Dynamics of Philanthropy in China:

Patterns of Negotiations and Collaboration in Shenzhen and Yunnan

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Abstract

The relations between the Chinese government and philanthropic organizations is complex and in a state of flux and rapid change. The fragmented nature of Chinese politics and local autonomy further contribute to the regional variations of philanthropy. The author examines two representative models of cooperation between government and philanthropic organizations in Yunnan and Shenzhen to explore different patterns and trends of philanthropy development in China. By employing a state-in-society approach and a typology of government-non-profit relations, the actors involved in two cases are disaggregated to analyze their roles and power relations in collaboration.

Overall, philanthropy is promoted by the government to boost legitimacy. More space is opened up for private philanthropic organizations while the government maintains dominance and sophisticated control. Although new models of government-philanthropy relations are promoted, conventional ones also remain popular. The landscape of Chinese philanthropy is shaped in the interactions of the state and philanthropic organizations. But it is still unclear whether a state-led philanthropy can further the development of civil society.

Key words: Chinese philanthropy, relations of Chinese government and philanthropic organization, collaboration models, state-in-society, civil society

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This thesis marks an end of a long journey, in which I have harvested amazing friends and unforgettable experience across Asia and Europe. I truly appreciate all people who have supported me and offered great friendship on my way.

Content

1   Chapter 1   Introduction

The rapid but uneven development and pro-growth policy in China over the past three decades has provided for a resurgence of philanthropy. Chinese philanthropic donations have increased rapidly from 0.6 billion yuan in 2005 to 84.5 billion yuan in 2011, with two peaks exceeding 100 billion in 2008 and 2010 (Liu and Li, 2012:13). Some philanthropic efforts provide services that the state presently does not. This often takes the form of addressing problems of inequality which help alleviate social tensions. However, such efforts are often constrained by state control of financial resources, facilities, services, and registration, etc, varying by city and locality. As the opening process continues, the market economy is generating demands, stimulating development and innovation of philanthropy, and also reacting to philanthropic activities. As such, power struggles are taking place among philanthropic actors and are shifting the balance. Simultaneously a part of and an enabler of civil society, philanthropy is a field bringing in light a continuing set of contrasts and dynamics of social-state relations. The way philanthropy is conducted, its structure, and its preferred subjects and goals arise as points of contention. Therefore, studying philanthropic practice in China provides a lens to capture the dynamics of Chinese state and civil society relations in the developing market economy. It also offers an alternative perspective to understand future social and political change in China.

1.1   Definitions of philanthropy

So, what is philanthropy? There are several general definitions of philanthropy that have been developed and discussed in the literature. Philanthropy is a"collective form of charitable giving", representing a supply-side response in society to welfare needs, operating on voluntary principles (Harrow, 2010). It is "voluntary action/initiatives for the public good"and aims at "improving the quality of human life" (McCully, 2008). Philanthropy is "advancement of society" through services "not provided by the state or market, for political or economic reasons" or "which are provided by the state but not in a way that satisfies philanthropists."(Adam, 2004:4). All definitions elaborate three elements: "voluntary", "private" and "for public good" (McCully, 2008). The element of being "private" is emphasized to distinguish philanthropy from the public services provision of the state. However, philanthropy doesn't always reject participation of the government. Especially in China, the situation of "big government, small society" makes the state power versatile in most sectors

(Chen, Yang, 2005:325; also Li, 2010). Also in the West, government is often involved in philanthropy directly or indirectly by two patterns, known as "public philanthropy":

"First, government supports nonprofits through grants and government initiatives designed to stimulate private philanthropy and voluntarism."

"Second, donations of financial resources or voluntary services are directed to the public sector (government and other state agencies) by individuals or private entities."(Burlingame, 2004: 402).

Although private philanthropy, such as donations and voluntary services to private organizations or individuals without involvement of the state, exists in China, in this thesis, the author is going to focus more on "public philanthropy", as it is the field where the interactions of the state and philanthropic organizations most often take place. The alliance and struggle, competition and cooperation between state entities and philanthropic organizations illustrate changing relationships of the state and civil society.

1.2   Research aim and research questions

The field of Chinese philanthropy is full of complex trends. The Chinese government has realized the necessity of mobilizing social resources to fill the gaps of social service provision while promoting "innovative social management" to strengthen its control over the evolving society. New policies are made to support philanthropic organizations as well as to regulate non-profit sector following methods of "graduated control". China Philanthropy Development Guideline has been included into the national 12th Five Year Plan (2011-2015) for the first time to promote growth of this sector. Previous strict dual track registration control over philanthropic organizations was loosened on a national level following the 18th National Congress in 2012. At the local level, governments in Shenzhen, Shanghai and Guangzhou have promoted new models of philanthropy and started to purchase services from selected organizations regularly by public finance. Meanwhile, dramatic events such as the Guo Meimei incident, scandals within the China Charity Federation and Soong Ching Ling Foundation in 2011 have led to serious trust crisis of the public to conventional philanthropy which is monopolized by the state and state affiliated philanthropic organizations[1]

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[1] Guomeimei incident was a credibility scandal involving China's Red Cross Society. It was exposed when a young woman named Guo Meimei claimed on Sina Weibo to be the general manager of Red Cross Commerce and showed off

(Luo, 2012). On the other hand, private philanthropic organizations are popping up, leading innovation in the non-profit sector and challenging old governing systems of social organizations. Are these trends suggesting the end of conventional government monopolization in Chinese philanthropy? Are the new policies signifying a lessening control of the state over civil society and greater pluralism? Or is it rather to be understood as a way to strengthen the legitimacy of the state by enabling philanthropy to provide necessary services that will lessen social tensions amidst growing inequality?

The Chinese administrative system is complex and fragmented with huge local variations.It also takes time to see the long term effects of these new policies on civil society. Thus, the author is not able to provide "Yes" or "No" answers to these questions. To unveil dynamics of these issues in question, this thesis intends to explore the different patterns and regional variations of philanthropy in contemporary China, analyzing how "fragmented authoritarianism" of the Chinese state system enables philanthropic organizations to utilize limited political opportunity and form alliances with the media, experts, reform-minded officials or some state-entities to vie for power in the area they are providing services (Mertha, 2008); how philanthropy gives rise to new actors and how new models and patterns of state-social organizational collaboration in philanthropy are promoted to fit with the "innovation management system". The research is guided by the following questions:

(1) What is the government's attitude towards philanthropy in China today?

(2) What function and role does philanthropy play in state-society relations? And what theoretical models best capture and explain this relationship?

(3) What patterns of negotiation and collaboration between the local state and philanthropy organizations do we find and what are the current trends?

(4) How can regional variations be understood and explained?

The above research questions will be discussed through a study of philanthropy development in Yunnan and Shenzhen, because they represent two different models of government-philanthropy relations. While Shenzhen is in the forefront of philanthropic development according to China City

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her luxury collections. Scandal of China Charity Federation was that corporations were forced to donate in exchange for tax exemption invoice. In 2011, Soong Ching Ling Foundation was charged of lending donations to commercial enterprises for interests. All these scandals were exposed online and infuriated Chinese netizens.

Philanthropy Index and with respect to policies and new attempts to promote philanthropy, Yunnan is lagging behind in this aspect, even though it has historically been an important place for NGOs. In order to explore different patterns and trends, two types of philanthropy organizations and collaborations in Shenzhen and Yunnan have been chosen after literature research and the author's field work in four cities in China: Amity-Yunnan PPCC (People's Political Consultative Conference) projects and China Charity Fairs in Shenzhen. They exemplify traditional type of philanthropy-governmental relations and a new emerging form that is promoted today.

1.3   Disposition of the thesis

The body of this thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter 2 discusses the Chinese government's changingattitude toward philanthropy and clarifies complexities in defining philanthropy and philanthropy organizations, responding to research question (1). The methodology used and the selection of cases will be elaborated in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 reviews previous literature on thedynamics of state-non-profit relations in China and answers research questionson philanthropy's role and function in contempory China. Chapter 5 formulates a theoretical framework to conceptualize the key elements in government-philanthropy relations. Under the framework, Chapter 6 and 7 analyze the empirical findings of two case studies in Yunnan and Shenzhen, answering proposed research questions (3) and (4). Chapter 8 compares the patterns and models of the two cases and contributes to the broader question of whether philanthropy strengthens the legitimacy of the state and/or promotes civil society.

2   Chapter 2   Changing government-philanthropy relations and complexity in definition

2.1   The Chinese government's changing attitude to philanthropy

Generally speaking, the Chinese government's attitude is changing from avoiding private involvement in public welfare provision towards promoting philanthropy, incorporating private resources to fulfill diverse demands on public goods provision. Chinese government-philanthropy relations have been through three stages:

(1) Totalitarian state completely replaced private philanthropy;

(2) Government dominated philanthropy through state affiliated philanthropic organizations and tightly controlled private organizations;

(3) Government collaborates with selected private philanthropic organizations with monitoring and interferences.

Before 1949, charity activities were mostly conducted by domestic or foreign rich bourgeois and religious groups in China. After the founding of People's Republic of China in 1949, Chinese government nationalized big philanthropic organizations such as Red Cross and China welfare foundation. Most other private organizations were closed down. All private and foreign charity resources were directed through official channels to provide public welfare (Zheng, 2010). Chinese government held an overall negative attitude towards philanthropy and restrained the charitable activities of all organizations from 1957 to 1993. All private and foreign charitable activities were suspected as Western ideology infiltration, and until the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, private philanthropy was forbidden and most foreign charitable donations were rejected by the government. As the Communist Party's ideology was redefined to incorporate market economic principles and the corresponding reforms, economic development sped up in the mid 80s, and more private capital and resources started flowing and accumulating in China. It provided resources and the preconditions for philanthropy (ibid). In order to control this growing sector, Chinese government employed a strict dual track supervision system to closely monitor social organizations and to ensure their political correctness, following the enacted "*regulations of registration and administration of social organizations*" in 1989 (Wang, 2007). All social organizations were required to register at Civil Affairs Bureau and supervised by a state agency as "professional supervisory working unite" (*yewu zhuguan danwei*) at the same time. Social organizations established were mostly official-private hybrid affiliations of state agencies under such a system. Philanthropy during this period was dominated by such organizations functioning as extensions of state institutions.

The negative image of philanthropy in official discourse didn't disappear until 1994. Government's changing attitudes on philanthropy were reflected in the term usage in official newspapers and policies. In 1994, *People's Daily* published an article appealing for "philanthropy of socialist country" and "Chinese philanthropists". The article was titled "*wei cishan zhengming*" (Rebuild the fame for

charity). The term "*cishan*" was officially used in a positive sense for the first time to refer to philanthropy. In China, the terms "*cishan*" and "*gongyi*" are both usedtorefer to the concept of philanthropy. These two terms are replaceable in most circumstances. But "*cishan*" often refers to more traditional charity with religious origination, as "private social assistance" to satisfy basic needs of vulnerable social members on a voluntary basis (Zheng, 2010:1). The term stresses philanthropy's nature of being private in Chinese discourse (Interview Aca#21-Jin, March 29th 2013). "*Cishan*"had a negative connotation before 1994 as it hinted at religious belief and bourgeois ideology. Instead, another word "*gongyi*", literally meaning"public goodness" or "common welfare" was used to refer to philanthropy. It is emphasizing the object, for public good, instead of the subject of philanthropy. The term is more government friendly, because its implication makes public sectors' participation in philanthropy legitimate and incorporates modern philanthropic services aiming at improvement of the quality of human life (McCully, 2008). Thus, "*gongyi*" was used more often in official papers and speeches, whereas"*cishan*" hasn't yet been employed in enacted official Chinese legislation up to this point (Interview Aca#21-Jin, March 29th 2013). Following the pro-cishan propaganda in 1994, the term "*cishan*" was used more often. When referring to philanthropic development in the 12th Five Year Plan, the word "*cishan*" was chosen by the government. Such change in official terminology suggests the Chinese government's willingness to open more space to private participation in philanthropy and to incorporate private resources into public welfare provision.

