

A Study on NGO's Participation in Public Service Care-Service-at-Home for Aged in Pudong Shanghai

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Abstract This paper is the presentation of the study conducted in Pudong District of Shanghai where Care-Service-at-Home is taken as a new way to meet the increased needs for care services for the elderly in the Ageing Society, and the implementation of Care-Service-at-Home greatly promoted the emerging and developing of NGOs as well as their participation in this field. The purpose of this paper is to offer some new empirical evidences for arguments on NGO's role in public service and their relationship with government which have long been the academic focuses. The findings show that the NGOs are jointly providing Care-Service-at-Home for the elderly with the government, and they are greatly supported as well as totally controlled by the government.

Keywords Public Service-NGO's role – NGO-Government Relationship - Care Service for the Aged

Introduction

NGO's participation in public service has been a common fact all over the world and has caught obvious attention from scholars. One of the most famous assertions was given by Salamon (1994) that "A striking upsurge is under way around the globe in organized voluntary activity and the creation of private, nonprofit or non-governmental organizations. From the developed countries of North America, Europe and Asia to the developing societies of Africa, Latin America and the former Soviet bloc, people are forming associations, foundation and similar institutions to deliver human services", and it is paraded as a global "associational revolution". The prevailing theories on NGOs to be public service provider are "Market Failure/Government Failure" theory and "Contract Failure" theory. It's asserted that the existence of the voluntary sector is the combined product of what economists termed as "market failure" and "government failure", namely, the inherent limitations in both the private market and government as providers of "collective goods"(Salamon 1987). The second broad theory of the voluntary sector attributes the existence of voluntary organizations to a different kind of market failure, what once theorist termed as "contract failure". The central notion here is that

for some goods and services, the normal mechanisms of the market, which involve consumer choice on the basis of adequate information, do not obtain (Henry B. Hansmann, 1980). As pointed out by Margit and Kinyik (2009), the scientific approach and discourse on the nonprofit sector was dominated by the nonprofit paradigm in the last few decades, which had based on the increasing service provider role of the nonprofit organization.

Practically indeed, NGOs have been playing an important role in delivering public service either in America (Salamon 1986; Salamon 1993), in Europe (Stefan Toepler et al. 2003), in China (Zhang Qing 2005; Tian Lan 2006; Li Maoping 2007; Li Genglun et al. 2011) or in many other developing countries such as Bangladesh, India and Pakistan (Santosh Mehrotra et al. 2002; Richard Batley et al. 2011; Iram Ejaz et al. 2011;), also in Africa (Kenneth L Leonard 2002; Mary Kay Gugerty 2008;), while there are great diversity of the actual roles of NGOs playing in different countries or districts. Directly related to the quick increase of NGOs' participation in public service is the issue of relationship between NGOs and the government who used to be the granted provider of public services which also caught broad attention from scholars. Also, the relationship between NGOs and the government has been diversified according to different researchers based on their empirical evidences they collected. Salamon (1987) assert that cooperation between government and the voluntary sector has become the backbone of the country's human-service delivery system, and the central financial fact-of-life of the country's private nonprofit sector, basing on his study at America; while an earlier study also conducted at America by the American Enterprise Institute ever showed a critical attitude towards the cooperation between NGOs and the government (Peter et al. 1977). If we trace much earlier, we can even find the relationship between the government and NGOs in United States was featured as conflicting which is stem from the conception of the welfare state (Nisbet 1962; Salamon 1987). In China, the relationship between the government and NGOs are mainly reflected on government's attitudes towards them, and there are controversial relation types in different empirical studies (Yan Wei 2004; Kang Xiaoguang et al. 2005; Cui Kaiyun 2009). Some scholars have tried to show a comprehensive reflection on the relationship between NGOs and the government, such as the Four-C's, namely, Cooperation, Confrontation, Complementarity and Co-optation given by Adil Najam (2000) and the Three Models- *Complementary, Supplementary, or Adversarial*-illustrated by Young Dennis R (2006).

In Shanghai, within the last decade, a set of NGOs mainly contributing to providing Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged emerged quickly: Since the first one came into being at 2001, the number of NGOs contribution to providing Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged reached 341. Here I'd like to give an empirical definition on both NGOs and Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged in this study. NGOs are supposed to be well known as the broad range of social institutions that operate outside the market and the state virtually. There is a great diversity of terms related to those organizations: nonprofit organizations, civil society, philanthropic sector, tax-exempt organizations, charities, voluntary associations, civic sector organizations, third sector organizations, independent sector organizations, and social sector organizations (Elizabeth T Boris 2006). What they have in common is that they are voluntary and self-governing, may not distribute profits, and serve public purposes as well as the common goals of their members (Salamon 1994). In this paper, NGOs refer to those specific organizations contributing to providing Care-Service-at-Home for the aged in Pudong District of Shanghai. And, they have their name in China, which is "Civilian-Run Non-Enterprise Organization (民办非企业单位)". Care-Service-

at-Home for the aged is a relatively new concept distinguished from the two traditional concepts in the field of service for the aged: Family-Supported-Care-Service (FSCS) and Nursing-Home-Care-Service (NHCS). They are distinguished by three main elements: Who deliver the services? Who provide the financial cost? And, where does the aged reside? In the case of Care-Service-at-Home, the services are delivered by service attendants from NGOs, the family or the government will pay for the cost, and the aged stay at their own home. In more details, Care-Service-at-Home is a series of services distributed to the elderly (over 60 years old) who are living at home and are disabled or partly disabled, including daily care rehabilitation aids and spiritual solace.

The quick increasing of NGOs in the field of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged offered new empirical opportunity for us to know more about the role of NGOs in delivering public service and their relationship with the government. So the purpose of this study is to find out the answer to the following two questions: 1) what's the role of the NGOs in delivering Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged in Pudong District of Shanghai? 2) What is the relationship between the NGOs and the government?

