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Foreign NGOs in China

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Foreign NGOs in China

外国的NGO 在中国

An Honors Thesis

by

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May 2007

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Introduction of Topic and Hypotheses

The goal of this thesis is to improve understanding of the status of foreign non-governmental organizations operating in China. In particular, this thesis will research the way in which the Chinese government regulates or grants freedom to the foreign non-governmental organization (NGO). Through the following research, this thesis will strive to assess the nature of NGOs, the historical background of foreign entities in China, and the current concerns of the Chinese political regime. These three issues will undoubtedly elucidate the rationale behind current NGO-government relationships in China, as well as give insight to future trends and successful NGO strategies. The hypotheses that form the foundation for this work are as follows:

1. The foreign NGO sector in China is slowly expanding with the gradual change of government sentiment toward a foreign presence. This is also because growing social problems have encouraged the government to look outside for sources of aid in the form of financial assistance as well as foreign physical contribution.
2. NGOs with religious ties have enjoyed increased government acceptance. This is because the Chinese government has seen that religious entities are often willing to work in the most difficult or undesirable areas.

This thesis will test these two hypotheses through a comparison of the thoughts of scholars on the role of NGOs, the stance of various governments worldwide toward NGOs, and finally through a review of the Chinese environment specifically.

The Development NGO Sector Worldwide – A Literature Review

Civil society and charitable organizations have existed in various forms throughout time, even to the simplest level of the natural care of neighbors one for another. The twentieth century saw global connectedness increase at an astounding rate, and the disparities existing in the world were intensely brought into focus through the aid of modern communications. Subsequently, the past several decades have witnessed a wide proliferation of help organizations, and seen the rise of the varied non-profit, non-governmental organizations known today. The task of measuring the relative causality between increased global awareness and the growth of the private help sector, while it would make for an interesting study, is undoubtedly out of the scope of this project. Perhaps it is enough to say that there appears to be a positive correlation between growing global awareness and the exponential growth of the non-profit, non-governmental sector. In this project, I will turn my particular focus to non-governmental organizations, hereafter referred to as NGOs.

The West, here defined as the United States, Canada, and Western Europe, has overwhelmingly been the source of international NGO activity and support. Though one could undoubtedly argue a case for different reasons behind this, in personal opinion, two causes stand out as particularly significant. First, The West shares the heritage of Christendom, and as such, Biblical values remain influential in societal and legal thought. The story of the Good Samaritan and the "Golden Rule" encourages one to rise above cultural or political difference and to see mankind as sharing the commonality of humanity, and thereby to have compassion on plight of others. A second factor motivating Western activism or philanthropy is the rise of democracy. The democratic process has encouraged individual expression and opened the way for freedom of association and pursuit. The possibility of impacting national policy has encouraged interest in political or moral issues among the common populace, and freedom from fear of repercussions has allowed for ease in forming organization-based activity. Thus, the West's lively civil society, built on a philanthropic foundation, compounded with an awareness of global need, suffering, and repression has come together to form an engine to project aid and activity to other nations around the world.

The tradition of charity was itself firmly established in the West before being turned outward to the rest of the world. Thus, it is useful to look at the perspectives and motivations of those responsible for early national aspects of charitable work. In a speech to the Massachusetts Humane Society in 1805, Rev. Thomas Gray well expressed the foundation and purpose of such charitable institutions. In his quote, "Life is the gift of God, and as such must be valuable to

every reflecting being,"¹ Rev. Gray articulated the Christian concept of the equal value of all mankind. In his final exhortation to the Society, Rev. Gray summed up much of the philosophy motivating influence behind their service:

"Go on, then, in your God like design, nor be weary in well doing. You are following the footsteps of him, who came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them; not to be ministered unto, but to minister to others, and to give his life a ransom for many. You are ensuring to yourselves the reciprocation of those kind offices, which, you, in your turn, may possibly one day require. You are offering unto God an acceptable acknowledgment of his mercies towards you. You are obeying the command of our blessed Saviour while here upon earth, and putting on the badge, which he himself hath instituted of your relationship to him. You are honouring his gospel, to whose influence alone we are indebted for the first, and for every other charitable establishment, that has ever been formed; for till his appearance upon earth, not one solitary association of this kind had ever existed. And though you seek no earthly recompense, yet he who remembers a cup of cold water given in his name, will not forget this labour of love. How faded will one day appear the garlands of the conqueror, when compared with those, which shall then be placed upon his bow, who hath conquered misery!"²

This speech brings out the eternal perspective and religious motivation that built much of the early charitable work of the West.

Theories on NGOs

Judging by the expansion of literature on the subject, rapid NGO growth prompted scholars and theorists from the 1970s on to turn their attention to the issue of this third sector. Recognizing its vast difference from the government or business sector, theorists and government agencies struggled to know how to define, monitor, and assess the impact of this new and largely unique voluntary sector.

Theorists offered several possible causes for the emergence of civil society, and subsequently NGOs. In identifying the source of this phenomenon, theories cite governments, market forces, ideologies, or a combination of these.

Berger and Neuhaus in 1977 suggested that civil society develops in response to government action. They also advocated the position of intermediary organizations to represent society's needs.³ In 1989, theorist Michael Bratton seconded that opinion with a study of government-NGO

¹ Thomas Gray. "The Value of Life and Charitable Institutions: A Discourse delivered before the Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at their Semi-Annual Meeting, June 11th, 1805." Boston: Sprague, 1805. 1.

² Gray, 17.

³P.L. Berger & R.J. Neuhaus. *To empower people: The role of mediating structures in public policy*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise for Public Policy. 1977.

interaction in Africa. Through the diverse government responses to NGOs in Africa, Bratton found determinative factors of government-NGO relations to be the degree of centrality of power within the governance system, the level of economic liberality in the policy regime, and the administrative capacity to handle the costs of tracking and enforcement. NGOs also influence these relations through the extent and size of their activities, and their geographic location within a country or the persons with whom they work.⁴ Bratton clearly presented his position with the statement:

"In sum, the very existence of NGOs is a test of a government's stance on a basic issue of national governance: how to balance organizational autonomy and political control. Because NGO activity can involve a wide range of sensitive political actors – donors in the international arena, neighboring countries in a region, and social groups within its own territory – a government may even come to see the existence of NGOs in national security terms. The more fragile a government's sense of political legitimacy, the less permissive it is likely to be towards the institutionalization of a strong voluntary sector. Where governments are not confident of their grip on power they are likely to fear a populace mobilized in autonomous organizations and to favor regulation and control. As argued earlier, the amount of space allowed to NGOs in any given country is therefore determined first and foremost by political considerations, rather than by any calculation of the contribution of NGOs to economic and social development."⁵

In this, Bratton described the range of government action as monitoring, coordination, cooptation, and dissolution. Depending on the government scenario, NGOs will respond with a low profile, selective collaboration, or policy advocacy.⁶

Burton Weisbrod, a fellow of Harvard University, in 1988 suggested that the development of the nonprofit sector was in response to the deficiencies of market or government for total societal provision. According to Weisbrod, the strength of nonprofits or NGOs lay in their ability to meet the "heterogeneous demands of consumers." In his opinion, "Nonprofits are a potential safety valve."⁷ Other sources cite the work of theorist Henry Hansmann as also supporting this market force theory for the existence of nonprofits and NGOs.⁸

⁴ Michael Bratton. "The Politics of Government-NGO Relations in Africa: Working Paper No. 456." Nairobi: Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1987. 14-16.

⁵ Bratton, 17.

⁶ Bratton, 18-34.

⁷ Burton A. Weisbrod. *The nonprofit economy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1988. 42.

⁸ This information was sourced from Brown & Kalegaonkar, "Support Organizations and the Evolution of the NGO Sector.": Henry Hansmann. "Economic theories of nonprofit organization." In W.W. Powell (Ed.), *The nonprofit sector: A research handbook* (pp.27-42). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 1987.

More recent thinkers, Lohmann in 1992 and Van Til in 1988 and 2000, suggested rather that social mobilization was due to values and ideologies at work. Introducing his *theory of the commons*, Lohmann proposed a more holistic view of societal organizations where people are voluntarily drawn together by common purposes, interests, and values. Lohmann explains that,

“Commons are not places any more than are markets or states. Commons consist of sets of complex social acts that are basic, universal, and not reducible to more fundamental categories of social behavior. The mutual, collective purposes, ends, or objectives that participants in these complex acts share (regardless of their rationality or irrationality as perceived by outsiders) constitute the common goods that are the real economic products of the commons.”⁹

Mutually respected by Lohmann, Jon Van Til shares much of the same view, stating that,

“Civil society exists where people create and/ or find spaces to come together to meet with each other, share feelings, thoughts, and observations, and then follow those considerations with action, when they should so choose. Such space must at once exist on levels psychological, social, political, economic, cultural, and physical.”¹⁰

Finally, and perhaps taking the most balanced view, Robert Putnam in a widely heralded study of Italian democracy in 1993 and Lester Salamon and Helmut Anheier in 1998 proposed that civil society growth and the development of the NGO sector was a result of social, political, and economic forces interacting over a significant stretch of time.¹¹

Definition of an NGO

The Asian Development Bank defines the NGO as an organization that is “not based in government” and “not created to earn profit.”¹² In practice, however, non-governmental organizations engage in a wide range of activities, and can stem from quite dissimilar visions and purposes. Groups addressing areas as diverse as environmental protection to emergency relief, as advocacy campaigns to sustainable development, have historically been considered under the one heading of NGO. Thus, this can cause great confusion and impede any

⁹ Roger A. Lohmann. *The commons: New perspectives on nonprofit organizations and voluntary action*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. 1992. 62.

¹⁰ Jon Van Til. *Growing civil society: From nonprofit sector to third space*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. 206.

¹¹ This information was sourced from Brown & Kalegaonkar, “Support Organizations and the Evolution of the NGO Sector.” Direct Sources were as follows:

Robert Putnam. *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 1993.

Lester M. Salamon. & Helmut K. Anheier. “Social origins of civil society: Explaining the nonprofit sector cross-nationally”. *Voluntas*, 9(3), 213-248. 1998.

¹² Asian Development Bank. *Cooperation Between Asian Development Bank and Nongovernment Organizations*. Manila: Asian Development Bank, 1999. 3.

meaningful assessment of the sector. More significant understanding occurs when the sector is divided into its major parts. When discussing the role of NGOs, Seamus Cleary quoted theorist John Clark as proposing six divisions of NGOs: "relief and welfare agencies, technical innovation organisations, public service contractors, popular development agencies, grassroots development organisations and advocacy groups."¹³

In this project, I will focus on the development sector as defined by the Asian Development Bank (ADB):

"Developmental NGOs can be regarded as private organizations entirely or largely independent of government, not created for financial or material gain, and addressing concerns such as social and humanitarian issues of development, individual and community welfare and well-being, disadvantage, and poverty, as well as environmental and natural resources protection, management, and improvement."¹⁴

These nongovernmental development organizations are also sometimes referred to as NGDOs.

The Purpose of NGOs

As presented earlier, NGOs are founded for a variety of reasons, but it can be assumed that many if not most are based on a value system or ideology. This is a logical assumption because in contrast to a primary motivation for profit in business or power in government, NGOs often have a minimal profit margin and may toil in obscurity. Evidence of an organization's primary ideology can often be found in the mission statement. Caritas Hong Kong, a Roman-Catholic development NGO, explains their mission as "a movement of understanding and concern, of caring and service, of human development and solidarity... People are viewed not as dependents but as brothers and sisters who need an opportunity to fully be themselves."¹⁵ Primarily based in the UK, Oxfam Hong Kong states that, "Our vision is for a world where people are equally assured of their rights with dignity and respect, including access to food, shelter, employment and health care, in a sustainable manner."¹⁶ The Australian Red Cross seeks to improve "the lives of vulnerable people through services delivered and promotion of humanitarian laws and values,"¹⁷ the Jian Hua Foundation aspires to serve the Chinese people "with compassion, integrity, & expertise,"¹⁸ and World Vision succinctly states, "We are Christian. We are committed to the

¹³ John Clark. *Democratizing Development, The role of voluntary organisations*. London: Earthscan, 1991. 40-41. Quoted in Seamus Cleary, *The Role of NGOs*, 6-7.

¹⁴ Asian Development Bank. 3-4.

¹⁵ China Development Brief. *200 International NGOs in China*. Beijing Civil Society Development Research Centre. January 2005. 28.

¹⁶ China Development Brief. 150.

¹⁷ China Development Brief. 16.

¹⁸ China Development Brief. 112.

poor. We value people. We are stewards. We are partners. We are responsive.”¹⁹

In many early societies, including 19th century America, Britain, and even China, evidence shows that many developmental needs were met through private charitable groups or religious organizations, rather than through government intervention. These associations played a vital role in community provision and stability by providing the means to reach the poor and averting possible popular unrest and uprising. I would assert that the organizations also gave their members a sense of responsibility for their fellow man and a degree of freedom and independence in which to operate. This activity and subsequent community awareness and responsibility helped to create a healthy civil society, thereby diminishing the burden on the national government. Due to socialistic thought common in the early to mid-20th century, American and British central governments assumed more of the burden of community care, and civil society was all but eliminated in Mao’s Communist China. There were those in the West who had long been concerned with the well-being of those in underprivileged or undeveloped nations, and perhaps it was the rapid growth of Western economies and the breakthroughs in global transportation and communication that provided a catalyst for the international launch of Western help organizations on a large scale. The help organizations brought an influx of Western capital into less developed nations, and built development projects for dams, hydroelectric plants, roads, schools, and clinics, to name only a few. However, in the midst of flurried activity, concerns began to arise concerning these organizations, now called NGOs.