However, the rigid dual registration system continued to prevent many private organizations from obtaining legal status. From 1994 to 2005, more regulations or laws on donation, taxation and administration of foundations were issued to regulate the philanthropic sector (See the list of philanthropy regulations and laws in appendix 2). The year of 2005 marked another turning point of philanthropy in China. The government included the phrase "support the development of philanthropy" into the premier's Government Work Report for the first time. Since then, Chinese government's attitude shifted to pro-philanthropy officially (Zheng, 2010).

Driven by Wenchuan earthquake in 2008, development of philanthropy marched into a new era. The Chinese government was convinced of the power of civil society in welfare provision and social

tension alleviation. With the overall "pro-philanthropy" attitude of the central government, local governments made different policies to promote philanthropic services in non-sensitive sectors such as poverty reduction, elderly care, women's and children's programs and basic education. Private philanthropic organizations developed rapidly in Guangdong, Shenzhen and Shanghai. It forced these local governments to enact reforms in social organization management and to improve the policy environment of philanthropic organizations (Wu, Chan, 2012). Experimented with in Shenzhen and then promoted in the whole of Guangdong province, philanthropic organizations were allowed to obtain legal status without a "professional supervisory unit". After the 18th National Congress meeting in 2013, Chinese State Council Reshuffle and Function Transition Plan acknowledged the experiment and abolished the dual registration system for philanthropy organizations throughout the country[2]. (Xinhuanet, 2013). Meanwhile, collaboration between government and selected private philanthropic organizations by way of government purchases of social services, publically financed non-profit incubators, etc have been explored by local governments in rich coastal cities. The transition of government-philanthropic organizations' relations quickened after 2005 and exhibited a rather positive trend, but there is not yet much literature studying the current dynamics. Therefore, the author proposed research questions in chapter 1 to analyze current state-civil society relations more closely in this thesis.

2.2   *Philanthropic Organizations and their relations with other social organizations*

What is a philanthropic organization in China? It is not well defined and sometimes used interchangeably with NGOs. In short, philanthropic organization means "nonprofit, nonpolitical organizations separated from the government that provide voluntary service or funding in the fields such as poverty/disaster relief, social assistance and educational development to improve well being of the public" (Yu, 2006: 170). The objects of the services of philanthropic organizations are mainly disadvantaged groups. Thus, civic groups, such as consumer associations and private libraries, which provide public goods that are not aimed at disadvantaged people, are not philanthropic organizations. In this thesis, the author agrees with Xie's definition of understanding a philanthropic organization as

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[2] There are four types of social organizations promoted by the government: philanthropic organizations (gongyicishan zuzhi) industrial and commercial associations, science and technology organizations, philanthropic organization and rural/urban community service organizations. Dural registration system is abolished for these four types of social organizations. They can be registered directly at Bureau of Civil Affairs without "professional supervisory unit"

an agency of wealth and social resource redistribution that does not aim at political advocacy or human rights empowerment directly (Xie 2011). As a medium between donators and beneficiaries, philanthropic organizations play the roles of fund raiser, fund manager and social service deliverer.

Philanthropic organization is within the domain of non-profit organization (NPO) and social organization, but only partially overlaps with the domain of NGO. The services and activities of NGOs are broader than philanthropic organizations, including democracy and rights advocacy, political empowerment of civil society, etc. If defining NGOs as "voluntary based not-for-profit and private organizations that exhibit a minimum level of institutionalization and self-governance" (Salamon and Helmut, 1997), then quasi-governmental, semi-state-affiliated or state-sponsored philanthropic organizations do not fulfill NGO's definition. But in China, many philanthropic organizations have an"official-private hybrid nature" (Xiong, 2001). They are sponsored, funded or semi-affiliated with the government. To show their relations clearer, the domains of philanthropic organizations, NPOs, and social organization are shown in chart 1 below.

Chart 1: Domains of philanthropic organization, NGO, NPO and social organization in China
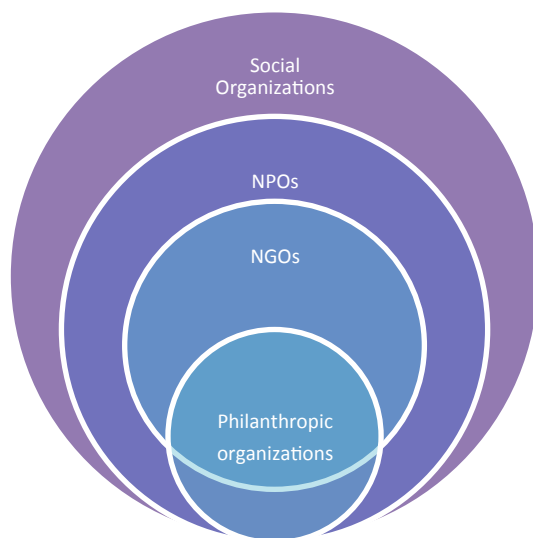
Source: Created by the author according to definitions discussed previously

According to their affiliation to the government, sponsorship, and leadership, the author classifies Chinese philanthropic organizations into two categories:

Official and official-private hybrid philanthropic organizations: quasi-governmental,

semi-state-affiliated, state-sponsored philanthropic organizations belong to this group. They share common characteristics that the majority of the board members are current/retired government high level officials and are backed by the government in fund raising, staffing, and administration. The independence of these organizations can differ. Some are operating similar to state institutions as their expanded branches with top leadership assigned by the state. The majority of the staff enjoys the treatment typical of civil servants or quasi-civil servants in the regime. For example, Red Cross Society of China, China Charity Federation, and their local branches organizations fall into this category (Long, 2011). Some official-private hybrid organizations share similar characteristics with current or retired officials on their boards, but enjoy more independence over their personnel and finance. The majority of the employees sign labor contracts with the organization instead of being public financed quasi-civil servants. For example, China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation is one such case (Ai, 2011). Sometimes, sponsorship and the initial funding could be either partially or fully from private entities/individuals, but they maintain certain affiliation with government institutions or GONGOs, such as China Environmental Protection Foundation, for example. Most public fundraising foundations (gongmu jijinhui)[3]belong to this category, except a few independent ones such as Amity Foundation in Nanjing, One Foundation in Shenzhen and Rende, Lianquan Foundations in Shanghai.

Private philanthropic organizations: The development of private philanthropic organizations is a rather new phenomenon in China. They are initiated, sponsored and operated by private individuals or enterprises. The majority of the board members are non-officials. Most non-public fundraising foundations such as Narada Foundation fall into this category. Some philanthropic service oriented NGOs also belong to this group, for example, Non-Profit Incubator (NPI) and ISeekPAH (Ai Xike, a charity organization supporting pulmonary hypertension patients).

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[3]There are two kinds of foundations in China: public fundraising foundations (gongmu jijinhui) and non-public fundraising foundations (feigongmu jijinhui)/private foundations. Only public fundraising foundations are eligible to raise fund from the public. Private and corporate foundations are mostly non-public fundraising foundations, which are not eligible to raise fund publically. Because Chinese government has strict and high level requirement on registering public fundraising foundations (PFF), most registered PFF are official or semi-official organizations affiliated to state agencies.

3   Chapter 3   Methodology

Qualitative research methods are chosen to study the emerging phenomenon in Philanthropy and its nexus with the government in China, because qualitative methods are more suitable to "study a phenomenon in depth to uncover general mechanisms and to generate new empirical findings" (Heimer and Thøgersen, 2006: 72). By using qualitative methods, researchers in the field could be more "open to unsuspected phenomena which may be concealed by prior instrumentation" (Silverman, 2010:122). When the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context and when multiple sources of information are needed to understand the richness of the context, case study is the preferred method (Yin, 2003). Thus, the author will try to reveal general mechanisms of the government-philanthropy relations from the rich information in context through case studies in this research.

The study is divided into two parts, desk research and fieldwork. The desk research is based on the study of secondary materials including books, academic papers, policy documents, newspapers, journals, websites, etc. It helps the author identify current trends in government-philanthropy relations, and the roles and functions philanthropy is playing in contemporary China. It also gives preliminary understanding of the dynamics before her fieldwork. The fieldwork in Shanghai, Shenzhen, Yunnan and Beijing provided rich information on the research topic with regional variations, corresponding with previous desk research.

3.1   Case study design

In order to demonstrate the possible regional variations in government-philanthropy organizations' relations, multiple cases from different places are designed, so that they could "replicate each other, either predicting similar results or contrasting results for predictable reasons" (Yin, 2003:4). The author of the thesis is native Chinese from Yunnan Province and had intern/volunteer experience in Shanghai and Shenzhen with philanthropic organizations. After fieldwork in Shanghai, Shenzhen, Yunnan and Beijing, the author has chosen the case of China Charity Fair in Shenzhen 2012 and the case of Amity Foundation's collaboration with state entities in Yunnan Province to analyze their collaboration models, the roles of the actors, and the complexity of their relations. Shenzhen is in the forefront of economic and social development, and China Charity Fair in Shenzhen was promoted by

central and local government as a new model of government-philanthropic organization cooperation, demonstrating the future trend of state-society relations. Yunnan, on the other hand, is lagging behind in both economic and social development. Yunnan-Amity Foundation projects have been carried out in Yunnan Province for 20 years. It represents a conventional model of government-philanthropic organization's collaboration in China. The comparison of two models in Shenzhen and Yunnan demonstrates the regional variations in philanthropy development and different trends in government-philanthropy relations.

3.1.1   Choices of the location: Shenzhen V.S. Yunnan

The author chose Shenzhen and Yunnan as case study sites, because the development of the philanthropy and policy environment in Yunnan and Shenzhen represent two distinct types of government-philanthropy collaboration. They can provide contrasts to illustrate the regional differences in government-philanthropic organizations' relations and future trends. Shenzhen is a migrant city near Hongkong with a population of over 15 million people (Nanfang Daily, 2011). As one of six special economic zones, it has led economic reform and the opening of the whole country, historically. The Shenzhen government is promoting philanthropy proactively and building an image as a "city of volunteers". Social organizations are developing rapidly in Shenzhen with 5656 registered organizations by 2012. There are 4.2 social organizations per 10 thousand people with the target of 8 by 2015. In the sphere of civic organization administration, Shenzhen again played the role of leading pioneer and showcase to the whole country. Since mid 2008, the Shenzhen government has experimentally abolished the dual track registration system for philanthropy organizations, as well as for 7 other types of social organizations. Over 15% of the organizations were registered directly without a "professional supervision unit" by 2012 (Shenzhen News, 2013). The Shenzhen government has shown strong intentions to cooperate with or co-opt philanthropic organizations by building partnerships with selected social organizations, supporting them by public finance. Philanthropic organizations, community based organizations and incubators, supportive organizations are the types the Shenzhen government promoted particularly (Shenzhen government, 2012). The China City Philanthropy Index, listed Shenzhen as one of the top three cities with the best

philanthropic performance and government support[4](China donation and information center, 2012).

