# GCPI WORKING PAPER #1

# Contemporary Chinese Philanthropy Literature Review

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## Preface

This working paper is a part of a series of background papers produced for the Global Chinese Philanthropy Initiative (GCPI), which is a bilateral effort to study, promote, support, and highlight philanthropy among Chinese in Greater China and Chinese Americans. GCPI is a collaborative effort of Asian American Advancing Justice–Los Angeles, UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs, and UC Irvine Long China-US Institute. Support for the GCPI comes from the John and Marilyn Long Family Foundation, Lao Niu Foundation, and Wallace H. Coulter Foundation. Additional support provided by UCLA's Center for Neighborhood Knowledge (née Center for the Study of Inequality) and Center for Civil Society. Stewart Kwoh, John Long, and Archie Kleingartner serve on the GCPI Executive Committee. The multiyear research plan includes four major phases: developing foundational knowledge through reviewing secondary data and existing literature; discovering new knowledge through primary social science research on philanthropy, civil society, and key sectors; evaluating case studies to examine the social, political, and economic impacts of philanthropy; and translating research into instrumental knowledge to improve policies, programs, and practice. The goal is the production of academically sound publications that inform and expand the bilateral dialogue and awareness among philanthropists, foundations, and corporate giving staff; community-based organizations and educators; media, policy makers, and the general public.

Professor Paul Ong serves as the Principle Investigator for the initial research phase (developing foundational knowledge), and the multidisciplinary team includes Professors Lillian Wang, Tilly Feng, and Jeff Wasserstrom, along with graduate research assistants at universities in China and the United States. Silvia Gonzalez serves as the project manager. The purpose of this phase is to develop an overview about the magnitude, patterns, and trajectory of Chinese philanthropy, and a theoretical/conceptual framework to guide subsequent primary evaluation and translational research. The researchers utilize two approaches: scholarship of integration of existing literature and descriptive statistics from secondary sources. When appropriate, the work takes a comparative approach by covering four predominantly Chinese societies: China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. When feasible, researchers incorporate primary information. (Another component of the GCPI covers Chinese American philanthropy, with its own publication series.) A primary objective of the initial research project is the production of working papers covering the following topics: literature reviews focusing on possible causal and motivational factors; an assessment of data availability; the early and twentieth-century histories of Chinese philanthropy; case studies of philanthropy in higher education; and a macro level analysis of philanthropy in the environmental arena. The findings from these scholarly efforts will help identify possible topics to be explored as a part of the second stage of the GCPI research agenda, which will be developed and led by Professor Lois Takahashi, Interim Dean of UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs.

## 前言

本系列研究报告提供了全球华人慈善行动（GCPI – Global Chinese Philanthropy Initiative）的背景资料。全球华人慈善行动（CGPI）是一项双边学习，它意在推进和支持全球华人在中国和美国的慈善行动。GCPI 由亚美公义促进中心--洛杉矶 (Asian American Advancing Justice)，加州大学洛杉矶分校罗斯金学院 (Los Angeles, UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs) 和加州大学尔湾分校-梁氏中美研究院 (UC Irvine Long China-US Institute) 共同合作进行。梁仕源和梁秀莲梁家族基金会 (John and Marilyn Long Family Foundation)，老牛基金会 (Lao Niu Foundation)，以及华莱士.H. 柯尔特基金会 (Wallace H. Coulter Foundation) 都对 CGPI 提供了鼎力支持。 另外，此项目还获得了由 UCLA 邻里知识中心，née 社会不平等研究中心 （UCLA’s Center for Neighborhood Knowledge – née Center for the Study of Inequality）和公民社会中心 (Center for Civil Society) 提供的资金和技术协助。同时，郭志明 (Stewart Kwoh)，梁仕源 (John Long)和阿尔奇. 克莱恩高纳德 (Archie Kleingartner) 担任了 GCPI 执行委员会的职务。多年的研究计划包括四个主要阶段：通过处理次级资料和现有文献来发展基础知识；经由对于慈善事业，民间社会和关键部门的社会科学研究，获取一级资料来开发新的知识；评估案例研究，以探讨慈善事业的社会，政治和经济影响；将研究成果转化为具有帮助性的学识来改善慈善政策，项目和实践。GCPI 的主要目标是发布一项严谨的，学术性的慈善行为研究，积极拓展双边对话，宣传慈善意识，并借由此项成果为慈善家，基金会，企业捐赠，社区组织，教育工作者，媒体，决策者和公众提供帮助。

初始研究阶段（针对发展基础知识）的课题主要负责人由邓道明 (Paul Ong) 教授担当。同时，这一跨领域的研究小组中包括来自台湾的王丽容 (Lillian Wang)，中国大陆的冯天丽 (Tilly Feng) 和美国的杰夫.瓦瑟斯特伦 (Jeff Wasserstrom) 等多位教授。 不仅如此，中国和美国大学的多位博士助理也参与其中。 西尔维娅.冈萨雷斯 (Silvia Gonzalez) 担任此项目经理。 本研究阶段的宗旨是发展出一个对于中国慈善事业的规模，形式，轨迹的整体性了解， 以及一个用于指导后续具有原始性，评估性和转化性的研究的理论框架。研究人员利用了两种方法：一、学术整合现有文献；二、研究二级说明性数据。研究采用比较中国大陆，台湾，香港和新加坡这四个主要华人社会的方法进行研究。在可行的情况下，研究人员在分析过程中会运用原始一级资料。（该 GCPI 的另一个组成部分涵盖了在美华人的慈善事业， 并拥有自己的系列出版物。）初始研究项目的一个重要目标是发布一份研究性文件， 讨论以下五个题目：侧重于研究潜在引导因素的文献研究；数据可用性的评估；中国慈善事业处于早期和 20 世纪的历史；高等教育慈善事业的案例研究；对慈善事业在环境领域所起作用的宏观分析。这些学术性研究的成果将用于鉴定研究 GCPI 第二阶段可能的一级研究课题。 GCPI 的第二阶段研究将由加州大学洛杉矶分校-罗斯金公共事务学院 (UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs) 临时性院长，洛伊斯.高桥 (Lois Takahashi) 教授主导。

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## Introduction

In this literature review, we examine philanthropy in contemporary China, from the 1970s to the present. We define philanthropy and how civil society organizations (CSOs) operate in this sector. There are universal definitions of philanthropy and charitable acts, but there also cultural differences that make China unique. For this paper, we reviewed Chinese- and English-language publications by researchers from around the world. Currently, scholars are examining the state and society relations through the lens of civil society because of the government administrative and financial control over nongovernment organizations. Although the data are limited, some government reports provide information on donors, donation amounts, recipients, and typical charitable activities that are funded. One of the key research questions for this paper is: Why do the Chinese engage in philanthropy?

We analyze the role of the state, economy, and culture in China. For example, we discuss the politics and laws that encourage or prohibit philanthropic behavior. Recent economic reforms have created both greater wealth and increased inequality in China. Historically, the Chinese culture, family, and religious traditions promoted benevolence and compassion. Philanthropy, however, is moving beyond the family and province, becoming more national and even transnational. Our literature review explores new trends such as online fundraising in the rapidly changing and growing philanthropic sector in China. This working paper is one of three literature reviews. The reader may want to consult the other two for more detail information on philanthropy in the United States, and in three other predominantly Chinese societies (Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore). Appendix 1 contains a more extensive review of Chinese-language materials written by scholars in China.

