Police Social Service Work in China : Community Policing with Chinese Characteristics

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The paper is an attempt to understand police social service work in the context of community policing in China. It first describes the key philosophy underlying community policing in China. The paper explains that the mass line ideology, which demands that the police serve people wholeheartedly, is still dominant. Based on a review of historical development of police social service work, this paper points out drawbacks of the present police pledge and community policing practices and discusses an integrated social control model for practicing police social service work in China. It concludes that a model that integrates both informal and formal social control strategies should be adopted for providing social service work to the community while China undergoes continuous reform.

Law enforcement and order maintenance are generally viewed as the two main duties of the police force. In addition to these two duties, the police are also frequently requested by the public to deliver social services (Reid, 2001; Cox, 1996; Magenau & Hunt, 1996). As one of the law enforcement statutory service teams, the police are expected to provide immediate aid and care to the public along with compulsory, regulatory, control, and defense practices. Provision of social services is one of the most significant roles of the contemporary police. Studies have shown that the police spend most of their time providing social services to the public (Greene & Klockars, 1991). Based on the 1999 Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) report in the United States, the primary function of one-fifth of the police agencies was search and rescue. In other words, nearly 60 percent of police officers undertook animal control tasks, nearly one-sixth of police agencies were responsible for providing emergency and medical services and carry out civil defense functions, and about one-tenth of police agencies provided fire

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prevention services (Hickman & Reaves, 2001).

The rise of community policing has led to an emphasis on the service orientation of police work. Service orientation under community policing practices often requires further delineation of police social services work. The demand for active police participation in community problem-solving activities and emphatic reactions to urgent requests for social services has been continuously increasing. As Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990) observe, "community policing is a new philosophy of policing based on the concept that police officers and private citizens working together in creative ways can help solve contemporary community problems related to crime, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and neighborhood decay" (p. 7).

According to the philosophy of community policing, the police role is highly complex, involving many different tasks and responsibilities. It is found that most police work is concerned with activities of peacekeeping and social service while only a small part of police work involves crime fighting or law enforcement (Walker & Katz, 2008). In order to increase the effectiveness of policing, the police should expand their definition of police work by focusing not only on crime fighting but also on maintaining order, social service and quality of life within the community. Under community policing, it is vital to consider the citizens as co-producers of policing. The police depend on citizens to report crime and to request help in dealing with disorder. Even more important, informal social control at the neighborhood level is increasingly recognized as the key to limiting crime and disorder and deliver social service. In short, there is a growing recognition that the police cannot handle the crime, disorder and social service problems by themselves.

In China, under the ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP), mass line ideology is generally believed to be the ideological basis underlying police practice. The mass line ideology plays a leading role in guiding the operation of policing in China (Wong, 2009; Zhong, 2009). The Chinese police, under the orthodox Marxist ideology since the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC), believed that policing would be fruitless without mass involvement; therefore, emphasis has been put on mass participation at the grassroots level. Crime and social service problems were matters to be tackled by the police as well as the senior officials in the community and the public (Luo, 1994). The Chinese police force has always upheld the Communist ideology of "serving the people wholeheartedly." It has upheld "service to citizens" as a maxim and has taken a series of measures to provide better social services to the community in the course of police reform.

In 1996, the Ministry of Public Security (MPS) enacted the policy of "four haves and four shoulds" (FHFS), which delineated duties for the frontline police officers. According to the policy, the police "should handle any crime-related problems you have," "should help with any difficulties you have," "should save you from any dangers you have," and "should meet any needs you have." As a result, the social service workload of frontline police officers increased since the launch of the FHFS policy (Mao & Zhou, 2005; Ma, 2001). According to MPS (2011), the Chinese police

Table 1: Received 110 calls and settled social service cases by the police in China*

Year	Received calls in total (crime and non-crime)	Settled Cases of Social Service	Ratio (Settled case of social service/ received calls)	Number of persons received social service
2004	110,000,000	15,540,000	14.1%	3,970,000
2005	141,600,000	15,800,000	11.2%	3,120,000
2006	169,700,000	23,270,900	13.7%	5,109,900
2007	186,000,000	25,200,000	13.5%	5,240,000
2008	114,000,000	7,771,000	6.8%	3,538,000
2009	166,000,000	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
2010	127,000,000	11,351,000	8.9%	3,861,000