Yunnan Province, on the other hand, is located in the less developed southwest. According to China City Philanthropy Index 2012, the philanthropy development in Yunnan is far behind of Shenzhen. The Yunnan government is less supportive to philanthropy in terms of favorable policies, innovative reforms and public finance [5](ibid). By 2012, there were 3.39 social organizations for every 10 thousand people. It is lower than the average of the whole country (Mu, 2013). Local private organizations are underdeveloped with low capability. Philanthropic projects and services are concentrated in the areas of poverty alleviation, rural development, rural education, and HIV prevention, while more organizations in Shenzhen are education and community service oriented. Historically, Yunnan was named "heaven of international NGOs" in philanthropic circles (Interview Gov#16-He, Feb 25th, 2013), with many foreign organizations carrying out projects and bringing in funding. There are 38 foreign NGOs officially recorded with the Yunnan government as of 2012, but more projects and domestic organizations relying on foreign resources are off the record. While the registration and administration policies have been loosened up for domestic social organizations, the Yunnan government has tightened up the administration of foreign organizations. All foreign NGOs are required to provide records to three government agencies: Bureau of Civil Affairs, Office of Foreign Affairs, and another professional supervisory unit (Yunnan minzheng, 2013). In terms of cooperation with private social organizations, the Yunnan government is rather conservative. There are not many attempts such as social service purchase or incubating local philanthropic organizations observed in Yunnan. Collaborations mostly take place between the government and official philanthropic organizations or big domestic foundations through official channels with rather conventional models (Interview Gov#16-He, Feb 25th, 2013).

3.1.2   Case selection: Yunnan-Amity collaboration and China Charity Fairs, Shenzhen

In order to illustrate the different models and developments in the two regions, the author has chosen

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[4] China City Philanthropy Index made by China donation and information center evaluates philanthropic development across regions on 6 aspects: social donations, philanthropic organizations, philanthropic projects, voluntary services, government support, and philanthropic culture. The cities are scored from 0 to 100, indicating ascending development level of philanthropy.

[5] The Index evaluates philanthropy development on the basis of city in Chinese administrative divisions. No index of the whole province is given. But Kunming as the most developed capital city of Yunnan province indicates the highest level of philanthropy development. The index of Kunming is 62, while it is 90 in Shenzhen.

the Amity Foundation projects in Yunnan as it is a representative and conventional model of cooperation with the government, and the China Charity Fair in Shenzhen as a good representation of the new types of philanthropy forms in China. Amity Foundation is an independent organization with Christian background based in Nanjing. Despite its founder being a former high profile government official, it operates rather independently without much affiliation to government agencies. Since early 1990s, Amity foundation has carried out multiple projects in Yunnan Province, covering a wide range of fields. Coordinating with Yunnan People's Political Consultative Conference (PCC), Amity Foundation has cooperated with Yunnan local governments and implemented philanthropic projects through government systems. Philanthropic resources reach society solely through government systems. It is one of the most representative and conventional models of cooperation between government and philanthropic organizations which has lasted for more than 20 years.

China Charity Fair (CCF) is a charity themed national expo aiming to showcase the cream of philanthropydevelopment in China.The fair was hosted jointly by central and local government in Shenzhen with the idea that "government builds the platform to let the society run the show". The model of CCF is considered an innovation to enhance communication between all sectors: government, philanthropic organizations, and corporations.CCF is not a singular event. Such national philanthropic expos will be held annually in Shenzhen from 2012 onwardsas a promotion model. It represents a new pattern of government-philanthropic organizations' collaboration and favorable government-philanthropic relations in the future.

3.2 Data collection

The thesis is based on literature research, participatory observation and interviews with philanthropic organizations' staff, government officials and scholars in Shenzhen, Shanghai, Yunnan and Beijing. The author conducted fieldwork in Shenzhen from June 20th to July 15th, 2012 in Shenzhen during the China Charity Fair. She served as a volunteer before and during the exhibition. The hands-on observation allowed her to get insight on how the event was organized and the relationships of multiple actors. The author conducted 12 open interviews and several casual conversations with randomly chosen exhibitors from private philanthropic organizations, corporations and foundations at CCF. Semi-structured interviews with people working at Non-Profit Incubator, one of the major

organizers of the Charity Fairs, were also conducted during and after the event. From February 18th to March 1st, 2013, an intensive fieldwork was carried out in two cities of Yunnan Province: Dehong, a municipal on China-Myanmar border, and Kunming, the capital city of the province. The interviewees were from local governments and universities. The author got in touch with them through her local network and snowballing process. Three formal interviews, three informal interviews over dinners or causal talks were carried out, in addition to a seminar with Dehong government officials organized jointly by the author and local researchers. The author also collected some working reports and project summaries from the philanthropic organizations and government officials to facilitate her research. From 4th March to 8th April, the author went to Beijing for an applied fieldwork course at Peking University, while carrying out the last part of the fieldwork. Semi-structured interviews with scholars from the law school and school of government at Peking University were also conducted. Intensive desk research and follow-up interviews with people who worked for Shenzhen Charity Fair were also conducted during this time in Beijing (See appendix 1 for details of interviewees).

3.3 Reflection on the methodology and ethical consideration

Interviews provided the main empirical base to fill information gaps from published materials and sense the local atmosphere in which the studied issue is being discussed (Hopf, 2011: 203). But there are many limitations in data collection and choice of interviewees. Although philanthropy is mostly regarded as non-political, it is still considered sensitive to some government officials in Yunnan, as NGOs, especially foreign NGOs, could be important actors in sensitive respects. Especially in the China-Myanmar border city, Dehong, due to the tightening up resulting from ethnic conflicts in Myanmar, the officials interviewed were very sensitive to all questions on cross-border philanthropic projects and those that involved foreign actors. Thus, information provided may be biased or reserved to a certain extent. In order to avoid the one-side story of the government officials or philanthropic organizations, the author tried to supplement them with written resources through desk research.

Considering the topics are regarded as sensitive to some interviewees, the author holds ethical considerations in the highest priority. In the thesis, all interviewees' names are kept anonymous, only

the organizations' names are given. The interviewees have agreed upon quotations to the collected working reports and project summary previously.

4   Chapter 4: Dynamics in contemporary Chinese philanthropy

In this chapter, the author is going to discuss dynamics and current trends in contemporary Chinese state-philanthropy relations. The discussion is helpful towards understanding the functions and roles of philanthropy in China and filling information gaps of case studies in the later chapters.

4.1   Monopoly of official, official-private hybrid philanthropic organizations

Philanthropy in China is dominated by official and official-private hybrid philanthropic organizations. Although private philanthropic organizations are growing fast, they have not broken the monopoly of official philanthropic organizations. For example, Charity Federation is an official philanthropic organization founded by Ministry of Civil Affairs. Its network consists of 1923 branches, covering 96.99% of prefecture cities as of 2012. In 2011, they absorbed 24.13% of the country's donations (Shu, 2012). Although private philanthropic organizations have been growing quickly since the mid 2000s, supported by the state, the network of Charity Federations grows much faster with an annual growth rate of 71.07% in 2008 (ibid). Take charity foundations as another example, in spite of the fact that the number of private foundations has exceeded public fundraising foundations as of 2010, the income and expenditure of publicly funded foundations is 2.65 times and 4.22 times of those of private foundations (Research Center for Philanthropy and Social Enterprise, 2011). It suggests publicly funded foundations, which are mostly official-private hybrid, dominate in both absorbing donations and sponsoring philanthropic projects.

The dominance of official philanthropic organizations can be attributed to the divergence of philanthropic resource mobilization within the system of the state (tizhinei) and outside the system of the state (tizhiwai) in China. The within-system mobilization relies on governmental resources, state supported propaganda, social capital of high level officials, policy support and passive donations from state affiliated institutions and corporations by way of governmental administrative orders or assigned fundraising quotas. Outside-system mobilization of resources mainly relies on market methods to raise funds. Official and semi-official philanthropic organizations are able to mobilize

resources both ways. However, private organizations are not only excluded from the system, but also have to compete on an uneven playing field with official organizations for resources outside of the system (Long, 2011).

The monopoly of official philanthropic organization shapes the culture of "forced donation" in China on the one hand, and provides charity resources to the government as additional funding on the other. Many official philanthropic organizations serve as extended branches of the Chinese government. The state has administrative power over the organizations and the donations they collect. Resources mobilized within the system tend to go into the public sector through government development projects. In this way, government gets additional resources besides taxation through official philanthropic organizations to improve performance and harvest political legitimacy (Long, 2011). Relying on the within-system mobilization of philanthropic resources, and allying with the state agencies, official philanthropic organizations often dominate philanthropy without transparency in their operations. This results in a crisis of trust towards official and semi-official philanthropic organizations in China, especially following multiple scandals such as the Guo Meimei incident of Red Cross in 2011 (Luo, 2012).

The crisis of trust further affected the credibility of the government, because of the administrative and financial relations between official philanthropic organizations and the government. In order to be more accountable to the public and obtain more autonomy in operation, some semi-official philanthropic organizations, especially those that tend to attract funding overseas (for example CONGO, China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation and Amity Foundation), have started "de-GONGOing" process (*quGONGOhua* or *quxingzhenghua*), restructuring their governing bodies to appear more non-governmental in nature (Chan, 2010). The government also issued a guideline after the 18th National Congress reshaping relations between the state and society: "separate the government from the society; clarify rights and responsibilities; promote self-governance of social organizations based on legislation". It seems to imply that the Chinese government is giving more autonomy to philanthropic organizations and the civil society in broader sense.

4.2 Private philanthropic organizations: selective cooperation accompanied by control

The public demands regarding transparency of philanthropy and the unfulfilled heterogeneous demands on public goods have forced the Chinese government to give more space to private philanthropic organizations. Government has also realized that private philanthropic organizations can be mobilized to solve social problems. Therefore, private philanthropic organizations' relations with government are transitioning from contentious to cooperative (Xu, 2001). The Chinese government has directed resources to selectively support certain private philanthropic organizations in favored fields (Zhang and Li, 2011). In such cooperation, philanthropic organizations also learned to make use of their connections to acquire resources inside and outside of the bureaucratic system (Xiong, 2001). Hsu (2009) has used the term "institutional interdependence" to describe Chinese NGOs' interests in building alliances with state agencies to secure necessary resources and gain legitimacy, while Lu Yiyi (2009) developed a concept of "dependent autonomy" to describe such relations. Philanthropic organizations have expanded their leverage and strengthened their organizational stability, demonstrating high ability in navigating in the system. By mobilizing governmental and non-governmental resources, they have increased autonomy vis-à-vis the state. However, the strategies and tactics used by these organizations to obtain autonomy and political protection from certain government institutions have also led to dysfunctional outcomes such as corruption, patron-client relations, and bad management (Han, 2010).

Meanwhile, collaboration with private philanthropic organizations is accompanied by government interference and control, with local variations (Wu and Chan, 2010). A wide range of social organizations are categorized into various types and different levels of control are exercised accordingly. Kang and Han (2008) conceptualized this policy as "graduated control" or "categorized administration" (feileiguanzhi). Studying private NGOs, Wu and Chan (2012) simplify graduated control as a response to three dimensions of the organizations: business nature, funding source, and scale. Different governmental agencies interact with NGOs on a graduated scale of monitoring and interference. NGOs that provide services in non-sensitive areas such as basic education and poverty reduction are supported by the government. Those serving marginal groups, working on sensitive issues, or receiving foreign funding are constrained or cracked down upon. The non-political nature of philanthropic organizations makes them a type of NGO that is subjected to a lower level of control

with selective support.

