

博士論文

China's Civil Society Organizations
as Catalysts in Disaster Response
Process

中国の市民社会組織：災害対応
プロセスの「触媒」として

徐 笑歌

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My gratitude is due to a number of people many of whom I will not be able to give them my proper thanks here.

Without my supervisor, Prof. Koide, this thesis would not be possible. From the initial proposal of the thesis to its formation, Prof. Koide provided great insights and invaluable instructions and devoted much of his time and energy on my drafts. I also like to thank another supervisor, Dr. Kato, who has provided me a lot of precious advices and assistance during my study.

I would like to extend my gratitude to those organizations and institutions, which provided me essential information and those people who spared their time for my interview.

Finally, I dedicate my appreciation to my parents who always support me mentally and physically in my whole life. You encouraged me and reminded me of my dream when I was depressed.

Thanks.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of the thesis. Firstly it starts with a brief background introduction on the global associational revolution, the trend of China's social reform, increasing disaster risk with rapid urbanization, and the transformation of Chinese disaster response system. The problem awareness and research purpose are presented in the following section, and then, the third section outline the structure of this thesis. The definition of keywords ant the research methodology are presented in the last two sections.

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Global Associational Revolution

A global associational revolution has been under way around the world for the past thirty years. As Salamon argues, a massive upsurge of organized private voluntary activity, of structured citizen action outside the boundaries of the market and the state proves to be as momentous a feature of the late 20th century as the rise of the nation-state was of the late 19th century¹. The associational revolution is led by voluntary citizen organizations, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), nonprofit organizations (NPOs), charity organizations, and other autonomous clubs. Scholars often use the term civil society to represent this diverse associational life, ranging from large groups to smaller, local groups.

Until now, the civil society sector has become a major economic and social force in the world. Following a survey of the nonprofit sector in 11 countries, Salamon et al. (1999) found that the civil society organizations (CSOs) accounted for 1.2 trillion dollars in expenditures and 31 million full-time workers in the mid-1990s. In the

¹ Lester Salamon (2001), "The Third Sector and Volunteering in Global Perspective," presentation at the 17th Annual International Association of Volunteer Effort Conference, Amesterdam, The Netherlands, January 15, 2001.

United State alone, the estimation was that the total expenditures amounted to 8% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). By comparison, the proportion of spending among the civil society sector in France, England, and Israel was estimated at 3.7%, 7%, and 12% of the GDP respectively. The proportion of full-time equivalent workers in CSO sector was found to be about 8% in the United State, 4.5% in France, 6.2% in England, and 0.5% in Israel².

The associational revolution also affected China from the end of 1980s. China has witnessed a veritable explosion in the number of CSOs at both national and local levels after the introduction of the socialist market economy in 1978. At the beginning of the 1980s, there were only a dozen government organized national mass organizations in China; while until June 1989, the number of national-scale CSOs had grown to 1600 and the local social groups had reached 200,000 in number³. Although the number dropped sharply at the end of 1980s for the political influence, the trend was later reversed. According to estimates made in 2004 by Wang and He, China had at that time more than 8 million CSOs. This figure led them conclude that “China is indeed a part of the global associational revolution”⁴. The number has continued to increase, expanding the influence of these groups. The most recent available official data shows that, until the end of 2013, China contained 547,000 officially registered CSOs, along with very large numbers of unregistered ones⁵.

1.1.2 China’s Social Reform

Chinese government used to monopolize almost all the economic and social resources before the Reform and Opening Policy (改革開放政策) promulgated in 1978. The State dominated all of the social life through a series of policy

² Lester Salamon et al. (1999), “Global Civil Society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector”, Center for Civil Society Studies, Baltimore.

³ Ming Wang (2008), “Emerging Civil Society in China, 1978-2008 (in Chinese)”, Social Science Academic Press. Beijing: 269.

⁴ Shaoguang Wang and Jianyu He (2004), “China’s Social Group Revolution: the Landscape of Associations of Chinese People (in Chinese)”, Zhejiang Scholastic Journal, Vol.6: 71-77.

⁵ Refer to the 2013 Statistics Report of Social Service Development, issued by the Ministry of Civil Affairs (MOCA): <http://www.mca.gov.cn/article/zwgk/mzyw/201406/20140600654488.shtml>

announcement and institutional arrangements. Individuals could only survive relying on the work unit (工作单位). The government department and the work unit are the main providers for the public service. There is no space for citizens to organize autonomously.

With the rapid growth of Chinese economy after the 1978 reform, Chinese society is experiencing drastic changes. The growth of a market economy has contributed to a rapid decline in poverty and increasing aggregate prosperity, while it also enlarge the inequalities, gaps between the urban and the rural, migrant and local residents, the coast and the interior. The reform and opening up policy in 1978 has broken the original mechanism of supply of public goods as the planning economy (計画経済). The demand for public goods is sharply increasing. Methods need to be developed to serve the needs of the migrants, the unemployed, the rural poor, and the disabled and the marginalized, who are not able to compete in the market and have lost the protections of the planning system. At the same time, the structure of Chinese society is changing from a work unit society into an individualistic society. Citizens organize themselves autonomously to provide public service.

The revolutionary changes determined the transformation of Chinese government's function. Responding to this new context, the official concept of "small government, big society (小政府·大社会)" has emerged as one of the new ways to manage current society in China. The orientation of government building has been toward a limited and public service oriented government from an omnipotent government. The size of government departments is becoming smaller, and the scope of government's function is gradually diminishing. The policy of "transferring government functions" in the mid-1980s led governments at all levels to think of ways in which former government activities could be transferred to social organizations. Under such circumstance, the social organizations were given an important role in the restructuring of the state bureaucracy and solving the social problems.

1.1.3 Increasing disaster risk

The scale of human and economic losses related to disasters is enormous. During the period 2000-2012, 1.2 million persons were killed directly in disasters and 2.0 billion persons were affected⁶. Average annual economic losses provoked by natural hazards have more than tripled over the past three decades in real terms, amounting to US\$ 3.5 trillion dollars, which is probably a conservative estimate⁷.

Population growth and distribution, especially increased population density and urbanization, heighten vulnerability to disaster. In the last 30 years, the world population has increased by 87%. In the same period, this increase was 114% in flood-prone river basins and 195% in cyclone-exposed coastlines. Over half of the world's large cities, with populations ranging from 2 to 15 million, are currently located in areas highly vulnerable to seismic activity. Furthermore, fast urbanization is expected to increase the world's urban population from 50% to 70% by the year of 2050 – almost doubling the population of the world's cities⁸. The large population of China is also posing challenges to Chinese disaster response system. According to the Sixth National Population Census of China, there are more than 1.33 billion people living in China at present. By 2050, the number is expected to reach 1.46 billion. More than 19.6 million people live in Beijing. In the 10 years between the 2000 and 2010 censuses, the number of people living in the city grew by 44%. Another large city, Shanghai, is home to 23 million people in 2013. The rapid urbanization will further increase exposure to disaster risk.

1.1.4 The transformation of Chinese Disaster Response System

China has been traditionally vulnerable to almost all the types of natural disasters because of its vast territory and complicated geographical conditions. Disasters such

⁶ UNISDR, *Disaster Impacts, 2000-2012*.

⁷ World Bank President, Jim Yong Kim, statement in Sendai, Japan, 2012.10.10.

⁸ UNISDR *Global Assessment Report 2011: Revealing Risk, Redefining Development*.

as floods, droughts, earthquakes, typhoons and landslides have occurred every year. 74% of the provincial capital cities and 62% of municipal cities are located in the regions with seismic intensity over VII degrees, and half of the population is in the regions prone to major disasters⁹. During the past 20 years, China has experienced many disasters, including the flood in 1998, Wenchuan earthquake in 2008, heavy snow disaster in 2009, and Yushu earthquake in 2010. At present, roughly 1% of GDP, which equals to 240 billion RMB, is used in the field of disaster response.

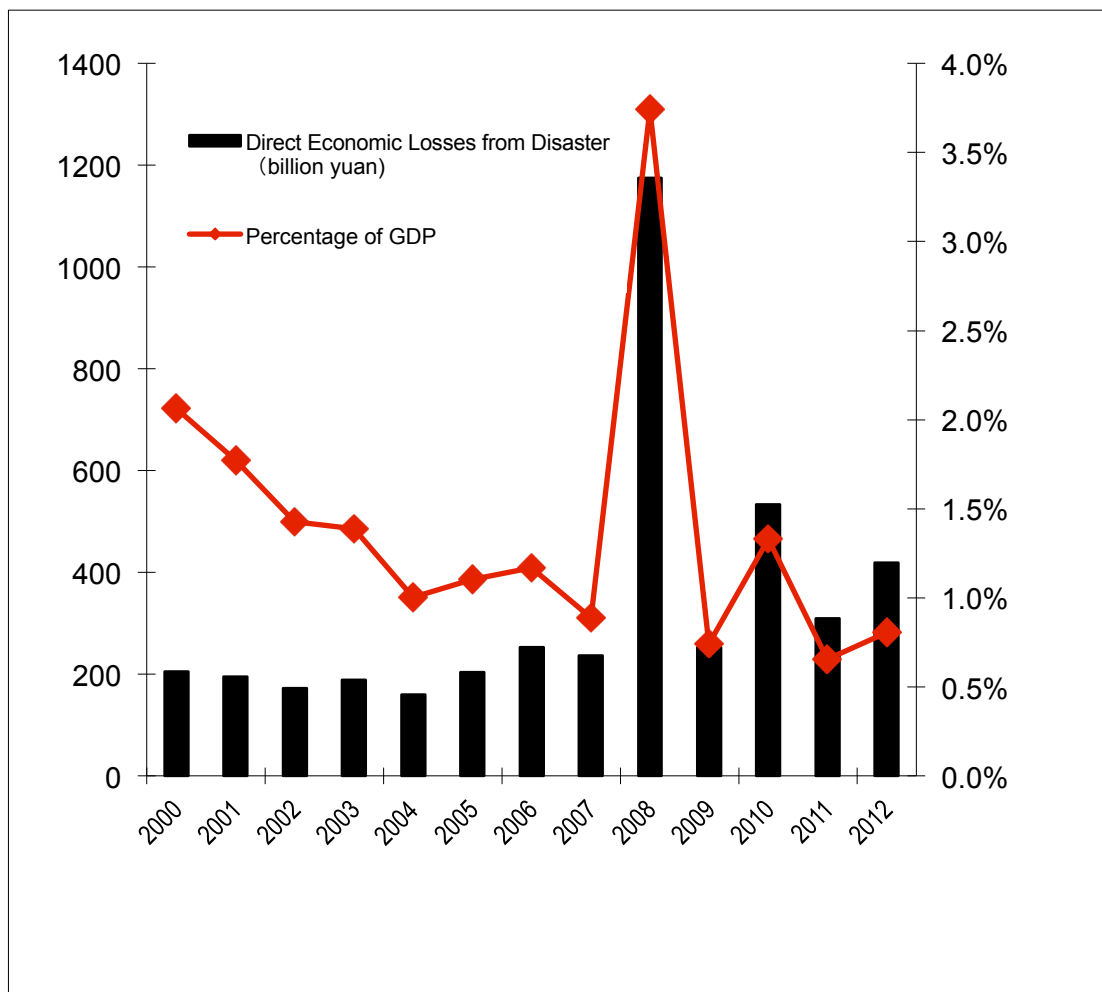


Figure 1.1 The Direct Economic Losses form Disaster in China, 2000-2012

(Data Source: The Statistical Communiqué on the National Economic and Social Development, by MOCA)

⁹ National Disaster Mitigation Center (2010), “The overview of natural disaster in China”, Disaster Reduction, China.Vol.1: 8-9.

The disaster response system of China used to be monopolized by the government. However, with the increasing scale and severity of natural disasters, government efforts alone are not enough to manage disaster response. Therefore, in recent years, the Chinese government has encourage CSOs' efforts in this field, including at various high-level strategic planning sessions such as the 3rd Plenary Session of the 18th CCP Central Committee. On May 12, 2008, a magnitude 8.0 earthquake struck Wenchuan in the middle of Sichuan Province. It left about 80,000 people dead or missing, and nearly half a million injured. With uncharacteristic openness, the Chinese government allowing unprecedented access to the earthquake disaster areas for CSOs that historically has been closed during emergencies. From then on, Chinese CSOs have become more and more significant actors than ever before.

1.2 Problem Awareness and Research Purpose

Previous studies suggest disasters brought changes to civil society in Japan, Turkey and India. On May 12th, 2008, the Wenchuan Earthquake attacked Sichuan Province in West China, led to a death toll of nearly 70,000¹⁰. Accompanying this tragedy was an unprecedented participation of volunteers and civil society organizations (CSOs) in disaster relief activities. Their participation changed the disaster relief mode of China, which used to be monopolized by government. Scholars regard the year of 2008 as the "First Year of Civil Society"¹¹, while other scholars hold an opinion that China is still on the way to civil society¹². However, the dispute exists in the abstract concept of civil society. Both of them admit that CSOs have made significant progress experiencing the earthquake.

¹⁰ CNCDR and UNDP (2009) "The Research Report of the Sichuan Earthquake Emergency Relief", Retrieved from <http://ch.undp.org.cn/downloads/CPR/2.pdf>

¹¹ See: (1) Xu (2008), "The first year of Chinese civil society (in Chinese)", NPO Journal, Vol.4: 1-5; (2) Gao and Yuan (2008), "The Blue Book on Chinese Civil Society Development (in Chinese)", Peking University Press, Beijing. (3) Xiao (2009), "Wenchuan Earthquake Witness: the Growth of China's Civil Society (in Chinese)", Peking University Press, Beijing.

¹² See: Wang (editors, 2009), "Reports on the Civil Society Action in Wenchuan Earthquake: China NGOs in Emergency Rescue", Social Sciences Academic Press, Beijing.

In July 2010, just two years after the earthquake, government had been hasty to declare, “Reconstruction was completed.” However, the actual situation was that, the economic, cultural, social and environmental reconstruction had only just begun, and the government-led high-speed reconstruction itself had created new problems. The reconstruction should be a long-term plan. There are still a host of social problems that need to be addressed. Related to this is the effort of civil society organizations. CSOs have made a significant contribution to continuing relief efforts. Their activities should be noted and analyzed.

On April 20th, 2013, a 7.0 magnitude earthquake struck Sichuan again. The epicenter is located in Lushan of Ya’an City, which is only about 200 kilometers away from Wenchuan of Aba. The locations of these two epicenters are stated in Figure 1.2. The author was in Sichuan at that time to attend the fifth anniversary forum of Wenchuan Earthquake, noticed that a number of CSO members who actively participated in 2008 relief contributed themselves in the affected areas again. Most of their organizations were born being touched by Wenchuan earthquake after 2008. Thus, how did these CSOs develop and how did these CSOs response the disasters during the past five years?

Based on the problems listed above, there are three research questions for this study as following:

- How did the 2008 earthquake affect China’s civil society organizations?
- What is the role of these CSOs in disaster response process?
- How to analyze the influence of the CSOs’ activities responding disaster?

The thesis intends to make clear the origin and growth of the CSOs, and their roles in the filed of disaster response. Moreover, the thesis aims to examine the impact of disaster on the CSO sector in China, through field survey and interviews. The author also expects to find an appropriate approach to investigate and describe the role of these CSOs and their influence in the field of disaster response.

1.3 Overview of the Thesis

The dissertation consists of six chapters. The first chapter introduces the background and purpose of the research firstly, presents the outline of the dissertation, and then discusses the definitions of the keywords and research methods used in this research.

The following five chapters are based on the logic process as shown in Figure 1.2. Chapter 2 provides an overview of previous literature reviews on civil society theory and the studies related to the role of CSOs in disaster response, as the prior theoretical knowledge of this research. Chapter 3 presents the real-life observations on Chinese CSOs, exploring “what the CSOs have done” in the field of disaster response. An overview description of the whole CSO sector is presented, and a case study is used to illustrate the growth process of grassroots CSOs in the past five years, and their performance in the field of disaster response.

Based on the field survey, the author found that, the existing words used to describe the role of CSOs in previous research are not properly to depict the role of CSOs within Chinese context. The Chemistry of CSOs and other organizations in the affected areas such as local government, enterprises and self-organization of victims needs to be attention. With this knowledge the author introduces the concept of catalyst into the field of disaster response in Chapter 4, to describe the role of CSO and its impact. Catalysis of reconstruction after disaster is partially established in practice, but not in theory. In order to analyze the role of CSO in disaster response process, a 5-dimension framework of catalyst is proposed.

Chapter 5 serves to use the framework of catalyst into real China practice, to give the reader an impression of how to use the framework in the practice. The method of multiple case studies is used to illustrate the current situation and performance of Chinese CSOs in disaster response process. The findings of the case studies are expected to help the CSOs’ works in future China.

The final chapter serves to present a conclusion of this dissertation. Suggestions on Chinese CSOs are presented based on the findings in the previous chapters. In addition, the limit of this research and proposal for future research is also presented in the last part.

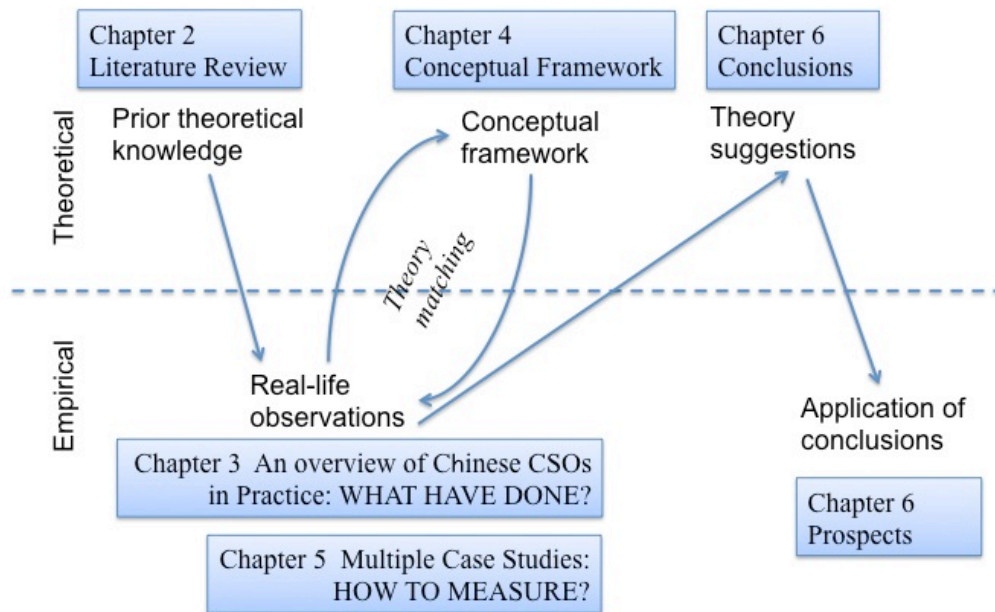


Figure 1.2 Logic Process of the Research

1.4 Definition of Keywords

Civil Society

It is necessary to define the term of *civil society* firstly because its contemporary meaning is contested¹³. The definition of *civil society* used in this thesis refers to the sphere of voluntary associations in which individuals engage in activities of public consequence, distinguished from the public activities of government, and from the private activities of markets.

¹³ Literature review on the theory of civil society theory is presented in Section 2.1.

Civil Society Organization

One thing need be noticed is the legal status of CSOs in China. Legally, the Chinese government divides CSOs into 3 categories: social organizations (社会团体), foundations (基金会) and private non-enterprise entities (民間非企業單位). Social organizations are associations based on membership while the private non-enterprise entities are nonprofit service providers without membership system. Foundations are further categorized into Public Foundations (公募基金会), which are allowed to raise funds publicly, and Private Foundations (非公募基金会), which are usually established by private individuals. The *Regulations on the Registration Management of Social Organizations*¹⁴ provide that the establishment of a social organization must be reviewed and approved by its “professional supervisory unit” before it can apply to the registration department, while in China, only the CCP or government departments or their authorized institutions can act as “professional supervisory unit”. The same regulations also provide that there should not be more than one organization with the same functions in any one locality and that a social organization should not set up branches. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to find a “professional supervisory unit” without any government background. Consequently, it is difficult for a grassroots independent CSO to register. Considering the current situation, CSOs without legal status are also included in this thesis.

Another fact need be mentioned is that relation between government and CSO in China is closer than in Western countries¹⁵. Most of the CSOs register successfully are considered as government-organized NGOs (GONGOs¹⁶) in China, including most of the public foundations, some private foundations, and other registered CSOs. It is a consequence not only of unique social and political context, but also the CSOs’ own understanding of their roles. Most CSO leaders do not see their objective in confronting government or protecting society from the state. Rather, they see the

¹⁴ The Regulations on the Registration Management of Social Organization (社会团体登録管理条例) were issued by the State Council in 1998. Refer to Appendix I.

¹⁵ The origin and current situation of Chinese CSO is illustrated in Section 3.1.

¹⁶ GONGOs are NGOs with an official background. The government is the initiator, the supervisor or the provider of funds, human resource and other resources.

mission as fulfilling their citizen responsibility in collaborating with government. In addition, more and more GONGOs are detaching link from government in recent years. For example, *China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation (CFPA)* has sought to distance itself from its past identity as a GONGO, making efforts to professionalize an increase transparency and accountability. It is also famous for its consistent support on grassroots CSOs. On the other hand, the Chinese Communist Party's guiding thought on CSOs has become clearer recently, and has promulgated several major policies to reform these GONGOs, encouraging them to take de-administration reforms. Therefore, when we research the CSOs in China, it is impossible to exclude involvement of these transforming GONGOs in China's civil society.

The *civil society organization (CSO)* in this thesis refers to an organization that is self-governing, not profit distributing and formed voluntarily by members, including NGOs, NPOs, volunteer organizations, faith-based organizations, foundations for the commonwealth, and may others, regardless of whether they are independent from the government or whether they have legal status. All the legal categories are included in this thesis, with a large number of CSOs have not been registered as legal identities, as shown in Figure 1.3.

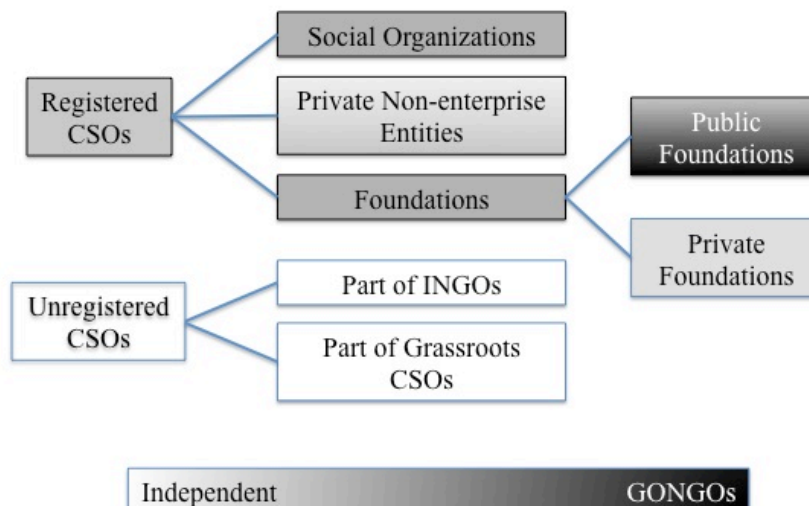


Figure 1.3 The Classification of CSOs in China

Community

The German sociologist Tonnies first introduced the concept of community in 1887, to describe the intimate, humanistic groups in which every resident help with each other. The background of this concept is the social change in Western Europe 100 years ago, when people begun to feel they had lost their homeland to attach themselves. The issue on whether the community has been debated for years.

The same problem troubles today's China as well. The collapse of the "work unit" system, and the highly developed urbanization, also lead the Chinese people fell a sense of loss. In this situation, the Chinese government has issued many policies and guiding files to promote the construction of communities nowadays. In the official documents, the community is expected to be constructed as a harmonious collective. Community in this thesis refers to an administrative region as a street in the urban area, or a village in the rural area in current China. Within the community, there has been a certain rule to regulate the behaviors of the members. Furthermore, the members regard themselves as a part of the collective community. The public participation of the members in a community is based on their familiarity.

Disaster Response

The word *disaster* refers to a sudden overwhelming and unforeseen event. At the household level, a disaster results in a major death, illness, economic loss or a social misfortune. At the community level, it is the destruction of livelihoods, a collapse of buildings in an earthquake, or an unexpected displacement. The term *disaster* owes its origin to the French word *desastre*, which is a combination of "*des*" meaning bad, and "aster" meaning star. The United Nations define a *disaster* as "a serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society causing widespread human, material, economic and environmental losses which exceed the ability of the affected community/society to cope using its own resources."¹⁷

¹⁷ Source: Homepage of UNISDR, refer to <http://www.unisdr.org/we/inform/terminology> .

In this thesis, the author uses the term *disaster response*¹⁸ to include all of the post-disaster activities, measures and programs to reduce the impact of disaster and recover a community or a society from its losses. Disaster response is a process including 3 key phases: rescue, relief and recovery. Rescue activities occur in the initial hours and days after a disaster. The focus during this phase is on saving human life, raising and providing emergency materials. The next phase of the disaster is the relief phase, in which the activities focus on the safe and sanitary conditions for victims such as clean water, food, shelter and clothing, typically lasts a few months. The longest phase of disaster response is the recovery phase, which can take several years, depending on the scope of the disaster. Survivors face a myriad of challenges as they work toward restoring normalcy. Activities and programs for recovery is long-term works aiming to rebuild, return and rehabilitate the victims' living conditions and livelihoods. The disaster response may be helped substantially by any preparedness actions, which were made before the disaster occurred.

1.5 Research Methodology

The author conducted a series of field investigations in the affected areas of Sichuan Province, China, from August 2008 to March 2014. The earthquake occurred in May 2008, measured at 8.0 magnitudes, killed 69,196 people and left 18,379 missing¹⁹. The epicenter was 80 kilometers northwest of Chengdu City, the provincial capital city of Sichuan Province. In this research, the author visited Aba, Mianyang, Deyang and Chengdu 5 times from 2008 to 2014 and Ya'an twice from 2013 to 2014. The location and affected situation of the study areas is shown as Figure 1.4.

¹⁸ Scholars usually use “disaster management” or “disaster governance” to include the activities. However, most of the Chinese CSOs involved themselves in the affected areas actually not because they want to “manage” the disaster nor they want to participate into the “governance”. They just want to “response” the disaster and “do some things only”. So in this thesis, the author believes that the word of “disaster response” is more appropriate to describe the current situation of Chinese CSOs' activities.

¹⁹ Official data from the State Council until July 7th, 2008.



Figure 1.4 Locations and Affected Situation of the Study Areas²⁰

In the 5 areas, Mianyang, Deyang, ABA and Chengdu are the worst affected areas in this earthquake, and most of CSOs have been working in these 4 regions for years. Ya'an City attracted the author's attention from 2013, when Lushan Earthquake measured as 7.0 magnitudes was occurred on April 20th, 2013. The epicenter of the Lushan earthquake was located in Lushan County of Ya'an City. The earthquake has resulted in 196 people dead, 24 missing, at least 11,826 injured. Many CSOs, most of them were developed from 2008, have concentrated in Ya'an city for disaster relief.

Methods of interviews, field observation, multiple case studies questionnaire survey and literature review are used in this research, to collect adequate information about

²⁰ The data only refers to the affected situation of 2008 Wenchuan Earthquake. Affected situation of 2013 Lushan Earthquake occurred in Ya'an City is not included.

the activities and performances of various CSOs in affected areas, and the feedback from the local victims and governmental officials. The interviewees include CSO leaders and members, local residents, the government officials. Some of the CSOs interviewed are studied as multiple case studies in this research, as stated in Table 1.1. In addition, the author was also allowed by some CSOs, for example, the China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation and the Mercy Corps, to attend their project meeting and their field investigation of the project target-communities as an objective observer who didn't participate in the discussion and decision-making. Through the observation as an outsider, the author may learn the logic of CSOs' actions, the interaction between CSOs and other stakeholders from multiple aspects, and the strategies the CSOs used to adjust themselves when facing various problems. Through the communication with local victims, the author also learns the real evaluation on these CSOs from their beneficiaries. In order to be more objective, reports, news and other academic literature were also reviewed to collect more comprehensive data.

The author also has designed questionnaires respectively for the CSOs' leaders, CSOs' members, the victims and the general public, expecting to obtain some quantitative information about the identity and operation mechanism of Chinese CSOs, the attitude of CSOs' members as working inside the civil society sector, and the evolution of the victims and the public on CSOs' performance. However, the results were disappointing. The CSOs are so weak in current China compared with the force of government. Most of the ordinary citizens interviewed in questionnaires expressed that they had never heard about the name of the CSOs, let alone evaluate them²¹. In addition, the CSOs' leaders in China are very cautious to answer the questions listed in the questionnaire when it comes to the fund resources and their private attitudes on CSOs. "I can tell you what I can say, but I cannot tell you more."