In order to find answer to those two questions, the data in this study is collected by a combination of classical and basic qualitative data-collecting methods-interviews, observations and documents analysis (Patton 1990). Conducted in Pudong District, which is the district facing the most intense ageing process and has most of the NGOs contributing to providing Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged and it's also the first district to promote Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged in Shanghai, interviews are organized in two different ways: one is having meeting with the government officers in the street level, actually I visited 4 sub-district-offices (Huamu Street, Yangjing Street, Lujiazui Street and Weifang Street), namely, the agency of government at the street level, where I had meeting with the officers who are in charge of services for the aged; the other is to visit NGOs, I have interviewed the Legal Representative (the manager of the director) and other members of 12 NGOs. Also, I visited 18 homes of the elderly with service attendants who provides service for the aged at their home to observe what was really happened in the old people's home. What's more, related documents are collected during my visit at the sub-district-offices and NGOs or from internet.

I. The Implementation of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged

1. The shortage of care services provided by traditional ways leads the promotion of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged

From the year of 2000, the proportion of population over 60 years old in Shanghai is much higher than the standard set by United Nations asserting the Ageing Society, which is 10 percents. What's more, the proportion of elderly is growing at an increasingly faster speed (See Table 1).

Table 1 The fast increasing proportion of person over 60 years old

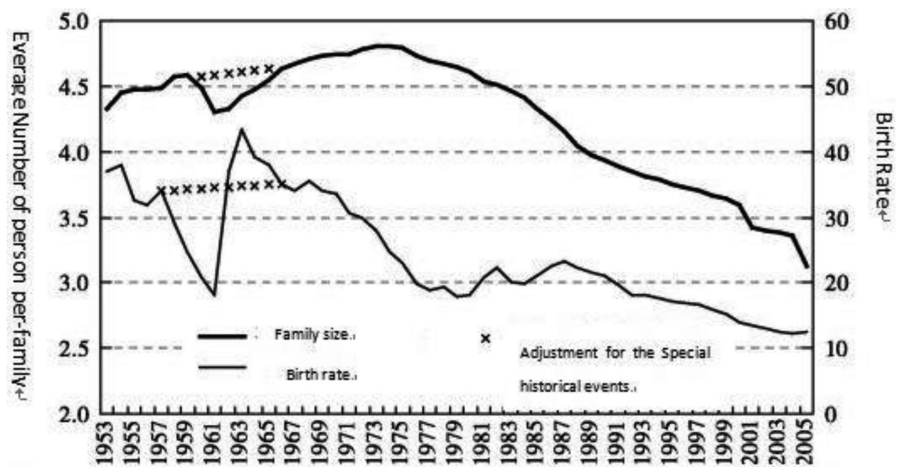
Year	Number of Elderly over 60 (Ten Thousand)	Growth Rate of Elderly over 60 (%)	Proportion of Elderly over 60 (%)	Growth Rate of the Proportion (%)
2000	241.76	—	18.3	—
2001	246.61	2.01	18.6	0.3
2002	249.49	1.17	18.7	0.1
2003	254.67	2.08	19.0	0.3
2004	260.78	2.40	19.3	0.3
2005	266.37	2.14	19.6	0.3
2006	275.62	3.47	20.1	0.5
2007	286.83	4.07	20.8	0.7
2008	300.57	4.79	21.6	0.8
2009	315.70	5.03	22.5	0.9
2010	331.02	4.85	23.4	0.9

Data Source: < Monitoring Statistics on Shanghai's Elderly Population and the Cause for Aging >, Shanghai Civil Affairs Bureau,

2000-2010. On website: <http://www.shmzj.gov.cn>

The quickly increased population of elderly directly calls for enlarging the provision of care services for the aged. Traditionally speaking, care services for the elderly are provided in two ways: one is the services and supports from family members and the other is the services from Nursing Homes which are mainly operated by the government. However, the family's capacity of providing care services are greatly weakened by the transition of family structures, which is mainly featured as: smaller size of family (See Diagram 1); more elderly within one family (See Table 2); and more and more elderly are living alone (See Table 3). The sharply weakened family's capacity of providing care services for the aged intensified the shortage of services provided by Nursing Homes. The number of beds offered by Nursing Homes is too trivial to be mentioned compared to the number of elderly (See Table 4). Of course, not all the elderly over 60 years need services from Nursing Homes. A municipal level survey conducted in 2008, calculating the service needs as: Care service need = (Proportion of definitely disabled elderly + Proportion of partly disabled elderly) * Proportion of the elderly who are willing to enter Nursing Homes, told that only 24% of the needs are met (Tian Guodong et al. 2008). It's the growing needs of care services and the limitation of provision from both family and Nursing Home that leads Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged come into being.

Diagram 1 The change tendency of family size



Data Source: China’s Population Statistics Yearbook (1995&2001); Common Data of Population and Family planning manual (2006);

Table 2 The average age - distribution within family

Age ^	Average number in per-family^			
	1982^	1990^	2000^	2005^
Totally^	4.41^	3.96^	3.44^	3.13^
0~14^	1.48^	1.10^	0.79^	0.61^
15~64^	2.71^	2.64^	2.41^	2.23^
Over 65^	0.22^	0.22^	0.24^	0.28^

Data Source: Guo Zhigang (2008). Study on Change of China Family Households in Recent Years. *Journal of Population Science*, 3,2-10.

Table 3 The proportion of elderly who is living alone

Year ^	Living with two or more generation			Living alone		
	Male	Female	Totally	Male	Female	Totally .
1982	71.62	74.24	73.06	26.83	24.57	25.58
1990	69.45	75.01	72.49	29.78	24.44	26.86
2000	61.57	69.55	65.78	37.42	29.85	33.43
2005	53.88	59.51	56.73	44.09	38.89	41.46

Data Source: Guo Zhigang (2008). Study on Change of China Family Households in Recent Years. *Journal of Population Science*, 3,2-10.

