conduct norms within its household and over the disposition of its property in the community. It could discipline and punish its household members, charges, and intruders, summarily and without recourse. Kongfu has a right to make enforceable rules to protect its communal welfare and seek help of the officials to promote its collective interests. At all time, Kongfu mediated between its

80 “An ideal type is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct.” (Weber) Marx Weber, The Methodology of the Social Sciences. Translated and Edited by Edward A. Shills and Henry Finch. (New York: The Free Press, 1949), p. 90
81 One should be careful in using parsimonious “ideal type” to capture rich national history and nuance human experience, see Robert M. Marsh, "Weber's Misunderstanding of Traditional Chinese Law," The American Journal of Sociology Vol. 106, No. 2 (Sep., 2000), pp. 281-302 (Marx misconceived China’s legal system as irrational when ample historical evidence showed that China has a predictable legal system as supported by meticulous rules and controlling cases.) The problem rested with the fact that Weber did not speak or read Chinese and relied on selective and supportive secondary data, rather than comprehensive and contradicting primary sources for his assessment; a caveat that should be taken to heart when conducting comparative research, especially in China.
members and the outside world. Officials could only approach, communicate, and deal with Kongfu members with the special permission of the emperor, by and through the head of Kongfu household.  

The conclusion from this brief excursion is as unmistakable as it is revealing: the Kongzi household played a significant role in social control matters in imperial China through independent moral leadership and by virtue of delegated governmental social control powers from the emperor. As a result it shared in social control responsibilities with local officials, as co-equals. It was a “private government” unto itself.

Thus to observe that China has no institution of formal “police” might be technically correct. But to imply that there is no informal “policing” in China before 1898 is a gross misunderstanding as a result of fetishes with and pre-occupation of western’s idea of “police”.  The idea of police as we know it today is beholden to western conception ideology (democratic\(^{84}\)), organization (centralized, bureaucratic, specialized, professionalized\(^{85}\)), style (legalistic\(^{86}\)) and means (coercion\(^{87}\)).

In summation, the way forward in China police studies is to take a different approach; one that is informed by indigenous perspective and driven by empirical data, or simply a more context anchored, bottom’s up and facts driven approach.

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\(^{82}\) For discussion of powers and prerogatives of Kongfu, see Chapter One to *Confucius Records*.


\(^{84}\) Charles Reith, *Police Idea, its History and Evolution in England in the Eighteenth century and After* (1938)


\(^{87}\) Carl B. Klockars, *The Idea of Police* (Sage Publication, 1985)
Before we close, a brief discussion on problems and methods with research into PRC police and policing is in order. Researching on public security and policing in China is a difficult task. Cohen’s observation about the difficulties of researching into China, while dated, remains to be relevant. The Communists are not given to open government. The PRC

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88 For a research note on sources and methods, see M. Taylor Fravel, “Online and on China: Research Sources in the Information Age,” CQ No. 163: 821 – 842 (2000) (Before 1960s data on China is all but inaccessible, as with knowledgeable China researchers. In the early 1960s, most of the researches were based on translated materials – mostly newspapers and government documents – by U.S. Consulate in Hong Kong. In the mid-late 1960s, this was supplemented by exit interviews in Hong Kong. In 1970s, many more illegal obtained documents bear on the Cultural revolution was available. Since 1979, mainland libraries and national archives were made available. Discreet visits and personal interactions provided the bulk of the research materials. Finally, since 1980s, researchers from China were allowed to study outside of China. The brought with them valuable data set, personal experience and family connections. In the 1990s, the internet provided armchair researchers with direct access to many of the library sources or local materials that could ONLY be had by having personal assess or physical visits. ). For a research source note into Chinese law, see Wei Luo and Joan Liu, “A Complete Research Guide to the Laws of the People's Republic of China (PRC).” 
http://www.llrx.com/features/china2.htm