The Challenges and Strengths of NGOs

In their article on the development of the NGO sector, David Brown of Harvard University and Archana Kalegaonkar of the Institute for Development Research astutely identify several internal and external challenges faced by NGOs. Brown and Kalegaonkar named amateurism, restricted focus, material scarcity, fragmentation, and paternalism as serious issues within the NGO sector.²⁰ Since the NGO sector by definition does not pursue profit, NGOs have difficulty attaining or retaining the needed level of skilled workers. Also, an NGO may be focusing on a single issue and overlook the needs of the nation or people as a whole. This issue also restricts mutually beneficial cooperation between NGOs of differing focus and may have a divisive effect. NGO dependence on external support may adversely affect the independence of their actions, causing them to further the goals of the donor rather than that of the people they are to serve. While allowing for responses to particular needs, the fragmentation of the NGO sector does not create a hospitable environment for cooperation on shared

¹⁹ China Development Brief. 208.

²⁰ L. David Brown & Archana Kalegaonkar. “Support Organizations and the Evolution of the NGO Sector.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, Volume 31, Number 2 (June 1, 2002). 235-236. Date accessed: Sep 21, 2006.

issues, and may allow inefficiencies to flourish due to the lack of economies of scale. Finally, paternalism is a danger to the sustainability of a project because the NGO is tempted to make all decisions for the people served and does not empower or train the people to take up the work.

Brown and Archana also addressed equally dangerous external challenges to the NGO, those of public accountability and legitimacy, relations with government, relations with business, and international relations.²¹ Public accountability problems often arise from the difficulty of assessing the progress of development projects, and legitimacy issues usually occur in locations unfamiliar with civil society, causing the NGO to be an object of suspicion. Depending on the government, an NGO may be encouraged in their work as in the United States or the Philippines or regarded with suspicion as a foreign agent, as can be the case in Vietnam and often China. NGO-business relations also may tend to opposite ends of the spectrum, either to hostility, as is sometimes the case with environmental advocacy NGOs, or to cooperation and a business' financial support. An NGO's relations with the international community may provide the NGO with new methods, finances, and political recognition, but this same connection may subject the NGO to local suspicion as a foreign subversive element. Also, the dependence on foreign funding may weaken the NGO's assurance of sustainability.²²

The strengths of NGOs are generally recognized as the organization's proximity to problems and hands-on approach. The NGO arguably has a more intimate knowledge of a problem and can be called upon for information or advice. However, NGOs have fallen under criticism for several issues. The first concerns the motives behind the NGO's actions. This could be especially pertinent to a local NGO. In Indonesia, some NGOs were begun or staffed by previous government officials disgruntled with the ruling party, and may have sought to oppose government efforts.²³ International NGOs have also at times sought to undermine current government regimes in favor of political democratic reform. NGOs have also been criticized as under the control of outside forces, both in the broad sense of political government goals and the individual desires of donor groups. This outside control detracts from the NGO's ability to respond to the actual needs or desires of those being served. The final criticism charges NGOs with introducing outside or foreign value systems with the aim to change an ethnic culture. This applies particularly to religious objectives and democratic aims. When this criticism is leveled by a national government, public sentiment is often aroused to a nationalistic, protectionist fervor, and in some cases may go beyond the bounds of control to violence. There are points of valid concern in

²¹ Brown & Archana. 233-234.

²² Refer to Appendix 1 for Summary Table of Internal and External Challenges to NGOs.

²³ Seamus Cleary. *The Role of NGOs under Authoritarian Political Systems*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997. 8.

each of these criticisms, which must be confronted, understood, and answered by the NGO desiring to move to a position where it is not viewed with suspicion.

Government Perspective on NGOs

Non-governmental organizations are separate entities from the government, as their name well demonstrates. This separateness allows the NGO an outside vantage point, an ability to see problems overlooked by the government and meet needs that would otherwise be unmet. They are by their nature independent from the official sector, a role which may appear beneficial or dangerous to a government. Western and democratic societies generally look favorably on independent action, the perception of individual responsibility, and prefer absolute power to be restrained through a checks and balances system. Thus, the abrasive or supplementary role of an NGO is welcomed as an indicator of a healthy society. However, non-democratic²⁴ and collectivistic societies often take a different view of the matter.

In collectivistic societies, decisions are often by consensus after discussion or in the family unit by the father or head of the household. Particularly in East or Southeast Asian societies, the government assumes a paternalistic role, and in Confucian thought the emperor was the unquestioned head. Just as a father feels a loss of face through a disrespecting son's actions, so a paternalistic government may feel threatened or its legitimacy challenged through an NGO's independent behavior and exposure of problem areas. In response to democratization pressures from Western sources, many Asian states gathered behind Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew in defense of what they termed "Asian values." Lee Kuan Yew stated, "The values that East Asian culture upholds, such as the primacy of group interests over individual interests, support the total group effort necessary to develop rapidly." In 1983, Malaysia's prime minister concurred, saying, "This work ethic is born out of the philosophy that the group and the country are more important than the individual."²⁵ The affirmation of Asian values as different from Western values strengthened the Asian states' claim as to the validity of the government's paternalistic, authoritarian role, and allowed them to defend centrifugal power systems. These differences between individualistic and collectivistic societies can help to explain the difference of government opinion on NGO activity, with democratic governments tending to approve and the non-democratic to view with suspicion.

Government-NGO relationships are of particular importance because of the incredible impact one may have on the other. Relations can be cooperative, beneficial, or at the least benign, or suspicion and hostility can create difficulty for both parties and even lead to the repression or downfall of the other. Many governments recognize the value of NGO developmental work, both its financial

²⁴ Note: This term is used only in its descriptive sense, and intends no judgment on the government structure.

²⁵ Samuel P. Huntington. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 1996. 108.

worth and community advancement merit. However, governments may continue to withhold full trust and retain strong reserves concerning the motives behind and effect of NGO activity. This is particularly true in authoritarian regimes, where they might feel their legitimacy threatened or perceive the NGO as a subversive agent of foreign political and ideological influence or that of local dissenters. In 1989 for example, local Indonesian governments felt that NGO activities would:

- i. Encourage a split between the people and the government;
- ii. Encourage religious extremism and disunity;
- iii. Confuse the people about government aims and destabilize them;
- iv. Expose government mistakes and shortcomings, causing the government officials to lose face; and
- v. Are of no significance at national level where all important decisions are made by the government.²⁶

Officials were also concerned that NGO donors might take on the role of a substitute government, thereby exercising an inordinate level of authority over their constituents.²⁷ Since many foreign NGOs were of Western origin or had strong connections to the West, governments particularly feared an introduction of democratic or foreign thought, which could undermine their authority or spark destabilization and revolution. All of these above issues can be assumed to be strongly in the mind of any authoritarian regime. Therefore, an NGO must understand and address these reservations and mistrusts if it hopes to operate productively or with any significant level of freedom in a country.

One may ask if it is even possible for an NGO to operate in repressive or centrally-powered environments. Though difficulties will undoubtedly arise, a cursory examination of current NGO activity will prove that it is indeed possible and is increasing yearly. One explanation for this growth may be the growing global interconnection and openness to outside sources of capital and intervention in previously closed societies. However, the suspicion and difficulties still remain and so it must be asked how then can these barriers be overcome and mutually beneficial relations established. History is an excellent teacher of mistakes and success, and much wisdom can be gleaned from the efforts of others.

²⁶ Richard Holloway. *Doing Development. Governments, NGOs and the rural poor in Asia*. London: Earthscan, 1989. 155. Quoted in Cleary, *The Role of NGOs*, 18.

²⁷ Cleary, 8.

The Relationship of East and Southeast Asian NGOs to Governments

The following overview of East and Southeast Asian nations in their relationship to NGOs is drawn from the book *The State and NGOs: Perspectives from Asia*.²⁸ This book was originally published in Japanese under the title *Ajia no kokka to NGO: Jugo kakoku no hikaku kenkyu*. It is a compilation of the efforts of fifteen Japanese researchers and professors, each contributing in their area of understanding. *The State and NGOs* uses a clearly defined research method and criteria to look at the relationship between the governments of fifteen Asian countries and their respective NGO organizations. This structure facilitates comparison between countries, and enables one to see with increased clarity trends that exist according to history and government structure. The countries examined in this book are as follows: Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan. However, in order to narrow the scope of my research, I limited my focus to the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan.

The researchers in this text started from a common hypothesis. They propose that the form an NGO takes in a particular state is a result of three factors, the characteristics of the NGO (e.g. philosophy, financial basis), the economic space (needs for economic resources not covered by conventional means), and the political space (degree to which NGO activity is allowed by the state). It is under this framework that each country is examined.

Takeshi Kawanaka explains the wide success and proliferation of NGOs in the Philippines. He points to the 1986 democratization of the Philippines as the point when NGOs who had helped promote the political changes grew closely involved with the government. In this democratic forum, NGO leaders chose to pursue government election to influence policy formation. The Philippine government perceived the necessity of developing the rural regions, and lacking the capacity to do so passed much responsibility on to NGOs. Kawanaka thus explains, given the economic and political space afforded, the Philippines has been a favorable environment for NGOs.

Shinichi Shigetomi presents the Thai state and NGOs operating in Thailand as independent, "parallel" entities. Though at times critical of the government, Thai NGOs have not entered the political realm, and the Thai government has not repressed NGOs as long as they stayed out of politics. Shigetomi implies a direct connection between the 1976 repression of democracy and the enforced suspension of NGO activity in rural areas, which only resumed growth after the easing of government restrictions in 1979. Consistent with the

²⁸*The State and NGOs: Perspective from Asia*. Ed. Shinichi Shigetomi. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002.

stated framework of analysis, Shigetomi shows that though the economic space for NGOs in Thailand remained constant their activity varied due to fluctuations in the political space.

Chizuko Suzuki examines the interesting case of Vietnam. Suzuki has found that though the political space for NGOs was slim or sometimes nonexistent, the growing economic space has allowed some organizations to operate in Vietnam. Due to Vietnam's *doi moi* reforms, the disparity between urban and rural areas is growing, giving rise to the possibility of social unrest. Thus, though location and mode of operation are highly controlled, Vietnam has accepted the presence of a growing number of NGOs, particularly in the area of development funding and assistance.

Malaysia and Singapore are both found to have a lower density of NGOs, though for different reasons. Yoshiko Kaneko found that the overall political environment in Malaysia is not very supportive of NGOs, making it difficult for them to receive permission to organize or receive funds. The Malaysian society is also split in its economic space, with Malays having little need for NGO services, and non-Malays having a high level of need due to discriminatory government policies. Thus, Kaneko found NGOs mainly active among the non-Malay sector of Malaysian society. In Singapore, however, the low number of NGOs is due to both a small political space and economic space. Yayoi Tanaka explained that the Singaporean welfare program has effectively covered most areas of its citizens' needs, and the government of Singapore has sought to control NGOs through financial disbursements.

In his article on China, Kenji Otsuka aptly pulls together the progression of history to give a coherent understanding of China's present stance toward social organizations, including NGOs. As China focuses on economic growth, its financial distribution disparity has widened. Though it fears independent organizations as agents of change, the government has reluctantly allowed NGOs to increase. The political space for them is still small and highly regulated, but the economic need balances that to an extent.

As studied by Yukari Sawada, Hong Kong is found to be a relatively open political realm for NGOs. However, the government does try to exert control through financial disbursements, thereby influencing the activity focus of volunteer organizations. Using a subcontracting business approach, the government accepts bids for welfare work. This practice tends to weaken the social service NGOs, while the human rights and environmental NGOs remain strong because of overseas funding. In Taiwan, the economic space for NGO work was constant, but the political space changed drastically, as Tadayoshi Terao explains. Until martial law was lifted in 1987, organizations were completely forbidden under the guise of protecting against Communist

subversion. In 1989, the Civil Organization Law was revised entirely, allowing for more independence and freedom, but there is still not much cooperative effort between NGOs and the government.

South Korea also had a repressive political atmosphere until the late 1980's, but unlike Taiwan the economic need was relatively low because of governmental distribution of resources. Nevertheless, as Noriyo Isozaki describes, the populace became increasingly discontent with corruption and unfair allocation of funds. Thus, non-registered groups addressing different needs increased, and though diverse the groups joined together for the common cause of democratization. This beginning shaped the present form of NGOs, with many still very active in advocacy roles to influence government policy decisions.

Katsuya Mochizuki addresses the issues of the last state studied, Japan. Japan differs from many of the other countries discussed because its citizens tend to take a passive role, generally expecting the government to take care of any socio-economic needs. Historically, the Japanese were accustomed to a big government, but the development of diversified needs accentuated the inefficiencies of the government and brought the need for NGOs to the fore. The government encourages the "third sector" to cover areas missed, and NGOs usually work in a fashion complementary to the government. Consequently, Mochizuki considers the Japanese private volunteer sector not yet fully developed.

Through a brief comparison of the nations studied, I noticed that repressive governments feared NGOs as agents of change, and that those fears may be well-founded because NGOs in other countries often were on the forefront of movements, such as democratization. South Korean NGOs were wary of government support as a form of manipulation, but those concerns also have basis because government funding has been a strong means of control in places such as Singapore and Hong Kong. In addition, economic growth has tended to force repressive governments to relax restrictions, and has often led to democratization movements. Examples of this can be seen particularly in the history of Taiwan and South Korea, and is beginning to occur more in the regimes of China and Vietnam.

Investigation of Third World Development Agencies – Case Studies

Though theoretical understanding can strengthen organizational response to real world situations, nothing can substitute for the knowledge that comes through experience. Through my brief stint in Southwest China and connections in Los Angeles, I gained the privilege of interviewing three separate NGO or religious organizations operating in China, as well as personally observed a fourth. I will first describe the work of these four entities and statements given by their representatives. I will then summarize the common threads that run throughout, and comment on their overall operation strategy. The four groups or individuals I will discuss are Robbie Cappellen in conjunction with Yunnan Kids Adoption Program, SIL East Asia Group, Threads of Yunnan, and The Evangelical Alliance Mission.