²¹ A small-size survey on 100 pedestrians was conducted in 2012 to investigate the popularity of Chinese CSOs in the general public. The results indicate that nearly nobody has ever heard the names of international NGOs and grassroots CSOs. The respondents have only heard the name of some CSOs with governmental background such as the Red Cross Society of China for its authority assigned by the state to raise post-disaster funds publicly, and the China Youth Development Foundation for its famous project building rural schools. Detailed information of this survey is stated in Section 5.1.

As one leader of CSO said, representing the views of other leaders. Meanwhile, the author has found that, for this research, the method of questionnaires lacks flexibility to interact with the respondents. It is difficult to adjust proper questions according to the previous answers and the feedback of the respondents timely, and difficult to grasp the further views of stakeholders. The author believes the interview can make up for these shortcomings, learn the key factors contributing to the success or failure of a project clearly, and the entanglements involving the decision-making during the implementation of a project.

On the other hand, it is also unrealistic to do a quantitative research on Chinese CSOs in the field of disaster response. As a relatively new phenomenon, little record about CSOs (most of them were established after the year of 2008) has been prepared for research purpose. The small size of samples cannot effectively meet the statistical requirement of a quantitative research design. Moreover, the real situation is that, under a competitive environment in current China, each CSO is distinctive and quite dissimilar from others. Wolfecden Committee (1978)²² describes the difference as the difference between ants and elephants, or hermit crabs and whales. Lainie Thomas (2005)²³ has pointed out NGOs are not a homogenous group of institutions. He concludes some differences based on the international practice, and some of them are also proper to describe the Chinese situation. Generally, Chinese CSOs differ from one another in many ways including those listed following: (1) the length of time a CSO has been in existence. Chinese CSOs began to emerge from 1980s, while the grassroots CSOs have mushroomed after 1990s. Most CSOs involve themselves into the field of disaster response after 2008. So their ages are so different with other, as well as the maturity. (2) The motivation of CSOs' establishment. Some CSOs participated in disaster response as their main purpose, while others may provide services for other purpose and only regard their activities in disaster response as a short-term task. (3) The impetus driving the CSOs. For example, whether the CSOs were formed in response to community needs or to the availability of international

²² Wolfecden Committee (1978), "The Future of Voluntary Organizations", London : Croom Helm.

²³ Lainie Thomas (2005), *Capacity Building for Local NGOs: A Guidance Manual for Good Practice*. Catholic Institute for International Relations, London.

funding. (4) Adoption of one or more target groups as a focus (for example, to work with rural women, the disabled or pastoralists) or a broader spectrum of work not focused on a particular target group. (5) Adoption of a sector focus (for example, primary health care, livelihood development, or education) or a thematic focus. (6) Project targeted area. Some CSOs' projects may be targeted to a specific community, while others be spread throughout the whole affected district.

Considering these differences, it is inappropriate to use the statistical method in this research. Yin (1994, p.3)²⁴ points out that "case study allows an investigation retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events — such as individual life cycles, organizational and managerial processes." The author believes that using the qualitative methodology may facilitate an in-depth, process-based analysis on the interactions between the CSOs and other stakeholders within the same environment. The author believes that the methodology of multiple case study helps overcome the limitation of scarce information on the subjects in an explorative study (Strauss and Corbin, 1990)²⁵, and it is effective to demonstrate the process how CSOs involved in disaster response. Through the multiple case studies, the author expects to provide some general conclusions based on these various CSOs.

²⁴ Yin, R. (1994). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

²⁵ Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This Chapter starts from reviewing the developing trajectory of civil society theory and especially the trends to the public participation perspective. Then it concentrates on the theories relevant to disaster response. Existing studies involving the role of the CSOs in the field of disaster response is presented in the last section.

2.1 Debate on Civil Society

The term “civil society” has been contested for years. As a concept, civil society has a history stretching back more than 2,300 years, when Aristotle raised the concept of “politike koinonia” for the first time, to explain the appearance of the “civilized society” with “political” activities in the city-state of ancient Greece. The following thinkers such as Jean Bodin, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke during the European Enlightenment adopted this concept, to describe a kind of ideal situation of the society, in which each individual has his own natural rights. John Locke regards that the only rational form of the political society is a civil society in which a government is authorized by a voluntary federation of citizens.

From 17th century, with the large-scale political centralization, the concept of civility became increasingly defined in contrast to the state. Thinkers of this period argued that civil society should protect the rights and freedoms of individuals as a defense against unwarranted intrusions by the state. For example, Kant’s civil society is a society in which the every persons may pursue those things he/she deems to be good. Thomas Paine argued that the rapid expansion of European state infrastructures during the 18th century threatened the natural rights of individuals. These would be better protected by the market as the only basis upon which collective, civil choices could be made. Alexis de Tocqueville shared Paine’s concerns over state intrusion. Shaken by the outcome of the French Revolution, he saw associational organizations, as a bulwark against the unrestrained popular will of the demos. He was particularly

impressed by the American capacity to organize. “If, they want to proclaim a truth or propagate some feeling by the encouragement of great example, they form an association.¹” Alexis de Tocqueville points out that the spirit of the civil society is the voluntary association, which is the foundation of American democracy. Civil society is, according to de Tocqueville, necessary for the democracy, since it relieves the state burden, checks the state’s actions, distributes information, and initiates people into public life. His vision of civil society facilitates distribution of power and provides mechanisms for direct citizen participation in public affairs.

In the 19th century, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel claimed that civil society was in a sphere separate from the state. In his opinion, the state and civil society depend on each other, although their relationship is full of tensions and requires a complicated balancing act. The civil society encompasses three aspects: the market economy, voluntary organizations, and the independent judicial system. He also emphasized the need of the state to regulate society. Building on Hegel’s ideas, Karl Marx raises different views and regards the civil society more in the sense of a middle-class society as *burgeliche* society. Antonio Gramsci modified Marx’s suggestion, considering the civil society constituted an area outside the state and market, which led the term into the contemporary period.

In the 20th century, civil society became associated with notions of civility, the public sphere (Juergrm Habermas, 1996), social capital (George Putnam, 1993) and community (Amitai Etzioni). As Habermas (1996) argues, the “associational network of civil society” generates public sphere that serve as sounding boards: “From the perspective of democratic theory, the public sphere must, in addition, amplify the pressure of problems, that is, not only detect and identify problems but also convincingly and influentially schematize them, furnish them with possible solutions, and dramatize them in such a way that they are taken up and dealt with by parliamentary complexes. The capacity of the public sphere to solve problems on its own is limited. But this capacity must be utilized to oversee the further treatment of

¹ Tocqueville (1966) “Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics”, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 662.

problem that takes place inside the political system.²” The work of Robert Putnam (1993) has shown that a vigorous, autonomous civil society is a precondition for economic development, as well as for an effective government. Putnam’s work on the comparative economic performance of the 20 provinces of Italy showed that some regions, with a greater degree of horizontal connections, measured through participation in voluntary associations such as membership in choral groups and soccer clubs had more efficacious governments. These regions became rich because they were more civic, as “the social capital embodied in norms and networks of civic engagement seems to be a precondition for economic development, as well as for effective government... civic matters.³”

In summary, the whistle-stop tour through history shows that ideas about civil society has passed through many phases without ever securing a consensus. Until today, the term of “civil society” still has a range of meanings in contemporary usage. Michael Edwards (2009) concludes the perspectives of civil society into three schools: (1) civil society as *a part* of society (the neo-Tocquevillian school that focuses on associational life); (2) civil society as *a kind* of society (characterized by positive norms and values as well as success in meeting particular social goals); and (3) civil society as the *public sphere*.⁴ Chatterjee (2001) describes the term for those characteristic institutions of modern associational life originating in western societies, which are based on equality, autonomy, freedom of entry and exit, contract, deliberative procedures of decision-making, recognized rights and duties of members, and other such principles. He also mentions that it cannot be denied that the history of modernity in non-western countries contains numerous examples of emergence of what could well be called civil society organizations, which nevertheless do not always conform to these principles⁵. Considering the complexity of the term, the author adopts the rational and practical perspective of “associational life” and “public

² Habermas (1996), “Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy”, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, Cambridge: 359.

³ Putnam (1993), “The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life”, *The American Prospect* 13: 35-42.

⁴ Michael Edwards (2009), “Civil Society”, Polity Press, Cambridge: 10.

⁵ Chatterjee (2001), “On Civil and Political Society in Post-Colonial Democracies”, In: Kaviraj, Sudpita; Sunil Khilnani (eds.): *Civil Society: History and Possibilities*. Delhi, Cambridge University Press: 165-178.

sphere” among various meanings of civil society. As mentioned previously, the *civil society* used in this thesis refers to the sphere of voluntary associations in which individuals engage in activities of public consequence, distinguished from the public activities of government, and from the private activities of markets. In practical sense, the civil society incorporates the NGOs, NPOs, voluntary organizations, community organizations, etc.

2.2 The Impact of Disaster on Civil Society Organization

2.2.1 Social Perspective of Disaster Research

Although the historical records about disasters date back thousands of years, the scientific analyses are more recent. Dynes (2000) contend that Rousseau provided the first social scientific insights into disaster with his observation in the 1755 earthquake occurred in Lisbon, relating the density of population, the evacuation reaction with the impacts of the disaster⁶. More than a century later, observations of William James (1883) in San Francisco earthquake also anticipated important themes of later research by reporting improvisation and organization in emergency period⁷. Afterwards, Dr. Frank Press, the President of the National Academy of Science, proposed an international decade to address natural disaster reduction at the 18th World Conference on Earthquake Engineering in 1984. The United Nations adopted a resolution declaring the 1990s the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction in 1987⁸. A series of studies have been conducted in the ten years, led to the birth of disaster sociology.

In formal sociological terms, a disaster may be defined as “an event, concentrated in time and space, in which a society, or a relatively self-sufficient subdivision of a society, undergoes severe danger and incurs such losses to its members and physical

⁶ Dynes R (2000), “The dialogue between Voltaire and Rousseau on the Lisbon earthquake: The emergence of a social science view”, *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 18: 97-115.

⁷ James W (1883), “*Essays in Psychology*”, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

⁸ National Research Council of United States (1991), “*A Safer Future: Reducing the Impacts of Natural Disasters*”, Washington D.C., The National Academies Press.

appurtenances that the social structure is disrupted and the fulfillment of all or some of the essential functions of the society is prevented.⁹ Viewed in this way, Fritz (1968) includes the impact of disasters on a society as: 1) The system of biological survival including subsistence, shelter, health and reproduction; 2) The system of order including division of labor, authority patterns, cultural norms and social roles; 3) The system of meaning like values, shared definitions of reality, communication mechanisms, and 4) the motivation of the actors within all of these systems¹⁰.

The second aspect, the impact of disasters on the system of order can be also identified in other researches. McLuckie's (1975)¹¹ research compared disaster response in Japan and Italy, which at the time were more politically centralized nations, with those of the United States on the assumption that centralization of political authority would have an impact on response activities were carried out. After taking into account other factors such as societal differentiation and the level of technological development, McLukie found that centralization was more common during the pre-disaster planning phase than during the emergency response period and less common for tasks such as evacuation and victim care.

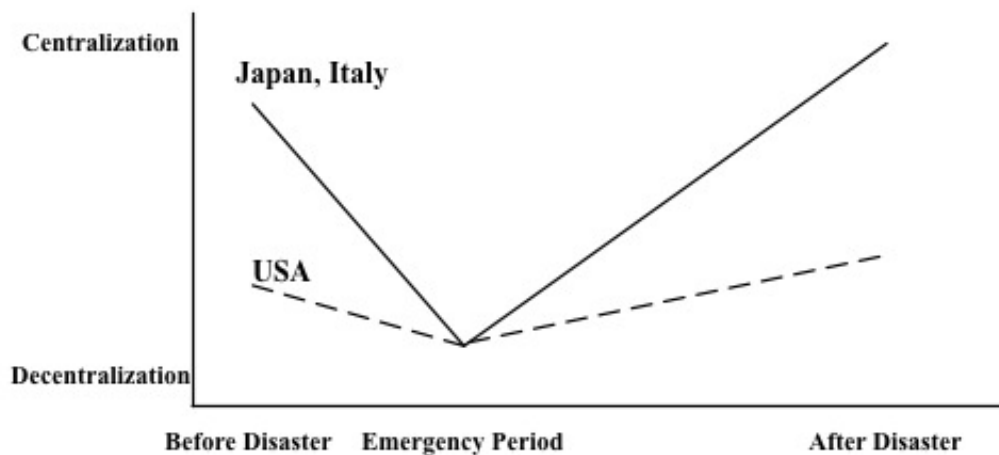


Figure 2.1 Patterns of Response by Stage of Disaster (cited from B.F. Mclukie, 1975)

⁹ Fritz Charles (1961), "Disaster" in Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Nisbet (editors), *Contemporary Social Problems*. New York: Harcourt: 651-694.

¹⁰ Fritz Charles (1968), "Social Adaption to Disaster" *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol.4.

¹¹ B.F. Melukie (1975) "Centralization and Natural Disaster Response: A Preliminary Hypothesis and Interpretations", *Mass Emergencies*, Vol.1:1-9.

Dynes, Quarantelli, and Wenger's (1990) research of the governmental response to the 1985 Mexico City earthquake also suggests that authority was not centralized prior to the disaster, and decentralized response structure that emerged following the earthquake was a continuation of that pattern. Their works indicate that the disaster, as the event of social focus, is an important incentive to lead institutional changes or adjustments.

2.2.2 Disaster Impact on Voluntary Organizations

Although the disaster is miserable, it may also bring some positive impacts, as Fritz (1968) points out "disasters produce many THERAPEUTIC effects on social systems¹²" because the sharing of a common threat to survival and the widespread suffering produced by disaster usually result in a dramatic increase in social solidarity and a temporary breakdown of pre-existing social and economic distinctions, which motivates people to devote their energies to socially regenerative tasks. Neal (1994) mentioned that families and neighbors care for one another and donations pour into affected communities after the Hurricane Andrew¹³.

In research on all types of disasters in United States, as noted by Goltz, Russell, and Bourque (1992), "there emerges a central theme, that individual and collective behavior is controlled, rational, and adaptive in contrast to popular stereotypes which suggest breakdown and personal disorganization.¹⁴" The increase in altruistic behavior that accompanies disasters also means that victims themselves become valuable resources in preparedness and response efforts (Brien and Mileti, 1992)¹⁵.

¹² Fritz Charles (1968), "Social Adaption to Disaster" International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol.4.

¹³ Neal D. (1994), "The consequences of excessive unrequested donations: the case of Hurricane Andraw", Disaster Management, Vol.6:23-28.

¹⁴ Goltz, Russell, and Bourque (1992), "Initial Behavioral Response to a Rapid Onset Disaster: A case study of the October 1, 1987 Whittier Narrows Earthquake", International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters, Vol. 10: 43-69.

¹⁵ Brien and Mileti (1992), "Citizen Participation in Emergency Response Following the Loma Prieta Earthquake", International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters, Vol.10: 71-89.

The 1994 Northridge earthquake in California has proven to be one of the most costly disasters in United States history. Bolin and Stanford (1998)¹⁶ points out that the earthquake and resultant disaster declaration provided an opportunity for local government and NGOs to acquire federal resources not normally available for economic development, and created political openings in which long-term issues of community development could be addressed by various local stakeholders.

While post-disaster volunteering and prosocial behavior have been observed not only in the United States but also across many different societal settings. Following the 1995 Kobe earthquake, which killed an estimated 6,000 people and injured 30,000, many emergent groups formed to assist disaster victims, and organized volunteering took place on a very large scale. As many as 1.3 million people took part in the massive volunteer effort that developed in the days and weeks following the disaster. The earthquake represents a rupture in the traditionally passive structure of Japanese society. Before the Kobe earthquake, the disaster relief had been considered as works for the self-defense army, the police and fire fighters, and the role of CSOs and volunteers was not recognized. It sets out the argument for regarding the Kobe Earthquake as a significant turning point in the relationship between civil society and the Japanese state¹⁷. The year of 1995 is considered as the First Year of Voluntary Actions in Japan.

Similar observations were also made in 1999 central Vietnam historic flood¹⁸. The country saw an influx of CSOs working in the relief and recovery activities, and gradually expanding their work in the pre-disaster preparedness. Most of the CSOs are international NGOs worked in Vietnam, and expanded the networks in the disaster-related activities, from the traditional poverty reduction and social protection programs. Five years later in Indonesia, when the Indian Ocean Tsunami occurred in

¹⁶ Robert Bolin and Lois Stanford (1998), "The Northridge Earthquake: Community-based Approaches to Unmet Recovery Needs", *Disaster*, 22 (1): 21-38.

¹⁷ Alpaslan Ozerdem and Tim Jacoby (2006), "Disaster Management and Civil Society: Earthquake Relief in Japan, Turkey and India", *TAURIS*: 29.

¹⁸ Le Duc Ngoan, Le Thi Hoa Sen, Nguyen Thi Thanh Huong, Lan Christoplos and Lily Salloum Lindegaard (2013), "Climate Change and Rural Institutions in Central Viet Nam", *DIIS Working Paper 2013:14*.

2004, there is a tremendous increase of CSOs' actions in post disaster response in Aceh. Most of the CSOs are with different specialization from urban planning, safer housing to livelihood supports. Also, the ministerial conference on disaster risk reduction in 2012 saw the largest number of civil society participation in Yogyakarta¹⁹.

Recent studies have also noted the powerful impact of the disasters on the civil society organizations in Turkey²⁰ and India²¹. After the 2008 Nargis Cyclone in Myanmar, where the CSOs' role was rather restricted under a strict military regime, the huge demand of recovery process led the government to lift its restriction gradually, and made collaborative partnership with the CSOs. With their deep penetration to the local communities, the CSOs like METTA provided strong support to the government in the recovery process, especially in the remote community in the delta regions²².

The disasters provide opportunities, conditions, spaces and good display platform for CSOs to involve in disasters response. Rajib Shaw and Takako Izumi points out the three key reasons contribute to the activation of CSOs after disasters: (1) availability of resources, mainly financial after the disaster; (2) the need and demands to serve the affected communities; and (3) limited resources in parts of the governments, especially the local governments in the affected regions²³. The disasters not only provides the opportunities for the CSOs' entry to the affected areas during the

¹⁹ See: 1) Telford, Cosgrave, and Houghton (2006), "Joint evaluation of the international Response to the Indian Ocean Tsunami", London: Tsunami Evaluation Coalition; 2) Shaw (2006), "Indian Ocean Tsunami and aftermath: need for environment-disaster synergy in the reconstruction process", *Disaster Prevention and Management*, Vol.15: 5-20; 3) Telford and Cosgrave (2007), "The international humanitarian system and the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunamis", *Disaster*, 31: 1-18.

²⁰ Studies on the impact of the 1999 Marmara Earthquake on Turkey including: (1) Rita Jalali (2002) "Civil Society and the State: Turkey after the Earthquake" *Disaster*, 26(2): 120-139; (2) Paul Kbicek (2002) "The Earthquake, Civil Society, and Political Change in Turkey: Assessment and Comparison with Eastern Europe", *Political Studies*, Vol.50:761-778.

²¹ Ozerdem A and Jacoby T. (2005) "Disaster Management and Civil Society: Earthquake relief in Japan, Turkey and India", I.B. Tauris, London.

²² The center for Peace and Conflict Studies (2008), "Listening to Voices From Inside: Myanmar Civil Society's Response To Cyclone Nargis", Cambodia Press.

²³ Rajib Shaw and Takako Izumi (2014), "Civil Society Organization and Disaster Risk Reduction: The Asian Dilemma", Springer, Tokyo.

post-disaster rescue and relief operation, but also results that some of the CSOs stay in the affected areas for the short, medium and long-term recovery depending on the scale of the disaster. Some CSOs especially the local and indigenous ones continue their activities for pre-disaster mitigation and risk reduction activities.

2.3 The Role of CSOs in Disaster Response

The theory and practice involving disaster response has evolved overtime. However, the government force had been considered as the sole role and main body responding disaster for decades, until the 1994 Yokohama Conference and the “Yokohama Plan of Action for a Safer World”, which was possibly the first official document agreed by the United Nations member states which strongly emphasized the role of communities and CSOs in the field of disaster response²⁴.

Since then, the active roles of CSO responding disasters have been examined in Kobe Earthquake, Mozambique Floods (Moore, Eng and Daniel, 2003²⁵) and Indian Ocean Tsunami (Kilby, 2008²⁶). For example, the establishment of Social Welfare and Disaster Prevention Committee (Bousai Fukushi Community) in the urban areas of Kobe, involve the local communities into the disaster preparedness actions. The key part of the operating mechanism is the sustainability of the scheme, generating its own internal and external resources within and outside community, and serves the community's needs. Another example is the National Society for Earthquake Technology in Nepal, which has been active in disaster preparedness activities over 20 years. Its activities including the retrofitting work of schools, training professional and practitioners, developing knowledge products and influencing the government

²⁴ IDNDR (1994), “Yokohama Plan of Actions for a Safer World”, United Nations, access from: <http://www.unisdr.org/we/inform/publications/8241>, accessed June 1st 2014.

²⁵ Moore, Eng, and Daniel: “International NGOs and the roles of network centrality in humanitarian aid operations: a case study of coordination during the 2000 Mozambique Floods”, *Disaster*, Vol.27: 305-318.

²⁶ Kilby (2008) “The strength of networks: the local NGO response to the tsunami in India”, *Disaster*, Vol.32: 120-130.

policies. Another example is from India, in the western part of Gujarat, Kutch Nav Nirman Abhiyan (KNNA) have involved, mobilized, and empowered local communities to work for drought risk reduction activities, like structural measure to creating check-dams, non-structural measures like livelihood diversification, protecting animal stocks through fodder bank etc., Their actions boasted strongly the global and regional roles of CSOs. The recognition of CSO's active role in disaster response keeps on increasing.

In general, the roles of CSOs may be considered from three main perspectives: political, social and economical perspectives. In their political role, CSOs are seen as a crucial counterweight to states and corporate power and an essential pillar in promoting food governance like transparency, accountability, effectiveness, openness and other aspects of "good governance". From Aristotle, John Locke to Tocqueville, participatory democracy has been a feature of civil society since classical times. Participate democracy creates opportunities for all members of a population to make meaningful contributions to decision-making, and seeks to broaden the range of people who have access to such opportunities.

Across time and space, it is believed that effectively increasing the range of participation makes for better efficiency in governance. As Aisha Ghaus-Pasha points out that "civil society can further good governance, first, by policy analysis and advocacy; second, by regulation and monitoring of state performance; third, by mobilizing particular constituencies, particularly the vulnerable and marginalized sections of masses, to participate more fully in politics and public affairs."²⁷ Also important is the advocacy role of CSOs, including their roles in protecting basic human rights, in giving voice to the wide range of political, environmental, social and community interest and concerns, and in identifying unaddressed problems and bringing them into the public attentions.

²⁷ Aisha Ghaus-Pasha (2004), "Role of Civil Society Organizations in Governance", in the 6th Global Forum on Reinventing Government: Towards Participatory and Transparent Governance, May 2005, Seoul.

From the perspective of economical roles, CSOs are considered as critical providers to offer public services like education, poverty alleviation, environmental protection, health care and social services for disabled. Such services do not offer a viable profitability to the business sector, and due to limited resources, are not always fully covered by the government. CSOs here play a role filling the gaps. According to a recent study of 36 developed, developing and transitional countries, the sector emerged as an important economic force with an expenditure of 1.3 trillion dollars, equivalent to 5.4% of the combined GDP of the countries studies²⁸.

A crucial social role of CSOs is to accumulate and preserve cooperative attitudes, cultural values and creative knowledge. Nguyen Manh Cuong (2008) argues that “CSOs are the instruments that can help individuals develop trust in each other, and support and take care of each other, especially in vulnerable situations. In this way, society can be mobilized to contribute to the overall development of the country.”²⁹ CSOs are also important in creating trust and social capital through cooperation. As Vaneklassen argues, “Social capital is... the web of associations, networks and norms (such as trust and tolerance) that enable people to cooperate with one another for the common good.”

Some scholars believe that the CSOs participate in disaster response because of their obligation, argue that the self-respecting CSOs (especially those international NGOs) in the developed countries, those support international disaster relief, are obliged to respond to their supporters desire to see them in evidence responding to the needs of the disasters. The CSOs are expected to meet the needs of victims after the disaster, because the unmet need is actually the social inequality which should be addressed by CSOs. As Kent (1987) writes, “Disaster cannot be divorced from normal life; they are a reflection of it.”³⁰

²⁸ Salamon, Sokolowski and Associates, (2004) “Global Civil Society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector”, Vol. 02, Kumarian Press, Inc.

²⁹ Nguyen Manh Cuong (2008), “A Theoretical Framework and Principles for the Establishment and Management of Civil Society Organizations in Vietnam”, Report for The Asia Foundation: 20.

³⁰ Kent, R. (1987) “Anatomy of Disaster Relief”, Pinter, London: 27.

Unmet needs after disasters are usually the result of the already existing social inequalities that create vulnerable populations. Social inequalities along the lines of class, race, ethnicity, gender, age and national origin are key factors in people's vulnerability to the hazards. Blaikie et al. (1994) points out that the access people have to resources, including employment, health-care, social support, financial credit, legal rights and education are part of what makes them vulnerable to, or secure from disaster³¹. Bolin and Stanford (1998)³² mentions that in the 1994 Northridge earthquake, the Federal and state assistance of United states received 681,000 applications from the victims for various forms of relief, while many victims have failed to obtain adequate relief although the federal government has already provided 11 billion dollars for disaster relief. In response to unmet needs relating to the vulnerability of particular class and ethnic groups, the NGOs have become involved in the recovery process.

Another perspective regarding the role of CSOs in disaster response is based on the advantages of CSOs comparing with the State. The assistance provided by the government is most generous for short-term needs such as temporary housing and weaker in the support of long-term recovery and reconstruction. Practically, in the field of disaster response, the advantages of CSOs are concluded as below (C.Benson, 2001):

- They have direct links with the grassroots and work with the most vulnerable;
- They can easily identify potential threats and vulnerabilities;
- They can support local coping strategies and mobilize peoples capacities;
- They are well placed to test, develop and disseminate innovations;
- Their often broad-based approach to community development opens the way towards a more holistic approach to disasters than that of many other influential actors who address the subject from a single scientific or technical angle.

³¹ Blaikie, P., T. Cannon, I. Davis and B. Wisner (1994), "At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability, and Disasters." Routledge, NewYork.

³² Robert Bolin and Lois Stanford (1998), "The Northridge Earthquake: Community-based Approaches to Unmet Recovery Needs", *Disaster*, 22 (1): 21-38.

Neal and Phillips (1995) points out that, the informality and flexibility allow the CSOs to provide community-focused services to victims who, for a variety of reasons, might otherwise go without adequate or any assistance from the outside. The community-based programs generally use local knowledge and capabilities, being more flexible and sensitive to local conditions than the unified standard provided by the government. Thus, the CSOs' participation is regarded as an effective mechanism for disaster response.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, the author firstly review the conceptual history of the term “civil society”, and then examines the impact of disaster on civil society organizations based on a large number of practical examples in various countries. The review indicates that disasters always provide opportunities and space for the civil society organizations when the government authority decentralized. Active roles and advantages of CSOs described in existing studies are also discussed in this chapter, to provide a reference for the following research.

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CHAPTER 3 CHINA'S GROWING CIVIL SOCIETY FOR DISASTER RESPONSE

This Chapter firstly introduces the development of Chinese CSOs, and then examines the impact of the 2008 Wenchuan Earthquake on China's civil society. The participation of CSOs in disaster response is illustrated in the following section with a case study to describe the detailed information of a growth process of grassroots CSOs in the past five years, and their performance in the field of disaster response. Based on the whole overview and case study on CSOs, the characteristics of Chinese disaster-related CSOs are concluded in the last part of this chapter.

3.1 Development of Chinese Civil Society Organization

CSO development in China has been quick. Economic reform process initiated in the late 1970s created the possibility for China's emerging civil society. Before the commencement of economic reforms in 1978, the provision of social services such as housing, health insurance, schools and pensions were all organized through state systems related mainly to work units, resulted in no living space for autonomous organizations. Since the 1980s, the government has been establishing GONGOS formally situated outside the state system in order to address social and environmental problems. Compared with the CSOs in Western countries, the first generation of Chinese CSOs has a unique trait: most of them were set up by governmental departments, and totally copied the structure as administrative institutes in a top-down way.

At the same time, international NGOs (INGOs) began to enter China. The rapid economic growth led to emergence of a middle class with stronger economic level and higher education. They became the first generation organizing autonomous

groups in a bottom-up way. The first real grassroots CSO Friends of Nature was set up in 1993. From then, more and more homegrown grassroots CSOs have been established. The development situation of Chinese CSOs is shown as Table 3.1.