89 Jerome Alan Cohen, "New Developments in the Study of Chinese Law: Introduction,” The Journal of Asian Studies Vol. 27 (3): 475-483 (1968). (Chinese law research suffered from a lack of language skills and poverty in cultural perspective. The tendency of western lawyers, particularly those from the U.S., is to view China from its own cultural lens and to understand China legal terms by referring its own development. (pp. 479 - 483). Howard L. Boorman, "The Study of Contemporary Chinese Politics: Some Remarks on Retarded Development,” World Politics Vol. 12 (4): 585-599 (1960) (Prior to WWII, American study of China was limited to a handful of experts trained in French sinology tradition which stressed linguistic, biographic and philosophical preparation and approach. China scholars have always suffered from linguistic and social barriers, and after the establishment of PRC political obstacles were added as problems (pp. 588-589. In the 1960s, China was virtually inaccessible.) Kenneth Lieberthal, "China and Political Science, “ PS Vol. 19 (1): 70 – 78 (986) (The study of China politics hampered by a number if facts: First, study in and of China requires substantial investment of time and effort to emerge oneself in the mastering of a difficult language, familiarization with long history and sensitivity to rich culture (p. 71R). Second, while the field of political science was moving towards quantitative analysis in the 60s and 70s, statistical data is not available from China before and well into the reform era (p. 72L). Third, political development in the U.S. – most noticeably McCarthyism in the early 1950s – all but
police are not keen on sharing state secrets, private information, criminal intelligence, and operational details with outsiders, much less foreigners. There is no right to public information in China. Publicly available data are often "sanitized" to serve the State's propaganda, education and socialization needs. Field survey research is officially prohibited.

deterred students from entering the field (P. 72R.) After 1979, serious investigation into China was made possible by a sea change of attitude on the part of Chinese political leadership and corresponding scholarly community. Political leaders wanted to gather useful scientific (p. 74R) data for reform purposes while the scholarly community looked towards the west to jump start a long neglect educational system (p. 74R).

Ministry of Public Security ("Gongan bu"), “Notice regarding prohibiting foreign journalists from illegal reporting activities ("Guanyu jizhi weiguo jizhe feifa caifang hudong de tongzhi") (April 22, 1994). Compendium of PS Law pp. 1296 – 1297. (Foreign reporters were forbidden to liaison with dissenters or report on major disasters without first asking for permission and having video/sound recording examined by MPS.)

This is not the same as saying that there is not systematic and comprehensive data gathering in China. In fact, political doctrine in China from Marx to Mao to Deng calls for finding ideas in matters (Marx), integrating theory with practice (Mao) and seeking truth from facts (Deng). George Braybrooke, "Recent Developments in Chinese Social Science, 1977-79," CQ No. 79: 593 – 607 (1979). (China political leadership and policy makers have long been interested in social research and ethnographic studies as a way to inform policy and design strategy. The premier scientific and policy research agency is of course the CASS – Chinese Academy of Social Science.) But in as much as such research data and findings are driven by political ideology and administrative needs, such data and findings might be contaminated.

Ole Bruun, Soren Poulsen, Hatla Thelle, MC Research Danish Experience (University of Copenhagen, 1991) Center for East and Southeast Asian Studies, U. of C., Stokhusgade 5, DK - 1317 Copenhagen K, Denmark. (The book is a collection of papers from a seminar held in 11/1-2/90 at U. of Copenhagen on 'Problems and Methods in MC Research. The seminar was convened by four major China research institutions in Denmark: The Center for East and Southeast Asian Studies at U. of Copenhagen; East Asian Institute at U. of C., the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen; and the East Adian Institute, U. of Aarhus. The seminar provide a reflection on China research experience since 1978: "What methods are suitable for understanding the mechanisms of the Chinese society? What problems confront the researcher? What are the ethical questions involved, and what are reasonable considerations for our informants?" (p. 4). The recurring problems of research in China are: evasive answers, unkept promises, classified material, and regions 'out of bounds' for foreigners." (p. 5) The major issue in sum is cross cultural communication.) Ole Odgaard, "Data Collection and Use of Local Statistics - Some Experiences from Field Studies in Sichuan" (pp. 18-29). In China "even non-controversial statistics can be difficult to collect during field studies, and the reliability of local statistics is often
Document 598 circulated by the State Education Commission in December of 1990: "Notice of Issues Relating to Cooperation with Foreigners: Doing Social Investigation in our Country" prohibits "all higher education institutions from conducting sociological survey in the form of public opinion poll or written questionnaire with foreign academic institutions and research institutes. This includes cooperative research based on questionnaire."