To conclude, previous studies have shown the complexity in Chinese philanthropy. While some philanthropic organizations are allying with state agencies, some official ones are de-GONGOing to increase public credibility. Since conventional resource mobilization by state power within the system is still popular, philanthropy is continuously used as a way to accumulate additional resources and to provide heterogeneous services to fill gaps in public goods provision. It strengthens the legitimacy of the government by improving performance and alleviating tensions on the one hand, but the non-transparent and mal behaviors of official philanthropic organizations also decreased the credibility of the government and philanthropy in some cases. Opening up more space to cooperate with non-sensitive private philanthropic organizations is the way used by the government to improve philanthropic culture and to increase the credibility of the sector. Such collaboration is paralleling graduated control. In order to explore the collaboration and negotiation between state agencies and philanthropic organizations with local variation, the author is going to analyze representative models in case studies of Yunnan and Shenzhen projects from the dimensions of the involved actors, the patterns, and the power relations.

5   Chapter 5   Theoretical Framework

5.1   *State-centered paradigm*

Under a state-centered paradigm, philanthropic organizations are within the periphery and passively depend on the state. The state is viewed as a unified entity acting as authority despite differing tendencies in the society. Rewards and sanctions are used by the state to push philanthropic organizations towards accepting decisions made by the state (Russel, 2005). In order to gain space in this realm and provide different options, philanthropic organizations have to vie for dominance with the government. The only possible government-philanthropic organization relations in this model are passive dependence of the organizations or "competing for dominance". However, the political system is fragmented with local variations in China. "State" and "society" are "too gross to capture the enormous variation that differentiates one Chinese region, or level of government, from another" (Perry, 1994: 707). If employing a state-centric paradigm, intra-society and intra-state dynamics in

Chinese philanthropy cannot be observed. In addition, the interplay between state entities and philanthropic organizations cannot be simplified as "competing for dominance" or enforcing decisions of the state. Sometimes, it is the state entities that respond to new phenomenon or models emerging from the society. An approach of State-in-Society elaborates the "mutual transforming quality of state-society relations" (Migdal, Kohli, Shue, 1994). It can better capture the bi-directional dynamics of the state and society relations.

5.2   State-in-Society approach

In State-in-Society paradigm, the state is seen as embedded in, rather than separated from, the society at the top of the pyramid structure. The state is fragmented and the society is viewed as a mixture of social organizations rather than the dichotomous state-society (Russel, 2005). In Joel Migdal's State-in-Society model, society is not static formations but is constantly being formed as a result of constant struggles over social control. The state-society relation in this model is understood as struggles in the forms of conflict and complicity, opposition and coalition, corruption and co-optation (Migdal, 2001). In various contours of integrated or dispersed domination, mutual transformations and empowerment between state components and other social forces always exist. In such processes, the state helps to mold, but is also continually molded by, the society (Migdal, Kohli and Shue, 1994). Under this state-in-society approach, the relations between philanthropic organizations and the government appear to be more complex than the single minded "competing for dominance" paradigm. Philanthropic organizations, as a type of social organization, sometimes ally with parts of the state to maintain or vie for power in the social service sphere, and against other coalitions when necessary.

5.3   Four models of government-non-profit relations

In the philanthropic sector, two major factors determine the relations of the government and philanthropic organizations: finance and autonomy in project implementation. The former is about the resources and enabling of philanthropic activities, and the latter is about control over the operation. Based on these two key issues, Gridron, Kramer, Salamon (1992) developed a four-model typology to classify the government-non-profit relationship in welfare states, illustrating the interaction and mutual transformation of the fragmented state and society. The key question in this

typology is "who plays the primary role in financing and delivering services?"

Government dominant model: government plays the primary role in both financing and service delivery.

Third sector dominant model: non-profit organizations place the key role in financing and social services delivery.

The dual model: government and the third sector work separately or parallel to each other in financing and implementation. Non-profits may finance themselves to fill a specific service niche not covered by government.

The collaborative model: Non-profits and government work together rather than separately in financing and projects implementation. The terms "collaborative vendor" and "collaborative partnership" are employed to refer where the non-profit is essentially a vendor or service provider for the state and where mutual dependency is the case (Gridron, Kramer and Salamon, 1992).

Gridron, Kramer and Salamon point out the collaborative model is more common in reality. They observed that "even countries with more state-centered traditions were trying to utilize non-profit organizations to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of public services" (Smith, 1993). As non-profits provide many services that are financed by the government, they are often in an ongoing financial relationship that facilitates co-operation. This typology has captured the most important elements defining relations of the government and non-profits in philanthropy sector. It can provide an analytical framework for studying government-non-profit relations in China.

5.4 Analytical framework based on State-in-Society approach and four-model's typology

The author develops an analytical framework by disaggregating philanthropic actors under state-in-society paradigm and combining it with four-model's typology to understand patterns in Chinese philanthropy. Ideally, the government-philanthropic organization relationships in China can be classified as shown in table 1.

Table 1: Analytical framework of government-philanthropic organizations relations

Four-models typology / philanthropic actors and their roles		Government dominant model	Philanthropic organization dominant model	Dual model	Collaborative model	
					vendor	partnership
Chinese State agencies	Central government	Play primary role in finance and project implementation.	Supervise and coordinate. Play minor role.	Financing and implementation	Finan-cing	Finance and /or implementation
	Local government					
	Other state agencies					
Philanthropic organizations	Official or Hybrid organization	Depend on the government.	Play primary role in both finance and implementation.	Financing and implementation	Provide required service.	Finance and/or implementation
	Private organization					

Source: Author's creation based on Gridron, Kramer and Salamon's (1992) typology of government-non-profit relations

As previous chapters have discussed, the Chinese government has changed from a more totalitarian government to be more tolerant to private philanthropic organizations. Based on such observation, the government dominant model in which government replaces philanthropic organizations in all aspects does not correspond to the future development trend of government-philanthropic organization relations. In addition, as "graduated control" has demonstrated, the Chinese government is applying sophisticated monitoring and control over social organizations. Non-interference operation of philanthropic organizations paralleling with the state is too difficult. The dual model is too ideal in Chinese context. Overall, the collaborative models are more representative to contemporary and future trends of Chinese government-philanthropic organization relations. When speaking of collaboration, the author doesn't preliminarily assume an equal status of the actors. The complexity and power struggles in cooperation will be discussed with specific case studies in Yunnan and Shenzhen to address research questions (3) (4): What are the patterns of negotiations and collaborations between the local state and philanthropy organizations? How and why do those state agencies and philanthropic organizations cooperate? How do we understand the regional difference and future trends of Chinese philanthropy? Finally, the author proposes an answer on

whether such cooperation creates legitimacy for the government and/or nurtures growth of civil society.

6 Chapter 6   Amity-Yunnan projects: Conventional collaboration model – government as direct philanthropic actor

6.1 Background of the actors: Amity Foundation and Yunnan PPCC

It is necessary to introduce the background of key actors in Yunnan-Amity projects to understand the origin of the cooperation and the model employed. Amity Foundation is an independent Chinese voluntary organization founded in 1985 by the initiative of Chinese Christians, based in Nanjing, a city in East coast of China. Their donations are mostly from overseas Christian communities, international church organizations, and enterprises in East Coast China. Only recently did Amity start expanding fund raising efforts to individuals domestically. The founder of Amity was an important Chinese Christian leader who chaired two Chinese Christian organizations which were officially recognized by the Chinese government. He was also vice-chairman of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) from 1988 to 2008. The high profile leadership of Amity foundation enabled the organization to acquire legal status easily and to become trustworthy partners in philanthropic cooperation with local governments. Unlike official philanthropic organizations such as Red Cross Society of China, whose personnel and administrative expenditure are fully financed by the government (Interview Gov#16-He, 25th Feb, 2013), Amity Foundation is independent in both finance and operation, without any government subsidy (Amity Foundation, 2002).

Yunnan People's Political Consultative Conference (Yunnan PPCC) is a political advisory body of the Yunnan government[6]. Although PPCC doesn't play a direct role in decision making, it enjoys

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[6] PPCC is an organization of the Patriotic United Front of the Chinese People. It is an important organization of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC. It is composed of the CPC, other political parties, mass organizations, different ethnic groups and representative public personages from all walks of life, representatives of compatriots of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao as well as of returned overseas Chinese and other specially invited people (China Internet Information Center, 2012). The functions of PPCC can be summarized as: Consolidate the Communist regime's social base and strengthen the regime's control over society as "an important platform for co-opting potentially threatening social forces, a forum for policy bargaining, a channel for monitoring various social sectors and a mechanism for offering material benefits to the regime's most loyal and trustworthy

very high political status. The choice of Amity Foundation to cooperate with Yunnan PPCC is out of the consideration that "PPCC is not the government, but as an official institution of China's Party-state regime, it is capable of coordinating and mobilizing resources within and beyond of the state system" (Interview Gov#17-Xu, 22nd Feb, 2013), in addition to the founder of Amity Foundation's background.

6.2   Cooperation between Amity foundation and Yunnan PPCC

6.2.1   Roles of philanthropic actors

As an underdeveloped province in Southwestern China, one of the major tasks of the Yunnan government is poverty relief. Yunnan PPCC also set up a poverty relief office to facilitate the government. In 1993, the board of Amity Foundation decided to support development of Western and Southwestern regions and called for projects. Lacking the funding to improve rural development, the poverty relief office of Yunnan PPCC proposed to cooperate with Amity Foundation proactively. The proposed projects were approved by Amity Foundation. Since then, cooperation established and has lasted for 20 years.

In such cooperation, a special Amity project office was set up in Yunnan PPCC on provincial level. It was responsible for coordinating between local government and Amity Foundation, selecting local projects, managing funding, supervising the implementation of the projects, and reporting to Amity Foundation. Amity Foundation made decisions on the framework of project sponsorship and the amount and methods of sponsorship, in discussions with Yunnan provincial PPCC. When the two parties reached an agreed framework, the Amity project office of PPCC selected concrete projects and responsible government entities from different prefectures, counties and towns/villages of Yunnan province. On the basis of the willingness of the local government, joint approval of Amity Foundation and Amity office of Yunnan PPCC, the projects could be carried out (Interview Gov#15-Ye and Gov#14-Guo, Feb, 2012). State agencies were the direct supervisors and implementers of Amity projects. Once the agreement was reached, Amity office of provincial PPCC

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collaborators." (Yan, 2011:54-55). It helps improve the quality of public services, as PPCC's consultative role before decision making enables the government to collect feedback from society and to improve governance.

was the entity responsible for fund allocation and management of specific local projects. Amity Foundation only played the roles of monitor and examiner of overall Yunnan projects' fund expenditure. The local government's usage of funding and the projects' progress were mainly supervised by provincial PPCC and reported to Amity foundation. Working reports including detailed financial expenditures of each project were submitted to provincial PPCC and Amity Foundation every half year. In addition, a working group composed of officials of PPCC and Amity Foundation would visit the project sites and examine the projects from time to time (Interview Gov#18-Xu, April, 25th,2013).

6.2.2   *Model of resource mobilization*

One of the preconditions of Amity-Yunnan PPCC collaboration was that all Amity funding had to be used on the projects. No administration and personnel expenditure could be drawn from project funding. Because all Amity-Yunnan projects were carried out by people working for state agencies, their salaries have been fully covered by public finance. To make the project completion smooth, the administrative expenditure was funded by local government where the project was located. In the case that allocated funding from Amity Foundation was not sufficient, local government was responsible to co-fund the project via its fiscal budget. In 20 years of cooperation, a triangle model of financing involving Amity Foundation, local government, and the beneficiaries has been developed and applied to most projects (Interview Gov#15-Ye, 26 Feb, 2013).

Chart 2: Triangle financing model of Yunnan Amity projects

Amity Foundation provides the majority of project funding.