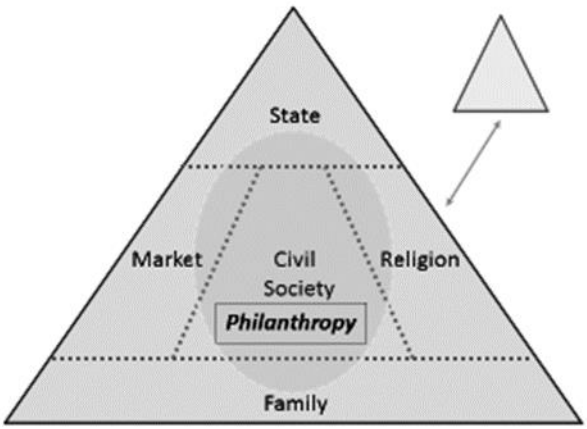
## Philanthropy and Civil Society

The Chinese have a long history of engaging in philanthropy and charitable acts (Shieh, 2011a). In the Chinese context, the word for philanthropy can be translated as "an action that is imbued with a profound ethical and religious significance" (Laliberté, Palmer, and Keping, 2011). Because the Chinese philanthropic sector is evolving along with China's economy and demographics, researchers do not share a singular definition of Chinese philanthropy. Historically, Chinese religious organizations engaged in benevolent and compassionate activities. In addition, the Chinese provided welfare through family and social associations. Since the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), Shantang (benevolent halls) and Shanhui (benevolent associations) sponsored charitable activities, emphasizing religion (Laliberté et al., 2011). However, since the People's Republic of China, founded in 1949, this traditional religious philanthropy ceased, as it was viewed instead as unnecessary in a Socialist country (Laliberté et al., 2011). For this research, we focus on contemporary philanthropy in China, since the economic reforms of 1978.

### *Civil Society or Pre–Civil Society?*

Contemporary philanthropy operates primarily in civil society. Please see the following chart for our conceptual model of philanthropy and its relationship with the state, religion, civil society, market, and family. Civil society, as defined by the World Bank, is "the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethnical, cultural, political, scientific, religious, or philanthropic considerations. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) therefore includes: community groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional organizations, and foundations" (Civil Society).

**Figure 1: Conceptual Model of Philanthropy**




Source: Designed by Paul Ong

For this research, civil society encompasses more than just an array of organizations. We use a broad definition in order to capture all dynamics in China. Civil society is the interactions among the government (or state), families, and other social groups. This activity is also affected by the market and church/religion (see Figure 1). Civil society is a space for social interaction, individual engagement (beyond market, family, and church), and the collective production of goods and services (Laine, 2014). Civil society forms a third sector of society. It is a forum to influence other societal sectors, and to influence both the first sector of government and the second sector of business (e.g., through protest and advocacy).

In the late 1990s, scholars claimed that China did not have a matured or "true" civil society because organizations could not exist independently under the current political system (Wakeman, 1993). Later, more scholars joined the debate and new research showed that the civil society has begun to emerge as the weakening of the state's control (He, 1997; Vermeer et al., 1998). Zhu (2013) described the current stage of civic development in China as a "pre–civil society" state. This author claimed that civil society has not become an independent sector, but that a collection of independent but fragile CSOs exist and operate under a highly unstable environment (Zhu, 2013). The emergence of these CSOs may be a precursor to a period of growth for the civil society sector (Zhu, 2013, p. 39). The next section will explore what types of CSOs exist in China.

### *Civil Society Organizations*

The aforementioned international definition of civil society, given by the World Bank, is difficult to apply to China, because of the complex and dynamic nature of its nonprofit sector. Shieh (2011a) makes a distinction between the nonprofit sector in theory and in practice. In theory, there are three types of legal CSOs that are registered and recognized with the state. The three legal forms of CSOs are:

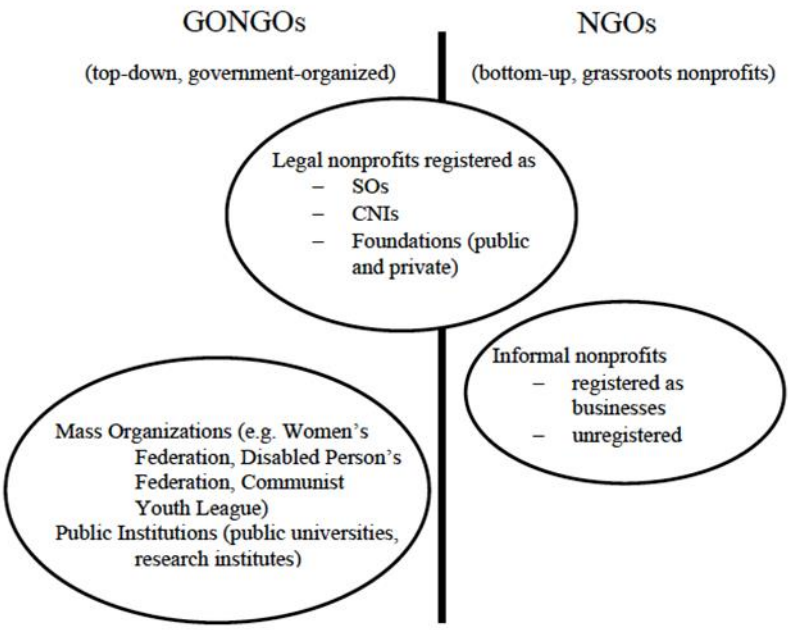
- Social Organizations (SOs) (Shenhui zuzhi, 社会组织),
- Civil Non-enterprise Institutions (CNIs) (minban fei qiye danwei, 民办非企业), and
- Foundation (jijinhui, 基金会).

SOs generally refer to voluntary membership associations. CNIs are similar to nonprofit service providers. There are public and private foundations. Almost all public foundations were established through government departments and, thus, enjoy many privileges, such as public fundraising activities and more access to government resources (Xu, 2013, p. 3000[1]). Most of the private foundations are established by individuals, public service government units, or corporations (Lai et al., 2015). In practice, there are also informal and unregistered CSOs, including those operating as a for-profit business and unregistered CSOs that are usually grassroots organizations (Zhu, 2013).

A substantial portion of the legal CSOs are quasigovernment organizations, either created by the government or that have close ties with a particular government agency. These hybrid public-service government entities are known as "government organized nongovernmental organizations" (GONGOs). The notion of GONGOs might sound self-contradictory, given the voluntary and self-governing nature of the CSOs (Shieh, 2011a, p. 4). In China, these GONGOs enjoy special privileges, such as accessing government funding and engaging in public fundraising while operating as a nonprofit entity. Figure 2 illustrates the relative size and position of different types of CSOs in China (Shieh, 2011a).

[1] Electronic book page.

**Figure 2: Civil Society Organization Types**




Source: Shieh, 2011a

In order to map out the philanthropic sector within the civil society, practitioner Holly Chang (2014) created five categories of giving in China based on the scale, scope, and historical positioning of the important actors (Figure 3). The five categories: (1) government departments, (2) Chinese Red Cross, (3) China Charity Federation (CCF), (4) foundations (public and private), and (6) grassroots NPOs (not-for-profit organizations) including social associations and private noncommercial organizations. CCF and China Red Cross Society are the nation's two biggest charities (we later discuss the 2011 scandals involving these organizations). Chang acknowledged that there are millions of organizations in the sixth unregistered category. The author argued that important entities are not being defined by the charity law, and the legal definition is insufficient.