Robbie Cappellen

My personal experience in Mainland China mainly consists of one month spent in the southwest province of Yunnan under an internship with a Singaporean Christian organization, Missionworks International. Knowing of my desire to observe a wide array of successful help organizations, the director Feztus Lim recommended that I contact an acquaintance of his, Robbie Cappellen. A native of Holland, Robbie Cappellen had lived and worked in China for approximately the past fourteen years, and having married a Chinese woman had become quite integrated with the Chinese culture. He works with government orphanages, and particularly focuses on the “unadoptable”, handicapped children, who otherwise were being left to die. A large portion of his contribution to the government orphanages is to bring in young women from the countryside to be trained to work in the orphanages for several years. This provides a double benefit because the orphanages are provided with trained staff, and after completion of their tenure the women take their health, medical, proper child-care, and responsibility training back to their village and thereby better their own community.

Robbie Cappellen overcame two hurdles in his relationship with the Chinese government. The first had to do with his marriage. According to Cappellen, due to the view that the woman marries out of her own family and into that of the man, the Chinese government does not easily accept the marriage of a Chinese woman to a foreigner. Thus, Cappellen’s own marriage was a source of controversy, but in the end their marriage was recognized as legal. In regard to his work, Cappellen takes an interest in the plight of orphaned or abandoned handicapped children in government orphanages. Because of the one-child policy, a couple is more likely to abandon a handicapped child in the hopes of having the opportunity to give birth to a whole child. Thus, the presence of handicapped children in orphanages is exacerbated. For this reason, the

dilemma of handicapped orphans is a very sensitive subject to the government, and one that they feel will cause them to lose face. In order to save face in the international arena, the government highly restricts foreign adoption of handicapped children, and in the orphanages the handicapped children are sometimes locked away from society.

In his home, Cappellen introduced me to a young, 20 year-old Chinese girl. She had a bright personality, and it was not until a few minutes later that I noticed that she was missing the fingers on one hand. As a child in a government orphanage, she had been kept locked indoors because of this deformity while the others went to play in the park. Cappellen managed to get her out at age eight through adoption by a family in the United States. She had recently come back for the purpose of helping other orphans, but for a while she refused to speak Chinese due to the trauma of her childhood.

Though Cappellen works in a very sensitive area, he has learned to successfully interact with the government in such a way as to allow the government to save face, while also attaining his objective. For example, he will set up a doctor's appointment or similar engagement for a handicapped child, and while they're out he'll also take the child to the park to play outdoors. The government knows what he is doing but they allow it because his indirect method does not cause them to lose face. Cappellen described this "back door" approach to problem-solving as a very Chinese way, and it also bypasses long bureaucratic delays. Cappellen has also worked in conjunction with a regionally-located Christian adoption agency, Yunnan Kids Adoption Program. The program brings in Christian parents for the handicapped children. Though the government opposes the adoption of handicapped children, Cappellen has managed to keep the children going out. I would attribute this to his strong trust relationship with and length of commitment to the local Yunnan government.²⁹

SIL International

While in Yunnan, I was able to obtain an interview with a literacy development NGO, SIL East Asia Group, an operating offshoot of Wycliffe Bible Translators. The Regional Associate Director, Chris Stokland, gave me a very warm reception, allowing me to tour their central office and answering my questions for nearly an hour.³⁰ I was impressed with the level of professionalism pervading the office and operational structure. Stokland also brought my attention to a large photo at the front entrance of the Regional Director, a Singaporean of Chinese descent, standing together with the mayor of Yunnan to cut the ribbon for the opening of the SIL Yunnan central office. All that I saw

²⁹See Field Notes for July 3, 2006 in Appendix 2.

³⁰See Field Notes for July 5, 2006 in Appendix 2 for full of summary of conversation.

pointed to a deep level of commitment on the part of SIL to excellence and a long-term presence in China.

Like its parent organization Wycliffe, SIL International is a linguistic development group, often creating a written language where there was none before. In China, this organization works with translation, minority education, and when needed also creates an alphabet and written language. As nearly half of the recognized ethnic minority groups of China are in Yunnan, SIL has focused much of its effort in this region. However, in addition to its extensive work in Yunnan, SIL is also conducting language research in the provinces of Xinjiang, Qinghai, Sichuan, Guangxi, and Inner Mongolia, and has education projects in Guizhou and Gansu. In Beijing, SIL is working together with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences to publish four series of dictionaries and language research results.³¹ Though its size and scope fluctuates, SIL is currently a small to medium-size organization with about 200 staff and a 2005 project budget of RMB ¥2 million, approximately US \$250,000.³²

Through first helping the ethnic minorities to read and write their own language, SIL gives the marginalized children a stepping stone to learn the trade language of mandarin. The current education system usually teaches the children by rote memorization in mandarin. However, the children do not understand what is being taught, often growing discouraged and dropping out before high school. SIL has introduced a new method of bilingual education, using both the minority language and mandarin, so that the children gain a firmer grasp of what is being taught.

SIL International began building cooperative relationships in China in 1983. As one of the keys to its growth, SIL understands the importance of a good relationship with the government, and currently is working in conjunction with the Yunnan Minority Affairs Commission and developing ties with the Yunnan Education Commission. During my interview, Regional Associate Director Chris Stokland outlined SIL's experience and advice for building a long-lasting venture in China. He explained that building and maintaining relationships is important, even with lower-ranking officials because it is likely that they will eventually be promoted and at that time they will be more apt to help you if the relationship was already established. Stokland also emphasized the need to understand the Chinese way of working. He gave the following example:

“When a team arrives to a village and the villagers treat the team and the official with you to a great meal, the villagers would expect the same to be repaid to them when they visit the official in his city. However, the official doesn't have that kind of money to host them so in the beginning before

³¹SIL EAG. “Progress Report 2005.” Yunnan: East Asia Group Yunnan Project Office, 2006.

³²Ibid.; exchange calculated as ¥2M / 8 = \$250,000

he takes the team he charges a fee. Some would look on that as a bribe, but it isn't really but is something that is necessary to the Chinese way of working. Understanding such delicate differences is important."³³

SIL has had a constant presence in China for over 23 years, though at times only one family, but now their operations staff has grown to approximately 200 researchers, educators and administrators. Much of this growth has occurred in the past three years with the recent growth of global focus on China. Though SIL originally began out of Wycliff's International Linguistics Center in Dallas, Texas, SIL East Asia Group's (SIL EAG) staff and volunteers are now drawn from the wider spectrum of Europe, Japan, Philippines, Singapore, Hong Kong, Canada, and the U.S.³⁴ As before mentioned, SIL EAG's Regional Director is of Chinese-heritage Singaporean nationality, and in fact the volunteer who introduced me to the organization was Japanese. In my opinion, the broad cultural diversity of SIL staff has likely strengthened the cultural sensitivity of SIL's interactions with their Chinese environment.

Working in China requires patience and perseverance, as official response is sometimes slow. Stokland said that SIL workers have been told before that ministries previously relied upon for visas will no longer be giving them, but they were not told where they could go instead. However, SIL has taken this in stride, choosing a slow and steady pace, and has concentrated on building trust and rapport with the government.

SIL is an interesting study because it is also a Christian-based organization. In its linguistic and translation pursuits, SIL hopes to provide minority groups with an entire translation or portions of the Bible in their language. Also, the staff and volunteers are practicing Christians, and for many of them this value system is part of the motivation behind their service to China. Though Stokland did not directly bring up their religious motivation in our interview, I was aware of this connection and asked him several questions concerning the affect on their relationship with the government. His answers were very insightful and I believe provided a key for religious organizations operating in China.

First of all, the director was sure that the government knows that SIL is also involved in Bible translation work. However, as SIL does not publicly announce this focus or make it widely known, the government is saved from losing face. SIL also refrains from hosting any religious activities in their administrative office. They keep such things below the surface, and though the government most likely knows this affiliation, it is not up front so the government again has no loss of face. In addition, SIL is excellent in their contributions to the

³³See field notes from July 5, 2006 in Appendix 2.

³⁴SIL East Asia Group. "Introduction." Yunnan: East Asia Group Yunnan Project Office, 2006.

linguistic field so Stokland infers that this is also why the government allows them to continue. Occasionally, individual government officials have asked SIL staff workers about their faith, and the staff workers openly shared their beliefs. Because the question was asked and not forced, there were no repercussions. Stokland explained that recently the government said that one may not share their belief even if asked, but that is one directive that will most likely be ignored. In China there is a law for everything, but it just depends on circumstances as to what will be enforced. Stokland gave the example of a person he saw crossing the road when the policeman directing traffic was yelling at them not to. Smiling all the way, they kept going forward little by little until they reached the middle, where they told the policeman that it was as far to go back to as to finish going across. The frustrated policeman angrily waved them along and they finished crossing the road. Thus, Chinese operate in the same way, pushing the boundaries to the limit and beyond sometimes, smiling all the way. SIL has never had any worker deported from China, and overall they strive to work in cooperation with the government as much as possible.

Threads of Yunnan

Threads of Yunnan is a development NGO that has gone the route of registering and acting as a business. Though I did not interview the directors, I was able to personally tour the office, review promotional material, and hear from foreign workers the results of the Threads of Yunnan operations. The goal of the Threads of Yunnan is to provide minority women with a productive outlet for their unique textile handicrafts, thereby raising the women's self-esteem and the family's general standard of living. Through the projects, Threads of Yunnan also provides the women training in literacy, hygiene, nutrition and money management. Though Threads of Yunnan is run like a business, the main goal is not profit but to better the minority villages in which they work. This goal is made obvious by the payment system. The minority women are immediately paid upon receiving their work, and when the goods are sold a percentage is used for development in the village.

Threads of Yunnan is one division of a larger group called Danyun. Through the same administrative faculty and office of Threads of Yunnan, Danyun offers services in international trade negotiation, consulting, business and language training, and oversight for rural economic development organizations. The top executive of Danyun is Bitten Hogh, a businesswoman from Denmark. Ms. Hogh apparently understood the value of relationship in China because in 2005 she was awarded the "Excellent Business Woman" distinction from the China Chamber of Commerce and the China Women's Union. Hogh's second in command is Don Lytton, a Ph.D. businessman from the United States. Lytton also seems well-connected as he serves on the Executive Committee of the Asia Fair Trade Forum. Their office director, Yan Ling Ling of

Sichuan province, is essential to the program through her role as the "primary cultural and linguistic interface between Danyun and Chinese counterparts."³⁵

Threads of Yunnan and its parent organization Danyun are also registered as a Christian organization. However, as previously discussed, the office and its projects maintain a high level of professionalism. Through a brief discussion I obtained with Don Lytton, I sensed that the organization is sensitive to outside inquiries and is anxious to maintain its rapport with the government. Thus, the organization's Christian heritage may have introduced additional difficulties with the government, but it would seem that Threads of Yunnan and Danyun have managed to overcome the inherent suspicion and are on the way to building a strong foundation for continued success.

*The Evangelical Alliance Mission – David and Elaine Crane*³⁶

The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM) is a Protestant mission agency with a longstanding history of work in many countries around the world. After I was introduced through a mutual friend, David and Elaine Crane of TEAM allowed me a long interview concerning their China operations and insight on Christian agencies operating in relatively hostile environments. As a couple with nearly fifty years experience in international mission work, David and Elaine offered well-tried solutions for building a solid organization and conducive relations with a government.

Born in China of missionary parents in 1927, David Crane since youth well understood how to operate in an inter-cultural context. This experience served him well because after graduating from the seminary of Biola University Crane worked the next 31 years in Trinidad building churches and a large campground. In 1989, David and Elaine were 65 and set to retire but they were asked by TEAM members to oversee a short project in China. Upon returning to China, due to his childhood connection with the area Crane decided to stay, and there they remained for the next 16 years. His father had built a church in the town of Hoiping in South China's Guangdong province, and under the Religious Bureau's new regulations any building that was a church before could be returned to its previous state. Crane's father had also run an orphanage for abandoned, blinded girls, teaching them to read Braille, to cook, to sow, and to understand the Bible. As a Christian organization just entering in 1989, Crane was uniquely privileged because the officials remembered his father's work, and were more open to him. Also, the prior church building could legally be turned into a church again under the government-sanctioned Three-Self Patriotic Movement structure (to be explained in greater detail in Section V), though not under the direct influence of a foreign missionary.

³⁵Yunnan Danyun Business Affairs Consulting Co., Ltd. promotional material.

³⁶Refer to Appendix 4 for the entire transcript of the interview.

Throughout the interview, Crane emphasized the importance of building relationship and trust with the government. When the Cranes entered China in 1989, they first worked cooperatively with the government on several development projects. According to Elaine Crane, the trust was not automatic.

"I think two things are involved. One is friendship, and then time. It took time. It took about 4 years before we were kind of known as one of them. And see, during those 4 years, it was helping to build the school, putting in the water, the electricity, the road, building a friendship, building a trust, that we were not there for anything on our own, but we were there to help the people."³⁷

Crane also discussed the importance of remaining within the bounds of the law and working with officials to find mutually acceptable ground, instead of rebelling against the issues with which you disagree. He explained, "You don't agree with the government, you don't agree with the system many times, but you've got to be able to work together, you've got to build up a trust. So we don't do anything illegal there."³⁸ "It's a relationship. No matter where you go, what country."³⁹ In that relationship, one must approach the other with the internal qualities of honesty, integrity, and honor in order to build a good rapport. In the experience of David Crane, good rapport in one area can also open doors to other regions. When he went to work in an area 1500 miles from Hoiping, the Hoiping cadre sent a letter to the cadre of the new region saying "Dave Crane is harmless."⁴⁰

In laying a solid foundation for future success, David Crane highlighted several points. The first is contacts and building *guanxi* with the government through joint projects. Second, it is essential not to bribe, but on the other hand to understand the importance of gifts in the Chinese culture. In Crane's words, "...never bribe. There's no money involved...but it (a leather jacket from a Christian U.S. businessperson) was a gift for what he's (an official) done for us."⁴¹ Third, operations must be sustainable even in the absence of a foreign presence. Crane described this as, "That's the name of the game, is always train the nationals. Don't take control, never take control, but just train them and help them to do the job and let them do it. They will do it different, but it's ok...If you lay some foundation, lay some principles down there, right principles, they will carry on and do it their way and do a good job of it."⁴² Finally, take a positive attitude toward the government. "But the main thing is just don't cut the government, don't talk about evil and wrongness. If you take a positive approach, you'll have more openness. And there is change, oh yes, a lot of changes."⁴³

³⁷David and Elaine Crane Interview, 8 March 2007. 9.

