Meeting in the Middle:

A Multi-Level Analysis of Chinese HIV Civil Organisations

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University of Oxford in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

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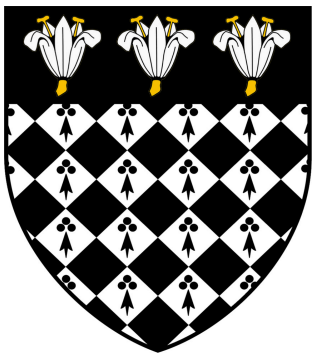
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Abstract

Civil organisations play a key intermediary role in the middle layer between high-level policies and individual-level outcomes in international development. By triangulating among seven Chinese HIV civil organisations with varying organisational models, I examine intermediary activity that illuminates the mechanisms by which civil organisations operate and extends theory about organisations and civil society. Development studies research can benefit from multi-level analyses of organisational processes, which provide insight into how civil organisations shape institutions and networks. My case studies show several new mechanisms that enable organisations to survive and operate in politically fraught conditions, and they offer insight into the complex interactions that allow civil organisations to operate in such contexts.

First, HIV civil organisations manage associative stigma resultant from their core activities. I observe that market relationships can buffer against associative stigma transfer for organisations, with many leaders re-positioning their organisations relative to stigmatised individuals, recasting them as employees, customers, and users rather than constituents. Second, these groups use hybrid organising to better manage political risks and build partnerships through selective coupling of organisational components. Hybrid strategies can provide resilience to threats and improve resource management in institutionally plural environments. Third, HIV civil organisations engage in detached, informal, and interactive collaboration with state actors, enabling greater autonomy and innovation among civil actors and reducing risk for state actors. I trace interactions between these strategic activities at the levels of organisational activities, structures, and networks, finding that reproducing ambiguity can sustain new types of collaborations.

These findings suggest a need to reconsider the role civil organisations play in society, calling attention to organisational processes that allow these actors agency in brokering flows of information and shaping formation of networks. By viewing civil organisations as intermediaries, new directions can be identified for development policy and practice.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Civil organisations play a key role in addressing social issues that have not been resolved through state- or private sector-led interventions, and they can provide insights in the field of sociology known as 'organisation studies,' especially regarding questions about how organisations deal with institutional challenges. In the field of development studies, scholars have recognised the important role that civil organisations can play within development interventions, yet there remains integrative work to link together disparate levels of analysis, including research on development policy, civil society, and programme management. To integrate these areas of interest, one must attend to organisational processes occurring between high-level supranational bodies and small communities and individuals. Organisation studies views the organisation as a useful lens for assimilating various levels of activity, and for bringing attention to how structured activities are formed, negotiated, and implemented within social life. The goal of this research is to apply these analytical tools to Chinese civil society organisations to contribute a process-focused analysis of how civil organisations not only survive, but also operate as key intermediary actors. These processes, I argue, fundamentally affect how the issue of HIV is both framed and dealt with in a challenging political context such as China.

In this thesis, I argue that studying civil organisations in developing countries can provide valuable insights into organisational mechanisms for dealing with institutional complexity, and I propose that insights from organisation studies can help illuminate this key level of intermediary activity in development. A better understanding of how political and social pressures shape organisational framing, design, and networks can inform both theoretical and practical questions about development. One promising area of research

scrutinises how organisations manage institutional challenges that fundamentally challenge the ability for their work to achieve appropriateness (J. G. and March & Olsen, 1989, pp. 57–8). Under conditions of uncertainty, organisational leaders creatively use symbolic and performative action to respond to these problems and sustain their work. I draw on institution-based frameworks to examine organisational responses to associative stigma*, political oppression, and persistent ambiguity. In examining cases of civil organisations across multiple levels of analysis, I attempt to illuminate the meso-layer of activity comprising civil organisations' responses to institutional challenges and tie this to implications for research in the fields of both development studies and organisation studies. To build and elaborate on theory about how civil organisations adapt to challenging institutional contexts, I examine seven case studies of Chinese civil organisations involved in HIV-related work. These organisations must constantly navigate political threats and social stigma, and the shared response strategies that they exhibit illuminate a dynamic set of organisational activities in a development context.

I hope to contribute several insights about civil organisations that can complement current research. First, the strategies that HIV civil organisations employ in the Chinese context offer provocative examples of how organisations can survive in hostile social and political environments. My work will extend theory about organisational stigma transfer, political threats, and institutional risks by highlighting how market and gift relationships can modulate associative linkages. Second, I extend theory about hybrid organisations to contribute a more detailed framework for understanding the trade-offs inherent to hybrid

* The concept of stigma, while exhibiting variation in definition throughout many disciplines (Link & Phelan, 2001), was originally defined as "an attribute [that] is deeply discrediting" that links "an attribute to a stereotype" (Goffman, 1963). The term is used in this dissertation with great interest as to how it can affect organisations. Given that attributes and stereotypes are largely determined by socially constructed categories and beliefs, stigma influences discrimination and choice not only on the individual level, but also on the organisation level. This idea is explored in more depth in Chapter 5.

structures, including their effects on managing environmental risks and expanding partnering opportunities. I also show a link between hybrid organisations and stigma, arguing that hybrid structures may merit reconsideration as a broader category of flexible organisational activities. Third, I observe how informal, flexible networks that sustain ambiguity appear to facilitate new forms of civil-state collaboration. In doing so, I bring attention to the limitations of frameworks that define civil society in strict relation to state actors. I challenge research on organisations that heavily relies on sector[**]-based distinctions. Based on evidence from multiple levels of organisational activity, I demonstrate the need for systems-based, interactive, and cross-sector models for civil society that are centred on organisational processes.

Research context

Many studies of Chinese civil-state relations operate under an implicit assumption that state and civil actors act on rational motives to maximise relative power. Institutional theory offers an important set of alternative perspectives. The scope of this theory is broad due to an interest in mechanisms in addition to outcomes, and this approach can extend consequentialist decision-making frameworks. Institutional theory in particular emphasises questions of how organisations respond to other types of motivation, such as images, identities, norms, and rules. In this dissertation, I examine how institutional pressures shape organisational activity, and I argue that organisational processes constitute a mediating space (Baron & Kenny, 1986, p. 1176) that can inform theory regarding the civil and state organisations. The ultimate goal of this research is to more accurately represent the ways

[**] The traditional 'sectors' include the state sector, private sector, and civil sector, though in this thesis I view these distinctions as overly rigid and unproductive for examining modern civil organisations, given the number of inter-sector collaborations and hybrid organisations that defy clear boundaries.

civil organisations navigate the multi-actor field in which they operate and to identify promising areas for further research on organisational activity in development studies.

Since 1979, the Chinese state has gradually permitted an increasing number of civil organisations to operate under various political and practical restrictions. Alongside an agenda that heavily prioritises economic development, civil organisations in China have been established to address a range of neglected social issues (Kang & Han, 2008; Spires, Tao, & Chan, 2014), including prevention and care related to the spread of HIV in China (Hildebrandt, 2013; Kaufman, 2011; Kaufman, Kleinman, & Saich, 2006; Szlezak, 2012). Yet while allowing civil organisations to develop with more autonomy, the state has simultaneously maintained ambiguous policies that have strongly shaped the opportunities, resources, and institutions in which these groups operate.

There has been much debate over the extent to which the Chinese civil sector should be seen as an extension or corroboration of state power (Tong, 2002; Unger & Chan, 1995). As a result, many theories have been offered to characterise the complex relationships between the central government, local government, and civil organisations operating with different organisational arrangements, financial resources, and core activities. Other scholars have critiqued the current understanding of civil society as overly dichotomous (Y. Lu, 2009; Spires, 2011), possibly due to a widespread assumption that the civil-state relationship is generally contentious. This critique suggests that the intermediate, collaborative processes of strategic organisation building that configure the civil-state relationship can be re-examined to strengthen existing frameworks. Taking an institutional approach can foreground the relative autonomy of organisations within networks, highlighting strategic collaboration and heterogeneity within large systems such as ‘the state’ and ‘civil society’ (Skocpol, 1985).

Macro-level studies have illuminated the landscape and major trends among Chinese civil organisations (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014; Jie, 2006; Ma, 2002; Tang & Zhan, 2008), showing regional variation in funding sources, diverse types of financial support, and strong dependence on volunteers for carrying out many activities (Kang & Han, 2008; Spires et al., 2014). These scholars have also called for further examination of the detailed interactions between various stakeholders in this burgeoning civil society, which require detailed qualitative investigation to supplement survey-based findings.

Research illuminating the micro-dynamics at the level of individual organisations can also enhance the usefulness of pre-existing theories such as corporatism and state-NGO collaboration (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014), graduated control (Kang & Han, 2008), and contingent symbiosis (Spires, 2011). These studies help portray the relationship between state control mechanisms (such as restrictive registration policies and intermittent state intervention in civil organisations) and the development of civil organisations as key providers of social services and care. They characterise civil organisations from a state-centric perspective and can be extended further by examining the ways in which organisations manage institutional constraints and design organisational structures that are feasible within the Chinese context.

Operating within a politically challenging environment, Chinese civil organisations adapt to institutional pressures in order to occupy new spaces, develop new forms of engagement, and improvise new types of organisations, all while navigating social stigma, state repression, and legal ambiguity. The growth of Chinese civil society has been uneven across regions and issues (Froissart, 2010; J. Y. J. Hsu, 2012; Tang & Zhan, 2008), yet without a detailed understanding of the subtler ways that mobilising and organisation-

building occur, the processes sustaining civil organisations in hostile political conditions remain not well understood.

Notably, civil organisations in China do not always conduct collective action in the same way as civil organisations in other contexts. They diverge from research on social movements, which focuses on cohesive and unified mobilisation around a cause. In particular, due mainly to active state efforts to suppress coordinated activity, civil organisations in China typically do not carry out public collective demonstrations (Fu, 2016). Nevertheless, these small organisations shape the course of how issues are framed, perceived, and dealt with on an institutional level, and their actions have real moral consequences for marginalised groups whose interests are underserved by the state. Therefore, due to the complex set of constraints placed on civil organisations and their responses to these institutional pressures, the Chinese context presents fertile ground for re-examining assumptions within studies of organisations and social movements (Fu, 2016; Ho, 2007).

The complexity of the Chinese civil sector calls for analysis that examines interactions between civil organisations, local governments, central governments, funders, and policy-makers. Only by understanding how civil organisations negotiate pressures from multiple stakeholders can organisational processes be incorporated into existing theory. It is important to recognise the influence that broader environmental forces exert on organisations, yet organisation-level concerns and strategies are also crucial in determining how organisations are built and operate in such fraught contexts. My research provides insight not only into the dynamics occurring within this sector, but also more generally into the workings of organisations within areas characterised by stigma, complex political and cultural constraints, and evolving collaborations across traditional sectors.

In this dissertation, I consider several institutional challenges facing Chinese civil organisations, including associative social stigma, precarious legal standing, and challenges establishing partnerships. In response to these issues, organisations deploy organisational images, use hybrid strategies, and prolong states of ambiguity. These strategies show how civil organisations adapt to complex institutional forces within a restrictive political context, mediating pressures from various sectors and levels of organisation.