Local government provides minor funding, covering either administration expenditure or lacking parts of the projects.

The beneficiaries contribute in other ways to the projects (time, voluntary work or small affordable fees).
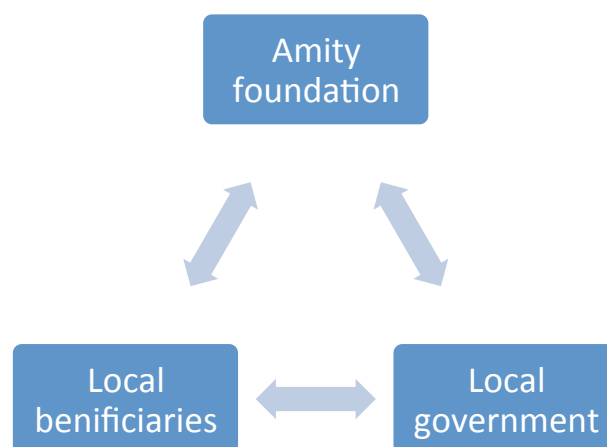
Source: created by the author according to the interview with officials of Yunnan PPCC

The official from Yunnan PPCC explained:

"*All three parties should contribute a little to the philanthropic projects. When government sponsored jointly, local officials will treat the projects more seriously and regard them as their own development projects and compulsory work. When beneficiaries contribute a little, their recognition and participation to the projects will increase. The financial burden to all parties will be lightened this way. It also ensures all Amity funding can be used 100% towards projects. All parties benefit from this model. The implementation of projects is most efficient. The results were not good solely depending on either government funding or Amity Foundation.*" (Interview Gov#15-Ye, 26 Feb,2013)

Local government only played a minor role in financing, but it controlled the whole project implementation side. Local state entities mobilized possible resources within the system to facilitate the implementation of projects by administrative power and enjoyed autonomy over the funding allocated by local government for the projects. The resource mobilization was very efficient but with low transparency.

6.2.3 The case of Amity HIV prevention and development project in Menglian County

The author of the thesis will further explain relations of philanthropic actors through the case of the Amity community based HIV prevention and development project in Menglian County (See Chart2). An Amity project office was set up within Menglian county PPCC to lead the work. The project consisted of three parts: public health promotion and disease prevention, rural infrastructure construction and agriculture development, and community building. The Amity project office of Menglian PPCC authorized four departments of the county government (Bureau of Public Health, Centre of Disease Control and Prevention, Bureau of Water Supply, and Bureau of Culture) to implement relevant parts of the project. These authorized departments were responsible for hiring proper construction companies and agencies through competitive bidding and supervise the project construction. Menglian PPCC was the coordinator between government departments and the provincial Amity project office. It also oversaw the whole project implementation and management of Amity funding. The triangle financing model was employed in this case (See table 2).

Table 2: Funding resources of Menglian HIV project

Funding resources	Amount	Percentage
Amity Foundation allocated funding	475,000 yuan	68%
Local government allocated funding	150,000 yuan	21%
Benefited local community (including voluntary work converted into currency according to the price of local labor market)	75,000 yuan	11%
Total	710,000 yuan	100%

Source: "First half year working report to Amity Foundation in 2012: Community based HIV prevention control and development project" (Amity Project Office of Menglian County, 2012)[7]

Chart 3: Relations of actors and work flow in Amity Menglian project.
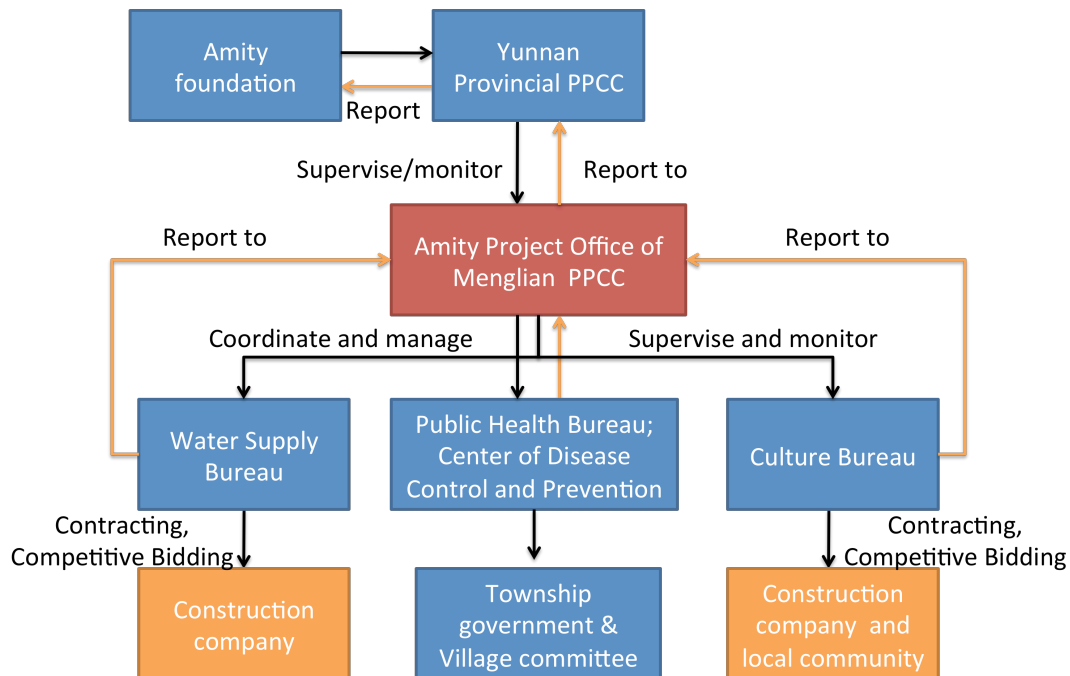
Source: Created by the author according to "First half year working report to Amity Foundation in 2012: Community based HIV prevention control and development project", (Amity Project Office of Menglian County, 2012)

6.3 A collaborative partnership model

To summarize, in the case of Amity-Yunnan projects, local government directly participated in the philanthropic projects. Philanthropic organization played the major role in financing and monitoring while government entities enjoyed autonomy in project implementation. They worked together on decisions making regarding project framework and resource mobilization for the projects. Mutual

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[7] The author has got permission from the interviewee to quote from the working report.

dependency of philanthropic organization and government in Amity-Yunnan project was observed. (The relations and roles of major actors in such collaboration are summarized in table 3). According to Gridron, Kramer and Salamon's typology classification, the case of Amity-Yunnan projects have employed a collaborative partnership model.

Table 3   Roles of philanthropic actors in the collaborative model of Yunnan Amity projects

Model / Philanthropic actors		Collaborative model (Partnership)
		Roles of the actors
Government Agencies	Yunnan PCC	Apply for projects and funding Coordinate Make decision Manage/allocate funding Supervise project implementation Report to Amity Foundation
	Provincial government	Minor role in financing
	Local government/ Municipal PCC	Implement projects Deliver services Minor role in financing Report to upper level government and project officers
Philanthropic organizations	Amity Foundation	Raise funds Major role in financing Make decisions on project framework and payment Examine implementation of projects Monitor fund spending

Source: Summarized by the author of the thesis according to fieldwork

6.4   Reflections and discussion of Amity-Yunnan collaborative model:

(1) **Does the existence of close collaborative partnership suggest the government is not dominating philanthropy?**

Local government was the direct player in the Amity project. Although most of the funding was from Amity, all projects were delivered through government channels. The government agencies had very

high autonomy in the whole project. Although Amity controlled the financial resources and monitored the outcome, the foundation was based in Nanjing with limited human resources and capability. In practice, such monitoring activity consisted mostly of paper work, except a few site visits. Yunnan provincial PPCC, as a state entity, was the real monitor and supervisor to local government. They made decisions on the projects, its location, and responsible institutions. The mutual dependence of personnel and finance in Amity projects didn't necessarily suggest the government was less dominant in the project implementation.

(2) **Was government's participation in Amity projects creating legitimacy or extra trouble?**

The model of Amity-Yunnan government collaboration made it difficult to draw a clear line between philanthropy and public goods provision of the state. Because all philanthropy projects were implemented by the government, local people only recognized them as state's projects, despite the fact they were named after "Amity" (Dehong Seminar Gov#19, 19th, Feb, 2013). Those projects improved the performance and fame of the local government, and thus strengthened the legitimacy of their governance.

However, among the major actors of Amity-Yunnan projects, the leadership of PPCC had different thoughts on the value of such collaboration (Interview Gov#13-Ye, 25Feb, 2013). Some recognized its value in enhancing legitimacy for the government by improving public services (Interview Gov#18, April, 25th,2013). Others considered such cooperation as extra trouble that was totally outside of PPCC's essential working framework. Amity projects would not bring in any funding for the work of PPCC. Instead, PPCC had to finance the administration of Amity projects by their own working fund. Meanwhile, they diverted some of the work force away from their "real job" (Interview Gov#15-Ye, 26 Feb, 2013). Their work on Amity projects would not necessarily be appreciated by the upper level government. It was also difficult to justify the government's direct involvement in philanthropy.

(3) **Does the end of Amity-PPCC alliance suggest the end of conventional Amity-Yunnan model?**

Besides the disagreement among the leadership of PPCC, the alliance of Amity-Yunnan government

was built largely on the basis of personal trust. Amity Foundation had been allied with an open minded senior official in Yunnan provincial PPCC since early 90s. The official had been responsible for coordination between Yunnan state entities and the foundation for 20 years. When this senior official retired, the alliance of Yunnan PPCC and Amity Foundation also went towards an end. However, the end of their cooperation doesn't suggest the collaboration model is outmoded. On the contrary, this model was preserved despite of the changing partnership. When Yunnan Poverty Alleviation Foundation took over the role of Yunnan PPCC and started a new alliance with Amity Foundation, they employed the same collaboration model of working with local government. Because the efficient resource mobilization and project delivery channels in this conventional model benefited all parties involved, such an interest loop was difficult to break. It seems to last for rather long term in the future.

(4) **Is there any space opening up to other philanthropic actors in Amity-government collaboration model?**

The resource mobilization is within state systems and the big domestic foundation in this collaboration model. It is a rather closed resource mobilization loop with allied strong actors. No other private philanthropic organizations were absorbed into the coalition of Amity Foundation and local government entities during the past 20 years; the government distrusted other private organizations implementing similar philanthropy projects, while Amity Foundation found cooperating with local government was the most efficient way.

"There were other private organizations delivering similar services, for example in earthquake disaster relief. But they were not capable of distributing resources evenly, which led to conflicts of villagers in the communities. It brought us (the government) trouble when local people couldn't distinguish services provided by our (Amity) projects from those from other organizations. They just left messes for us to solve. " (Interview Gov#15-Ye, 25 Feb, 2013)

Meanwhile, local officials were also very cautious about the potential ideology infiltration of private and foreign organizations in the form of philanthropy, especially if the beneficiaries were minorities and religious believers (Dehong Seminar Gov#19, 19 Feb, 2013). The dominance of Amity-government cooperation model and the direct participation of the government in philanthropy gave little space for local philanthropic organizations and the development of civil society. Already

existing government-philanthropic organization coalitions grew stronger over the years, and made it more difficult for smaller organizations to compete with them in similar fields.