³⁸Crane, 2.

³⁹Crane, 5.

⁴⁰Crane, 2.

⁴¹Crane, 3.

⁴²Crane, 10.

⁴³Crane, 13.

The final and most important aspect is to understand the environment in which one works. Crane emphasized, "So again it's your contact, it's your attitude. You can't go there and say I'm an American and they've gotta give me freedom. No, no, no. No, you've got to respect every country, respect the country, respect their laws, don't do anything that's wrong, and then you can sell yourself. If they're interested in you, if they have confidence in you, you've got it whipped, you've got the entry whipped. And then continue on that way, be honest, and be square, straightforward and all...That's the way it is."⁴⁴ However, Crane did recognize that work in China requires patience and perseverance. In an insightful remark, a cadre once told Crane, "You Americans, you are proud of your 250 years of history. We have 5000 years of history. You're push button people, you want to push a button and somebody's gonna go, go, go. We take our time and move along... Give us time. Be patient. We'll change." Crane remarked, "And they have, tremendous change."⁴⁵

Summary

Each of these organizations aforementioned highlighted the importance of relationship and trust-building measures. Each was also involved in value-adding activities that provided life improvement to marginalized people. More significant, however, is the fact that their Christian values prompted them to engage in work that, though controversial, they considered highly important, such as Bible translation or sharing their faith. Though the government undoubtedly was aware of their activities, each organization was careful not to cause the government to lose face through open disregard of regulations. To the extent within their power, these organizations strove to abide by legal requirements, and to date have maintained positive relationships with the government while also fulfilling their faith-prompted goals.

⁴⁴Crane, 5.

⁴⁵Crane, 12.

Foreign Development NGOs in China and their Relationship to the State

Government Structure

Since the Communist Party's acquisition of power in 1949, China has been ruled by the elite members of the Politburo, and directed by the General Secretary of the Communist Party. This power is also shared with the People's Liberation Army and the state system. Though a separate entity, the state system is closely connected to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), and high ranking officials are chosen through the decisions of the CCP. From the time China came under CCP rule through the mid-1970's, power was increasingly centralized in the figure of Mao Zedong to the point of a near authoritarian dictatorship. After Mao's death, power was again dispersed to the members of the Politburo and the National Congress of the Communist Party.⁴⁶ Under the direction of Deng Xiaoping, China opened its doors to the world in 1978 and started down the path of capitalistic growth under the name of "socialism with Chinese characteristics."

National power is centralized in the Politburo Standing Committee based in Beijing, but the farther the distance from this center the weaker national policy enforcement becomes. China is a vast land, and the CCP's control problem is nothing new. A saying from imperial times well described the situation, "The heaven is high and the emperor is far away." In modern-day reality, this translates to mean that local policy-makers can choose to ignore nationally approved legislation, and provincial legislation will invariably differ from region to region. Thus, while the official national stance has an impact, the local level of politics is as, if not more, important for the aspiring foreign NGO to grasp. This depth of understanding is essential due to the fact that local policies will intimately affect NGO activity many times more than the nationally heralded ideas of the Politburo.

Historical Stance toward NGOs and Civil Society

Civil organizations in various forms have long existed in China. Foreign influence was felt as early as 635 A.D. through the work of a Persian bishop, Aluoben.⁴⁷ Over the centuries, other Catholic initiatives occurred with varying levels of success and Buddhist activities were also on the rise. In 1583, Jesuit missionaries entering China enjoyed the favor of the imperial court, and left a strong impact lasting two centuries.⁴⁸ Through the influence of these and later missionaries, China was introduced to Western technology and education, as well as provided with medical, social and emergency services.⁴⁹ Throughout Chinese history, the government's response has vacillated between acceptance

⁴⁶Wikipedia was referred to for verification of names and dates.

⁴⁷ Jean-Paul Wiest. "Setting Roots: The Catholic Church in China to 1949." *God and Caesar in China*. Ed. Jason Kindopp & Carol Lee Hamrin. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2004. 78.

⁴⁸ Wiest, 83.

⁴⁹ Wiest, 90.

and encouragement of the foreign organization's efforts and severe repression, often deriving from fears of inordinate outside influence or subversion of local cultural values.

Chinese civil organizations also existed as early as the Qing dynasty. However, the motivation of many of these differed from the religious motives of the foreign counterparts. In the late Qing era, there were many associations based on profession, home town, or a temple, but these were closely connected to the state and under its hierarchical authority.⁵⁰ Philanthropy was also considered differently, as consultant Zhang Ye states, "For centuries, philanthropy represented a means of lending social status to wealth achieved through dishonorable or questionable means. It was merchants, occupying the bottom of the Confucian social hierarchy, who engaged most actively in philanthropy to this end."⁵¹ Later, the weakening of the Qing state gave rise to strong student, merchant, intellectual, and labor associations, all of which were often politically motivated. The Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) grew out of one such association, and later the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) also used these associational methods to undermine the KMT.⁵² Though the effort to overthrow the Qing dynasty began under the KMT, the CCP succeeded in consolidating all power under their central guidance, and not long after 1949 all such civil organizations were co-opted or absorbed into the CCP system.⁵³ Of particular import, soon after the CCP and Mao's rise to governing prominence, foreign organizations ceased to operate in China and any organization's ties with a foreign entity were severed.

From 1949 to 1978, China underwent many wrenching changes, power struggles, economic and social disasters. Mao Zedong, a strong and charismatic leader in the Chinese Communist Party, led the newly birthed People's Republic of China through a series of megalithic adjustments, taking the society to the extreme end of collectivism. The government was involved in nearly every area of life, dictating where population lived, worked, and ate. Under this control structure, civil society lay dormant, and though association was possible through the women or youth leagues and the *danwei* work units, these were also government-directed. Religious activities and organizations were brought under the strict oversight and involvement of the CCP, and in the case of Protestant Christianity, the control structure took the form of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. This development will be explained in further detail below.

⁵⁰ Mary E. Gallagher. "China: The Limits of Civil Society in a Late Leninist State." *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia*. Ed. Muthiah Alagappa. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004. 423.

⁵¹ Zhang Ye. "Chinese NGOs: A Survey Report." *Emerging Civil Society in the Asia Pacific Community*. Ed. Tadashi Yamamoto. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and JCIE, 1996. 95.

⁵² Zhang, 95.

⁵³ Gallagher, 423.

The Rise of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement

In the decades prior to 1950, religious organizations enjoyed a nearly unprecedented season of government acceptance and low levels of regulation. Taking the Protestant church movement as a case in point, by 1949, forty-three seminaries, fifty-four periodicals, four publishing houses, and numerous schools, hospitals, and welfare institutions operated in China.⁵⁴ Also, convening every few years, the National Christian Council joined branches of protestant denominations, bringing together both Chinese and Western counterparts, to address a wide variety of issues, ranging from medical and educational promotion to the discussion of child labor and narcotics abuse.⁵⁵ In the time period of the 1920s, the church did not see government interference or repression as a current problem, as the Education Commission in the 1922 National Christian Conference stated:

“This is especially unlikely to occur (*restriction by the government*) with respect to the Christian schools if they are thoroughly good schools, patriotic and national in atmosphere and influence, avoiding all exotic and foreign characteristics, promptly and fully meeting all government requirements, and cooperating with government education in all practicable ways, and at the same time furnishing a healthy variance from the uniform standard, and producing for the changing life of China a Christian group, forward-looking and thoughtful, disciplined and self-controlled. In building up in China Christian education of this type we may be assured that we are building for a long future.”⁵⁶

However, this season of low government interference in religious affairs can be considered an anomaly in Chinese history and was directly due to the Western influence in government under the “unequal treaty” system.⁵⁷

In 1950, forty radical leaders who had previously worked at and been trained through the YMCA signed what became known as the Christian Manifesto. The document called on all Christians to unite in support of the new political regime and to purge out all imperialistic influence. The movement soon gained the backing of the CCP, and gave birth to the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, the 'Three-self' standing for self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating. The Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) in connection with the CCP soon took over leadership of the National Christian Council and other mainline denominations. TSPM merged the various seminaries into two under its control, the Yenching Union Theological Seminary in Beijing and the Nanjing

⁵⁴ Yihua Xu. “Patriotic Protestants.” *God and Caesar in China*. Ed. Jason Kindopp & Carol Lee Hamrin. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2004. 116-117.

⁵⁵ *The Chinese Church as revealed in The National Christian Conference held in Shanghai, Tuesday, May 2, to Thursday, May 11, 1922*. Ed. Committee: Rev. F. Rawlinson, Miss Helen Thoburn, Rev. D. MacGillivray. Shanghai: The Oriental Press, 1922.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 374.

⁵⁷ Daniel H. Bays. “A Tradition of State Dominance.” *God and Caesar in China*. Ed. Jason Kindopp & Carol Lee Hamrin. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2004. 28, 31.

Union Theological Seminary in Nanjing. Only one periodical was left, *Tianfeng*, as the voice of the TSPM, and the schools and hospitals cut off from overseas finances were unable to continue operations. The Marxist ideological foundation of the CCP considered religion to be an unnatural social phenomenon, and as such religious practice was doomed to extinction. Thus, the CCP not only monitored religious expression, but systematically reduced its prevalence. By the end of the 1950s, even the TSPM was fading. In 1965, the *Tianfeng* periodical ceased operations, and in 1966 the last vestige of Western-founded education, Nanjing Union Theological Seminary, closed its doors and was not to reopen until 1982.⁵⁸

To keep a historically balanced perspective, it is proper to note that government oversight of religion was not uncommon in the Chinese tradition. Since the Tang dynasty of 1300 years ago, most government structures contained an official bureau for controlling religious affairs.⁵⁹ This tendency grew from the fear that unsupervised religious movements or associations would be a source of political uprisings and instability. This paranoia was not altogether unfounded, as relatively recent history shows. The God Worshipers' Society, a deviant faux-Christian sect, was a fast-growing movement in the 1840s and 50s, when anxiety over its growing size caused Qing government leadership to crack down on the group. The Society chose to rebel against the repression and, calling themselves the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, launched fourteen years of "one of the bloodiest and most destructive civil wars in human history (that) nearly toppled the Qing dynasty before succumbing in 1864."⁶⁰ Though mainline Christian organizations did not consider the Taipings to be Christian, the government officials perceived them to be, and it is probable that this memory has tainted government-Christian relations since. In the words of researcher Daniel Bays, "Attitudes of suspicion and systemic policies of regulation or suppression (or both) toward grassroots religion have characterized the mind-set of all Chinese political regimes."⁶¹

Changes after 1978

Though independent associations, religious activity, and civil society in general was virtually non-existent during the Mao era, the reform period after 1978 opened many new possibilities. In 1979, China took the initiative to approach the UN Development Programme (UNDP) for international aid and assistance. After this point, many foreign NGOs launched initiatives into China. American and Hong Kong NGOs were the first to enter China, and still represent the largest portion of NGO investment, both in number of groups and in dollar amount. It is estimated that of the NGOs entering China between 1978 to 1980

⁵⁸ Xu, 112-118.

⁵⁹ Bays, 26.

⁶⁰ Bays, 30.

⁶¹ Bays, 35.

80% were American organizations.⁶² In 2002, the budget for all American organizations reached nearly \$23.2 million and for organizations from Hong Kong \$15.7 million.⁶³ These numbers are not much in comparison with the FDI (foreign direct investment) of \$52.74 billion that entered China in 2002 through business contracts.⁶⁴ In 2005, total foreign NGO investment was estimated to be in the \$100-200 million range, though even this number is not very significant.⁶⁵ However, the significance lies in the interaction and sharing of ideas. Also, the NGO funds are often focused at areas neglected by the traditional business venture, as the focus is not primarily on profit.

Foreign NGO presence has gradually grown since 1978 with the largest acceleration of growth occurring after the United Nation's 1995 World Conference on Women was held in Beijing. In preparation for the Conference, CCP leaders organized workshops for women to teach them the concepts of civil society and the non-governmental organization. This initiative effectively introduced the word "non-governmental organization" into the vocabulary of political and private arenas, and furthered opened the door to foreign NGO entrance.⁶⁶ In consideration of semantics, however, many NGOs prefer to go by the term "non-profit organization" (*fei yingli zuzhi*) because the term *fei* can be interpreted non- or anti-.⁶⁷ Obviously, an anti-government organization would not be well-accepted by the CCP.

The government's posture towards foreign NGOs has been mixed due to the clash of historical suspicion of outside influences and the government's current objectives. On the one hand, the CCP views NGOs as potentially destabilizing factors. Because NGOs promote independent action, encourage personal civil responsibility, and provide an alternative platform for public opinion, the CCP fears losing control over the populace. In the current whirlwind of societal and economic change, the CCP sees any opposition as serious threats to its survival, but at the same time it is fighting to maintain its legitimacy in the eyes of its people and the world. In order to keep its legitimacy at home, the CCP agrees that China must continue its economic and technological growth. To do this, China must bring in a continually growing flow of resources. Though FDI has done much to boost coastal and major urban center standards, the northwest

⁶² Qiusha Ma. *Non-Governmental Organizations in Contemporary China: Paving the way to civil society?*. London: Routledge, 2006. 178.

⁶³ Ma, 179.

⁶⁴ The US-China Business Council. http://www.uschina.org/statistics/fdi_cumulative.html. Date accessed: April 26, 2007.

⁶⁵ Nick Young. "Introduction, NGOs: the Diverse Origins, Changing Nature and Growing Internationalisation of the Species." *China Development Brief*. Beijing: Beijing Civil Society Development Research Centre. 2005. XXXVI.

⁶⁶ Ma, 181.