I aim to contribute new theoretical tools for examining organisation-level dynamics in the context of management from state actors that severely limit civil organisations ability to register, operate, and scale. By accentuating the layer of organisational manoeuvring that mediates individual- and institutional-level activity, I hope to shed light on the organisational dynamics that have helped to produce the civil-state relationships detailed in previous studies. Drawing on seven empirical case studies, I show how civil organisations frame relationships with stigmatised groups through market imagery in order to mitigate stigma, use hybrid strategies in order to manage risk, and reproduce environmental ambiguity in order to collaborate informally and retain a degree of autonomy. These various organisation-level activities help to illustrate the rich layer of mediating activity that civil organisations perform between macro- and micro-level factors. This is especially relevant in the context of developing countries where civil organisations often mediate the dynamics unfolding at the complex intersection of international aid organisations, local communities, private firms, and state actors.

Strategy games such as chess and go can offer useful metaphors for building social theory (Dicicco-Bloom & Gibson, 2010). Yet while these authors highlight several emergent aspects of chess that can frame social phenomenon, a useful concept called *zwischenzug*, or "in-between move" is not discussed. This tactical idea, which constitutes an interruption to

an expected series of related moves, evokes the types of activity that this study aims to understand within Chinese civil society. Specifically, this dissertation examines meso-level (i.e. mediating factors that connect macro- and micro-level dynamics) organisational activities, structures, and practices that have the potential to interrupt an apparent set of relationships. A similar concept in go, a *kikashi* move, breaks up an expected flow of play, making subtle but significant differences to the macro-environment often with major long-term consequences. As civil organisations modify their core activities, structures, and networks and transcend traditional boundaries based on sectors, the ways in which they engage with social phenomenon such as stigma, government management, and partnerships may also undergo substantial changes. This dissertation examines case studies in order to do the preliminary work of investigating some of these innovative strategies, with the hope that they can shed light on how organisations respond to multiple institutional challenges. Organisations that must manage multiple contradictory pressures often discover solutions that draw on repertoires of symbolic, pragmatic, and combinatorial techniques. Keeping these metaphors in mind can help to convey the theoretical level on which this research takes place within larger conversations within both organisation studies and development studies.

Research questions

This dissertation interrogates incumbent theories about Chinese civil organisations in order to gain a higher resolution understanding of how leaders of organisations interact with a complex system of institutional forces. In this dissertation, I attempt to supplement theory that tends to view civil-state relations on a two-dimensional spectrum. Though important work has stepped away from this zero-sum approach that sees civil society as a mere representation of the space outside of state control, the dominant theories of corporatism,

symbiosis, and co-dependence still emphasise a relatively dichotomous framework in which civil and state actors vie for power, legitimacy, authority, or capability. The current reality reflects an increasingly complex, globalised, and multi-actor field. Civil organisations today interact with political, economic, cultural, and social forces that are determined via complex negotiations between international NGOs, multi-national corporations, domestic businesses, various levels of government, and communities with diverse and often shifting interests. Analysing the role and future of civil organisations in states such as China, where the civil sector is not simply a foil to the state sector, requires new analytical frameworks that evaluate civil society by examining the ways that organisations respond to pressures from multiple directions. Organisations that develop analogous features may do so for similar or divergent reasons, and as the policies and funding patterns for civil organisations evolve, it is important to understand the parts of civil society that are likely to endure, and the aspects of organisations that are able to adapt to new contexts.

Current research tends to characterise state actors as monolithic and strategically unified. Yet even within a rigid bureaucracy, state actors have diverse interests, and these are highly related to the local context, including the strategies and practices adopted by civil organisations. The methodological middle ground between the macro- and micro-level studies has been under-studied, and this thesis aims to address this gap. As an ethnographic study of HIV organisation leaders in four Chinese cities, it investigates organisation-level phenomena in order to triangulate and extract patterns from the ways organisations react to various policies and environmental forces. Examining how civil organisations act as intermediaries can help integrate and extend research in development studies in order to trace how policies are framed and implemented across networks of organisations with varying interests, strategies, and goals.

Other scholars have highlighted the need to better understand the specific mechanisms and processes by which civil organisations are responsive to their environment as well as the ways in which they are constrained by the construction and framing of issues by actors outside of the civil-state dichotomy (Fisher, 1997). While there exist frameworks for conceptualising this relationship based on different typologies of civil-state relations, these typically do not capture the full variety of strategies that Chinese civil organisations have adopted. By depicting the relationship between a civil organisation and the state on a two-dimensional spectrum (Najam, 2000), these theories preclude deeper thinking about the various shared and conflicting interests of each party, and how institutional context (including stigma, international NGO influence, media, etc.) shapes the possibilities for reformulating or modifying this relationship. Though some studies have emphasised legitimacy (Coston, 1998) as a key metric with which civil organisations might be analysed and compared, this has not offered insights that can be applied to better analyse and digest Chinese HIV civil organisations' strategies and achievements. The ways in which civil organisations manage associative stigma, registration challenges, and government collaboration are all multifaceted, and merit closer examination.

To understand how civil organisations negotiate these issues, it is important to understand the motives and rationales that drive leaders to design and manage civil organisations, as well as the outcomes of these decisions. Though some actors may not fully articulate the extent to which their strategies have been influenced by previous environmental factors, the formation of decision-making patterns and assumptions helps shed light on the institutional mechanisms at play. This dissertation aims to answer several questions based on a close examination of the motivations and decision-making processes of civil leaders as they affect organisational processes. Addressing these questions can help strengthen theory

regarding the dynamics of innovative civil activity under an authoritarian state, especially at a meso-level that can trace how state policy affects individuals. The following are the three overarching research questions driving the design and presentation of this research project.

First, within an institutionally plural environment, how do organisations frame activities, articulate identities, and project images involving their relationships to other groups to deal with associative stigma? How do norms about market- and social mission-based activity modulate audience perceptions?

Second, how do innovative organisational structures allow organisations to persist under institutional pluralism and political hostility, and how do hybrid organisations selectively manage separate organisational components? How can we understand hybridisation as a way of managing institutional pressures?

Third, how do organisations interact with state actors while retaining autonomy, and what are the dynamics that sustain these relationships? What role do other actors play in shaping the civil-state relationship? What implications does this have for research on civil society?

A number of key sub-questions have also guided this inquiry. How do HIV civil organisations respond to institutional changes including new policies, funding mechanisms, and technologies? As these civil organisations interact with other actors, do they converge or diverge, mimic or differentiate themselves in organisational structures and strategies? How do organisations respond to shifts in funding sources? How do these affect the autonomy of civil organisations relative to the state? How can understanding these dynamics contribute to our ability to foster effective and responsive civil organisations?

These questions are essential to addressing uncertainties about the future of the civil sector, as well as informing those interested in improving development outcomes in China that have been hindered by repression of civil activity. In order to make these theoretical contributions as part of the on-going dialogue about the rules and roles for civil organisations in the developing world, I consider these subordinate issues in relation to literature on social movements, civil society, civil-state relations, development studies, and organisational theory.

This research constitutes a response to a marked necessity for a greater understanding of how organisations respond during moments of flux, uncertainty, crisis, and repression. How are the options available to civil organisations preconfigured, negotiated, and pursued? What types of responses tend to be more successful for organisational survival? What strategies contribute to sustainability and resilience? How do organisations adapt to changes in policies and funding paradigms, and how are they both constrained and enabled by the re-framing that occurs following these shifts? Finally, when governmental control on the civil sector recedes, how are new spaces for civil organising filled, utilised, and re-purposed?

Empirical research subjects

This dissertation examines Chinese organisations that define their core activities as comprising HIV prevention, care, advocacy, or other related services. These groups provide a rich window into observing the complex political systems that govern civil society's expansion and interaction with the state and private sector. HIV civil organisations make sense as a focal point because they comprise a cross-section of civil organisations (other commonly studied cross-sections include environmentalist organisations, labour activist groups, and educational charities) that have faced a similar matrix of institutional pressures, including high levels of social stigma, state oppression, and political sensitivity. These

groups have had a politically turbulent relationship with the state, and their inextricable association with marginalised communities of gay men, drug users, sex workers, and poor rural families who were unwittingly infected through unsafe blood donations presents a variety of challenges in establishing partnerships and achieving recognition from state actors.

Although in various ways China presents a special context in which to study organisational activity, this should not preclude comparisons of these findings to those in other countries. These case studies offer relevant insights to organisation studies, for instance, in showing how organisations deal with challenges such as social taboos, institutional pluralism, and political hostility. Collectively, these cases also shed light on how civil organisations more generally are involved in reconfiguring the civil-state relationships and acting as intermediaries between top-level policy and bottom-up activism. The methodological choices taken in this dissertation are further elaborated in Chapter 3.

Outline of the dissertation

This research project examines a set of seven Chinese HIV civil organisations as case studies in order to investigate how these groups perform key intermediary roles in development. Previous research has documented the increase in civil activity and various correlations between organisational features and survival (Hildebrandt, 2013; Kang & Han, 2008; Spires, 2011). I present evidence that complements this work by further illuminating the underlying processual mechanisms occurring within Chinese civil society. The complex relationships between civil organisations, companies, foundations, and various levels of state actors have been underexplored, and my research indicates that these linkages are more interactive and dynamic than present models suggest.

The structure of the thesis is as follows. In Chapter 2, the background chapter, I outline the political context in which HIV civil organisations work, and I review important findings and debates from research on civil-state relations in China. Next, I conduct a brief overview of the issues in development that the thesis connects to, presenting a preliminary scan of top development studies papers to highlight the need for further research on civil organisations in this area. I tabulate levels of analysis and topics of interest and use this preliminary review to justify what I describe as a need for closer examination of organisational activity that bridges macro- and micro-level analysis. I present some key questions from development studies literature on civil organisations and situate the thesis within these topics of research.

In Chapter 3, the literature review, I examine the main theoretical frameworks that I will use, primarily taken from organisational sociology. I explain how these theories connect to my research questions and the issues that emerged in coding my empirical data. I present current work examining organisational stigma transfer, benefits and challenges of hybridisation, and organisational responses to uncertainty. These issues link to research concerned with organisational identity, image, and structure as these themes relate to strategic processes. I present debates from anthropology and economic sociology about market and gift exchange as well as research on organisational stigma transfer as part of the theoretical framework I use to connect market activity to reduction of stigma transfer. I review research on hybrid organisations and selective coupling to frame my argument that hybrid organising is a set of flexible practices that involve balancing multiple levels of practical trade-offs. I review work on ambiguity from political science and organisation studies to structure my argument that civil organisations sustain uncertainty to expand partnership opportunities and gain greater flexibility in a restrictive political context.

In Chapter 4, the methodology chapter, I motivate the ethnographic, interview-based approach used to address the research questions. I explain why detailed case studies are necessary to identify new theoretical frameworks focused on mechanisms and processes. I also explain how this approach can complement other macro-level studies that investigate similar empirical issues. I argue that a grounded, comparative case study approach can help challenge assumptions regarding organisational activity and civil-state relations, specifically by contributing integrative insights and bridging levels of analysis and thematic areas. I explain how the case studies were chosen, discuss challenges faced when collecting data, identify limitations and biases from the methods used, and elaborate on contextual factors that required practical adjustments to the methodology. I also explain how the data I gathered were processed and organised around the major themes that structure the thesis as a whole.