* The data are organized on a basis of the information released by the MPS (http://www.mps.gov.cn/). The MPS does not release the information on how many 110 calls concerned with social service. Also, there is no research data on how much (or the proportion) time was devoted to service work by Chinese police officers and what were the most common types of social services rendered by police officers.

force received 14.16 million 110 calls nationwide in 2005. The received 110 calls, settled cases of social service and persons received social service have generally increased since 2004. Even worse, some citizens misused the 110 emergency line by calling to ask the police to send fresh flowers or buy breakfast (Zhong, 2009). Torn between the pledge of FHFS and the great demand for unimportant services, frontline police officers were burdened. To add to this, the police are poorly financed by the government and accusations against the poor performance of police and abuse of power have become evident (Fu, 2005).

The police social service work in China refers to the behavior of police within the scope of police power, operation, promoting problem settlement, aid and care not related to crimes and police law enforcement. The concrete work of police social service includes specifically dispute resolution, information provision, lost and found, human assistance for the dependent persons and emergency aid. This paper attempts to describe police social service work and the related difficulties that police officers in China face. The paper first highlights the philosophies underlying community policing in China and then describes the historical development of police social service work in the pre-reform era (1949–1978) and reform era (since 1978). A critical review of the historical development of the police social service work will demonstrate that community policing practices are not performed well in the field of community service. Moreover, such practices have burdened the police. The paper argues that both informal and formal social control tactics should be integrated to provide better social services to the society.

Mass Line Policing: Community Policing Philosophies in China

It is commonly believed that the philosophy underlying community policing in the PRC, theoretically and operationally, is in line with the mass line ideology "for the masses, relying on the masses, from the masses, and to the masses" (Chen, 2002; Luo, 1994; Wong, 2009; Wong, 2010; Zhong, 2009; Yu, Zheng, & Su, 1997). The mass line ideology influenced policies on various aspects of Chinese policing, since police work in China has always followed the fundamental principle of the mass line. Chinese policing, therefore, must be understood within the mass line framework. Since the 1950s, the MPS has defined "the mass line" as the fundamental guiding principle for police work. The policy is that the police should trust, rely on, mobilize, and maintain close contact with the masses while performing their duties. Mass line policing (MLP) refers to an ideological postulate and an operational principle of policing. In practice, MLP indicates that the police should view police work from the people's perspective, rely on the masses, seek their support, and work in close liaison with them (Luo, 1994).

Chinese policing focuses on the interests of the masses. Many empirical studies have demonstrated that the police are generally accountable to the masses. In an examination of the public level of trust that Chinese citizens have in police, Wu & Sun (2010) found that the majority of Chinese have a generally positive attitude toward police in their communities. Another empirical study found that the Chinese police officers tend to consider community building as an important goal in policing (Sun, Cretacci, Wu & Jin, 2009). "Focusing on the interests of the masses" can also be reflected in the saying "Communism is serving the people—that is, putting others first, the key principle of living together is to serve others" (Yang & Mei, 2002, p. 389). Since the establishment of the PRC, the CCP has consistently committed itself to the ideology of serving the people. The ethics of Chinese police are guided by this ideology. The *Police Law 1995* in China emphasizes MLP by stipulating that "the people's police must rely on the people's support, keep in close touch with the people, listen carefully to the suggestions proposed by the people, accept the supervision of the people, safeguard people's interests, and serve the people wholeheartedly." The Chinese police is said to be persisting with MLP by advocating the Communist ideological commitment to serving the people and working closely with the masses. As Jiao (2001a) has also noted, Chinese police officers have always learned to embrace the Communist ideology (i.e., serve the people wholeheartedly) and place their personal interests second to serving the common good. The police should provide services and do good deeds, because the "people's police" belong to the people and serve the people. Otherwise, they cannot win the support and confidence of the people. Thus, Chinese policing has a strong link with the masses at the grassroots level. The close and intimate partnership of MLP could be illustrated in the following two ways:

First, policing involves the people in fighting crime and maintaining social order.