On a more optimistic note, researching into PRC is getting easier. Consistent with PRC overall policy to open up government agencies, including the police, for citizens’ inspection and public scrutiny, more and more information are made available to the people, e.g., books, journals and papers designated for internal circulation are increasingly being placed in public circulation and for private subscription. For example, Gongan Yanjiu (Public Security Research) is now freely circulated and Renmin Gongan Bao (Public Security Press) is made available on the web (Zhongguo gongan baike quanshu editorial committee: 1989: 22). While the PRC government still do not welcome outside scholars to study the PRC police system and process, the PRC scholars themselves have been allowed to conduct research and publish their findings, much more so than before.

questionable." (p. 18). The accessibility problem is due to lack of connections (guanxi) and lack of openness. The reliability issue is a result of manipulation for self-serving reasons. (Ibid). For example tax figures may be deliberately underreported if the local authorities hope to retain a larger portion of taxes collected. In a survey of 38 private enterprises it was found that their taxes and levies were substantially higher than recorded by the County Tax Bureau. (P. 19-20) There is always a disparity between the State Statistical Bureau in the Statistical Yearbook and local data. The differences of rural income may be due to sample differences or percentage to calculate cost and expenses; a figure which is arbitrary arrived at or politically determined and never economically decided. (p. 22)

III

Conclusion

Where to go from here?

The above discussion suggests that there is a dire need to study police and policing in China with an open mind. Particularly, there is a need to trace, analyze, and discuss recent developments – ideology, philosophy, organization, law, operations - in China policing within a broader context of Chinese history of social control and PRC political reform since 1979. This kind of study will help to discern historical legacy, discover emerging patterns and speculate upon future trends. The hope is that this kind of scholarship can contribute to our understanding of PRC police as an evolving entity and pragmatic enterprises caught between past dreams and future hope, traditionalism and liberalism, ideological dogma and

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94 As a street level bureaucracy, police cannot help but be pragmatic in their outlook and practical in approach while doing the people’s business. Kevin J. O'Brien; Lianjiang Li, "Selective Policy Implementation in Rural China,” Comparative Politics Vol. 31 (2): 167 – 186 (1999), (As street level bureaucrats, local cadres at village level has multiple responsibilities and competing demands. They have to be flexible in negotiating their duties and dispensing their responsibilities.)

95 The ideological war between neo-conservative (in the guise of traditionism and nationalism) and radical democratic forces (over rule of law and human rights) is far from over, particularly when the later suffered declining influence after June 4. The conservatives are more emboldened than ever by increasing signs of reform failures, such as huge unemployment, gross inequality, and exploding criminality. The cultural implications, social impact, and in the end political fallout, of such a war of words and ideas over reform direction and process has yet to be fully played out. In the meantime China forged ahead with the reform program under Deng’s last words calling for pragmatism (“It does not matter if the cat is white or black. If it can catch a mouse, it is a good cat.”) and experimentalism (“Crossing the River by Feeling Each Stone”). Feng
practical necessities;\textsuperscript{97} all the time struggling to maintain a semblance of continuity and order amidst fast pace, propitious and precipitous, political, economical, social and cultural changes and disjuncture that is a reformed and reforming China.

\textit{How should we move forward?}

First, in order to improve upon policing in China, it is necessary to gather empirical data about the performances of police reform program, process and outcome, for analysis and assessment purposes.\textsuperscript{98}

Second, in order to build up a Chinese policing study field outside of China,\textsuperscript{99} domestic literature, indigenous perspectives, local data and inside - out – bottom – up views must be recorded.\textsuperscript{100}

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\textsuperscript{96} Chen, ”Order and Stability in Social Transition: Neoconservative Political Thought in Post-1989 China,” \textit{CQ} No. 151: 593-613 (1997).