7   Chapter 7   New model of collaboration in China Charity Fair (Shenzhen): "having the governmentset up the platform to let the society run the show"

China Charity Fair (CCF) was a national philanthropy expo. It was entitled "development, integration, transparency," meaning, to elaborate, the ongoing development of the Chinese charity sector, cross-sector collaboration for charity resources, integration, and transparency for enhancing the social sector's public credibility. 260 philanthropic organizations, 142 enterprises, 104 foundations, 26 provincial groups and 12 media/research institutions were selected for exhibition among the 1100 organizations and corporations that signed up for the event(CCF organizing council, 2012). It was not a singular event. Since 2011, the model has been stabilized and replicated in Beijing, Shenzhen and Ningxia. Supported by Ministry of Civil Affairs and Shenzhen government, CCF became an annual event of Shenzhen.

7.1   Origin of China Charity Fair in Shenzhen: from "Gongyi" to "Gongyicishan"

Although CCF 2012 was the first event in its kind on the national level, it evolved from Shenzhen NPO Fair 2011. The idea of NPO Expo came from Lv Zhao, the founder of NPI (Non-Profit-Incubator), a private non-profit organization providing supportive services to grass-root philanthropic organizations. Addressing the problem of information asymmetry in philanthropic practice, Lv Zhao learned the model of Canton Fair, creating a new platform for actors in different sectors to exchange philanthropic resources and to boost collaboration. 128 grass root organizations and around 40 corporations presented at the fair in 2011(NPO Fair, 2011).

Shenzhen NPO fair was a success story. Responding to Hu Jintao's speech on innovative social management in 2011, the model of "Expo in philanthropic sector" was promoted by Shenzhen government as a showcase of the innovative social management of the city. The idea of hosting a national charity fair in Shenzhen in 2012 was supported by the Ministry of Civil Affairs. A bottom-up idea of integrating charity resources became a top down showcase of government

promoting philanthropy to incorporate social resources to improve social management.

The event in 2011 was named Shenzhen NPO Fair in English and employed only the term "gongyi" in its Chinese name. In 2012, the name was changed into China Charity Fair with the term "gongyi cishan" in its Chinese version. The change in terminology seemed imply the Chinese government's intention to mobilize private resources to address social problems. It was also a response to the 12th Year Plan of China Philanthropy Development Guideline (2011-2015), in which the term "cishan" was used to refer philanthropy (MCA, 2011).

7.2 Main actors in China Charity Fair 2012: negotiation, collaboration and resistance

China Charity Fair was an attempt to test the model of "having the government set up the stage and let the society run the show" on a large scale (CCF organizing council, 2012). In organizing the event, it was heavily government-involved. At the Fair, multiple actors represented a wide spectrum. Their relations with the government and other actors demonstrated dynamics in Chinese philanthropy development. To analyze the roles of actors at the fair and beyond, the author classifies them into 7 categories: Government agencies, philanthropic organizations as organizers, philanthropic organizations as exhibitors, corporations, media, academia, visitors and volunteers.

Top-down resource mobilization of government agencies

Ministry of Civil Affairs (MCA) was the major actor on the national level to support the idea of "philanthropic Expo" as an experimental philanthropic model. In order to enlarge the scale of the event and mobilize more resources from the industrial and commercial sectors, MCA invited State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission of the State Council (SASAC) and All-China Federation of Industry & Commerce (ACFIC) to host the event jointly (Interview Org#3-Wang, July, 10th 2012). Along with central government, Guangdong and Shenzhen government were the main benefactors of CCF. The CCF organizing council was formed by the Shenzhen government, and was comprised of officials from MCA and Shenzhen government. The power of censoring, selecting and monitoring philanthropic organizations signed up for the exhibition was held by the office of CCF organizing council. In addition, the government played the role of guiding propaganda and ideology of CCF.

The heavy involvement of central government agencies contributed to the top-down style of resource mobilization and event organizing. Central government agencies invited organizations and corporations nationwide to participate Shenzhen charity fair through hierarchical administrative channels of MCA, SASAC and ACFIC in forms of government instructions and notices. To some state affiliated organizations and enterprises, it was more of an assigned task from the upper level government to present at the exhibition. For example, China Environmental Cultural Promotion Association was sent out by Ministry of Environmental Protection along with a few more environmental organizations to CCF (Nanfang Daily, 2012). Another method used by CCF organizing council to promote the event was sending working teams to different provinces to invite famous philanthropic organizations and corporations. Media was the third channel used as supplement to mobilize resources and to reach some independent philanthropic organizations.

Philanthropic organizations as organizers: 3 official and semi-official philanthropic organizations, 6 corporate foundations and a private NGO with financial and political liaison with the government assisted in organizing CCF. Those official and semi-official philanthropic organizations functioned similar to extended government branches to implement concrete tasks for the exhibition. For example, Shenzhen Charity Federation was responsible to coordinate and assist invited exhibiting foundations and corporations. Corporate foundations on behalf of the companies mainly supported CCF financially. Tencent Foundation, for example, sponsored an online platform with discussion forums to increase media exposure of CCF and reach out to more citizens.

Possessing experience from Shenzhen NPO Fair 2011, NPI designed the whole exhibition and selected exhibiting organizations on behalf of the government. When private philanthropic organizations signed up for the event, NPI checked their qualifications and made the first round selections before submitting a recommended list to government agencies for censoring and approval. Being an independent philanthropic organization founded by a social entrepreneur, NPI is without any governmental affiliation. However, NPI employed the model of closely collaborating with government from the very beginning, and retaining political and financial liaison with the state. The autonomy of NPI was questioned. *"NPI has known very well what kind of organizations and*

philanthropic services government favors" (Interview Org#2-Liu, July, 4th, 2012). The government's interference to NPI made incubated organizations concentrate in selected service domains. "*The level of governmental interference varies by location, with the highest being in Beijing*" (Interview Org#1-Lv, June,18th, 2012). Cooperating with the government brought rich resources, opportunities, as well as restrictions. "*We have to try our best to satisfy multiple organizers of CCF* (government agencies and official philanthropic organizations) *and to balance the relations with multiple actors*" (Interview Org#3, July, 10th 2012). As a result, the majority of the selected organizations were those favored by the government. Philanthropic organizations with unfavorable backgrounds or which served in sensitive areas were unable to pass this selection.

Philanthropic organizations as exhibitors:

Selected philanthropic organizations (foundations excluded) were subsidized by the government to exhibit at CCF. The selection of private philanthropic organizations was highly competitive. Only 34% of philanthropic organizations were chosen among 762 applicants. However, more than 90% of foundations and 100% of corporations that applied for the event were able to present at CCF (Wang, 2012). It reflected grass roots philanthropic organizations were hungry for resources and opportunities.

Philanthropic organizations must fulfill one of the two conditions to be eligible for application:

1. The philanthropic organization must have registered at Bureau of Civil Affairs.
2. Unregistered organizations or organizations registered as corporations that are carrying out philanthropic projects must be recommended by Civil Affairs Bureau or another registered philanthropic organization.

The selection criteria include the importance of the social services provided; the feasibility, sustainability, replicability, and innovativeness of the projects; and the social effect of the projects carried out (MCA, 2012). Therefore, philanthropic organizations which had already established relatively good relations with government or GONGOs or those that already had stronger capabilities of working in non-sensitive service areas were able to pass through selection. Those weaker organizations without resources found it very difficult to get an entrance ticket.

Philanthropic organizations providing services or carrying out projects in 8 areas were invited for exhibition. Some organizations cannot be clarified into these 8 categories were submitted for qualification checking.

Philanthropic organizations providing services or carrying out projects in 8 areas were invited for exhibition. Some organizations that could not be classified into one of these 8 categories were submitted for qualification checking.

A. Poverty alleviation and rural development

B. Serve or support senior citizens, disabled people, disadvantaged groups (women, children, patients, etc.)

C. Environment protection and development

D. Physical and mental health

E. Culture and education related services

F. Social work

G. Community based services

H. Supportive organizations (Organizations provide various services to support development of small NPOs)

I. Others. (Among 26 organizations classified as "others", two were disaster relief organizations; one offered free legal aid to migrant workers; the others were similar to volunteer associations.)

Chart 4: Percentage of exhibiting organizations (based on the type of services/projects)

- B. Senior, disadvantage 21%
- C. Environment 14%
- E. Culture, education 12%
- I. Others 11%
- F. Social work 10%
- H. Surportive 10%
- D. Health 9%
- A. poverty 7%
- G. Community service 6%
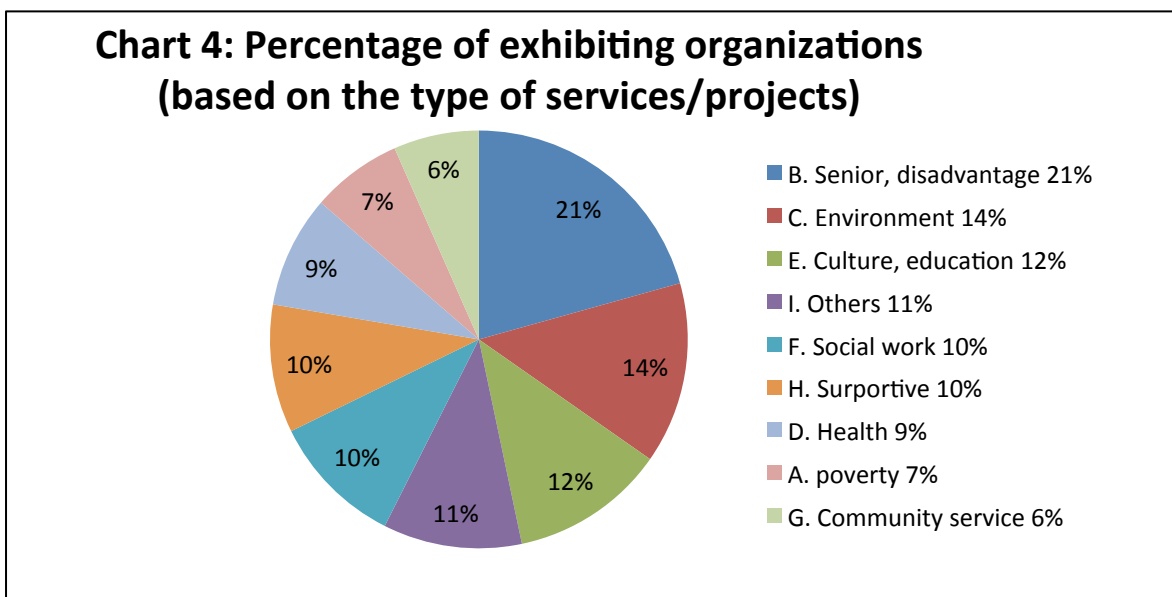
Source: Data is collected from *Magazine of First China Charity Fair 2012 Shenzhen* (CCF, 2012)

As Table 4 showed, among philanthropic organizations exhibited at CCF, those providing services to disadvantaged groups, especially seniors, children and disabled people made up the biggest proportion. They were the types of organizations favored and supported by the government to fill the gaps in welfare provision.

Unfavorable philanthropic organizations at CCF

Government's selective support directed philanthropic resources unevenly into certain favored organizations working on non-sensitive issues or fields in "urgent" need. As the government controlled selection, those unfavorable philanthropic organizations were hardly seen at the exhibition. However, some unselected philanthropic organizations also tried to make use of CCF to promote their organization or look for resources. For example, there were no private religious charity organizations, except some foundations like Tzu Chi which was a Taiwan charity organization with Buddhist background and Amity Foundation that was initiated by officially recognized Christian groups in Mainland China. But the author witnessed a private Buddhist charity group that was not on the list exhibiting in a corner, hiding from the organizers of CCF.

"*We didn't apply for exhibiting space. Due to registration problems and our religious background, we are not eligible for the Charity Fair or for obtaining government funds. We are totally on our own to do some voluntary work for people in need*" (Interview Org#9, July, 14th 2012).