Year	Social Organization	Private Non-enterprise Entity	Foundation	Total Amount Of Registered CSOs
1988	4446			446
1989	4544			4544
1990	10855			10855
1991	82814			82814
1992	154502			154502
1993	167506			167506
1994	174060			174060
1995	180523			180523
1996	184821			184821
1997	181318			181318
1998	165600			165600
1999	136764	5901		142665
2000	130668	22654		153322
2001	128805	82134		210939
2002	133297	111212		244509
2003	141167	124491	954	266612
2004	153359	135181	892	289432
2005	171150	147637	975	319762
2006	191946	161303	1144	354393
2007	211661	173915	1340	386916
2008	229681	182382	1597	413660
2009	238747	190479	1843	431069
2010	245256	198175	2200	445631
2011	254969	204388	2614	461971
2012	271131	225108	3029	499268
2013	289026	254670	3549	547245
* MOCA begun the statistic work from 1988.				
** The type of foundation was separated from the type of social organization from 2003.				
Data Source: Statistic Data from Chinese Ministry of Civil Affairs http://www.mca.gov.cn/article/zwgk/tjsj/				

These CSOs play their active roles in various fields, such as social service, education, health, rural development and so on. Until the end of 2013, there are 289,026 social organizations, 254,670 private non-enterprise entities, and 3549 foundations. The distributing situation of social organizations according to their activity fields is illustrated as Figure 3.1.

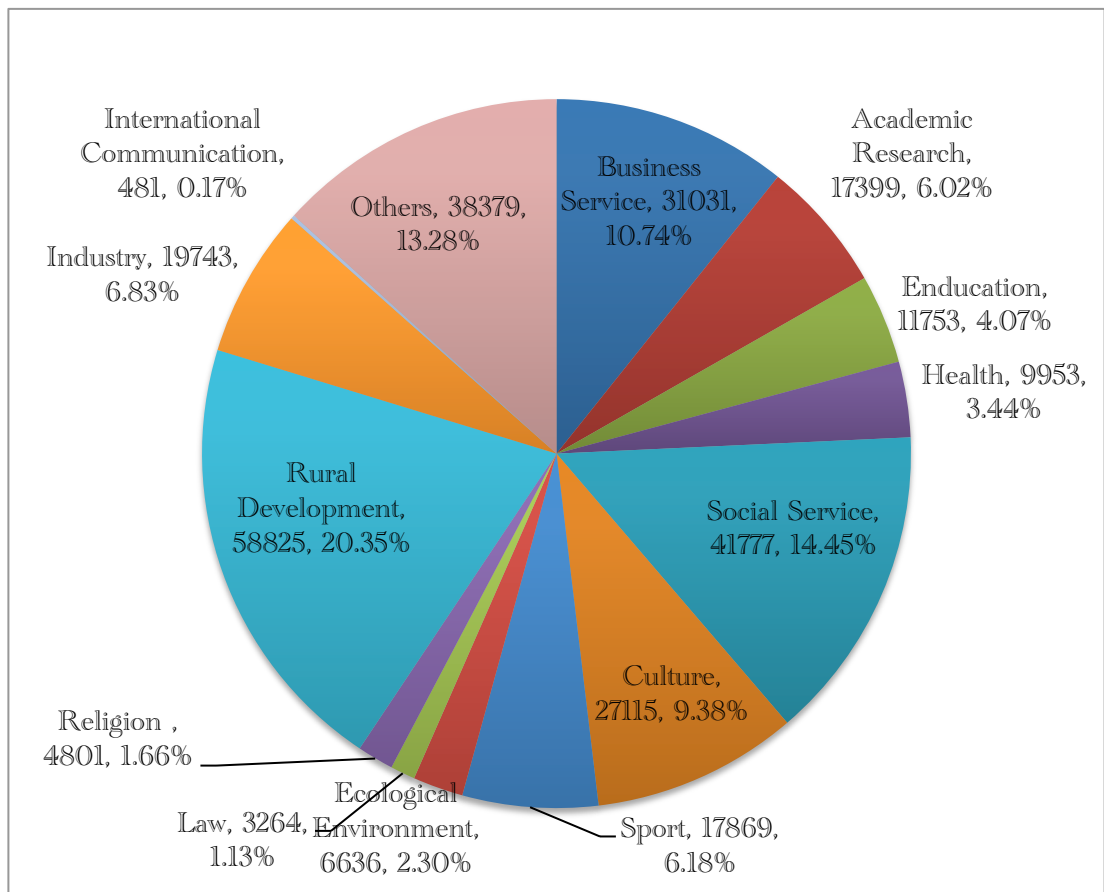


Figure 3.1 Activity Fields of the Social Organizations in 2013

According to the official data from the Ministry of Civil Affairs (MOCA), at the end of 2007, China had 387,114 CSOs. The data only indicates the number of registered CSOs, which had registered at MOCA, while a large number of unregistered CSOs are not included. However, although the number is so huge, only few GONGOs and INGOs had participated in disaster relief before 2008 earthquake (refer to Table 3.2).

There are various factors contribute to absence of grassroots CSOs such as:

(1) Insufficient priority. The rapid economic development has led to a mass of social problems. Comparatively, CSOs had paid more attentions to the issues such as poverty and children, identified these issues as their missions, rather than disaster response.

(2) Shortage of funds. Only two GONGOs, Red Cross Society of China (RCSC), a nominally NGO but actually a part of the central government, and China Charity Foundation (CCF), another agency affiliated with MOCA, had been permitted to receive donations and relief materials. Public foundations, most of which are GONGOs, may raise fund publicly in peacetime, while had been excluded to receive donations when disaster occurred until the enactment of Administrative Measures for Disaster Relief Donations on April 28, 2008. Most of grassroots CSOs had survived depending on the aid from INGOs, lacking of ability to carry out long-term activities in affected areas.

(3) Political pressure. Although the National Preparatory Plan for Disaster Relief and Emergency Response issued by the State Council in 2006 had encouraged participation of CSOs nominally, there had been no approach available in practice. For example, in January 2008, when a snow disaster occurred, some grassroots CSOs located in Guangdong tried to participate in disaster relief, but refused by local government. Instead, the members were permitted to take actions in the name of individuals (Yu, 2010). Wang, the former director of MOCA disaster relief department, describes the characteristics of disaster management system in China as: “unified led by the Party and government, divided responded by each department, and managed at different administrative levels”. From the interview of a local government officer in Sichuan, disaster relief “is the responsibility of government. The participation of other organizations outside the state system would disturb the social order.”

In summary, before 2008 earthquake, the disaster response used to be monopolized by the state in China.

3.2 Impact of 2008 Earthquake on China's CSOs

Previous studies suggest disasters brought changes to civil society in many countries as illustrated in the previous chapter. On May 12th, 2008, Wenchuan Earthquake attacked Sichuan Province in West China, led to a death toll of nearly 70,000 (CNCDR and UNDP, 2009). Accompanying this tragedy was an unprecedented participation of volunteers and civil society organizations (CSOs) in disaster relief activities. Their participation changed the disaster relief mode of China, which used to be monopolized by government. Scholars regard the year of 2008 as the “First Year of Civil Society” (Xu, 2008; Gao and Yuan, 2008; Xiao, 2009), while other scholars hold an opinion that China is still on the way to civil society (Wang, 2009). However, the dispute exists in the abstract concept of civil society. Both of them admit that CSOs have made significant progress experiencing the earthquake.

After the disaster, outpour of citizens provided their aid and funds to the affected areas. They helped with health, sanitation, medical aid, food distribution, and security in days and months following the quake. Official data from MOCA indicates that more than 3,000,000 volunteers contributed their time and efforts in the disaster affected areas until the end of 2008; donations for emergency relief and post-disaster reconstruction achieved 76.7 billion Yuan, in which donation from the individual reached 45.8 billion Yuan. It is the first time that individual donation exceeding donations from the enterprises historically (Charity and Donation Information Center, 2009). The nationwide participation ignited CSOs' enthusiasm. According to an incomplete statistics survey, more than 264 CSOs have taken actions in disaster relief and reconstruction work (Zhu, Wang and Hu, 2009). They have carried out projects in the field of emergency rescue, health care, reconstruction of housing, livelihood support for residents, etc. Their behaviors are regarded as “the first exposition of the Chinese CSO sector” by a CSO leader.

Table 3.2: Part of CSOs involving disaster response in China

Type		Name	Founded Time*	Time into DR field
INGO		Oxfam	1991	1991
		Tzuchi Foundation	1987	1991
		Save the Children	1989	2008
		Mercy Corps	2001	2008
GO-N GO	Agency	RCSC	1950	1987
		CCF	1994	1998
	Public foundation	CFPA	1989	2002
		China Charities Aid Foundation for Children	1981	2008
		China Youth Development Foundation	1989	2008
		One Foundation	2007	2008
Grass-roots CSO	Private foundation	China Social Entrepreneur Foundation	2007	2008
		Narada Foundation	2007	2008
	National organization	Huaxia Commeneal Service Center	2010	2010
	Regional organization	NDPC	2008	2008
		Yixing Team	2008	2008
		Will Gathering Disaster Mitigation Center	2008	2008
		Beichuan China Heart Association	2008	2008

* For INGOs, the time indicates they began their activities in China Mainland.

The disaster also featured an unprecedented large-scale cooperation of CSOs. It is very significant because there had been almost no autonomous network and umbrella bodies due to legislative restrictions in the past. According to the report from NGO Research Center (2006), only a bit more than 6% of CSO stakeholders thought that CSOs were active in sharing information amongst each other; nearly 40% of stakeholders thought that Chinese CSOs had few or none cooperation with one another; nearly nobody thought they cooperate very well before 2006. Most of the CSOs began to choose cooperation in disaster relief because the devastating earthquake had made them recognize their limited capacity to address this severe damage. On May 13, a joint declaration sponsored by Narada Foundation, CFPA and Friends of Nature called on CSOs to unite to response disaster attracted 164 CSOs nationwide. A survey of 70 CSOs indicates that 58.6% of the respondents belong to an alliance with 3 or more than 3 CSOs (Wang, 2009). According to an incomplete statistics investigation, there were 19 CSO-networks formed after the earthquake (Zhu, Wang and Hu, 2009). One example is Sichuan United Office for NGO Disaster Relief (SUND), which was set up on a few hours after the earthquake. Although it was closed on May 30, more than 100 organizations had joined using the internet. It had raised materials of 1.8 million and mobilized thousands of volunteers. Another network located in the disaster affected areas is Sichuan 512 Voluntary Relief Service (SVRC), which was established on May 15 to united 34 NGOs, including 18 homegrown CSOs, 6 INGOs, 4 foundations, 3 volunteers associations and 3 internet-based associations. Different SUND, SVRC was restructured after the emergency period of 2008 earthquake. Until now, it has still played the active roles as a regional platform to share information and coordinate disaster relief efforts among local CSOs. There were also some CSO-networks located outside the affected areas helping to gather supplies donated by enterprises and transport them to Sichuan, such as Xintuofeng Action, a smaller network involving One Foundation and 4 NGOs located in Shanghai.

Moreover, the increasing need of victims could not be met only by governments, which had been also severely destroyed in the earthquake. The pressing shortage of relief personnel and resources led to the welcome attitude of national and local

government. In addition to RCSC and CCF, 18 public foundations were permitted to receive donation after this disaster. Some public foundations such as RCSC and China Youth Development Foundations, and some private foundations such as Narada Foundation, began to realize the importance of grassroots organizations' participation in disaster management after 2008 earthquake. On the one hand, these existing CSOs began to take actions in the following disasters; on the other hand, they have contributed to the birth of new-established CSOs providing them funds. Touched by 2008 earthquake, a number of grassroots organizations in the field of disaster response were established as stated in Table 1. For example, after the closure of SUND, one leader established NGO Disaster Preparedness Center (NDPC). Beichuan China Heart Association is another CSO located in Sichuan evolved from an embryonic temporary association of volunteers after earthquake to deal with disaster relief. The influence is not only within Sichuan, but also brought impact on the regions outside affected areas: 2 volunteers worked in SUND went back to their hometown and established Ying Team located in Yunnan Province. Will Gathering Disaster Mitigation Center was also established in Guizhou Province by a volunteer experiencing 2008. In the next section, a case study of One Foundation is presented. One thing need to notice is that, the case study cannot represent all of these CSOs. Actually, within the limited space for CSOs in China, these CSOs must have their own unique advantages.

3.3 Activities of CSOs in Disaster Response: A Case Study

As a case study, *One Foundation* is described in details in this section, while other CSOs cooperated with it such as *NDPC* will also be involved. Given the relative young age of these organizations, it may be too early to proclaim success or failure, while much can be learned by understanding their growth process during the past five years.

(1) Establishment motivation

One Foundation was founded by international kung fu star Jet Li in 2007. The motivation to establish such an organization primarily involved in disaster relief activities is related to his own survivor experience in 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami. On Dec 25th, 2004, he was in the Maldives and almost lost his children during an island vacation. Touched by this life-shaking experience, he announced his plans to start the *One Foundation* a few days later. The formula is very simple: one person + one Yuan per month = one big family. However, he did not quite know where to begin at that time (Li, 2008). The status of a public foundation is needed to be authorized to raise funds publicly, but it was difficult to register as a public foundation without any connection with the government at that time. Finally, he had to set up an attached special project under *RCSC* in 2007, named as the *Jet Li One Foundation Project* to share its right to raise funds publicly, and registered as a private foundation with the named of *Shanghai-based Jet Li One Public Welfare Foundation* to legitimize its legal entity in 2008.

(2) Performance in Wenchuan Earthquake

The Wenchuan Earthquake is the first massive disaster *One Foundation* faced after its establishment. The identity under *RCSC* made it become the only grassroots organization to receive public donations after the disaster. Within 3 days, the donations had reached 60 million Yuan, excluding mountainous relief materials donated from enterprises and individuals. It was a challenging task for this young organization with 13 staffs totally, in which only 3 staffs in Shanghai office to manage the donations at that time. The shortage of personnel pushed it cooperate with 4 NGOs located in Shanghai on May 14th. Their united action was named as *Xintuofeng Action*. All of the information, such as lists of materials and receipted signed by local victims were open on the internet, and supervised by the public. The high transparency, different from the government and GONGOs in the past, earned *One Foundation* a growing reputation afterwards. According to its annual financial statement audited by Deloitte, the donations

earmarked for Wenchuan Earthquake had reached 96,891,706 Yuan until the end of 2008. The abundant funds made it possible to carry out continued activities in the disaster affected areas for reconstruction. Until April 30th, 2011, three years after the earthquake, *One Foundation* had put about 108,021,201 Yuan into affected areas, including 42 projects covering education, poverty alleviation, community development, health care and many other fields. It claims more than 5 million people had been directly and indirectly benefited in its open report published on May 12, 2011.

The outstanding performance of *One Foundation* pushed it becomes the first grassroots public foundation without government backing. In December of 2010, *One Foundation* was eventually able to register as a public foundation in Shenzhen, where the registration regulation had been reformed and relaxed. Both of the identities before along with funds, projects and personnel were integrated to the *Shenzhen One Foundation Charity Fund*.

(3) Current system for disaster response

The legal status as a public foundation further guarantees the abundant fund for rapid development. Two networks, *One Foundation* Rescue Alliance (OFRA) and *One Foundation* United Rescue (OFUR), as well as five Disaster Preparedness Warehouses (DPW) located in disaster-prone areas have been established as its main channels to response disasters during the past five years. OFRA was set up to unit 30 rescue volunteer teams on May 12th, 2009. It is an open system to welcome groups, as well as the individuals who are enthusiasts in outdoor sports. At present 163 voluntary rescue teams has joined; the number of volunteers (includes the member of teams and individuals) has reached nearly 5000. Another network, OFUR, was set up to unite 11 regional CSOs involving disaster response on Feb. 23rd, 2012, including NDPC and Yixing Team. OFUR is seeking to build a dynamic, interconnected response mechanism to carry out emergency disaster relief, reconstruction work and routine disaster prevention education. In the event of disaster, the local partner CSO establish a working

platform and assume the responsibility of coordinating and providing services, while other partner agencies support operations and resources. Different from OFRA, members of OFUR are all in the forms of organizations. They participate in all the periods of disaster management cycle: response, recovery, mitigation and preparedness.

In the recent years, OFRA and OFUR have played their active roles in Sichuan, Qinghai, Guizhou, and Yunnan Province for earthquakes, mudslides, droughts, floods and other natural disasters. The network of regional teams guarantees the quick response for disaster. In the case of 2013 Lushan Earthquake, the leader of OFRA Sichuan Team was feeling the shakes and immediately organized local team for preparedness. 10 minutes after the quake, pioneering team departed to the affected areas and arrived 2 hours later. It is a disgrace for my profession if we cannot arrive the disaster affected areas within 24 hours.” A member said. For reference, the response timeline is presented in Table 2. At the same time, OFUR partner proceeded to deliver relief materials from DPW in Sichuan, Guizhou and Shaanxi Province. The Emergency Response Plan was officially announced early morning 4 am, April 21st: Stage One for Rescue, with rescuing of lives and salvaging of materials as main focus in the first month after the disaster; Stage Two for Relief, the settlement of disaster victims within 4-8 weeks, ensuring the delivery of basic living necessities; Stage Three for Rebuilding, within 1-2 years after the disaster, providing psychosocial rehabilitation facilities and services for post-disaster children. Within 72 hours after the disaster, emergency rescue and transportation of the injured is the focus. During the two days after Lushan Earthquake, OFRA rescued 20 people serious injured, 56 people lightly injured, and transported more than 600 people injured. A total of 182 personnel was dispatched in the disaster area until April 27th.

Table 3.3: Quick response of OFRA after Lushan Earthquake on April 20, 2013

Time	Events
08:02	Earthquake occurred.
08:12	2 members departed as reconnaissance group.
10:05	The first two pioneer members arrived in affected areas, returned feedback to the headquarters and began rescue.
10:08	1st group, Sichuan rescue team, departed for affected areas with dogs and equipments.
10:30	2nd group, including 6 rescue teams from other provinces: Hebei, Henan, Guangxi, Beijing, Qinghai and Yunnan had been assembled, departed to the affected areas.
14:40	1st group arrived. Field command was set up.
16:40	Logistical support team for 1st group arrived.
22:45	Henan rescue team of the 2nd group arrived.

(4) Findings and Issues

Characteristics of *One Foundation* are summarized as the following:

TRANSPERANCY Different from the government-backed public foundations, *One Foundation* has adopted its transparency mechanism from its establishment. All the public donations to *One Foundation* is hosted by *China Merchants Bank*, audited by *Deloitte*, and accounted by *KPMG*. List of relief materials, financial statements, procurement notices and invoices can be checked on its official website. The public has expressed distrust of GONGOs, using the checkbooks to vote for the bottom-up CSO over the government-backed *RCSC*. A recent survey by newspaper *China Youth Daily* reflects that 60% of interviewees expressed trust in NGO, while only 10% trusted GONGO. After 2013 Lushan Earthquake, *One Foundation* has received donations worth 28.5 million Yuan until May 12th, 2013.

PROFESSIONALISM OFRA members have outstanding capabilities in various fields such as diving, flying, carving, mountaineering, psychological counseling, cross-country driving, and radio communication and so on. Some of them hold the international rescue license, and have participated in international operations. Moreover, most of the member teams are equipped with professional tools including satellite phones, SUVs, rescue dogs and generators. The professionalism is also reflected in the procedure. Once a disaster occurs, members are assembled following an agreed process: in order to avoid unnecessary waste of personnel, the reconnaissance team is sent out as the pioneer firstly, while others are standby. The regional leader decides whether to send follow-up team according to the feedback from the reconnaissance team. In the case of Lushan Earthquake in 2013, the leader of Sichuan Team only sent two members for damage assessment at the beginning. The reconnaissance returned the message two hours after the quake, indicate that the situation is very serious. Then, the leader immediately sent the second team to the affected areas, followed up by the third.

LINKS WITH LOCAL CSOs Members of OFRA are distributed in 30 provinces, while members of OFUR are distributed in 11 provinces. The alliance is not only able to response the emergency events in each region, but also to coordinate the inter-provincial relief efforts. The network of local volunteers and organizations also guarantees its quick response for disaster. However, it is not easy to maintain these independent CSOs in the peacetime. Members of OFRA usually have their own jobs, and join in the actions of rescue voluntarily. They participated only the period of emergency rescue, while the connections in OFUR are tighter because the members of OFUR participated in all periods of disaster cycle. Although the CSOs have accumulated experience in disaster relief over the years, they are still facing problems such as insufficient staffs for community disaster preparedness training, lack of daily office expense. The leader of NDPC, who is the first person to come up with the idea of United Rescue, openly expressed his dissatisfaction to the media. "One Foundation hopes us to wear their uniforms in the disaster relief, but our organizations also need our own influence to develop ourselves. Funds received from only one foundation is not enough to maintain an organization. We have to find other

foundations for cooperation.” The founder of Yixing Team also expressed his opinions as “Some foundations see local CSOs as merely a short-term instrument. They hope they can all on organizations to be effective in a disaster even without providing them with support on an ongoing basis.”

3.4 Characteristics of Chinese CSOs in Disaster Response

Process: Observation from Field Survey

Although in the aftermath of the disaster, all the CSOs had an active role in the distribution of relief assistance and search-and rescue works, the longer-term involvement of each CSO has shown distinctive differences.

As mentioned in the previous section, the author conducted a field survey to observe the actual activities led by CSOs in disaster affected areas, and interviewed CSOs, local government officers, volunteers, and local victims from Apr.2013 to May. 2013, and from Dec. 2013 to Jan. 2014. Based on the field survey, the characteristics of CSOs involved in China's disaster response process are summarized as the following:

(1) Young. As stated in the previous part, Chinese CSOs had been absent in disaster response before 2008. Most of the currently active organizations have been only established less than 5 years. Their structures are still in change, and they have not formed their own mature operating mode yet.

(2) Distinctive. Different from other countries, financial assistance provided from the Chinese government is very few to the CSOs. More than 90% of the organizations rely on donations or funds from international NGOs. In order to attract the limited donations and funds, these organizations must develop their distinctive strengths. Only the competitive organizations may survive.

(3) Need-based. Almost all of the CSOs interviewed by the author mentioned that they are victims' demand-driven. They emphasize not only the result of a project, but also the process of implementation.

(4) Outsider. Within the 264 CSOs which are investigated, only 55 organizations are local birthed, while other 209 organizations are outsiders. So, how does an outside, need-based, distinctive and young organization conducts its activities in a disaster-affected area?

As a case study the author examines a typical Chinese civil society organization (code name CA) to explore its efforts in a typical disaster affected community.

Observation from a case study

On May 12th, 2008, when Sichuan earthquake occurred, the hospital in the case community was destroyed severely. The reconstruction of hospital, which is the urgently needed facility after earthquake, became an urgent issue for local government. However, the government cannot afford the full cost to rebuild it, and the financial allocation from the central government need a lengthy procedure. On the other hand, CA, an organization from outside, needs support from the government to carry out its follow-up work. The two actors reached a consensus quickly: 40% by local government, and 60% by CA. “We have to involve the local government into the reconstruction process. We must make the local government to invest a portion of funds, otherwise they may not stir a finger.” the project manager of CA said when interviewed by the author. The portion of fund CA promised is provided by a private enterprise. CA has a partnership with this enterprise. In return, CA would publicize this enterprise for its reputation in the public. Media resources and good public image of CA are two factors contribute to the donations from private enterprises. The impact of CA on the affected community did not terminate at the completion of the hospital project. During the process of rebuilding the hospital, CA had established a good relationship with the local government. To response the demand from local victims, the livelihood recovery project is followed, and the fund is supported from another private enterprise. At the same time, CA also supported local grassroots’ CSO organized by victims. The number of actors involved in disaster response process increases, and the speed of disaster recovery is enhanced. The involvement of CA initiates a chain reaction.

Findings

Those who describe the role of CSO in the disaster response typically employ the words of “link”, “pipeline”, “junction points”, “networker” and “coordinator”. However, in considering CA’ efforts to response disaster, there are some features should be noted: engagement from outside; dynamic; impact of one organization on other organization; exchange within organizations; bidirectional reaction (positive or negative); promote new organization; sensitive to the environment... The author argue that the existing words are not enough to conclude all of the features identified from the Chinese practice, but the chemical analogy of catalysis accurately describes the process. Instead of the static words like “pipeline”, “coordinator” or “networker”, using the concept of dynamic catalytic reactions is more useful and versatile. The concept and theoretical framework of catalyst is the subject of next section.

3.5 Summary

The 2008 earthquake serves as a turning point for many existing CSOs to intake the disaster response to their main fields, and also offers opportunity for those grassroots organizations established in a bottom-up way. Case study indicates that transparency and professionalism should be the future direction for those powerful organizations, while its link with local organizations is still under disputation. Localized and community-based disaster prevention and disaster mitigation measures tend to provide the most effective and rapid disaster relief to response the more complicated natural disaster. The mode of CSO-network is a good vision for a sustainable development of disaster affected community, but realizing it still requires further considerations. Galaskiewicz (1985) argued while the hierarchical models of resource allocation and movement emphasize the power during inter-organizational transactions. Thus, to avoid the possible unequal connections among member

organizations, the problems such as insufficient staff and shortage of funds have diminished the development of grassroots CSOs should be firstly addressed.

Chinese government encourages CSOs to participate in disaster response in many statements. However, there are not operational laws formulating mechanism and procedure on the participation of CSOs so far. Moreover, the regulation on public fund-raising is so strict even celebrities as well-connected as Jet Li, have a difficult time acquiring public foundation status. As the first step, government need further relax the regulation on public foundation to support these grassroots local CSOs. And then, when the local CSOs become self-sufficient and more independent, a organizational structure like OFRA with weak ties can be established to be more equal and effective.

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CHAPTER 4 A Conceptual Framework: Catalysts in Disaster Response

As stated in the previous chapter, the existing static concepts are not enough to conclude the features of CSOs in Chinese context. We need a different way of looking at the role of CSOs in reconstituting the disaster-affected areas, a different vision. In this chapter, the author introduces the concept of catalyst into the field of disaster response firstly, and then develops a framework of catalyst using the chemical analogy of catalysis. The detailed description of this framework is presented based on 5 dimensions in the third section. Finally, a case study is illustrated to explain the conceptual framework of catalysts in more concrete term.

4.1 The Concept of Catalysts

4.1.1 Catalyst in Natural Science

By the beginning of the 19th century the catalytic properties of many metals, notably platinum, had been noticed and extensively investigated (Wisniak, 2010¹). As a chemical professional term, catalysis was coined by Berzelius² in 1835, comes from the Greek words “kata” meaning down and “leyein” meaning loosen, in analogy to “analysis”. Berzelius summarized the findings of different scientists on the formation of ether from alcohols, on the enhanced conversion of starch to sugar by acid and the observation that the oxidation of alcohol to acetic acid was accomplished in the

¹ Wisniak, Jaime. "The History of Catalysis. From the Beginning to Nobel Prizes." *Educación química* 21.1 (2010): 60-69.

² J. J Berzelius, Årsberättelsen om framsteg i fysik och kemi (Annual report on progress in physics and chemistry), Stockholm, Sweden: Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, 1835: P245.

presence of finely divided platinum. He considered “catalysis” to be an “only rarely observed force”, and wrote that by the term catalysis he meant “the property of exerting on other bodies an action which is very different from chemical affinity. By means of this action, they produce decomposition in bodies, and form new compounds into the composition of which they do not enter” (Berzelius, 1835³).

A definition that is still valid today is due to Ostwald (1985): “a catalyst accelerates chemical reaction without affecting the position of the equilibrium.” From 1988 to 1905, Ostwald started a series of investigation into the reaction, developed and defined the modern concept of catalyst as “any substance that changes the velocity of a reaction without appearing in its end products.”⁴

Commonly, catalyst is defined as a substance which alters the rate of the chemical reaction without being used up in the reaction and can be recovered chemically unchanged at the end of the reaction. The catalyst which increases the rate of the reaction is called as positive catalyst, while the catalyst which decreases the rate is negative catalyst.

The following are the characteristics which are common to most of catalytic reactions:

- *A catalyst remains unchanged in mass and chemical composition at the end of the reaction.*
- *A small amount of catalyst is generally sufficient to bring about an appreciable change in the velocity of reaction.*
- *The catalyst is generally specific in nature. A substance, which acts as a catalyst for a particular reaction, fails to stimulate other reactions. Different catalysts for the same reactant may form different products.*
- *A catalyst does not alter the position of the equilibrium in a reversible reaction.*
- *A catalyst is most active at particular temperature called optimum temperature.*

³ J.J. Berzelius (1836) “Quelques Idées sur une Nouvelle Force Agissant Dans les Combinaisons des Corps Organiques”, *Annales de Chimie et de Physique* 61, 146-151.