⁶⁷ Qiusha Ma. "The Governance of NGOs in China Since 1978: How Much Autonomy?" *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, Volume 31, Number 3, 1 Sept 2002. Accessed through EBSCO: September 21, 2006. 308.

to the southwest of China have been largely overlooked in the scramble for wealth. The lack of proper infrastructure impedes FDI from effectively spreading to these inland regions, and the growing economic disparity is now to the point of threatening national unity.⁶⁸ Also, through its opening to market economies, China is less able to provide for all the welfare needs of its people, as it did under the socialist system. This led the government to adopt a policy of "small government and big society" in the mid-1990s.⁶⁹ For this reason, the Chinese government sees foreign NGOs as attractive conduits for necessary resources and technology to flow to the underdeveloped regions and minority people groups, thereby improving overall societal stability.

Beyond its internal struggle for legitimacy, the government of China also faces international pressure. Though People's Republic of China (China) took over the China seat in the United Nations from the Republic of China (Taiwan) in 1971, China only gradually took a more active role in international affairs. Through its increased participation in international bodies, such as the various arms of the UN and the WTO, China has been brought face to face with the societal values and standards of the outside world, in particular those of the West. In the UN, China has been confronted for human rights abuses and environmental concerns. More recently, China has come under U.S. litigation in the WTO over intellectual property rights violations.⁷⁰ All of these outside pressures, though China blustered against them to save face at home, have impacted policy considerations step by step, and have brought the CCP closer to implementing Chinese-modified international standards on human rights, the environment, and perhaps civil society in general.

China finds itself in a difficult situation of juggling nationalistic fervor and legitimacy in the eyes of the world. From its relatively recent history of the "unequal treaty" in which its land was parceled between the world powers of the mid-1800s, China distrusts the West and has a strong aversion to anything perceived as imperialism. In addition, the government often uses the history of imperialism to rouse nationalistic support for the legitimacy of the CCP.⁷¹ Thus, the Chinese government finds itself almost of necessity taking a hostile position toward the West. However, due to its growing integration in world organizations, China is finding that it must also adapt to international standards to maintain global legitimacy and its image as a responsible global leader.

Ambivalence toward NGOs

The two basic elements, China's need for resources and its distrust of the West, make for a highly ambivalent official attitude toward foreign NGOs. To

⁶⁸ "Power and the People." *China from the Inside*. PBS Home Video, 2007.

⁶⁹ Ma, "The Governance of NGOs in China Since 1978," 306.

⁷⁰ Richard McGregor & Eoin Callan. "China hits out as US launches trade cases." *Financial Times*. USA, Wednesday April 11 2007. 1.

⁷¹ Ma, 171-2.

exemplify this ambivalence, though foreign NGOs have operated in China since 1978, there still exists no consistent system or legislation for registering such organizations or granting them legal status. As such, this greatly complicates matters and causes regional differences to be exacerbated. According to Qiusha Ma of Oberlin College, local leaders may be highly cautious in dealing with the foreign NGO. "Not only do they not have a clear rule to follow, but they also do not want to be blamed in case anything bad happens with INGOs (*international NGOs*). This attitude has made the latter's effort to obtain legal status in China very difficult."⁷²

In 1998, the Chinese government updated regulations for local non-governmental organizations, establishing a new Bureau of Administration of NGOs, revising the 1989 Regulation and adding a new ordinance, the Provisional Regulation on Registration and Management of Non-Governmental and Non-Profit Institution Units. Through this system, NGOs are classified as "social associations" or "non-governmental and non-profit institution units."⁷³ The social association is one that is voluntarily established by Chinese citizens. The other category is comprised of groups which are private, do not use state assets, and engage in non-profit service endeavors. However, international NGOs do not come under these regulations. Thus, foreign NGOs have found other ways to work around the ambiguous registration procedures.

In his research on NGOs in China, Qiusha Ma delineates several common methods through which the foreign NGO pursues legal status.⁷⁴

- Establish a Hong Kong or Macau-based headquarters through which to operate programs on the mainland; e.g. OXFAM, Asia Foundation.
- Open a representative office in Beijing with a government institution as a supervising entity; e.g. The Ford Foundation. (Beijing is a difficult place to set up office because of the political sensitivity of the region.)
- Open offices in other cities and register with local bureaus of civil affairs; e.g. Kunming is a common destination and now hosts the greatest number of foreign NGOs.
- Open program offices, as these are not required to register with the government.
- Register with the bureau of industry and commerce as a business or company; e.g. US Nature Conservation.
- Operate cooperative programs with Chinese NGOs or governmental agencies, thereby avoiding registration.
- Obtain an "International Expert's Service Certificate" from the State Bureau of Foreign Experts.

⁷² Ma, 175.

⁷³ Kenji Otsuka. "China: Social Restructuring and the Emergence of NGOs." *The State and NGOs*. Ed. Shinichi Shigetomi. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. 2002. 229.

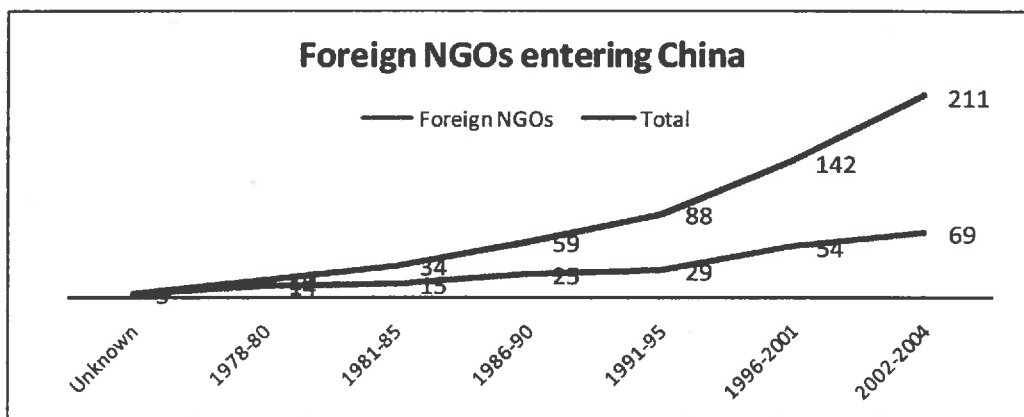
⁷⁴ Ma, 177.

- Sign an “Agreement Memorandum”; e.g. with Yunnan Provincial International Non-Governmental Societies.

There are likely many other creative means through which foreign NGOs are operating in China, but this small list exemplifies the confusion and disorder reigning over this sector of China's development.

Current Scenario

Though the government recognizes the need for a standardized registration system for NGOs, the convoluted government sentiment continues to send mixed signals to NGOs and the local-level leadership. Indicative of the government confusion on this matter is the near dearth of information on NGO presence and activities. According to Ma, “There are no official statistics on foreign NGOs in China.”⁷⁵ The most accurate representation of foreign NGO presence and activity in China is found, not in government records, but in *The China Development Brief*, a private newspaper registered in the U.S. According to *The China Development Brief*, the number of foreign NGOs entering China has steadily increased, with the greatest percentage increase occurring after 1995, as illustrated in the graph below.



This graph was created with figures found in “200 International NGOs in China,” *China Development Brief*, 2005, and Qiusha Ma, *Non-governmental Organizations in China*, 178.

In 2004, of the 211 foreign NGOs listed in the *China Development Brief*, the vast majority were working in education or health related fields. Sixty-four NGOs were listed as working with education, and fifty-eight in health, though twenty-one of these organizations worked in both fields. Even with this overlap considered, 47.9% of the foreign NGOs in China work in the areas of health or education, far beyond all other categories. The next largest category concerns the environment with forty-eight NGOs involved, though of these twelve are also involved in the area of health or education.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Ma, 178.

⁷⁶ “200 International NGOs in China.” *China Development Brief*. Beijing: Beijing Civil Society Development Research Centre. 2005. 226-231.

The Religiously-based Development NGOs

The religiously-based development NGO may arguably face more difficulty than the average foreign NGO. The reason for this is that on top of the Chinese government's suspicion of outsiders religion may be doubly suspect. China keeps a long memory of history, and the relatively recent history of the Taiping Rebellion gave the "impression of Chinese Christians as being disloyal and rebellious, and of foreign missionaries as promoting subversion..."⁷⁷ This view, if still strong, will undoubtedly complicate the operations of religiously-based NGOs. Quoting China scholar Lucian Pye, Hsia & White note that the government mentality is controlled by a fear of *luan* or chaos and disorder, and has a "long-standing apprehension of infecting Chinese values with foreign ideas."⁷⁸ Thus, understanding these mindsets quickly gives insight to the additional requirements that exist for the religiously-based NGO, in that in addition to other approvals the NGO must also gain permission from the Religious Affairs Bureau.⁷⁹ As a government department directly under the direction of the State Council and CCP, the State Administration of Religious Affairs (as it is known today) closely monitors to ensure that religious organizations conduct "normal religious activities."⁸⁰ These normal activities are those which fall under one of the five sanctioned religions of Buddhism, Catholicism, Islam, Protestantism, and Taoism, and of these religions fall within the organizational structures sanctioned and monitored by the government. For Protestantism, the sanctioned organization is the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, and all other Protestant groups who refuse to be absorbed in this structure are declared illegal.

As the CCP prohibits proselytizing, the religious NGO is likely monitored more closely. Nick Young, the founding editor of the *China Development Brief*, explains:

"There are still those who seek to 'evangelise' their faith, and who do send people to China for this purpose. This can lead to official suspicion about the motives of development NGOs that do openly acknowledge a Christian affiliation. At the same time, organisations that have a Christian background but that engage only in development work often fear that their motives will be misunderstood. All of this creates an atmosphere of 'sensitivity' that is not helpful for constructive partnership."⁸¹

Though these few facts would indicate a tendency to repress religious NGOs, experience shows that reality has a wider diversity of response. The case of David Crane in Southern China and Christian-based SIL International

⁷⁷Bays, 30.

⁷⁸Hsia & White, 337.

⁷⁹Hsia & White, 339.

⁸⁰Chinese Government's Official Web Portal. "State Administration for Religious Affairs."

http://english.gov.cn/2005-10/09/content_75331.htm. Date accessed: May 2, 2007.

⁸¹Young, XIV.

show that the level of antagonism will likely vary according to region. On opposite ends of the spectrum, Beijing would be the most strict due to its political sensitivity and South China and Yunnan would be the least due to their distance from the capital. Through the publicity given to situations such as the persecution of "underground" Christians, Falungong, and Tibetan Buddhists, the international arena has applied pressure for China to grant religious freedom. There are many internal and external pressures for religious freedom, but the CCP is slow to implement large changes. More likely, the Chinese government will grant token freedoms while not fully changing the reality of the religious situation. Full religious freedom as considered in the Western mindset will likely be long in coming, if ever.

Though there are not official statistics available for comparative study, the website for the *China Development Brief* provided a full listing of the NGOs they have currently documented. Of the 218 foreign organizations operating in China, 38 declared religious affiliation, and of the 38 religiously-based organizations 33 are of Christian heritage.⁸² From this relatively significant number, one can extrapolate that, though difficult, it is possible for religious organizations and government officials to build mutually beneficial relationships.

Success and Failure of Foreign NGOs

All foreign NGOs in China face similar challenges so one can ask what internal qualities enables some to survive, even flourish, while others fail. Through interviews with various foreign NGOs and in studying the historical and cultural context, I have identified several key factors for building a successful future in China. The first key is *perseverance*. Foreign NGOs in China face a particularly difficult and potentially frustrating situation because of the lack of clear standards for government registration and the mixed signals of welcome and suspicion. One frustrated NGO director complained, "The law says you need to be registered. But it doesn't say how you can do it, or what you need to be registered, or even what being registered means."⁸³ Because this is still a conflicted area, the government tends to "take one step, look one step" (*zou yibu, kan yibu*) to see how to proceed.⁸⁴ Thus, as progress in this area is likely to be slow, perseverance will be essential for the NGO to fight the urge to give up.

Humility is also a necessary quality. In this, the NGO is willing to learn and appreciate the new environment, not assuming that it has come with all of the answers. The attitude of humility leads to the third key of *understanding the environment*. In general, Hong Kong organizations were found to be more effective in their project selection and local communication because of their

⁸²<http://www.chinadevelopmentbrief.com/dingo/>. Date accessed: April 26, 2007.

⁸³R.Y.-J. Hsia & L.T. White III. "Working Amid Corporatism and Confusion: Foreign NGOs in China." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, Volume 31, Number 3, 1 Sept 2002. Accessed through EBSCO: September 21, 2006. 341.

⁸⁴Hsia & White, 342.

understanding of the culture.⁸⁵ The understanding of culture and context then strengthens one's use of tact. *Tact* is the ability to use words wisely, to defuse potentially-explosive situations, to know what to say and what not to say. Deng Xiaoping himself steered China into its current course of economic growth through a tactful use of semantics, for example, renaming capitalism "socialism with Chinese characteristics." In the Chinese context, tact also includes taking care that one's actions does not cause a counterpart, such as the government, to lose face.

A final key to longevity in China is *cooperation*. At this point in China's societal and political development, the foreign NGO must be willing to partner with the government in some capacity. R. Y-J. Hsia of Harvard Medical School and L.T. White III of Princeton agree that "government-NGO relationships are often indispensable for progress in countries such as China...sustainable projects usually come from working with existing structures. Most of these in the PRC are government owned or influenced, so that maintaining good relations with various levels of the state is essential."⁸⁶ This cooperative relationship hinges on *trust*. The term *guanxi* has become widely known in the international business world as a key for smooth operations in China. Contrary to the perceptions of some, *guanxi* is more than just finding the right connection to make a deal go through, but this is the Chinese concept that relationship should be built on a foundation of long-standing trust and reciprocity. This long-term mindset of building trust as a foundation for future success is the necessary key for the visionary NGO.

