

# The Rhetoric and Practice of Community Corrections in China

Enshen Li<sup>1</sup>

Received: 29 December 2015 / Accepted: 6 May 2016 / Published online: 25 May 2016  
© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2016

**Abstract** Over the last decade, community corrections in China has operated as an intermediate sanction in response to a growing prison population. Official policy describes this punishment as an alternative to prison, focusing on risk assessment, correctional treatment, and cognitive-behavioral therapies that have been adopted in a number of Western countries. Based on interviews with community corrections officials in Shanghai, this article examines the rhetorical and practical characteristics of this new punishment and, more specifically, considers the consistencies and discrepancies between official policy and its practical implementation. It argues that, despite official policy, community corrections in China is underpinned by intensive correctional supervision that is premised on control, surveillance, and education.

**Keywords** Community corrections · Bangjiao system · Public policy · Crime control

## Introduction

Over the last 40 years, community corrections has become a key component of criminal justice and penal systems in Western countries. In the USA, UK, and other countries in the West, community corrections sanctions offer viable alternatives to imprisonment (Petersilia 1998; Robinson et al. 2013). A wide range of measures such as probation, parole, community service orders, bail supervision programs, and electronic monitoring have in some cases supplanted (short-term) incarceration. These approaches have helped governments tackle prison overcrowding and spiraling penal costs and expenses (Morris and Tonry 1990). However, some claim that the use of community correctional orders has contributed to rising incarceration rates (Robinson et al. 2013).

---

✉ Enshen Li  
e.li@law.uq.edu.au

<sup>1</sup> TC Berine School of Law, The University of Queensland, St Lucia, Australia

After a long tradition of utilizing informal neighborhood-based correctional programs based on what is termed the “Bangjiao” system (a system of neighborhood assistance and supervision), China officially adopted community corrections in 2003 (Wang 2007). It was first implemented as a pilot project in six locations or prefectures (i.e., Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Shandong) and soon expanded nationwide, covering all 31 provinces and municipalities in 2009 (Jiang 2010). Community corrections in China operates as intermediate sanction targeting offenders whose crimes are minor with minimal social harm (e.g., traffic or property offences). As is the case in the West, community corrections encompasses multiple forms, including those sentenced to “public surveillance”—or supervision in the community, akin to probation—and those who have “repented” after a period of incarceration and “display no further intention to reoffend,” akin to parole (Wang 2007).

Like other Western countries, community-based sanctions have grown substantially in recent years (Robinson et al. 2013). Community corrections in China was introduced in the face of a rising prison population and related expenditures, alongside a marked shift toward penal modernism and managerialism (Trevaskes 2013). In the twenty-first century, the number of inmates in Chinese jails grew to more than 1.6 million, which was far beyond the capacity of the system to accommodate (Zhu and Wang 2011). Each prisoner cost the state RMB 13,326 annually (Jiang et al. 2014), and the total prison outlay was nearly RMB 20 billion in 2002 (Li 2014)—accounting for about 87 % of national expenditure on public security (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2003). The promise of community corrections as a fix for mounting costs has been noted by Chinese officials. For example, in a 2010 media interview, Zhang Fusen—the then head of the Chinese Justice Bureau—stated that community corrections provides “a means to move convicted minor offenders away from the traditional penitentiary system and accommodate them in a community environment where the costs are significantly lower” (Jiang 2010: 45).

Official rationales for China’s use of community corrections can also be connected to attempts by the Chinese state to tone down penal severity. A series of draconian penal strategies that dominated during the economic reform era in the late twentieth century—referred to as the strike hard campaigns—were abandoned in favor of a new criminal justice policy called “combining leniency and harshness in penal practice” (宽严相济刑事政策) (Trevaskes 2013). While a minority of extremely serious crimes (e.g., crimes endangering state security or homicide) continue to receive harsh sanctions including life sentences and the death penalty, crimes are perceived to have a minimal social impact (e.g., drug use and prostitution), or for which there are mitigating circumstances that frequently receive relative leniency (Trevaskes 2013).

It is in this context of penal transformation that community corrections has come to the fore. Officially, the purpose of community corrections in China is to educate, persuade, and reform offenders in order to “eradicate criminal mind and behavioral vice” by means of social forces and resources (Jiang et al. 2014). This rehabilitation-oriented rationale is clearly expressed in legislative documents and by the state media. Over time, community corrections is expected to play a more important role in China’s approach to punishment, as demonstrated by the government’s recent proposal to expand its use by announcing the abolition of “re-education through labor”—one of the most severe administrative coercive sanctions in China (Zhai 2013).

This article explores features of community corrections in China. I examine the interplay between the official policy and the practical implementation of this relatively new form of punishment in the country. Much scholarly literature addressing the Western penal context has

emphasized the difference between policy and practice (e.g., Phelps 2011). As Garland (1996: 462) argued in his account of contemporary punishment in the USA and UK, “there is now a recurring gap between research-based policy advice and the political action which ensues.” For example, research shows that alongside a dramatic rhetorical shift from the rehabilitative ideal to the punitive policies in the Western penal system following neoliberalism, very little changed in the actual practices of prisoner rehabilitative programming (Phelps 2011). It is not until the 1990s did models of inmate services switch from “academic to reentry related programs” (Phelps 2011: 33).

The gap between rhetoric and reality in penalty is not strictly a Western phenomenon. Over the last 60 years, criminal justice and penal practices in China have been demonstrated to be inconsistent or even contradictory with official rationales and statements (Peerenboom 2002). It has largely been driven by the state’s strong bureaucracy, political control, and idiosyncratic social conditions (e.g., populism) which exert significant impact on the administration of justice (Peerenboom 2002). That being said, this study attempts not only to uncover rhetorical and practical characteristics of community corrections but also to serve as a lens through which the long-existing intricacies of policy implementation in the Chinese criminal justice system can be tested and the factors that facilitate or confine its success can be identified.

I employ an empirical strategy in this paper. Based on an analysis of data from interviews with officers and social work practitioners in Shanghai’s community corrections programs, I find that although the official policy rhetoric pitches community corrections in terms of the rehabilitative ideal, its practical application focuses more on intensive supervision in combination with generalized educational and assistance programs. The findings from this study show that the emphasis on control and surveillance within China’s community corrections system is the result of a lack of financial and human capital to support its implementation. In this sense, community corrections in China can be better understood as a *mutated* form of the *Bangjiao* system, which has been shaped by the Chinese idiosyncratic socio-legal conditions and arrangements. Before turning to the results of the study, the paper begins with a review of community corrections and the *Bangjiao* system in China.