Table 4 The Supply of Beds in Nursing Homes in Shanghai

Year	2005	2008	2009
Number of Nursing Homes	474	582	615
Number of Beds	49529	80554	89859
The proportion of Beds for the old over 60 years old (%)	1.9	2.7	2.8

Data Source: <http://www.stats-sh.gov.cn/sjfb/201103/84387.html>

2. The policy process of implementing Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged

The implementation of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged is originally promoted by the issuing of <Views on Socialization of Social Welfare> by General Office of the State Council in year 2000, which clearly aimed that China should build the welfare system with Care-service-at-home for the aged as the main part. Impelled by the national policy, Shanghai is the first one who makes endeavor to implementing Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged, and published the related policies (See Table 5).

Table 5 The main Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged related policies in Shanghai

Issuing Time (Year)	Title of the policy	The publisher
2000	Piloting of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged (关于开展居家养老试点工作的决定)	Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai
2001	Widely Promoting of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged (关于全面开展居家养老服务的意见)	Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai
2003	Regulation on the Financial Support for Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged (关于进一步规范居家养老服务补贴经费管理和使用的通知)	Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai
2004	Further Promoting of Care-service-at-home for the Aged (关于进一步推进居家养老服务的通知)	Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai
2005	Further Promoting of Service for the aged (关于全面落实2005年市政府养老服务实事项目进一步推进本市养老服务工作的意见)	Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai
2006	Further Development of Service for the aged (关于进一步促进本市养老服务事业发展的意见); Needs Assessment Guidance for Care-Service-at-Home for the Age (居家养老服务需求评估)	Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai
2008	Further Promoting of Service for the Aged (关于全面落实2008年市政府养老服务实事项目进一步推进本市养老服务工作的意见)	Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai
2009	Further Regulation on Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged (上海市民政局关于进一步规范本市社区居家养老服务工作的通知)	Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai

Based on analyzing all those related policies, this part is going to present the promotion of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged by 1) figure out the policy goal, 2) frame out the organizational system, and 3) find out the financial flow during the process of implementation.

1) The policy goal

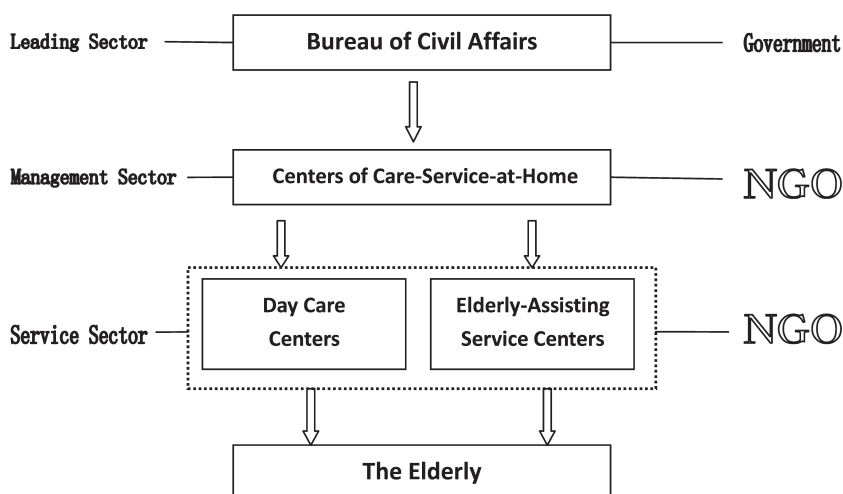
The policy goal of implementing Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged is clearly declared that “China should explore a new road in promoting the development of social welfare by widely absorbing resources from civil society, the future picture of social welfare will be one with Care-Service-at-home for the Aged as the main part” in <Views on Socialization of Social Wel-

fare> issued by General Office of the State Council in year 2000. And this goal is re-emphasized by the following several policies, such as <Socialization of the Service for the Aged> issued by Ministry of Civil Affairs in 2005, <Accelerating the Development of Service for the Aged> by General Office of the State Council in 2006, and <Comprehensive Promoting of Care-service-at-home for the Aged> by Ministry of Civil Affairs in 2008. In consistent with the national policy goal, Shanghai advocated that “basing on Care-Service-at-Home, supplemented by the Nursing Homes” is the development direction of social welfare in <Widely Promoting of Care-service-at-home for the Aged> (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2001), <Further Promoting of Care-service-at-home for the Aged> (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai,2004) and <Further Development of Service for the Aged>(Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2006).

2) The organizational system

The organizational system for implementing of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged is firstly set in <Widely Promoting of Care-service-at-home for the Aged> (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2001) which advocated that “The Bureau of Civil Affairs in each district should organize a leading group, consisting of members from department of Social Welfare, Social Relief, Community-Building and Committee for Old Population, to promote the development of Care-service-at-home for the aged. The agency in street should also set up leading group to take responsibility of promoting Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged. There should be Center of Care-service-at-home for the aged, registered as Minban-Feiqiye-Danwei (NGO) at each street, commissioned by government departments, take real charge of the implementation of providing Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged.” <Further Promoting of Care-service-at-home for the Aged> published by Civil Affair Bureau of Shanghai in 2004 framed out a more detailed organizational system, which is briefly showed in Diagram 2. The Bureau of Civil Affairs is the leading sector, whose main functions are publishing policies and taking responsibility of disbursing the funds. Center of Care-Service-at-Home, one kind of the NGOs, commissioned by government department, is the management sector, the main functions of which comprise of developing the requirements and procedures of services, conducting assessment on services, monitoring the quality of services, allocating service vouchers and so on. Day Care Centers and Elderly-Assisting Service Centers, both of them are NGOs, directly deliver services for the elderly.