Three levels of analysis are used in the empirical section (Chapters 5-7) of the dissertation, which examines organisational identity, structure, and interactions within an organisational field. For each of these, I aim to understand the ways that organisations deal with complex political pressures, including multiple types of stigma, a restrictive official registration system, and political complexity regarding linkages with state actors. A summary of the empirical chapters as well as their key insights can be found in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Empirical Chapters by Dimension of Analysis, Theme, Observation, Mechanism, and Finding

Chapter	Level of Analysis	Theme	Observation	Mechanism	Finding
5	Activity	Managing Stigma Transfer	Shift to market-framed activities, sustained provision of services	Repositioning of organisation relative to stigmatised groups through market relationships	Organisational leaders use market relationships to reduce associative organisational stigma
6	Structure	Hybridisation	Hybrid organising practices, diverse coupling arrangements	Selective coupling of specialised organisational components	Hybrids can better manage risk and form partnerships under institutional pluralism
7	Interaction	Civil-State Collaboration	Innovation on organisational networks, heterogeneous cross-sector partnerships	Reproduction of ambiguity and informal collaborations across networks of civil and state actors	Ambiguity enhances available partnerships when formal collaboration is politically prohibited and reduces risk of scandal

On the intra-organisational level, Chapter 5 follows previous work in organisation studies and applies Erving Goffman's theory of associative social stigma (Goffman, 1963) to organisations that experience similar challenges of association with 'dirtiness' based on physical, social, and moral associations (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, 2014; Kreiner, Ashforth, & Sluss, 2006). This chapter aims to examine whether the relationships between organisations and individuals affects the extent to which associative stigma becomes transferable. I draw on work from both anthropology (Carrier, 1991; Douglas, 1986, 1996; Mauss, 1966) and economic sociology (Callon, 1998; Miller, 2002; Slater, 2002) that explores how commercial exchange may reduce social entanglement. Drawing on insights from multiple disciplines, I hypothesise that commercial relationships may increase perceived distance between organisations and stigmatised groups, and that development agency leaders may choose to reorient health services framed as commercial institutions in

order to strategically reduce stigma transfer. To make these connections, a few key assumptions are taken. First, while anthropologists such as Marcel Mauss were primarily concerned with the relationship between transacting parties in gift and commercial exchange, my analysis emphasises the perception of such relationships by a third party. I assume that other actors can observe disembeddedness and disentanglement, and that this perception is sufficiently consistent so as to affect the process of stigma transfer. This resembles approaches taken in other studies, which focus on organisational images and the role of audiences in assessing an organisation's appropriateness or legitimacy (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009; E. B. Smith, 2011; Sutton & Callahan, 1987). Second, I assume that if organisational leaders pursue these strategies with apparent success that this strategy might be reflective of a more general characteristic of organisational stigma transfer. This second assumption must be tested in depth in different contexts, especially to explore the extent to which this relationship might be generalisable given varying social perceptions of market-based activities and development work.

In Chapter 6, I examine organisational structures, particularly focusing on hybrid organisations, which combine multiple organisational identities, forms, logics, and structures (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Battilana, Lee, Walker, & Dorsey, 2012; Borys & Jemison, 1989; Mair, Mayer, & Lutz, 2015; Pache & Santos, 2013) into a single organisational entity with shared knowledge, staff, space, and resources. Hybrid organisations have typically been studied within relatively tolerant political contexts and present additional risks and challenges of managing staff and reconciling multiple missions (Battilana & Dorado, 2010). However, the case studies in this dissertation exhibit hybridisation in hostile contexts, and many of these organisations adopt innovative and atypical structures and practices. Additionally, these cases reflect different degrees of coupled-ness between different

organisational components. One principal challenge for Chinese HIV civil organisations given the social and political context in which they operate is to develop partnerships with supporting organisations including government agencies and international foundations. In everyday operations, these organisations also face grave threats. Organisational shutdown due to government intervention is not uncommon. Given these factors, Chapter 6 investigates the relationship between selective coupling and the ability for organisations to manage partnerships and risk. Other research has identified selective coupling as a key issue in hybrid organisations (Jay, 2013; Pache & Santos, 2013), yet these studies have not analysed the full range of pragmatic network-related benefits conferred by hybrid structures. Thus, organisations use hybridity not only to generate multiple organisational images, but also to expand opportunities for organisational partnerships and better manage resources. Under a broad conceptualisation of hybrid organisations, I use the theme of selective coupling to make comparisons between organisations that may exhibit different approaches to hybridising, including how they manage multiple institutional logics, and frame core activity. This analysis looks to hybrid organisational failure as possible evidence of mismatch between organisational form and environment in addition to challenges of managing hybrid organisations. Because hybridisation appears so frequently among the cases in this study, it is likely to be a characteristic that offers significant benefits within a shared institutional environment. Many studies have documented the added difficulties of managing hybrid organisations (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Blomgren & Waks, 2015; S. R. Smith, 2010), and this chapter attempts to extend this research by providing a framework for analysing the balancing activities that hybrid organisations carry out as they adapt to complex institutional environments. My contribution is to suggest that hybrid organising comprises borrowing

from institutional references, and that these activities can be found in organisations that might not be ideal-type hybrid organisations.

In Chapter 7, I apply theory from organisation studies to research on civil-state relations. I argue that studies of Chinese civil society often consider how state and civil organisations engage in antagonistic or collaborative relationships, while not sufficiently attending to dynamics of the organisational networks governing these interactions. Various theories have offered explanations for the possible interests of civil and state actors, and as discussed previously, most of them identify the acquisition or maintenance of power as a key interest for organisations that fall into both sectors. At best, these theories examine relationships of dependency or contingency between civil and state organisations. I focus on the interactive processes that help to produce the outcomes upon which various theories of civil society have been built, attempting to avoid overemphasising sectoral boundaries and include the role of private organisations in providing resources and legitimacy to civil organisations. The findings here diverge from incumbent theories that tend to be overly sector-based, top-down, and structurally deterministic. Previous work has characterised HIV as an issue whose perception was mainly shaped by international organisations, Chinese state actors, and the media (Hood, 2011; Szlezak, 2012), while the evidence in this thesis suggests that civil organisations also play a key role in framing issues, sharing information, and distributing resources. I argue that an organisation-centred framework can better trace processes within civil organisations, and I attempt to extend current theory of civil society by incorporating these organisations' strategic processes and activities into a multi-sector, multidimensional framework for locating civil organisations' activities. I give particular attention to the nature of collaborations between civil, private, and state organisations, and I attempt to understand how these organisations meet shared interests informally or in less

visible ways. Based mainly on accounts from civil organisation leaders, I find that civil organisations play an active role in forming and determining the nature of linkages with other organisational partners. This view diverges from deterministic and state-centric corporatist views that grant this authority primarily to state organisations. My contribution is to show that ambiguously-defined linkages can open new possibilities for organisational networks, and that these are coproduced by civil organisations as well as state and private actors.

These empirical chapters, which operate on three levels of analysis, contribute to a more nuanced story of how civil organisations operate, including the processes of articulating identity, building structures, and establishing collaborations. A qualitative data set based on in-depth studies of small organisations can illuminate the ways in which these organisational leaders conceptualise the space in which they operate, the opportunities and threats with which they grapple, and the institutional forces that they work with and against to thrive in a politically fraught context. Ideally, these cases bring new questions and energy to debates about civil society, international development, and organisational adaptation, while illuminating new directions for research to hone current theoretical frameworks. As a qualitative investigation aiming to excavate new theoretical territory, this work is speculative and exploratory. In this way, this work aims to highlight areas in which further research might challenge dominant ways of thinking that appear to neglect an important area of organisational activity.

In Chapters 8 and 9, the discussion and conclusion, I present the findings of the dissertation. I attempt to tie together the findings from different levels of analysis, showing the interrelationships between organisational activities, structures, and networks. I find that civil organisations' market framing of their activities in order to avoid stigma complements hybrid organising. Hybrid organising practices by presenting multiple organisational

identities, also enable sustained ambiguity, and are an important feature that allows for civil organisations to build relationships with diverse types of organisations and establish important intermediary roles. I discuss some implications of this work for policymakers and practitioners, showing how several of the frameworks from this thesis point to new ways of cultivating sustainable and effective civil organisations in politically complex contexts. Lastly, I describe areas of future research that might extend the preliminary findings and theoretical contributions of this thesis.

Chapter 2: Background

Chinese civil society offers a rich political context for exploring how organisations navigate a complex institutional climate at the nexus of sectors, rules, and practices. Examining organisations whose work centres around work responding to HIV also allows for exploration of how organisations deal with stigma affecting their members, partners, and activities. To provide background for how this research context can be viewed from several perspectives, in this chapter I describe the main challenges faced by civil organisations in China, and then I present work from area studies and development studies that provides additional background on how civil organisations have been researched. Lastly, I explain the contribution that organisation studies can make to these areas of research. For a brief background on the history of HIV in China, please see Appendix C.

Understanding the Chinese state and civil society

Over the past few decades, Chinese state actors have constrained the ability for civil organisations to officially register with the Ministry of Civil Affairs, fundraise from domestic and international sources, and develop cross-regional offices (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014; Heurlin, 2009; Howell, 2007; Ma, 2002; Lu Zhang, 2009). At the same time, enforcement of laws related to civil society has been inconsistent, and civil organisations face a great deal of uncertainty as to their regulatory standing vis-à-vis the state (Hildebrandt, 2011; F. Wu & Chan, 2012). In spite of these challenges, civil organisations in China have grown in number and capacity dramatically over the last two decades (F. Wu, 2012), many of which represent responses to social issues including labour rights, environmental degradation, HIV infection,

and the consequences of economic inequality, especially between rural and urban areas (Spires et al., 2014).

The repressive environment in which Chinese civil organisations operate has produced great curiosity about the nascent and evolving relationship between state and civil actors. I now review several frameworks typically used to explain these interactions and in order to illustrate the context in which my research takes place. In presenting this background, I intimate that inter-organisational dynamics have not been sufficiently studied, due to an overemphasis on the civil-state dichotomy.

Civil-state interactions are often constructed as a struggle for political power, and China is certainly no exception. Many studies examine key moments when state and civil interests come into conflict (Lukes, 1974). Lukes, who uses American politics as the backdrop for his analysis, characterises power as a three-dimensional concept that goes beyond "identifying power with its exercise"(Lukes, 1974, p. 5). He also emphasises the methods by which state actors control the set of topics that are permissible to contest, as well as building institutions that cause agents to act in ways that apparently contradict their own interests. Following Gramsci's argument that "consent involves organisations, is conditional, and is highly social"(Lukes, 1974, p. 8), Lukes challenges the rationalist-individualist assumption that individuals consistently pursue their own interests, especially when operating under strong social and institutional forces. Furthermore, he explains that power can heavily shape preferences, an insight making up the 'third dimension' of power.

Lukes' theory on power has wielded enormous influence as a motivating narrative for thinking about why and how state actors attempt to manage civil society. From this perspective, threats and closures of civil organisations, media censorship, and denial of official recognition and fiscal independence can be interpreted simply as complementary

methods of maximising state power. Recent research on Chinese civil society has argued for a more nuanced view that looks beyond struggles for dominance between the two sectors (S. Chan, 2008; Dickson, 2000; Heurlin, 2009; J. Y. J. Hsu & Hasmath, 2012a; Spires et al., 2014; Wong & Chan, 2002; Yep, 2000). Largely as a result of a politically fraught environment, Chinese civil organisations have not established the same degree of safety and autonomy from state actors as their counterparts in Western countries. Moreover, many cases of successful civil organisations exhibit partial incorporation into the state. These organisations have been given the oxymoronic moniker of 'government-organised non-governmental NGOs' (GONGOs). Yet even when examining civil-state collaboration, with power held as a central theoretical concern, these organisations are often characterised as simply another method for state actors to extend power into the civil sector. Both recent case studies and policy trends appear to bolster this theory (Heurlin, 2009; J. Y. J. Hsu & Hasmath, 2012a; Kang & Han, 2008; Ma, 2002). Yet these types of civil-state collaborations often are initiated by civil organisations themselves, a fact that does not match the power-maximising assumptions described above. In these situations, civil organisations surrender partial autonomy in order to gain support from state actors, which may confer protection, legitimacy, network access to partners, and financial backing. Thus, civil-state collaborations may also constitute a form of mutually beneficial cooperation (Coston, 1998). China provides an environment in which civil and state boundaries are frequently blurred (Ho, 2007, p. 189), which highlights a need for a deeper investigation of how various civil and state interests are integrated in such cooperative relationships. Civil organisations, operating under a dimly defined regulatory environment, often adopt more flexible structures, and this can facilitate new approaches to collaboration that draw on multiple organisational forms. Since decision-making power is often diffused among a variety of stakeholders and decision-makers,

including central and local government officials as well as donor organisations, corporations, civil organisations, and community members, I argue that frameworks that are too reliant on power and the civil-state dichotomy framework do not sufficiently capture the interactions among multiple stakeholders with complex interests.