## The Rise of Community Corrections and the *Bangjiao* System

The legislative basis for China’s community corrections programs took shape over the course of a number of years. Beginning in 2003, the country issued the *Notice on Implementing Experimental Work of Community Corrections* (关于开展社区矫正试点工作的通知)—hereinafter referred to as the *Notice*. The *Notice* defined community corrections as a “non-custodial penal form practised by state authorities and social organisations and workers to correct offenders’ criminal minds and behavioural vices and thereby facilitate their reintegration into society” (preface, to the *Notice*). In order to improve the understanding of this new penalty, the Chinese Ministry of Justice in 2004 issued the *Provisional Measures of Judicial and Administrative Organs in Administering Community Corrections* (司法行政机关社区矫正暂行办法), which served as a temporary operational guide for community-based correctional programs. By 2012, a standardized practical framework was formalized through the *Measure of Implementing Community Corrections* (社区矫正实施办法)—hereinafter, the *Measure*—affecting the Supreme People’s Court, the Supreme People’s Procuratorate, the Ministry of Public Security, and the Ministry of Justice. This regulation was intended to set out the operational processes of community corrections at the national level.

To lend further legitimacy to community corrections as an official sanction in China, a stronger legislative basis was provided for its use in the 2012 amendments of the *Criminal Law* and *Criminal Procedural Law*. The revised *Criminal Law* defines community corrections as targeting designated categories of criminals (Article 38 (3), 76, 85), as described below. Correspondingly, the revised *Criminal Procedural Law* (2012) granted China's penal system the power to exercise community corrections in collaboration with judicial and administrative organs such as community corrections offices (Article 258). In a most recent move, China has aimed to position community corrections as a central penal strategy through the drafting of the *Community Corrections Law*. This proposed legislation is scheduled to be examined by the National People's Congresses in 2015.

As is the case in the international context, Chinese community corrections programs are intended to target minor offenders. At present, this includes offenders subject to one of five conditions: (1) those sentenced to control—a penal measure to restrain partial freedom of offenders and allow them to work; (2) those sentenced to a term of probation; (3) those sentenced to a custodial term but who are permitted to serve their sentences outside prison; (4) those granted parole following a prison term; and (5) those permitted to serve their sentences outside prison and who are also deprived of their political rights ([The Rise of Community Corrections and the Bangjiao System](#) (1), the *Notice*). Among offenders subject to these conditions, community corrections programs are required to focus on minors who commit transgressions with limited intentional harm, older offenders (aged 70 years and older), vulnerable and physically disabled offenders, and first-time and minor offenders ([The Rise of Community Corrections and the Bangjiao System](#)(1), the *Notice*). Before the offenders are sent to community correctional programs, social workers are authorized by community corrections offices and courts to undertake assessments of their personal characteristics and level of risk ([Research Questions, Methodology, and Data](#), the *Measure*). Only those who represent low levels of risk to society are eligible to serve a sentence in the community.

Since its introduction in 2003, almost every major city and township in the country has established a community corrections program (Jiang et al. 2014). By 2013, community correctional programs across China had dealt with more than 1,700,000 offenders, with approximately 660,000 offenders actively serving their sentence and 1,040,000 having been discharged from community supervision (Xin 2014).

Community corrections is not the first neighborhood-based measure for crime prevention and governance in China. Since the 1980s, “a community-based remedial and preventive measure for controlling crime” called “Bangjiao” has been created and widely used in collaboration with the formal criminal justice system (Zhang et al. 1996: 208). It primarily targets young offenders who committed minor offences which are not serious enough to warrant criminal punishment and who have been released from prisons and considered to be dangerous to society (Zhang et al. 1996).

Originally conceptualized as an approach for rehabilitating offenders and intervening in their lives in the neighborhoods (Shaw 2010), the Bangjiao model highlights three practical ideals. First, it educates offenders to strengthen their legal knowledge and awareness and to comply with “socialist moral rules and party/government policies” (Zhong 2009: 165). Second, it provides assistance to help offenders overcome living difficulties in relation to employment, schooling, and hospitalization. Third, it provides offenders with “love, emotional support, and heart-to-heart persuasion” to enhance their social reintegration and encourage their genuine repentance (Zhang et al. 1996: 209). One most commonly used form of this measure is the neighborhood Bangjiao group. In this program, the offender's parents, police

officers, community committee members, and the head of work unit/school are all mobilized to participate in the rehabilitation and help of the offender.

## The Rhetorical and Policy Basis of Community Corrections in China

From its introduction in 2003, community corrections has been officially promoted as a non-custodial form of punishment aimed at delivering managerial, educational, and reformative goals (the *Notice*). These objectives are highlighted in relevant national regulations and directives. Chinese authorities, on several occasions, have summarized the purposes of community corrections as (1) supervision and management of offenders; (2) education and correction of offenders; and (3) help and assistance with offenders' difficulties (Wang 2007).

An offender classification scheme for correctional treatment sets guidelines for offender management based on different crime types and an offender's risk profile ([The Rhetorical and Policy Basis of Community Corrections in China](#) (2), *关于在全国试行社区矫正工作的意见*, the *Opinion on Implementing Community Corrections across the State*). Prior to the imposition of a supervision order, the local Chinese judicial and administrative agencies (community corrections offices and social workers) are required to investigate a number of factors in order to evaluate an offender's risk profile. These factors are wide-ranging, including "the situations of an offender's residence, familial and social connections, general performances, consequences and impact of crime, history of criminal behavior, the opinion of the local government and victim(s), and some other relevant elements" ([Research Questions, Methodology and Data](#), the *Measure*). Based upon the result of an offender's risk report, the local community corrections authority imposes the appropriate level of services and treatment to manage the risk of recidivism ([Research Questions, Methodology and Data](#), the *Measure*).

This risk-based assessment model is demonstrated in community corrections in Shanghai. As one of the very first pilot cities, Shanghai has designed risk assessment tools to understand the dangerousness of offenders and inform correctional strategies. It adopts elements of a combination of tools such as "clinical prediction" and "actuarial risk scoring" that have been widely employed in many neoliberal Western penal systems (Hannah-Moffat 2013: 132–133). These risk tools are used to make risk determinations. For example, in one of the biggest districts in Shanghai, the community corrections center deploys a risk evolution mechanism based on numerical ratings of particular risk variables. These variables are broadly chosen, ranging from individual static and dynamic risk factors (e.g., criminal history, level of education and psychological factors such as history of mental diseases).<sup>1</sup> The local judicial and administrative agencies categorize offenders in accordance with their risk levels and the likelihood of reoffending ([The Rise of Community Corrections and the Bangjiao System](#), the *Regulation on Categorized Correction of Offenders in Shanghai* 《上海市社区矫正人员分类矫正的规定》). According to the percentage of overall scores/examination scores, offenders are categorized into three groups, namely, low-risk offenders ( $\leq 45\%$ ), medium-risk offenders (45–55%), and high-risk offenders ( $\geq 55\%$ ).

In the design of rehabilitative measures, China's community corrections underscores the salience of risk/needs. For instance, [The Rhetorical and Policy Basis of Community Corrections in China](#) (1) of the *Opinion on Implementing Community Corrections across the State* stipulates that community corrections ought to "strengthen offenders' thought, legal and

<sup>1</sup> A risk evaluation form which includes various risk variables is provided in the findings.

moral education, reinforce their sense of repentance and improve their social responsibility by undertaking relevant correctional activities.” During the exercise of intervention programs, community corrections programs are required to adopt a variety of psychological treatments (e.g., psychological consultation and correction) to ensure offenders’ smooth reentry into society (*Research Questions, Methodology and Data* (1), the *Opinion*). The *Measure* illustrates that according to offenders’ psychological state and characteristics, psychological counseling and individualized education should be enforced to correct offenders’ criminal mentality and increase their ability to adapt to a more normal life (Section 23).

