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<th>Reviewed Work: Crime, punishment, and policing in China, by Borge Bakken</th>
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viewing the two countries in their embrace of liberalization there is little fallback on development models. Thus, the conjuncture of similar and simultaneous change of liberalization should rather be understood in the timing of a historical perspective.

Several of the authors have been inspired by professor Ezra Vogel of Harvard University, who with his two books *Japan as Number One: Lessons for America* (1979) and *One Step Ahead in China: Guangdong under Reform* (1989) at a very early stage sensed major changes which are influencing the world. The first one hyped Japan several years before the country started to suffer from its bubble economy while the second volume identified changes in China which suggest a consistent long-term pattern of development.

The authors cover five areas in ten chapters which offer an almost equal coverage to each country. This occasionally gives the reader an impression of formalism due to the very different character and very different earlier history of Japan and China – before they became late liberalizers. In this attempt to analyse the countries in broad and rather short chapters, statistics are sparingly used and occasionally look outdated, although not distracting from the main theme of this book.

Vogel has written a foreword which brings a new perspective of combining area and political studies. In the introduction the editors argue that today it is most appropriate to conceptualize the ongoing debate on government shifts toward liberal market-oriented norms in Japan and China as those of late liberalizers, and I would understand them of being very late liberalizers. This is the main theme and a major contribution of the volume.

**Jon Sigurdson**

*Crime, Punishment, and Policing in China*, By BORGE BAKKEN.


In this book, Bakken puts together a collection of interesting essays on crime, policing and punishment in China, an area which has often been covered more by myth and rhetoric than rational discussion. A significant contribution of the book is its effort to de-mystify the Chinese criminal justice system (CJS) by arguing that since CJS in China is in transition it faces problems that many societies have faced and are still facing.

In addition to a lengthy introduction chapter by the editor, the book is composed of a series of paired articles: two on background, two on imprisonment and two on policing. Dikötter’s chapter deals with the birth of prison in Republican China. Through introducing a
number of writers on prison reform in Republican China and their writings, Dikötter gives a detailed account of prison reform and the dynamics of the reform, especially the core value that was assigned to the concept of *ganhua* (transformation through education) in penal reform and the measures that were used to achieve that goal.

In the following chapter, Bakken attempts to measure crime in contemporary China by using different methodologies. Comparing crime rates internationally is tricky because, as Bakken points out, crime is a political and legal construct. On paper, China is by far the safest country in the world, but the general crime rate is highly misleading because Chinese law does not classify “minor offences,” mostly property and public order offences, as crimes, so a crime rate that includes minor offences would have little comparative significance. Major offences are better indicators of a country’s crime rate and, indeed, when one measures the rate of more serious crimes, homicide in particular, China clearly moves much closer to the international mean.

The next two chapters study the political economy of prison and prison reform in the post-Mao period. Dutton and Xu’s chapter analyzes the impact of economic reform on prison labour, prison financing and administration, and the ways in which prisons adjust themselves to the new social and economic circumstances. Key to their argument is the concepts of “carceral spread” and “net widening” in social control, meaning punishment, broadly defined, has moved beyond prison walls and the boundary between prison and society has been increasingly blurred.

But little evidence is produced to support the carceral spread thesis. What characterizes post-release conditions in post-Mao China, however, is the lack of discipline and assistance. Clearly, prison administration has no resource, expertise or incentive to provide any post-release supervision or assistance. Indeed China is trying to develop half-way institutions and a profession of social workers so that the carceral could be effectively spread to the society. It may be true that vagrants, drug addicts, prostitutes and other bad elements are increasingly subject to police detention, but the police-administered incarceration has resulted in the increasing isolation of offenders and institutionalization of punishment. Offenders are now moved apart from their community and the boundaries between prison and society are being clearly drawn.

Seymour’s paper addresses the contentious issue of sizing up China’s prison population. He concludes that the official figure of two million is a relatively accurate estimate. An important point that Seymour makes is that China’s prisons are essentially poorly managed state-owned enterprises and could not be expected to generate sufficient profits to sustain an ever-expanding prison system. However, China’s incarceration rate, broadly defined, would be higher if pre-trial detention and the (now repealed) custody and repatriation of migrants were included.
The book ends with two chapters on Chinese police. Tanner presents a concise and critical analysis of the *yanda* (strike hard) campaign. One issue that deserves further attention is the relationship between the CCP and the police. Campaign-style policing is costly and ineffective in crime control and order maintenance. The best people who know the limit are the police, then why have the police embraced *yanda* as they did? It is necessary to separate the CCP from its police and to bring the issue of police autonomy (or the lack of it) into the discussion of *yanda*.

Dutton’s second chapter on the use of contract in police governance is the best piece in the book. According to Dutton, while China is shifting from revolution to modernization, the police also undergo a process of professionalization and specification and struggled to develop a rule-based governance. However, the method used to implement the reform is a monetary reward system based on contractual agreement in which individual officers are rewarded or sanctioned financially according to their performance. This contract-based system, which is intended to enforce accountability and develop professionalism, has actually derailed the course of police reform because it is principally based on monetary reward. For Dutton, the goal of police reform is clearly set and not problematic in itself, it is the destructive means that actually subverts the relatively liberal reform agenda.

The book brings together a variety of authors in a single volume to discuss the Chinese CJS but it does not break any new theoretical or empirical ground. This book could also have benefited by inviting a broader range of scholars and practitioners and covering a wider range of issues.

Fu Hualing


*Danwei* is probably the single most used Chinese word in contemporary Chinese studies. A wealth of literature has been produced on the origins of this uniquely Chinese form of social and economic organization, its history, economic rationale, structure and significance for China’s socialist project of industrialization, urbanization and social order. Yet, there is one very important aspect of the *danwei* that has largely been overlooked, and that David Bray’s book finally tackles systematically: space.

Why have work units been built as enclosed compounds? And how have the social and governmental practices that inspired the *danwei*