Other scholars have emphasised other motivations underlying state actors' management of civil organisations. For instance, Patricia Thornton has framed state behaviour as driven by a need to maintain moral legitimacy, or 'virtue.' Her historical study of Chinese politics in several periods through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries claims that the state maintains power by drawing boundaries between itself and activities which would challenge its moral authority (P. M. Thornton, 2007). From a political science perspective, her work represents a powerful way of analysing the government's management of its own image. However, as civil society has expanded in importance over the last few decades, the increasing diversity of actors involved in negotiating public perceptions of moral and immoral behaviour may have limited the analytical strength of Thornton's framework as it applies to Chinese civil society today. Indeed, among a proliferation of stakeholders and organisations with claims to moral uprightness, the Chinese state can no longer aspire to the same degree of moral authority as in previous eras. The variety of acts of dissent, resistance, and protest, including online vigilante justice campaigns and transnational civil organisations, reflect this growing reality (Perry & Selden, 2010). The state still constitutes a strong and authoritarian single party system, yet the interplay between state and society has become more complex, involves many more parties, and cannot be framed in such broad terms. Overemphasising state power in the process of constructing moral boundaries between civil and state actors also reveals an overreliance on the idea of a civil-state dichotomy. While state actors certainly appear to act in pursuit of moral legitimacy,

civil actors pursue similar interests, and moral legitimacy may often be at odds with other types of legitimacy, constructed through narratives such as the state's promotion of its role as the steward of continued economic growth and social stability at the cost of individual freedoms. Moreover, as I write in Chapter 7, civil and state actors collaborate in ways that seem to conflict with Thornton's virtue-based framework. This concept of moral legitimacy can be improved with further attention to civil actors' interests and interactions across multiple sectors, and there is doubt as to the extent to which this idea still proves theoretically useful.

The theory of corporatism has commonly been used to analyse civil-state collaboration in China, giving more specification to the characterisation of state actors' participation in civil affairs as the basis for extending state power (Dickson, 2000; Molina & Rhodes, 2002). The prevalence of GONGOs and the dual registration system appear to be mechanisms by which the state can exert control over what otherwise could constitute an autonomous space for civil interests to self-organise (Unger & Chan, 1995). Yet since the state and civil organisations also share overlapping interests (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014), these actors may not always be in direct opposition. Moreover, the corporatist perspective does not account for types of collaborations in which civil organisations are not formally incorporated into state entities, and the cases in this dissertation suggest that relatively informal and distant collaborations seem to be more common. Only by examining how civil organisations interact with state actors can the underlying factors driving these patterns be understood. Tabulations based on registration status or formal incorporation into state agencies fail to capture most of the rich, cooperative activity occurring in this politically complex environment.

Aiming to explain varying levels of state intervention for different civil organisations, the theory of 'graduated control' extends the corporatist perspective, measuring state policy

against politically significant features of non-governmental actors (Kang & Han, 2008; F. Wu & Chan, 2012). According to Wu and Chan (2012), state suppression of civil organisations positively correlates with several criteria describing the political threat an organisation presents. However, within the complex system of civil-state dynamics, civil organisations increasingly defy classification by sector. Moreover, the presumptions that place civil and state actors in opposition inherent to the corporatist framework may not be appropriate for conceptualising the strategic institutional work that civil organisations enact. In framing analyses of civil organisations in this way, one risks overlooking a great deal of innovative organisational activity that can be seen in the cases presented here.

Anthony Spires (2011) argues that China presents a special case in which state actors permit civil organisations to exist in a legally ambiguous state, provided that they accept limitations on their ability to scale and refrain from political activities that promote democratisation or challenge state authority. Referring to this state as "contingent symbiosis," (Spires, 2011) he differentiates this theory from corporatism on the grounds that it emphasises cooperation above antagonism. Similar to Yiyi Lu's theory of "dependent autonomy"(Y. Lu, 2009), he argues that although most Chinese civil organisations cannot secure official registration with the state and in many cases have greater autonomy than a typical co-opted organisation, they still remain largely dependent on state approval for legitimacy and resources. His question is framed with a greater focus on organisations than on civil society as a whole: "In a repressive authoritarian political context where, by very definition, unauthorized organisations are potential threats to the ruling power, how do such groups survive?"(Spires, 2011). Timothy Hildebrandt's (2013) development of a model for Chinese civil society characterised by "co-dependence" highlights various degrees of self-limiting that occur within organisations, arguing that these groups largely aim to preserve the

status quo (Hildebrandt, 2013, pp. 13–14). The cases in this dissertation exhibit an even wider repertoire of strategies including work spanning sectors that seem to diverge from similar types of symbiotic or co-dependent models. This evidence supports Hildebrandt's assertion that "the NGO can be properly understood as strategic and self-limiting"(Hildebrandt, 2013, p. 14), yet my evidence suggests new mechanisms and approaches that are not delineated in Hildebrandt's work.

Neoinstitutionalist concepts have been applied to analyses of Chinese civil organisations. Though there has been a great deal of variation in structure, form, and strategy resulting from unequal levels of control exerted by local governments, there are common experiences that Chinese civil organisations generally face. In addition, because of the limited number of international organisations involved in training and funding Chinese HIV civil organisations, several foundations have exerted a large influence on the values and practices of civil organisations. These factors would be expected to produce homogeneous traits among civil organisations, and Hasmath and Hsu (2014) have studied these isomorphic forces (including "coercive," "mimetic," and "normative," pressures) on Chinese civil organisations (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014, p. 938). Their work sheds light on how state regulation encourages conformity among civil organisations attempting to gain state recognition (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014; P. H. Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). According to Hasmath and Hsu (2014), coercive pressures result from direct government intimidation and restrictions on civil organisations that do not comply with political correctness (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014, pp. 939–40); mimetic pressures are a consequence of the uncertainty of unevenly enforced regulations (Chien, 2008); and normative pressures are exerted by international organisations that articulate standards for capacity building and professionalising civil organisations (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014, p. 940). While the theory of isomorphism seems to correspond with

various institutional pressures arising in this space, it does not offer a good inductive framework for building theory about the mechanisms that underlie organisational strategies and behaviour since it situates institutional work disproportionately in the actions of state actors. The cases in this chapter suggest that decomposing these pressures into these categories obscures the shared strategies among civil organisations that adapt to institutional pressures and participate in shaping institutions. In other words, the complex mechanisms that organisations adopt to adapt to restrictive registration, legal uncertainty, and pressures from international foundations include symbolic, interactive, and dynamic strategies that are not divisible into the same three categories. The patterns of isomorphism that one would predict when examining coercive pressures under this typology, for instance, does not match the pattern of integrative organisational responses seen in these case studies. Since Chinese civil organisations are relatively nascent and in a period of institutional flux, leaders may be more likely to adopt combinatorial approaches by drawing on other experiences, practices, and models. Such an ad-hoc approach to organisation building may contribute to diversification, going against the story presented by isomorphism. Karl Weick's description of organisational improvisation would support this, since low dependency on initial organisational models would suggest increased ability to adapt to radical environmental forces (Weick, 1998, p. 545). As with all work considering the interaction between organisations and institutions, it is crucial to acknowledge the balance of agential and structural arguments from the perspectives of political opportunities, institutional theory, and resource mobilisation. The institutional perspective is useful insofar as it examines the forces that mediate relationships between organisations and available strategic opportunities (e.g. Campbell, 2007) while recognising that these intermediary forces are also affected by organisations themselves.

I have reviewed the main theories that have tried to characterise Chinese civil society, which show a broad range of approaches to examining this space. Among theories of civil society in China, there are areas of consensus regarding the relationship between the various civil and state actors that have emerged over the past few decades in China. First, there is general agreement that future approaches to addressing HIV will involve strengthened collaborations between civil organisations, the private sector, and government actors. Second, these partnerships have thus far not developed as strong or effective institutions and are often presumed to involve opposition, competition, and lack of coordination. Third, for the foreseeable future, Chinese state actors will continue to be a major force in shaping the opportunities available to civil organisations, and thus the development of civil society will remain closely tied to a complex environment of evolving political interests and policy outcomes at multiple levels of government. These areas broadly emerge from a critical tradition of examining corporatist strategies in state organisations, during an era in which collaboration between sectors was less common than it is today.

The Chinese HIV civil sector represents a very early-stage space of social issue formation, in which frames are still being negotiated and visible political mobilisation is rare. Social media, online forums, and virtual communities (Yang, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c) have also allowed civil organisations to engage across broader distances and reach new funders, partners, and members, thus undermining the state's ability to limit civil organisations' geographic scope. Scholars of civil society have noted the importance of 'publics' or spaces that allow for collective discursive activity in society for framing processes and social movements (Fraser, 1990), and online activity may have a positive effect on civil organisations' ability to act effectively and mobilise resources (Harp & Bachmann, 2012, p. 300). Online spaces and new forms of communication technology represent an important

development for civil organisations globally (C. Hsu, 2011; Rosen, 2010; I. Weber, 2011; Yang, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c). While many of the civil organisation leaders interviewed in this study mentioned interacting in online communities as an important sphere of their work, questions as to the relationship between information communications technology and activity in civil society fall outside the scope of this dissertation.

In short, current understandings of civil-state power relationships under-theorise the interactive and cooperative potential of civil organisations to work with other actors in other sectors. For the few theories that do emphasise cooperation, they have typically focused on macro-level relationships between actors in discrete sectors. Yet when civil entities operate across multiple vaguely defined sectors, as the case studies in this dissertation do, it is necessary to adjust theoretical frameworks built on organisation-level analysis to make room for these cross-sector collaborations. Beginning with a strong civil-state dichotomy makes it difficult if not impossible to properly capture these types of strategic diversity. In order to build a more inclusive, operational, and actor-oriented theory about civil society, the actions of civil organisations must be assessed within an institutional context, with attention given to new types of cross-sector collaboration and strategic deployment of organisational images and references to organisational forms. Thus, using a set of case studies comprising small Chinese HIV civil organisations, this work hopes to advance a multi-sector and organisation-based theory that can illuminate how organisations survive, operate, and evolve under a strong state and an environment characterised by institutional pluralism.

Strategies for protest and mobilisation in China

Naturally, an analysis of civil activity under authoritarian government would include close attention to how and where organised opposition to state power takes place. Perhaps

inspired by the powerful image of the Tiananmen Square Tank Man, acts of individual resistance against the Chinese state have been a common focus of research on civil activism in China. Research on the symbolic politics inherent in such acts of resistance (Lora-Wainwright, 2009; P. M. Thornton, 2002, 2007; Wright, 2002) has demonstrated the importance of taking seriously the language of protest and dissent and the experiences of individual leaders who contest state authority. Because of state-enforced repression of civil protest, public assembly, and mass mobilisation, much of what would typically be visible as social movements comprising networks of organisations are relatively hidden in China (Fu, 2016; Ho, 2007). Yet individual protest is only one form of activity that runs counter to top-down controls from state actors. Organisational activity can influence civil-state collaboration while also affecting institutions more broadly. Even when this does not take a visible form, it is highly relevant to understanding the relationship between civil organisations and state actors.