The Shanghai community corrections model emphasizes correctional activities that address criminogenic needs. Accordingly, six educational and correctional programs are employed in Shanghai neighborhoods, namely, criminal identity education, repentance education, law and order education, thought and social cognition education, psychological health education, and employment and social welfare education (Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013a). All offenders are required to receive education under these six programs.

The first three are targeted at transforming offenders’ antisocial personality pattern and attitudes. It is stated in the *Shanghai Handbook of Community Corrections* that community corrections officials are required to use legal education to correct offenders’ “criminal mind and behaviour” (Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013a: part VI). By educating an offender to understand the seriousness of his/her crime and its negative impact on family and society, the Shanghai community corrections tends to replace an offender’s rationalizations for crime with pro-social attitudes and thus build up an offender’s pro-social identity (Bonta and Andrews 2007: 6). This program operates in the form of lectures and seminars delivered by community corrections offices, with the aim to make offenders know, understand, and follow the law, especially the criminal code, the code of criminal procedure, and the community rules. Likewise, the other three programs including thought, social cognition, and psychological health education are designed to promote an offender’s moral values and sense of social and familial ethics. They help an offender establish a “correct perception” of his/her role in family, society, and work, hence strong social responsibility (Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013a).

Perhaps the most illustrative intervention of criminogenic needs is the use of employment and social welfare education. This program is focused on solving an offender’s living difficulties (e.g., employment) and provides them with social support. For example, for those who lack work skills, it offers occupational training and employment opportunities (Section 58, *The Several Regulations on Implementing Community Corrections by Shanghai Justice Bureau*). In addition, this educational program focuses on restoring and reinforcing the relationships between offenders and their familial and social members and encourages offenders’ participation in community affairs and pro-social recreational activities (Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013a). As stated by Zhu Jiuwei (the chief of Shanghai Community Corrections Office), implementing employment and social welfare education is an attempt to heighten the level of offenders’ satisfactions and nurture their interpersonal relationships within the context of community (Zhu and Wang 2011).

## Research Questions, Methodology, and Data

The question remains as to whether the on-the-ground implementation of community corrections in China corresponds to the rhetorical model laid out in official policies. How are



community corrections practiced, and to what extent does this practice entail the elements of risk assessment, targeting of criminogenic risk/needs, and socio-cognitive therapies? A number of scholars have pointed to implementation problems in China's recent community justice initiatives and in community corrections programs in particular (Wang 2007: 36). In the remainder of this paper, I investigate the practice of community corrections in Shanghai by considering the following questions: (1) What is the actual operational model of China's community correctional system? (2) how closely does it align with the official policy emphasis on addressing risk and treatment? and (3) if these official aims are not entirely reflected in practice, then what is the practical essence of China's application of community corrections and what are the forces that have driven its emergence?

To assess these questions, I analyze qualitative data based on 20 in-depth field interviews with local community corrections leaders and officers ( $n=4$ ) and practitioners (primarily social workers;  $n=16$ ). Interviews were conducted by the first author (a Chinese-born national) in three localities of Shanghai—labeled as districts A, B, and C (for the purpose of confidentiality, the names of the districts are withheld). The three sites present different contexts. District A has the highest ratio of offenders to social workers (9:1) in its community correctional program (Shanghai Corrections Community Office 2013c). District B is well known for placing a high percentage of migrants and drug-related offenders under community corrections. Finally, located in the center of Shanghai, community corrections in district C is well funded in terms of infrastructure and facilities.<sup>2</sup>

Interview participants were recruited using a purposive sampling procedure which began with discussions with gatekeepers at the Shanghai Justice Bureau and the chief officers of three districts in Shanghai—referred to in the paper as districts A, B, and C. Since the chief officers in the three districts oversee the implementation of community corrections, interviews with them were vital in understanding how managers perceive the practice of community corrections in the Chinese context. Through the assistance of the district chief officer, 16 social workers were invited to participate in the interview process—including six from district A, five from district B, and five from district C. Among these social workers, ten had worked in the field of community corrections for more than 5 years, the rest had 1 or 2 years of experience. Among social workers, women were overrepresented (62 %,  $n=16$ ) compared to their share of the Chinese adult population (45 %,  $n=130,000,000$ ; Pan et al. 2013). The mean age of the social workers was 34 and ranged from 24 to 55 years. In the system of Shanghai community corrections, social workers are not government staff but are employed as external contractors to supervise offenders. Since they are directly involved in supervising offenders in the community, the information they provided through interviews was key to understanding the day-to-day operation of community corrections.

All interviews were conducted at community corrections offices and were based on a set of semi-structured and open-ended questions. Prior to the interview, participants were informed of the voluntary nature of the study, the confidentiality of the data, and their ability to withdraw at any point. Interviews ranged in length from 15 to 30 min and were conducted in Chinese. Interviews were audio-recorded, then transcribed and translated following the meetings.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, district C has the biggest community corrections center in Shanghai. It is in the close proximity of the local justice bureaus with a size of four-storey building. While the top floor is the office rooms, the lower floors are the venues where offenders receive legal and moral education, attend reporting meetings, and undertake compulsory work—the daily activities under community corrections.

Interview data were subsequently analyzed using a thematic approach (Attride-Sterling 2001) to organize themes and concepts that were salient in the texts. In addition to interviews, site visits were made to community corrections facilities where offenders are required to attend educational courses and undertake community order services.

## Findings

My analysis of the data identifies three key themes, which are presented below in turn. First, I explore how risk assessment tools are applied in routine practice of community corrections in China and the extent to which they are employed to measure risk of offenders and provide recommendations for service provisions. Second, I assess the measures that are used to address offenders' criminogenic needs in community corrections. Educational and assistance programs are specifically examined to understand the way in which community corrections may facilitate offenders' rehabilitation and their reentry into society. Third, I investigate a number of intensive approaches adopted in this program to understand the major factor that may have contributed to the low recidivism rate of this new punishment.

### The Practical Application of Risk Assessment Tools

Many participants commented on the official requirement to use assessment tools as set out in the guidelines. Official policy documentation and operational handbooks specify a risk assessment mechanism, based on a numerical rating of risk variables for all offenders placed in community corrections. This process is set out as a prerequisite for offenders' initial placement on a community corrections order and as a tool for classification of offenders over the course of a community corrections order (Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013c). At the operational level, within the three districts, specific actuarial forms have been created by the community corrections offices with the aim of identifying offenders' potential threat to the community. Table 1 shows the risk evaluation form for district A, which includes a list of typical offending risk factors (Andrews et al. 1990).