Diagram 2 The organizational system for Implementation of Care-service-at-home for the aged



3) The financial flow: source of funds and their usage

The financial flow in the process of implementation of Care-Service-at-Home can be divided into three parts: (1) The subsidies to the elderly, (2) The subsidies to the service attendants, and (3) The operational overheads of NGOs.

(1) The allowances to the elderly

The allowances to the elderly start with the implementation of *<Widely Promoting of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged>* (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2001) which states that the “three nos”- those with no family, no source of income and no working ability- who need care services should be subsidized by government finance. Later, the scope of elderly who can get subsidies are expanded, and the standard is renewed in the following policies --- *<Regulation on the Financial Support for Care-service-at-home for the aged>* (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2003) and *<Further Promoting of Care-service-at-home for the Aged>* (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2004). The guidance for subsidizing changed again since the releasing of *<Needs assessment guidance for Care-service-at-home for the age>* (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2006), which categorized the needs of elderly into “Severe Dependence”, “Mild Dependence” and “Light Dependence” according to their self-care capacity. The newest guidance is the one offered by *<Further Regulation on Care-service-at-home>* (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2009) which took the result of need assessment into account and made a more detail arrangement on both allowance for general care service as well as for special care (see Table 6).

Table 6 Subsidy for the elderly

Scope of Subsidy	Self-care capacity Standards (Yuan)	Light Dependence	Mild Dependence	Sever Dependence
Those who are over 60 years old and are unable or partly unable to take care of themselves among the following lists:	Daily care cost	300 per-month	300 per-month	300 per-month
(1)Those who are living below the minimum living standard; (2)Those with special vocational disability, provincial and municipal-level model worker, and returned overseas Chinese	Special care cost	0	100 per-month	200 per-month
Those who are over 80 years old and are unable or partly unable to take care of themselves, but is not concluded in the former two lists	Daily care cost	150 per-month	150 per-month	150 per-month
	Special care cost	0	50 per-month	150 per-month

The source for allowance to the elderly was firstly set by *<Regulation on the Financial Support for Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged>* (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2003) as public finances of municipal government and district government at an equal proportion. *<Further Promoting of Care-service-at-home for the Aged>* (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2004) then arranged more clear that “municipal finance would subsidize those over 100 years old with 100 Yuan per-month, subsidize the elderly with special contribution to the soci-

ety with 150 Yuan per-month. And the Social-Welfare-Lottery-Fund¹ would invest 10 million Yuan each year.” <Further Regulation on Care-service-at-home> (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2009) enhanced the financial support for the subsidies to the elderly by doubling the investment from Social-Welfare-Lottery-Fund and added Special-Care Subsidy to the elderly.

(2) The subsidies to the service attendants

<Further Promoting of Care-service-at-home for the Aged> (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2004) listed the component of subsidy for the service attendants as three parts: 800 Yuan per-month as basic wage; 300 Yuan per-year for labor protection; 420 Yuan for per-attendant who is from unemployment or surplus rural labor. And the subsidies for the service attendants are provided equally by both municipal and district public finance.

(3) The operational overheads of NGOs

<Regulation on the Financial Support for Care-service-at-home for the aged> (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2003) categorized the operational overheads NGOs as follows: the initial cost; subsidies for the members of the organization; cost of service training the attendants; cost of investigation of the service needs; and some other cost. It also request that the street finance should invest no less than 50 thousand Yuan as operational overheads of NGOs. According to <Further Promoting of Care-service-at-home for the Aged>, (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2004), the municipal and district finance should equally share the investment of 60 thousand Yuan as the starting funds for each Center of Care-service-at-home and Day Care Centers (DCC), and Elderly-Assisting Service Center (EASC). The Employment Promotion Funds of Shanghai Municipal will pay for the training fees of care service attendants. Municipal and district finance and Social-Welfare-Lottery-Fund will jointly provide funds for all the other operational overheads of the NGOs.

3. The specific procedure and implementing: Cases in Pudong District

Analysis on all the policies published by Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai showed us a comprehensive impression of implementing Care-service-at-home for the aged. Interviews and observations conducted at Pudong District will tell more details of it in this part, which is organized as: 1) The provider of care services; 2) The object of care services; 3) The contents of care services; and 4) The procedure of delivering services.

1) The contents and the price of care services

Though the contents and price of care service in different street is not totally the same for the Center of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged in each street will list their own service contents and prices based on the specific conditions of needs and the skills of the service attendants, they are basically in consistence with the standard given by the leading group of Bureau of Civil Affairs in Pudong District which is listed in Table 7.

¹ Social-Welfare-Lottery-Fund is one of the forms of government non-tax revenue. It's achieved by sales lottery under regulation of government.

Table 7 The contents and price of the Care-Service -at-Home in Pudong District

Service Category		Service Contents	Service Price
Special cares	Basic Life Care	Cooking; Washing Cloth; Cleaning the room etc.	15 Yuan per hour
	Dinning Assistance	Delivering Food	1.5 Yuan per time
		Offering food at Elderly Dining Service Center	1.5 Yuan per time
	Cleaning Assistance	Feeding	10 Yuan per time
		Hairdressing	10 Yuan per time
		Trimming the nails	10 Yuan per time
		Pedicure	20 Yuan per time
	Morning Care (Washing face, tooth brushing, and Defecating)	Morning Care (Washing face, tooth brushing, and Defecating)	15 Yuan per time
		Night Care (Washing face, tooth brushing, and Defecating)	15 Yuan per time
	Bathing Assistance	Washing body	25 Yuan per time
	Travel Assistance	Companying for a walk	15 Yuan per hour
	Assistance for Emergency	Occasional need in urgent	20-50 Yuan per time
	Assistance for Visiting Doctor	Companying for visiting doctor	15 Yuan per hour
Rehabilitation aids		Offering massage	25 Yuan per hour
Spiritual solacing		Professional psychological counseling	30 Yuan per hour
		Visiting and Talking	15 Yuan per hour