MLP permeates the formal policing system: the police are expected to work closely with community law-abiding leaders and to follow procedures that are informal and open to mass participation (Wong, 2010; Lubman, 1967). MLP emphasizes the importance of mobilizing the masses to participate in the processes of criminal justice for crime control. It requires police officers and the police department to mobilize mass support for preventing crime and punishing criminals (Johnson, 1986). In addition, a powerful network of social control is formed from a variety of public administrative agencies. The principal social control mechanisms used by these agencies are political education and mass mobilization campaigns (Leng & Chiu, 1985). The mass line perspective guides the operation of informal social control at the community level. Mass organizations (e.g., residence committees) play a major role in routine crime control, peacekeeping, and the supervision of government and local authorities by mass participation and periodic mass campaigns. Likewise, MLP requires the police to emphasize community services and use various informal social mechanisms in solving social service problems in the locality. Mass organizations get actively involved in community welfare affairs through their efforts in promoting mutual assistance within the community (Lubman, 1967).

Second, the police should not be isolated from the masses. Ingraham (1987) noted that the police system in Communist societies was susceptible to public opinion and had devoted enormous efforts to maintain a positive police–people relationship. As a party that represents the ordinary people, the CCP advocates strong and close police–people relations. MLP, which greatly emphasizes the police's relations with the public, requires the Chinese police "to maintain constant contact with the residents in the community" (Johnson, 1986, p. 56). The police must truly belong to the people and view themselves as public servants. As Jiao (2001a, p. 174) noted, the police "are functionally and structurally integrated into the community" and are required to cultivate the spirit of serving the people and involve the public in their daily work. Furthermore, policing will be unproductive without the support and cooperation of the people. As Luo asserts, if the police are detached and isolated from the people, they would not be effective in finding out local problems (Luo, 1994, p. 74).

Police Social Service Work in the Pre-reform Era (1949–1978)

Policing practices in PRC since 1949 has evolved through two periods (Lu, 1998), namely, the pre-reform era (1949–1978) and the reform era (after 1978). The pre-reform era marked China's first thirty years of socialist construction. Prior to the economic reform in 1978, Chinese neighborhoods had several important characteristics that were greatly determined by the socioeconomic conditions under the plan economy policy. These characteristics included low geographic and residential mobility, high population density, and homogeneity. The social order was maintained because of the stable social environment and voluntarism in mass

participation. On the one hand, moral consensus, stability, and solidarity were the features of the urban community that were geographically and socially visible. On the other hand, the Chinese neighborhoods were well managed by the household administration system (Chen, 1988).

Stable neighborhoods are conducive to effective cooperation and collective action against crime and mutual support. Operating under the general framework of the household administration system, which differentiates between the rural and urban registration status of people, MLP was achieved largely through forced population stability and a form of culturally based "community policing" (Zhong, 2009). At the neighborhood level, police stations with a working style similar to the "team policing" of American community policing were established (Fu, 1990). It was believed that the more the police officers were familiar with the neighborhood, the more efficient the policing would be (Fu, 1990). Therefore, the community under the jurisdiction of the police station was further divided into several household administration units and each unit was assigned a household administration officer. Acting as a generalist in the neighborhoods, the household administration officer was expected to stabilize police–people relations and thus secure order at the maximum level (Lubman, 1967).

A closely knit mass organizational system was established to support the practice of the household administration system. Residence committees, which were similar to the neighborhood police stations, were set up in all neighborhoods. The residence committee was a quasi-governmental agency that imposed strong control over its residents' activities and ensured a safe and stable neighborhood. Coordinating almost all essential economic, socio-cultural, welfare, and administrative activities at the neighborhood level, the residence committee provided institutional platforms for the public to participate in policing (Zhang et al., 1996; Wong, 1999).

In the pre-reform era, the police were responsible for almost everything that occurred under their jurisdiction (Dutton, 1992). Household administration officers, who collaborated with local residents to maintain law and order, spent much time on local community affairs such as conducting surveillance; implementing governmental policies; and taking care of the local welfare, education, and correction (Dai, 2001; Dai, 2008). Due to the bulk of police tasks at hand, the police relied heavily on the strong informal social control system consisting of local residence committees for performing crime control, order maintenance, and social service functions (Sun, Cretacci, Wu, & Jin, 2009). The police encouraged citizens to settle their conflicts outside the criminal justice system. In police stations, household administration officers generally preferred to arrange a conference at which all concerned parties involved in a conflict participated. On some occasions, many disputes were referred to the local residence or mediation committees. The police, residence, and mediation committees played a significant role in mediating disputes and conflicts among community residents (Sun, Cretacci, Wu, & Jin, 2009; Wong, 1999).