⁴ Färber, E. (Ed.). (1961). *Great chemists* (Vol. 1). Interscience Publishers: P1026

- *The activity of a catalyst substance can be changed by the presence of small amount of foreign substances⁵.*
- *A positive catalyst lowers the activation energy.*

Catalysis as a phenomenon is becoming reasonably well understood on a conceptual level, but still far away from maturity until nowadays. The mechanism of this catalyst is still under debate (refer to Section 4.3). Nonetheless the use of catalysts is principally attractive, for both ecological and economic reasons. Reduction in waste and energy as well as the careful use of chemical process resources are the vital advantages that make it easy to understand. In the industry, if catalytic activity can be improved, it may be possible to lower the temperature and/or the pressure at which the process operates and thus save fuel, which is one of the major costs in a large-scale chemical process. Furthermore, it may be possible to reduce the amount of reactants that are wasted forming unwanted by-products.

At present, the catalytic reactions have been observed in nature including the following types:

- *Homogeneous catalysis: both the catalyst and the reactants are in the same phase.*
- *Heterogeneous catalysis: the catalyst and the reactants are in different phases.*
- *Auto-catalysis: one of the product acts as a catalyst.*

The catalysis reaction can be observed not only in the chemical field, but also in many other fields. For example, living matter relies on enzymes, which are the most specific catalysts one can think of. Also, the wave theory in mathematics, the Doppler effect in physics and the multiplier effect in economics category share the similar characteristics in phenomena.

⁵ These foreign substances can be called as “promoters” which increase the activity of a catalyst or “catalytic poisons” which inhibit or completely destroy the activity.

4.1.2 Catalyst in Social Science

In 1989, Attoe and Logan⁶ illustrate the concept of catalyst within the American urban design practice. They argue that, “there should be a sequence of limited, achievable visions” for the city center, “each with the power to kindle and condition other achievable visions. This would be urban catalysis.” They use the analogy of catalysis to describe “the positive impact of an individual urban building or project can have on subsequent projects and, ultimately, the form of a city.⁷” while the urban catalyst which stimulate and sustain the chemical reaction “might be a hotel in one city, a shopping complex in another, a transportation hub in a third.... A catalyst is an urban element that is shaped by the city (its laboratory setting) and then, in turn, shapes its context. ⁸” In the book, Attoe and Logan point out that the theory of urban catalytic architecture would encourage designers, planners, and policymakers to consider the chain-reactive potential of individual developments on civic growth and urban regeneration.

Ebizawa (1991)⁹ applied the concept of catalyst into the information system field in 1991, as he argues that in the traditional organizational theory, either the distribution of works or the design of rules are both based on the pre-planning and pre-design firstly, and then the implementation in real world. However, in the practice, an organization in reality is in the midst of the turbulent environment, which cannot be perceived previously. Thus, the actions based on pre-design are not functional in the real world, but considering the organizations as catalysts allows the organizations learn from each other, and evolve with the related elements to create a brand new product. Ebizawa also points out that in order to realize the self-catalysis, the openness to the environment, the non-equilibrium to reform itself and the active dialogue with the heterogeneous elements are required as catalytic functions.

⁶ Attoe and Logan (1989) “American urban architecture: catalysts in the design of cities” University of California Press, Berkeley.

⁷ Attoe and Logan (1989), P3.

⁸ Attoe and Logan (1989), P45.

⁹ Ebizawa Eiichi (1991), “Catalytic Functions of the Self-organized Organization: Attempt for the application into information system (In Japanese)”, International Management Forum, Vol.3: 110-135.

4.2 Proposal: Catalyst in Disaster Response Process

Inspired by Chinese existing practice, the author introduces the concept of catalysts into the field of disaster response, regards a civil society organization from outside as a catalyst in a disaster affected community. When a CSO begins to response disaster, it automatically starts its communication with its surrounding environment and other organizations, through the exchange of funds, materials, human resource, power and information. The catalytic reaction is dynamic and bidirectional.

4.2.1 Catalyst as a description of organizational function

In industry, a catalyst offers an alternative, energetically favorable mechanism to the non-catalytic reaction, thus enabling processes to be carried out under industrially feasible conditions of pressure and temperature. Without catalysts, many reactions that are common in the chemical industry would not be possible, and many other processes would not be economical.

In real life, the CSOs play the same role. In the field survey, we often heard the victims mentioned that, if there were no CSO involved in their community, the village would maintain the status quo for 20 years without any developments. These alien CSOs provide an alternative path for them. When a catalyst CSO entered a disaster-affected community as an outsider, it causes a series of impact on its surroundings as a catalytic reaction.

Although the impact is bidirectional, a positive reaction under control may speed up the recovery process and improve the quality of reconstruction projects. In the ideal conditions, a catalyst CSO may give birth to a new organization in local community, and lead to an endless reaction controlled. The illustration below demonstrates a catalytic reaction led by a CSO in the ideal conditions.

Catalysts accelerate reactions by orders of magnitude, enabling them to be carried out under the most favorable environment. In this way, the efficient catalysts, in

combination with their suitable partners, are the key factor in reducing both the investment and operation costs of a disaster response processes. But that is not all.

4.2.2 Catalyst as a strategy and approach

The author believes that the concept of catalyst is not only a word used to describe the function of CSO, but also a strategy and approach to inspire people answer the questions such as “how can a CSO adapt to the local environment more quickly, and play a more active role with proper operation?” When a CSO begins to participate in the disaster response process, it automatically starts its communication with its surrounding environment and other organizations, through the exchange of funds, materials, human resource and information. However, this kind of “automatic” and “mechanical” participation may be not enough in the post-disaster urgent and chaotic situation.

Introducing the concept of catalyst into the project design may make decision-makers and participants consider “consciously” that what they should do to improve their efficiency of communication “more positively”, and how to control the reaction design, maximizing their advantages to promote the quality of community reconstruction projects, like a catalyst in an “accelerated” an chemical reaction. The purpose of a catalyst CSO’ involvement is to revive an affected community collaboratively, meeting the demands of all stakeholders based on CSOs’ professional design and operation.

Another advantage of introducing the concept of catalyst is that, we can learn values and wisdom from the existing catalytic theory in chemistry field, to find out the character of a catalyst, which may lead to a positive reaction. In the next section, the author would sort out the mechanism of catalysts’ operation in nature and industry, and discuss how to apply these existing knowledge into CSO design.

4.3 Theoretical Framework: when analyze or design a catalytic reaction in disaster response

Scientists have already found various types of catalysts in the nature. However, how does catalyst affect the rate of a reaction? The answer to this question is still inconclusive. Although the effects of catalysis are known from very ancient times when human being began to produce alcohol by fermentation, the work done about catalysis was sporadically documented without any effort made to explain these phenomena until the 18th century.

The first reasonable theory of catalytic action was due to Clement and Desormes in 1806¹⁰, who assumed that the reacting substances and the catalyst form an unstable “intermediate compound”, which then breaks up, reproducing the catalyst in its original chemical composition, and liberating the products of reaction. This series of alternating, or cyclic reactions, so called because the catalyst goes through a series of complete cycles of changes and returns to its original state after each, is regarded by this theory as the cause of catalytic action. In general, the intermediate compound formation theory applies to homogeneous catalyst reactions, According to this theory, the catalyst form an intermediate with one of the reactants. But the intermediate compound is unstable. So that the intermediate compound combines with other reactant to form the desired product and the catalyst is regenerated. Catalysis is a cyclic process as shown in Figure 1-1: the reactants are bound to one form of the catalyst, and the products are released from another, regenerating the initial state.

¹⁰ Désormes, C.B., Clément, N., *Théorie de la Fabrication de l'Acide Sulfurique*, Ann. Chim., 59, 329-339, 1806.

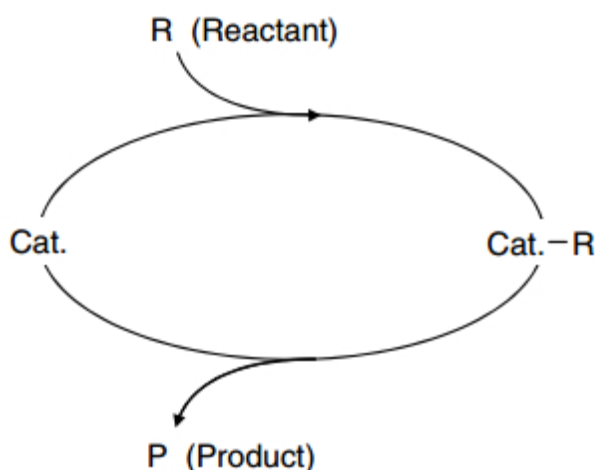


Figure 4.1 Schematic Representation of A Catalysis Reaction

However, this unstable intermediate compound formation theory cannot be used to explain the function of catalyst in heterogeneous reactions. Another theory named “adsorption theory”, is postulated by Faraday in 1883. According to this theory, reactants are adsorbed on the surface of the catalyst and form a film. Due to high concentration of the reactants on the film, reaction proceeds at a faster rate.

A remarkable step in the principles of heterogeneous catalysis took place in 1925 when Hugh Stott Taylor introduced the concept of “active sites”, suggesting the existence of surface atoms in varying degrees of saturation. A heterogeneous catalyst is a collection of active sites located at the surface. The adsorption of the reactant is formally a reaction with an empty site to give an intermediate. The modern adsorption theory considers that, reactants are adsorbed at the active sites on the surface and form activated complex, which under strain forms new molecules and leaves the surface. It is the combination of both the “old” adsorption theory and the intermediate compound formation theory, explaining the effect of catalyst poisoning¹¹.

¹¹ Catalyst poisoning refers to the effect that a catalyst can be “poisoned” if it reacts with another compound that bonds chemically to its active surface site. The catalytic poison preferentially adsorb on the active sites of the catalyst, thereby the poisoned sites can no longer accelerate the reaction with which the catalyst was supposed to catalyze.

Arrhenius' concept of "activation energy" led to the fourth theory to explain the mechanism of catalysis from different perspective. Arrhenius argued that for reactants to transform into products, they must first acquire a minimum amount of energy, called the activation energy or energy barrier. According to this theory, catalyst modifies the transition state by reduce the size of this energy barrier, to increase the rate of reaction. In addition, while the catalyst lowers the activation energy, it does not change the energies of the original reactants or products. Rather, the reactant energy and the product remain the same and only the activation energy is altered. Usually, the catalyst achieves this goal by providing an alternative pathway.

Although there is still considerable debate over the detailed mechanisms, some facts can be observed from the existing theories. The author believes that there is an analogy between the chemical process of catalysis and mechanisms of successful project involving disaster response. When a catalyst entered, it modifies the elements around it. The elements engaged in this reaction include those actors such as enterprises, local government, local communities, and other CSOs. These changeable elements would be newly added or exited in the reaction, and catalyst itself would exit the affected areas eventually.

Based on the concept of catalyst, the author presents a theoretical framework containing 5 dimensions: identity, boundary, link, penetration, and autocatalysis (Figure 4.2). The framework was developed to capture the characteristics of numerous projects conducted by CSOs in disaster-affected areas primarily¹², but the author has found that it also gives CSOs a toolkit to design and manage their projects in a new paradigm.

¹² There are more than 100 CSOs worked in disaster-affected areas in Sichuan Province, and each of them have conducted 1-50 projects. Since most of the CSOs were established after 2008 earthquake, these "young" organizations change frequently. It is rude and inappropriate to use the method like classification or statistics to conclude the distinctive projects, while the process-based methodology allows an investigation retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events. The author believe that the conceptual framework of catalyst is a appropriate tool to sort these valuable practice experience. The detailed analysis of multiple-case CSO projects using the framework of catalyst is expected to be presented in Chapter 5.

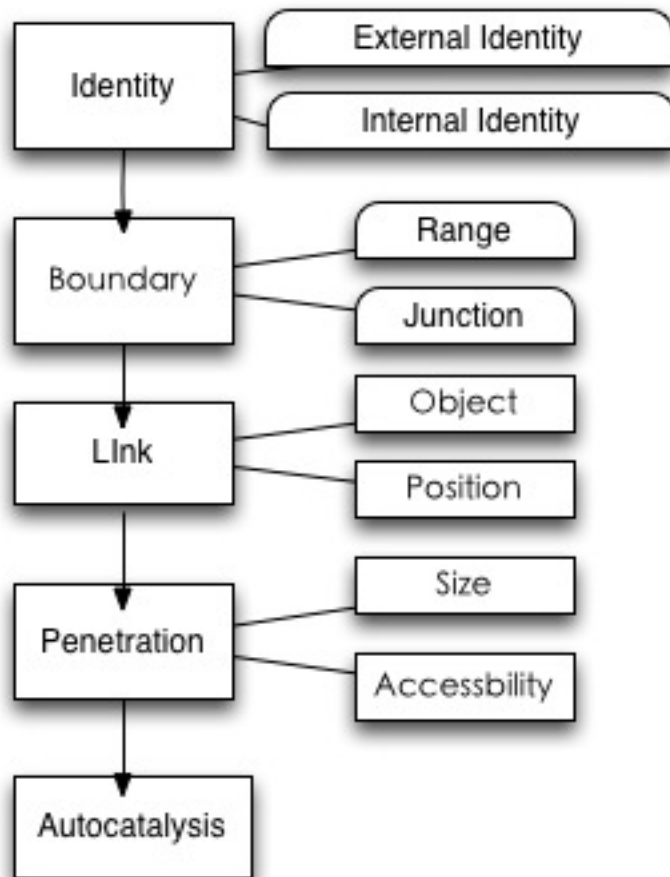


Figure 4.2 Theoretical framework using the concept of catalyst

This framework does not prescribe a single mechanism of implementation, a final form, or a preferred visual character for all affected communities. Rather, it prescribes an essential feature for recovery process: the power to kindle other action. The focus is the interaction of new and existing elements and their impact on future community form.

Using this 5-dimension conceptual framework, CSO can engage into disaster response considering itself as a catalyst, and initiate a controlled catalytic reaction. In order to reach a positive impact, a design of the catalytic reaction requires an understanding of the local context. Catalytic reactions conducted in different context are not the same.

4.3.1 Identity

As the personal identity, which helps individuals to know who I am and what I stand for in society, is the most fundamental issue to consider one's survival, identity of an organization is also fundamental and important for its development. For a catalyst CSO, specially, the following questions should be addressed: What is the goal and focus of CSO? How to use its social capital or other superiority? Is the catalyst distinctive enough in the competitive context? Answers to these questions lead to a common understanding among members about the organizations, as a basis to take actions together and deal with potential crisis.

The concept of organizational identity was introduced by Albert and Whetten in 1985¹³. Based on their empirical research results, they suggested that organizational identity embodies the characteristics of an organization that its members perceive to be central, distinctive, and enduring (or continuing) in an organization when past, present and the future is taken into account. However, this definition raises theoretical questions related to the particular point of view or perspective from which an organization's identity is defined. Ravasi and Schultz (2006)¹⁴ have identified two camps in the debate over organizational identity: those who see organizational identity as an essential characteristic of a social actor and those who see organizational identity as a social construction.

From the social actor perspective, organizational identity is centered on the functional properties of self-definitions in satisfying the basic requirements of organizations as social actors; continuity, coherence, and distinctiveness. The *sense-giving* function of organizational identities is emphasized to link identity construction for how the members of an organization should behave and how other organizations should relate to them(Albert & Whetten, 1985¹⁵).

¹³ Albert, S., & Whetten, D. A. 1985. Organizational identity. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 7: 263–95.

¹⁴ Ravasi, D., & Schultz, M. (2006). Responding to organizational identity threats: Exploring the role of organizational culture. *Academy of Management Journal*, 49, 433–458.

¹⁵ Albert, S., & Whetten, D. A. 1985. Organizational identity. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 7: 263–95.

Conversely, proponents of a social constructionist emphasize the freedom that organizational members enjoy in renegotiating shared interpretations about what their organization is about and what its official identity claims really mean to them (Gioia et al., 2000¹⁶). They use a *sense-making* process through their identity claims to collectively construct their identity understanding, and have emphasized the common nature of the constructs and their reciprocal influence in affecting *sense-making* of organizations.

Despite these theoretical differences, organizational identity scholars has called for an integration of these two perspective s to increase organizational identity's utility (van Rekom et al., 2008¹⁷). In this article, the author believe that the respective emphasis of two perspectives, institutional claims and collective understandings, or sense-giving and sense-making, should be both accounted for fully understand the identity of a catalyst CSO.

Identity of a catalyst CSO in this framework is consisted of 2 aspects: external identity and internal identity. The external identity reflects the image held in the minds of the organization's multiple stakeholders. When we consider the external identity of a CSO responding disaster, high-efficiency, specialization and transparency need be highlighted. The internal identity refers to the consensus of members on their mission, values and distinctive activities, which is a basis for members to take actions together and deal with potential crisis.

The external organizational identity focuses on the definition of role and brand, answers the questions such as "who we are" and "what symbolizes us". The pressure is mainly from outside. Internal organizational identity focuses on self-construal identity-formation. The process of internal identity formation is the experience how

¹⁶ Gioia, D. A, Schultz, M., & Corley, K. 2000. Organizational identity, image and adaptive instability. *Academy of Management Review*, 25: 63–82.

¹⁷ Van Rekom, J., Corley, K. G., & Ravasi, D. (2008). Extending and advancing theories of organizational identity. *Corporate Reputation Review*, 11, 183-188.

members recognize their own CSO, and how the organization influence the members' self-definition. The pressure is mainly from the members themselves.

Identity of a CSO drives broad, long-term social goals, while strengthening internal cohesion and capacity, only when the organization's internal identity and external identity are aligned with each other and with its values and mission. If there is a misalignment between internal identity and external identity, the organization needs to adjust its strategic direction.

Furthermore, at every step in a CSO's strategy and at each juncture of change, organizational identity is increasingly seen as critical in helping to stimulate support from outside, maintain focus on its origin mission, and promote its operational capacity. Identity of a CSO does not operate alone, but plays a dynamic role within an organization and evolve alongside the organization as it grows.

4.3.2 Boundary

As we know, catalytic reactions occur when the reacting species are associated with the catalyst. In heterogeneous catalysis it happens at a surface. In this article, we call the "surface" of a CSO catalyst as its "boundary". The boundary of a CSO catalyst includes two aspects. The first aspect of boundary is its limitation as the range of an organization: identity refers to the things elements can do, while boundary refer to those matters element cannot touch. As an external force, if the CSO cross its line, the intervention may break the balance of the disaster-affected community, and suppress the normal function of the community force.

Another aspect is the functional junction on a boundary, which is similar to the "active sites" located at the "surface". In the chemistry field, adsorption of reactants on the surface of a catalyst is the first step in every reaction of heterogeneous catalysis. For a catalyst CSO, if there is no department connected with other organizations, the catalysis cannot start. For example, a fundraising department

talking with CSR department of an enterprise provides a prerequisite for the cooperation between enterprise and CSOs; a professional team of social workers may help the CSO integrates into an affected area more quickly.

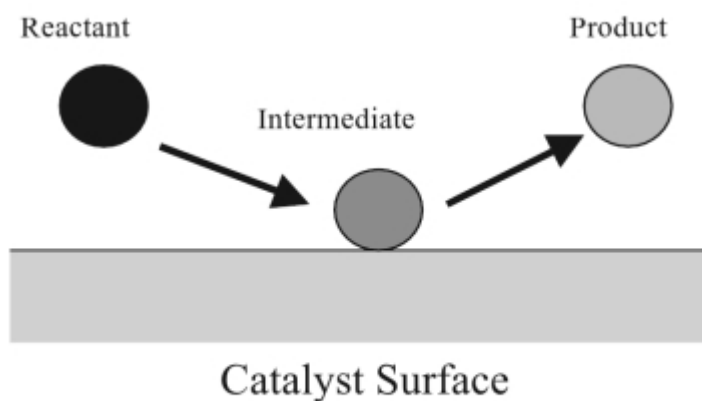


Figure 4.3 Schematic Representation of A Catalysis Reaction on the Surface

In addition, we have known that the configuration around the “active site” often determines the selectivity of a catalyst, so the appropriate geometry to give access to the reactants is important to a functional junction. A CSO must arrange appropriate resource in the counterpart department and highly versatile staffing to adapt different types of relationships with many kinds of organizations and institutes.

Furthermore, the catalyst should have a large number of “active sites”, so that the reactants can find it easily. Similarly, a catalyst CSO should set enough junctions on its boundary to make it as a relatively open living body. In this thesis, the author use the functional junctions to refer the key persons belonged to the catalyst CSO, the facilitations established and the activities conducted by the catalyst CSO. Only when sufficient personnel, resource and information exchange smoothly and conveniently through the junctions, the catalyst CSO can survive and maintain the vitality. The functional junction is the precondition to establish links with other element.

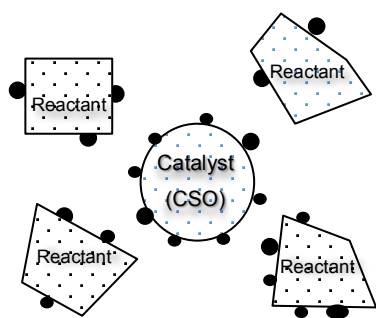


Figure 4.4 Schematic Representation of the Functional Junctions on Boundary

(the reactants refer to the enterprises, government departments, local self-organizations)

4.3.3 Link

Apart from accelerating reactions, catalysts in chemistry have another important property: they can influence the selectivity of chemical reactions. Industrially, this targeted reaction control is often even more important than the catalytic activity. So, when an organization tries to establish links with other organizations, the object as partners needs be confirmed firstly. A specific catalyst CSO only works in a specific preferable environment, and may be only effective for specific reactants.

Firstly, the selection of the object community decides the direction and the speed of catalysis. If the CSO enter into a community unwelcome it, it is hard to carry out the following works. Secondly, different choice of the partners such as the government department, the enterprises, the media or other CSOs, may lead to different types of inter-organization relationship: mutual independence, negotiation, compromise, or symbiosis. The partner misfit during partner selection will be conducive to relational risk and undermine success in strategic alliances. A catalyst actually does play the role of an intermediary between two partners that, without it, would only come

together very slowly or not at all. However, even the best catalyst cannot stimulate a reaction between two partners who are energetically unsuited.

Another issue concerning this dimension is the position of a catalyst CSO. How to decide its distance from the victims (to integrate into the local community, or engage as a dispassionate facilitator)? How to decide its distance from the local government (right-oriented approach or governance-oriented approach)? In the theory, a catalyst should be an indestructible working vehicle, takes part in a chemical reaction but is not consumed by it. Unfortunately, this is only theoretically the case. A catalyst carries out very hard work to make a successful reaction possible: it activates and aligns the partners at a suitable distance to each other enabling them to bond. After the work has been successful – when a reaction cycle has been completed – it is freed up again and begins anew to form a liaison between two partners. The position of a CSO among the reactants within the same environment decides its following reaction direction.

4.3.4 Penetration

The fourth dimension, penetration, refers to the exchange of funds, personnel resources, information and power during the disaster response process. The size of elements affects the outcomes. Typically, CSO with smaller scale is more flexible; community with smaller scale is easier to be penetrated. In addition, the sample size (total number of projects) is also a problem CSO should concern according to its own capacity and purpose. Some CSOs may choose only one community and take root, while other organizations whose focus is advocacy may conduct large number of projects in different areas in a way of “sparkling black pepper”.

Furthermore, the efficacy of a catalyst is determined by the absolute number of reaction cycles it can manage (the turnover number) and the number of reaction

cycles per time (the turnover frequency)¹⁸. The accessibility of a catalyst CSO also decides the speed of a reaction. As the chemistry term of turnover frequency (TOF) borrowed from enzyme catalysis quantifies the catalyst activity, frequency of the meeting with local residents or other organizations is also a measure of CSO's activity, can be adjusted by a catalyst CSO, to accelerate or slow down the reconstruction speed.

4.3.5 Auto-catalysis

In chemistry the term autocatalysis means the catalysis of a chemical reaction by one of the products of the reaction. In the conceptual framework for disaster response, autocatalysis refers to those self-organizations as a product when catalyst CSOs leave the affected areas. Most of CSOs have to leave for their next plan responding next disaster. The resilience of a community is the capacity of the affected community to self-organize, and stimulates catalytic reaction by themselves. Ideally, even after the completion of the recovery process, some of the CSOs, especially the local and indigenous ones continue their activities for pre-disaster mitigation and risk reduction activities, and prepare the communities well for the next potential disaster.

4.4 Case Study: New Hometown Project

To explain the concept of catalyst CSO in more concrete terms, in this section, the case study of New Hometown Project (NHP) is presented, in particular. NHP is an appropriate case study because it is a totally alien organization while rooted in local community deeply. The voluntary organization is established by members from 4 CSOs in the second month after 2008 Wenchuan Earthquake, based in a seriously destroyed community. 95% of the houses were completely collapsed; more than 50%

¹⁸ The turnover frequency is proposed by Boudart in 1966, refers to the number of molecules of product produced by each active site per unit time under standard conditions. The turnover number is the total number of product formed molecules per active site.

of residents had already moved out of the community and never return again. The rest of more than 400 households were all living in tents when the NHP arrived. During the following 3 years, NHP conducted programs regarding public sanitation, mental health care, children education, and livelihood improvement, brought a lot of external resources and advanced ideas for this community. When the project finished, a local CSO was produced as another catalyst to continue the activities and values.

4.4.1 Internal Identity and External Identity

External Identity: Sense giving

Whether in NHP's own homepage¹⁹ or in the media reports, NHP always express its mission as “provide post-disaster public service in the form of volunteer, create community-based public space, and promote residents' participation in public affairs management to achieve the goal of residents' autonomy.” However, according to the interviews by external stakeholders, it seems that NHP has not highly publicized this purpose of “autonomy” in the local community.

From the interviews with local government officers, NHP is good at combine their activities with the government's goal. On July 12th, when the first group of volunteers arrived the affected community, the vice town mayor asked the leader, “What can you do?” The leader replied, “we could not make big things, but we can help you to establish a harmonious society²⁰.” Local government officials mentioned NHP's advantage as “always in touch with us”, and had conducted their works based on the principles and central idea of Party committees and government, “so, we are very supportive of them”.

¹⁹ NHP's Homepage: <http://home.ngocn.net/space-14882.html>

²⁰ The phrase “harmonious society (和谐社会, Hexie Shehui)” is a socio-economic vision as Chinese President Hu Jintao's signature ideology of the Scientific Development Concept. First proposed during the 2005 National People's Congress, the idea changes China's focus from economic growth to overall societal balance and harmony.

According to the interviews with local victims, the impression of NHP as following:

- “From the beginning, we didn’t know what they were doing, while they really have helped us a lot.”
- “They have organized many activities on each festival and holiday. Before the disaster, we had no entertainments, only playing mahjong. After their arrival, our spiritual lives are enriched.”
- “(Their role is) primarily a spiritual comfort. They let us know that there are still people outside concern about us.”
- “They are so young, but they are willing to come here with us through thick and thin. It is not easy.”

“Those volunteers” is the synonymous for NHP. The victims have no idea about “civil society” “NGO”, but the phrase such as “through thick and thin” “come far” “accompany” become a symbolic significance appeared in the interview. The two points within NHP’ mission, “volunteer service” and “post-disaster public service” have received praise from residents, while nobody mentioned the third point “autonomy”. However, from the field survey, we can find the effect of “autonomy” is indeed achieved in some extent (refer to the following sections). It seems that NHP has tried to avoid the high-profile advocacy, to maintain its political legitimacy.

From the view of other CSOs, NHP is a good grass-root partner. The registration type of NHP is a private non-enterprise unit, which decides it cannot raise funds from the public. The main funding source comes from GONGOs and INGOs based on 1-year or 2-year project commission. All the sponsors interviewed have expressed their satisfaction with the performance of NHP. A project manager from Chinese Red Cross Foundation even commented, “After 2008 earthquake, many grassroots organizations have been established. However, I think there are only two grass-root NGOs can be trusted in post-disaster reconstruction. One is NHP.”

In summary, NHP behaves discreetly in the workplace, while enjoys a good reputation from external stakeholders. The favorable external image brings it feedback and opportunity. But if we carefully observe the building process of NHP’s

internal identity during these 5 years, we can find that the identity has gone through many changes.

Internal Identity: Sense Making

As mentioned previously, NHP is a voluntary organization established by members from 4 CSOs. An overview of these 4 CSOs is shown as following:

- Roots & Shoots Chengdu (RSC): established as a branch office of Roots & Shoots International in March 2006, to launch environmental education and environmental protection projects addressing the importance of environmental protection. Until 2012, RSC had built up students' groups in 54 schools, to foster the idea of "ecological community".
- The Yunnan Institute of Development (YID): established in July 2001, as one of the worldwide institutes of HUMANA People to People International. YID's programs include health and education services to children of migrant workers in rural communities in Yunnan Province, HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention, and curriculum development for volunteers.
- The Institute for Civil Society of Sun Yat-sen University (ICS): jointly established by The Chinese University of Hong Kong and the Sun Yat-sen University in August 2003. ICS conducts in-depth research into the history and status quo of the NGOs in south China, and promote the dialogue with private and public sectors to push forward the development of civil society in south China.
- Maitian Program (MP): established in June, 2005. MP aims to provide opportunity of education for the children in the poor mountain areas, including building libraries that enable children know the world outside, and providing subsidy to poor children.