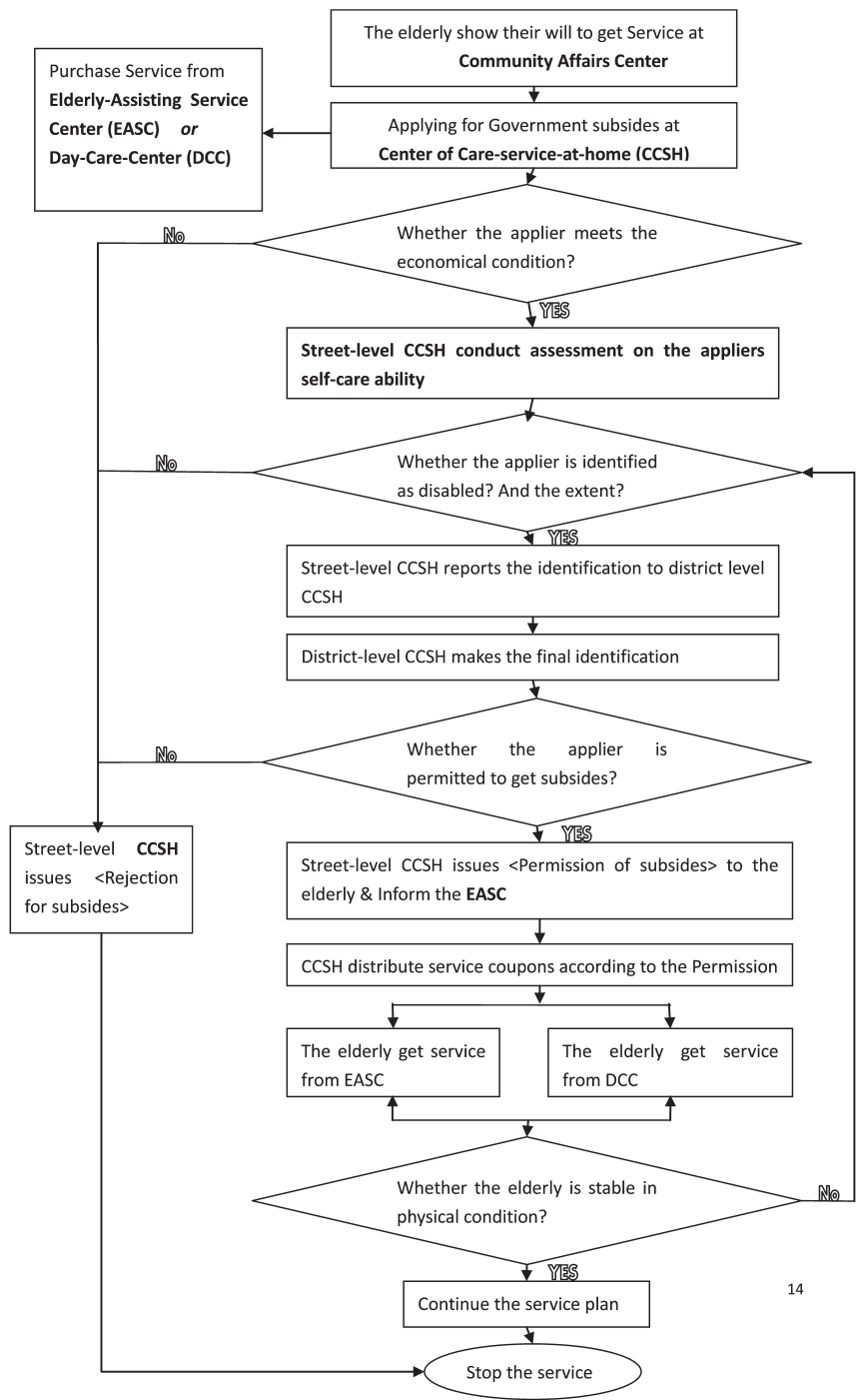
2) The procedure of delivering services

The delivering of service begins with the application of the elderly, who will follow two different procedures according to whether they'll apply for government allowances. Those who'll pay for all the cost by themselves is on a very simple one that he/she just applied for the care service at Center of Care-Service-at-Home or Elderly-Assisting Service Center and pay for it at the time receiving it. Currently, the most majority of applier for care service at home is those who are subsidized by government, Diagram 3 shows the procedure they should follow to get allowance as well as get the services.

The street level Center of Care-Service-at-Home (CCSH) is located at the building of Community Affairs Center which is a comprehensive civic affairs center. Those who come to apply for Care-Service-at-Home will be guided to CCSH by the front desk of Community Affairs Center. CCSH will keep records on the needs of the appliers and transfer the applications of those purchasing service all at their own cost to Elderly-Assisting Service Center (EASC) or Day-Care-Center (DCC) who will provide the service responsively. To those who want to apply for government allowance, street level CCSH will firstly take assessment on the economical condition and then assess on the self-capacity of the applier as to decide whether and how much the applier could be subsidized. Only those who meet both the economic condition and self-capacity limitation could get the allowance, and the result of assessment of those who are supposed to get allowance will be reported to the District level CCSH who will make the final identification. Then street level CCSH will issue <Permission of subsidies> or <Rejection for subsidies> to the appliers responsively according to the identification by District level CCSH, and distribute service coupons to those have get permission of subsidies. Those elderly who get service coupons in different value will get different amount of service according to the price of services by visiting the Day Care Center, or the EASC will send service attendant to the home of the elderly to give the service applied by the elderly. Each time, at the end of service, the time and the content of service will be recorded on a note card with the satisfaction evaluation

by the elderly. The note card is made and distributed to the elderly by EASC and it is acting as one of the approaches of supervision on the service quality.