Apart from ensuring the proper registration of residents, household administration officers were mainly oriented to the community, especially, the

community residents. As Bracey (1989: 130) argued, "Chinese police officers see themselves as being responsible for the safety and well-being of a certain number of people and households, rather than a certain number of streets." The focus of police work was to make the neighborhood "transparent" and develop the police officers' personal profile of the community. The police officers' knowledge of the community was regarded as crucial to its orderliness. The household administration officer regularly visited the neighborhoods within his/her jurisdiction on foot or by bicycle and was privy to almost all community affairs by the residence committees (Ma, 1995). Since the household administration officers actually worked and lived in the community for a long time, they became quite acquainted with the residents. They knew the names, occupations, and appearance, as well as the needs and difficulties, of a large part of the population (Bracey, 1989; Johnson, 1986). These activities and organizational arrangements (e.g., regular household visits, foot or bike patrols) "have cultivated a strong sense of belonging to a community among officers and allowed enormous opportunities for the police to participate in building police-people relationship" (Sun, Cretacci, Wu, & Jin, 2009: 766). In addition to the household administration officers, the People's Armed Police (PAP) also conducted a great number of service-oriented activities, such as emergency rescue and disaster relief. These activities (e.g. conducting search and rescue) in need of the participation of a huge number of manpower can be fully accomplished by the PAP due its "high mobility, plentiful manpower, and widespread deployment" (Sun & Wu, 2009, p.125).

The Chinese police, like their counterparts in many other countries, have learned that good relations between the police and the public are vital to the success of policing. In the pre-reform era, dependence on mass support and police–people cooperation in policing promoted the establishment of close, harmonious relationships between the police and residents. The emphasis on such police–people relationships reflected fundamental Chinese cultural values such as collectivism, voluntarism, and group orientation. These values legitimized mutual dependency between the police and the community. Primarily socialized in a collectivistic culture and communist ideology, police officers advocated the importance of putting service toward the common good before individual interests. They believed in collective duties and responsibilities and in the significant role played by the police in society. Because of the ideological power, police officers found it easy to identify with the MLP and the related socialist moral standards (Jiao, 2001b). Due to the homogeneity of the culture, the police were able to socialize with the masses with relative ease and understand and respect the customs of the masses, and often identified with them on social order and social welfare issues.

Because of the traditional belief that it was right and necessary for the police to be involved in people's daily life, the Chinese police was expected to actively participate in social service-oriented activities. According to Sun et al. (2009, p. 764), a significant characteristic of the Chinese policing was mainly "conciliatory,

compensatory, and therapeutic rather than penal." Police officers were encouraged to positively intervene with nearly all aspects of community life, such as welfare allocation and human assistance for dependent persons, education, correction, and mediation within the community. In this case, Chinese policing was more in line with a social service model than a Western law enforcement model (Chen, 2002).

Police Social Service Work in the Reform Era (since 1978)

Since 1978, China has begun implementing reforms and an open-door policy, and great achievements and changes have taken place in both the economy and social life. During the reform era, the transformation from a planned economy to a socialist market economy has largely changed China socially, politically, and culturally (Burton, 1990). China has been experiencing drastic socioeconomic changes "from a closed, static, stable, collective, uniform, simple, and tightly controlled society to an open, dynamic, individualistic, diverse, and complex one" (Wong, 2001: 140). This economic reform has greatly influenced Chinese policing. The philosophies and practices of policing as well as the role of police are transforming. The ever-changing socioeconomic conditions have forced the Chinese police to become more aggressive, intrusive, punitive, and professional (Lu, 1998).