Similarly, comparing with organizations working in "acceptable" service area, private philanthropic organizations working for marginalized groups and sensitive issues were hardly found. A private organization aimed at improving communication among lesbians, gays and their parents "hid" itself in the exhibiting room of an environmental organization.

"*We couldn't be selected because of the topics we are working on. We shared the exhibition space with these environment organizations without informing the organizers. How can homosexual issues not be presented? We wanted to make use of this event to increase the awareness of the public on these issues.*" (Interview Org#7, July, 13th 2012).

In addition, an organization improving migrant workers' working conditions simply expressed *"I am not interested in CCF. The content/domain of philanthropy (GongyiCishan) is determined by the government's interpretation. Organizations like us working on labors' rights issues do not fit their taste. The government does not interfere with our business, but will not support us, either"* (Interview Org#2-Liu, July, 4th, 2012).

Foundations:

Foundations are at the upstream of philanthropy, being an important enabler of charity activities. Compared with philanthropic organizations delivering services, foundations possess richer resources. It was not difficult for foundations to exhibit at CCF, as more than 90% of the foundations that applied for the event were selected. It again demonstrated the pattern that organizations with better government relations were able to get more resources; the more resources possessed, the easier it was to cooperate with government.

"Big domestic foundations seldom cooperate with grass-root private organizations. It's difficult to apply for funding from domestic foundations, especially those official or semi-official ones. They mainly work with government agencies or government favored larger social organizations."(Interview Org#5, July, 12th 2012).

Although some foundations, for example, China Youth Development Foundations and Nadara Foundations, have explored cooperating with grass-root organizations by special funds, and found the model to be highly risky and inefficient. *"There are not enough qualified private philanthropic organizations. Foundations that intend to finance grass-root organizations often see too much budget surplus."* (Renmin Gongyiwang, 2012) Most resources of publicly funded foundations still go back through governmental channels.

Corporations: Among 142 corporations exhibited at CCF, 24 were state-owned enterprises recommended by SASAC, 30 were big private enterprises recommended by ACFIC. The others were mostly reached out to and invited by CCF organizers through SASAC and ACFIC local branches in each province. For state owned enterprises, participating at philanthropic exhibition was an assigned task from SASAC. They didn't intend to establish any cooperation with private philanthropic organizations during CCF.

"Decisions on CSR and philanthropic expenditure of the company are made by top leaders of the company. Matching/exchanging philanthropic resources, sponsoring philanthropic organizations are not our main point to participate CCF."(Interview Corp#11, 14 July, 2012).

Private enterprises took CCF as an opportunity to showcase their philanthropic work and to promote their business. Improving corporate image and advertising products were their main goal, in addition to maintaining political connections, which are very important social capital for private enterprises in China. Because CCF was mostly promoted through governmental channels, participation in the event

was also out of consideration for establishing or retaining good relations with the government (Interview Corp# 12, 14th July, 2012). Although successful deals between philanthropic organizations and corporations were not unheard of during the exhibition, it was not the focus of corporate exhibitors. Thus, organizations searching for funding at CCF were a little confused about the motivation of exhibiting enterprises.

Media: Media was another important channel to promote the event and mobilize resources, in addition to government bureaucracy. Official media following the government's ideological guidance propagated the whole event positively as the fruit of social innovation. "National Television Competition of Philanthropic Projects" hosted by the government during CCF visualized philanthropy to the public. Meanwhile, private media such as Tencent allied with CCF organizing council to build online forums and microblogs, reaching out to the public. New media enhanced new forms of philanthropy. For example, microblog foundations set up by individuals online made philanthropic donation and fund raising more casual and personalized. In addition, the involvement of new media enables the public to become monitors of philanthropy. For example, when the details of Philanthropic Projects Television Competition were released, some citizens questioned its fairness and transparency through the media. The government had to organize a press conference responding to people's doubt online and improve the transparency of the competition (CCF, 2012).

Academia: As Chinese government has realized the necessity of cooperating with private philanthropic organizations to address emerging social problems, research on philanthropy and its administration was encouraged and supported. Along with CCF, academic debates and summit conferences were hosted, but they were more like press conferences to showcase the research fruits of philanthropy without much engagement with organizations at exhibition. Some scholars called CCF "a milestone in Chinese charity development", recognizing the government's efforts in opening up space for multiple sectors in philanthropy (Nanfang Media, 2012).

Visitors and Volunteers: It was reported 150,000 people visited CCF in 3 days, in addition to the 300 hundred volunteers (CCF, 2012). Before CCF, Ministry of Civil Affairs, SASAC and ACFIC

sent out instructions to each province and required that "every system should organize people from local administrative departments, research institutions, social service institutions, enterprises, and social organizations to visit CCF and actively participate in discussions and summits, in order to strengthen mutual communication and learn from each other" (MCA, 2012). Due to such bureaucratic mobilization, it reached more people within official philanthropic circle. It was joked "CCF was a party for friends within the circle" (Interview Org#8, 13 July, 2013).

7.3   Collaboration model of CCF: collaborative vendor with multiple actors

The government played major roles in financing, organizing and supervising the event. Bureaucratic and hierarchical relations from central government agencies to local government were observed clearly in the form of working conferences on each level and official government papers from top to each province, etc. Due to the government's heavy involvement and its dominance in finance, philanthropic organizations assisting in organizing CCF were basically service vendors implementing assigned tasks. Although organizations like NPI had certain autonomy in designing activities and selecting exhibiting organizations, they had learned the "taste" of the government well enough to give priority to those government favored organizations. The high numbers of applications from private philanthropic organizations (except foundations) implied many grass-roots were hungry for resources and willing to cooperate with the government. But only those organizations suitable to be service vendors of the government, delivering services in non-sensitive fields, were selectively supported. For private philanthropic organizations, opportunities for cooperation with the government were sometimes accompanied by monitoring and interference. After all, the government was the one who can say the final "Yes". Thus, the author thinks that in the organizing CCF, a government dominated collaborative vendor model was employed. The essential element of this model is mobilizing social resources and creating service vendors for the government to supplement public goods provision. But it was a positive sign that Chinese government was inviting multiple actors from different sectors to promote philanthropy. The concept of "government building the platform to let the society run the show" had shown growing tolerance of the state regarding private philanthropic organizations.

Table 4: Philanthropic actors and their roles in CCF collaboration

Model Philanthropic Actors		Collaborative model (Vendor)
		Roles of the actors
Central government agencies	Ministry of Civil Affairs	Sponsor the event Mobilize resources on the national level to support CCF Coordinate different institutional systems of the regime Overall supervise the whole event
	State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission of the State Council (SASAC)	Mobilize resources within the system of state owned enterprises Recommend state owned enterprises to exhibit
	All-China Federation of Industry & Commerce (ACFIC)	Mobilize resources within system of private and joint corporations in each province Recommend and invite big private enterprises
Local government agencies	Guangdong Provincial government	Mobilize resources to organize CCF on the provincial level Supervise and monitor the whole event
	Shenzhen municipal government and other state agencies in Shenzhen	Real host of the whole event Major benefactor—major role in financing Decision making on key issues of CCF Coordinating all organizers Supervise implementation of the whole event Censor qualification of exhibitors and monitor the outcome Propaganda (ideological monitoring) Security
Philanthropic organizations assisting CCF organizing	NPI, Official philanthropic organizations	Design the exhibition and relevant activities Play major role in implementation of the whole project Mobilizing resources outside of the state system (Invite organizations, corporations for exhibition) Evaluate applications of philanthropic organizations Select exhibitors for the first round and make "expert recommendations" to the government Coordinate with government, exhibitors, volunteers Organizing the whole event

Corporations	Corporate Foundations	Minor role in financing Promote CCF Assist in event organizing
Media	Traditional and new media on central/local level	Propagate Mobilize resources outside of the state system Promote new ways of philanthropy through social media Lead public discussion Monitor philanthropic activities
Academia	University, Research institutions	Lead academic discussions on philanthropy development, state-society relations, etc Release research outcomes in philanthropic sector Explore new policies and push reforms in the sector
Exhibitors	Philanthropic organization; Corporations	Apply for participation or follow instructions of state agencies Preparation for the exhibition

Source: Summarized based on participated observation and interviews in the fieldwork

8 Chapter 8   Comparison of Yunnan-Amity model and Shenzhen CCF model

In comparing the two cases of Yunnan and Shenzhen, there are many differences in collaboration of local government and philanthropic organizations. The fragmented and relatively high autonomous nature of Chinese politics allows different regions to explore various models of government-philanthropic organizations' cooperation according to their development level, and regional historical, cultural, and policy environment. But there are also many similarities regardless of the differences of collaboration models demonstrated by the two cases. These similarities reflect the essential characteristics of government-philanthropic organizations' relations and illustrate future development trends of Chinese philanthropy.

8.1 Differences of Yunnan-Amity model and Shenzhen CCF model

Yunnan-Amity collaboration model represented the conventional philanthropy practice in China. There was no clear line between the governmental and philanthropic projects because state agencies were the direct practitioners in the field. The alliance of big foundations and strong government left little space for other groups in civil society. The trust relations between Yunnan local government and private philanthropic organizations barely exist. Amity Foundation's monitoring of fund expenditure and project outcome reduced corruption to a certain extent but it was not transparent

enough to the public. There were more construction related projects than service oriented ones in Amity-Yunnan cooperation. Despite the fact that Yunnan's infrastructure development was lagging behind, such concentration was also attributed to the collaboration model. Because infrastructure constructions were a more visible achievement of the government, it was better for legitimacy creation of the state as well as gaining recognition from the higher level government. In addition to Amity Foundation's, construction oriented projects were easier to monitor and evaluate, especially when the partner was state agencies. Thus, the monopoly of government and big foundations in this conventional model restrained the development of local private philanthropic organizations, and also limited the diversity and quality of philanthropic services.

Shenzhen CCF collaboration model represented a new form of cooperation. The government was more of a promoter and monitor, instead of a direct player in philanthropy. It was an attempt to create a forum and space for private philanthropic organizations to network and mobilize resources. Many more actors were involved in the Shenzhen model with relatively high diversity. The government had shown willingness to collaborate with private philanthropic organizations to fill gaps of social service provision. Shenzhen model corresponded to the elaboration in the 18th National Congress of Chinese Communist Party: "separate the government from the society; clarify their rights and responsibility; promote self-governance of social organizations based on laws" (MCA, 2013). The model was creating collaborative vendors with government dominance. Only organizations providing government favored services and those that could ally with government agencies had access to resources. The platform the government built defined the boundary of philanthropy as well as categories of favored social groups, and then selected actors in the society ran the show with restrictions. It represented the future trend of state-society relations promoted in China: cooperating with social organizations to optimize social resources without genuinely loosing of control over the civil society.

8.2 Similarities of two cases

Comparing two cases, the differences of two models are obvious, but they are also similar in many ways. In both cases, local government was dominant in finance or implementation. Because the government was too strong in social sphere and Chinese philanthropic organizations were

underdeveloped without wide support of the public, their collaboration in both models didn't change the power relations that government was dominant and social organizations were subservient. Due to the dominance of the state in philanthropy, projects in both cases were marked by the bureaucratic styles with top-down resource mobilization through government channels. The voluntary spirit of philanthropy was partially lost in such top-down administrative order of the government.

Regardless of the model employed, philanthropy was used to boost legitimacy of the state in both Yunnan and Shenzhen. Philanthropic organizations provided additional financial resources or services to the government and fulfilled public goods provision. The performance and images of governmental institutions were improved by these philanthropic projects. As the public could not always tell government involved philanthropic projects from essential government functions of public goods provision, such projects contributed to legitimacy creation of the state.