Diagram 3 The Procedure of Delivering Care-service-at-home

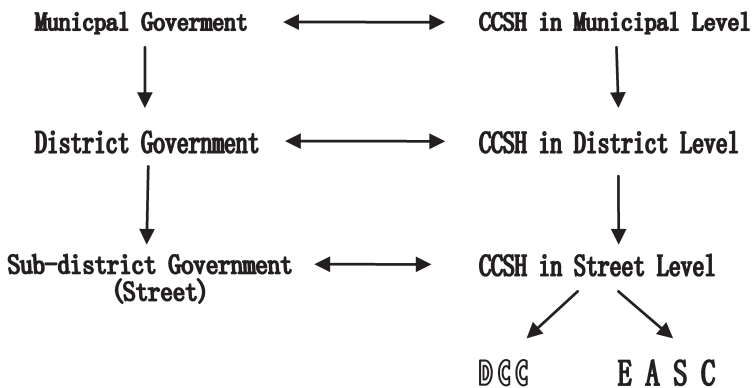


II. NGO’s Participation in Care-Service-at-Home

The number of NGOs contributing to providing Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged increased quickly with the administrative orders and financial encouragement from Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai directly promoted the emerging of NGOs, which was formally stated in <Further Promoting of Care-service-at-home for the Aged> (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2004) that there should be at least one Center of Care-service-at-home (CCSH) and one Elderly-Assisting Service Center (EASC) in each street offering care services for the aged. Also each street should create Day-Care-Centers as supplementation to CCSH. As an encouragement, there would be 60,000 thousands Yuan as starting fund and continuous financial support from municipal and district finance for each organization. The sub-district government (the street) will offer the NGOs with office premises and also some financial support. The fact is that only the NGOs created following the administrative order are actually permitted to operate in the field of Care-Service-at-Home for the aged. And the names of organizations, namely, Center of Care-service-at-home, Elderly-Assisting Service Center and Center Day-Care-Centers used in the policy text are commonly used by all the NGOs. Thus, the NGOs in the field of Care-Service-at-Home can be easily grouped into three kinds according to their names and we can see different function between differently titled NGOs. Since all the NGOs greatly followed the guidance offered by the policies from government, the NGOs with the same title in different streets showed great common in their functions and operational style.

In Pudong district, the first Center of Care-service-at-home (CCSH) is set up in year 2001, and till the end of 2011, there was 38 CCSH all over the district, with distribution in each street. Day Care Centers (DCC) increased to the total of 44 since the first one started in year 2006. The total number of Elderly-Assisting Service Centers (EASC) reached 40 till the end of 2012. Those three kinds of NGOs are working jointly under the policy framework developed by government. Diagram 4 shows the network among them: Centers of Care-service-at-home in street level is directed by Centers of Care-service-at-home in district level and municipal level. Hierarchically organized government purchase care service for the aged from hierarchically organized CCSH, CCSH is working as the bridge between government and the other two kinds of NGOs. Within the network, each kind of NGOs has their own roles.

Diagram 4 The network among the NGOs



1. The role of Center of Care-Service-at-Home (CCSH)

It is from CCSH that government purchases service for the aged, and the CCSH is in charge of the funds from government finance. Specifically, the municipal level CCSH takes control on the funds from municipal finance; the district level CCSH takes control on the funds from district finance. The municipal level CCSH will distribute the funds to different district level CCSH, and then the district CCSH will distribute the funds to different street level CCSH.

Besides the control and management on funds, municipal level CCSH and district level CCSH are jointly working on standardization of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged. The *<Standard of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged in Shanghai>* was written and published under organization of municipal level CCSH, with participation of members from district level CCSH, officers from Bureau of Civil Affairs and professors from Universities. The Standard is working as the guidance for both the organizations (CCSH, DCC and EASC) and the service attendants. Another contributor to the standardization of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged is the *<Guidance of needs assessment for Care-service-at-home>*, which is also written under the organization of municipal level CCSH with participation of members from district level CCSH and scholars from universities. It provided an assessment system focusing on the following aspects:

- a) The daily care abilities which basically concerns to what extent could the elderly finish eating, cleaning, and clothing, excreting and walking.
- b) The cognitive abilities which mainly care about the memory, the directional capacity and some common sense.
- c) The emotional stability which pays attention to how do the elderly response to the environments.
- d) The sense of sight which is focused on whether the elderly could catch sight of the objections around he/she so that he/she can pay enough attention to the obstacles.

Each aspect is identified as "Light Dependence", "Mild Dependence" or "Sever Dependence" and is concluded in the final comprehensive identification, which acts as the one of the determinations of standards of subsiding, in different proportion. Also, municipal level CCSH and district level CCSH jointly worked on developing the textbook for training the service attendants and conducting training programs for the service attendants.

What the street level CCSH is working on is much more near to the elderly. Firstly, it's working as a reception center for the elderly or their family member either for inquiring about or applying for the services. It would provide the information related to subsidy application and service contents, service price, and something others as detailed as possible to the visitors, and it will keep records on the needs of the applier. Secondly, it will conduct assessment on the applier's self-care ability and economic condition, in order to meet the service needs as well as to determine whether and how much could the applier be subsidized by government. Then it will send up the result of the assessment to the district level CCSH for approval of the subsidies. The CCSH will distribute the permitted allowance to the elderly by service coupons after it got the final approval from the district level CCSH. Also, the street level CCSH will visit the elderly regularly to investigate whether there is unmet needs among them with jointly participation of members from DCC and EASC. The result of investigation will give advices on both the service contents developing and the design of training program for service attendants.