\textsuperscript{97} PRC Constitution (Adopted at the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and Promulgated for Implementation by the Proclamation of the National People's Congress on December 4, 1982): “The basic task of the nation in the years to come is to concentrate its effort on socialist modernization. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese people of all nationalities will continue to adhere to the people's democratic dictatorship and follow the socialist road, steadily improve socialist institutions, develop socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system and work hard and self-reliantly to modernize industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology step by step to turn China into a socialist country with a high level of culture and democracy. “Chen Yun (陈云) (June 13, 1905 – April 10, 1995), a participant of Long March (1934-1935) and a long time member of Politburo Standing Committee of the Communist Party of China (中国共产党中央政治局常务委员会) is one of the most conservative, ideologically. Chen Yun: “one must note that opening to the world will inevitable be accompanied by capitalistic ideology and life style both of which are detrimental to our socialist cause.” He wanted the reform limited with his now famous "bird-cage economy" analogy.)

\textsuperscript{98} Lucian W. Pye, "On Chinese Pragmatism in the 1980s,” \textit{CQ} No. 106: 207-234 (1986). (Pragmatism becomes the official ideology of the reform period under Deng. This is reinforced by China people’s ingrained national character of nationalism and social practice of guanxi and loyalty.)


\textsuperscript{100} China police studies with Chinese characteristics.
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Third, one proposal is to have bi-cultural researchers who are at ease in two cultures. It is observed that intimate knowledge with culture and good facility with language allows a researcher to reach back into forgotten historical memory, dig deep into obscured cultural meaning and access to latent emotional feelings to provide a more complete and holistic picture of matters under investigation and materials to be interpreted. While Huang made clear that his preference for bi-cultural researchers is not meant to exclude “foreign” researchers, it is also clear that Huang thought that

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[102] For a rejoinder see, Prasenjit Duara, "Response to Philip Huang's "Biculturality in Modern China and in Chinese Studies" *MC* Vol. 26 (1): 32-37 (2001) (Bi-cultural approach provides no escape from globalization of knowledge, universalization of culture, and commodification of ideas, especially when the underlying indigenous culture (China) (willingly or by force of circumstances, consciously or unconsciously) increasingly takes on a modernized look and feel.) In response to Duara, my sense is that the transformation of indigenous culture, while a distinct possibility, does not mean that local knowledge and indigenous understanding is no longer necessary for researcher. First, cultural transformation is an incremental, interactive, and intergenerational project. Japan today still enjoys a village like culture, in many respects. David Bayley, *Forces of Order* (University of California Press, 1991). Second, local memory is cumulative and become part of a bi-cultural person’s persona, once assimilated. All understanding of a culture will relate back to his/her exposure to a culture, especially when one is being brought up in a certain cultural milieu in time and place. The culture will change, but ones cultural identity and memory stays, and keep renewing and reinventing itself. This cultural exposure become ones life experience and provide the context, and facility, for one to make sense of what one sees and hear in later life. Berman, Harold J., "The Historical Foundation of Law" *Emory Law Journal*, Vol. 54, 2005 Learning a language and culture is thus learning how to negotiate in a given social milieu; what things mean and potent. Thus to understand a language is also to under life as experienced in a group.) Michael W. Nicholson, "Abusing Wittgenstein: The Misuse Of The Concept Of Language Games In Contemporary Theology," *JOURNAL OF THE EVANGELICAL THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY* Vol. 39(4): 617 – 630 (1996).
researchers locally born and bred has a natural advantage over and above those who just learned about China by education and through emersion.