Christine Oliver's typology of strategic responses to institutional pressures (Oliver, 1991) can help to situate the purpose of Chapter 7 as it relates to the literature on Chinese civil organisations. Oliver identifies five categories for strategic responses: acquiescence, compromise, avoidance, defiance, and manipulation (Oliver, 1991, p. 160) as well as ten correlated institutional variables. The literature on Chinese civil society examines various types of responses, with different levels of analysis for the actors responding to institutional pressures from the state. I have tabulated major papers on Chinese civil organisations on these two dimensions in the table below.

Table 2: Research on Civil-State Relations by Strategic Response and Level of Analysis

		Level of Analysis for Key Actors	
		Individual	**Organisation**
Strategic Responses (Oliver, 1991)	**Acquiesce**		Isomorphic Pressures (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014), State as most decisive component in development of NGOs (Ma, 2002)
	Compromise		Co-Dependence (Hildebrandt, 2013), Contingent Symbiosis (Spires, 2011), Dependent Autonomy (Y. Lu, 2009), Embedded Activism (Ho, 2007), Adaptive Informal Institutions (Tsai, 2006)
	Avoid		Stretching Away from the State (Thiers, 2009)
	Defy	Disguised Collective Action (Fu, 2016)*, Rightful Resistance (Lora-Wainwright, 2009; O'Brien & Li, 2006), Rich, culturally informed repertoire of social movements (Jing, 2003), Unorganised Interests (Zhou, 1993)	
	Manipulate	Ironic, ambiguous or metonymic frames for dissent (P. M. Thornton, 2002)**	

* Fu (2016) examines individuals within organisations, and likely would lie on the border of individual and organisation-level analysis in this table.
** Thornton's (2002) analysis here could be interpreted as defiance or manipulation, and as an investigation into symbolic protest, it is likely to contain elements of both.

In one sense, this table reflects the political reality for civil organisations in China; political defiance and mass mobilisation are strongly prohibited by various forms of state power. However, it also indicates a pattern in the theory that places control over institutional arrangements largely in the hands of the state rather than granting this to civil organisations. While it is common to look to crises and disputes as the main drivers of institutional change, it is also important to examine non-confrontational and endogenous modes of institutional evolution (Tsai, 2006). The shaded bottom right corner of the table above is the primary area of interest for Chapter 7, and more broadly for this thesis, which considers how organisational activity is responsible for shaping the institutional environment in which civil organisations operate. A closer examination of the role that organisations play in shaping

institutions must go beyond a framework that focuses on choosing between acquiescence and defiance of state power, instead looking for negotiated partnerships involving systems of organisations.

Within studies of civil society in China, the role of civil organisations as actors that can manipulate and shape their institutional environment has been underappreciated and underspecified. Similarly, in development studies, I discover a tendency to view civil organisations as passive features of development context rather than as important intermediary actors whose decisions affect development policies and interventions. Next, I briefly review the area of overlap between development studies and civil society to highlight the areas in which organisation studies can contribute to questions in both of these fields.

How can organisation studies complement development studies?

Development studies, as an "issue-driven research concerning the analysis of global and local processes of cultural, demographic, economic, environmental, political, technological and social change in low and middle income parts of the world" (*Research Assessment Exercise 2008: The Outcome*, 2008), represents an interdisciplinary research assembly that has grown in many directions from its traditional focus on economic approaches to development. Development studies work has intertwined qualitative and quantitative methods of inquiry (White, 2002), and constantly faces the challenge of reconciling research characterised by a variety of topics, assumptions, approaches, and units of analysis (Harriss, 2002; Henderson, Dicken, Hess, Coe, & Yeung, 2011). Sustained critical dialogues among disciplines such as economics, political science, sociology, and anthropology have yielded opportunities for cross-pollination of language, new analytical tools, and blends of methodological approaches. However, given the 'issue-driven' approach

common to research in development studies, research on civil society organisations seems to remain in the background. In this chapter, I conduct a brief overview of recently published papers in top development journals to appraise current disciplinary and methodological trends. Using this and scans of other critical reviews, I outline areas of concern in the field. Next, I identify themes that gesture toward a need to integrate various concepts applying to mid-range units of analysis. I argue that key analytical concepts from organisation studies, an area of research that takes seriously organisations as actors embedded within institutional environments and looks to these collectivities as key mediators shaping how policies and macro-level factors shape individuals, can provide tools that can better integrate various research agendas in development studies. The purpose of this chapter within the architecture of the thesis is to highlight how organisational studies can offer a promising set of tools for development studies in general in addition to research on civil society in China.

Organisation studies can contribute meaningfully to current work in development studies for four reasons. First, work in this field provides tools that can be used on mid-range units of analysis that helps to bridge current methodological gaps. This language connects to current areas of interest in development studies such as community organisations, capacity building, entrepreneurship and social movements. At the interface of management studies and organisational sociology, one virtue of organisation studies is its ability to span levels of analysis including studies of individuals, organisations, institutions, and environments. Second, an organisation-focused approach can help elaborate other major theories in development studies, including the distribution of social resources (social capital), non-sanctioned collective action (informal organisations), and how major bureaucratic organisations bring about change (good governance). By examining interactive and iterative relationships between actors, this approach takes seriously the many responses and

unintended consequences that accompany multi-actor action. Third, focusing on organisations helps to build frameworks that tolerate divergent and multiple goals among actors incorporating both development-as-process and development-as-objective perspectives. Institutional pluralism is likely to be greater in development contexts where territories, ideologies, and cultures frequently overlap, so how organisations deal with and recreate these environments represents a crucial part of the development process. Fourth, institutional theories of change emphasise the potential wisdom in locally appropriate, sophisticated organisations that are not necessarily fashioned after deterritorialised Western models (though the field of organisation studies admittedly suffers from underrepresentation of empirical research from non-Western contexts). This leaves space for organisational agency and avoids an overly structured view of the development project that leaves out strategic action. Incorporating these organisation-based perspectives shapes research design, including subjects of analysis, categories and type of data gathered, manners in which these data are interpreted, and ultimately pragmatic conclusions with real-life consequences for policy and intervention.

Next, I identify several ongoing debates in development studies that suggest methodological gaps between streams of research in development studies. Then I present the findings from a sampling of recent published papers in top development studies journals, scanning for key trends in methodology and levels of analysis to highlight the usefulness of organisation studies tools for future work in development studies. This provisional work should simply illustrate a broad pattern of recent research in this area and should not be read as a sharp critique of the field. These should illustrate areas in which organisation studies represents a useful approach to examining a complex system of civil organisation actors in China. Deeper analysis of these case studies continues in the empirical chapters (5-7).

Development as process and objective

The term ‘development’ has a variety of definitions, and has been widely used to indicate both normative and descriptive concepts of economic and broader social change (Adelman & Morris, 1997; Ingham, 1993; McEwan, 2009; Seers, 1969). One area of ambiguity revolves around the question of whether ‘development’ constitutes an objective or a process (Lele, 1991, pp. 607–8). In other words, development can dually refer to both intentions and actions (Cowen & Shenton, 1996). Likely for several reasons (e.g. the production of knowledge about development conducted largely in Western, elite research organisations, the revolving door relationship between development theorists and practitioners, increased visibility resulting from greater power and resources, etc.) the entities taken for granted as responsible for driving the intention and action of development are typically limited to the most powerful, such as state actors, multinational firms, and supranational organisations.

Development has maintained a critical stance toward the dominance of bureaucratic Western actors (Sylvester, 1999, p. 718), with a shift of attention from public to private projects (McMichael, 2004, p. 152). Development studies research also exhibits a high degree of heterogeneity in unit of analysis. In a short review of recent publications, I find that most studies are interested in the effects of macro-level features often at the national level on individual outcomes. This tendency underscores Erin Beck’s critique that development studies is overly outcome-focused, and not concerned enough with the work that actors involved in development perform:

> Development scholars and practitioners have often focused on outcomes—judging projects in terms of their pre-established objectives. Others have been more interested in development institutions’ role in reinforcing global power disparities, and grassroots attempts at resistance. Despite their differences,

> however, at times both groups have depicted development projects as happening to people, and thus overlooked the interactional nature of projects. (Beck 2016, p. 19)

This analysis extends Norman Long's critique that the field of development studies has under-theorised the extent to which local collective entities play a role as agents who can implement and set agendas of development (Long, 1990). The paradigm that takes development as an objective relies on comparisons of desired and real outcomes, likely contributing to what Beck characterises as an overly 'outcome-oriented' field of study. Critiques of these approaches often occupy a marginal position in this field. In view of the issue-driven composition of development studies, this has led to challenges operationalising critical work in this field (Escobar, 1994; McEwan, 2009; Sylvester, 1999). In this chapter, I find results that support Beck's critique through a scan of top publications in development studies. Concurring with her critique that an actor-oriented approach can enrich current work, I also advocate for the additional benefits that tools from organisation studies can contribute. These include an interest in institutions, a focus on processes, and an appreciation for the diversity of practices and arrangements within an organisational field.

To briefly survey recent trends in development studies work, I selected the top five journals in development studies ranked by influence factor (Heeks, 2010) and extracted all abstracts of articles published in the last year, representing 502 publications. I then coded these articles by discipline, methodology, and unit of analysis, applying multiple codes when appropriate.

In examining recent publications, studies examining organisations such as firms were the minority, and they tended to adopt outcome-focused frameworks when looking at organisational activity. Though several notable exceptions of studies that used qualitative methods to analyse organisational actors as the primary unit of analysis (Barnes, van

Laerhoven, & Driessen, 2016; J. Y. J. Hsu, Hildebrandt, & Hasmath, 2016; McGranahan & Mitlin, 2016; Moore & Donaldson, 2016; Wanvoeke, Venot, De Fraiture, & Zwarteveen, 2016), the majority examined other levels, such as subnational regions or countries (125), individuals or households (240), or policies (26). Among the studies that did examine organisation-level activity, most did not take actor-oriented, organisation-focused approaches. The table below shows the disciplines, methodologies, and units of analysis found in the data set. Since many studies were interdisciplinary and used multiple types of data, most were assigned multiple codes.

Table 3: Scan of Recent Top Publications in Development Studies by Discipline, Methodology, and Unit of Analysis

Discipline	Number of Papers
Economics	264
Sociology	160
Political Science	50
Anthropology	44
Policy Analysis	40
Other	52

Methodology	Number of Papers
Quantitative	379
Qualitative	136
Other (Critical Review, Theory, etc.)	23

Unit of Analysis	Number of Papers
Individual / Household	240
Country	93
Organisation (Firm, Farm, NGO, Association, Agency, etc.)	74
- Firm: 28, Farm: 10, NGO: 5	
Subnational Region (City, District, Province, State, etc.)	32
Community	16
Other	108

This table reveals several characteristics of recent work in development studies. First, quantitative work from economics, sociology, and political science represents the clear majority of papers published in top journals. Second, papers that examined organisations did not typically examine NGOs, despite their recognised role as key actors in delivering aid and implementing development programmes. This concurs with other reviews of the inclusion of NGOs in development studies (*Research Assessment Exercise 2008: The Outcome*, 2008, p. 8). Third, studies that conducted organisation-level surveys or interviews tended to examine features of organisations within quantitative frameworks. As a result, organisations have

been identified as important factors affecting other themes such as effectiveness, economic outcomes, and effects of foreign aid. However, the mechanistic role organisations play as key intermediary agents has been under-examined. Closer attention to organisational processes can add to the varied insights from development studies and also make them more operationalisable.