As discussed in the previous section of case studies, SIL International built a foundation of relationship and trust through perseverance and cooperation with various government entities. Their vision is for long-term success and influence in China, and as such they realize the need to work with tact and humility. Due to this consistent strategy based on internal qualities, SIL is steadily growing in scope and reach. In contrast, though not previously developed in the case studies, during field work in Yunnan in the summer of 2006 several NGOs told me of the example of Project Grace. Project Grace, a Christian medical group, would bring in short-term teams to perform needed dental work or medical check-ups. They occasionally worked through government agencies, but failed in several of the aforementioned categories. It would seem that they lacked the humility to understand their environment, and sought to directly exercise their familiar Western rights and freedoms of speech and religion. This did little to build trust with the government, and they were warned several times to tone down their expression and sharing of Christian beliefs. Unfortunately, this group lacked the tact to accomplish their mission through some other creative means, and through their blatant disregard of government warnings they caused the government to lose face. This disregard

⁸⁵Ma, 179.

⁸⁶Hsia & White, 344.

brought the inevitable government response, and eventually this group's operations were seriously diminished and highly monitored for proselytism due to heightened suspicion. Thus, when comparing these two organizations, I would consider SIL to have the deeper impact on society because of the longevity of its presence and influence.

Summary

History and experience are two of the wisest teachers for any endeavor. From history, one learns why situations exist as they are, and from experience how one should adapt to current reality. In China, suspicion and distrust of outside influences exist because of the instinct to protect cultural support for central power and as retaliation against imperialistic humiliation. The experience of the NGOs examined shows that there exists economic need for NGO activities and political space is slowly widening to protect the CCP's governmental legitimacy. Under these conditions, both religious and non-religious NGOs are increasingly able to build strong foundations for successful outreach. However, in doing so, several factors are essential. The NGO must humbly understand their environment, approaching the government with both perseverance and tact. The NGO must also take the time to create relationships built on trust with a vision toward long-term results. It will be this sensitivity and commitment that will define a successful NGO.

Looking at current trends, one can see that China will slowly move toward an increasingly open society, but it will take time. Thus, the NGO who today chooses to work in China must, in keeping with the Stockdale Paradox⁸⁷, face the reality of the complex situation in which it must operate, and then with hope and perseverance move forward to find the point of mutual cooperation and benefit. In China, an NGO can certainly succeed in having a positive impact. However, to do so, it must approach the government with a cooperative attitude and take encouragement from incremental advancement forward.

Conclusion

After the extensive research of this thesis, I have come to the conclusion that my first hypothesis was correct. The government is slowly opening to the operations of foreign NGOs. The catalyst for this change is to a great extent the growing economic disparity between city and countryside and the government's desire to mitigate potential civil unrest. International opinion has also had a hand in expanding the space for Chinese civil society.

The second hypothesis has some foundation, but is as not true as I had first thought. The government has allowed religiously-based NGOs to operate to an extent, but places higher registration requirements and continues to view them as possible sources of rebellion. The international arena is pressuring China to allow free religious expression and to adhere to international standards of human rights. The local Chinese population is also increasingly aware of the freedoms available in other societies, and will certainly continue to push the limits

⁸⁷The Stockdale Paradox: "Retain faith that you will prevail in the end, regardless of the difficulties, AND at the same time confront the most brutal facts of your current reality, whatever they might be."

Jim Collins. *Good to Great*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 2001.

of government control. Though one can expect that these external and internal forces will eventually have an impact on government policy, change is likely to occur very slowly. Thus, the religious NGO must patiently pursue their goals through a cooperative strategy with the long-term future in mind.

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Appendix 1

Challenges to Civil Society		
<i>Challenges</i>	<i>Basis of Problem</i>	<i>Implications for the Sector</i>
<u>Internal</u>		
Amateurism	Staff mobilized by values, beliefs Activities demand technical skill Organization, managerial needs	Low-skilled human resources Limited organizational capacity Limited operational efficiency, impact
Restricted focus	Focus on single group or issue Value frame polarizes differences Tendency to stereotype outsiders	Blindness to larger context Hard to expand beyond initial concept Limited cross-project work
Material Scarcity	Resources mobilized by values Beneficiaries have few resources Other sectors have more resources Donor dependence reduces autonomy	Voluntary services limit capacity Programs hard to scale up Poor beneficiaries remain dependent
Fragmentation	Diverse values, goals, strategies Competition for scarce resources Ideological stereotyping of others	Blindness to shared interests Little mutual influence or synergy Little voice on large-scale issues
Paternalism	Leaders control key resources Emphasis on charismatic founders	Dependence on leaders Failure to empower constituents
<u>External</u>		
Public legitimacy and accountability	Publics do not recognize sector Low accountability to stakeholders Limited legal and cultural support	Little popular support under fire Vulnerable to misuse of resources Small basis for long-term investment
Relations with government	Alternative sources and critics Competitors for donor resources Sources of innovation and service	Stereotyping and antagonism Success increases political sensitivity Political constraints reduce impacts
Relations with business	Alternative source of services Criticize business shortcomings Reject cooperation and co-optation	Stereotyping and antagonism Business philanthropy minimized Lack of cross-sector alliances
International relations	Foreign resources and models Foreign priorities shape action	Questions on NGO identity, autonomy "Brain drain" to international NGOs

Source: Brown & Kalegaonkar. "Support Organizations and the Evolution of the NGO Sector." p. 238.

Appendix 2: Field Notes

July 3, 2006 - Meeting with Robbie Cappellen (friend of Feztus Lim)
yunnanadopt@yahoo.com

I met with Robbie on the advice and introduction of Mr. Lim. He considered Robbie to be one who has done a good work

- works with government orphanages, training and providing workers, has worked in yunnan for 14 years(?, something like that, forgot, long long time)
- works with the “unadoptable”, handicapped children who otherwise were being left to die, (one girl with him then was one of those children, kept locked inside while others went to the park, was adopted when she was eight, now she’s back (about 20 years old) but doesn’t like to speak Chinese, but God’s working in her, very bright, sweet personality, only deformity is one of her hands that doesn’t have fingers)
- he’s from Holland (Dutch), married a Chinese lady, but they had difficulties marrying because Chinese gov does not want to allow Chinese ladies to marry foreigners
- brings in girls from countryside to be trained and then to work in the orphanages for several years, they’re not Christians but many become because presented with love... They learn about health, responsibility and how to care for the children. When they go back to their villages they can also take what they’ve learned about medicine, etc., back and better their community.
- Has good relationship with the government because has learned how to keep them from losing face, even though he works with an unwanted or embarrassing unit
- He doesn’t work much with the foreign community because they often have a way that they want to do things, they’re accountable to foreign boards and they leave every couple years, not good way to build relationships and trust, foreigners sometimes also don’t trust him because he works with the government
- He set up a fund in Holland that people give to, sometimes he has to ask for help with specific projects but doesn’t like to ask for money. Has several faithful supporters, but he doesn’t go back to visit Holland because has basically made China his home, writes occasional letters to give information of his work but is not bound to that, in the future he and wife consider going to Holland because their son is starting to look more foreign and can be difficult for him
- He works in conjunction with another Christian adoption agency here, Yunnan Kids Adoption Program, that brings Christian parents for some of the handicapped children, government accepts this, but doesn’t really like to have handicapped children go out because causes them to lose face, but he manages to keep the children going out
- Sometimes he gets the kids out for doctors visits etc. through a “back door”, eg. Take out to park and appointment, gov knows but doesn’t cause them to lose face, very Chinese way, also bypasses long red-tape delays

July 5, 2006 – Meeting with Chris Stokland of SIL International (operating arm of Wycliff), Regional Associate Director for Yunnan
radyun_eastasia@sil.org

Very informative and helpful meeting. Found out about this organization through a Japanese man that I met at the international fellowship on the previous Sunday. Called the office on Tuesday and director called me back that afternoon and readily accepted me to come visit the next day. ☺ Was very happy.

- This organization works primarily with translation and minority education, helping them to first learn to read and write their own language which then gives them a stepping stone to learn the trade language, mandarin. For many, they create the alphabet and written language for the peoples. This is their overt objective and one they give their effort to do excellently. Also pursue the goal of Wycliff for the language for portions or whole scripts to be available in the minority languages.
- Has a good relationship with the government and works in conjunction with the Yunnan Minority Affairs Commission, and is developing a relationship with the Yunnan Education Commission. Building and maintaining relationships is important, and even with those lower down because they will eventually be promoted and will be more apt to help you if the relationship was established from before. Also important to learn to understand the Chinese way of working... when a team arrives to a village and the villagers treat the team and the official with you to a great meal, the villagers would expect the same to be repaid to them when they visit the official in his city. However, the official doesn't have that kind of money to host them so in the beginning before he takes the team he charges a fee. Some would look on that as a bribe, but it isn't really but something that is necessary to the Chinese way of working. Understanding such delicate differences is important.
- The director is sure that the government knows what other work they are also involved in, but SIL does not publicly announce it or make it widely known thus keeping the government from losing face. SIL also refrains from hosting any religious activities in their administrative office. They keep such things below the surface, and though the government most likely knows they have no loss of face. They allow SIL to continue, most likely due to the fact that they do such a good job in their field.
- There are other Chinese workers and teachers in this field, but they take a different approach to teaching. Rote memorization is usually the method used but this often causes frustration and early quitting from school or the students come out not understanding what they have memorized. The method SIL uses of bilingual education (local language with mandarin) allows the students to absorb more of what is taught and come out with the possibility of future advancement.

- SIL also does research on the languages, and some language workers go out to study the languages to see if they are dying or still vibrant and help to create the written form.
- The office was very nicely put together, clean, and spacious. They have grown quickly over the past 3 years as people's focus has turned to China. Now have around 200 (?) people or so, once had 70 people and their children in their office for a meeting.
- Working in China is very slow and waiting for official response sometimes takes awhile. They have been told before that ministries previously relied on for visas will no longer be giving them, but have not been told where they can go instead.
- SIL seems to have taken a slow and steady pace, having been in China for 23 years (sometimes just one family), building trust and rapport with the government. Have been able to share before even with officials when asked. Government has now told them that they may not share even if someone asks, but this is a directive that will most likely be ignored. In China there is a law for everything, it just depends on circumstances as to what will be enforced. Words are a difficult thing to monitor so not so much to worry about. Chinese operate in the same way, pushing the boundaries to the limit and beyond sometimes, smiling all the way. Director gave example of person crossing the road when policeman was yelling at them not to. Smiling all the way, they kept going forward little by little until when they reached the middle they said it's as far to go back as to go across and frustrated the policeman angrily blows out and waves them along and they finish crossing, smiling all the way.
- SIL has never had anyone deported, and director felt that the gov would only do that to someone who has very little to lose and use them to make an example to the international community that they will if they need to. E.g. They caught one young western man after he had only passed out two tracts, while the Chinese man with him had passed out a hundred or so. They questioned them and let the Chinese man go but deported the western man. However, that western man was only to be here for a short time and so he had not much to lose. Another time, the police raided a msn's home as they were having a meeting, and ended up escorting them to the border. But again the family was due to leave in a week anyway, so they had little to lose, and the meeting was more of a last goodbye. But SIL tries to work in cooperation with the government as much as possible.

Overall they seem like a good group who is doing a good work, both for the community and for God, and they try to work with wisdom. They seem to try to carefully form a solid, lasting foundation from which to work. They are not opposed to connection with the three-self church, but have not really had much major joint work, except among the Lisu where the whole church in that area is 3Self.

Appendix 3: Interview Questions

1. How long has your organization been active in China ?
2. How has your relationship been with the State? Local government?
(excellent, acceptable, antagonistic)
3. How did you go about entering China and your desired field of service?
(on your own, through an intermediary)
4. If you registered with a certain ministry, which one? Has it gone well?
5. What kind of services do you offer?
6. Does it seem that your field office has been well accepted by the local government?
7. Do they work in conjunction with local officials?
If so, has that relationship been helpful or a burden?

If not, has the local government encouraged or hindered your program?
8. What is the expat vs. local ratio at the field office and work sites? Or how many of each?
9. How do you support your operations?
10. Do you plan to continue work in China?
11. Have you worked in conjunction with other local or foreign NGOs on projects?
12. Are you aware of other similar organizations operating within the same region?
Does the government restrict this?
13. What would you suggest to a help organization entering a restrictively-governed region?
14. What has been the government stance on any religious affiliation you might have?
15. Did it bring any additional difficulty into your relationship with the government?

*Appendix 4: Transcript of Interview with David and Elaine Crane of
The Evangelical Alliance Mission*

Interview with David and Elaine Crane of The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM) on Thursday, March 8, 2007.
(80 year old missionaries with 31 years experience in Trinidad and 16 years experience in China)

Introduces himself as David R. Crane

Leah: How long were you working in China?

David: I was born in China, way back when 80 years ago, and I left when I was 9 years of age. I was going to go back after we graduated from Biola University, but I think Mr. Mao sort of changed it a bit. He made so that you couldn't enter or go back in. So we went to the Caribbean then.

L: So when you did finally go back, how long did you work in China?

D: We were to actually, I was 65, so I was supposed to retire from Trinidad. We spent 31 years there, working with the government and building churches, all that. We were to go to China for 1 year, that was 1989, but that one year worked up to 16 years.

L: Wow, that's a long time.

D: (chuckle) Yes, it is, but it's good because the doors were open and I was back to my home area where I was born and raised.

L: Where was that?

D: That was in Hoiping, China, in Guangdong province.

L: And how was your relationship with the government?