With the implementation of reforms and an open-door policy since 1978, China has experienced a rapid increase in crime (Zhong, 2009). A drastic surge in the crime rate has been reported, from 8 cases per 10,000 in the early 1980s to nearly 40 cases per 10,000 in the 1990s (Dai, 2001). Violent crime and "crimes of greed" have become epidemic, as openly acknowledged by the Chinese government and various reports (Chen, 1997). Fear of crime is also on the rise. A 1998 survey of 10,555 people from the cities of Beijing, Chongqing, and Guangzhou indicated that 81.7 percent of respondents were afraid to be out alone at night due to security concerns (Wang, Zhang, & Wang, 2002). The functions of the household administration system and the mass organizations (residence committees) based on the mass line have therefore been reduced to a less significant level. Although the mass line is still upheld as the guiding principle, government officials found it difficult to mobilize the masses. Worsened police–people relationships have resulted in less voluntary participation in crime prevention activities. All these weaken crime control and prevention.

In response to the rampant upsurge of crime in the late 1970s, the Chinese government adopted three national "strike hard" campaigns (from August 1983 to March 2003) to curb ascending crime rates (Zhong, 2009). Many criminal suspects were arrested, sentenced, and punished by the coordinated efforts of the Chinese criminal justice agencies (the public security police, the procuratorate, and the courts) with rapid arrest, sentencing, and serious punishment (Sun, Cretacci, Wu, & Jin, 2009). Although the evidence supporting the effectiveness of the "strike hard" campaign is highly questionable, this policing strategy has been regularized by the

Chinese police force (Situ & Liu, 1996).

Effectively curtailing crime has become the central task faced by the police in the new era. For over two decades (1983–2003), the Chinese police have been very busy waging specific campaigns, one after the other, against prominent special crimes. In the "strike hard" campaigns, policing is characterized by cracking down on serious criminal offences with severe punishments. Controlling crime has become the biggest policing priority, with less concern on social service work (Jiang & Dai, 1990). Although social service work is also important, under the pressure of serious criminal activities, the former has unavoidably given way to the latter. As a result, social service work has been pushed to one side by the crime fighting policy. Police stations are assessed on the basis of the number of arrests made, the clear-up rate, the amount of fines imposed, and so on. This assessment method significantly discourages the police from providing social services and maintaining close contact with the people. During the reform era, the key mission of the police has been to "secure a stable social and political environment for economic reform to develop and prosper" (Wong, 2002, p. 290). Undergoing this radical transformation has resulted in the role of the police being characterized as that of a "crime fighter." The police have become less concerned with social service issues and more involved with crime fighting and order maintenance.

As part of the "strike hard" campaigns, the Chinese police emphasize crime fighting. The enthusiasm for carrying out the campaigns has resulted in heavy-handed policing strategies (Sun &Wu, 2010). To cope with the increasing crime and criminality, policing has become more offensive and punitive. The experience of police officers has been dominated by "strike hard" campaigns; therefore, as one police officer commented, the police "care little for anything except striking hard and cracking cases" (Biddulph, 2007, p. 135). With this mindset, the Chinese police have gradually begun to doubt their "traditional" role as a social service provider (Dutton, 2000).

The Road to Professionalization

Since 1979, Chinese policing has undergone tremendous changes in response to economic reform and crime problems. To meet these legal and social challenges, the Chinese police have begun to establish a path to institutional police reform based on the rhetoric of professionalization (including modernization, formalization, and legalization) while retaining the principles of MLP. First, the police organization formalized itself along functional lines to increase organizational efficiency. Second, police legislation and the conception of rule of laws have been gradually developed. Third, the 110 emergency line (equivalent to the American 911 or British 999) and police patrol have been widely established in cities (Wong, 2009).

These two measures—police patrol and the 110 emergency line - have

transformed Chinese policing from "passive" to "proactive" (Wong, 2009). Pursuing a faster response time and more responsiveness to public calls for police services, the 110 emergency line is combined with the police patrol and has been established in every city in China (Dai, 2001). The frontline police officers at the local police stations are mobilized by telephone solicitation and radio dispatches from the 110 command center to cater to the community residents' requests and needs.

The FHFS, which pledges response, help, and rescue for all requests, has caused many problems for frontline police officers. Additionally, no particular code of practice and guidelines for the system is devised to clarify the details of the scope of police emergency services until the promulgation of *Regulations on Conducting 110 Emergency Call Service* in 2003. Although these regulations provided guidelines for using the 110 emergency call system and the general police service scope, it could not radically settle the problems of overload and ambiguous social service work. The police department did not give much publicity to their policies, regulations, and work procedures. Both the police and the public made a lot of complaints because of misunderstanding the social service work scope and procedures. Further, police departments could not provide efficient and professional education or training in areas of social service (e.g., emergency aid, human relations skills, and dispute resolution) to support the frontline police officers' regular social service work. For example, a police agency in Zhejiang province was the first to cancel the FHFS (Zhejiang News Online, 2005). In its wake, some police agencies in many provinces also stealthily annulled the FHFS. The social service workload far exceeded the capacity of the police. To a certain degree, the FHFS constituted a failed policy.