Within the development studies literature, there are overlapping disciplinary approaches. These vary by units of analysis, methodology, and assumptions. Table 6 below juxtaposes several disciplinary streams that are relevant to development studies and organisations. From this table, it can be seen that although organisation studies and development studies have not had significant cross-pollination, there are clear reasons to believe that they are highly compatible. Both fields share common interests, such as institution-building processes, the work required for actors to shape geopolitical structures, effects of resource scarcity and political context on actors, forces driving social movements and their ability to effect change, and how organisations balance conflicting (e.g. profit-seeking and social) missions. Both also address questions about how actors navigate a world characterised by increasingly globalised markets and blurred distinctions between sectoral boundaries.

Table 4: Summary of Disciplinary Approaches to Social Change and Development

	Organisation Studies	**Social Movements Theory**	**Development Studies (Statist)**	**Postcolonial Dev. Studies (Critical)**
Overarching questions	How are organisations built and maintained, how do they shape institutions and enable social action?	How does collective action occur, and what determines its effectiveness in changing social facts, structures, and policies?	How can state and supranational policies and development programmes best be designed to facilitate economic growth in developing countries?	How do grassroots civil and community organisations resist postcolonial systems and empower individuals in developing countries?
Focuses of analysis	Organisational management, activity, structure, institutions, networks	Movement framing, strategies, coordinated actor networks	Economic outcomes of state and supranational programmes and policies	Protest activities, grassroots movements, civil organisations
Methodology	Qualitative interviews, quantitative empirical analysis, mixed	Qualitative interviews, quantitative empirical analysis, mixed, archival	Censuses, survey databases, public records, state archives, mixed	Participant observation, ethnography, archival
Evidence	Organisational case studies, industrial data	Case studies, interviews, media reporting, and archival evidence	Macro-level economic data, demographic data	Organisation case studies, ethnographic data
Unit of analysis	Organisations and firms	Social movement field / network	Individuals, households, subnational regions, states	Individuals, small communities, movements, coalitions
Causes and motivations	Organisational goals including profit / efficiency, resources	Grievances, resources, political opportunities, emotions, identities	State power, technocracy, market liberalisation	Deprivation, defence of local ways of life, subaltern protest
Logic of change	Organisations act within institutional contexts to achieve goals	Coordinated social activity can influence those with power and bring about social and institutional change	Top-down modernisation of policies, development of economy through manufacturing, exports, trade liberalisation, skilled labour force	Bottom-up activism drives social change that runs counter to hegemonic interests of states and firms
Main decision makers / key actors	Organisational leaders, state actors	Social movement actors such as civil organisations, state actors, and firms	Government actors, supranational agencies and lenders, multinational firms	Protesters, communities, and powerful actors and institutions
Key assumptions	Organisations are the main actors that engage and build institutions. Their actions and structures drive social action	Institutions evolve from coordinated (inter)action, and organised activity drives institutional change	States and high-level supranational bodies largely determine the economic paths of developing countries	Importance of bottom-up governance, empowerment, and autonomy to develop effective institutions

Broadly, development organisations have been analysed in several ways within these streams of research. First, some studies take the presence of organisations as an input or output variable associated with other phenomena of interest (J. Y. J. Hsu et al., 2016; Wutich, Beresford, & Carvajal, 2016). In this view, organisations represent a static feature of a system, and there is little emphasis on the details of their strategic processes and activities. Second, organisations can be construed as conduits for international aid (Mercelis, Wellens, & Jegers, 2016; Palmer-Rubin, 2016; Ricks, 2016), in which they play a fixed role in passing along resources while not acting as key decision-makers. While this highlights the important role of organisations as intermediaries in the development aid system, this view also falls short of representing organisations as actors. Third, most of the firm-level studies in development studies view organisations as closed systems, in which emphasis is placed on what happens internal to an organisation rather than the dynamic interactions between firms and their contextual environment, including other actor networks and institutions. Lastly, other research conceptualises organisations as parts of larger phenomena, such as communities (McGranahan & Mitlin, 2016), social movements (Anria, 2013), or coalitions (Barnes et al., 2016). The usefulness of these collective models depends highly on the context in which organisations operate and may not apply to situations in which certain modes of organising are not available. As the cases in this dissertation show, networks of organisations can exhibit widely varying arrangements, many of which diverge from typical archetypes of social movements (Fu, 2016).

Within development, close examination of organisational processes can illuminate the intermediate layer of activity that determines how contextual factors affect outcomes for

development work[+]. Given the diversity of socio-political contexts found within the remit of development studies, an organisation-based perspective also allows for context-sensitive comparisons.

Research on NGOs represents an important stream of work in development studies, and many scholars have focused on the challenges faced by civil organisations working in development contexts. Banks et al., in a large review of development studies research on NGOs, claim civil organisations typically have struggled to influence drivers of social change (Banks, Hulme, & Edwards, 2015), especially when viewed from a social justice perspective which emphasises redistribution of power from dominant state and private actors. Banks et al. also note the tensions between professionalisation and experimentation (p. 713), themes that are core themes in organisation studies. Gerard Clarke suggests that tools from organisation studies can help understand development NGOs (Clarke, 1998), who cites March and Olson (1989)'s paper on rediscovering institutions as a promising counterweight to an "anti-institutional bias" in political science. He also highlights gaps in the literature around the NGOs' establishment, motivation, and organisational features (p. 38-39). Alejandro Bendaña analyses the interrelationships between NGOs and social movements, showing the virtues that these distinct units of analysis have in sharpening analysis of "civil society" (Bendaña, 2006). These analyses, alongside Beck's call for an actor-focused

[+] For instance, it might be useful to consider recent revived debate around Hirschman's concept of the "hiding hand," the idea that uncertainty can benefit projects that would never be begun with full information (Flyvbjerg, 2016; Flyvbjerg & Sunstein, 2015). In recent critical work that examines this idea, studies have questioned the extent to which this concept misrepresents the reality of uncertainty for projects. Using a much larger sample size than Hirschman's study, Flyvbjerg and Sunstein (2015) suggest that the more likely effect of uncertainty is in fact to limit new projects rather than enable them. This discussion revolves around how to interpret heterogeneous data on project outcomes examined through the lens of the main organisation responsible for implementing them. An organisation-based approach can help to develop explanatory frameworks for the reasons Hirschman's theory applies in only a portion of the larger sample. Rather than examining projects as an extension of a single actor, an organisation-rich approach aims to understand organisations embedded in contexts, including networks, institutions, and culture.

approach to studying development (Beck, 2016), gesture toward a promising area of research in development studies that looks to organisations as a unit of analysis and takes seriously the strategic work performed by organisational actors.

Organisation studies has much to offer development studies in terms of helping to explore the organisational processes underlying key themes across the development studies literature. Organisation studies' emphasis on the interplay between institutional pressures and organisations as actors can help connect studies of large bureaucratic organisations with evaluations of individual outcomes due to policy changes or other interventions. An organisation-based approach can also supplement social movements theory in contexts where social movements take other forms, such as in China, where collective action shows different patterns due to repressive government policies toward civil organisational networks.

Organisation-based analyses and institutional variation in China

China offers a context in which institutional factors strongly shape the availability of strategies for social movements. Most prominently, restrictive state policies that limit civil society prohibit modes of collective action that occur in other contexts. Instead, civil organisations tend to distribute dissent and protest in ways that are both more disaggregated and less publicly observable. Ho uses the term "embedded activism" in his study of Chinese environmental organisations to characterise the ways in which Chinese civil organisations often pursue their agendas without visible contention with the state:

> On the one hand, China's restrictive political environment causes social movements to be almost invisible, which is achieved through self-imposed censorship and a conscious depoliticisation of environmental politics. Social movements in China are forced to keep a low profile or to lead a semi-clandestine existence. (Ho, 2007, p. 189)

This pattern involving a combination of cross-sector collaboration and hidden advocacy calls for new approaches to examining the role of civil organisations in pursuing social development goals. If civil organisations maintain individual agendas that are pursued in tandem with multiple partners and stakeholders, an organisation-level approach is needed to delineate the risks and strategic options available to each actor in a complex system. Moreover, these initial stirrings of civil activism shed light on the process of how civil organisations operate and thrive in adverse environments. Ho's account supports this perspective, and he emphasises the fragmented, localised, and network-based dynamics of Chinese civil activity in the environmental sphere:

> Even more so, organizations lack any desire to openly confront the central authorities, and instead remain relatively small, fragmentary, and localized. Environmental activism in China is not an activity with a fair degree of autonomy and self-regulation, but occupies a social space that is enmeshed in a web of interpersonal relations and informal/formal rules between political and social actors. (Ho, 2007, p. 193)

Given these aspects of civil society that can be seen in China as well as in other developing countries where state policy has relegated collective action to more hidden forms, it is important to ensure that research does not ignore small organisations simply because they are less visible than the established seats of power and authority. Diana Fu (2016) expands on Ho's concept, developing her theory of 'disguised collective action,' in which civil organisations coach individuals to act on behalf of collective interests, thereby minimising the risk of government shutdown for an organisation. She discusses the motivation for organisations to obscure their agendas and act less visibly as a compromise between confrontation and acceptance of state control:

> …in many authoritarian states, civil society organisations are forbidden from mobilising collective action and are instead channelled into social services…rather than mounting the scale of disruption, activists guide citizens toward direct but

> individual confrontation with the state. Doing so increases the chances of organisational survival in an environment where the boundaries of political acceptability are not clearly defined. (Fu, 2016, pp. 3–4)

Fu's documentation of how organisations mobilise in a nearly invisible way highlights the need to understand the ways that organisations act autonomously to navigate political constraints while still pursuing social missions and mitigating survival risks. The social movements literature often cited in development studies does not always apply well to non-democratic contexts in the developing world, and thus new approaches are needed to explore how civil organisations contribute to building institutions in developing countries. Fu's study uses an ethnographic approach to analyse strategies used by Chinese labour organisations and helps to challenge the limited notions of how social movements mobilise:

> Only when citizens have access to mobilisation resources, including informal and formal organisations, can they begin to escalate protests…In partially liberalized authoritarian regimes like China, citizens can take advantage of the political opportunity to form their own groups, even when such organisations lack official legal standing. (Fu, 2016, p. 20)

The uncertainty faced by civil organisations in China drives a great deal of innovative activity, producing a variety of new strategies and practices that help to manage the complex risks and interests inherent in this type of context. As Fu notes, while the inconsistent application of ill-defined rules under Chinese management of civil organisations certainly limits organisations' abilities to directly assert political power, it also presents new political opportunities that organisations strategically exploit to pursue their interests, such as "atomized actions and rights bargaining" (Fu, 2016, pp. 14–17) . These contextual idiosyncrasies make up an essential part of the dynamic fabric of civil society in the developing world, and they should be examined to identify both commonalities among developing countries and peculiarities in certain socio-political environments.