**Figure 3: Total Giving in China**


Source: Chinese Charity and Donation Center 2007–2013, compiled by Wenjuan Zheng

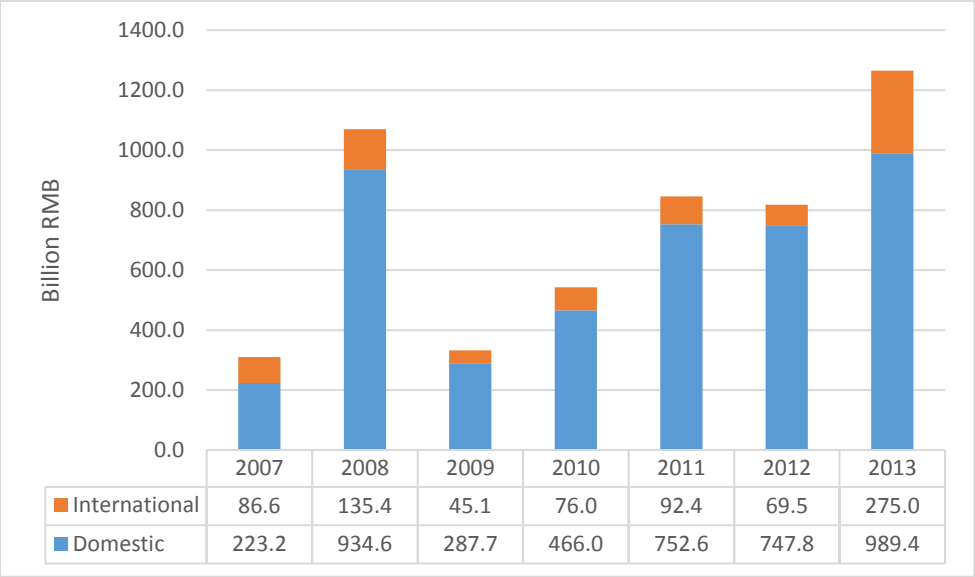
***The Size and Scope of the Philanthropic Sector***

Formalized and regulated philanthropy is relatively new to China, so there is a dearth of reliable data on the total giving in China. The existing research and public attention is skewed toward donations by the affluent, but that is not the complete picture. Many donors in China and other Asian countries prefer to donate anonymously. To provide a general overview of Chinese giving, we summarized government reports from 2007 to 2014.

According to official government data, the total amount of domestic donations (money and materials) was 223.16 billion RMB[2], and the total amount of international donations was 86.09 billion RMB in 2007 (Chinese Charity and Donation Center 中国慈善捐助信息中心 2008) (see Figure 4). The individual donations, not including the "Super Rich," attributed to 3 percent of the total donations. On average, middle- and lower-income Chinese people donate about 2.5 RMB for the charity. Sixty percent of the donations were for education, poverty alleviation, and disaster relief (Chinese Charity and Donation Center 中国慈善捐助信息中心 2008).

[2] One U.S. dollar (USD) is equal to 6.6691 Chinese Yuan Renminbi (RMB) as of June 4, 2016.

**Figure 4: Total Giving in China**




| | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| International | 86.6 | 135.4 | 45.1 | 76.0 | 92.4 | 69.5 | 275.0 |
| Domestic | 223.2 | 934.6 | 287.7 | 466.0 | 752.6 | 747.8 | 989.4 |

Source: Chinese Charity and Donation Center 2007–2013, compiled by Wenjuan Zheng

In 2008, two natural disasters occurred: heavy snow and the Sichuan earthquake, triggering "a groundswell of support from tens of millions of Chinese people from all walks of life" (Huang, 2014, p. 1). The earthquake triggered "an unprecedented display of public-spiritedness, charitable giving, volunteering, and networking in Chinese society" (Shieh and Deng, 2011, p. 194). The domestic donations totaled 1,070 billion RMB in 2008, which was almost four times the amount from previous years. International donations also reached 135.4 billion RMB (China Charity Donation Information Center 中国慈善捐助信息中心, 2009).

For the first time, individual donations surpassed corporation donations. The average individual donation was 34.66 RMB, which was fourteen times of previous year (2.5 RMB). According to a survey conducted in the major cities in China, more than 90 percent claimed that they had donated money to charity in the year of 2008 （China Charity Donation Information Center 中国慈善捐助信息中心, 2009). In addition, an estimated 1.4 million Chinese registered as volunteers (China Charity Donation Information Center 中国慈善捐助信息中心, 2009).

A huge drop in donations, domestically and internationally, was observed in 2009, and this decline continued onto 2012. This recession was closely related to the worldwide economic recession, which peaked in 2008. A series of donation scandals violated the public's trust, such as the Guo Meimei incidents. Guo Meimei was an online celebrity who lived a lavish lifestyle of luxury. She claimed to be the General Manager of the China Red Cross Chamber of Commerce, which led to a series of investigations about her relationship with China Red Cross and the potential abuse of funding of the largest charity in China (Hong and FlorCruz, 2011). After three years of recession, Chinese philanthropy bounced back in 2013. Donations totaled 989.42 billion RMB because of both the improved economy and new methods of soliciting donations. More than three billion RMB donations were collected through the Internet platform such as Tencent Online Donation Platform, Sina Micro-Philanthropy Platform, and Alipay E-Philanthropy Platform (China Charity Donation Information Center 中国慈善捐助信息中心, 2013).

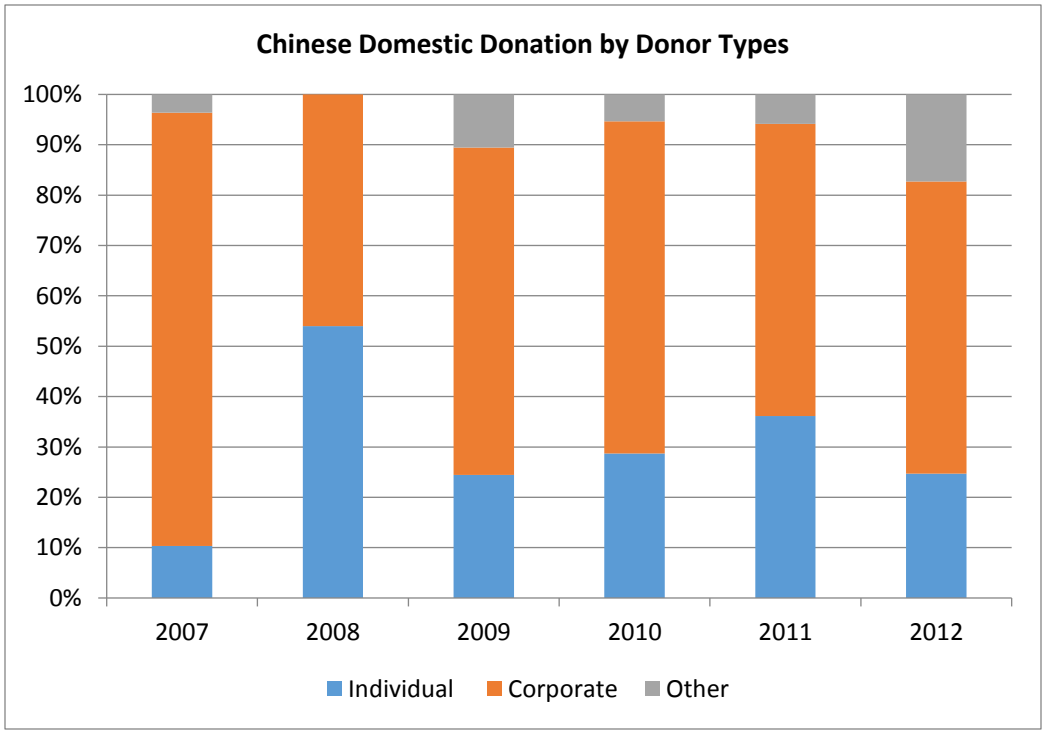
China Red Cross and other government-affiliated foundations are no longer the major recipients for donations, which they used to monopolize. Instead, family foundations have become the first choice for Chinese philanthropists to channel their money (Chen and Li, 2013). In addition, Chinese philanthropists have increased international engagement (Yang, 2014).