Although a formal risk assessment tool is available in all three districts, most respondents noted that it was infrequently used in practice. Both officers and social workers commented that the tool was not often adopted as a precondition for determining the initial eligibility of offenders for community corrections. Nor, many commented, was it employed during community corrections orders as a method of gauging the appropriate level of rehabilitative interventions. For example, the chief officer in district A commented that

*Actually, before we start the community corrections process we don't usually do a thorough risk evaluation for every offender. In most cases, the courts will exercise their discretion to eliminate some offenders who the courts think will pose a risk of dangerousness to society if placed under community corrections. For a small number of offenders whom the courts are too busy to deal with, we are only requested to undertake a basic social background check to determine the potential risk of offenders...Once community corrections commences, we don't undertake any risk evaluations at all. We apply the same type of education and supervision on offenders to make sure they will not cause trouble to the community.*

Chief officer, district A



**Table 1** Risk evaluation form in district A community corrections office

Items	Sub-items	Score
Basic factors	Age of committing crime	1 = Age above 18 (including 18) while first committing crime 0 = Age below 18 while first committing crime
	Education attainment	0 = College diploma and above 2 = High school, middle school, and equivalent 3 = Elementary school, semi-illiteracy, illiteracy
	Employment status	0 = Able to be self-supportive 1 = Unable or unwilling to be self-supportive
	Marriage status	0 = Married or unmarried under 25 (with a stable family) 2 = Unmarried above 25, widowed, divorced, or living with single parent (under 25)
	Living sources	0 = Income from working 1 = Subsistence allowances or family support 3 = None
	Permanent residence	0 = Yes 3 = No
	Personality and psychological factors	Self-control ability
Psychological health status		1 = Healthy in general 2 = Psychological problems 3 = Psychological diseases
History of mental diseases (genetic)		0 = No 1 = Yes
Attitude toward committed crime		0 = Plea of guilty 1 = No plea of guilty
Attitude toward social reality		0 = Appropriately understanding social reality 2 = Discontent or hostility toward social reality
Legal knowledge and awareness		1 = Lack of legal knowledge and awareness 2 = Legal illiteracy
Social factors		Status of friendship
	Growth experience	0 = Stable 2 = Tortuous
	Crime record of family members	0 = Yes 1 = No
	Family support of community corrections	0 = Understanding and supporting 2 = Uncooperative or hostile
Comprehensive factors	Type of crime	1 = Other types 2 = Thief, robbery, drug-related public affray
	History of crime	0 = No 1 = Yes
	History of administrative offence	0 = No 1 = Yes (twice or less) 3 = Yes (three times or above)
	Intention of crime	1 = Negligence 2 = Intentional
	Violence-involved or recidivism	0 = No 2 = Yes

Source: *Shanghai Community Corrections in Theory and Practice* (Shanghai Community Corrections 2013a, b, c)

One social worker with over 8 years of experience in district A had a similar perspective. In this case, although basic rudimentary risk data were collected, they were not used in the assessment of offenders.

*When conducting the social background check, the required information we collect is simple and straightforward. It only includes the status of offenders' residence, work and crime (first or repeated offence), the impact of crime on the community and timing (whether it is a strike-hard period). We are not asked to do further risk assessment after the program starts.*

Social worker W, district A

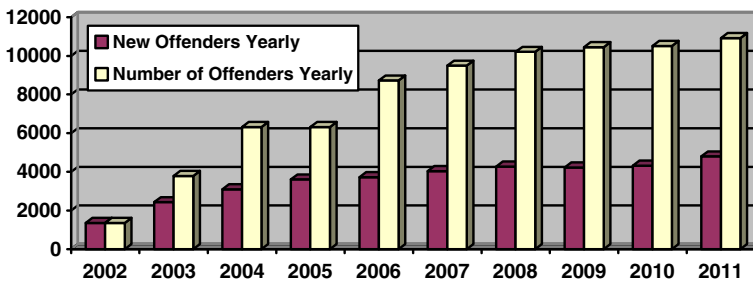
As a result, in all three districts, offenders are indistinguishably treated without being classified into different groups in light of their level of risk. Uniform interventions apply to all offenders despite the fact that some represent a higher degree of risk while others appear to be less dangerous in the community. One experienced social worker in district B claimed

*We use the same set of strategies on all offenders despite of their risk profiles. If one person appears to be dangerous to the community according to our previous experience, we will keep a close eye on him (her) but no specific approaches will be employed.*

Social worker L, district B

What explains the disconnection between official policy and the practical implementation of risk assessment in Shanghai's community corrections? Two reasons stand out from the interview data. First, respondents noted the pressure caused by heavy caseloads at the local level, which affects the time required for risk assessment to be conducted. Increased caseload pressure is demonstrated by the growth in numbers of offenders sentenced to community correction orders. During the last decade, the number of offenders serving sentences in the neighborhood has increased considerably, from 1360 in 2002 to 10,917 in 2011 (Fig. 1; Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013c). The increase is due largely to the rising tide of migrant offenders from rural areas while perpetrators from Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, and other foreign countries have become a more visible part of the community corrections caseload (Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013b).

Facing a caseload crisis, the judiciary in Shanghai implemented a new adjudicative policy of "swift conviction for minor crime", where offenders who plead guilty and for whom it is deemed that there is clear evidence of guilt were put through a simplified trial process to promote judicial effectiveness (Zhou 2013). In effect, the process required speedier examination of offenders' backgrounds rather than a formal assessment of their potential risk. The



**Fig. 1** Numbers of offenders under community corrections in Shanghai (2002–2011). Source: *An Overview of Shanghai Community Corrections over the Last Ten Years* (Shanghai Community Corrections 2013a, b, c)

streamlined judicial policy meant that local courts increasingly sent “swift conviction” offenders to community corrections, which became the most common order for minor offenders. At the court stage, the expedited adjudicative procedure does not allow judges to have sufficient time to organize a comprehensive risk evaluation of each offender, which would normally be undertaken by social workers. As a result, offenders enter community corrections without information about their risk level. In addition to the rising caseload numbers, participants indicated that the changing nature of the minor offender population also led to a decreased likelihood that risk assessment would be performed in the community corrections offices. The chief officer of district A expressed that

*In recent years, we have received more and more offenders who are not residents of mainland China. We are usually not asked by the courts to go through risk checks for these people. The main reason is that the courts don't have much background information for these offenders. The other reason is that sending them to community corrections shows the lenient and humanitarian side of Chinese law.*

Chief officer, district A

Moreover, the increasing number of community corrections cases overrides the capacity of social workers in Shanghai to undertake risk assessment activities. During the last 10 years, the increase in the numbers of social workers in districts A, B, and C has been under 10 % due to the low level of salary of this occupation. The chief officer of district B stated that

*Every year the local courts give us lots of community corrections cases to handle. In our community, every social worker has to deal with more than fifty offenders at the same time. They seriously have no time to go through every step of the required process, for example, risk assessment. Also, our social workers are paid very little compared to other occupations. It is very difficult for us to recruit new people.*

Chief officer, district B

Different from other localities in China, Shanghai adopts a unique “government-purchase model” by contracting out services with the Xinhang Community Service Terminal—a non-incorporated institution specializing in the management of released offenders in the community—a form of outsourcing (Dan 2008). This privatization of services shows a similarity with the recent trend in the Western criminal justice system that selected criminal justice services are outsourced to the private sector (Garland 1996). For the Western authorities, it is a cost-effective way of dealing with the large backlog of cases. Likewise, by using inexpensive resources at the low end of the risk spectrum, Shanghai community corrections outsources its service to achieve “cost savings” in the regulation of offenders. In 2004, the Shanghai government and the Xinhang Community Service Terminal calculated the purchase fee of service of each social worker as 40,000 RMB/year (Wang 2007). While this purchase fee was raised to 80,000 RMB/year in 2013 (e.g., district C), it is still lower than the average yearly salary in Shanghai, which has reached 84,000 RMB as of 2013. In this respect, there has been an increase in the number of social workers who have resigned over the last decade (Table 2).