Within development studies, civil organisations have been understudied on at least three counts. First, interest in major transnational institutions has led to much research on large organisations and insufficient attention paid to the importance of small organisations in development work. Second, perhaps due to the enormous economic power held by corporations and financial institutions in developing countries that have experienced the consequences of neoliberalism, civil organisations' agency in development contexts has been underexplored. Third, an emphasis on outcomes rather than interaction (Beck, 2016) has shifted the active body of research on civil organisations away from close examination of organisational processes. Together these trends constitute self-reinforcing biases as development policies and agencies refer to academic work to build governance structures, allocate decision-making authority, and distribute resources. In Chinese studies and political science, the conflation of civil society with a contentious mode of political mobilisation (necessarily in opposition to the state) oversimplifies the diverse types of civil activity taking place in developing countries. Many of these civil organisations work extensively across sectors (e.g. in quasi-partnership with state actors) or in ways that are not commensurate with traditional Western social movements. Civil organisations' manoeuvrings in the face of low-resource and hostile political climates often indicate different institutional practices, modes of resistance, and cross-sector relationships that may elucidate new ways of thinking about how development interventions can be made context-appropriate.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

This literature review presents the theoretical framework used in this thesis, which borrows primarily from work in organisational sociology. In this chapter, I give a brief theoretical introduction to organisational identity and structure in politically complex contexts, which provides a backdrop for Chapters 5 and 6. I highlight the role that organisational images play in establishing organisational identity and identify symbolic meanings tied to organisational forms and modes of activity. These themes are particularly salient in the institutionally plural environment from which my cases are drawn, which is characterised by social stigma, political restrictions, and legal uncertainty. Next, I review the literature on state and institutional ambiguity, which supports the theoretical questions to which Chapter 7 responds. I examine how these frameworks have outlined general interests for actors in each sector, and I illustrate the need for theory to better accommodate organisations that break sector boundaries and create innovative organisational arrangements.

Organisational activities, identities, and structures

Research in organisation studies has provided numerous mechanisms by which organisations can be analysed and conceived. Together these have helped to provide complementary metaphors by which organisational activity can be understood. One enduring tension within these debates revolves around the manner by which these metaphors create biases toward structural and agential explanations for organisation-based activity.

Early examinations of formal organisations characterised organisations as rational machines, advocating management techniques that involved high degrees of specialisation, regimentation, and mechanisation (Taylor, 1914; M. Weber, 1978). These focus on

organisations' tendency to pursue efficiency, emphasising top-down techniques of management that deprived workers of thought, involvement, and agency within the organisation. This characterisation of organisations was criticised as overly rigid, and scholars introduced other metaphors with more space for incorporating environmental forces as well as dynamic and interactive processes. This included models of organisations as organic systems (Burns & Stalker, 1961), information-processing entities (J. G. March, 1978; Simon, 1991), and nodes on multi-layered networks (Granovetter, 1985). Meanwhile, factors such as culture, identity, and myths became increasingly prominent concerns as scholars investigated the contextual forces that shape organisation-building processes and strategic decision-making.

The seven case studies in this thesis help to examine how organisations deal with multiple conflicting environmental pressures, which the organisation studies literature often describes as a state of 'institutional pluralism.' In this sense, 'institutions' are understood as the shared set of rules, standards, and ideas arising from collective activities. They exist and persist because they are carried forward by interacting individuals (Hughes, 1937). They are socially constructed systems infused with value, and therefore are strongly linked to culture and identity (Scott, 2013, p. 24). The term 'institutions' does not describe organisations, but rather, it refers to the social structures they inhabit and produce, which subsequently affect how organisations function and change. When organisations must reconcile the demands of multiple institutions, they may be required to innovate in order to survive. Chinese HIV civil organisations offer an opportunity to examine responses to a set of complex social and political pressures. This context illuminates how organisations deploy images and structures to fundamentally shape how they are able to operate and persist.

From individual stigma to organisational stigma

Over the last twenty years, sociologists in the West have begun to examine more deeply how the concept of stigma may be examined on the organisation level. The literature on stigma towards individuals or classes of individuals has a fuller history, notably with Goffman's (1963) writings on the dehumanising aspect of stigma. Goffman's initial ideas have been further developed in other disciplines, such as social psychology (Crocker & Major, 1989; Major & O'Brien, 2005), economics (Harel & Klement, 2007; Loury, 2003; Rasmusen, 1996), and epidemiology (Kalichman & Simbayi, 2003).

The study of organisational stigma, which developed out of this canon, considers "label[s] that [evoke] collective stakeholder group-specific perception that an organization possesses a fundamental, deep-seated flaw that deindividuates and discredits the organisation"(Devers, Dewett, Mishina, & Belsito, 2009). When aggregated at the group level, stigma often involves multiple overlapping labels and categories, and can be seen as an institutional pressure that powerfully shapes organisational fields comprising stigmatised groups or individuals. Moreover, the effects of shame extend to a wide variety of organisations to different degrees, and their scope is not only limited to extremely marginalised groups (Kreiner et al., 2006).

For organisations, stigma can derive from connections with shamed individuals. Pontikes et al. (2010) analyse film employment records and examine the relationship between those blacklisted during the 1940s-50s Red Scare in the United States and the careers of their colleagues. They demonstrate that although few people were formally blacklisted, many others were affected by associative stigma during a time of moral panic (Pontikes, Negro, & Rao, 2010). In other words, the effects of stigmatising a few individuals

were multiplied throughout social networks of collaborators even when most had no direct involvement in communist-related activity.

Like workers, organisations can also absorb stigma from association with stigmatised activities (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009, p. 135; Hughes, 1958). Hudson and Okhuysen (2009) visited and observed men's bathhouses and classified the ways in which the organisations managed their boundaries so as to limit the stigma affecting both them and the other organisations with which they worked, including clients, regulators, and suppliers. In Chapter 5, I take a similar approach to augment their framework of organisational strategies for managing stigma transfer, with findings that suggest a need for additional dimensions of boundary management processes, including those that require core organisational transformation.

Insofar as they structure the perceived relationships of organisations to other actors, differing modes of organisational activity can shape how organisations are affected by associative stigma. The concept of stigma, originally theorised as a physical, tribal, or character-related marking for individuals that invited negative social consequences (Goffman, 1963), can also be analysed as a product of institutional forces (Douglas, 1986). In this way, shared notions of dirtiness or impurity shape both individual and organisational behaviour (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999), delegitimising entities that share associations with stigmatised entities. Under these circumstances, organisations must strategically respond to the challenges posed by associative stigma.

Hudson and Okhuysen (2009) also offer a useful dichotomy for distinguishing the permanence of organisational stigma. They suggest that organisational stigma can be divided into temporary "event-stigma," which may be tied to a negative outcome or scandal, and more persistent "core-stigma," which is inherent to an organisation's fundamental identity

(Hudson, 2008; Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009). The cases discussed in this chapter involve the latter type of stigma, since their social missions all involve serving people with either positive status or high-risk profiles for HIV.

Just as organisations' connections with individuals may result in stigma transfer, organisations' identities and activities can also transfer stigma to individuals (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999), and thus individuals and organisations participate in a system of shared stigma transfer that leaders manage in order to deflect negative perceptions of both their organisations and the individuals within them. Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) emphasise the way that managers of organisations such as funeral homes, casinos, and prisons must reframe the nature of work for their workers (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, p. 419) in order to restore their self-esteem. Chapter 5 responds to their call for further research on the way that organisations manage the effects of stigma on "external legitimacy"(Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, p. 429).

Thus, stigma is enacted and transferred on both the individual and organisational level, and the mutual interplay between the two types of stigma adds a layer of complexity to a study of organisational stigma. In order to analyse these interactive phenomena more concretely, it is helpful to classify stigma into various categories. Goffman's three general groupings of stigma that affects individuals, namely, physical affliction, tribal affiliation, and character blemishes (Goffman, 1963) have been adapted analogously to organisations, with an emphasis on the negative effects of stigma resulting from others disassociating from and ostracising a stigmatised entity (Devers et al., 2009). In the context of organisational stigma transfer, these groupings help to explain why stigma often spreads to different extents among individual and organisational actors.

Around the same time that Goffman wrote about the concept of stigmatised individuals, Hughes put forth a similar set of ideas that had to do with the "dirtiness" of vocational work (Hughes, 1958). His classifications are similar to Goffman's, and he wrote about three types of dirty work, describing tasks that were "physically, socially, or morally [tainted]" (Hughes, 1958). Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) further elaborate this concept, explaining the various types of associations that typically characterise each category. These authors draw a distinction that social taint results from working with stigmatised individuals, whereas moral taint involves work that inherently contradicts social values (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). These two categories of stigma are most often transferred through association with ostracised groups of people and are highly relevant to Chinese HIV civil organisations. For these groups, moral stigma originates in the dubious and unknown nature of the work that these unregistered civil organisations conduct with marginalised individuals. This uncertainty amplifies the moral stigma associated with HIV, meaning that groups providing HIV-related services face suspicion that they endorse or participate in illicit sexual or drug-related activities. For moral stigma, an organisation's presumed motives and its activities form a crucial part of its social assessment, and the perception of dubious motives can intensify stigma toward an organisation. The findings of Chapter 5 illustrate how organisations reframe their motives to shape how moral responsibility is perceived, and therefore to change how stigma affects the organisation.

Although one of the archetypal examples of social taint described by Hughes is work related to HIV, the social and moral stigma are both relevant in the case of HIV in China. Not only is work related to HIV seen as problematic due to the association with HIV-positive individuals, it is also linked with the suspicion of being involved in morally questionable activity, such as prostitution (Kaufman, 2011), injection drug use (Qian, Schumacher, Chen,

& Ruan, 2006), and homosexual behaviour (Neilands, Steward, & Choi, 2008). Thus, the types of stigma faced by Chinese organisations are twofold: they include both the social taint of being affiliated with stigmatised individuals and the moral taint of implied connection to illicit activities. In other words, HIV-related stigma is bound in the intersection of social and moral categories, and both types must be considered when analysing how organisations adapt to ostracising pressures. This supports Ashforth and Kreiner (2013)'s assertion that stigma is generally present in multiple forms and that both physical and social stigmas tend to bring about additional moral connotations. It is worth noting that although most research on organisational stigma has been conducted in the west, the highly relational nature of Chinese society through *guanxi* (关系 roughly translatable as social connections) (Xin & Pearce, 1996) and the importance of reputation (*mianzi* 面子) or "face"(Spires, 2011) suggest that associative stigma also would be relevant in the Chinese context.

Kreiner et al. (2006) propose two additional dimensions of stigma: depth and breadth. These two dimensions draw attention to the importance of variance in both pervasiveness and extremity of stigma within an organisation (Kreiner et al., 2006, p. 621). These concepts can be used to achieve greater analytical rigour when examining organisational defence mechanisms used to mitigate HIV-derived organisational stigma in China. Kreiner et al. (2006) compare differing degrees of stigma affecting doctors and coroners to exemplify an example of stigma "breadth" (Kreiner et al., 2006, p. 621). Because doctors deal with death only a fraction of the time, whereas coroners' work constantly involves dead bodies, stigma faced by doctors is less "broad." Similarly, the depth dimension can be understood by comparing prison guards to courtroom officers. Both work with criminals, yet the former involves a much more direct and intimate degree of interaction (Kreiner et al., 2006, pp. 621–622), and thus confronts a "deeper" degree of stigmatisation. In Chapter 5, I identify new

strategies used to reduce the depth of associative stigma by reorienting an organisation's relationship with stigmatised issues and individuals. The strategies I propose are not exhaustive, but rather are provided to supplement existing theories about how organisations manage identities perceived by partners or customers as illegitimate.