In China, police work is very much directed by the policies of the government and the CCP (Lu, 1998). Indeed, there are inadequate established rules and regulations governing police work and process (Wong, 2009). The *Police Law 1995* has only made a rough stipulation in Article 21 regarding police social service work, including "the police (1) shall offer immediate help when citizens encounter personal safety and property infringement or any other dangers; (2) shall assist citizens in settling disputes on request; (3) shall expeditiously investigate cases reported by citizens; and (4) shall actively participate rescue and relief operations and in other social welfare work." Therefore, the police have to respond to all social service calls even if they fall beyond the scope of police functions. This policy has indeed created a dilemma for the police. The Chinese police have pursued the problematic FHFS policy. This policy is blurry "because of the ambiguity of right and wrong created by social transition as well as by the underdeveloped legal systems" (Liu & Messner, 2001, p. 7).

In sum, the FHFS policy seems to be a failure as the police have not been able to handle the complexities of police work during the reform era under such a badly organized police system. The police role has been ill defined since it has resulted more from the ideological commitment of "serving the people wholeheartedly" than from rational planning and informed design. The CCP's ideological requirement has been imposed on the police as an overarching principle of police professional ethics.

The duties of police officers, lacking in rational consideration and analysis, are formulated in accordance with the police professional ethics of serving the people wholeheartedly. The net effect is a police organization with an amorphous, liberal role orientation. Trying to be all things to everyone, police officers are considered "all-purpose emergency problem-solvers who are authorized to use 'legitimacy' and 'coercive' resources to solve people's various social problems in the community" (Wong, 2009, p. 37).

With the economic reform, China's urban neighborhoods became less integrated (Lu & Miethe, 2001). Community characteristics and conditions have changed since the economic reforms. Changes in the value systems and human relations indicate that community organization may be more difficult than expected. Traditional community-oriented and family-based social control in China is fast becoming endangered, and is increasingly being replaced by professional policing conducted by a bureaucratized and impersonal police force (Wong, 2009). Despite the fact that the Chinese police have made enormous efforts to establish a professional force, the police professionalization attenuated the close and intimate police–people relationship due to "a widened social distance between the police and the masses" (Sun, Cretacci, Wu, & Jin, 2009). "As the police become increasingly professional and specialized, they become increasingly isolated and alienated from the people they serve" (Wong, 2001, p. 141).

Strains on the Neighborhood Chinese Police

In adopting the FHFS policy, the delivery of social services became the responsibility of the police force. Before the economic reform, social service delivery in the neighborhood was basically dependent on the participation and cooperation of residents. This was organized under the mass line. During the reform era, transition from informal mass participation to a more "specialized" service is taking place. The FHFS policy has actually shifted emphasis to the police's social service responsibility. This alienates and ignores local community members' input and participation. It reflects a substantial deviation from the Chinese tradition of social service work conducted primarily through mass participation. Although Chinese police officers continue to be assigned to work within the community and to collaborate with the mass organizations, the traditional emotional cohesion and cooperation between the police and the community are barely maintained in some neighborhoods. Voluntary participation by community members in social service activities has dwindled in some respect. Consequently, Chinese police officers do not enjoy as much support as they used to, and have grown less interested in social services. In the same vein, Chinese officers have lost some of the moral authority they used to possess, which would allow them to play the role of "public servant" in the community.

Despite the fact that the Chinese police are undergoing modernization and

professionalization alongside the development of advanced technology, the police patrol practices, the emergency line, and the FHFS policy do not appear to be in line with police professionalization. Jiao (2001a, p. 160) pointed out that these developments reflect the erosion of the collective spirit and lack of voluntary participation in policing in contemporary Chinese society. The problem of public indifference to community affairs has emerged in China at a time of rapid economic growth and social change. The police professionalization has the net effect of decreasing participation and involvement of the community and people, thereby reducing the efficiency and effectiveness of crime prevention, peacekeeping, and social service delivery. Police obsession with fighting crime and providing social services single-handedly has further undermined the police–community cooperation in developing a cooperative and integrated social control strategy (Zhang, 2003). The emergence of the emergency line and the FHFS policy can be considered a drain on police resources, creating a distance between the police and people and undermining mass participation in policing.