Beyond heavy caseloads and an inability to meet the demand, a second reason noted by participants for the infrequent use of risk assessment was the presumption that using the risk assessment tools required a level of professional qualification and training that was lacking among community corrections workers. Although risk assessment tools were available in the districts, respondents claimed that the interpretation of quantitative scores could not be reliably undertaken by the correctional staff. For example, the chief of district C conceded that

**Table 2** The turnover rates of social workers in Shanghai (2004–2012)

Year	Number of resigned people	Turnover rate (based on the total number of hired people)
2004	13	3.0 %
2005	24	5.3 %
2006	37	7.9 %
2007	21	4.8 %
2008	34	7.9 %
2009	32	7.9 %
2010	27	6.7 %
2011	26	5.9 %
2012	48	10.6 %

Source: *An Overview of Shanghai Community Corrections over the Last Years* (Shanghai Community Corrections 2013a, b, c)

*Our community correctional program includes officers, social workers and volunteers. We barely involve specialists in the process of evaluating offenders before and during the program. It is true that we have some social workers, who have certificates in counseling psychology, but the percentage is low and they don't have many practical experiences compared to professionals...*

Chief officer, district C

Perhaps the main obstacle to the participation of professional experts in risk assessment lies in the fact that the community correctional program is, in general, inadequately financed and insufficiently resourced. In Shanghai, funds for community corrections are composed of budgetary allocations from the government, financial assistance from residential committees, and social donations. While the governments purchase the services of social workers with a fixed amount of money, funds for administrative management and offender programming of community corrections are distributed from local communities upon application by the justice bureaus (Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013c). However, such resources are in fact often not guaranteed due to the generally limited capital in China's judicial and administrative system. In addition, "donations from the public are minimal" (Jiang et al. 2014: 14). The chief officer of district C expressed his concern that

*The general case is that local governments and residential districts are not legally required to distribute a fixed amount of money, let's say, for every year's budget of community correctional practice. How much each local community corrections office can get really depends on the varying financial situations of each district... As a result, we have to only use social workers to carry out the practical implementation, because they are already paid by the Shanghai government.*

Chief officer, district C

This lack of resourcing is not restricted to Shanghai. Over the last decade, much concern has been raised about the minimal financial support for community corrections across China, particularly in relation to the annual budget distributed from the resources allocated to local justice (Jiang et al. 2014). As a new and experimental instrument of administering justice, the expenses and costs of implementing community corrections

have not yet been officially included in the government's annual budget. Therefore, the practice of community corrections in China's designated districts is mostly financed by the temporary and residual funds allocated by the local justice bureaus and governments (Feng et al. 2006). The distribution of capital, however, is discretionary and random, and to date, there is no regulatory and long-term government agenda for funding community corrections at the national level. As Jiang et al. (2014: 88) observed, "in recent years, the government in some locales established a separate budget for community corrections, while the majority of governments did not."

### Education and Help—a Bangjiao-Oriented Program

One of the principal objectives of Shanghai community corrections is to shift offender attitudes from criminogenic to prosocial ones through treatment (Zhu and Wang 2011). By adopting a set of educational programs in the neighborhood, Shanghai community corrections aims to correct "offenders' criminal mind and behavioral vice" in an attempt to minimize the risk of reoffending and facilitate offenders' reintegration into society. However, despite this focus on rehabilitation through minimizing risk, the findings of the current research indicate that the way in which Shanghai community corrections targets criminogenic needs is more similar to the previous Bangjiao system.

First, the way in which educational programs are carried out in Shanghai community corrections reflects the Bangjiao strategy. For each offender serving a sentence under community corrections, legal and morality education is the mandatory component of his/her correctional intervention. Upon receiving an offender, the local authorities first carry out "criminal identity education" to help the offender recognize that he/she is a criminal and ought to follow rules and regulations in the community. The offender will then receive "repentance education" to understand the crime he/she committed, the seriousness of the crime and the relevant consequences. Following that, "law and order education" is carried out to improve an offender's legal awareness through general legal and policy education. The putative purpose is to make offenders understand the foundation of China's policy and promote an attitude of acting in accordance to law. Equally as important is thought and social cognition education. Referred to as "morality and cultural education," this program aims to develop offenders' cultural and cognitive levels of understanding by teaching them ethical norms associated with family, society, and nation (Zhu and Wang 2011).

Both chief officers and social workers in districts A, B, and C explained that legal and moral education is the major treatment approach used in handling offenders in the neighborhood. The chief of district A community corrections office stated that

*Because community corrections are theoretically a criminal sanction, we are required to pay great attention to its educative element. It is to reflect China's longstanding penal policy of "combining punishment and reformation" in the exercise of penalty.*

Chief officer, district A

In districts A, B, and C, legal and morality education has been organized on a regular basis and offenders are mandated to attend. The chief of district B community corrections office stated that

*Every offender placed in our community is legally required to attend legal and morality education weekly. After each educational session, offenders need to provide a written*

*report on what they have learned and understood. We also encourage offenders to conduct self-study at their private time.*

Chief officer, district B

In addition to legal and moral education, the “help”-based program plays an equally vital role in Shanghai community corrections. In relation to employment and social welfare education, community corrections officials mobilize and organize various social organizations to participate in the process of facilitating offenders’ return to a normal life. To this end, a wide range of “assistance” related to offenders’ study, work, and accommodation are provided by community corrections offices, social workers, and local street committees to ensure offenders’ reentry into society without being discriminated, stigmatized, and isolated. The majority of social workers in districts A, B, and C admitted that assisting offenders with their living difficulties is a salient factor that influences an offender’s capacity to participate in and benefit from interventions. Although large caseloads imposed on social workers reduce the potential effectiveness of the assistance programs, addressing offenders’ issues with employment, schooling, and living has become the focus of correctional work. As described by one senior social worker in district B:

*In fact, during our exercise of community corrections, we are spending most of time on helping offenders with their living issues, such as helping them go to school or find a job. In most cases, if we can secure them a satisfactory job during community corrections, it will substantially lessen their resistance and hostility towards this program and increase their willingness to behave in the community. It will make our work much easier.*