All the 4 CSOs had joined in *Sichuan United Office for NGO Disaster Relief* (SUND, refer to Chapter 3) in the disaster relief period. After the closure of SUND on May 30, 2008, the leader of SUND decided to establish a CSO focus on disaster preparedness²¹, while members from these 4 CSOs against the idea. In their minds, establishment of disaster preparedness center requires enormous human and material resources; it should be the function of government. Grassroots CSO should be directly involved in the reconstruction process of affected community. Supporters of the latter idea then combined together to form a prototype of NHP.

Initially, the purpose and content of their work was very vague. “We just wanted to build a platform to involve the CSOs in reconstruction works.” Said by a member. They believe that “only rooted in local community can produce something value”. Considering their resources are limited, they decided to provide community-based public service instead of the household-unit relief. The members put the NHP as a platform to link the external resources.

At first, the volunteers lived in tents. They did everything the surrounding victims request. Meanwhile, a baseline survey of residents’ needs was conducted. Later in October 2008, when the community moved into the temporary housing, the members began to consider new strategy: from “volunteer-based community service” to “residents-based community service”. It means they planned to encourage residents’ engagement in their public affairs. During the transition period the volunteers and residents work for the need of community together.

The plan seems ideal and perfect, while 2 years later, the idea of “autonomy” is doubted by internal members. A core member has published an article²² to express his reflections on participatory development theory. In the article, he points out that, “From the perspective of empowerment²³, the participatory development theory is

²¹ The leader of SUND established NGO Disaster Preparedness Centen (NDPC) as mentioned in Chapter 3.

²² Zhu Jian-gang, Hu ming (2011) “Multicomponent governance: Reflection on the participatory development thory in post-disaster community constructions”, *Open Times*, (10).

²³ The concept of “empowerment” here means encouraging the residents to participate in public affairs.

still applicable in China. However, with the deepening of post-disaster policies such as marketization of reconstruction, rehabilitation assistance from the central government and maintaining social stability, the market and the state are directly and profoundly changed the traditional structure and development progress of community. Thus, sustainable community development must rely on the power balance and the cooperation of different community governance participants. Facing to the state with political power and enterprises with economic power, residents with civic spirit and their organization in community cannot develop independently.... The urgent top-down reconstruction plan²⁴ has made the community experiencing rapid transformation, so that it is impossible to achieve the goal of autonomy under the pressure of compact reconstruction schedule.”

Members of NHP interviewed also have expressed the same concern. In the initial period after the earthquake, the government itself was affected seriously and difficult to respond to the urgent and diversified demands of victims. NHP played a versatile role in the community. In the first few months, the main concern is the basic needs such as water sanitation, electricity supply, health care of the elderly and children. Residents were encouraged to participate in the public affairs, and the autonomous organization worked well in public space. But in front of the state power, such form of autonomy is small. In Chinese context, victims have the irreplaceable need for state aid. In September 2008, the central government issued post-disaster reconstruction planning, and decided to invest 1000 billions Yuan for the reconstruction. In the following 2 years, the top-down national reconstruction work occupied most of the public space, and compresses the space for autonomous organization.

In addition, after a devastating disaster, the basic needs, life-style and psychological state of local residents have changed much faster than usual condition; volunteers of

²⁴ According to the reconstruction plan promulgated by Chinese central government, the whole reconstruction work need to be finished within 3 years. However, the counterparts' reconstruction policy results in the competition between provincial government and a slogan that “three-year plan, finished in 2 years.” The administrative order leads the advance of reconstruction task deadline on each level, eventually causing enormous pressure at the community level.

NHP have to keep adjusting their service content. From the outside perspective, it seems that there is no change of NHP: they are always in service to the same community. But the internal members understand that, their work is becoming more narrow and deeper. In a limited space, they are seeking an approach to be compatible with the original power structure. “I think it is a good decision.” Said by the current executive director in 2014. “We used to do anything we want to do, but it now appears that the idea was actually nothingness. As a small CSO, our capacity is also limited, we should find our focus.”

At present in 2014, NHP is concentrating on a 3-year project named “mother school” to provide capacity building and encourage the young mothers to develop their livelihood. Instead of “autonomy”, it seems that the members prefer the concept of “multicomponent governance” nowadays, while on their homepage and promotion materials, the mission have not been changed. For a young team, maybe more time is needed to hesitate and find its identity eventually.

4.4.2 Boundary of New Hometown Project

Range: Untouchable Areas

From the beginning, NHP has determined the things they cannot engage. The first principle of its “volunteer service code” is: “The volunteers are prohibited from any illegal activities, or engaging in any political, religious activities in the name of NHP.” Another principle of NHP is not to intervene in the responsibility investigation for housing collapse and casualties. In addition, when the housing reconstruction began, members of NHP promised government officers they would not participate in the housing issue, as a prerequisite to become the partner of the local government. There are several advantages to designate boundary firstly. In convince the government that

NHP is here to assist the work of the government, instead of a troublemaker. Obtaining the trust of government also helps to share the authority of an existing power institute.

Another line is drawn between NHP and the local residents. From the first day entering the community, members keep telling the victims that they would leave someday. It is useful to promote the motivation of local residents. Moreover, considering the limitation of funds and staffing, NHP also decided not to involve into the assistant works at household level. The confirmation of the boundary is also useful to make clear NHP's scope of works.

Junctions: Active Sites

There are three different configurations of junctions to give access to the local residents as the reactants: public space, public affairs, and public recreational activities.

The first public space provided by NHC is a small library. The school was collapsed in the earthquake, and the ruins are dangerous for children. There is no space for children in the summer vacation. On July 12, 2008, when the first group of volunteers arrived, they decided to set up a small library in a tent, using the 1000 books provided by another partner CSO "Beijing Brooks Education Center", whose focus is the education of rural students. The tent-library attracted children as well as some adults. Based on this small library, a classroom was also opened to help children with their studies.

The second public space is a public teahouse. Over two months after the earthquake, the power supply had not been recovered. The reconstruction plan remained undecided at that time, so residents had nothing to do. On the other hand, the long wait also increased people's psychological pressure. The volunteers noticed that the local custom is chatting in teahouse. Using a small amount of funds from the French

Chinese Youth Volunteer Association, members raised a public teahouse equipped with a television. A diesel generator bought from Chengdu City generated the electricity for television. It was the Olympic games at that time. The public teahouse attracted 30-40 residents everyday.

Through the first two junctions, NHP started its communication with local residents. When the members planned to establish third public space, a public bathroom, they started trying to involve the victims in the public affair management. In October 2008, the residents' meeting was convened for the first time, to discuss the management and maintenance of public bathroom. According to the records, NHP members throw a question firstly, "We NHP can maintain and manage the bathroom at the beginning, then how about you? Do you want to participate in the management or not? " The residents finally decided to use the method of co-management: a resident volunteer, a cadre designated by the community committee, and a member from NHP joint manage the bathroom. The cadre is responsible to sell bath tickets; the resident volunteer is the cash receipt; and the member from NHP is the supervisor. Monthly income and expenditure is publicized in the community bulletin board.

In October 2008, the community moved into the temporary housing. NHP began to reform 2 vacant temporary housing into an integrated community activity center. The center was built up on May 12, 2009, including a water-house providing clean drinking water, an internet cafe, a library, a bathroom, a activity room for the elders, a multimedia classroom, and a inn for foreigners to stay. The internet café, public bathroom and the inn are charged for community funds used for the center's operation and management.



Figure 4.5 Community Activity Center in Baishui Community

These public spaces are not the junctions linking the victims, but also the junctions to link other CSOs and enterprises partners. The list of public spaces is shown in Table 4.1. After funding, these sponsor organizations also conducted field visits, brought vitality to the community. Further exchange through these junctions is presented in Section 4.4.4. The functional junctions are the precondition to establish links with other element.

Sponsors	Public spaces or Equipment	Amount
Beijing Brooks Education Center	1000 books for the library	15000
French Chinese Youth Association	Tables and Chairs for the tent-teahouse (used in the activity room for the elders after May, 2009)	2000
Alxa Ecological Association	Television for the tent-teahouse (used in the activity room for the elders after May, 2009)	3500
American Institute for Sustainable Community	Water heater for the public bathroom	16000
Chinese Red Cross Foundation	Transformation and equipment of the community activity center	343254
Enterprises from Guangdong Province	Water purifier for the community center	20000

4.4.3 Links with other organizations

There was a disagreement between residents and local government on the issue of housing reconstruction when NHP entered into the community. However, they soon found that the decision keeps them away from the residents, because the housing reconstruction issue is the primary concern of local residents. If NHP avoid from the issue, they cannot get closer to the residents, who are their main target groups. NHP thus adjusted its strategy; persuade the government officer the members can settle differences through dialogues and negotiations using the method of participatory planning. From this case, we can conclude that, the position of a CSO should be

designed in phases or stages according to its short-term obstacle and long-term goal as its original identity. The environment of real world is complicated, so adjustment whenever is necessary.

4.4.4 Penetration: Impact and Feedback

NHP is an example rooted in only one community. As an organization from outside, NHP established links with local residents through creating new public space, including public places and public activities. The construction of public places such as community library and recreation room has provided opportunity for communication and enhanced trust among residents; the activities such as chess competition, performance and show encouraged residents involved in the public affairs. NHP guided the residents to develop the rules and decision-making mechanism for their own community, encouraged them to manage their own community using these rules and mechanism. Through numerous “turnover”, NHP has advanced its penetration of values.

Table 4.1 Activities organized by NHP in the Community

No.	Time	Activity
1	2008.07.12	The first get-together with the local residents.
2	2008.07.18	The second get-together with the local residents.
3	2008.09.13	Mid-Autumn Celebration Party
4	2008.10.07	The tea party for Chuang Yeung Festival
5	2008.12.14	Interesting Sports Meeting
6	2009.01.01	Garden Party for the New Year
7	2009.01.17	Dam Feast for the Lunar New Year
8	2009.02.09	“I love my family” Party for Lantern Festival
9	2009.03.08	Karaoke Tea Party for the Women’s Day
10	2009.03.12	The first session of the chess championship
11	2009.03.24	The second session of the chess challenge cup
12	2009.04.07	The third session of the chess contest

13	2009.07	Youth Learning Activities for Summer Vacation
14	2009.09.30	Anniversary Celebration Party for the 60 th National Day
15	2009.10.26	The tea party for Chuang Yeung Festival
16	2009.12.26	Annual Chess Finals
17	2010.02.08	Dam Feast for the Lunar New Year
18	2010.03.08	Tea Party for the Women's Day
19	2010.04.25-04.29	Chess contest
20	2010 Summer	Summer Activities for Children
21	2010.09.29	Garden Party for Mid-Autumn Festival and National Day
22	2010.10.16	The tea party for Chuang Yeung Festival
23	2011.05.12	"We walked together" Photography Exhibition for the third anniversary after earthquake
24	2011.06.28	The red songfest
25	2011 Summer	Summer Activities for Children





Figure 4.6 Activities in the affected Community

As mentioned before, the community center plays as a functional junction to exchange the resource and information. Many foreign organizations who are interested in NHP have also visited the community. A visit is not only the process for the outsider to understand the community, but also a window for the local victims to know the outside. The residents have broaden their horizons, and the members of NHP have learned more community-based approach from the CSO partners and the scholars.

2009.04	Media Interview	Shanghai International Radio & Macao Radio
2009.04	Sponsor Visit	Chinese Red Cross Foundation
2009.04	Sponsor Visit	Rockefeller Brothers Fund
2009.08	Volunteer Activity	Volunteers from AeA Student Action
2009.09	Volunteer Activity	Volunteer doctors from the United States to do free clinic and health education seminars
2009.12	Academic Survey	The Chinese University of Hong Kong
2010.04	CSO Partner Visit	Sichuan 512 NGO Service Center
2010.07	CSO Partner Visit	Beijing Global Village
2010.07-08	Volunteer Activity	Students from the University of Sichuan & the University of Sun Yat-sen University
2010.08	Academic Survey	Participants from the Forum of Social Innovation and Ecological Development
2010.11	CSO Partner Visit	Green SOS
2011.07	Volunteer Activity	Students from the University of Xihua

4.4.5 Auto-catalysis: the Birth of Local CSO

NHP is a good example to show that, the residents have organized and assumed the role of master of their community and are taking an active part in all social

undertakings at present, and it is not the only example. CSOs such as Oxfam Hongkong, Mercy Corps and Save the Children in China also put importance on enhancing victims' capacity to establish self-organizations, and we have already observed some products of their catalytic reactions.

4.5 Summary

In order to analyze the role of CSO in disaster response process, the framework of catalyst is proposed. In theory, the framework provides an approach for researchers; in the practice, it may be used as a toolkit for CSO project staffs. The conceptual framework does not prescribe a final form or a single mechanism of implementation for all areas. The focus of this framework is the interaction between foreign catalyst and existing reactants, the power of the catalyst to stimulate other action.

The next step of this research is to apply the framework into the real China, trying to explore the key rules led the success or failure response project in current China through multiple case studies. The author believes that the framework of catalyst in disaster response process can also be used in other areas, to identify the man factors which may stimulate the reconstruction process in local context.

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CHAPTER 5

Catalysis in Practice: Multiple Case Studies

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate how to use the 5-dimension framework of catalyst to analyze the CSO cases in actual situation. In addition, the author also expects to elaborate the concept of catalyst further, by using a number of cases from the disaster-affected areas where CSOs involved in. These case studies reveal the periodic products and challenges of CSOs in post-disaster reconstruction after 2008 Wenchuan Earthquake. The conceptual framework of catalyst is not only a tool to describe the function and performance of a CSO, but also a strategy for CSO leaders and researchers to explore approaches used to manage a CSO more productively. By comparing these real practical cases, the following questions are expected to be answered: what is the feature of CSOs in current China; which factors contribute to the direction (positive or negative) of their chemical reaction? How to conduct a positive catalysis reaction in current situation?

5.1 Identity

5.1.1 External Identity

Current Situation

In order to have a preliminary understanding about the CSOs' popularity of the general public in China, the author conducted a small-size survey in the commercial area of Chengdu City¹ in August 2012. 100 pedestrians were interviewed randomly. The questionnaire is a simple list of 30 CSOs including the Oxfam Hong Kong

¹ Chengdu is the provincial capital city of Sichuan Province. After the 2008 earthquake, many CSOs established their offices in this city.

(Oxfam)², Save the Children (STC)³, Red Cross Society of China (RCSC), One Foundation (ONF), NGO Disaster Preparedness Center (NDPC) and so on.

The result indicates that, all of the 100 respondents are aware of the RCSC (all of them have donated to RCSC; some of them are donated in a mandatory way through administrative system), 72% have heard the ONF (because the founder is a top kung-fu movie star), 38% have heard the name of CFPA (through news about official poverty alleviation with the governmental partner), 12% have heard the name of China Youth Development Foundation (but all of the respondents know its project named Project Hope), while nobody has ever heard the names of Oxfam, Mercy Corps (MCS), or STC which is the most famous NGOs in international society⁴ and have their branch offices in Chengdu City. In addition, although the grassroots CSOs such as the NDPC, and the Sichuan 512 Service Center (SSC) are established as a local organization in Chengdu City, nobody has ever heard of their name either.

The main reason for the lack of public recognition on big INGOs is that, INGOs are currently not allowed to raise funds in China Mainland⁵, so the branch office usually put more effort in operation of actual projects, rather than contact with media. “We think we should use our limited resource to solve more practical problems rather than propaganda for the organization.” A member of Save the Children explained. On the other hand, She did not deny the claim that “it is not necessary to publicize our organization in China because we do not raise funds from the public.” Although the

² Oxfam (the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief) established in 1942 now operates in more than 100 countries, in which Oxfam Hong Kong has five offices on the China mainland and its work has ranged from education projects and advocacy on climate change.

³ Save the Children is a CSO originated from UK, with programs in more than 120 countries. It was established in England, 1919, and started its activities in China from 1960s. In time of acute crisis, STC mobilizes rapid lifesaving assistance to help children recover from the effects of war, conflicts, and natural disasters.

⁴ In 2012, the Global Journal ranked Oxfam No.3, STC No.18 in its *World's Top 100 Best NGOs List*. MCS was ranked as No. 10 in the 2013 Best NGOs List. Although the ranking is debated for its measurement tool, we can see the influence of these three international NGOs for a reference. Refer to: <http://theglobaljournal.net/article/view/498/>

⁵ All of the INGOs interviewed mentioned that their funds are totally from abroad or the districts like Hong Kong or Taiwan. They have never received donations from enterprise or individuals in China mainland, or the subsidy from Chinese government.

INGOs would not refuse coverage request from the media, they would not put extra effort in the propaganda.

Although the branches of INGOs are acting low-key in China, their headquarters with strong external image provides them with the authority and credibility to deploy the resources efficiently and flexibly. In addition, most of the matured INGOs have already found their own fixed service objectives' groups, and become the authority in their respective fields. For example, Oxfam Hong Kong has been working on poverty alleviation in China since 1987, mainly focus on those poor farmers in remote mountainous areas. Save the Children conducted child protection program including Child Friendly Spaces in emergencies, public awareness campaigns against child trafficking, teacher training in rural China, and so on. There is few crossovers among these INGOs, so in general, there is no competition among these big INGOs. Moreover, because of adequate resource to be self-sufficient, they rarely cooperate with each other.

Comparatively, Chinese domestic grassroots CSOs are in the opposite. The branch offices of INGOs still have choices to promote their organizations or not, while the domestic grassroots CSOs have no choice in the case of cash-strapped. Due to legal restrictions, most of the Chinese grassroots CSOs cannot raise funds publicly⁶. Most grassroots CSOs must apply numerous projects to the foundations (most of them are GONGOs) in order to survive⁷. At present, the domestic foundations fund the grassroots CSOs based on the project system. The amount of the funds is usually not enough to be used as promotional expenses for advertisement.

Another problem is that, since the foundations provide the applicable projects within some specific fields, grassroots CSOs in the disaster reconstruction always cluster in a few areas like livelihood recovery, community service or eco-tourism, providing

⁶ One Foundation is a very special case in China as a first grassroots public foundation.

⁷ In addition to the funds from the domestic foundations, some grassroots CSOs also receive donations from enterprises, but the case is rare. Because the tax-reduction legal system has not established in China, enterprises are willing to donate to the GONGOs for its potential influence. Most grassroots CSOs can only rely on foundations within an enclosed environment.

the similar products. The homogeneity-oriented process has led to cooperation of some small-size grassroots CSOs when they face the shortage of resource. On the other hand, the competition in an enclosed environment also makes these organizations lack of innovation and distinctiveness. In general, grassroots CSOs in the field of disaster response are still in short history without prominent external image.

Unlike the grassroots CSOs, Chinese public foundations (most of them are GONGO) enjoy an open environment to the public. Power of fund-raising publicly makes them motivated to appear in a variety of media news. Comparing with grassroots CSO, the GONGOs are relatively large, which makes them more visible. As a group, they directly face the public. To a certain extent, their external identity projected in the eyes of the public, is the identity of the entire CSO group. For example, the Red Cross of China Society and the China Charities Federation, as the government designated donation destination, have national headquarters and branches⁸ in all provinces. They also have a strong international network involving donor communities and corporations in Hong Kong and Taiwan, as well as elsewhere in the world. The national network enables them to respond to needs at all levels in disaster relief quickly and also promote their names to all administrative levels of areas in China. Some GONGOs are famous in their projects rather than the name of the GONGO itself. One example is the China Youth Development Foundation (CYDF)⁹. As mentioned in the small-scale questionnaire 2013 previously, only 12 respondents know the name of the CSO, but when the author asked “Do you know the Project Hope¹⁰?” All of the 100 citizens said yes.

⁸ RCCS enjoys the special law of *Law of the People's Republic of China on Red Cross Society*, while grassroots CSOs are not allowed to set up branches according to the Regulations on *the Registration Management of Social Organizations*.

⁹ The China Youth Development Foundation was established in March 1989 under the All-China Youth Federation and ultimately the Communist Youth League. Its broad mission is to promote the well-being of youth and children in China, and it collects domestic and international donations in behalf of that end.

¹⁰ Launched since 1989, Project Hope is one of the earliest and most famous charity projects in contemporary China. It collects public donations to provide financial aid for students, builds new primary schools and equips schools with libraries, sport facilities, audio-visual equipment in the rural poor areas. The early 1990s ad campaigns, featuring photos of poor children, are still well known until now. By the end of 2005, Project Hope had raised over 3 billion RMB, helped 2.9 million children, built 12,559 Hope Primary Schools and 200 Internet Schools in poor remote regions.

Comparing with the young CSOs, most of GONGOs were established since 1980s, have already implemented large and complex projects. Since the Regulation on Foundation Management issued in 2004, the public, enterprises and individuals have been given more space engaged in the field of public affairs. A new type as private foundations began to emerge from 2005, changing the environment for foundations that had previously been established by the government. After 2008, foundations began to receive a large number of donations, and newly emerging foundations began to grow in scale. In 2000, only 3 foundations had net assets exceeded 100 million RMB, while now the number has increased to 45 foundations. As a result, public concern about the credibility of foundations has increased.

The fact that they rely on donations and sponsorship means that their credibility is important to them. Many of the foundations have tended to adopt practices of transparency and accountability appropriate to their work. As a notable development the China Foundation Center was established in 2010 after a decade of continued efforts to make foundations in China more transparent. Its online database includes foundations' financial and programmatic information, enables the public to compare foundations online. The intense competition has played positive role in the transformation of these GONGOs.

Mael and Ashforth (1992)¹¹ conclude that the external identity of an organization is related to the following organizational antecedents: (a) organizational distinctiveness, (b) organizational prestige, (c) inter-organizational competition. The author intends to use this framework to compare the current situation of the three types of Chinese CSOs in disaster response, as shown in Table 5.1.

¹¹ Fred Mael and Blake Ashforth (1992) "Alumni and their alma matter: A partial test of the reformulated model of organizational identification", *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 13(2): 103-123.

Table 5.1 The external identity of current Chinese CSOs

Type	Organizational distinctiveness	Organizational prestige	Inter-organizational competition
INGOs	Distinctive and unique; authoritative in respective fields.	Well-known in the international society, while unknown in China.	No competition and few cooperation in China
GONGOs (Foundations)	Service for different objective groups through administrative mans; insufficient in authority and professionalism	High popularity based on the government force	Intense competition in an open environment; virtuous competition; few cooperation.
Grassroots CSOs	Young with short history; lack of distinctiveness, convergence of activities; blindness.	Low visibility, Most remain unknown	Intense competition in a closed environment; vicious competition; frequent cooperation.

Positive or Negative: Multiple Case Studies

International NGOs with long history have already realized the importance of their external image and have used various approaches to improve it. Save the Children, ano INGO originated from UK, has expressed the importance in its *Global Brand Guidelines*¹² as that “We need to reflect this (strategy and vision) in the way we present ourselves externally, communicating a clear, consistent identity to the world. ”

¹² Save the Children (2011) “Global Brand Guidelines”, P4.

Since 2006, Save the Children has embarked on a review of its brand values, and developed a set of values that would broaden its external appeal. New tools such as a brand booklet and film have been created for the public. With its distinctive child-centered logo known around the world, it is also recognized and trusted in humanitarian relief and development.

Large NGOs such as Oxfam even employ professional PR firms to manage their image. In 2008, Oxfam hired Weber-Shandwick, one of the leading global PR agencies with 128 offices in 78 countries, explicitly to “reinvigorate its engagement with the public”. The consultancy contract has brought Oxfam into more of a lifestyle brand, and move Oxfam’s focus away from world problems, towards good news stories, focused on solutions (Cartmell, 2008¹³). Furthermore, the Oxfam includes Google Engagement Ads to drive its brand awareness and achieve an attitudinal shift in the target audience. With the help of Google, Oxfam saw positive lifts on brand awareness and reached a qualified audience of 129,000 people. Oxfam Hong Kong, as a brunch office, has expanded its awareness through broadening its information channels for the stakeholders. The channels include publishing articles in the mass media, organizing the anniversary party for the Oxfam Friend (monthly donor), posting the Oxfam News and magazines, and arranging the donors to visit the affected areas.

Considering the current situation that the Chinese grassroots CSOs are still short in funds, the PR strategy of these big INGOs may be too far away from them. But there are also some positive cases from the Chinese grassroots CSOs. With the slogan “One kilogram more in your backpack, travel makes a better world”, the CSO named “1 KG More (referred as “1kg” below) ¹⁴” was founded by a young IT professional practitioner in 2004. As a frequent backpacker travelling in the rural China, he had been touched by the underdevelopment state of rural education and decided to do something about it. He started simple thing with a big heart: just to pack 1 kilogram more of books and other educational materials to deliver to schools as gifts in his

¹³ Matt Cartmell (2008), “Oxfam turns to WS to update image”, PRWeek.

¹⁴ The official website of 1KG MORE is: <http://www.1kg.org>

journey, and shared the experience and feelings in the internet forums he established as the name of 1kg. This idea inspired a large number of young people to participate in the same way, and snowballed into a national movement, with tens of thousands of volunteer-travelers visiting hundreds of rural primary schools in self-initiated and self-organized manner, creating a new word known as “Voluntourism (voluntary + tourism)”. Most of the voluntary travellers, who prefer to call themselves as 1kger, are from China’s middle class, the so-called white-collar professionals who like to spend their spare time traveling or engaging in outdoor activities.

The website of 1 kg provides a database of rural elementary schools which include information on: 1) how many students are in the school; 2) what is the kids’ primary need; 3) the school name and contact person; 4) detailed directions, including method of transportation, of how an independent traveler can reach the school. Travelers who want to participate in the activities just need 4 steps: (1) ready: to search for the schools you may meet in your journey, call the teacher to confirm the date you would arrived the school; (2) passing: to confirm the needs of the children on the website, prepare 1 kg books or stationery, and pass them to the kids; (3) communication: to communicate and play with the children to broaden their view sight; (4) sharing: to share the experiences with other travellers via the 1kg online form and spread the messages among friends. The simple process not only helps the children in need, but also enriches the travellers’ experience.

Until June 2014, the website of 1 kg manages a database of over 1720 elementary schools, which is also accumulated by the 1kgers themselves in their journey. More than 10,000 participators have carried out 1kg-more travels, and at least 1 million people have knock-on affected; in almost all the major cities of China volunteer groups have been organized. The website community has become a platform where the concept of “voluntourism” is rapidly popularized. 1 KG MORE provides a new way to initiative every 1kgers, results in the geometrically growth of its influence in Chinese youth.



Another case study of Social Workers' Team of the East China University of Science and Technology (STE) shows how to quickly promote its awareness in a community. The team provided service to recover the social relationships destroyed by the disaster in a temporary residences' community named Qingjianrenjia (means diligent and thrift families) in Dujiangyan City. 2008 earthquake killed more than 3000 citizens in Dujiangyan City. According to the statistics data from Chengdu Bureau of Civil Affairs, until June 2nd, 2008, the total population of Dujiangyan was 710,000, in which the affected population is 622,100, accounting for 87.62% of the total population. 80% of the buildings were damaged in this city. More than 100 temporary housing settlements were established in the ruins. Qingjianrenjia is the biggest one with more than 12,000 victims lived in 3799 temporary rooms, in which 953 persons over the age of 70, 540 children under the age of 14. Most of these victims are from different communities, and unfamiliar with each other. The standard temporary housing can accommodate four persons. The number of temporary housing was limited, so some of the victims were requested to live with other families, even though they had never known each other. The original social network had completely been destroyed, and the social relationship at that time was so fragile. The transitional community with heterogeneous residents and the degraded living environment make the community residents urgently need a multi-faceted social support.

STE is located in Shanghai, which the most developed city in China. Before the earthquake, STE had launched a number of project in the communities of Shanghai City. STE organized 12 batches of 115 social workers totally in two phases: 10 batches of 92 volunteers from June 2008 to January 2009, and 2 batches of 23 volunteers from July 2009 to August 2009. Every batch served for 20 days in the temporary community. Their works include: social relationships reconstruction, service for the special groups¹⁵, the construction of information platform, etc..

¹⁵ Professor Zhang Yu of the East China University of Science and Technology used to mention that, "I thought there should be a lot of orphaned children disabled before I went to Dujiangyan, but the actual situation is that there are a lot of disable parents who lost their children. In the affected areas, the need for the special population is constantly changing." cited from the evaluation report of RCSC, "The strength of alliance: evaluation report of

Member of the first batch consists of 7 teachers and 3 students with the background of psychology and social work study. They arrived in the settlement on June 25, 2008. The first thing they did is to install a big billboard with a line of big character as “SHANGHAI SOCIAL WORKERS IS COMING!” at the entrance of the settlement. Under the big characters, they wrote the slogans as following:

Let strangers familiar with each other!

We understand your needs through communication.