Many studies conducted by police scholars have described the job-related stress experienced by police officers in China and have demonstrated that Chinese police officers perceive a comparative high level of job strain in police social service work (Zhou, 2005; Sun, 2007). A number of studies have taken a quantitative approach to investigate the job strain of Chinese police officers. Jiang, Xu, and Deng (2005) investigated a sample of 252 police officers from 6 provinces in China and discovered that strain associated with police work is positively associated with role conflict, work overload, and inadequate support for the police force. A recent survey on police strain found that Chinese frontline police officers suffer from a high level of strain associated with the social service role (Wang, 2010). The study collected data from 180 frontline community patrol officers (CPOs) of the Shenzhen Public Security Bureau, Guangdong province, China. The survey found that 90 percent of the frontline police respondents experienced distressful psychological problems such as insomnia, nervousness, discomfort, fatigue, depression, irritation, or perplexity.

The Fading Communist Ideology

With dramatic socioeconomic changes, police officers quickly react to and accept new ideas and values. The communist ideology, with emphasis on selfless service, is fading. Although professional ethics have been established for the police, economic reforms have actually brought about significant changes in the police system, such that the exercise of “serving the people wholeheartedly” in everyday practice has become somewhat difficult. In the reform era, the core values and entrenched culture of the Chinese police are changing and becoming more materialistic. Various socio-cultural factors influence individual police officers, their primary socialization, the police organization, and individual police officers’ particular working situations (Jiao, 2001b). The immediate working environment for the police has apparently

become more commercialized and materialistic. These changes naturally have an effect on the behavior of the Chinese police.

The development of a market economy is likely to be the major factor causing the decline of voluntarism and the growth of monetary incentive in the police force. The positive participation in the social service delivery seen in the past was based upon police voluntarism. The emergence of financial rewards or other material incentives indicates that the Chinese police are not confident about the volunteering aspect in social service work and that they feel that spiritual encouragement is not enough to motivate the police. With the growing emphasis on materialism during the reform era, the Chinese police tend to be pragmatic and use economic incentives to motivate frontline officers (Wong, 2009; Wong, 2010). For most police officers, rewards and sanctions are expected to be calculated in terms of money, with some being rewarded bonuses for overtime or extra work. This reflects that the traditional moral incentive plays only a marginal role (Fu, 1991).

"Serving the people wholeheartedly" is still is the essence of police professional ethics, but this ideological call seems to be ineffectively practiced due to having lost its economic ground (Wong, 2009; Wong, 2010). The effect of creating a socialist market economy, with emphasis on "paid employment and the principle of commodity exchange based on an equivalence of value" has undermined the significance of the ideological power of professional ethics over the police force. The Communist ideological control is fading quickly, and police are struggling with new moral boundaries.

A Quest for an Integrated Model of Social Control

In reviewing the development of Chinese policing in the pre-reform period, three major characteristics seem to prevail. These characteristics are as follows: (1) The Chinese community was controlled by both the formal social control agency (the local police station) and the informal social control agency (the residence committee). (2) The masses were mobilized to prevent crime, maintain social order, and deliver social services. (3) The police played an active role in social service. The informal social control force actively managed and oversaw nearly all political, social, economic, and legal matters in the neighborhood. Chinese crime control and social service delivery were not only conducted by the formal policing system but also relied heavily on mass participation. The policing strategies of involving family and community in social control, promoting mutuality and self-assistance, and employing measures of informal social control remained essential. Chinese policing has operated primarily in the realm of informal social control. The communist ideology called for the masses to participate in self-policing. The philosophy guiding the policing practices also included the communist morality of "serving the people wholeheartedly."

A critical review of the historical development of Chinese policing from the

pre-reform era to the reform era reveals that alongside police force professionalization, one fundamental principle that suggests an integration of informal and formal social control strategies should be upheld. Either formal social control or informal social control is considered too simplistic and may be incapable of handling the diversity of today's social problems. If the two social control strategies can merge, a more comprehensive social control system may put the police in a more advantageous position to do their jobs.