Social worker X, district B

Nevertheless, while the programs of “education and help” are at work, psychological treatment is less frequently used, if not completely ignored. All interviewees in districts A, B, and C expressed their concern that the practical educational activities rarely involve psychological and socio-biological intervention of offenders. For example, district C, where a number of offenders are drug abusers, lacks psychodynamic modes of treatment designed to address offenders’ dependence on addictive substances. Not surprisingly, once again practitioners attributed it to the insufficiencies of financial and human resources in each community. For instance the chief of district C stated

*Our existing budget is unable to afford appropriately qualified, trained and supervised professionals who can well understand and address the psychological problems of drug offenders. At maximum, we organized some volunteers to inspect substance abusers’ psychological state, but ongoing treatment was not followed up. Also, we don’t have enough money to train our current social workers to develop and acquire the capability of conducting relevant psychotropic treatment.*

Chief officer, district C

The Bangjiao model, which is inherited from Maoist penal ideology, was based on the idea that transformation of one’s mind leads to change in one’s behavior. Similarly, community correctional education centers on *thought* reform to transform an offender so they become a “useful person” in society who can make contributions to social stability and development (Shaw 2010). Although methods may be somewhat different, their goals are similar in a sense that both Bangjiao and community corrections highlight



thought control to bring offenders in line with the socialist and communist ideological principles. In this respect, legal and morality education seems to be an undifferentiated correctional program implanting generalized legal education and social ethics to community-based offenders. In the eyes of community corrections authorities, every offender is a law breaker suffering from some type of moral corruption, as opposed to an individual perpetrator with different socio-biological needs. As the chief of district A expressed:

*We understand that every offender has his (her) own problems. But all in all, he (she) is a person who breaches the law. They are criminals. They need to receive generalized education in law and ethics to realize why they are here (referring to community corrections program) and to learn how to improve themselves to become a better person.*

Chief officer, district A

In districts A, B, and C, the intensity and content of education does not vary according to the different levels of offender risk. In addition, without the engagement of professional techniques, cognitive-behavioral treatment barely exists in the practice of community correction. Interviewees conceded that occasional psychological consultation undertaken by social workers does not suffice to modify offenders' cognitive conditions and behavioral patterns.

*We are providing psychological consultation from time to time during community corrections. But our services are very basic and lack effective tools to really change offenders.*

Social worker Y, district A

Moreover, interviewees mentioned that Shanghai community corrections is incapable of providing cognitive social learning interventions to treat individual offenders. Over the last few years, the issue of specific treatment has been identified as a future direction for correctional strategy, but it has yet to be adopted in the existing community correctional program in Shanghai. The chief of district C agreed that

*We understand that there is a need to attend to individual circumstances when exercising community corrections. A "one size fits all" approach has been demonstrated to be ineffective in most correctional programs. We have been discussing the possibility of starting individualized treatment program for offenders with different psychological and behavioral characteristics.*

Chief officer, district C

Despite the authorities' recognition of individual variations among offenders, the current financial circumstance and social conditions of Shanghai community corrections lead to the lack of capacity of the Shanghai community to implement the policy. As the head of district A community corrections office pointed out:

*Adopting individual treatment to match an offender's motivation, gender and cultural issues has a number of obstacles at this stage. First, we don't have effective assessment measures and professionals to categorize offenders. Second, we don't have enough experienced social workers to work on different correctional projects for different offenders. Third, we don't have sufficient funds to carry out additional treatment.*

Chief officer, district A

## An Intensive Supervision Practice

It is worth noting that although community correctional programs have not been able to provide the range of clinical, therapeutic, and individual treatment services that were outlined in the legislation, the recidivism rates of offenders are fairly low compared to institutional corrections. Evidence shows that as of 2012, the reoffending rate of community-based offenders in Shanghai was 0.6 % in comparison to 15 % of offenders released from the prison system (Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013b). For example, the chief officer of district C stated that

*For last ten years, our recidivism rates have always been below 0.3 %. It is one of the lowest records among all Shanghai districts. Because of that, our community correctional program was ranked among top three in 2013.*

Chief officer, district C

What are the forces behind this low level of reoffending if the practice of community corrections provides limited services that target the risk factors of reoffending and due to problems with the implementation of the program? The findings of this research suggest that Shanghai community corrections has sought to serve as an alternative to prison, while maintaining a high degree of control and surveillance in the community. In a way, Shanghai community corrections functions as an intensive supervision program that includes both the supervision and education components. While imposing the salience of obeying laws on offenders through education, community corrections adopts a wide range of supervisory measures to curb the risk offenders may present to society. In practice, these approaches enable local authorities to effectively control the whereabouts and activities of offenders, keeping a tight control on their behavior.

Like many intermediate sanctions in the West, Shanghai community corrections contains approaches to implement supervision and management of offenders. The core approach is a strict daily supervisory system (日常监管制度). Since the inception of community corrections, the purpose has been to preserve neighborhood safety and prevent reoffending (Wang 2007) mainly principally by restricting offenders' mobility and ensuring their compliance with community laws and rules. The offender is required to report to the local community corrections officers in person or via telephone on his/her daily activities and whereabouts on a regular basis, mainly through written and verbal reports. According to the reporting rules, daily reporting applies when the offender "shows the sign of risking society" and when there is an important social event under way (e.g., the National People's Congress). However, the level of risk an offender can represent seems to be determined by the subjective perception of community corrections officers as no substantial risk assessments are virtually carried out in practice. While weekly reporting is mandatory for those who have started to serve community corrections within the first 3 months, monthly reporting is the routine activity which applies to all offenders during their sentence in the community. The chief of district B community corrections office said that

*Reporting is the best way for us to keep track of offenders' daily activities. It is a must-do task offenders need to accomplish. By doing so, we understand what offenders think and act during the (community correctional) program. It helps us to stifle reoffending in the cradle.*

Chief officer, district B

Approvals for travel and changing residence are required in order to ensure that community surveillance can be maintained. For the offender to leave the designated community (usually less than 7 days), he/she must apply 3 days earlier for the leave and the matter must be serious and urgent—e.g., hospitalization or major familial issues (Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013a). A community corrections officer will assess the application based on the reasonableness of the request and, more importantly, the likelihood of the offender's absconding or reoffending. Likewise, the requirement of approving a change of residence is to maintain the stability of an offender's residential locality, hence facilitating the supervisory work of administrative officers at the local level. For some specific offenders (e.g., drug-related criminals), approval for entrance to particular sites (e.g., nightclubs) must be sought. However, these requests are typically rejected. For example, the chief of district C explained that

*Usually, we don't approve the applications submitted by new offenders just sent to community corrections. Only when the applicant has served community corrections for more than 3 months and demonstrated to have behaved, we will consider his (her) request of going out or changing residence. In these couple of years, the percentage of approval is very low—only 20 % approximately. We cannot risk letting them skip the sight of the community or access the criminal incentives.*