Let the anxious people at ease!

We can increase your capacity to help yourself.

Let us play our own roles!

We can build community-based mutual support network.

Let us interact together!

We can jointly build a harmonious community.

The billboard had an immediate and significant impact on the settlement. The residents came in and out through the entrance every day. Soon, almost everyone knew that shanghai social workers had come. Until November 8, 2008, about 4 months after the first arrival, 6142 residents had participated in the activities organized by the social workers.

In addition, in order to shape an unified external image of STE, all of members wear eye-catching orange T-shirt with the back titled “Shanghai Social Worker” in working time. There are some strict rules when wearing the T-shirt, such as prohibiting the use of cell phones, and the must to listen carefully to the local residents at any time. When local residents mention the “Shanghai Social Workers”, they know it refer to those young men/women wearing orange T-shirt, coming here to help them solve their difficulties. They also published “Qinjian News” delivered to each household for free. The authors of the newspaper ranged from 7-year-old little

girl and 70-year-old grandfather. The newspaper enlarged its recognition, and greatly enhanced the enthusiasm and motivation of residents to involve in public affairs.

The cases of 1KG MORE and STE provide a useful way to indicate how to expand the influence of a new-established grassroots CSO, while for those CSOs who have an extent of social reputation, the urgent issue is how to maintain its external image positively. In the previous time, most of CSOs in China are monopolized by the state, and the lack of any responsibility mechanisms within these GONGOs means their managers can do anything with the donations. According to the 2011 China Charity Donation Report, in 2010 more than 58.3% of private donations were channeled back to government or GONGOs, and only 1.3% trickled down to grassroots CSOs. But the time has changed. The public has begun to be aware that they have other choices. In the intensely competitive market of public welfare, the loss of social legitimacy is equivalent to the loss of resources for survival and development.

The most famous CSO, Red Cross Society of China (RCSC), is a good example to show how the organizational prestige changed in the awakening process of the public. RCSC was founded in 1904, and re-organized by the central government in 1950. In 1955, the government declared RCSC is the sole national humanitarian organization in the country, and a law was enacted in the same year¹⁶. Unlike most Red Cross organizations, which operate independently of government, RCSC was an actual government agency, operating as a branch of the Ministry of Health, using taxpayers' money and the donors' contribution to follow the government's guidance. Although now it has separated from the ministry, it maintains active links with the government officials.

As mentioned previously, RCSC and China Charity Federation used to be the only two organizations allowed to receive donations from citizens when disaster occurred before 2008. In 2008, the RCSC received 1.537 billion RMB in donations from both

¹⁶ The current Law of the Red Cross denotes the RCSC as a quasi-governmental organization according to article 6 as "Red Cross should undertake the tasks appointed by government." The law also mentions government funding as the major funding source of the Red Cross.

domestic and overseas sources. More than 6.9 million people had benefited from the total of 2194 clinics, 194 schools and 1112 libraries the foundation had built throughout the country by the end of 2008.

The semi-official status gave RCSC clout that Red Cross branches in other countries lacked, but it has also helped make the organization a target for public anger over official corruption. The legitimacy in the legal sense is only a protective resource, while the financial resource for further development can only be found by asking for funds from the public. The charity's reputation was soon tarnished. Some monitoring the rebuilding efforts accused RCSC of misusing donation by purchasing needlessly expensive tents and vehicles. In 2009, researchers at Tsinghua University revealed that 80% of the donations for disaster were funneled into Chinese government account as "extra revenue". At the time, some contended this was appropriate, since in Chinese context, the government was the most effective institution to distribute these donations, while others complained the RCSC donations would be impossible to track (not transparent), leading to fears of corruption. In April 2011, revelations of an extravagant banquet attended by RCSC staffs costing almost 10,000 RMB spurred criticism online.

The worst episode came months later, when a 20-year-old woman named Guo Meimei, claimed on Sina Weibo (the Chinese version of Twitter) to be the general manager of a company called Red Cross Commerce, boasted about her luxurious lifestyle, showing off her expensive cars, handbag, and palatial villa. Although both Guo and the RCSC publicly denied having any ties to one another, the furious citizens cannot be persuaded. The incident has triggered a collective outburst of long-time frustration about the RCSC's murky bureaucracy and questionable governance, and did lasting damage to the image of this organization. At the end of 2011, the private donation to the RCSC dropped by 60%.

The leader of the RCSC had never anticipated this kind of situation. "I was shocked that an organization with a history of more than 100 years could almost be wrecked by a 20-something woman in just three days," said Zhao, the executive

vice-president in a Red Cross Forum¹⁷. However, the fact is, due to the RCSC's long-established shady operation and lack of internal transparency, as well as its already plummeted public credibility following previous scandals, the collective outburst of public doubt triggered by this incident hardly came as a surprise.

Until now, the RCSC is still battling to quell public anger and restoring its credibility, while other CSOs have learned a lesson from the crisis. The One Foundation, a grassroots CSO founded in 2007, has been widely applauded for its transparency and orderly handling of donations. 5 years after 2008 Wenchuan Earthquake, the earthquake occurred in Sichuan Province again. 4.55 million people contributed their donations to the One Foundation, which has no government background at all. The total donations surpassed those of the RCSC and the CCF put together.

How to React Positively?

From the cases studies of the Save the Children, Oxfam, 1KG MORE, STE and RCSC, we may find some valued rules for Chinese catalyst CSOs.

Firstly, for those CSOs newly-established, it is important to find their distinctiveness and strength firstly to set up the external identity, like the child-centered idea for Save the Children, the concept of “voluntourism” raised by the 1KG's founder. The new-established organizations are still in the stage of growing. They have not been yet known by the public or have not yet affected the society. These CSOs should firstly build an influential flagship project, or stabilize its public trust by public figures. Unified eye-catching logo is necessary to fire its visibility as what the STE has done. The focus of the organization should base on the resources it can rely on. Internet technology has provided opportunities for CSOs popularizing themselves at low operating costs. For a nationwide grassroots CSO like 1kg with no stable funding source or sponsor, new Internet technology and Web 2.0 applications are vital to their survival. The network of people on the Internet and the popularity in the

¹⁷ Shan Juan (2012), “Red Cross hopes to heal its reputation” China Daily, 2012-05-16.

virtual community contribute immensely towards saving money and recruiting volunteers for a new CSO.

Secondly, for those CSOs with decades of history, they have produced a certain influence in the society, and they have relatively stable audience groups. These CSOs should focus on expanding its social influence through its activities, and developing the loyalty of the audience. In addition, a sense of crisis is needed to reform itself in an open and transparent environment in the rapid developing society today.

The media, and the Internet in particular, have played a more and more powerful supervisory role. The public may question the credibility of these organizations all the time. Whoever is transparent will be chosen. Transparency is derived from openness, and the prestige is rooted in probity. Transparency will promote good governance, efficiency, and the standardization of an organization's operations. To win the trust of the public, CSOs should accept public audit. Any statement will be pale and meaningless without convincing audit findings. A self-disciplinary mechanism among CSOs should be established.

The survival of a CSO depends on its public identity. Crafting the strategy that shapes the external identity of an organization is the first and probably the most important responsibility of CSO leader and members. It serves to propagate the values, ideas and beliefs that give meaning and entity to the organization, and ensure that its stakeholders feel involved to the organizations. A CSO without its external identity cannot attract stakeholders to contribute to its issues.

5.1.2 Internal Identity

For over two decades now, the most prominent theory in the study of organizational identity has been the social identity theory. According to the primary definition proposed by Tajfel (1978), social identity is “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership.” According to the assumptions of social identity theory, organizational identification is a form of social identification whereby a person comes to view himself/herself as a member of a particular social entity – the organization. This happens through cognitive processes or categorization, where one forms self-category of organizational membership, based on one’s similarities with other members in the organization, as well as on the dissimilarities with individuals from different organizations. O’Reilly and Chatman (1986)¹⁸ define identification as the process of “an individual accepting influence from a group (organization)” in order to establish and maintain a relationship”. According to this definition, an individual may respect a group’s values without adopting them, as opposed to internalization (when influence is accepted because the induced attitudes/values are congruent with one’s own) or compliance (when they are declaratively accepted in order to win a certain benefit).

Ashforth and Mael (1989) are the first researchers to introduce the perspective of social identity theory into the study of organization identification. They define identification as a solely cognitive process of self-categorization, and commitment as a possible consequence. While others (Ellemrs, Kortekaas and Ouwerkerk, 1999) proposed identification as a three-faceted process. Ellemrs, Kortekaas and Ouwerkerk (1999) proposed that three components contribute to one’s social identity: (1) a cognitive component: a cognitive awareness of one’s membership in a social group as self-categorization; (2) an evaluative component: a positive or negative value connotation attached to this group membership as self-esteem; (3) and an

¹⁸ O’Reilly C.A. and Chatman J. (1986) “Organizational commitment and psychological attachment: The effects of compliance, identification, and internalization on prosocial behavior.” *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 71: 492-499.

emotional component: a sense of emotional involvement with the group as affective commitment. Bergami and Bagozzi (2000) combines the two views, demonstrate through structural equation modeling that the primary dimension of organizational identification is the cognitive one (group self-categorization), the other two dimensions, evaluative and emotional component being subsequent.

Based on the previous research, the author adopts a dynamic model to describe the formation and change of the internal identity of an organization, considering the internal identity from 3 aspects, as shown in Figure 5.1. Members of an organization may identify it through self-categorization, and his/her membership may strength the identity. Subsequently, the value and mission of the organization may influence the members. Initially, members may accept the influence passively or declaratively in order to maintain the relationship with the organization. The bright spots of an organization should be induced to make the members accept and feedback positively, and then internalize the values of the organization into their own. When the members' evaluation on the organization is getting better, and they feel fell proud of the CSO, or when the members are more and more attached to the organization, the internal identity of an organization become stronger. A strong organizational identity evolves into ideology that helps pull members toward the vision of the organization internally.

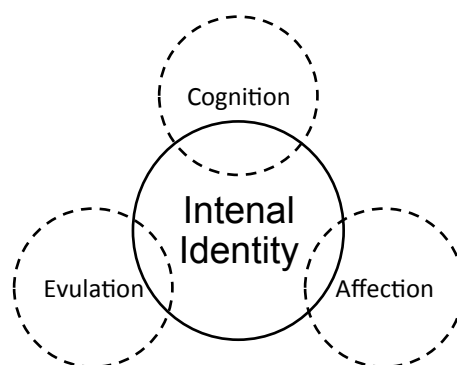


Figure 5.1 The 3 aspects of internal identity

Current Situation

A survey conducted by the Narada Foundation¹⁹ indicates that, in the 451 CSOs investigated²⁰, 44.8% of the organizations own less than 3 full-time staff, and 10% of the CSOs own no full-time staff. 56.6% have experienced resign of employees. The labor turnover rates of the grassroots CSOs is about 60%, while the rates in public foundations is 33.3%. In addition to the factor of low income, within the employees who have resigned from the organizations, 16.2% thought there is no future in the organization, 14.6% disagree with the organizational identity, while 6.2% feel that they are not recognized by the society.

Because of the Wenchuan Earthquake, the year of 2008 has become the first year of many grassroots CSOs in disaster response field. However, most of these grassroots CSOs are established in enthusiastic. According to the interview of Guo Hong, the leader of Sichuan Academy of Social Science Institute, in the beginning of the disaster, there are more than 300 existing CSOs engaged in the disaster relief. There were also a large number of short-term voluntary organizations such as the students' union organizations, or volunteer teams. Totally more than 500 organizations have worked in disaster relief until the August 2008. Until the end of 2013, there were about 80 CSOs still working in the disaster-affected areas.

The conflict of work areas is one reason for the leave of the CSOs, because few CSOs included disaster management in their work areas before the earthquake due to the eligibility restriction by the government. But a more important reason is that most of the grassroots lack of long-term goals, and only follow the trends blindly. A survey conducted by the Southwestern University of Finance indicates that, 15.5% of the CSOs came to the affected areas with no plan; 16.7% of the CSOs had planned the following 1-6 months; 10.4% had planned for 7-12 months; 14.6% had planned

¹⁹ Narada Foundation (2010), "Survey on the status quo and demand of Chinese public-wealth organizations", Report see: <http://www.naradafoundation.org/sys/eweb/uploadfile/20101218110935659.pdf>

²⁰ The Narada Foundation tried to contact 5403 CSOs on the list, while only 451 CSOs were interviewed successfully. 62.3% of the 5403 CSOs cannot be connected because of the ineffective telephone number. So the 451 CSOs actually represent those CSOs who are relatively active and well developed in some extent.

for 25-36 months; only 30.6% of the CSOs had a planning more than 3 years. It seems that experienced the initial heroism after the earthquake, the staff had not find their self-value in this organization, and chose other jobs instead. Case study of the 2 CSOs, worked in the same town as stated following is a good comparison to show this problem of some new-established grassroots CSOs in current China.

Another problem is that, since the number of projects applicable is limited, a number of grassroots CSOs apply for the same project provided by foundations, in a state like “grab foods”. Sometimes the application is blind, some grassroots CSOs may apply even though the projects are not related to their organizational mission and values. The case study of Wild Grass presented in the following describes this situation in detail.

Positive or Negative: Multiple Case Studies

Xiushui Town, located in Anxian County, is the biggest town of the county with 3 urban communities and 35 rural villages. The population of this town is about 70,000. In the 2008 Wenchuan Earthquake, nearly 90% of the houses were collapsed. The author visited this town for 3 times in May 2010, September 2011, and March 2014. When the author first visited the town, there were two CSOs provided public social service. One is named Anxian Red Cross Social Worker’s Service Center²¹ (ARC), while the other is the Dharma Drum Mountain Social Welfare and Charity Foundation (DDM²²). However, 1 year later, when the author visited this town again, the ARC has already closed. On the contrary, DDM, an international Buddhist

²¹ The service center is funded by RCSC but not managed by RCSC. The funds provided by the RCSC is 500,000RMB. A CSO located in Beijing provided support and direction to this service center at the beginning. Detailed information is presented in the following.

²² DDM is an international Buddhist spiritual, cultural, and educational foundation founded by Master Sheng-yen in 1989, located in Taiwan. After the earthquake, DDM raised 251,747 dollars from individuals, charities and private sector in 2008 towards the rebuilding of schools destroyed. With the donations, DDMCF provides an elementary school, a medical building for hospital in Xiushui Town of Anxian County.

foundation located in Taiwan, has persisted in this town for more than 5 years until now.

According to a report written by ARC in July 2010, the main reason of the closure is that “we staff have no working purpose currently, and we feel confused about our future. The whole team has no cohesion.”²³ Once there were totally 5 social workers working in this center in 2009, one of which is the local. At the beginning, the center was supported by a CSO located in Beijing named the New Citizen Social Work Development and Education Center (NCS). Under the guidance of NCS, the ARC conducted a series of activities such as providing social workers’ service at schools, organizing the elderly’s dance team, and opening interest classes for the adolescents. However, in January 2010, the person in charge of ARC in NCS left for personal reasons. Subsequently, the Red Cross, who is the sponsor of ARC, hoped they can carry out activities by themselves.

The personnel change challenged ARC. From the establishment of ARC, no one had ever make clear about their mission and identity. For a long time, they only focus on “what” to do, rather than “why” and “how” to do. When the ambiguity concern the identity of the organization itself, it become difficult for members to make sense of “who we are as an organization”, especially when they face the organizational change. The ambiguity of organization also brought questions as “what’s really going on?” “Do we have a good future?” “Is it stable?” As a result, the 5 social workers quitted their positions later in 2010. The longest-serving time of these 5 social workers is one and a half years, and the shortest is about 5 months.



Comparatively, DDM provide the same service in this big town. It has established a Spiritual Consolation Station in the center of the town and offers various spiritual

²³ Cited from the evaluation report of RCSC, “The strength of alliance: evaluation report of Chinese Red Cross Foundation sponsored public bidding projects for the reconstruction of Wenchuan Earthquake-hit area”, Peing University Press, 2012: P225.

consolation programs and projects for local victims. All of the social workers are from Taiwan, where is nearly 1800km away from the town. The leader of the station had been worked in the social worker department of Taipei City Government for decades. Touched by the 2008 earthquake, she came to this town and has stayed there for more than 5 years.

At the beginning, Master Sheng Yen, the leader of DDM had exhorted the workers solemnly that, the reconstruction work is a long-term task, requiring sustained investment to reach a real concern to the victims. He wrote a long article about the spirit of volunteerism, “I, Sheng Yan, am a lifelong volunteer, so I encourage you to learn with your heart and try your best. Don’t be picky, don’t overdo and don’t be disappointed in any situations. At any time, anywhere, as long as we use our hands, feet, and mouths, we can do anything. ... If there are some critics, it means someone are concerning you; if someone blame you, it means he/she hope you work harder and make a progress. With this mental preparation, you will never feel frustrated and disappointed. For the praise from others, I know you will feel happy. But the purpose of volunteers is not to seek praise from others. You are all the Bodhisattva of DDM now, and would become Buddha in the future. So everyone is equal. There is no difference.²⁴” His words provide a coherent sense of collective identity of DDM, result in a “identity clarity” from the very beginning, instead of the problem of “identity ambiguity” which happened to ARC.

The vision of DDM is to “uplift the character of humanity and build a pure land on earth”, and the staffs in Xiushui Town are accomplishing the commitment by their performance. Their state of mind is peaceful. When asked, “why did you decide to come here”, they replied, “It’s the fate.” The leader of the station mentioned that “the work on people’s minds is slow and invisible”, so the “long-time accompany” is necessary. In the station, the full-time staff just takes a little pay as symbolic. The organization is formed by common beliefs and spirit of dedication, to help the victims to keep hope and passion towards a bright future.

²⁴ Cited from the blog of DDM, http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_62189c3b0100rjux.html



Another case study, Wild Grass, is a local environmental NGO founded in 2004 in Chengdu. The mission of the organization is to promote eco-lifestyle in the city, and the focus in the urban communities. However, due to the lack of funds, Wild Grass applied an eco-friendly dry toilets project²⁵ in rural areas in order to obtain funds from the Red Cross Society of China.

In the initial plan of this project, Wild Grass expected to not merely install toilets, but also used the installation as an opportunity to promote a more comprehensive community awareness of sanitation and hygiene, conservation of water resources, and preservation of the local environment. However, the project worked in another way. Due to the lack of work experience in the rural areas, the project officials soon found it difficult to communicate with the local villagers. In China, since the huge differences in the level of education, the way to communicate with a rural resident is totally different from the way with an urban resident. The main value of ecological dry toilet is its ecological value: water-saving, pollution-free, waste utilization. But the local villagers thought it had nothing to do with them. They don't care about the ecology. A mainstream value is "everything urban residents use is good", therefore, they prefer the flush toilet rather than the ecological dry toilet.

The failure of Wild Grass project is the result of CSO's unclear positioning. The member of Wild Grass admitted that the design of this project is irrational and lacks adequate pre-demonstration, and they also have learned lessons from this failed project, decided not to do any other projects incompatible with the mission of the organization.

²⁵ In Chinese villages, the public toilets are dry toilets, while the private toilets are normally combined with pigsties, and easy to spread disease. After the 2008 earthquake, most of the public toilets were destroyed and became a major threat to the health of victims.

As Albert and Whetten (1985)²⁶ have suggested, organizations with multiple identities often have normative, ethical identities and rational, economic identities. Many organizations have multiple identities, such as hospitals having multiple identities as organizations that give quality health care and as businesses that balance the budget. Particular circumstances arise that will make one identity salient, such as the economic identity becoming salient during difficult market conditions (Sillince, 2006)²⁷. From the case of Wild Grass, we may see that there are the economic identity has beyond the normative identity when it face the shortage of funds. When members perceive multiple identities as being in conflict, they become confused and indecisive. Although the leader mentioned that they would not apply for the projects incompatible with the mission of the organization in the future, the organizational identity remains unstable when there is conflict between multiple identities.

Wild Grass is not the only grassroots CSO encountered such dilemma. Currently, most projects' cycle is only 6 months to 1 year. Continuously applying different projects makes these new-established CSOs too busy thinking about their real mission, result in the bad decision directing a negative reaction.

How to React Positively?

From the cases studies of the ARC, DDM, and Wild Grass, we may find some valued rules for Chinese catalyst CSOs.

Firstly, identity clarity is important to implement firstly when an organization established or when an organization changes its goal. It is necessary to use the core values and beliefs in the mission statement as an active guide for decision-making and practices, emphasizing their spirit, and demonstrating a concern for employees

²⁶ Albert S. & Whetten D. (1985) "Organizational identity" in L Cummings & B. M. Staw (Eds.) Reserch in organizational behavior, vol.7: 263-295, Greenwich, CT: JAI.

²⁷ Sillince, J. A. (2006). Resources and Organizational Identities The Role of Rhetoric in the Creation of Competitive Advantage. Management Communication Quarterly, 20(2), 186-212.

and stakeholders. Indeed, a lack of clear identity will inevitably reduce the credibility of a CSO's image in the eyes of supporters and staffs. Identity ambiguity is uncomfortable for members by implying multiple possible interpretations about which core features should define, so tensions may accompany all the time until the clarity of organizational identity. Attentive leaders should take steps to promote collective sensemaking process so they can foster a renewed clarity about the identity as soon as possible.

Secondly, to resolve the problem of multiple identities, an effective way is to use the "why" and "how" instead of the "what" when define one's real identity. Focus on the "what", the functional aspects may result in that the CSO only cares about the present situation, while the shift of "why" and "how" of their activities may differentiate themselves from a long-term view. Over time, values of the CSO provide members with an understanding of how they should behave. Members may be more effective when they are emotionally invested in the greater purpose. It was important at CSO that all staff understood.

Thirdly, for the foundations that provide projects funding to the grassroots CSOs, it is inappropriate to provide short-term contract only in 6 months to 1 year. Post-disaster reconstruction is a long-term task. The grassroots CSOs also need long time to really integrate into the affected community. In addition, for those newly established organizations, they also need time to find and determine its real purpose and goal. Given the current situation in China, the grassroots CSOs can only rely on the funds provided by foundations, it is important for foundations with the mission of common wealth to consider how to help these grassroots CSOs' development, to encourage more citizens' engagement in civil society.

5.2 Boundary

5.2.1 Range

Current Situation

The first aspect of boundary is its limitation as the range of an organization: identity refers to the things elements can do, while boundary refer to those matters element cannot touch. Current opportunities and constraints in the role and function of NGOs in China have to be seen in the broader context of ongoing economic and political change. With economic autonomy and the private life of citizens no longer controlled by the government, there is basic autonomy in the private sphere. However, the state still has the desire and ability to exercise strict control over the public sphere. Kang and Feng (2006)²⁸ called this new state-dominant system as a “structure of control by category”, which means the different categories of organizations are controlled in different strategies of the government according to its political relations with them.

The political opposition organizations are firmly banned; the functional organizations are integrated into the government’s own organizational structure; the important social service organizations are indirectly controlled though the dual management system; while the less important social service organizations enjoy very relaxed management. At present, CSOs in China are very active in education, public health, environmental protection, legal assistance and support for vulnerable groups. However, some areas have always been shut to CSOs and the government adopts a rather utilitarian attitude towards them. On the one hand, it hopes to see them play a complementary role. On the other hand, it restricts activities that it is not happy with (Kang and Feng, 2006).

²⁸ Kang and Feng (2006) “NGO Governance in China: Achievement and Dilemmas” NGO Accountability: Politics, Principles and Innovations, published by Earthscan in the UK and USA.

In the field of disaster response, basically, the government welcomes CSOs to relieve victims and facilitate the reconstruction works as a partner of the government, but there are still some areas sensitive. In this situation, the CSOs who want to carry out their activities in China should follow the Chinese rules. Large CSOs such as Oxfam used to receive warnings from Chinese government when it placed 40 students working at NGOs into sector such as supporting migrant worker. The case study is described in detail in the following section.

In addition to the political range of CSOs, another range is between CSOs and the affected communities. As an external force, if the CSO cross its line, the intervention may break the former balance and suppress the normal function of the community. We have already see the positive case in previous chapter, to show that how NHP use participatory method in the affected community. NHP indeed respects the local culture and order, while there are also some CSOs interfere excessively. Multiple case studies of the Global Village, the China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation, and the Sichuan Haihui Poverty Alleviation Center are presented in the following for a comparative research.

Positive or Negative

Oxfam Hong Kong had been known for its work with grassroots CSOs, especially those involved in the work of migrant workers and right protection until February 2010, when the Ministry of Education posted on the website of a Beijing university to criticize it was a “NGO seeing to infiltrate” the mainland. “All education departments and institutions of higher education must raise their guard and together recognize and take precautions against the unfriendly intentions of Oxfam Hong Kong’s recruitment of college volunteers,” said the statement.

The notice appears to refer to a training program started in 2006. The program had trained about 10 mainland university students each year in the area of development work, and placed them working at NGOs involving migrant workers as internships. It is obviously a message for CSO as that “no matter how big or internationally

recognized, when in China, play by Chinese rules.” There are still some sensitive fields in current China, and the line for CSO is clear: certain sectors such as those working in labor, religion, legal aid, or HIV/AIDS are sensitive; getting involved in charity is seen as safer than getting involved in advocacy²⁹. In response to the notice, Oxfam Hong Kong suspended the program soon.



Another line should be drawn between foreign CSO and the affected community. Global Village (GLV), an environmental CSO based in Beijing, launched a pilot program in Pengzhou Ciy from July of 2008. The CSO named the project the “Lehe Home”, which means “Home of Happiness and Harmony” by combining two Chinese characters. The leader of the CSO said the idea is to rally the initiative of local villagers. “The core concept is to mobilize villagers to participate in public affairs.” According to its plan, the historical integrity of the village would be preserved. Villagers are elected to organize their own self-governance association so they can get their voices heard and participate actively in reconstruction. The residents are expected to develop eco-conscious agricultural practice and produce green ecological products, while the CSO help the villagers to develop eco-tourism industry by introducing external investment. In this process, every major policy decision should be implemented through the discussion of villagers.

However, according to the field survey, the villagers’ rights have been suppressed. “We have the right to speak and participate in discussions, but the final decisions are made by the CSO.” One villager said. In the beginning, both the CSO and the local autonomous organization of villagers felt pleasant about their cooperation. The first cooperation between GLV and autonomous organization of villagers was to promote the housing reconstruction. GLV is responsible to apply funds from the foundations³⁰

²⁹ There are also some CSOs working in these areas with the active support of local authorities or GONGOs, while the methods need further discussed under local context.

³⁰ Funding Resource: the Red Cross Foundation approved totally 3.65 million RMB for Lehe Home to build 100 ecological residences, two clinics, a handicraft workshop and supporting environmental protection facilities. One Foundation provides 1 million RMB for the post-disaster cultural and industrial development. Narada Foundation provides 150,000 RMB for daily expenses of the CSO.

within the CSO-network to assist the housing reconstruction, and invite engineers to design the housing for the residents. After the completion of design drawings, GLV and the autonomous organization of villagers invited local villagers with architecture experience to discuss and modify the design together finally resulted in the housing style local villagers recognized. In the process of housing reconstruction, GLV played an active role to introduce the external funding and resources, and the local autonomous organization provided local expertise and human resources³¹ to achieve the complementary advantages of both sides.

The conflicts were produced in the following reconstruction works in the aspects of industrial development plan, financial regulation and their positioning. Although both of GLV and local organization agree the concept of Lehe Home and the long-term goal of eco-industry, there are some different views on the implementation strategy. GLV proposed to start the eco-tourism, organic agriculture and creative handicrafts simultaneously, while the local organization believed that the focus must first put into construction of tourism facilities (to improve the poor traffic condition firstly), and then develop the organic agriculture and creative handicrafts in the following steps (Lu and Yue, 2012³²). They believed that without the developed tourism industry, organic agriculture and the handicrafts couldn't operate effectively. Meanwhile, the CSO hopes to promote organic vegetables, kiwi and other economical crops in this village, while the local villagers with rich agricultural

³¹ Before the arrival of the CSO, the government had provided five types of reconstruction choices for the villagers: unified planning and unified construction, unified planning and self construction, self construction in the previous site, self-reconstruction in the previous site or resettlement with the funds provided by the government. Because of the poor traffic situation, most of the villagers had already chose the ways of unified planning and unified construction, and decided to move their homes from the mountains to the town. "Lehe Home" project had changed the previous situation. The purpose of this project is the eco-housing and eco-industry, requiring the villagers stay in the mountain with poor traffic conditions. The autonomous organization had done a lot or work to persuade the villagers to choose the self-reconstruction in the previous site. The housing subsidy provided by the CSO is 4850 RMB per person in accordance with the standard. Although the amount is less than the 8000 RMB per person as the standard of unified planning and self-reconstruction, the villagers had no dissatisfaction at that time. In their view, the development of tourism is more important than the one-time housing subsidy.