## Who Gives and Who Receives?

### *Donors*

In China, the largest group of donors is corporations, followed by individuals, foundations, and other entities (Figure 5). Corporation donations have served as the bedrock of Chinese philanthropy for years (Zhang, Rezaee, and Zhu, 2010). The majority of donations from 2007 to 2012 were from corporations, except in 2008 when individuals' donations skyrocketed to 54 percent because of the earthquake (Zheng, 2009). According to government annual reports, corporation donations are more than half of total donations (Xinhua News, 2014). Private and international enterprises donate more than the public enterprises, which includes those from Hong Kong and Taiwan (Xinhua News, 2014). Although there is no consensus on the amount of RMB for corporate donations, some reports estimate they are 80 percent of total donations. However, it is unclear if this estimate includes both corporate and personal donations by corporate owners.

**Figure 5: Chinese Domestic Donation by Donor Types**




Source: Chinese Charity and Donation Center 2007–2013, compiled by Wenjuan Zheng

The Coutts Million Dollar Donor Report 2014 showed that many successful entrepreneurs in China channeled their giving through a corporate foundation, rather than a private foundation. Corporate donors prefer to fund the CSOs and projects of their interests. The results illustrated that entrepreneurs in China steer away from organizations that are working in the fields of human right, labor movements, or advocacy, which are banned or discouraged by government (Shieh, 2012).

Wealthy individuals or the "super rich" (Andreoni, 2000, p. 11375) in China provide the second-largest share of donations. As reported in the 2014 Global Wealth Report, China was home to more than two million millionaires, the world's second-largest group, after the United States. In 2013, China's top 100 philanthropists donated US$890 million, according to the Hurun Report. The Chinese couple, Pan Shiyi

and Zhang Xin, cofounders of the SOHO real estate company, donated US$15 million to Harvard University for scholarships. The Chan family, who earned their money in Hong Kong real estate, donated US$350 million to Harvard's School of Public Health (Yang, 2014). One of Chinese's wealthiest Internet businessmen, Jack Ma, established a charitable trust founded by his Alibaba share options (now worth $3 billion) for the public good (Yang, 2014).

In China, about 4 percent of all donations are from foundations (Coutts Million Dollar Donor Report, 2014). Most Chinese foundations were formalized around 2004. The majority of them run their own programs, rather than making grants. Some of the private foundations set up by private enterprises are strongly influenced by corporate values and culture, and they see philanthropic activities as a way to promote public image and strengthen government relations (Zhang et al., 2010).

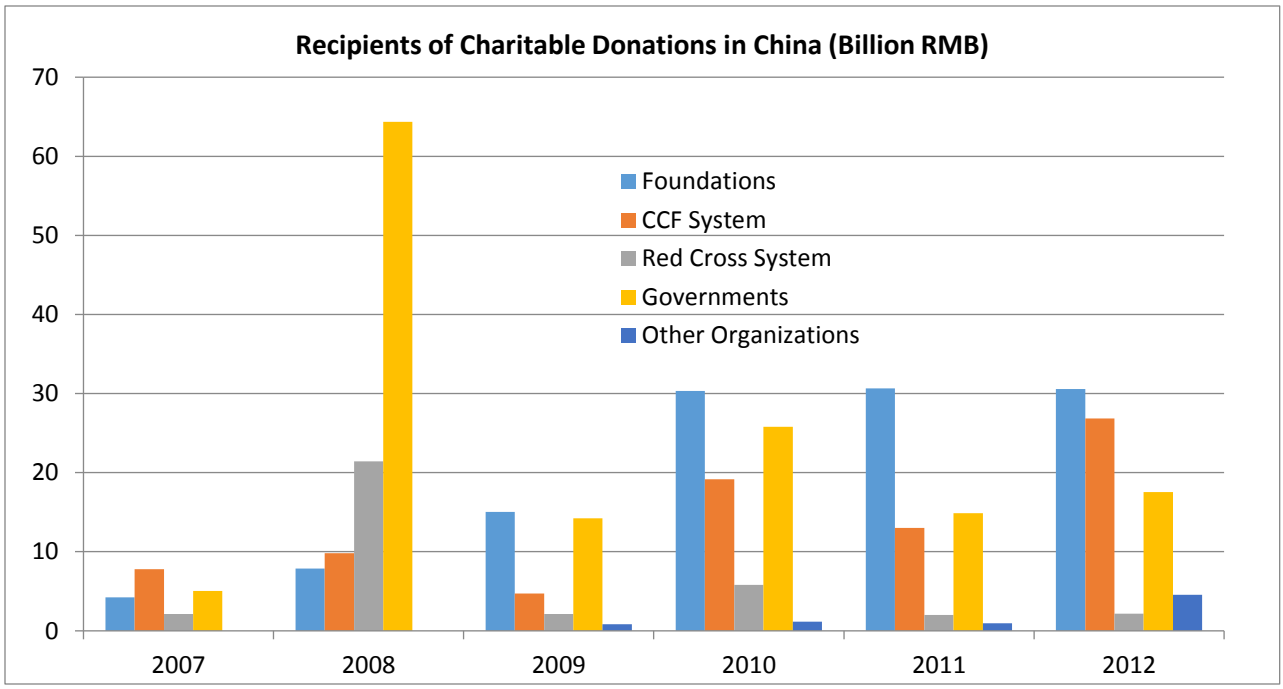
In addition, there is a gap in philosophy, practice, and communication between the worlds of domestic foundations and those of nonprofits (Sheih, 2012). Many nonprofit organizations have been in partnership with international donors for a long time and are used to the international standards. Conversely, domestic foundations are new to grant making. Many of these domestic foundations are still trying to figure out their mission, roles, and direction (Shieh, 2012; Xu, 2013).

Regarding the general public, the World Giving Index indicated very low levels of philanthropic engagement among the Chinese population overall (Low, 2014). Individual donors are a small fraction of the total contributions to the charities, which is significantly lagging behind the business donation. China ranked 147 out of 153 with only 11 percent of the population donating to charity (Low, 2014). The same survey results showed that the Chinese are the least likely to volunteer. Only 4 percent of Chinese stated that they would volunteer, compared to 61 percent of people in the United States (Low, 2014).

### *Recipients*

According to the Chinese government report, recipients that received the highest amount of donations in 2012 were foundations (31 percent), China Charitable Federation (CCF) system (27 percent), and government (18 percent) (Figure 6). In this year, other organizations received less than 5 percent of donations, and the Chinese Red Cross Society received 2 percent of donations.

**Figure 6: Recipients of Charitable Donations in China**




Source: Chinese Charity and Donation Center 2007–2012, complied by Wenjuan Zheng

In Figure 6, there was a spike in donations to 2008 for the government (64 percent) and Red Cross System (21 percent) due to the Sichuan earthquake. Since 2008, donations to the government have severely declined dropping 71 percent as of 2012. During this four-year period, donations have increased for foundations and the CCF system. Giving to the state has been characterized by one-off donations, largely made as a response to natural disasters (Huang, 2014). CSOs have difficulty sustaining their philanthropic efforts because of the restrictive regulatory framework (Hildebrandt, 2011; Shieh and Deng, 2011).