Huang’s biculturalism debate recalls and reinvigorates the debate in criminal justice over whether “insider” vs. “outsider” is better able to study criminal justice system in action. The “insiders” (those who has been through the system) is supposed to have better access to secret information and possessive of unique insights not (easily?) available to the “outsiders”. For example, convict criminologists conduct correctional research as informed by a convict’s personal experiences and from a critical perspective. They argued that scholarship in general and convict criminology in particular is intimately and irrevocably linked with ones personal identity, experiences, sensitivity, perspective and ideology, as an integrated whole. J.I. Ross and S. Richards, “What is The New School of Convict Criminology?” The Blanket (August 2003). Opponents to “insider scholarship,” including this author, claim that it suffered from conceptual, theoretical, empirical, methodological and philosophical problems. Conceptually, who is considered an “insider”? Does insider include researchers married to an insider? Theoretically, “insider” researchers might not have much to offer to the readers. If all that an “insider” can offer is secretive, hidden or contextual information, there are other ways to obtain such information, e.g., participatory observer (the term in vogue is “embedding”) or having insider informants (the case in point is “deep throat”, see O’Connor, J. (2005) "I'm the Guy They Called Deep Throat," Vanity Fair May 30, 2005. However, if “insider” researchers’ voices are treasured, not for their substantive knowledge, but for their unique perspective and radical insights arising from their identity (see V.K. Kanuha, “Being” Native versus "Going Native": Conducting Social Work Research as an Insider,” Social Work, Vol.45 (5): 439-447 (2000), deriving from their experience (see M. Polanyi, The Tacit Dimension. (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1967) and emulating from their emotional resonance, i.e., how Chinese police officer thinks and feels about (aspects of) policing are very much driven by their pride in PRC and profession, there are other unique perspectives and insights that are as worthy of reporting as a special brand of scholarship, e.g., police spouse perspective, police parents insights and police siblings reflection (see R. Adlam, “Developing Ethics Education for Police Leaders and Managers: action research and critical reflection for curriculum and personal development,” Educational Action Research Volume 6 (1) (1998). Methodologically, “insider” research in the first person with agenda to pursue, ideology to promote, and interest to advance contributes to bias observation and partisan analysis. Instead of being a disinterested reporter of social conditions, “insiders” become committed advocates for change (see H. Garza, “Objectivity, Scholarship, and Advocacy: The Chicano/Latino Scholar in America,” Julian Samora Research Institute, Occasional Paper No. 58, March 1999.). Empirically, “insiders” might not know as much as “outsiders”. “Insiders” also might include people who are not in the know, i.e., past insiders, such as retired police officers who are out of touch or current police officers who are promoted/transferred from knowledge depository site (see J. Chan, Changing Police Culture: Policing in a Multicultural Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). More damningly, “insider” as an all embracing term – once a “Chinese” cop always a “Chinese” cop – fails to sufficiently discriminate between police practitioners.
Fourth, there is a dire need to supplement foreign view of Chinese reform in general and police reform in particular,\textsuperscript{104} counter-balancing them with internal perspectives, domestic voices and grass root understanding.\textsuperscript{105}

If we do it correctly, we might be able to get a better understanding of PRC police as an evolving institution caught between past legacy and future vision while struggling to maintain a semblance of continuity amidst fast

who know something about the area of inquest and those who do not. Chinese police is complex institution, no “insider” is capable of knowing it all (W. St. John, “Professor with a past” \textit{New York Times}, August 9, 2003). \textit{Philosophically}, treating “practitioner scholarship” differently also sends the wrong (at least mixed) signals to the research community, i.e., it is who you are not what you know or have to say that matters in the academic world.

\textsuperscript{104} With an abiding faith in U.S. ideological exceptionalism (democracy, equality, rule of law) and an equally strong conviction in scientific universalism (rationality, objectivity, generalizability), American scholars have a tendency to examine societies everywhere under a microscope, in order to validate the absolute superiority of American theories or downplay the possible contribution of non-American paradigms. \textit{Lucian W. Pye}, "Asia Studies and the Discipline,” \textit{PS: Political Science and Politics} Vol. 34(4): 805 – 807 (2001). ("But does anyone believe that American practice can be treated as the norm for everyone? Or even for any other particular country. (p.805)