³² Lu H. and Yue Y. (2011) "Passion, ideals and reality: the relationship between a civil organization and a rural community and its significance in the post-disaster reconstruction", *Journal of Guangxi University*, Vol.33 (3): 28-32.

experienced pointed out that, the local soil and climate is not suitable for the development of these crops.

However, GLV didn't adopt these advices, and still went its own way. When GLV helped rebuilding the 100 ecological housings, it also built a handicraft workshop at the same time. According to its plan, the handicraft workshop can be used to produce embroidered handkerchief. In the opinion of GLV, hand-embroidered handkerchief may become best sellers containing both humanistic value and low-carbon attribute. But the reality is that, due to the undeveloped eco-tourism, the hand-embroidered products are also become unmarketable. Since almost no villagers participate in handmade producing, this workshop is vacant at present. The same situation also occurred in the organic agriculture. As a result, the post-disaster industry recovery didn't follow the way as GLV describes in its blueprint. When the author visited the village, some of the villagers complained that the project hadn't brought the expected benefits for them, and they even felt regret to stay in the mountain. After all, they used to have the opportunity to move to the town where enjoys better traffic conditions and living conditions.

In addition, GLV used to propose an allocation scheme of the shares concerning the industry project: GLV occupies 51% of the shares and dividends by funding and the concept, while the villagers share the remaining 49% by their lands and other natural resources. This scheme was questioned. The villagers believe that if the natural resources can only share 49%, the external funds are not enough to occupy more than a half shares; the allocation of shares and dividends is unfair and unfounded. Although this scheme was not realized consequently, it had already reduced the trust of villagers on the CSO.

In the aspect of financial regulation, GLV didn't establish a co-regulatory team with the local autonomous organization of villagers as specified in the contract. In addition to the housing reconstruction subsidies, other project funds were managed by the CSO's own financial staff. Moreover, the usage situation of the project funds was not open to the villagers. The villagers believe that they have the right to

regulate the financial situation, and have asked the CSO many times to provide its financial usage situation, but never get a reply.

In the aspect of positioning, the villagers said that the planning, decision-making, implementation and supervision are all dominated by GLV. Although they have meetings on the industrial development sometimes, but the suggestions rose by the autonomous organization are often not adopted. A leader of the autonomous organization said the contract is tantamount to nothing, and the villagers cannot exercise their rights as prescribed in the agreement. As GLV holds the funds and resources, it also holds the right to speak. When there is any conflict occurred, the local autonomous organization is in a weak position.

On the other hand, members of GLV feel wronged by local villagers. In their opinion, they brought funds and resource to this village, but the locals are not grateful to them (Lu and Yue, 2012³³). “The villagers often unaware of the benefits they have already enjoyed, while they are brooding about the interests they possibly lost after the selection.” A project manager of GLV said in an interview.

In the background of disaster reconstruction, GLV is undoubtedly visionary to propose the concept of ecological reconstruction from the perspective of facing environmental challenges. However, this doesn't mean that CSO can enter the village as an external “authority”. GLV promote its ideas and reconstruction blueprint in the village; persuade the villagers to regard the idea and blueprint as “good” for them, mobilize the villagers even require them as a supporting actor in the activities. From the interview, we can also see that, the members of GLV have a messianic complex and an ideal like a saint when they entered into the affected areas. They think they are right arbitrarily. This is not a partnership, but a kind of “cross-border”. The excessive intervention makes the project gradually becomes one-man show of the CSO. When villagers' opinions cannot be adopted, and the autocratic manner of

³³ Lu H. and Yue Y. (2011) “Passion, ideals and reality: the relationship between a civil organization and a rural community and its significance in the post-disaster reconstruction”, *Journal of Guangxi University*, Vol.33 (3): 28-32.

GLV has not brought any economic effect, the dissatisfaction of local villagers is also growing.



GLV is not the only organization failed to fail in the livelihood recovery project because of the “cross-border” problem. China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation (CFPA), a veteran CSO with rich experience of rural works has also failed in one of its livelihood recovery projects. Its problem is not the dictatorship, but anxiousness in output. The way of CFPA is just like a Chinese traditional idiom: “making the rice shoots grow by pulling them up”. It exceeded its place and meddled in the victims’ affairs.

Minle Village in Mianzhu City is one of the hardest-hit areas in 2008 earthquake. 93.2% of the houses collapsed, and all of the public facilities and infrastructures were damaged severely in the disaster. CFPA funded more than 2.6 million RMB in this village, to establish an agricultural specialized cooperative³⁴. The funds are donated to villagers in the form of stock instead of cash, which was then used to set up a public fund to support sustainable development for the village in the CSO’s plan. All the villagers have stock certificates. The funds are not distributed to the residents, but concentrated to use in the collective industry. The CSO believes that, using the approach of intensive management to develop the scale agriculture can benefit each villager as stockholders receiving their long-term dividends. At the same time, villagers are expected to be trained to participate in public affairs through organizational forms such as a board of directors and a supervising board.

However, in the real world, CPFA too concerned with the outcome and effectiveness of this project, and involved too much in the works, which should be finished by the villagers themselves. For example, the establishment of the agricultural specialized

³⁴ The total amount of fund provided by CFPA in Minle Village is 5.31 million RMB, in which 30% for the private housing reconstruction, 20% for the capacity training and cultural building, 50% for the livelihood recovery.

cooperative should have been villagers' own matter in the theory, while in the actual situation, almost all the procedures are completed by the CSO. In the pursuit of efficiency, CSO staff wasn't patient to wait for the villagers completing the charter of the cooperative by themselves. Instead, the staff wrote the charter. In addition, in the plan, the CFPA should use its "veto power" only at the crucial moment, while in practice, CFPA used it whenever the staff considered there was any problem. The CSO rested all the large and small matters in its hands, hoping the village can develop according to its own wishes. Direct consequence of this is that, the villagers gradually lost the sense of participation, and regarded the cooperative is belonged to the CSO, unrelated with themselves.

In March 2014, when the author visited the Minle Village, CFPA had left the village and the office of the cooperative was empty. We asked the local villagers how about the development of the cooperative, the villagers said they did not know, and make us to ask the head of the village. The project manager of CFPA said they had tried to hire professional managers to manage the cooperative, but the local villagers showed little interest in the cooperative. At present, since there was no supporting livelihood project in the village, young people had to find jobs in other places. Only the elderly and the children stayed in the village.



Different from the above two cases, Sichuan Haihui Poverty Alleviation Center (SHC)³⁵ never intervene the community but respect it. SHC emphasis itself as a facilitator and an outsider. SHC entered into the Xiaoyudong Town of Pengzhou City in September 2009, to carry out livelihood recovery project. They plan to support the local animal husbandry as a starting point, by providing immature livestock, capacity

³⁵ SHC was established in Chengdu, 2008, is a continuation of the Chengdu Office of International NGO "Heifer International". The projects of Heifer International began from 1984. The headquarters funded 3 projects in Sichuan Province in cooperation with the Provincial Bureau of Animal Husbandry, and provided 158 immature goats and 200 immature rabbits from the United Kingdom and the United State. In 1989, Heifer International set up its office in Chengdu but failed to register at that time. The official registration was finished in 2008 and renamed as SHC.

building and technical training. The project plans to provide each household the “gift funds” to purchase six kid-goats, in a form of collective breeding based on mutual-aid group. The cost of the kid-goats would be recovered after the mature goats sold, and transfer to another group of farmers the same amount as a new “gift funds”.

The concept of SHC is that “give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach him how to fish and you feed him for a lifetime.” In the beginning, SHC stresses that the “gift funds” for the victims is equivalent to an interest free loan, and the use of this funds is limited to the purchase of immature livestock. Other costs such as pens, feed and medicines for the breeding must be borne by the villagers themselves. After the end of a breeding cycle, villagers must transfer the “gift funds” of the same amount to another group of villagers who need subsidy. In addition, farmers should make other preparations before they can receive the “gift funds”. They need establish a mutual-aid group and develop their own rules by their own discussion and negotiations. They need determine the species of livestock through their collective investigation, and build their pens with their own investment before they receive the “gift funds”.

The project manager of the CSO explained that, the prerequisite make the victims become more involved in the project. Since they have also invested in the projects, all of the stakeholders become a community of risk. During the whole breeding process, the victims are the protagonists to implement the whole process: they manage the mutual-aid group by themselves, and share the collective works. The CSO and government partners only provide some technician guidance. The continuous input of themselves strengthens villagers’ sense of responsibility. They elect the persons in charge in a democracy way, and vote the management rules³⁶ raised or suggested by them. Any of the rules and regulations must be passed

³⁶ The rules and regulations set up by the mutual-aid groups including the specific operational systems (the management system of breeders, the management system of medical personnel, the management system of sanitation and disinfection, etc.), personal division table and shift table. There are specific financial staffs to approve each individual expense. The income and expenditure statement is posted on the bulletin board for all the members.

unanimously. So they are also willing to obey and enforce the rules. Because the victims fully participated in the project, the mutual-aid group enjoys natural social legitimacy in the village.

SHC brought 200,000 RMB into the Xiaoyudong Town, supporting 30 households to breed 180 immature goats. Nearly two years later, when a breeding cycle finished, the victims passed the 200,000 RMB successfully to another group of victims in another town. However, affected by the subsequent snowstorm, landslide and other natural disasters, victims had rebuilt the pens for 3 times. If including the cost invested by villagers themselves in the pens, feed and medicines, each villager lost about 2,000 RMB eventually.

From the perspective of increasing the individual income, the project seems failed. However, there is no complaint and no one in Xiaoyudong Town regret participating in this project. They said that it is their own project, and they had accumulated a lot of experience. When it comes to “do you think is there any responsibility of SHC”, the victims said, “No. We decided to conduct this project by ourselves, so don’t blame them.”³⁷ They also said that, they were planning to continue the mutual-aid group in the future. The form of mutual-aid group not only provides convenience to the villagers to discuss how to choose the species of the livestock, receive the technical training, exchange their experience of breeding, and sell their livestock in the “size effect”, but also promote the spirit of mutual help. They spontaneously set up the “mutual-aid fund”, with 10 RMB per household per month, to help the members who accidently in difficulty. The collective affairs of breeding goats also changed the common topic in the community. Many villagers said, in addition to playing mahjong, they had nothing to do before the earthquake when they meet each other. When they set up the mutual-aid group, they have more topics: “How to treat the sick goats?” “Is it the time to mow?” “How to repair the pens?” In addition, through the training and practice, they have accumulated rich experience in breeding,

³⁷ Cited from the evaluation report of RCSC, “The strength of alliance: evaluation report of Chinese Red Cross Foundation sponsored public bidding projects for the reconstruction of Wenchuan Earthquake-hit area”, Peiing University Press, 2012: P468.

and had already decided to use their experience in the next collective breeding process cycle. In this sense, the project really contributed to the autocatalysis of this community.

How to React Positively?

From the cases studies of the Oxfam Hong Kong, the Global Village, the CFPA and the SHC, we may find some valued rules for Chinese catalyst CSOs.

Firstly, regard of the “structure of control by category”, all CSOs in China should observe an iron law: they must not offend the strong government. CSOs should respond to social needs, but only within the scope encouraged, allowed or at least acquiesced to by the government. CSOs should know very well that if the government is offended they will achieve nothing. A CSO may gain its political legitimacy and administrative legitimacy only when it received support from the government.

Secondly, CSOs should be self-disciplined when entering the affected community. Never act as an authority and intervene excessively into the self-governance of local residents. The CSO should respect the original order formed in the community, and respect the local people’s wishes and rights of expression. Otherwise, residents will gradually alienate the CSO, and finally abandon this CSO.

Especially, a project manager in China usually encounters a problem that, when the CSO enter into an undeveloped community with funds, the residents are often reluctant to do risky sustainable development projects. Their most pressing idea is, “we prefer the way that you distribute the money to us directly.” Even if they have started a project concerning public affairs, the shortage of experience in public affairs results in that the residents have strong dependence on the CSO or government. They do not treat it as their own projects, so they don’t take responsibility on it. Once the project fails, the residents will complain the CSO firstly, accuse the CSO messed up the project.

In this situation, the project manager should find a way to make the victims feel they are involved in this project, and to make them do what they should have done, take the responsibility they should take. It is necessary to make clear the boundaries of each other when enter a community at the very beginning. Case study of SHC has provided an approach by encouraging the villagers to participate fully and manage their project completely independently. The determination of the boundary not only means the respect to the local value, but also promote to the awareness of the victims as protagonists.

5.2.2 Junction

Current Situation

In a heterogeneous catalysis, adsorption of reactants on the active sites of a catalyst's surface is the first step in every reaction. In this section, the author use the functional junctions to refer the key persons belonged to the catalyst CSO, the facilitations established and the activities conducted by the catalyst CSO.

As mentioned previously, some of the GONGOs hire retired or nearly retired high-level governmental officials as its leaders, which serve as key factor to help the GONGOs acquire political resources. Without these housekeepers, it is not easy for GONGOs to cooperate with the government in each administrative level. Similarly, those grassroots CSOs with high reputation also rely on the reputation of their leaders, who are respected practitioners, social celebrities, or university scholars. People know the CSOs because they know these leaders with charisma. The One Foundation, for example, has used the positive image of its founder, Jet Li, a famous movie star as propaganda, and gained public recognition quickly. Liang Congjie, who is one of the founders of the first legally registered grassroots CSO in China, is a historian born in a famous family. His grandfather is a reformist promoting China's constitutional monarchy, and his parents are the most respected architects in current

China. His relationship with the government was one the critical reason contributing to the legal status of the grassroots CSO in China for the first time.

Not only the leaders, but members configured in each department also decide the direction of the CSOs. In some of Chinese larger CSOs such as CFPA, various departments with different functions have been set up for the normal operation, including the publicity department to connect with the media, the fundraising department to connect with the enterprises and individual donators, the cooperation department to connect with other CSOs. These key persons also play as functional junctions when they touch other reactants. In the smaller CSOs such as 1 KG MORE, the number of members is limited due to the funding constraint. So the members in the small CSOs always play as multifunctional functional junctions to adsorb various reactants. This is also the current status of most grassroots CSOs in China.

Meanwhile, when entering a new community, CSO need identify some fixed places or organize some public activities to ensure the space for reaction starting. In the previous chapter, the author uses the case study of NHP to describe how a CSO create a serious of public space for the participation of victims in the public affairs. The following cases are presented as a complement.

Positive or Negative

CSO may provide public places to connect itself with the local residents. Shanxi Women's Research Association³⁸ provided three types of low-cost temporary housing for victims based on local need. 128 households of victims built up 36 temporary housing cooperatively after their own discussion, planning and design by themselves. These self-constructed temporary housing have become public spaces for local residents, and strengthened the ability of local residents to cooperate with each other. The housing has been also used as a base for cultural recovery. Another

³⁸ The Shanxi Women's Research Association was founded in 1986, and registered as a social organization in 1999, is one the China's oldest CSOs.

example, Student Action, is a CSO focused on education, set up three New Sumer Life activity centers in Pengzhou city to meet the needs of bereaved and displaced children. The activity centers play active role as the functional junctions. With the help of university student volunteers, the center hosted interactive learning programs for the affected children, to reduce the negative psychological impact of the disaster. Cooperated with another CSO Beijing Brooks Education Center, small libraries were established. Beijing Horizon Education Center also installed their eco-friendly toilets in the center to promote the concept of environmental protection.

CSOs may also hold public activities to connect with the local residents. The Social Workers' Team of the East China University of Science and Technology (STE), which is also mentioned in Section 5.1.1, carried out a series of residents' meeting with the name of "Alley Council" in 2008. At that time, residents lived in the temporary housing had never known each other. There is an alley-like panhandle between two rows of temporary housing. The social workers organized the residents who lived in the both sides of the alley, to make the strangers familiar with each other, and asked them to propose solutions to the problems of community safety, sanitation and other issues. The name of each alley was determined with its own convention, so that residents in each alley form their sense of belonging to their alleys, such as "Harmony Alley" set up on July 20, "Revitalization Alley" set up in August 21, "Solidarity Alley" set up in August 29, "Friendship Alley" set up in September 22. Until the December of 2008, 12 alleys had been set up in the temporary community, making the social services effectively implanted in localized daily life.

The Beichuan Qianghun Culture Communication Centre (BQC) ³⁹organizes Summer Camp to connect stakeholders. Their main focus is to help affected students continue their studies. The students are from several primary and secondary schools of Beichuan, the hardest hit area in the earthquake, while most of the donors are living

³⁹ The founders of the CSO were volunteers engaged in the disaster relief of 2008 earthquake. At the beginning, they treated their collection as a temporary relief organization, and connected with each other using the Internet loosely. In order to promote the post-disaster recovery and development, they transformed the internet-based organization into a real registered CSO in November 2009.

in big cities such as Beijing and Shanghai. BQC uses the internet to connect them, and organize the Summer Camp every year to promote the contact between donors and recipients. Through this camp, students may broaden their horizons, and the donors and other external stakeholders may also effectively learn what the CSO have done. In this way, the CSO improve its transparency and openness. Since the first summer camp organized in July 2008, more than 1,200 students benefited from the project. Meanwhile, based on the network of recipient students, the organization also collaborate with the Oxfam Hong Kong, to conduct livelihood project supporting the parents of these students, aiming at eliminating poverty from the root cause. Moreover, BQC collaborated with the One Foundation, to carry out disaster prevention publicity based on existing social network. From this case, we can see two functional junctions: the network of students provides premise to the follow-up activities, while the annual summer camp serves as a junction to improve the exchange between the CSO and stakeholders.

How to React Positively?

This section provides four cases to illustrate how a CSO should arrange its functional junctions to direct a positive catalysis. Arranging appropriate personnel in different functional departments, setting up public places, and organizing public events to expand the public space for the residents are effective methods in the practice.

With the modernization especially the impact of the market economy, traditional public spaces such as the wells, the weddings and funerals, the collective canteens and courtyard dams have already weakened and even faded out from the public domain. The gradual disappearance of traditional public space results in widespread loneliness and the sense of loss for the public. Creating new public spaces is significant in public governance. Whether the purpose of a public event is to train the livelihood skills, to discuss problems of a community, or only for entertainment, the event can concentrate people together, and build up their emotional and cognitive connection with each other. In order to trigger a positive reaction, a catalyst CSO should arrange energetic functional junctions for a definite objective in an

appropriate way, and mobilize a variety of resources from various aspects, to conduct the follow-up activities and prepare for contingencies.

5.3 Link

5.3.1 Object

Current Situation

When an organization tries to establish links with the affected areas, the first step is to confirm the object communities. In the emergency relief period, most of Chinese civil society organizations regard themselves as the supplement and extension of the government. Due to the rapid response of Chinese military rescue forces, CSOs usually choose to play their advantage of flexibility in the impoverished and isolated areas that normally would be neglected by others. For example, the Fangbei Village of Anxian County is located 70 km from the epicenter of earthquake. 95% of residences were collapsed in this village. However, since the destroyed traffic infrastructure, more two weeks after the earthquake, there was no military rescue force. The victims' daily living largely depends on the small-scale grassroots CSOs. These grassroots CSOs established good relationship with the local residents and local government. When the phase of emergency relief finished, the majority of these grassroots CSOs chose to stay in the community for the following reconstruction works. It can be said that, the selection of object aided by small-scale grassroots CSOs is accidental to some extent. Some large CSOs with abundant funds usually select the object communities with the administrative power of the government, in a top-down way. Others may work directly with the local governments, but the local government also must make a report to the higher levels. Some CSOs would also refer to the views of the enterprises, which are their important fund resources. Generally, the selection of object communities is the agreement of the CSO, the

government, and the enterprises in current China. Detailed situation is described in the following case studies.

In addition, the selection of the objects as partners should also be confirmed before or during the dynamic process. CSOs cannot operate alone in the society. Working with other organization is an effective way for current Chinese CSOs. Most CSOs built various types of inter-organizational partnerships in response to 2008 earthquake. International NGOs mainly chose to partner with local government for administrative legality; GONGOs cooperated with volunteer groups to deliver relief materials; foundations partnered with media for fundraising and disaster education. Good resource fit serves as the foundation for any effective collaboration. In current China, the cooperation between the CSOs, the governments and the enterprises has become mainstream for volunteer labor, legitimacy and the channels of economic resource for disaster response.

Positive or Negative

For many CSOs, it was the first time to involve in disaster response after the 2008 Wenchuan Earthquake. Without any social connection, the foreign CSOs generally select the object communities by chance. According to the disaster relief diary written by the Dharma Drum Mountain Social Welfare and Charity Foundation (DDM, as mentioned previously in Section 5.1.2), the first place the supporters went was Dujiangyan City on May 16th, 4 days after the disaster. Then they found that, because the city close to the capital city of Chengdu, there had been a lot of rescue forces. In this situation, the members quickly adjusted their plan, and decided to leave for a more remote county on the next day. When they arrived in Xiushui Town of Anxian County on May 17th, they found that there had been no foreign rescue force. Victims in Xiushui Town were extremely short in material supplies and medical care. Immediately, they decided to set up the health care station in the local middle school. In the following one week, the staffs lived with the local residents in the tents together, providing health care and distributing more than 1000 tents and sleeping bags to the victims. The DDM also provided 100,000 dollar to rebuild the

water purification facilities for emergency. The members who originally scheduled to return Taiwan on May 23th changed their plan, extended their stay to provide supplies and comfort the victims, until the second group of members arrived. During the emergency relief period, DDM established a high reputation in Xiushui Town as well as the social network with the local victims. As a result, it has continued its works in the same town during the following reconstruction phase naturally. The DDM has already stayed in the Xiushui Town for more than 5 years until now.

Some CSOs with rich experience in responding Chinese disasters select their object communities by a more standard procedure. Oxfam Hong Kong, for example, selects its object communities based on the factors below:

- The degree of poverty: the average income of individuals, and the proportion of the poverty population in the community.
- The severity of disaster: the damage degree of housing, roads and other public service facilities.
- The capability and enthusiasm of the individuals participating in the public affairs: Has the community ever implemented the public projects previously? How to maintain the products of the project? How to coordinate the interest and conflict between the residents?
- The awareness extent of residents about the participatory method.
- The degree of gender equality: the level of women' participation in all aspects of the project and their ability to play an active role.
- The development potential and the prospect.
- Agreement on the construction method suggested by Oxfam Hongkong.

In January 2009, Oxfam Hong Kong signed the “Framework Agreement on a Pilot Program to Implement Post-quake Reconstruction in Poor Villages in Wenchuan”, with the Leading Group Office of Poverty Alleviation and Development (LGOP) affiliated with the State Council of China. Under the framework agreement, Oxfam Hong Kong allocated 1 million RMB for each of the 80 villages, with the LGOP matching another 500,000 RMB each. With the help of the offices of poverty alleviation at each administrative level, the Oxfam Hong Kong select 80

communities on their degree of impoverishment, remoteness, level of destruction, and scarcity of outside resources as the standards listed above.

Through the selection, Oxfam Hong Kong paid particular attention to impoverished people, women, ethnic minorities, children, and the elderly. Due to the requirements of the victims' enthusiasm and capacity at the beginning of the selection procedure, the projects were mostly self-managed and executed by local communities as the CSO expected. Many of the infrastructure projects were completed below budgeted cost because the local residents willing to put their labor into the construction, allowing more to be built. Local residents and local government officers have also accepted the participatory approach smoothly, which not only promoted the community's sense of ownership and enhanced community bonding, but also strengthened the relationship between the villagers and their local governments. The needs of marginalized groups such as women and ethnic minorities are also prioritized in the operation as Oxfam wishes.

Another CSO with rich experience is the Sichuan Haihui Poverty Alleviation Center (SHC, mentioned in Section 5.2.1). Its prime condition to select the project partners is that, "You must communicate with me firstly and show us your desire to implement this project. Otherwise, we will not cooperate with you." A project manager said. SHC believes the request of self-will may filter out those who are not enthusiastic or those who do not agree with their concept at the first step. The selection also helps determine those with real development aspirations, laying the basis for the smooth implementation of the projects. Take Xiaoyudong community as an example, SHC selects 96 households finally through three rounds. The first round is the selection of project implementing partner (government departments) by SHC. SHC held two training sessions to the potential project partners (government officials) to explain its concept and methods for implementation. Only those who agree with its concept and initiatively enrolled would become the object for consideration, need for further observation and assessment conducted by SHC. The second round is the selection of object communities by the project-implementing partners (government departments) determined after the first round. The government departments issued a

notice to each village within its administrative jurisdiction, and publicize the contents of the projects in each village. Only those villages initiatively enrolled would become the object for consideration, and need for further assessment conducted by SHC to determine whether it is appropriate. The last round is the selection of individual objects by the partners. After the confirmation of available communities, the government officials need to promote the project in each community again with a series of training sessions about the concept of SHC. Only those who enrolled actively after accepted training for many times are likely to become the subsidized objects.

Both Oxfam Hong Kong and SHC select local government officials as their project-implementing partners. The close relationship reduces the difficulty of a project entering into an unknown community⁴⁰. Entering into a community through the governmental channel or accompanied by governmental officials help it to obtain political legitimacy and administrative legitimacy. Both the two CSOs also invited the relevant government officials to attend their launch ceremony of the projects, to show their support for the CSOs. There are considerable advantages to collaborate with the government departments in current China as concluded below:

- To improve the operational efficiency and enhance the mobilization effects on targeted objects. For example, the local government department is quicker to select the appropriate object communities and more effective to mobilize the objects because it more familiar about the local context than a CSO from the outside world.
- To remove the untrusting obstacles from the local residents and local organizations. A CSO must do disaster assessment, objects selection, participatory planning and other aspects of preparedness before the funding approved officially by the headquarters, and then the specific

⁴⁰ When the earthquake attacked Sichuan in 2008, Oxfam did not have a project team in Sichuan at the time. The staffs were diverted from the filed teams of Kunming City, Beijing, Hong Kong, Guiyang and Lanzhou to Sichuan. Within two days after the earthquake, Oxfam had already contacted the emergency aid committee of the Ministry of Civil Affairs and the State Council Leading Group Office of Poverty Alleviation and Development, as well as the provincial offices for poverty alleviation and departments of civil affairs in Sichuan. The communication and coordination with the government departments in the period of emergency relief established an understanding and foundation for the reconstruction efforts.

actions. If there is no assistance of the government, it is difficult to enter a community for investigation, and even possible to be excluded from the community in current Chinese society.

- To propagate its concept and behavior patterns to the departments of government, which helps its purpose of policy advocacy in government' actions. Through the immersion process, local poverty alleviation departments and community officials of the government developed an appreciation of the CSOs' development principles, philosophy, and mechanics of implementation, progressing from unfamiliarity, understanding to embracement.
- To enhance its own status, reputation and influence. In China, CSO who close to the government initiatively may strengthen its external influence, which is beneficial for the growth of CSOs from the perspective of corporatism.

Mercy Corps is an international relief and development NGO that works in areas affected by disasters, conflicts, long-term poverty and instability. It exists to develop the unexploited potential in people and create sustainable changes. The focus of Mercy Corps is poverty alleviation, disaster relief, social innovation, and capacity building. After the Wenchuan Earthquake, Mercy Corps conducted disaster management capacity building project in partnership with local governments and CSOs, including Sichuan Red Cross, Mianyang Public Administration College. The project was during May 2009 and May 2010, aiming to develop of the capacities of the vulnerable communities and leaders in disaster-prone areas. The target population involved 10 affected communities in Beichuan County.

The project was successful promoted under the challenging situation that the residents and the governments at all levels had been busy with the post-disaster housing reconstruction. Staffs of Mercy Corps conclude that, one of the factor led to the success is the attributes from effective cooperation among all stakeholders. The international experience and technical support from Mercy

Corps, the local network and understanding to community needs from the Mianyang Public Administration College, the attention to safety issue from the governmental officials, the lack of the knowledge responding disasters in the community, all these characteristics together contributed to the success of the project.

On the other hand, the objects of Oxfam Hong Kong are not fixed during the disaster response process. After the first phase of reconstruction from September 2008 to March 2011, Oxfam realized that, there were some problems emerging through the reconstruction process as following⁴¹:

- Most of the reconstruction work focused on building physical facilities while ignored the software construction.
- In many of the newly rebuilt communities, many social problems had begun to surface: community relationships disrupted, heavy debt burden imposed, lack of livelihood improvement and lack of community services.
- Many affected areas needed training in disaster risk management.
- Many newly organized community-based CSOs needed capacity building.

Considering these realities, Oxfam chose to collaborate with local CSOs, in addition to working with the poverty alleviation departments in administrative system of the government. Over all, the reconstruction resources of Oxfam Hong Kong for Sichuan were allocated in three fields: 60% for restoration and improvements on basic small-scale infrastructures like inter-community access roads, intra-community pathways, footbridges, drinking and irrigation lines, water collection ponds, etc.; 30% for livelihood recovery; 10% for the software construction such as capacity building

⁴¹ The Five-year Working Report of Oxfam Responding the Wenchuan Earthquake, refer to: <http://www.oxfam.org.hk/filemgr/2159/512final.pdf> , P10 - P11.

of communities and local CSOs, disaster warning procedures, emergency shelters and disaster preparedness materials reserved in the Sichuan response center.