## The State and Philanthropy

This section examines the evolving relationship between the state and philanthropy in contemporary China in three parts. The first provides an overview of the shift in government policy, focusing on the period starting with economic reform. The second part examines the regulatory framework, particularly after the 2008 Sichuan earthquake. The last part documents the regulation of foundations and China's tax system.

### *Evolving Relationships*

Contemporary philanthropy over the last four decades in China has experienced several major and uneven developments, generally increasing in scope but also experiencing occasional disruptions. Prior to this period, the Communist Party deemed philanthropic activities unnecessary because the state provided most of social welfare services (Bao, 2012). Subsequently, a growing number of Chinese people slowly began to engage in philanthropy, due in part to changing demographic, political, and economic conditions. During the early reform period (the 1980s and 1990s), the government dominated philanthropy, prescribing most charitable transactions. As one scholar noted, "[P]eople gave, not because they wanted to, but because they were told to" (Shieh, 2012, p. 2), resulting in few choices of recipients and little transparency regarding how funds were utilized. The majority of funding went to GONGOs for projects such as disaster relief, education, and poverty reduction. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) began to emerge but mainly as a way to strengthen relationships with the government (Huang et al., 2013).

As Chinese society further expanded its economic reform, the Chinese Communist Party moved toward "small government and large society" and encouraged the growth of professional associations, trade associations, and cultural clubs and centers, starting in the 1980s and peaking in 1989 (Unger, 1991). The increasing openness of the Communist Party has also created opportunities for many CSOs to expand (Deng, 2007; Hildebrandt, 2011; Spires, 2012). In response to the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident, the Communist Party attempted to slow down the rapid development of civil society, especially those regarding autonomous student organizations (Howell, 2007, p. 20). Despite the shifting relationship between state and civil society, the philanthropic sector nonetheless grew in response to emerging societal needs, created in part by economic development and reform. In concert with these changes, new attitudes surfaced regarding the neediest in society, due in part as a response to the government's restructuring of the welfare system to assist those in poverty and those economically displaced by the market economy (Deng, 2004; Howell, 2007).

International affairs also played a role in expanding Chinese philanthropy. By the mid-1990s, China started making political and social changes consistent with its emergence as an international economic powerhouse. In 1995, China hosted the "Fourth World Conference on Women" in Beijing (Deng, 2013, p. 11). This conference had an important symbolic meaning, as it signaled to the world that China was willing to embrace the development of nonprofit organizations focusing on social change (Deng, 2013; Howell, 2007). In 1997, China and the United States formalized an agreement that the United States would help China rebuild its legal system. Many European countries also began to collaborate with China more, and Western funding began to pour in. These international funders played an important role in encouraging the development and professionalization of the nonprofit and philanthropic sector in China (Deng, 2004; Hu, 2004; Kellogg, 2012).

The 2008 Sichuan earthquake was, as one scholar noted, "a pivotal moment in understanding that private citizens would be personally philanthropic" in China (Heisma, 2013). Sheih and Deng (2011) believed that the earthquake provided a political window for CSOs to engage with the government, to develop networks among CSOs and foundations, and to energize themselves. The widespread social and economic

damages caused by the earthquake awakened a new sense of community and compassion. This was the first time that the government and GONGOs, such as the China Red Cross Society, funded grassroots organizations (Shieh and Deng, 2011). These organizations were uniquely positioned to effectively address social problems, and their efforts were acknowledged and recognized by the government. These events highlighted a new partnership between the government and CSOs, indicating that each sector can have unique roles in addressing an unexpected crisis (Shieh and Deng, 2011; Zheng, 2009). In addition, as a private foundation Narada Foundation played a leading role in encouraging private funding to support grassroots organizations involved in disaster relief and reconstruction (Xu, 2013). Domestic funding became an option for grassroots organizations, despite that the number of those grant-making foundations remains small (Lai et al., 2015).

### *Civil Society Organization Regulations*

Unfortunately, responses to the devastation also revealed a weakness in the philanthropic sector that was subsequently addressed with new regulations. After a major natural disaster, many countries have experienced scandals during their reconstruction periods (Jeffreys, 2011). In China, the improprieties came through the 2011 Guo Meimei scandal, which is described earlier, resulting in a loss of public trust in major philanthropic organizations (Deng, 2013). The scandal exposed a need for more transparency and accountability among philanthropic organizations. The government responded by initiating the draft of a new Charity Law to regulate the sector and fundraising (China Law Monitor, 2015). Additionally, the China Foundation Center was established in 2010 as one of the initiatives to increase professionalism in the philanthropic sector (Shieh, 2011a).

Through the post-earthquake reforms, the state established "a differential control system" to strategically manage and regulate CSOs based on their potential capacities to provide public goods and challenge the state's power (Kang and Han, 2005). The government established a "system of dual registration" with extensive documentation requirements making it difficult for Chinese citizens to register a CSO (Hildebrandt, 2011). The system required an applicant to find a high-level government sponsor to also supervise the organization's work. However, few high-level government officials are willing to risk their promotions to help CSOs, which creates a barrier to obtain legal status (Spires, 2011). Although only a small fraction of CSOs can register, these organizations now operate more openly and pursue a wider array of financial opportunities (Hildebrandt, 2011).

Under this system, the interaction between the state and CSOs can be described as a "contingent symbiosis"—a concept that captures the fragile and conditional nature of the relationship (Spires, 2011, p. 2). The local governments contribute to the CSOs' work while retaining the option to discipline or close a CSO. As long as a CSO works on a small scale and steers away from democratic politics, they are tolerated in order to meet some of the state's social welfare obligations. Moreover, the pivotal role of the state is reinforced by the fact that most grassroots organizations operate with limited resources from international communities (Spires, Tao, and Chan, 2014), therefore limiting these organizations to locally based small-scale efforts. Both unregistered and registered CSOs face challenges enlisting public support.

### *Foundations and the Tax System*

There are two other important elements defining the role of the state in the philanthropic sector: regulations of foundations and the tax system. In terms of foundations, Chinese civil law specified that only public foundations are allowed to engage in public fundraising (Regulations for the Management of Foundations 基金会管理条例). The 2004 Foundation Law permanently changed the philanthropic landscape in China. The law's "Regulations on Foundation Management" created two kinds of

foundations: private foundations (for "nonpublic fundraising") and public foundations (for "public fundraising") (Regulations for the Management of Foundations 基金会管理条例). The law specified that only public foundations are allowed to engage in public fundraising (China Law Monitor, 2015). Almost all the public foundations, with few exceptions such as Shenzhen One Foundation, are GONGOs. Thus, public foundations as well as some of registered CSOs with their close governmental ties are more likely to have an array of funding sources. As a result, the Chinese government dominates the giving market (Spires, Tao, and Chan, 2014). However, many public foundations are plagued with bureaucracy, and have been criticized for their lack of accountability, transparency, and innovation (Xu, 2013). Private foundations tend to be more independent from the government, and their funding is typically from wealthy donors or corporations (Lai et al., 2015; Shieh, 2011a). The creation of private foundations has channeled donations from government departments or government-affiliated public foundations to other CSOs, which allows for more freedom regarding how the funds are spent. Private foundations have grown rapidly and are challenging the monopoly of public foundations. The number of private foundations has surpassed public foundations since 2010, according to China Foundation Center. The Narada Foundation, YouChang Foundation, Tencent Foundation, and others have funded different initiatives to professionalize and advance the philanthropic sector (Shieh, 2012; Xu, 2013).