D: It was very good with the government. Of course China has two types of operations for a church. There's what they call an underground church and the open church. We work with the open church because the underground church to the government is illegal. So we don't anything illegal so we work with the open church, and they were very gracious. I met the government officials there when I went in and they were just very open in a sense to what I do and I got acquainted with them and got going with them. And actually they remembered my father and his work. So the basic thing was my father had an orphanage there because they, at that time, if the first-born was a girl she was a bad omen so they destroyed them. They left the babies at the doorstep and my parents took them in, raised them, and had an orphanage of about 60, 60 or so blind girls, and

taught them Braille and taught them sowing and knitting and cooking and all, and taught them the Bible. So then when Mao came in, of course they were scattered then all over. So when I went back in, the government remembered my father and the church there. They had turned the church into a chicken hatchery, a fertilizer plant it was for 40 years. So I went back then and just got acquainted with them, and they remembered my father and what my father did, and there was an openness then with them. I said we're here to help the people, and so we did. The village area there we helped them out by helping them to build a road into the village, a paved road. The people did the work and we supplied some of the concrete and then we brought in electricity and a water system, again cooperating with the government. The government put in the large 8-inch pipes and then we put in the 4-inch pipes to the village area there and then the people put in 1-inch pipes to their own houses. So it was a cooperative thing and that works out very well. So we laid a good foundation and then the government... The idea is to get together with the government you've got to be first of all honest and you've got to have an integrity and you've got to not disobey the law. Now we don't like the system of government they have and I can't do anything about it. But I know that to be able to work there they've given me very much freedom to do my church work there, and it's a trust you see. In fact, I well remember one time the government official came to me and we talked together. He put his arms around me. He says "You know, I trust you." Amazing how a communist man telling a yankee he trusts him. So I have to honor that trust. So I told him, "Everything I do here, you will know." And he tells me, "Alright, don't ever talk about the government," he says, "You stick with the Bible." (chuckles) which is good advice. So I told him, "Everything I do and say, you will know." So he trusts me. We had a trust with one another. So that's what you have to build up. You don't agree with the government, you don't agree with the system many times, but you've got to be able work together, you've got to build up a trust. So we don't do anything illegal there. Now it's illegal there to bring in Bibles, so he provides me with Bibles from the government press. They print Bibles. A lot of people don't know that, but we get a couple thousand Bibles for every church we open. And so I don't smuggle in Bibles, I don't want to disobey the law. But God provides other ways, you don't have to disobey the law. God will provide in His way and His time. So I have a good rapport with him. Then of course that opens the door to other areas. I was working in an area about 1500 miles area, and as I was working there, it was interesting because I went there with some other pastors and all, and we had to deal with the government there because every time a foreigner comes in...

L: Was this a different country?

D: No, no, this was China.

L: Oh, what area of China?

D: Central China.

L: Oh, ok.

D: About 1500 miles away from where we were. We worked in South China. And the communist cadre there, the leader there, showed me a letter that he got from this man in the south. And the letter said, "Dave Crane is harmless."

L: Wow!

D: That's interesting, isn't it! So, I'm harmless because I'm not going to cause him any trouble. See, the main thing, you're a guest to a foreign country, you've got to know that, you're a guest. And then, they allow you to come, and if they do then you've got to obey the laws. You've got to deal with how they, even if you don't agree with it, but still as best you can, as long as it doesn't jeopardize your work, ours was teaching the Bible, and it doesn't. I have total freedom. We have good rapport. So, yeah, they give us banquets, and we, we don't bribe. That's something else, never bribe. There's no money involved. But, but, the Christian businessmen here (U.S.) they give me gifts to give to them, like a leather jacket. Or a gift like that. And I tell them (Chinese leaders), "This is a gift from a Christian in America because they like China." And so it makes them happy. He told me, "This is one of the best gifts I've ever gotten." And it wasn't from me, it wasn't bribing, but it was a gift for what he's done for us. That the Christian businessmen in America, we appreciate and thank you for what you've done for the people. See, it's the whole thing of... I didn't mean to go into all of this, but this is...

L: No, no, it's great...

D: I'm trying to lay a foundation that it's contacts, like I'm going there on my father's background, what my father did, and then we have done ourselves a good contact with them so that they trust us. It's a trust.

L: Is there any difference between your relationship with the local government and the central government, or do you even have any connection at all with the central government?

D: No, I have no connection with them. The central government puts a lot of authority on the local government, but the local government cannot operate unless they follow the rules of the central government. But the central government, they don't do all of the details. They look over the whole picture.

L: Have you felt like it's different between different local governments?

D: Definitely, definitely. Here's what I say about China, very important. Whatever you read and hear about China is true, Somewhere. Got it?

L: Yep.

D: There is persecution. There are difficulties. There are some cadres and some leaders in local areas that do not like at all anything religious, and maybe they have lost the trust, maybe the person hasn't acted right. So they're very strong on that. But there are other areas that are very open. Ours happened to be open. I think it was open because we've developed that trust. Not only this one man, but the mayor. The mayor and I are good friends, we hug each other whenever we see each other. It's amazing. He's given me several things, plaques and so forth, because he's a good man although he's under not a good system that we don't like, but still they give me freedom to do what I'm supposed to do there. And I can't ask for any more.

L: So, in the other place that you went to, the one that was 1500 miles away, did you work very much there, and if you did how did you enter?

D: Yes, we were there in church work also, and I... China, see... Mao when he came in he closed 20,000 churches, and he said "I'm going to eliminate religion in one generation." But he's fighting God, almighty God, and you don't do that, so he couldn't do that. So what has happened is that the people are religiously... in fact, we're all religious individuals, we all believe in a God, everybody has some kind of god. So you can suppress that but you can't eliminate it, 'cause we are God-made people. A person is God-made, God made man in His own image! So you can't...I'm not going to preach, but I'm just letting you know because I can get started preaching, I'll preach... but I want to let people know that there is a hunger for something that you can't understand, and people want to go to heaven, they really do. And so they don't know anything about it maybe, but they long for it, and so they aim for that, so you can't stop that. So when Mao closed all the churches, they went underground. In fact, they went to the house churches, they went into having church with themselves in little small groups. And they didn't have a building. The church is, by the way, the church is not a building, the church is people. That's important, very important. So they went underground and met and all that because they're seeking and searching and longing for peace and satisfaction, and they only find that in God, in Jesus Christ, you see. So the thing is, this way, when I got there, the church was already functioning. The government allowed churches because now when Mao died, Mao died about 20 years ago, the churches began to come back again. In fact, when they closed 20,000 churches, they've allowed to reopen again about half of those already in different parts of China. So when we go there, we're preaching. I preach to crowds of thousands easily, I mean hours.

L: So in the first place you went in you first built the relationship, and then when you went to the second place you really didn't have to do so much foundation work, it was because the contact...

D: Yes, it was because the foundation was already laid, you see, on there by the first time. So it does open up doors in that way.

L: Through the relationship with the other...

D: Yeah, yeah. Now interesting, to take another country, we were in Trinidad 31 years.

L: I'd love to hear about that too.

D: Yeah, well that's exciting. 31 years we spent there, and I went there to build a radio station. That was my background, I'm a radio engineer by trade. So we went there to build a radio station, and because we had already built a radio station in Puerto Rico. Build a station there, get on the air, broadcast down through there. But there was an area of Trinidad that could not receive a signal. So I went down there to build a radio station, but we never got the station. We got there and began a campground and began churches and began to work and I began to work then with the government there. Good government. And they gave us, allowed us a lot of freedom. I became ordained, I became a marriage officer, I should say, I was already ordained. I became a marriage officer, began to work with the government, with the schools there. We worked in the schools, all kinds of schools, and we had freedom in the schools and all because I had good rapport with the government, particularly with immigration. The immigration was... I got right in with a fellow right there, and he and I were good friends. So it's a relationship. No matter where you go, what country. You've got to get along with the people in authority because that's the name of the game. If you're going to do what you want to do and they're going to allow you to do what you want to do, they've got to have that same thing again that I told you about China... trust. That's a big thing you know, trust. And so that was it, and so we were able to build churches and a campground and spent 31 years there, and then went to China.

L: How did you first approach the government or the officials in either of these places?

D: Well, the first thing you do... it was automatic in Trinidad in a sense that when you come in you have to meet the immigration man, and I got acquainted with him and I was... I greeted him and we talked, chatted, and he and I then became (good friends)... we were allowed then to bring in people and to work there because of the good rapport that I had with him. Same thing in China, the immigration man... in fact, one of the trips we went into China, first you meet the immigration man, and he wondered, he said, "Why do I see you so often?" and then the leader, the government leader was standing with us because he was there to see who was coming in, and stood right up in front of me and told that man, he said "Listen, this man here his father was here and look at the work his father did here and he's a good man." And he said, "Okay, okay, okay." So the next time we came in, the same immigration man, we came in and he looked at me and he did the sign of the cross. He didn't know, he just knew that this was a cross. And yet that's not us (Catholic), you know. But I had to laugh, so we went right through. So again it's your contact, it's your attitude. You can't go there and say I'm an American and they've gotta give me freedom. No, no, no. No, you've got to respect every country, respect the country, respect their laws, don't do anything that's wrong, and then you can sell

yourself. If they're interested in you, if they have confidence in you, you've got it whipped, you've got the entry whipped. And then continue on that way, be honest, and be square straightforward and all, and do that. That's the way it is.

L: Did you ever have any difficulty?

D: Oh, we've had a lot of difficulty, yes, we've had a lot of problems with visas sometimes with bringing in others. Because we would go to the visa office, you have to go through the regular system, and sometimes they make a law that would prevent you... any others from coming in. And I just "thank you, that's good, I'm glad, you know. Ok, if that's what you want to do." And then I just continue on and work with them on that, and how about this situation or that one. So I talk to them and they get, "Ok, we'll allow that then." So we just... that just meant a lot of hours in the government offices talking to them. See, I like to talk to people. And you know, you're there and you talk them and you gotta be sweet and smile, and talk about their family and all that, and they take a double-take and say you're not so bad after all, and I say no we're not so bad after all! So it's the way it is, that's the way it is. Yeah, we had difficulties. I had a problem with... I was born in China, but then my passport was lost or my birth certificate was lost. The Japanese... in the Japanese war, they destroyed the Hong Kong-Shanghai bank, in fact, where it was registered, and they destroyed, and they told me it was destroyed and all and didn't have it. So I had a difficulty, so I asked "How can I get it?" so he said I don't know. So I pursued it, in fact, I went to the governor, and he was an Englishman, I wrote him a letter. I told him my problem, I told him "I was born here, and I know I was born here because my parents told me so, I got it in the Bible and all that, but I can't get your immigration to give me a birth certificate." Well, I got a call from the immigration a few weeks later, said "we want to see you, come on in." Here the governor's already told them, so I went in there and they were sweet, and he said "Here's how you can do it. You've got to find someone here that knew you or your parents." So I said ok, and so I went and found a 92 year old man that was a good friend of my parents, myself, you know. So I asked him, "Will you come?" "Yeah!" So I had to get him way up in the hills there, brought him down, and there we sat there in the office. In fact, he fell asleep while we were talking to them there. And then we finally came to the point where they were asking him the questions if he knew me, and he said, "Ah! I know him." So they said, "Alright, then you'll have to swear." on a Bible, you know. And he said to him, "Are you a Christian?" The man said, "Of course, I'm Christian! What did you think I am a heathen?" But the man wanted to know if he would swear on the Bible or a Koran, see. So it was a Bible, and he swore on there, and I got my birth certificate. And everybody was happy. See, and so it's all your contacts with people. It's people. And that's life, girls (my friend from Hong Kong was with me). That's life. That's anywhere, is that you... The Bible says "He that has friends must show himself friendly," and that's true. You want friends, you've got to show yourself friendly. It's as simple as that. But you know, this sounds oversimplified, but because a lot of people have trouble because they demand, "I'm working for God, I have got a right, you've got to have freedom, you've got to have..." No, no, no, don't put a person in "You've got to..." Win them to

the Lord with love, win them to yourself. And it's easier to be done, but it takes time to that and effort. That's my biggest challenge to young people is to just keep communicating with your friends back home, keep people informed, and keep open with the government. Simple.

L: Hmm... very, very interesting

Elaine (David's wife and partner): Did you tell her about China?

D: Yeah, I did.

E: That we went in and said to the government, "Is there something we can do to help you?" And they had a little primary school out in the village area and they said they needed to expand the school. So the first we did is we got some money together and helped them to enlarge their school and build another building. And then we put in...we worked with the government to put in a co-dependency and ...

D: Right, a joint venture.

E: and put in electricity in the village and water and all of this and roads, so that we had *guanxi*.

L: haha, yeah, exactly.

D: Yeah, that's all, that's what it is.

L: How did you mainly support the operations there?

D: The operations? Well, actually, what we do is, we never support individuals, the pastors, we never give money to that. That way, if they depend upon you then you have to leave, what are they going to do? So what we do is we help them with projects...like building these churches. They raise a percentage and Christians in Hong Kong or other areas raise a percentage and Christians in America raise a percentage. So it is working together on that. So there's no one that does everything so that you're not depend upon the full thing. So that's very, very important is to be able to have a joint effort working together. We try to get them to do it. They can do it. They have the funds, if they can get challenged to do it. That's the idea, and where they can't do it then we try to help them with infrastructure and with things like pianos, organs, pews and things like that. But they do the building and they pay for the workers. We don't ever help them on the workers. Now, there are groups that do that partially where they help them for, say, four years with a receding amount each year, and that's alright too. We've never done that, but that can be done too. So, but don't have them obligated to you to keep them going. That's wrong, that's not Scriptural ... not Biblical either and I think it's a wrong thing to do. Some people do that. So then when they leave, then they've got nothing. So it's

'wait a minute, wait a minute, where are you going? Where's my support?' No, they can do it. Their people should be challenged to do it, to do that part and take care of themselves.

L: So have you ever worked in conjunction with other foreign ministries, or NGOs, or even local people?

D: Yeah, we worked with other mission groups, in Trinidad we did. And there of course is no other mission group, you know, in China. In Hong Kong, we work with different groups, different mission organizations, and different groups like that work together. Yeah, it's a working together. Those of like faith, they call it.

E: We had evangelistic crusades together in Trinidad.

D: Yeah, yeah, yeah. All groups work together.

L: That's good. Yeah, just trying to figure out how much people know who else is there.

D: Yeah, oh yeah, we keep track. We have to work together with those of like faith that are teaching the same. You don't want to work with infidels, hah, or cults and so forth, you don't, because they're aren't... Actually, they can do their thing, whatever it is ... And that's the thing the government fights too. Now that's what they fight often times, the government, is fighting cults. Groups have come in there and demand that they...one group, well there's several groups, that have trouble because of the fact that that's what they make demands and it's against the government laws.