Chief officer, district C

Spot visits are also frequently used as a supervisory tool. In Shanghai, community corrections officers, social workers, and volunteers are required to pay routine visits to offenders' families, working units, schools, and residences to monitor their mental states and behavioral patterns (Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013a). The frequency of visits, however, varies from case to case. For those who are at the initial phase of community corrections with a high level of perceived dangerousness, the authorities pay more frequent visits in order to better understand the offender's situation. It is deemed particularly essential when there is an important national, social, or political event or other special circumstance (Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013c). In a broader sense, this represents a unique form of policing in China. It is interesting to note that authorities will use political control and supervision to stifle dissension and many community-based offenders are categorized as dissidents showing risk to the party's political legitimacy. One of social workers in district A commented that

*Visits are the major component of our daily work. Because I am responsible for "looking after" 31 offenders in this community, I have to visit at least one offender every day. I need to acquire the information about what they have done recently, what are their concerns and how things are going with their lives. If anything that may cause a risk to society, I need to immediately report to the community corrections office. During some important events, such as national holidays, I have to pay special attention to the activities of offenders to make sure that they are under control... We (referring to social workers) try to mobilize all the available channels (referred to family, friends and other acquaintances) to ensure that offenders follow the rules and will not breach the laws in the community. Information provided by their families and friends is important to understand their situations.*

Social worker Z, district A

The daily supervisory system has successfully shaped a social security network, referred to as "prevention by people (人防)," in the practice of Shanghai community corrections

(Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013b). Here, the community corrections agencies and workers play a major role in imposing surveillance on offenders. In addition, the offender's neighbors, friends, colleagues, and other gatekeepers—e.g., milkmen, water deliverymen, and community security officers—are mobilized to monitor the offenders' daily life (Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013b). This is reminiscent of a form of responsabilization evident in community justice initiatives in the West. For example, in the USA, UK, and other democracies, community members are mobilized to participate in the administration of justice when they are assigned with responsibility for social control to enhance the quality of community life (Clear and Karp 1999). In the case of Shanghai community corrections, practitioners surrounding offenders weave a net of surveillance in which social actors are enlisted to monitor the movements of offenders. Coupled with the use of community resources, a technological information management system is used to electronically monitor offenders. New technologies such as detachable alarms (e.g., GPS and anklets), scanning reports, and precise indoor positioning trackers are employed to identify the whereabouts of offenders (Shanghai Community Corrections Office 2013b). Despite the relatively low level of risk posed by individuals serving community corrections terms, all offenders in Shanghai communities are attached to the mobile GPS positioning system and electronic monitoring shackles are used in most urban communities (Li 2013).

## Discussion and Conclusion

Over the last decade, community corrections in China has surfaced as a major intermediate sanction in response to a growing rate of conviction for minor offences and a corresponding rise in the prison population. From an official perspective, this new punishment reflects the state's desire to shift the rhetorical emphasis from one of harsh punitiveness toward a presumably more lenient and moderate approach to punishment that is underpinned by correction, treatment and rehabilitation.

This article has explored the gap between the official position and the practical implementation of community corrections in China and, more importantly, the variation between policy and implementation. Based on the study of community corrections in Shanghai, the findings reveal that China's community corrections is designed on paper to promote effective interventions for those who have committed those that are considered to be minor offences. From a range of laws, policies, operational guides, and handbooks, this newly adopted option appears to focus on assessing the risk factors of offenders and providing them with appropriate services to enhance their reentry. Nevertheless, this official rationale is not entirely embodied in practice.

Based on interviews with officers and practitioners in Shanghai's community correctional program, the research has identified a number of practical issues relevant to the implementation of risk-oriented and clinical interventions. On the one hand, the exercise of community corrections in Shanghai stresses education and help, but lacks actuarial risk evaluations, cognitive-behavioral treatment targeting criminogenic needs, and specific correctional treatment. On the other hand, community corrections places extensive emphasis on control and supervision, seeking to prevent crime and recidivism as the primary goal of maintaining social harmony and stability. This remarkable feature of community corrections is not by design but driven by the state's new governance strategy of "building a harmonious society," accompanied by a gradual transformation toward leniency in the realm of China's penalty.

Community corrections in China relies upon monitoring and management to minimize reoffending, in addition to the education and help measures—a *mutated* form of Bangjiao system. As a result, there is a mismatch between rhetoric and practice that can be attributed to a number of factors, which are both social and institutional. More specifically, it is a program which lacks a mature and systematic framework of practice, failing to reflect the principles stated in the official discourse.

The interviews seem to indicate that in practice the program's emphasis is on cost control as indicated by the paucity of trained staff, large caseloads, and failure to provide additional professional services. At the same time, the emphasis on “reeducation” and strict supervision indicates that this program might not be significantly different from previous practices except that it is non-custodial and does not include the harsher measures that often were a part of custodial sentences. In this way, this newer community-oriented practice could be considered more lenient, but it seems to maintain offender control as its principal rationale.

Another aim of this study has been to look beyond official policies of punishment to test the gap between rhetoric and reality—an enduring issue in the Chinese criminal justice and penal system (Jiang 2010). Similar to a number of other criminal justice practices (Peerenboom 2002), community corrections has been shown in this paper to depart from official policy statements. Although the community corrections program is underpinned by official expectations to stand apart from custody and other forms of punishment as an effective intermediate solution, in its practical implementation, it has remained connected to the earlier Maoist ideals of the Bangjiao system. The implementation of community corrections has not been able to distance itself from the external influences of political (public) policy and ideology. This empirical study reminds us that aligning practice with official rhetoric appears to remain problematic in China's contemporary criminal justice and penal system.

### Compliance with Ethical Standards

**Funding** This study was not funded.

**Conflict of Interest** The authors state that they have no conflict of interest.

**Ethical Approval** All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki Declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards.

**Informed Consent** Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

## References

- Andrews, D. A., Bonta, J., & Hoge, D. (1990). Classification for effective rehabilitation: rediscovering psychology. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, *17*, 19–52.
- Attride-sterling, J. (2001). Thematic networks: an analytical tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, *1*(3), 385–405.
- Bonta, J. & Andrews, D. A. (2007). *Risk-need-responsivity model for offender assessment and treatment* (user report no. 2007–06). Public Safety Canada.
- Clear, T. R., & Karp, D. R. (1999). *The community justice ideal*. New York: Westview.
- Dan, W. L. (2008). *Community corrections: legislative basis and institutional construction*. Chinese People's Public Security University Press.