More recently, China has approved the long-awaited Charity Law and the Management of Domestic Activities of Overseas Nongovernmental Organizations (short for Overseas NGO law) in early 2016 in order to better regulate the philanthropic and nonprofit sector. The Charity Law will come into effect in September 2016 while the Overseas NGOs law will come later in January 2017. The new laws signal the Communist Party's intention to "mold civil society in its own image" (International Center for Nonprofit Law, 2015). On one hand, the new laws promise to expand the civic space. On the other hand, the good intention might encounter resistance from local governments when implemented and even hurt the NGOs it is intended to help (Chin, 2016a). In particular, the Oversea NGO law put foreign nonprofits under the Ministry of Public Security (MPS), China's huge internal security apparatus, and could effectively force most to leave the country (Sidel, 2010). International funding may be cut off for many domestic NGOs, especially for those public interest groups who have a chilling relationship with the government (Chin, 2016b). However, in the authors' opinion, it is still too early to see the impact of the new laws on the philanthropic sector and civil society.

In China, the tax system is not yet conductive for a robust civil society (Howell, 2015), partially due to the government's suspicion of independent collectivism. The country's preferential tax policy had impeded philanthropy in the past (Chen and Li, 2013). For both individuals and corporations, the tax system limited incentives for charitable donations, only allowing public-welfare donations to be deducted if within 12 percent of total annual profits (Wiepking and Handy, 2015). In addition, the tax exemption policies were so complicated that many companies did not even try to apply (Chen and Li, 2013). In the opinion of some scholars, China's tax policy needed to be updated to keep up with the development of the philanthropic sector (Wang and Guo, 2013). This view was also shared by some philanthropic donors. Deweng Cao, chairman of one of the largest automotive glass manufacturers in the world, donated his shares of Fuyao Group to his family foundation—Heren Foundation, which was the first Chinese foundation to receive a donation in the form of equity (Wang and Guo, 2013). Even Cao questions the maturity of the philanthropy system in China, pointing out holes in taxation system. In order to fill in those holes, the new Charity Law has expanded the tax incentives for both individual and corporate donors. The law also allows citizens to set up charitable trusts (Chin, 2016a). Nonetheless, experts worry that the new tax policy might not be implemented properly at the local level because local officials might be unwilling and unequipped to handle tax deduction that they were not used to (Chin, 2016b).

## Societal Dimensions of Philanthropy

This section examines three important societal factors that shape philanthropy in contemporary China. The first part of this section is the relationship with economic inequality, a topic introduced earlier in terms of the giving by the very affluent. The second part examines the influence of culture, family, and religion in motivating philanthropy. The last part examines changes in attitudes regarding the geographic scale of giving as China becomes more globalized.

### *Economics and Inequality*

Economic change has affected every aspect of Chinese society, including the philanthropic sector. Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms in late 1970s led to an increase in private wealth accumulation and social organizations. The Chinese government has gradually liberated the economy by deregulating markets, privatizing state-owned enterprises, encouraging new private enterprises, and encouraging foreign investment into the country (Spero, 2014, p. 1). Economic reforms have been the catalyst to lift millions of Chinese out of the poverty. Due to this and other factors, China has risen to become super power in the global economy. Economic liberation also led to a surge of the middle class and wealthy (Spero, 2014). Some of the newly wealthy Chinese benefited from their political connections with the government and gained special access to start businesses in telecommunications and manufacturing. This group is commonly referred to as "princelings," descendants of influential senior Communist officials (Spero, 2014). A few of the super-rich in China are internationally recognized entrepreneurs, such as Jack Ma, founder of Alibaba, the biggest e-commerce company in China. According to the 2013 Forbes list, Mainland China had 122 billionaires; only second behind the United States. In comparison, Hong Kong had twenty-nine billionaires and Taiwan had twenty-six billionaires (Heisma, 2013).

The newly wealthy may or may not engage in philanthropy. Spero (2014) suggested that there are many different reasons why donors gave back to society. Some give because of the social prestige associated with philanthropy. Donations and grants legitimize an individual's or corporation's wealth accumulation. Others, especially corporations, may give purely to make connections with the public and government to achieve favorable gains (Gao, 2011; He, 2004; Shah and Chen, 2010; Slater, 2000; Wang and Qian, 2011). Some Chinese engage in philanthropy because of altruistic motivations or civic obligations. Because the majority of funding is allocated to poverty alleviation and education, philanthropy aids in maintaining social and political stability (Spero, 2014). Even though China has no shortage of billionaires, their charitable donations are significantly lacking behind their U.S. counterparts (Frank, 2014). China's new rich may be reluctant to engage in philanthropy because it is difficult to "navigate the country's fledgling non-profit sector, which suffers from a relative lack of trusted organizations, weak tax incentives, and public concerns over transparency" (Yan, 2014).

Although China's economic boom created more affluence, a large share of the population is poor and marginalized. The polarization of wealth has resulted in social inequality. Since the mid-1990s, state-owned enterprises have become privatized (Howell, 2007). Many state-owned enterprises were closed down, and more than thirty-three million workers were laid off (Howell, 2007). As a result, the government is being pressured to redesign the welfare system to create a safety net for the rising number of unemployed workers. In order to maintain social stability, the government started to rely on other sectors to relieve the burden of providing social services (Howell, 2007, p. 20). This high level of social inequality is a stimulus for welfare reform and the expansion and development of the philanthropic sector.

### *Culture, Family, and Religion*

Compassion and benevolence are integral to all major Chinese cultural and religious traditions. These concepts resonate with the modern philanthropic ideas of universal love, albeit with different interpretations. Throughout history, family, religious, and civic associations in China have practiced philanthropy. Since the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), Shantang (benevolent halls) and Shanhui (benevolent associations) sponsored charitable activities with an emphasis on religion (Laliberté et al., 2011). These venues and organizations continue to operate in the southern part of China. During the Cultural Revolution, the practices of traditional Chinese religions were prohibited. Although some of the traditional religious culture was lost, many religious teachings remain deeply embedded in contemporary Chinese culture, which also profoundly influences philanthropy (Hsu, 2008). Despite the fact that the state restricts religious activities in the country, many religious groups and faith-based organizations manage to survive (Laliberté et al., 2011; McCarthy, 2013; Palmer, Shive, and Wickeri, 2011).

The religious traditions of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism—or the "Three Teachings"—shape the philosophical framework that instills the values and motivations for philanthropic behavior. Similar to the modern definition of charity and philanthropy, followers of the "Three Teachings" practice kindness and help others. Confucianism emphasizes the responsibilities of caring for one's family, while Buddhism stresses compassion (Laliberté et al., 2011). Daoism asks people to be aware of needs of others surrounding them (Laliberté et al., 2011).

One of the key Confucius teaching is Ren or benevolence. Ren is understood as an "attitude of love and respect for others," however, the concept starts with "cultivation of the benevolent mind in an individual and then proceeds outward" (Laliberté et al., 2011, p.5). Family is seen as the basic unit of the society, and, thus, love tends to begin with filial piety and fraternal obligation, and then extends to strangers (Laliberté et al., 2011). Laliberté and his colleagues (2011) wrote that Chinese people are more likely to help their families and local communities first, before reaching out to strangers (with exception of major disasters), which, in part, reflects the Confucius teaching of Ren.

Compassion is a major element of Buddhist teaching. Since the late Qing dynasty (1644–1911), Buddhism experienced a revival and Buddhists were encouraged by the state to practice philanthropy (Weller, 2006). Buddhists set up philanthropic associations to offer social welfare services to their followers. By the twentieth century, a new movement, known as "Humanistic Buddhism," gained momentum throughout the world, particularly in Taiwan. According to "Humanistic Buddhism," philanthropy is at the center of the religious practice, which has obtained permits from the Communist government for its renaissance (Spero, 2014).