To resolve the present situation, it seems necessary to formulate an integrated social control model consisting of both formal and informal social control strategies with efforts in striking a balance between police professionalization and mass line policing. Informal social control focused on the participation of individuals in the community and mobilization of the masses for delivering social services in a locality, while formal social control focused on rapid police response to fulfill social service requests. This integrated model of social control is created on a basis of "compromise between the past tradition and the present demand" (Lu, 1998, p. 225). As Dutton (1992) noted, the coexistence of the formal and informal policing styles best fits the Chinese reality. The informal an formal policing can exist both harmoniously and competitively since two systems are likely to move forward with mutual support and come into integrated (Chen, 2002; Krase & Sagarin, 1980; Lu, 1998). Theoretically and emprically, many studies have demonstrated that the integrated social control has been an effective response to the changing community in China (Chen, 2002; Lu & Miethe, 2001; Zhong & Grabosky, 2009).

The integrated social control model represents China's comprehensive approach to its social service problems. It should be noted that social service is a complex social phenomenon rooted in society. Such belief advocates that social service work be handled through not only formal policing but also informal social control mechanisms (Jiao, 2001b). Social service work is the responsibility of the police department as well as the public. This philosophy is consistent with the Western concept that it is extremely important to consider citizens as co-producers of policing (Dempsey, 1999). It can be translated into a comprehensive approach that emphasizes both a professional police system and various informal mass organizations. The strategy lies in mobilizing all possible social forces, including political, economic, cultural, judicial, educational, and organizational forces, in social service work under community policing (Jiang & Dai, 1990). The Chinese police force should follow the fundamental principle of combining the mass line with professional policing. Therefore, social service is maintained by "the capacity of society's members to understand one another and to act in concert in achieving common goals through common rules of behavior" (Johnson, 1983, pp. 152–153).

In an integrated social control system, it is necessary for the central police bureau (i.e., the Ministry of Public Security) to establish policies for rebuilding the sense of community by encouraging interactions between the police and residents and for mobilizing residents to participate in community affairs. Close cooperation in social

service should be fully supported because it is an available and practical solution. For example, the focus in the FHFS policy should shift from quick response to emergency calls to active involvement in improving the quality of neighborhood life and collaborating with the community. Police officers can choose to hand the matter to local residence committees and provide support when required. The integration of the formal and informal systems also suggests that both sides need to complement and assist each other in improving social service work. Under community policing, the police can organize and coordinate the work of local residence committees, while community residents can actively participate, supervise, and give suggestions in local social service matters.

Conclusion

Community policing in the West demonstrates that regardless of how well equipped and trained they are, the police cannot be effective without the cooperation and active involvement of citizens (Greene & Mastrofski, 1988). In China's pre-reform era, mass participation was of primary importance for successful policing that relied on close-knit neighborhoods and volunteers who served as the "eyes and ears" of the police. In the reform era of police professionalization in China, the basic ingredient of effective social control—mass participation—should not be ignored. To be effective, social control requires meaningful and intimate cooperation between the police and community. Close partnership with local communities is crucial for integrating the masses and mobilizing their support for social service work. As Ingraham (1987) argues, it is important for the police system to maintain a positive relationship with the masses in the community.

This close cooperation between the police and mass organizations is critical in the comprehensive approach (Ma, 1995). Considering their 24-hour availability, established accountability, and the capacity to use force, the police are still expected to provide social services to the community (Walker & Katz, 2008). It is impossible to completely hand all social service work to social workers, although China recently established the professional social worker system. It seems that no other means has been found to solve these problems more effectively than through the use of the police. However, China's policing experience in the pre-reform era has proved that it is necessary to rely on social forces to deliver social services in a systematic manner. Social service delivery can be considered to involve interrelated social forces. The basic structure of such a system should include participation by mass organizations as well as professionals. The comprehensive approach, therefore, calls for the police to work closely with all related mass organizations, government agencies, and other institutions in order to maintain effective, efficient, and economical delivery of social services through ideological, political, economic, educational, legal, and administrative means, thereby creating a better environment for policing.

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