2. The role of Day Care Center (DCC)

The DCC is set up to provide day care for the aged who come at morning and return home at evening. Functionally speaking, it's complementing with the services conducted at home of the aged. It's opened and only opened to those who are over 60 years old and living below the minimum living standard, and the self-care capacity is identified as Light-Dependence or Mild-Dependence. The cost for the elderly is very low (Between 300 to 500 Yuan); the elderly can pay for it in cash or by service coupons. At the center, there are service attendants offering daily cares for the aged, but the most important attraction of DCC for the elderly is that they can be accompanied to each other and the attendants.

3. The role of Elderly-Assisting Service Center (EASC)

EASC is the organizer of service attendants and direct deliverer of services. One of the main works of EASC is recruiting service attendants following the general procedure: Firstly, applier showed their will to be an attendant will be registered at EASC. Then, the appliers will get trained in the training programs organized by the district level Center for Care-Service-at-Home. Thirdly, the applier will take theory and practical exams organized by Shanghai Social Welfare Trade Association who will issue those who successfully past the exams with "Qualification for Nurse Attendant for the Aged". Finally, the qualified applier will be employed by the EASC. The employed service attendants will then be sent to the home of elderly who have applied for certain services by EASC who will also take supervision on their service quality.

III. The Relationship between the government and the NGOs

When talking about the relationship between government and NGOs in China, one of the most obvious focus is the government's attitude towards NGOs, which is variously reflected by scholars of China and some foreign scholars. As Kang and Han (2008) said, conditions in China are so complex that you can find enough evidences for any model of relationship between government and NGOs. As true as the controversy, the government's attitude toward NGOs can ever and never be expressed in a universal description.

To the government, the NGOs usually have dual characters: at one hand, it is one of the most powerful vehicles for collective action which could be a threaten power to the authority of government. At another hand, it can be a great contributor to delivering public service which is one of the most important government responsibilities, on this aspect it can be an auxiliary to the authority of government. While either the extent to which NGOs threaten to the government or the capacity of NGOs delivering public service is different from organization to organization, and it is the differences that lead the government has "Differential Controls" on them(Kang and Han 2005). Indeed, Kang and Han (2005) had built out a systematical framework of viewing on the relationship between government and NGOs (See Table 8) basing on those differences which will be the guidance of analysis in this part.

In the field of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged, it's clear that the NGOs are offering the public services which are severely needed by government, as government have duty to response to the increasing needs of care services for the aged with the process of aging. So it's definitely that government will strongly encourage and support the development of NGOs in this field. But at another hand, government will never give up controlling on the emerging NGOs as to be alert to the potential threaten from any kind of NGOs. The strong support and strong control jointly shaped the relationship between the government and NGOs which will be illustrated as the following aspects: 1) different roles of the government and NGOs; 2) the

strong supports from the government to NGOs; 3) the highly dependence of NGOs on government; 4). the strong control from the government to NGOs.

Table 8 Index of Viewing the Relationship between Government and Social Organizations

A: Attitudes and control on the creation of social organizations		a1: Created by government a2: Set up under the encouragement of government a3: Created by grass-roots but is then absorbed by government a4: Created by grass-roots a5: Unallowed to be registered as Non-enterprise, but can be existing as enterprise a6: Formation of organization is definitely prohibited
B: Management setting for social organization's operational activities		b1: Government determine the department as the professional management sector for the organization's operational activity b2: Management sector is determined basing on discussion between government and the organization b3: No management sector for the organization, but controlled it as enterprise b4: No management from government
C: Autonomy of social organization	C1: Major decision	c11: Major decision is made by the management sector c12: Major decision is made by the organization, but have to apply for approval from the management sector c13: Major decision is made by the organization
	C2: Appoint-ment of principle charger	c21: Pricipal charger is determined by management sector c22: Pricipal charger is determined basing on the discussion of the organization and the management sector c23: Pricipal charger is determined by the organization
D: Resource for social organization	D1: Financial resource	d12: Government limit the organization getting financial resource d12: Government financially support the organization d13: Government neither limit nor support the organization in getting financial support, but the organization should report to the government about their financial resource d14: Government has no concern on organization's financial resource
	D2: Human resource	d21: Determined by the management sector d22: Determined by the organization but have to report to the management sector d23: Determined by the organization independently
E: Daily activities		e1: The organization is mainly fulfilling the task arranged by the management sector e2: The activities is designed by the organization but have to get approval from the management sector before acting e3: The activities is designed by the organization but have to get approval from the management sector after acting e4: The activities is determined by the organization independently from government

1. Different roles of the government and the NGOs

The relationship between government and NGO's is basically determined by the different roles of them. Generally speaking, the government is the organizer of service and the NGOs is the direct producer of service. Government has the duty to provide social service for their people, which is the basement of their authority, and that's why government concern on promoting Care-Service-at-Home for Aged. The creation of NGOs in this field is the main approach that government took to reach its goal of meeting people's social needs. Here the model of Four-C's (See Diagram 5) rose by Adil Najam (2000) is used to illustrate the relationship between

government and NGOs. In the field of Care-Service-at-Home, the government and the NGOs are pursuing the same goal, which is meeting the increased service needs of elderly in Ageing Society. However, they are acting in different ways, namely, the government promote Care-Service-at-Home by policy guiding and financial supports, while the NGOs by organizing and training service attendants and directly serving to the aged. So in a whole, the NGOs are complementarity to the government.

Diagram 5 The Four-C's of NGO–Government Relations

		Goals (Ends)	
		Similar	Dissimilar
Preferred Strategies (Means)	Similar	Cooperation	Co-optation
	Dissimilar	Complementarity	Confrontation

Resource: Adil Najam, *The Four-C's of Third Sector–Government Relations: Cooperation, Confrontation, Complementarity, and Co-optation*. Nonprofit Management and Development, vol. 10, no. 4, Summer 2000.