\textsuperscript{105} In 1999, the author started with other interested Asian police scholars from Taiwan, PRC, Hong Kong, Korea the Asian Association of Policing to bring indigenous voices to the study of Asian policing. “Closing Remark” (AAPS Presidency Inauguration Speech) AAPS Third Annual Conference: Asian Policing in the 21st Century, Open University, July 29, 2002. Co-sponsored by Center for Criminology, Hong Kong University, Open University, Chinese University of Hong Kong. Kam C. Wong, \textit{Asian Policing in the 21st Century (Proceedings)} (Hong Kong: AAPS, 2002) (There is a need to study policing from a local perspective and with indigenous data, looking at policing from inside out and bottom up. Comparative policing should be taught with local content and within local context.) Many of the recent China political science and police studies research and writing are by first and second generation China scholars who are educated in the West, e.g., Wu Guoguan a Princeton political scientist from Victoria University was within the inner circle of PRC Premier Zhao Zhiyang before his demise and Fu Huling who single handedly plowed the field of Chinese police studies in Hong Kong University in the 1990s was educated at University of Toronto and a PRC police instructor in the 1980s. David Shambaugh, "Keeping Pace with a Changing China: CQ at 35,” \textit{CQ} No. 143: 669-676 (1995) (\textit{The China Quarterly} now has outstanding contributions from mainland China emigrant who bring with them personal experience and \textit{nebu} (internal) documents), connection within China and contacts inside institutions.)
pace political, economical, social and cultural change that is China in the last 40 years.\textsuperscript{106}

China must be studied and engaged on its own terms with a mixture of domestic and domesticated viewpoints\textsuperscript{107} in order to gain a better – fuller,

\begin{itemize}
  \item Chen Yuanxiao, “Ponder over the Sustained Development and Improvement of Policing.” \textit{Public Security Studies,} Vol. 78: 22 – 26 (2001) (The current police system, process and methods is not keeping pace with radical economic reform and catching up on rapid social changes. Specifically, there are three kinds of “bottlenecks”. First, police administration bottleneck, i.e., there is no central administration of police resources and coordination of operations (22L). Currently, public security officers are funded and directed by local government and Party officials, but have to report to the MPS chain of command. Second, police quality and capacity bottleneck (22R). Police are lacking in critical skills, e.g., computing, financial, business skills. Currently, police colleges and universities are only teaching general academic and abstract theoretical knowledge. They are not providing new officers with functional skills and in service officers with specialized and professional knowledge. Third, complex bureaucratic and tall hierarchy command structure bottleneck. Currently, the command and control structure of the police is at the municipal and county level. There is a long chain of command. Some cases require senior officers to be on scene, but this cannot be done in a timely manner. The reporting process and command practice slows down operations (p. 23R.). Fourth, adherence to traditional ideas bottleneck. Currently, criminal investigation is based on “on scene inspection, personal investigation, and surprise interrogation”. There is no attempt to adopt more modernized technology and progressive techniques of investigation. In terms of police operations, they are based on mass campaign and collective actions, one after another. There is no attempt to target special problems for focused treatment. In terms of order maintenance, there is a reliance on legal prohibition and physical punishment. There is no attempt to ameliorate disorderly conduct or forestall risky activities. In terms of policy decision making, the reliance is on seniority and experience, not systematic investigation of problem or broad consultation with the people (p. 23R).
  \item An issue is raised as to whether domesticated foreign ideas take on local roots and indigenous characteristics which require a local person (or bicultural) person to investigate, meaningfully. This issue should not detain us for long. “Foreign” or “alien” ideas once transplanted take on local content and characteristics, and must be understood in local terms and within local context. A trip to McDonald in China has different cultural meaning and social significance than in the U.S. In the U.S. it is a fast food trip to fill the stomach for a busy blue collar worker. In China it is an expensive date for two newly met romancing young people.
\end{itemize}
deeper, richer, diverse, nuance – understanding of a yet to be explored policing system in PRC.\textsuperscript{108}

\textsuperscript{108} Philip C. C. Huang, "The Paradigmatic Crisis in Chinese Studies: Paradoxes in Social and Economic History," \textit{MC} Vol. 17(3): 299-341 (1991) (The way to neutralize ill conceived theories, East or West, is to engage in micro – social empirical research, or simply let the facts of specific cases speak for themselves, when found to be in contradiction with macro-general theory.)