L: Have you had any difficulty helping the government to see a difference between your work and that of a cult?

D: Well, the thing is that we... the cults that they are there in China are the cults that defy the government, they stand...they're homemade. They are cults rise from China themselves, not the cults that we know here, that we have the cults. I don't to defame anybody, but, you know, the JWs, a few other groups like that that are probably, that are not... but there are some cults that stand against the government. And if you're against the government, you're, the government doesn't like that. I mean, no wonder they fight you, no wonder they say that you're wrong and illegal, because you're trying to put the government out, and no government is going to stand there and have somebody come in and put them out, like the falun gong in China. That's a very...that's a local cult, and it's a very bad one, because they want to overthrow the government. They think the government is wrong. And the government may be wrong, so what are you gonna do. So we do...they do... We help them to...we don't take a negative at all, it's all in the positive. We don't... and the cults fight, then we have to fight back. But we don't go after them and condemn them. Our message is a positive message. We know that they are wrong, but we have a positive message, we don't fight anybody. We just give the

positive word. 'This is the road to heaven. You want to go to heaven, this is the way and come and do it, and you're not gonna come any other way.'

E: I think most governments are very grateful when they know that you are there to help better their country. They are very, very grateful for that. Especially like in China, they thank us for everything that we do, and host us for banquets and all. They are grateful because they feel that we are helping their country. We're not there to gain money for ourselves or anything like that, but we're like servants, we're there 'how can we help you?' And like, we have some missionary friends who have a group. They teach English. They help in the government church, and they have medical. They help start baby clinics, and they work with the doctors who have had very little education, they were called 'barefoot doctors'. So they help train these doctors, give them more education, and work alongside of them. They have started a work in agriculture. They raise pigs and they sell them very, very reasonable to farmers and teach the farmers to raise more pigs and on a good method to make them healthy and so forth. And so it's working with the government in our area. A group has started an awning factory. This gives workers, it gives more jobs.

L: The government started that?

E: No, no, this group started it, but the government is grateful because it's giving more jobs to their people.

(section excluded for name privacy)

D: In fact, we've been told by government officials several times that Christians make good citizens. I think that's a good phrase. So I tell our people 'you better be the best citizens' because that's what they want. They want good citizens. Now, you may not agree with the system but you have got to be good citizens, you've got to obey your government because the Bible says, "Obey those in authority." You may not like it, and you may... you know, as long as it doesn't go against the Word of God, against what basically you believe, but usually they let you believe what you want, you know, if you do it right, if you don't try to overthrow the government. See, that's the big thing.

L: I know that's their biggest fear. How do you work with them to overcome or to help them recognize that you're not going to... you're not a threat to them in that way?

D: Well, I just tell them. In fact, they told me that "Just don't ever talk about the government or the system, but you stick with the Bible", in our case. Well, boy, that's a marvelous thing to tell a minister, a missionary to stick with the Bible. That's what we preach and teach. Let the Bible, the Holy Spirit then will touch the people and change them, then they will change the government. They do it in their way, but we don't have a plan.

E: I think two things are involved. One is friendship, and then time. It took time. It took about 4 years before we were kind of known as one of them. And see, during those 4 years, it was helping to build the school, putting in the water, the electricity, the road, building a friendship, building a trust, that we were not there for anything on our own, but we were there to help the people. So that was really about 4 years.

D: Yeah, it takes time, you're right, it does take time.

E: To build that trust.

L: And that was in the one location?

D: Yeah, Hoiping. See, our area runs about 1 million people. That's enough for us. If we can influence a million people... and the five churches that we've built, help redone... Now, that's one thing, you can't just go anywhere and build a church. You can't go pass out your literature. That's against the law, we don't do that. But what they know is there used to be a church there or a building there that they've used like this one that they've used for 40 years as a fertilizer plant, my father's church, then they give it back to you, then you can build a church. Then you're free then to do anything you want then within the church. And I think factories are the same way.

L: Do you still have that ongoing work there now?

D: Oh yes, oh yes. Well, see, what happened also, was that we...in Trinidad for instance, it makes a missionary really feel good. We spent 31 years there and we saw the Lord establish through us and other missionaries that came in and worked 19 churches and a large campgrounds, 30 acre campground, that's an amazing thing. When we left...when I say we left, we nationalized. We turned it all over to the nationals, we trained the pastors and all that. When we left, that camp was putting through about 6000 campers a year. And I thought that was pretty good until I went back to visit 10 years later, and I saw... I couldn't recognize it! There's a paved road right up to the campgrounds, and they had a big dining room with a lovely floor, and they had all that. And I said, "How'd you do that?" and he said "Well, my schoolmate back many years ago, he's now the Minister of Works and Transport, so he built a road...told them to build a road up there." So I asked, "How many campers do you have now?" He said, "Oh, well, last year" he looked in the book and said, "last year, we had 15,000 campers we put through." This is what makes a missionary feel good, when they take over and do better than you've done. And they can do it. Now that's a very key thing is that they do it differently. Not wrong, but they do it differently. And that's what you've got to get in your mind, that people do things, they're not wrong, they're different. They don't it the way you did. I could never do that what they did. They carried it on, and now there are 29 churches now rather than 19, you see. So they're really moving ahead, and it's just thrilling. They write to me, and give me all that and... I married 72 couples there. Now they're all leaders in the church, have grandchildren and all that. They write and keep me posted what's going on.

They want us to come back but we're just too busy in China. But, see, that's what happened. Now, also in China it's the same way, that we're training the nationals. That's the name of the game, is always train the nationals. You'll never be there... Don't take control, never take control, but just train them and help them to do the job and let them do it. They will do it different, but it's ok. They don't have to do it the way you do it. If you lay some foundation, lay some principles down there, right principles, they will carry on and do it their way and do a good job of it. So we're seeing that happen now in China too. In fact, we have now five families from the U.S. that are in China now where before I was the only one that was allowed in there because of the contacts I made. I have a letter to preach from the government. Now they, the others are... in fact, an interesting thing happening there was that when we left then to retire was that the head man, the cadre, the head communist leader there, said that "Kei Muksi (David's Chinese name), why don't you send your son here." See, he wanted the name, my father's name, my name, he wanted my son, to keep the name going. See, because there's trust in there. I said, "Well, my son is a pastor, but I can't just tell him to come because God's got to lead him, you know." So we talked awhile, and he turned around and said, "Well now, this fellow's been working with you for 6 years here. Why don't you adopt him?" Well that's interesting. So I said, "Well, how do you do that?" He said, "Alright, we're going to have a ceremony. We'll have a feast, a banquet, and we'll go through some incantations, some things there, and we'll make him your son." Not officially, but Chinese-style, you know. So we did that. And instead, of course, having the rice bowl and all that stuff, we made a plaque that were out of Scripture verse. He gave me and I gave him, and we had pictures of it and all, with a ceremony, and I committed him. And the communist leaders were all there, they saw that, so then I gave a speech. And I said, "Now, remember now he's my son so you have to treat him like you treat me." "Oh yeah, yeah." So now, he's not my son, but he's there and he's leading, see. So, this is what develops. And he's a good man because he knows the language. And I've preached it onto him that you've got to save trust. They got to trust you, and they do. He's a good fellow. He's got a family with three boys and doing very well there. Now we have other members have come in to help too. So we laid a foundation and now it's being built on. See, that's the idea. Build the foundation that you can have other workers that can come in and work. The main thing is to train the nationals. We did it in Trinidad very well, China it's not easy, it's struggling. They are coming; we had two fellows go to seminary, a girl and a fellow and they're doing alright, but we need to do more. That's what I want to do now with this new project that I have now. I want to build a training center where we can train them. That's right, that's it. If we do that, then I going to retire. I think!

(Everyone laughs because Dave is already 80 years old!)

L: haha, retire and go somewhere else. ☺

D: If I can keep the cancer from my body, going in tomorrow for an operation. If you can be praying for us, I'd appreciate it. A lot of prayer going up so that's good. We like the doctors but the Great Physician is in charge.

L: Well, you've given me so much information, wonderful.

D: Well, be careful about names. I threw in a few names, don't use them if you can help it, because it's not fair to them, to those people.

E: We had a missionary family from Trinidad, when they came back to America, they were just kind of joking about 'oh, they don't even know what a hot dog is', I mean some silly things, you know, and... you have countries, every country has...

D: Monitors, people that listen to what people are saying about their country

E: On the web and read all the newspapers

D: About their country

E: So this little home town in Idaho or someplace had this in the newspaper. So and so spoke and he was saying this about Trinidad and so forth, and someone from Trinidad, from the government, read that and they were never allowed to enter Trinidad again.

D: They were deprecating, chopping the government, you can't do that. Even in joking, you have got to be very, very careful.

E: Think about all the horrible, negative things you could say about the American government.

D: Sure, but here we have freedom of speech, you see. That's the problem here, you have too much freedom here, to knock the government. You know, it hurts me when people cut our government, people in America cut their own government. You're not allowed to do that in other countries and that's good. I think it's true, they aren't allowed to. If they elected them in there, if they're elected officially, of course China is not elected so that's a different situation, but you still have to respect.

L: I have a question, with the changing of local leadership, I know you said your friend had passed away who was the local communist leader there, with the passing on of leadership and the new leaders that came in, was there difficulty in that or did you have to recreate...?"

D: No, no, because of two things. One, the older fellow that before he passed away, when he retired, he told the new man that "Dave Crane is harmless", ha, I'm sure that's what he probably told him, and then the other thing is that I treat him the same way. I treated him as a man that... I had to build a trust in him too, but if he had a good foundation on me then it was alright. So we were able to get along real fine. Now, now he's gone and there's another one there, and I haven't met him, I don't think I've met him

yet, so I'll meet him next time I go. It's just a matter of... It'll be alright because he, unless you get a real rabid person and there are some of those, there are some that they won't listen at all in any way, shape, they are very strong in their belief, you don't even... don't bother with them, I mean, I don't even go to that area, 'cause there's no sense to, because if he's against this thing you don't have a chance, why even bother with them. But the people do come across for the meetings.

It's set up so that, you know, they don't have to play with the outside world. They're so big, they have 1.3 billion people and they're vast country, and they're so insular that they've cut off the rest of the world before. Now, they've found out there's a world out there they can't isolate themselves from, so they've joined the WTO, World Trade Organization. They've joined many others. So they're opening up, they have to open up more and more. So now they have what they call economic freedom because that's the money part. They don't have full political nor religious freedom yet, but it's coming. It takes time. The interesting thing is... the communist leader told me numerous times, he said, "You Americans, you are proud of your 250 years of history. We have 5000 years of history. You're push button people, you want to push a button and somebody's gonna go, go, go. We take our time and move along." So he said, "Give us time." And that's a very wise statement he said, "Give us time. Be patient. We'll change." And they have, tremendous change.

L: Mm, so fast too.

D: They have changed a lot.

E: Like the first communist leader, the first government leader, he had to be very, very careful. He would grant us permission to have children's meetings, but he wouldn't come to them at all, he said that he shouldn't come. The next government leader gave permission and he'd come. So, what can you do? Then again it's mostly with China, it's mostly English teachers because their want to learn English. You're a servant, you're helping, you're assisting their country. 'What can I do to help you?'

D: They want to develop and learn.

L: I know, also from experience, that a lot of the foreign Christian missions organizations or help organizations have to be very, very careful. Do you see that changing, do you see more openness coming?

D: Yes, yes, there's more freedom now. But the main thing is just don't cut the government, don't talk about evil and wrongness. If you take a positive approach, you'll have more openness. And there is change, oh yes, a lot of changes. The companies themselves are changing now, they're opening up now, I mean a lot more, to new industry and to economy. Everyday I get correspondence, in fact today I just

correspondence about dramatic changes in their outlook to the different things. So they are making changes, yes.

L: Is there something that... because you've been there for a long time so I'm sure you've seen groups that didn't succeed or else maybe were forced out or brought into difficulty in their relationship with the government. Is there anything that you think caused that or...?

D: I think it's just basically taking a negative attitude to the government.

E: Well, just that one group, and they were working with the government church and with the house church. Well, the house church is illegal in the government's eyes and so if we're going to be there, we need to work with the government church, according to their policy.

D: Yeah, I think the two systems, the house church and the open church they call it, not the government church, because some people think that 'government church' the government runs it. Not so at all, they government doesn't run it. But it's just that they sanction it, they allow it. But the others, the house church groups, have been persecuted, literally, for so long they don't trust the government, they don't want any part of it. So they don't register. If they would register, they would have freedom. But they think if they register then there'll be problems coming up. And maybe there would be. But as far as we know, and our experience and, honestly, we've had no problem, but we've stayed within the regulations and the rules.

E: But every area is different, and there some leaders, there are...

D: But, and also the rules say you can't baptize anyone under the age of 18 so we don't. We don't, we wait until they're 18. Then they say you can't work with children. That is not so, 18 is the age. But basically you can't work with children because the thing is that people misuse that. They've tried to openly work with children. We have Sunday School, we work with children, but we're very careful.

E: We have permission to do it.

D: Yeah, we work. You have to get permission to do a lot of things, yes, so but you can get it if they trust you. Same thing again: trust. They've gotta trust you. If they trust you, then you can almost do...you can do anything you want because you're not going to do the wrong thing. It's that trust thing. It's very, very important, very important to get along.

L: Did you, I know because you were working with the government, the open church, you were able to work directly with them, but did you have to register in any way with the government, or with a particular ministry of the government?

E: The church was already registered.

D: Yeah, the church was registered, but they know how you... what they call the Religious Bureau, but they don't... you don't have to submit a sermon and they're not going to check on what you preach. I've never had any difficulty that way, so we don't have a problem because I know what not to say. And that is anything negative that would...but we take the positive and just preach the Word of God and the Holy Spirit does the work, does the other part of it that will make the changes that are necessary.

Well, we've gone from Dan to Beersheba!

L: I know!

D: Covered the whole...

E: If you have any other questions that you think of later, well just go ahead and e-mail us.

L: Alright, I will.

D: Yep, or call us.

L: Thank you guys so much!