- Feng, W. G., Wei, H., & Liu, Y. L. (2006). The Chinese practice of community correction: current situation, problems and resolutions. *China Prison Journal*, 2, 140.
- Garland, D. (1996). The limits of the sovereign state: strategies of crime control in contemporary society. *British Journal of Criminology*, 36(4), 445–471.
- Hannah-Moffat, K. (2013). Punishment and risk, In J. Simon and R. Sparks, eds., *The Sage handbook of punishment and society* (129–151). Sage Publications.
- Jiang, A. D. (2010). Few issues related to legislation of community corrections. *Journal of the Chinese University of Politics and Law*, 6, 54–60.
- Jiang, S. H., Xiang, D. P., Chen, Q., Huang, C. X., Yang, S. Y., Zhang, D. W., & Zhao, A. (2014). Community corrections in China: development and challenges. *Prison Journal*, 94, 52–74.
- Li, X. M. (2013). Approaching Shanghai community corrections offenders: 24 hours switch-on of positioning mobile', *Eastday*, 12 December 2013, available online at <http://sh.eastday.com/m/20131212/u1a7824226.html>.
- Li, S. D. (2014). Toward a cost-effective correctional system: new developments in community-based corrections in China. *Victims & Offenders: An International Journal of Evidence-based Research, Policy, and Practice*, 9(1), 120–125.
- Morris, N. and Tonry, M. (1990), *Between prison and probation*. Oxford University Press.
- National Bureau of Statistics of China (2003) *China statistical yearbook*. China Statistic Press.
- Pan, Q., Jin, X. B., & Zhou, Y. K. (2013). The population change in China over last 300 years and the spatial distribution framework. *Geographical Research*, 7, 1291–1302.
- Peerenboom, R. (2002), *China's long march toward rule of law*. Cambridge University Press.
- Petersilia, J. (1998), *Community corrections: probation, parole, and intermediate sanctions*. Oxford University Press.
- Phelps, M. S. (2011). Rehabilitation in the punitive era: the gap between rhetoric and reality in US prison programs. *Law & Society Review*, 45(1), 33–68.
- Robinson, G., McNeil, F., and Maruna, S. (2013). Punishment in society: the improbable persistence of probation and other community sanctions and measures, in J. Simon and R. Sparks, eds., *The SAGE handbook of punishment and society*, 321–341. SAGE Publications.
- Shanghai Community Corrections Office (2013a). *Handbook of Shanghai community correctional work (internal material)*. Shanghai Community Corrections Office.
- Shanghai Community Corrections Office (2013b). *An overview of Shanghai community corrections over the last ten years (internal material)*. Shanghai Community Corrections Office.
- Shanghai Community Corrections Office (2013c). *Theory and practice of Shanghai community corrections (internal material)*. Shanghai Community Corrections Office.
- Shaw, V. N. (2010). Corrections and punishment in China: information and analysis. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 26(1), 53–71.
- Trevaskes, S. (2013). China's death penalty: the Supreme People's Court, the suspended death sentence and the politics of penal reform. *British Journal of Criminology*, 53(3), 482–499.
- Wang, S. A. (2007). *Theoretical study of community corrections*. Law Press.
- Xin, S. W. (2014). Justice bureau official: 667 thousand people are currently receiving community corrections. *Beijing Daily*. 6 January 2014, available online at <http://jiansuo.cpd.com.cn/n2698292/c21022744/content.html>.
- Zhai, K. (2013). China's labour camp system officially abolished. *South China Morning Post*. 28 December 2013, available online at <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1391659/china-formally-abolishes-re-education-labour-camps-eases-one-child-policy>.
- Zhang, L. N., Zhou, D. K., Messner, F., Liska, E., Krohn, D., Liu, J. H., & Lu, Z. (1996). Crime prevention in a communitarian society: *bang-jiao* and *tiao-jie* in the People's Republic of China. *Justice Quarterly*, 13(2), 199–222.
- Zhong, Y. (2009). Community policing in China: old wine in new bottles. *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*, 10(2), 157–169.
- Zhou, K. (2013). The Yangpu Court in Shanghai experiments the new approach of swift conviction for minor crime, *China Youth*. 6 December 2013, available online at [http://news.cyol.com/content/2013-12/06/content\\_9409388.htm](http://news.cyol.com/content/2013-12/06/content_9409388.htm).
- Zhu, J. W. and Wang, Z. L. (2011). *The study of community corrections from the perspective of punishment*. Law Press.



## Terms and Conditions

Springer Nature journal content, brought to you courtesy of Springer Nature Customer Service Center GmbH (“Springer Nature”).

Springer Nature supports a reasonable amount of sharing of research papers by authors, subscribers and authorised users (“Users”), for small-scale personal, non-commercial use provided that all copyright, trade and service marks and other proprietary notices are maintained. By accessing, sharing, receiving or otherwise using the Springer Nature journal content you agree to these terms of use (“Terms”). For these purposes, Springer Nature considers academic use (by researchers and students) to be non-commercial.

These Terms are supplementary and will apply in addition to any applicable website terms and conditions, a relevant site licence or a personal subscription. These Terms will prevail over any conflict or ambiguity with regards to the relevant terms, a site licence or a personal subscription (to the extent of the conflict or ambiguity only). For Creative Commons-licensed articles, the terms of the Creative Commons license used will apply.

We collect and use personal data to provide access to the Springer Nature journal content. We may also use these personal data internally within ResearchGate and Springer Nature and as agreed share it, in an anonymised way, for purposes of tracking, analysis and reporting. We will not otherwise disclose your personal data outside the ResearchGate or the Springer Nature group of companies unless we have your permission as detailed in the Privacy Policy.

While Users may use the Springer Nature journal content for small scale, personal non-commercial use, it is important to note that Users may not:

1. use such content for the purpose of providing other users with access on a regular or large scale basis or as a means to circumvent access control;
2. use such content where to do so would be considered a criminal or statutory offence in any jurisdiction, or gives rise to civil liability, or is otherwise unlawful;
3. falsely or misleadingly imply or suggest endorsement, approval, sponsorship, or association unless explicitly agreed to by Springer Nature in writing;
4. use bots or other automated methods to access the content or redirect messages
5. override any security feature or exclusionary protocol; or
6. share the content in order to create substitute for Springer Nature products or services or a systematic database of Springer Nature journal content.

In line with the restriction against commercial use, Springer Nature does not permit the creation of a product or service that creates revenue, royalties, rent or income from our content or its inclusion as part of a paid for service or for other commercial gain. Springer Nature journal content cannot be used for inter-library loans and librarians may not upload Springer Nature journal content on a large scale into their, or any other, institutional repository.

These terms of use are reviewed regularly and may be amended at any time. Springer Nature is not obligated to publish any information or content on this website and may remove it or features or functionality at our sole discretion, at any time with or without notice. Springer Nature may revoke this licence to you at any time and remove access to any copies of the Springer Nature journal content which have been saved.

To the fullest extent permitted by law, Springer Nature makes no warranties, representations or guarantees to Users, either express or implied with respect to the Springer nature journal content and all parties disclaim and waive any implied warranties or warranties imposed by law, including merchantability or fitness for any particular purpose.

Please note that these rights do not automatically extend to content, data or other material published by Springer Nature that may be licensed from third parties.

If you would like to use or distribute our Springer Nature journal content to a wider audience or on a regular basis or in any other manner not expressly permitted by these Terms, please contact Springer Nature at

[onlineservice@springernature.com](mailto:onlineservice@springernature.com)