Taoism (also spelled Daosim) is the indigenous religion in China. The "Three Treasures" or "Tree Jewels" are basic virtues in Daoism, which emphasize "compassion," "frugality," and "humility" (Zhao, 2015, p. 128). Compassion is the first and most important of the three treasures, which is similar to the Confucian concept of Ren. Throughout history, Taoists have had a tradition of providing free medicine and medical care to the needy as the most common form of philanthropy, which is different from Confucianism and Buddhism (Kohn, 1998; Zhao, 2015). As part of the Chinese culture, fusion of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism is usually integrated into one's daily life. These beliefs and values may not be taught formally but are often adopted and enacted unconsciously (e.g., respecting elders and your parents) (Laliberté et al., 2011).

Chinese folk religions incorporate elements of the "Three Teachings" and have become the most popular religious practice in China (Hu, 2012). Followers of the Chinese folk religions set up village-based temples that provide services to the local residents. These temples often provide public services, such as

construction of roads, bridges, schools, and even basketball courts (Hu, 2012). Typically, the government should provide some of these public services, but the Chinese state allocates limited resources to the village level (Hu, 2012). The public is usually more willing to contribute to local temples than to the corrupted local cadres; thus, the temple becomes an alternative center of resources collection and allocation (Laliberté et al., 2011).

Apart from traditional Chinese religious philanthropy, many Christian churches also provide the social services to vulnerable and marginalized populations in China (McCarthy, 2013). In the nineteenth century, Christian missionary organizations introduced modern forms of philanthropy in China. They built schools and hospitals, and, today, many of these institutions operate. Other religious communities later adopted this model of social service provision. Some of these religious groups engage in charitable activities and administered social services to disadvantaged populations, as a way to gain legitimacy to operate under the authoritarian state (McCarthy, 2013). For example, the Amity Foundation, a Christian-initiated private foundation is one of the biggest private foundations operating in China. Their approach has been to emphasize cooperation, not confrontation, with the state (Laliberté et al., 2011).

The Coutts Philanthropy Reports 2014 acknowledged that religion and other cultural traditions influence Chinese donors, including million-dollar donors. Religious giving tends to focus on traditional areas, such as alleviating poverty, hunger, diseases, illiteracy, and disaster relief (Weller, 2006). Thus, religious giving has not yet played a bigger role in modern philanthropy, which emphasizes addressing the root causes of these issues (Spero, 2014). Lee (2010) argued, "China, a state that for many generations has had as its official religion Atheism, continues to be widely criticized for its lack of religious freedom. As a result of its policies, China has bred a general population that today is mainly faithless. The spiritual motivations and drivers that helped give rise to philanthropy in other nations are not present in China" When Chinese magnates turned down U.S. billionaires Bill Gates's and Warren Buffett's invitation to the Giving Pledge[3], Lee (2010) attributed this to the lack of religious and cultural precedents to participant in philanthropy, which is debatable given the long history of religious philanthropy. In the authors' opinion, the disruptive history of philanthropy during the Cultural Revolution might be attributed to the unawareness of the history and culture.

### *Localism and Transnationalism*

The Chinese typically donate to family members, friends, and neighbors but are now starting to support national and international causes. Furthermore, many overseas Chinese give back for philanthropic activities in their ancestral land. Diaspora groups' generous donations have impacted Chinese society, especially in their hometowns, commonly known as Qiaoxiang (Yin, 2004). These contributions have helped to finance public welfare projects, social charities, and disaster relief in China. Since the late nineteenth century, funding from diaspora has played a pivotal role in China's social and political development. In addition, those donations are now an integral part of China's economy, particularly in Qiaoxiang (Yin, 2004).

What motivates overseas Chinese to give back to their home country and, in particular, to their community of origin? The Resource Alliance's report (2014) on BRIC's (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) diaspora philanthropy showed that giving to family members in need is an act of filial duty for the Chinese (Kapoor, 2014). This type of charitable act is kindled by the traditional Chinese cultural values and the attachment to one's birth country (Geithner et al., 2006; Ho and Yuen, 2010). Geithner (2006)

[3] Initiated by Bill and Melinda Gates, a commitment among the world's wealthiest to donate their wealth toward philanthropic causes.

found that the longer someone had spent in their birth country before emigration, the more likely they would donate and support their relatives and communities in the country of origin. The loyalty and attachment by diaspora also reflects the "sojourner mentality" of traditional Chinese culture (Geithner et al., 2006, p. 397). This mentality can also be summarized in the dictum: "falling leaves return to their roots"—meaning a person who resides far away from his birthplace would eventually return to his ancestral land (Yin, 2004, p. 67). Diaspora groups' donations to family members and their place of origin reinforces the bonding of brotherhood or guanxi and builds social capital, which is essential for developing a community (Geithner et al., 2004). For some newly wealthy, philanthropy is also a strategy of upward mobility and transforming donors from being the "economic elite to the cognitive and moral elite" (Chan, 2010, p. 337).

While the traditional way of giving back through informal networks, such as clan and lineage organizations, is still popular among the diaspora groups, new channels for giving are becoming popular alternatives among the younger generations (Yin, 2004). For example, some overseas Chinese chose to donate through mainstream U.S. institutions, rather than their informal network (Kapoor, 2014). Various professional and academic CSOs, such as the Association of Chinese Scientists and Engineers, have provided a new channel for bilateral exchanges of knowledge and capital (Kapoor, 2014). Philanthropic localism is gradually being replaced by a broader geographic focus and a wider range of new programs throughout China (Yin, 2004).

Since the 2000s, several high-profile Chinese have donated to American elite institutions, which has caught the attention of international philanthropic sector. China ranks eighth as a source of foreign donations to American colleges, and Hong Kong ranks the first (Chow, 2014). Well-known real estate tycoons, Zhang Xin and her husband, donated US$15 million to Harvard University to set up scholarship programs for Chinese overseas students (Ni, 2014). Hong Kong billionaires Gerald Chan and his brother pledged US$350 million to the school of public health, the largest single donation that the school received in the institution's history (Yang, 2014). Although these billionaires boosted the public image of the Chinese entrepreneurs in the global community, their acts of "generosity" were fiercely criticized by Chinese on the Internet or "netizens" (Leng, 2014). Some Chinese netizens argued that the money should have been donated for domestic causes, such as supporting poor students from the rural areas in China. These critics also are angered by the Chinese government, which has funded billions of dollars to Africa since 2000. Chinese outbound philanthropy has provoked controversies. One new trend is for the Chinese to debate about these issues online.

**New Trends**

Today, the philanthropic sector in China is influx, and several new trends have emerged. Wang and Gao (2013) found that charitable donations have gradually become the norm in China. Since 2008, the amount and type of donations have increased steadily. National donations used to flow to only two entities: local civil affairs offices and government-affiliated foundations. Public foundations, such as Shenzhen One Foundation, with limited government ties, are competing with their government-backed counterparts and have absorbed a large number of public donations. Wealthy individuals have also shifted their philanthropic practices. Instead of donating money to the government, some have set up private foundations to manage their own money. Foundations have exponentially grown in recent years. By the early 2012, the total assets of Chinese foundations had reached 60.42 billion RMB. In particularly, college foundations took up a large share of donations (Wang and Gao, 2013).

These new patterns of giving were caused by various reasons. Over the years, the Chinese chose to allocate fewer donations to government-affiliated organizations. This trend was partially due to the philanthropic sector becoming more independent, standardized, and professionalized. Traditionally, magnates who relied on the government to manage charitable funds are "now inclined to set up their own charitable organizations, control large donations by themselves through private foundations or other agencies, and manage their funds by themselves or hire professionals to use their funds more efficiently" (Wang and Gao, 2013, p. 2168). This has facilitated the structural changes of the charity organizations.