Yingxiu Social Workers' Station (YSS) is another CSO keeping adjusting its service objects during the post-disaster complex environment. At the beginning, they found that there were some vulnerable groups (the disabled and the elderly) in urgent needs of help who had been neglected by the mainstream relief efforts. Therefore, the members specified the objects on these vulnerable groups. With the deepening of the reconstruction works, they found that the need of recovering livelihoods roused as the primary need. So they change the objects to the victims who lack of livelihood capacity, organizing the women's crafts group, to combine the material assistance with the psychological counseling.

How to React Positively?

From the cases of DDM, Oxfam Hong Kong and YSS, we can see that the selection procedure of the objects is actually a dynamic process based on the changing needs from the victims. The social service is effective only when it meet the demands of the victims. For a CSO who leads a positive reaction in a targeted community, the needs should be firstly analyzed rationally before entering into the community. Furthermore, from the initial emergency relief period to the reconstruction period, the demands of victims are constantly changing under the post-disaster complicated situation. From the most basic survival needs to the psychological needs, CSOs should adjust its purpose and specific objects at anytime to meet the change.

How to choose the objectives for cooperation is also an important issue for a successful project, while the role of Chinese government cannot be ignored. In current China where the strong government distributed at various administrative levels, it is better for the CSOs to borrow its power rather than avoid it. Entering the communities with government official helps to eliminate the vigilance of local existing organizations to the strange alien CSOs, and reduce the suspicion of local

residents on the organizations' legitimacy, saving time costs of the projects, and improving the efficiency. Without the presence of government officials, CSOs as outsiders are less likely to enter a new community smoothly. In this situation, when the grassroots CSOs prepare to root in the communities to provide public goods, the cooperation relationship with local government departments based on mutual trust, mutual needs, and mutual understanding is a basic condition for the positive operation in current China.

On the other hand, the catalyst may only react with a specific type of reactants, so as the catalyst CSOs in real world. The selection procedure of the object community is the premise to ensure project effectiveness and sustainability. Experienced CSOs such as Oxfam Hong Kong and SHC have already provided advanced models for the selection criteria under the Chinese context. There are two factors particularly worthy to promote:

- (1) Feasibility of the selection principles. It is hard to select object communities from thousands of the affected ones, but the selection must according to the CSO's own capacity. The geomorphological features, traffic conditions, local customs and habits should all be considered. The willingness of the local residents is also a crucial factor to consider before carrying out a field project. The indifference or even opposition of local residents may lead to the failure of the project, as well as the inadequate capacity of local residents. Although in some sense, it is not fair for those communities lacking of capacity, while under the current project-oriented system within limited time, selecting the incompatible communities is tantamount to destructive enthusiasm.
- (2) Fairness of the selection procedure. All of the victims have rights to get justice and equal opportunity in all affected areas and all levels of life. So it is necessary for the CSO and its partners to conduct a lot of publicity work to ensure that all of the compatible communities can learn the information. The procedure should be open and transparent to all of the potential stakeholders to avoid any omission.

5.3.2 Position

Stakeholders involved in a CSO's post-disaster recovery project include the victims, the local organizations, the government agencies, the enterprises and other CSOs. Some public foundations may keep close touch with the media, but most private foundations act low key since they do not need to raise funds publicly. Most grassroots CSOs position themselves close to the affected communities while most GONGOs in China put themselves on the position close to the government or even within the governmental administrative system. The position a CSO chooses to stand is important because it influences its approach for activities, and then influences the direction and speed of disaster recovery process.

Relationship with the government is a double-edged sword for CSOs. On the one hand, keeping close relationship with the government may be entitled to the necessary resources such as working space and legitimacy. In the previous sections, the author lists the advantages to work with the government through the case studies of Oxfam Hong Kong and SHC. However, on the other hand, the close relationship may also increase the imbroglios and impact the projects' operation efficiency, as stated in the first case study of this section. The second case study, Oxfam Hong Kong is used to describe its Oxfam's relationship with the government agencies at different levels.

Another issue is the different understanding of the CSOs' own roles significantly influence on their position with local residents. Some Chinese CSOs believe their role is to elevate victims' economic situation, knowledge and skills to meet their fundamental human needs and the victims should be taught by the outside experts; while other CSOs believe that the victims need participation, creation and freedom which cannot be satisfied by giving services or things. In this section, the case study of Oxfam is presented to describe the relationship between the CSO and the victims.

Case Study A: China Environmental Protection Foundation

The case study of the *China Environmental Protection Foundation (CEPF)* indicates the negative impact of its close relationship with the government as an “attachment”. Members of CEPF used the funds allocated by RCSC, while delegated the project to the government agencies at lower levels (municipal level) for specific implementation. CEPF was established in 1993, and its founding director is the head of the National Resource Conservation Committee of the National People’s Congress. It is the first CSO pursuing environmental protection in China. Nominally, CEPF is a public foundation at the national level with its headquarter located in Beijing. A large number of the senior officers in CEPF are former or current administrative officers within the state system, and a large number of current administrative officers also used to work in CEPF. For example, a leader in Chengdu Environment Protection Bureau used to work and receive training in CEPF. Therefore, it is hard for a local municipal administrative officer to refuse the commission from a national institute.

In the initial agreement with the RCSC signed in September 2008, CEPF planned to build 120 eco-toilets in Pengzhou City until the end of 2008. The initial purpose of the project is to solve the inconvenient problem of the affected people in the shelters and temporary housing period, and promote the idea of environment protection to the public in affected communities. At that time, CEPF had already confirmed 100 construction sites with the help of the Municipal Environmental Protection Bureau of Chengdu City. It can be said that during this phase, the cooperation between the CEPF and the administrative department was still reasonable. CEPF planned to build up 1 eco-toilet per 6 days with its own resources and the fund provided by the RCSC. On September 19th, CEPF received 940,000 RMB as 50% of the reconstruction allocated from RCSC.

However, since the labor costs and the material costs continued to raise in the affected areas, the project implementation was also constantly delayed. In November 2008, CEPF assigned the project directly to the Municipal Environmental Protection Bureau of Pengzhou City, as an administrative task. Since then, the executor has

changed from the CEPF to the municipal bureau. For the Municipal Environmental Protection Bureau of Pengzhou City, the task is a top-down administrative order, increasing its workload in addition to its regular reconstruction works. Subsequently, the project was included in the “unified planning and unified construction” plan of the government. Together with other government-led projects, the eco-toilets project needed to wait in line for the approval and reply of administrative procedure.

As a result, the project lasted for one year and 8 months, and built 64 eco-toilets. The output does not comply with the initial agreement with the RCSC, in which the total length of the project should be 7 months, and the number of the toilets should be 120. Moreover, throughout the whole construction process, there had been no public participation. The entire project is equivalent to a government-led infrastructure project through the administrative system. The RCSC originally planned to fund 1.92 million RMB, and the actual funding amount is 1.5 million RMB because of the inconsistent with the agreement.

From the beginning to the end of the project, CEPF had never communicated with the local victims, and also keep distance from the actual executor, the municipal governmental agency as a superior. All of the works had done in the administrative framework. CEPF put itself on the position as an attachment to the national ministry, using the administrative power to finish this project in a top-down way, actually losing the flexibility and efficiency, which are regarded as the advantages of a CSO-led project.

Case Study B: Oxfam Hong Kong

For Chinese domestic CSOs, the main partners in the state system is the local government department at the municipal level, while for the international NGOs, they have to deal the relationships with government agencies at multiple levels. There are different administrative levels within the governmental system. To cooperate with the government, it is important to outline the responsibilities of the ones at each level. During the five years form 2008 to 2013, Oxfam collaborated

with 91 partners in response to the disaster, 57% which were government agencies, 34% were local NGOs and communities, 9% were institutes of research⁴². For instance, Oxfam communicated and coordinated with Provincial Office of Poverty Alleviation and Development in Sichuan, the Ethnic Affairs Commission, Provincial Forestry Office, to ensure support from the government.

The government agencies at the provincial level are not the only ones Oxfam cooperated with. It also connected with the governmental agencies at the national level and the county level. The purpose of the national government agencies is to explore a proper ways for the post-disaster development of Chinese rural communities. So for the national government, even though one or two communities fail in the reconstruction, the task is also successful because the failure lessons are also valued for the following communities. In this way, the national government hopes Oxfam to be more innovative in the projects. However, at the other end, the county government officials are more conservative because the community for them is not the sample or percentage, but the people who communicate with them every day.

Sandwiched between the national government and the county government agencies, Oxfam chose to listen to the victims themselves and stand closer to the county government. If the distance from the government agencies, the communities can be measured, Oxfam undoubtedly chose the position most close to the victims, then the agencies at county levels, then the national agencies. The reason is that, unless people can influence decisions that directly affect their lives, they will be merely the passive recipients of aid and assistance from the outsiders. Oxfam regards its role as being to support increasing empowerment and the active participation of people in decision-making, and believe the role of a CSO is not to do things itself, but to help the target community make changes for itself. The participatory approach is

⁴² The Five-year Working Report of Oxfam Responding the Wenchuan Earthquake, refer to: <http://www.oxfam.org.hk/filemgr/2159/512final.pdf> , P4.

recommended in the affected communities to allowing their selection of their own priorities.

How to React Positively?

From the case study of CEPF, we can see that the close affiliation to government agencies is likely to hamper the flexibility and creativity of CSOs. When cooperated with other partners, CSOs should attention their distance, otherwise they would lose their independence.

Najam (2000)⁴³ posits four types of CSO-government relationships: cooperation, confrontation, complementarity and cooptation. He uses the word “cooperation” to describe the relationship that the government agencies and CSOs not only share similar polity goals but also prefer similar strategies for achieving them, while the “complementary relationship” is when governmental and CSOs share similar goals but prefer different strategies. From the cases of Oxfam Hong Kong and SHC, we can see that complementarity is an appropriate relationship for Chinese CSOs and the government departments as their partners. From the perspective of government, the partnership would bring the advantages listed as following: (1) to complement the government’s post-disaster funding attributable to poor disaster-affected areas; (2) to introduce the ripe experience in post-disaster reconstruction and development; (3) to explore new models of post-disaster reconstruction. When the government agencies consider the goals of the CSOs are the same with theirs, and the CSOs may introduce good practice for them from different perspectives, they welcome the CSOs and even positively match funding for the CSOs’ projects. Oxfam Hong Kong’s partnership with the LGOP, as an example, results in Oxfam allocating 1 million RMB for each community with the LGOP matching another 500,000 RMB each. The vast majority of SHC’s projects are also partnered with the Bureau of Animal Husbandry and the Bureau of Agriculture. Thus the resources from the government are integrated into the projects: the victims may apply the funding from the government for the

⁴³ Adil Najam (2000) “The Four C’s of Government-Third Sector Relations” *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 10: 375–396.

infrastructure construction of the communities, the private construction, or the insurances.

By the complementary relationship, the CSOs may “borrow” the authority, legality, power and resources from the government, and the government may learn good practice and experience from another perspective. After the exposure to CSOs’ activities, local officials may become fully aware of the CSOs’ beliefs and methodology, and fully understand their insistence on inclusion of the community. The complementary relationship also means that the CSOs’ projects should focus on impoverished and isolated areas that normally would be neglected by others. In other words, they should not allocate resource to those “hot areas”, nor in principle take on projects related to permanent residences, schools, medical or sanitation facilities as these have already received considerable financial support. Only in this way, the effect of complementary relationship can work best.

5.4 Penetration

In recent years, with the rise of bottom-up organizations and transformations in governmental attitudes toward the participation of citizens, CSOs have begun to participate more in policy-making in the field of advocacy. To be complete and sustainable, the process must involve the victims and help them to develop skills to understand the real causes of their problems, take initiatives, be creative, and participate in action. We can see the project of Shanghai Social Workers brought the concept and spirit of volunteerism to the temporary communities; we can also see Heifer has brought scientific farming techniques, consciousness of responsibility and the democratic ideals. The project of Wild Grass, as well, has brought the concept of environmental protection to the affected areas. In this sections, the author believe the following two factors influencing the effect of penetration: size and accessibility.

5.4.1 Size

In the case study of Wild Grass mentioned in section 5.1.2, the staffs responsible for the whole project is only 2~3 in number, while they chose to conduct the activities in 10 natural reserves which are far from each other. Due to the inconvenient transportation, there is few opportunities for responsible staffs access to project areas, which led to the inadequate publicity of the projects, and the failure to further develop the impact of the project.

However, it does not mean that the big size is bad. The warm package project conducted by One Foundation, as an example, serves to cover more people as many as possible. For this project, the big size is an effective way. Another example is the Heifer as mentioned previously. The operation mechanism of the project is that: the partners (mainly the local committee) are the specific executor of the project, while Heifer is only a trainer, a helper and a supporter. The goal of Heifer is to benefit more communities with its mature models and working methods in the field of farming, and the members believe that only the big size of the targeted communities can realize this goal. If the CSO roots into a community, it may not achieve the effect of breadth. The expected success is based on the different advantages of Heifer and local organizations: Heifer is good at the ideas and the techniques, while the local organizations have a better understanding of local conditions, and they have more time to spend with the communities.

On the other hand, the small size of targeted communities is adapted to the social worker stations providing social service, like the Dharma Drum Mountain Social Worker station as mentioned in the previous sections. According to the statistics by Guo (2010)⁴⁴, until August 2010, there had been about 30 social workers' stations in the affected areas. Different from other CSOs, the main product of the social workers' projects is to make the people affected by disasters find their internal and external excitement power to normalize daily life. The process is based on a long-term delicate

⁴⁴ Guo Hong (2010) "Social Works in the post-disaster reconstruction after the 512 earthquake: social participation under the auspices of the government (in Chinese)", Disaster Assistance and Social Work Symposium, Nov. 22nd, 2010.

companionship in a disordered society. The most significant feature (function) of social worker is companionship. So for a CSO provide social service, it is necessary to continue the works in one community uninterruptedly.

5.4.2 Accessibility

A member from NGO Disaster Preparedness Center used to describe such a phenomenon in the interview, “I found that many CSO staffs are not living in the communities, but living in the areas which far away from the project community. They come to the community like salary men, and only have a look around. I cannot receive this way. It makes the residents regard them as outsiders. Once the thinking mode embedded into their minds, the staffs may be difficult to completely integrate into the local community. ” The accessibility of a CSO is considered as a measure index to influence the extent of penetration into a community, and it is also effective in establishing trust with the local neighborhoods, as a key element of outreach for community activists.

Although having had communicated clear policy guidelines with the government departments of poverty alleviation at various levels, Oxfam Hong Kong still sent staffs to visit the affected areas many times to convene the local task groups, and ensure community participation in the project selection process. Coordinated with the local poverty alleviation departments, Oxfam Hong Kong conducted field review for comprehensive assessment of the victims’ needs, and discussed with the victims based on the feedback. During the whole process of the projects, the full participation of the residents was guaranteed in determining the project contents, the budget and the implementation plans. This participatory process not only energises the communities and promotes involvement of local residents, but also promotes community self-management. As a result, participation optimizes promotes ownership of assets, and enriches community’s capacity and enhances the management skills of residents themselves.

Another example to show the importance of accessibility is the case study of Di Kang Le community center constructed by Sichuan Quake Relief (SQR). Guangji Town is located in Mianzhu County, 70 kilometers north of Chengdu City and the same distance from the epicenter of the 2008 Wenchuan Earthquake. The town was severely affected by the disaster, which destroyed over 95% of buildings. A large proportion of the adult labor force are migrant labors who send their earnings home from the large cities far away, while the elders remain on the land to farm and take care of their grandchildren.

Di Kang Le Kindergarten plays a vital role in the daily life of the community, providing childcare and pre-school education to children aged from 2 to 6 in the surrounding 5 villages. The 2008 earthquake destroyed two-thirds of the buildings of the kindergarten. SQR came into contact with the kindergarten during the relief work in the emergency relief period, and learned its predicament. As the need for relief aid became less pressing, SQR began to look towards the long-term recovery and future development of the affected area. The badly damaged kindergarten serving five villages was identified as in need of rebuilding. The CSO decided to rebuild the kindergarten and expand its facilities with activity room, environmental toilets, and new dormitories for the children.

A brand new community center was proposed to build on the same site near the kindergarten. The center provides resources such as IT equipment, an reference library and activity space for events, which enable informal community groups such as senior citizens, women' association, the agricultural cooperatives and other organizations to hold meetings and events. The center also provides a welcoming, comfortable and safe environment where community members can meet, socialize and organize informal activities such as movie nights or dancing evenings. Movie watching is very much a social activity in this community, with lively discussions about both the on-scren events and all manner of other topics going on while the action plays out. As well as the popular, regular, entertainment-based movie nights, a series of educational and documentary films were also shown in the center. These films aim to help the agricultural community further develop its efficiency and

productivity through the improved farming techniques and best practices. The elders make up a large proportion of the local population, and as well as taking part in the above activities, are able to enjoy specially-targeted events. The center provides a warm, safe and comfortable meeting place for them to play chess and go, or simply chat over a flask of tea.

A series of training sessions for local CSOs were carried out in key aspects of organizational development. Local CSOs involved in the training include Xinlong Village Women's Mutual Aid cooperative, Guangji Fisheries Association, Shihe Village Seniors' Society and so on. A US-based NGO, Disaster Relief Shelters Foundation, working in Sichuan to promote environmentally friendly earthquake-safe reconstruction, was invited to partner with SQR on the community center construction. By actively managing a series of structured events, SDR aim to stimulate community participation in local development and to create a flourishing, sustainable community center in regular use by local residents.

The center was in active use and forms a lively part of community life, offering a variety of cultural activities for local residents, and a resource for local grassroots CSOs to build their own capacities.

5.5 Autocatalysis

Current Situation

The external assistance and intervention cannot be continual endless, so the autocatalysis is important for an affected community. Only the local CSO can deeply root in the local society and culture, enable people to express their real needs and priorities, allowing problems to be correctly defined and responsive mitigation measures to be designed.

Positive or Negative

Mercy Corps is an international relief and development NGO that works in areas affected by disasters, conflicts, long-term poverty and instability. It exists to develop the unexploited potential in people and create sustainable changes. The focus of Mercy Corps is poverty alleviation, disaster relief, social innovation, and capacity building. After the Wenchuan Earthquake, Mercy Corps conducted disaster management capacity building project in partnership with local governments and CSOs, including Sichuan Red Cross, Mianyang Public Administration College. The project was during May 2009 and May 2010, aiming to develop of the capacities of the vulnerable communities and leaders in disaster-prone areas. The target population involved 10 affected communities in Beichuan County.

A Disaster Management Committee has been set up in each community. The committee is generally made up of 20-30 members voted from the public. All of the members are volunteers without any allowance. The government officials expressed that their burden was relieved with the establishment of the committee, because the members of the committee are prestigious members among the residents who know best about the community and are most responsible to do things. Leader of all the 10 committee participated in the Mercy Corps' training. During the training, they analyzed risks in their living environment more clearly, and make more detailed responding measures than before. The training not only equipped them with the necessary knowledge of disaster response, but also raised their sense of responsibilities and motivation. One leader said, "I have never studied so hard. The task that I have to train others when I go back to my village drive me to do so."

In each village, Mercy Corps organized 3 training for the residents, and the leader of the committee who had received training was assigned as one of the trainers. With the assistant of the CSO and the professional trainers, the leader and members of the committee trained other residents, organized them together to analyze hazards in their living environment. For example, the highest risk in Leigu Town is mudslide and fire in the temporary housing areas; the highest risk in Guanling Town is flood and mudslide as the secondary disaster. Elderly people contributed their experience with some traditional proverbs for predicting flood and other types of disasters.

The communities have more detailed and concrete measures to response disasters. Emergency evacuation route and plan was set up according to various types of disasters. Aside from warning signs and regularly cleaning the ditches, the committee of Guanling Town closely monitors and measures the mountain landslide hazard two or three time every day. The members who responsible for monitoring observe the size and location of the cracks, and confirm that if the trees on the slide moved or not. One governmental official mentioned, “We were quite careless before. After the training, we became very careful in designing the evacuation route and plans, to minimize unnecessary loss.”

In addition, with the leadership of the committee, two or three evacuation drills were organized in each community during the project period. The exercise were mainly to familiarize the residents with evacuation routes, and first-aid measures to those wounded during the evacuation. Leigu Town had a review meeting after each drill and felt hat they are making progress each time. “The drill exercise mainly made the evacuation more organized, and let us know the meeting point and evacuation route, to avoid hitting by landslide and falling rocks.” As one resident said.

All interviewed residents expressed that “we have stronger awareness” through the project, and expressed their high praise for the sense of responsibility and motivation of the committee. One resident said, “On July 17, 2010 (after the project), there was a rainstorm, all the committee members stayed awake the whole night for the preparation... if not because of this committee, we would be lie scattered sands. This committee plays a leading role, with systematic coordination and organization. We can respond more quickly, and minimize the loss to the least degree. ”

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CHAPTER 6

Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1 Conclusions

The Wenchuan Earthquake occurred in 2008 serves as a turning point for many existing CSOs to intake the disaster response to their main fields, and also offers opportunity for those grassroots organizations established in a bottom-up way. Their participation in disaster relief and reconstruction work indicates the changing disaster management mode of China, which used to be monopolized by the State.

The research sorts out the development of Chinese CSOs in disaster response field, and concludes the characteristics of these newly emerging organizations. Based on the field survey, their features are summarized as the following:

- (1) **YOUNG.** Chinese CSOs had been absent in disaster response field before 2008. Most of the currently active organizations have been only established less than 5 years. Their structures are still in change, and they have not formed their own mature operating mode yet.
- (2) **DISTINCTIVE.** Different from other countries, financial assistance provided from the Chinese government is very few to the CSOs. More than 90% of the organizations rely on donations or funds from international NGOs. In order to attract the limited donations and funds, these organizations must develop their distinctive strengths. Only the competitive organizations may survive.
- (3) **NEED-BASED.** Almost all of the CSOs interviewed by the author mentioned that they are victims` demand-driven. They emphasize not only the result of a project, but also the process of implementation.

- (4) **OUTSIDERS.** Within the 264 CSOs which are investigated, only 55 organizations are local birthed, while other 209 organizations are outsiders.

In this case, the existing words used to describe the role of CSOs in previous research such as “link”, “pipeline”, “junction points”, “networker” and “coordinator” are not properly to depict the role of CSOs within Chinese context. The chemistry of CSO and other organizations in the affected areas such as local government, enterprises and self-organization of victims needs to be attention. Disaster recovery is a process in which a community of victims strives to make it possible for all or the residents to satisfy their needs and to enhance the quality of their lives. The needs include understanding, participation, creation and justice, which cannot be satisfied by giving services or things. To be complete and sustainable, the process must involve all of the stakeholders as reactants in disaster recovery, and the catalysts must take initiatives in the action. What the victims need after a disaster is a complex issue and cannot, in any sense be answered unambiguously. Needs assessments can be conducted, and losses specifically caused by the disaster can be listed and monetized. But such an approach is static and fails to consider the dynamic nature of social processes, including those engendered or altered by disaster, while the concept of catalyst helps CSOs to understand their real goals and motivation.

The author introduces the concept of catalyst into the field of disaster response, regards a civil society organization from outside as a catalyst in a disaster affected community. When a CSO begins to response disaster, it automatically starts its communication with its surrounding environment and other organizations, through the exchange of funds, materials, human resource, power and information. The catalytic reaction is dynamic and bidirectional.

The concept of catalysts used in the field of disaster response is not only a description of organizational function, but also a strategy and approach to inspire people answer the questions such as “how can a CSO adapt to the local environment more quickly, and play a more active role with proper operation?” Introducing the concept of catalyst into the project design may make decision-makers and

participants consider “consciously” that what they should do to improve their efficiency of communication “more positively”, and how to control the reaction design, maximizing their advantages to promote the quality of community reconstruction projects, like a catalyst in an “accelerated” an chemical reaction.

Based on the concept of catalyst, the author presents a theoretical framework containing 5 dimensions: identity, boundary, link, penetration, and autocatalysis. The framework was developed to capture the characteristics of numerous projects conducted by CSOs in disaster-affected areas primarily, but the author has found that it also gives CSOs a toolkit to design and manage their projects in a new paradigm. To explain the concept of catalyst CSO in more concrete terms, the case study of New Hometown Project (NHP) is presented, in particular.

The author also uses the 5-dimension framework of catalyst to analyze the CSO cases in actual China, to demonstrate how to use the framework in actual situation. The primary aim of the study is to help the CSOs achieve the greatest possible output through the reference of existing positive or negative organizational practice.

6.2 Recommendations

Based on the multiple case studies, the author tries to conclude with a summary of some factors that influence a CSO’s success and sustainability as following:

From the dimension of Identity

- For those CSOs newly established, it is important to find their distinctiveness and strength firstly to set up the external identity. These CSOs should firstly build an influential flagship project, or stabilize its public trust by public figures. Unified eye-catching logo is necessary to fire its visibility. The focus of the organization should base on the resources it can rely on. Internet technology has provided opportunities for CSOs popularizing themselves at

low operating costs. Without a clear focus to its programs, it is difficult for an organization to achieve significant impact because its energies and resources will be poorly channeled and dissipated. (Lessons from the case study of 1KG More and the case study of Social Workers' Team of the East China University of Science and Technology)

- For the CSO with decades of history, its focus should be expanding its social influence through the activities, and developing the loyalty of the audience. In addition, a sense of crisis is needed to reform itself in an open and transparent environment in the rapid developing society today. To win the trust of the public, CSOs should accept public audit. A self-disciplinary mechanism among CSOs should be established. (Lessons from the case study of Red Cross Society of China)

From the dimension of Boundary

- CSOs should be self-disciplined when entering the affected community. Never act as an authority and intervene excessively into the self-governance of local residents, and respect the local people's wishes and rights of expression. Otherwise, residents will gradually alienate the CSO, and finally abandon this CSO. (Lessons from the case study of Global Village and the case study of China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation)
- When entering a new community, CSO need identify some fixed places or organize some public activities to ensure the space for reaction starting. (Lessons from the cases of Shanxi Women's Research Association, the Social Workers' Team of the East China University of Science and Technology)

From the dimension of Link

- The selection of the stakeholders and partners should be closely connected to the program aim, based on the principles of feasibility and fairness. (Lessons from the case study of Oxfam Hong Kong)
- When considering the selection of objects, attention must be paid to ensure the participation of women in the project. According to the field investigation,

women villagers stand for 60%-70% of the total population in some rural communities, while nearly all men have gone out for work except for those who are waiting to rebuild housing. The responsibility will fall upon the women when the men leave home for work. Improving their capacity is also closely related to the elderly and the children in case of disasters. (Lessons from the case study of Oxfam Hong Kong)

- Relationship with the government is a double-edged sword for CSOs. Complementarity, which means “government and CSOs share similar goals but prefer different strategies”, is an appropriate relationship for Chinese CSOs and the government departments as their partners in current China. (Lessons from the case study of Oxfam Hong Kong, Heifei International and the China Environmental Protection Foundation)

From the dimension of Penetration

- To improve the accessibility, the CSOs should be more culturally adaptable according to local situation, which requires better preparation in the project designing stage, but would also generate better participation of the residents. For the communities without the culture of participatory discussion, the guidance and facilitation of the implementing organization play an important role. (Lessons from the case study of Wild Grass, Dharma Drum Mountain Social Worker station and the Sichuan Quake Relief)

From the dimension of Autocatalysis

- Training and empowerment for the local residents is the most sustainable way for autocatalysis. (Lessons from the case study of Mercy Corps)

6.3 Limitation of the Research

The perspective of this research is CSO-based, and the framework of catalyst encourages the CSOs to adapt the actual environment rather than change it. However,

from the case studies, we can also see some dilemmas caused by government actions. For example:

- The strict regulation on the registration as public foundations has resulted in a negative competition among grassroots organizations under an enclosed environment.
- The boundary of the government is not clear, and there is no law or regulation showing those untouchable areas. CSOs may inadvertently enter into the sensitive areas, and accidentally stepped on a mine.

6.4 Suggestion for the Further Research

The author believes that the conceptual framework of catalyst can be also used in other disaster-affected areas as an effective tool for the researcher and a strategy for the CSO leaders. How to use the framework is stated as following:

- A description the role of a CSO based on dynamic process. The concept of catalyst can be used to describe the role of a CSO in recovery and rehabilitant process after a disaster. The dynamic attribute of this word makes it more proper to describe the activities and goals than those static terms.
- A tool to collect massive information from various aspects. Disaster response is a complex process involving various stakeholders and actors. The framework containing five aspects of a catalyst CSO, and the aspects can be further classified into smaller field, to clearly sort out the massive data.
- A strategic look to forward a CSO in practice. The five aspects of the framework can be also considered as five steps for a CSO's project reacting like a catalysis reaction. Members in the CSO sector may also use it like a guidance for real projects in practice.

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