2. Strong supports from the government to the NGOs

Based on the complementary relationship with NGOs, the government showed great support for NGOs’ development: the creation of NGOs is directly motivated and greatly encouraged by the government. It is clearly stated in the policies issued by the government department in charge of implementing Care-Service-at-Home, namely, Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, that each NGOs can get 60 thousand Yuan as starting fund from municipal and district finance and other financial support from street finance and some funds(such as Social-Welfare-Lottery-Fund and Employment Promotion Funds). Indeed, besides the financial supports, the NGOs can also get some other supports from government (often the street agency), such as office premises, office equipment and so on. In fact, the office of Center of Care-Service-at-Home and the office of Elderly-Assisting Service Center are usually freely located at the building of Community Affairs Center which is owned by the sub-district government (street agency), and the building of Day Care Center is also offered by street Agency. What’s more, the salary of the members of the NGOs is also supported by public finance. It’s the fact that NGOs in the field of Care-Service-at-Home almost get all the resources from the government.

3. High resource dependence of the NGOs on the government

The strong supports from the government directly lead the high resource dependence of the NGOs on the government: either the starting funds and the operational cost or the office premise and the office equipment. Indeed, the NGOs have no other resource for their operation and development.

4. Strong control from the government on the NGOs

The totally resource dependence greatly shaped the relationship between government and the NGOs that government has an obvious power over the NGOs while the NGOs almost have no power over NGOs. Thus there is a strong control from government on the NGOs, which is not only obviously showed in the policies of implementing Care-Service-at-Home but also

can be easily seen in the operational activities of the NGOs. The creation of the NGOs is the result of administrative order of the Civil Affairs of Shanghai expressed by issuing one of the main policies of implementing Care-Service-at-Home, namely, *<Further Promoting of are-service-at-home for the Aged>* (Civil Affairs Bureau of Shanghai, 2004) which has set down the main functions of the NGOs, and has arranged the sub-district government as the management sector for them. So the daily activities of NGO are under the leading and supervision of street agency, the NGOs are asked to report their activities to street agency regularly. Also the charger of the NGO is appointed by the government; usually they are used to be officers in street agency contributing on work related to the elderly. Even the recruiting of service attendants is greatly affected by government that the NGOs are encouraged even asked to employ those who are included in "4050 Project"² and "Re-employment projects"³. Though there is no formal and direct administrative order to NGOs to recruit the people covered by those two projects, the NGOs are affected informally by the street agency who was administratively ordered to offering a certain amount of jobs to those who are in those two project, since they are working in the same building and sharing some office equipments.

IV. Conclusion

The findings in this study showed that in the field of Care-Service-at-Home, the government and the NGOs are working jointly with distinguished roles, namely, the government is working as the organizer and the NGOs are working as the producer of public services.

The role of the NGOs and their relationship with the government is basically determined by the government strategy on management of NGOs, which is well known as "Differential Controls". It's the incapacity of government as well as the advantages of NGOs in the field of Care-Service-at-Home that leads the government created and supported the NGOs. The government's incapacity is caused by both the intensive labor consuming of Care-Service-at-Home and the limitation on government's scale and cost. Thus, the government turns to market or NGOs, and NGOs are more likely to provide better services at lower cost compared to the market. Generally speaking, the average price of services provided by the NGOs is much cheaper than that provided by market. The advantages of the NGOs mainly stem from the voluntary spirit of them with the following aspects: the voluntary spirit of the organizers of the NGOs and the voluntary spirit of the service attendants. The voluntary spirit of the organizers of the NGOs mainly stem from the fact that the organizers of the NGOs are usually those who retired from the government and used to in charge of social welfare for the aged. Their occupational experience enhanced their sympathy for the elderly as well as their enthusiasm on serving for the aged. What's also important is that they has little economic pursuing for they have a good amount of retirement pension. The voluntary spirit of the service attendants mainly stem from their belief that they are serving for the future of themselves. Another factor which may not be the major but should not be ignored is that they are usually unemployment in their 50 years old or so, usually with little competitive power in the labor market.

² "4050 Project" is organized by Municipal Government of Shanghai from year 2001, intending to help those who are at their 40s (women) and 50s (men) to get employed. Those people the unemployment left by the industrial restructuring of state-owned business in Shanghai, who are difficult to find a new job because their lack of new skills.

³ "Re-employment projects" is started at year 2004 by Municipal Government of Shanghai, which is supposed to promote the unemployment to be employed at the field of social service. Government financially support the development of programs contributing to some kind of social service, such as environment protecting assistance, community security assistance, fire protection assistance, traffic management assistance.

By issuing administrative order and providing operational resources, government has successfully attracted all the NGOs into the government-controlled system. The totally support from government provides enough resource for the NGOs' creation and operation, thus NGOs have no driven power to search for resources from other objectors, which keeps the NGOs stay in a very simple resource network as well as in a very simple inter-dependence relationship. And the inter-relationship between the government and the NGOs provides basements for the government's strong control over the NGOs. The strongly control from the government shaped the scope of the NGO's functions and activities, which keeps the NGOs pursuing the goals definitely in consistence with the government.

The empirical facts from the field of Care-Service-at-Home for the Aged in Pudong District of Shanghai also provides evidence for the argument that in China, the government has a strong will as well as a strong power of controlling the society. It's also the fact that the supply of Care-Service-at-Home for the aged in Pudong District of Shanghai is still in shortage, which hints that the field of Care-Service-at-Home will be open to more and more kinds of NGOs and even be open to for-profit actors. As a consequence, the role of NGOs as well as their relationship with government will be much more complex than that of nowadays, which will be challenge to the research result of this study as well as promotion for further studies in this domain.

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