Charities organizations are beginning to collaborate, network, and share more often with each other. Mutual exchanges with domestic foundations and international foundations become more common (Gao, 2013). To increase professionalism in the philanthropic sector, the China Private Foundation Forum promotes knowledge exchange and the Chinese Foundation Center has created a transparency index. Newly formed philanthropic "infrastructure" organizations provide services and support to CSOs with the goal of incubating a more transparent and accountable civil society. For example, Narada Foundation, a private foundation, administers grants for small grassroots organizations. China Development Brief provides media, communication, and networking services to CSOs, foundations, and researchers. These types of organizations facilitate the free exchange of information and resources for this fragmented sector, which is working toward more professionalism and collaboration.

The Internet is a key trend in philanthropy. Many of the newly wealthy are working in e-commerce. Jack Ma and Joseph Tsai, the co-founders of Alibaba, are among China's freshly minted billionaire who can serve as role models for Chinese philanthropists to donate more ("China's Carnegies", 2014). Since 2008, micro-philanthropy, when people donate online or through social media sites, has gained tremendous momentum. Micro-philanthropy opened up new channels for the public to engage in philanthropy without relying on the government. As a result, the Chinese find government charity options less appealing (Wang and Gao, 2013). Through the Internet, they quickly find out about causes, both in China and internationally, and donate using the Internet.

As a response to this dynamic philanthropic sector, the government is intensely reviewing and revising legislation governing Chinese civil society. The long-waited New Charity Law and the Overseas NGO law signal a new era for the nonprofit sector in China. The new laws will come into effect in few months, which might significantly rewrite the landscape of the nonprofit and philanthropic sector in China. Currently, in the Chinese provinces and cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Yunnan, some local governments are implementing reforms on the registration and governance of CSOs. The legal framework in China is a highly differentiated process of state control (China Law Monitor, 2014). Shenzhen, Guangzhou, and Yunnan, and later Shanghai and Beijing, conducted various local experiments

to relax the stringent regulations of some CSOs. For example, the Shenzhen government has allowed the first independent foundation, Shenzhen One Foundation, to register as a public foundation. Howell (2015) also found experimental adjustments for the registration regulations of some labor organizations. Local governments began to contract out social services to CSOs. These reforms show that the local governments are changing their tactics to engage with civil society, moving from exclusionary to a corporatist model[4] strategy (Heurlin, 2010).

[4] According to social origin theory, corporatist model refers to "the state supplies welfare assistance but preserves many of the status differences of pre-modern society" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998, p. 17).

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## Appendix

### *Literature Review of Chinese-Language Articles on Civil Society and Philanthropy in China*

The following is based on a review of the Chinese-language publications listed at the end of the appendix. The articles were identified by searching the "China Academic Journals Full-Text Database," which was accessed through the following website: http://www.library.ucla.edu/eastasian/chinese-studies/chinese-e-resources. This partial review provides insights into the views and findings by local Chinese scholars on the role of Chinese government in civil society and philanthropy.

Key search terms include nongovernment organizations, civil society, and philanthropy. The publications chosen for review were based on an initial evaluation of abstracts, followed by a careful reading of the full articles. This paper focuses on the articles that are the most relevant and insightful. As we had limited time, resources, and access, this review should not be considered comprehensive. We include this as an appendix rather than in the main body of the literature review.

Overall, many of the publications reviewed here are descriptive or opinion-based with limited concrete and activity-specific policy recommendations. The Chinese-language articles are less theoretical and empirical, and more philosophical and normative when compared with the English-language articles reviewed in the working paper. This orientation is due to academic standards and practices in China. Most of the scholars take the position that the government should change its policies and practices to encourage a more independent philanthropic and nonprofit sector.

A number of the articles are comparative, focusing on the gap of philanthropic development between China and more developed countries, particularly the United States. For example, Liu Yana's (2008) work was an early attempt to categorize the difference between the role of Chinese government and the U.S. government. The author found that Chinese governments were more likely to take on the role of organizer, operator, and financier. In other words, the Chinese government has been directly involved in the charitable sector through establishing government-backed NGOs (GONGOs), participating in appointments related to NGOs' internal governances, and funding many of their activities and staff (Liu, 2008). These close ties have made many charity organizations an extension of government—the government department 2.0. In contrast, the U.S. government's policy is to support the charitable sector as an independent sector, although the state both monitors NGOs and collaborates with them.

Liu concludes with a recommendation that Chinese government could borrow some practices from the United States as a way to develop a more effective philanthropic sector in China.

Liu's comparative analysis has been replicated by other Chinese scholars, who make similar recommendations (see, e.g., Wang Hua-Chun, Zhou Yue, and Wei, 2011). Bai Shaojun, Du Yueyi, and Jiang Nang (2011) extended the discussion to cover the cultural and environment arenas, and came to similar conclusions and opinions. Their analysis implied that the Chinese government's involvement and intervention are limiting the development of the third sector in China. Gao Yuan-yuan and Wang Wulin (2009) further argued that the government's universal scheme of planned administration over NGOs is incompatible with the current market economic system. They concluded that the Chinese government should reconsider its roles in the philanthropic and nonprofit sector. Gao and Wang (2009) suggested that the government gradually withdraw from philanthropic affairs to provide more autonomy for the charitable organizations. Many of these articles are reflective and abstract and based on literature reviews. While empirical data might be collected, the analysis is mainly descriptive.

Xu Jialiang and Zhao Ting (2013) employed an alternative strategy by focusing on mediating between state and civil-society organization. Their research on the Shanghai government's purchase of public service from the third sector is based on interviews with NGOs/GONGOs and government officials. They showed the dilemma of contracting out social service and also the innovation that could result from it. Despite a number of positive accomplishments over the past decade, several problems remain. Funding for government purchase is unstable; many NGOs do not know how to apply and the quality of service is uneven. The process also suffers from unfair competitions among GONGOs and grassroots NGOs. Xu and Zhao proposed a four-body framework to improve government contracting, which is an extension of an existing three-body approach proposed by early scholars. The later framework included three players in the process: service purchasers, service providers, and service users. The authors argued the importance to include third-party monitors as a fourth party to ensure the transparency, which is missing in the current process of government contracting services.

While most of the attention is paying to the interplay between the state and NGOs, Chinese scholars are less explicit about the potential transforming effect of civil society within the current political system Wang Dahai and Tang Delong (2010) briefly mentioned the significance of philanthropy at the beginning of their analysis of the historical development and policy evolvement of philanthropy in New China. Borrowing the statement from another Chinese scholar, Zheng Gongcheng, Wang and Tang (2010) stated that philanthropy is an important component of morality and social welfare system for the contemporary Chinese society. The purpose of philanthropy is to redistribute wealth through professionalized CSOs to address social inequality. Unfortunately, due to the historical factors, philanthropy in China is still hampered by governmental bureaucracy and has not yet been able to fulfill its ideal role in the society (Wang and Tang, 2010). The authors, however, did not go beyond the surface meaning of philanthropy nor address how philanthropy and civil society could operate more independently within China's political economy.

In summary, many of the scholarly publications by Chinese scholars provide useful insights about the relationship between the state and the philanthropic sector in China. Although the use of empirical data is limited, many of their observations are consistent with research done by U.S.-based scholars. Surprisingly, many Chinese scholars are outspoken about their views toward government, particularly about the need for greater autonomy to strengthen the third sector.

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