Although the projects and models in Yunnan and Shenzhen cases were different, the heavy involvement of the government increased the efficiency of project implementation and/or resource mobilization of philanthropy in both cases. But it was at the cost of philanthropic organizations loosing certain autonomy in project implementation or organizational operation. Both Yunnan and Shenzhen governments selectively cooperated with their favored organizations but disadvantaged certain organizations working in sensitive issues or unfavorable topics. By stricter regulations, monitoring or cutting off their access to resources, those unfavorable organizations were disadvantaged. In the case of Yunnan, government favored big domestic foundations with rich funding and supported infrastructure construction projects, but was cautious about private and foreign organizations providing services to ethnic minorities and HIV carriers. These organizations were cut off from government-foundation cooperation alliance and were subjected to extra monitoring. Shenzhen government supported community based organizations working with children, seniors and disabled people by creating a platform like CCF for them, and directing funding to such organizations or incubators. Meanwhile, they disadvantaged organizations which were religiously oriented and organizations aimed at marginalized groups, such as the homosexual community, by cutting them off from the exhibition and state funding resources. Despite the differences in selection criteria, both cases demonstrated local government shaping the landscape of philanthropy by

selectively supporting and collaborating with those organizations providing local government needed public goods.

9   Chapter 9   Conclusion: The trends of Chinese philanthropy and state-society relations

Chinese state is adjusting its relations with social organizations and reforming social management systems to adapt to the changing society. The relations between Chinese government and social organizations are experiencing ongoing transition with regional variations. It is a two dimensional process. While Chinese government is making use of philanthropy to boost legitimacy, emerging philanthropic organizations and new phenomenon in the field also force the state entities to reform the administration system and to make new policies. The state is shaping the landscape of philanthropy by selectively supporting certain organizations and controlling others. Meanwhile, philanthropic organization is also reshaping philanthropy by resisting state narratives or cooperating with other non-state actors. Despite the unpredictable dynamics, there are a few common trends in Chinese philanthropy development illustrated by the literature and cases studies.

First of all, private resources are incorporated by Chinese government in the form of philanthropy to address social problems and fulfill heterogeneous demands of public goods. In order to do so, Chinese government is becoming more tolerant to private philanthropic organizations and improving the registration system and policy environment for those non-sensitive and low risk social organizations.

Second, it is encouraged as government changes its role from direct philanthropic practitioner to indirect player as promoter, sponsor and supervisor. Chinese government now tends to nurture more philanthropic organizations as its service vendors and welcome more actors into philanthropy in order to optimize the social resources. Thus, the representative model demonstrated in the case of Shenzhen is promoted on both national and local levels, but whether to duplicate such new models in philanthropic practice will vary greatly across region.

Third, the conventional collaboration model represented by the case of Yunnan will continue to be employed for a rather long time. The conventional model is a strong interest loop connecting three

parties: government, philanthropic organization, and beneficiaries. Philanthropic organizations make use of government resources to save administration cost and increase efficiency. Local government gets extra civic resources to boost legitimacy while local people benefit from the implemented projects. Breaking this model means redistribution or loss of interests. In addition, the regional diversity and local autonomy in China provide conditions for the development of diverse philanthropic cooperation patterns. Despite new models of philanthropy that "separate the state from the society" being promoted by central government and local government in developed regions like Shenzhen, the conventional model is likely to be preserved, especially in less developed regions. But as the public is demanding more transparency in philanthropy and more heterogeneous public goods, new models which include multiple social actors will be employed more often in the long run.

Fourth, Chinese government is becoming more and more sophisticated and adaptive in managing and utilizing social organizations. Because the state is pouring more resources into philanthropy, the preference of the government will have a big influence in shaping the scope of philanthropy. Philanthropic organizations are classified according to their business and scale. Those government favored ones are co-opted while unfavorable ones are disadvantaged. Although there is more space opened up for philanthropic organization, it will not necessarily suggest that government is genuinely loosing up control over social organizations. The collaboration will be continuously accompanied by government dominance and monitoring.

Fifth, media will play a more and more important role in philanthropy development. As new media develops quickly in China, it is becoming a tool of philanthropic organization to promote their work and to acquire resources with less interference of the state. The internet also nurtures new forms of philanthropy such as online micro-foundation and e-charity projects. These emerging media channels and platforms are empowering philanthropic organizations, especially those disadvantaged ones, to challenge state narratives and reshape the scope of philanthropy to a certain extent. At Shenzhen CCF, some organizations not selected for exhibition had already tried to attend the fair and to resist the state's manipulation. Such trends of resisting and self-action are likely to grow stronger in the future, due to the involvement of media and diversifying actors in philanthropy. To what extend it will contribute to the maturity of Chinese civil society, however, is difficult to predict.

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Appendix 1   List of Interviewees

Org#1-Lv (project manager of Non-Profit Incubator Shanghai). Notes taken during interview. 1hour, June,18th, 2012, Shanghai.

Org#2-Liu (Director of ICO). Recorded interview. 1 hour, July, 4th, 2012, Shenzhen.

Org#3-Wang (project officer of Non-Profit Incubator Shenzhen). Notes taken during interview. 1.5 hours, July, 10th 2012, Shenzhen

Org#3-Wang (project officer of Non-Profit Incubator Shenzhen). Interviewed over telephone. 30 min, May, 6th 2013, Kunming

Org#4 (Exhibitor- staff of private philanthropic organization-community oriented service). Notes

taken during conversation at CCF. July 12th 2012, 15min, Shenzhen.

Org#5 (Exhibitor- staff of private philanthropic organization- special education). Notes taken during conversation at CCF. July, 12th 2012. 20-30 min. Shenzhen.

Org#6 (Exhibitor- staff of private philanthropic organization- poverty reduction). Recorded interview at CCF. July, 12th 2012. 30-40min.Shenzhen.

Org#7 (Exhibitor- staff of private philanthropic organization-homosexual). Open interview at CCF, July, 13th 2012. 15 min. Shenzhen.

Org#8 (Exhibitor- staff of private philanthropic organization-environment). Open interview at CCF, July, 13th 2012. 15 min. Shenzhen.

Org#9 (Exhibitor- staff of private philanthropic organization- religious background). Open interview at CCF, July, 14th 2012. 15 min. Shenzhen.

Fund#10 (Exhibitor- staff of semi-official foundation-health and poverty reduction related). Open interview at CCF, July, 13th 2012. 15 min. Shenzhen.

Corp#11 (Exhibitor- staff of state-owned enterprise), Open interview at CCF, July, 14th 2012. 10 min. Shenzhen.

Corp# 12 (Exhibitor- staff of private corporation). Open interview at CCF, July, 14th 2012. 15 min. Shenzhen.

Gov#13-Ye (Senior official of Yunnan PPCC/Yunnan Foundation of Poverty Alleviation). Communication during a dinner, Feb, 25th 2013. 2hours, Kunming.

Gov#14-Guo (Senior official of Yunnan PPCC). Communication during a dinner, Feb, 25th 2013. 2hours, Kunming

Gov#15-Ye (Senior official of Yunnan PPCC-provincial/Yunnan Foundation of Poverty Alleviation). Recorded interview in his office. Feb, 26th 2013, 1.5 hours, Kunming

Gov#16-He (Official of Yunnan Red Cross Society). Notes taken during the interview in her office. Feb 25th, 40 min, Kunming

Gov#17-Xu (Official of Yunnan PPCC-municipal). Notes taken during the interview. Feb, 22th, 2013. 30 min, Kunming.

Gov#18-Xu (Official of Yunnan PPCC-municipal). Open interview during casual conversation. April, 25th,2013. Chuxiong, Yunnan

Gov#19 (Officials of Dehong Municipal PPCC and propaganda department). A seminar organized jointly with local researchers on issues about local cultural construction and philanthropic projects for ethnic minorities along Chinese border. Feb,19th, 2013. 1.5 hours, Mangshi, Dehong Municipal, Yunnan province.

Aca#20-Li (Professor, Peking University, School of Government). Recorded semi-structured interview. Mar, 18th,2013, 1 hour. Beijing.

Aca#21-Jin (Associated Professor, Peking University, Law School). Recorded semi-structured interview. Mar, 29th, 2013. Beijing.

Appendix 2   Enacted laws and regulations relevant to philanthropy in China

Date issued	Name of the regulation or Laws	Authority
Sep, 1988	Regulations on Foundation Administration	Issued by State Council
June, 1989	Provisional Regulations for the Administration of Foreign Chambers of Commerce in China	Issued by State Council
Oct,1989 Amended in 1998	Regulation on Registration and Administration of Social Organizations	Issued by State Council
April, 1991	Law of the People's Republic of China on Income Tax of Enterprises with Foreign Investment and Foreign Enterprises	Passed at National People's Congress
June, 1991	Rules for the implementation of the law	Issued by State Council
Oct, 1993	Law of the People's Republic of China on the Red Cross Society	Passed at National People's Congress
Dec, 1993	Provisional Regulations of the People's Republic of China On Enterprises Income Tax	Issued by State Council
Nov, 1994	Provisional Measures on Administration of Fund Raising for Social Welfare and Benefit Performance	Issued by Ministry of Civil Affairs
Aug, 1998	Provisional Measures on Import Duty Exemption for Disaster Relief Donated Material	Issued by State Council and General Administration of Customs
Oct, 1998	Provisional Regulations for the Registration Administration of People-Run non-Enterprise Units	Issued by State Council
Jun, 1999	Law of the People's Republic of China on Donations for Public Welfare	Passed by National People's Congress
Aug,1999 (Amended in 2011)	Individual Income Tax Law of the People's Republic of China	Passed by National People's Congress
May, 2000	The Interim Measures for the administration of	Issued by Ministry of Civil

	donations for disaster relief	Affairs
Jan, 2001	Provisional Measures on Exempting the Import Tax Levied upon Donated Materials for Poverty-relief and Charity Purposes	Issued by Ministry of Finance, State Administration of Taxation, General Administration of Customs
March, 2001	The notice of Income Tax Policies related issues on Improving Urban Social Security Pilot System	Issued by Ministry of Finance, State Administration of Taxation
Jan, 2002	Implementation Measures of the Customs of the People's Republic of China on the Provisional Measures on Exempting the Import Tax Levied upon Donated Materials for Poverty-relief and Charity Purposes	General Administration of Customs
Feb, 2002	Reply to Issues of individual or working unit donating to China Charity Federation receives income tax deduction	State Administration of Taxation
Jun, 2004	New Regulations on Foundation Administration	Issued by State Council

Source: Zheng Gongcheng, 2010. *Dangdai zhongguo cishan* (Contemporary China Philanthropy*).* Beijing: People's Publishing House.

Legislation Progress of Chinese Charity Law

2006   Charity Law was included into legislation plan by State Council of PRC

2008. Oct   Charity Law was listed into the 11th National Congress legislation plan

2009. Aug   Charity Law (draft sent to reviewers) was sent to State Council of PRC and entered

into legislation process, but Charity Law hasn't been promulgated yet by the time the

author was writing the thesis.

Source: Xinhuanet, 2012. Minzhengbu: cishanfa chugao bao guowuyuan, zhidao yijian niannei chutai (Ministry of Civil Affairs: First draft of Charity Law has been sent to State Council, the instructions hopefully will be issued within this year),*Xinhuanet* 7 June. Available at <http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2012-06/07/c_123246142.htm> (accessed on 20th April, 2013).