Mechanics of market exchange and individual vs. collective responsibility

In order to build a new framework that might explain how market interactions facilitate a clearer division of responsibility and reduce stigma transfer, it is helpful to refer to a debate about the nature of transactions at the intersection of economic sociology, articulated by Michel Callon (1998), and social anthropology, represented by Daniel Miller (2002). Beginning with a discussion of their ideas, this section extracts the key theme of alienation inherent in transactions and calls for a broader set of assumptions that can be applied to high-stigma environments. Both of these authors comment on earlier work by Karl Polanyi (1944) in which he describes how the market pattern subsumes social relations beneath its own self-regulating system (Polanyi, 1944, p. 57). Importantly, Polanyi suggests that whereas previously market-like activity (i.e. barter) was "secured at the price of rituals and ceremonies which restricted its scope"(Polanyi, 1944, p. 62), a market society excludes social relations from the market sphere.

Responding to this idea, Callon (1998) attempts to resolve divergent perspectives regarding the extent to which economic and cultural forces influence transactional behaviour. He proposes that economic processes occur within many so-called "cultural frames," and that rather than consider the forces of the market and culture as in conflict, they can be unified in a network- and calculation-based system in which individuals make economic choices based on quantifiable evaluations of both rational and symbolic parameters (Callon, 1998). Callon

suggests that cultural frames constitute parallel ways of assessing and calculating economic value, and that they are fully compatible with market theory. Importantly, he emphasises that transactions necessarily involve both the reduction of a commodity to an exchange value with externalities as well as the alienation of the ties between the owner and the commodity (Callon, 1998, p. 19). He characterises this type of exchange as a technology that permits the process of "disentanglement" that allows buyer and seller to "escape from the web of relations"(Callon, 1998, p. 19) that emerges from their engagement. Once organisations are disentangled, they no longer remain connected through moral debt and social obligation, and therefore can act with greater independence in the future.

Miller issues a strong critique of this perspective, offering a series of examples including a network of Indian potters (the *Jajmani* system), a used car purchase, stock markets, corporate take-overs, and university auditing to suggest that a complex, culturally mediated sense of value underlies market behaviour and simply does not fit rational economic calculation (Miller, 2002, p. 220). While it is possible to superimpose price on the qualitative and multi-aspect idea of value, Miller argues that this approach represents an arbitrary definition of the parts of qualitative value as "overflow" which stems from a normative desire to reduce the world to a sort of calculable rationality. Moreover, Miller explains that consumers typically prioritise embeddedness over other economic interests, making decisions in order to preserve relationships in spite of economic interference (Miller, 2002). He argues that social embeddedness is not something that should be subsumed under the market and quantified within an economic measure like price. Instead, he argues that the social frame should be primary, since it fundamentally shapes the way economic value can be calculated in the first place. He suggests that unless Callon's argument has a self-fulfilling effect (Miller, 2002, p. 229), empirical evidence suggests that individuals generally prioritise

relationship-based factors when making market decisions. This implies that a social frame tends to supersede economic calculations even within market interactions.

Miller describes how stockbrokers and corporate executives are motivated more by social status and peer approval than economic interests (Miller, 2002, p. 228), and how entanglement characterises the process of marketing a car, which ultimately shapes an individual consumer's decision to make the purchase more strongly than price considerations (Miller, 2002, p. 227). Additionally, he claims that economic agents actually improve market efficiency by attending to a more socially derived and holistic sense of value: "the simplifications of disentanglements expected of market transaction actually make transactions less efficient and not more,"(Miller, 2002, p. 231) pointing to the ways in which professors resist auditing practices in order to maintain their own relationships with advisees (Miller, 2002, p. 230). Miller sees Callon's view as a non-agential, economic simplification of a richer reality. Rather than locating a market system within a ritual frame, he advocates for a ritual system within a market frame (Miller, 2002, pp. 223–4).

Don Slater (2002) elaborates on these opposing theories and attempts to find middle ground between Callon's and Miller's different formulations of economic activity. He argues that "the fundamental defining feature of a market is a kind of transaction rather than a purified form of calculation. The essential market transaction is the 'alienation' of goods in the form of property, which entails limits on the kind of social relationship formed between transactors"(Slater, 2002, p. 235). Slater thereby sidesteps the debate by focusing on the exchange of commodities rather than the vortex of frames and markets that precede such a transaction. He emphasises the micro-mechanics of the transaction itself:

> …what distinguishes market transactions from non-market transactions is *alienation*, rather than calculation. Market exchange is commodity exchange. It presumes a form of property right in

> which a transfer of ownership ends all claims of the previous owner: the object is thoroughly alienated. When we finish the transaction, we are quits. (Slater, 2002, p. 237)

Slater observes that it is crucial to distinguish between the decision and the action itself; in response, Miller offers a compelling defence of the complexity of entanglements surrounding market activity, transactions nonetheless produce a sort of estrangement between actors:

> As opposed to gifting, commodity exchange does not aim to perpetuate a social bond between buyer and seller but, indeed, to get it over with as quickly and cheaply as possible. It certainly aims to repeat the procedure in large aggregate…but not in order to sustain some broader social connection beyond the immediate market transaction. (Slater, 2002, p. 237)

The personal alienation produced through transactional activity is empirically validated in this chapter's cases and strategically put to use by organisations that work with stigmatised groups. In this fashion, these groups are better able to balance their interests of fulfilling marketing and revenue-generating needs while simultaneously preventing stigma transfer. In these cases, being disembedded from other sources of associative stigma may provide distinct advantages.

These three authors share a presumption that organisations are inherently interested in building social relationships with their consumers in order to maximise profit. Yet they stop short of considering other concerns to which organisations respond, such as the need for protection against political hostility. Additionally, it is important to consider how relationships between organisations and other actors shape organisational identity, which in turn can affect an organisation's ability to operate within a complex institutional environment. In this sense, embeddedness does not always confer an advantage, especially if an organisation deals with stigmatised groups. This assumption that embeddedness is universally valuable applies regardless of whether social frames are seen as peripheral or

core to consumer behaviour, and comes from a private sector and firm-centred view of organisations:

> The way to profitability is not through disentanglement, but through further entanglement. That is to say, the better a business reflects the totalizing moment of purchase by acknowledging the rich mixture of factors that consumers are looking for, the more they are likely to succeed. (Miller, 2002, p. 227)

While most organisations may rely on proximity to their consumers, users, or employees, when stigma transfer becomes a key concern, organisations have reason to disassociate from these individuals. In such a situation, organisations must use an understanding of entanglement and disentanglement to balance their need to engage with individuals with the potential risks of doing so. In the context of Slater's paper, which uses the marketing industry as evidence for this distinct account of alienation within a system of "cultural calculation"(Slater, 2002, p. 248), this assumption becomes particularly salient. Nevertheless, Slater's basic claim that marketing practices give an organisation agency to socially frame its activities supports this chapter's defence of the market as a space that carries symbolic meaning. In other words, this chapter responds to Kotler's call for application of marketing principles to a broader set of both business and non-business organisations and practices (Kotler, 1972), and offers cases that illuminate the need to consider how such cultural calculations might function for development organisations that use marketing as a component of their core activities. Thus, marketing-like activity can be productive not only for the pursuit of profit, but also for the re-situation and re-framing of an organisation's identity within contested and antagonistic environments. Organisations are often motivated by multiple logics and goals, especially when carrying out social missions alongside an imperative to sustain themselves financially. Slater's characterisation of the alienation that

occurs within each economic transaction contains a strategic function that may not have been anticipated by his paper, namely, its ability to mediate organisational stigma transfer.

How does an organisation reconcile the need to keep its consumers at arm's length, while still engaging meaningfully with them? In the case of working with stigmatised individuals, an organisation's marketing strategy may be complicated by pressures to avoid stigma transfer. For development organisations whose social mission is to directly serve these groups, they must strike a balance between proximity, which allows them to provide more effective and contextually specific aid, and distance, which allows them to benefit from lower degrees of stigma transfer and partner with a wider range of key actors in the private and government sectors. Depending on the type of activity that binds an organisation to its clients, the social perception of how closely it is associated on a symbolic and moral level with stigmatised individuals may vary, with important implications for strategy.

This somewhat special case calls for a reconsideration of the disentanglement process. Callon, Miller, and Slater characterise the benefits of disentanglement in rational terms such as efficiency and the clarity with which a transaction is completed, while ignoring the instrumental and strategic value of disentanglement. While Callon and Slater both acknowledge, albeit to slightly different degrees, the importance of embeddedness in understanding how sociality mediates economic action, they both postulate that both within and outside of these frames there exists a disembedded space in which transactions take place. For Callon, this occurs once transactions are "locked-in,"(Callon, 1998, p. 50) and for Slater, this occurs during the moment of commodity transfer, when individuals "reproduce no social roles other than that of buyer and seller"(Slater, 2002, p. 239). The presumption found in both Callon and Slater is that by viewing transactions as a basic and rational process of

exchanging ownership, they can be considered to occur outside of the complications of social frames.

These authors do not emphasise the fact that the act of exchange, though possible to consider independently from the frames in which it is embedded (Slater, 2002), cannot be divorced from its own social meaning, especially as it relates to a third-party observer. Similarly, the roles of "buyer and seller" are not atomic and have performative connotations that must also be evaluated alongside any social frames constraining the process of arriving at a transaction. More importantly for this set of cases, the act of commodity exchange, no matter how mundane, has social meaning that is distinct from other types of non-market interaction, such as providing health counselling, rights advocacy, or pharmaceutical subsidies. The more an organisation's activities can be distinguished from the contractual obligations of reciprocity consequent from gift exchange (Mauss, 1966; Zelizer, 2008), the more an organisation can maintain an impersonal and disembedded relationship to a stigmatised group. James Carrier explains this in his analysis of Mauss' work on gift giving:

> The purchaser is obligated to pay the seller for what is bought, but that paying ends the obligation and dissolves the relationship: buyer and seller owe each other nothing and can go their own ways. Indeed, there is the assumption that actors should engage in commodity transactions *only* if they are free and independent of each other, for only then will they be free of undue influence and so able to protect their own interests. (Carrier, 1991, p. 124)

In Chapter 5, I argue that such alienation between actors interacting through buying and selling occurs between organisations and individuals in the modern Chinese context. Furthermore, organisations that work with stigmatised groups gain a performative benefit from this type of arrangement in which relationships appear more independent.

These ideas from economic sociology regarding market activity and stigma help analyse a strategic process that concerns organisations in a development context. Both

Callon's and Slater's arguments that market exchange comprises distinct events in which ownership is transferred and individuals are alienated from one another in buyer and seller roles illuminate the way that the market can be used strategically as a barrier to stigma. Combined with this, Miller's characterisation of social frames as the dominant set of forces governing economic exchange suggests that organisations might choose to engage in transactions not only for economic benefit, but also for other reasons, including managing organisational reputation and public image.

In Chapter 5, I examine organisational stigma transfer through the lens of this debate, bringing attention to the way that different modes of activity can affect the linkages between organisations and the nature of associative stigma. I aim to contribute an additional dimension to research on organisational stigma transfer, showing that organisations both respond to and reframe their relationships to marginalised groups by modulating the practices that connect them.

In addition to dealing with stigma, Chinese civil organisations also have to navigate a high degree of uncertainty, which has implications for both organisational structures and networks. The following section helps to introduce theory on uncertainty, which is relevant to Chapters 6 and 7.

Using organisational images and identities for managing uncertainty and risk

Studies examining uncertainty have played a profound role in understanding the ways in which organisations draw on various organisational forms, and this concept is especially applicable in the non-profit sector. High levels of uncertainty can motivate various ways of structuring an organisation, including bureaucratisation (Galbraith, 1973), loose coupling (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Weick, 1976), and the formation of reciprocal networks (Weick,

1969; Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005). On the organisational field level, uncertainty can be defined as a lack of necessary information available regarding inputs and outcomes (Daft & Macintosh, 1981; Galbraith, 1977), yet the specific effects of such information shortages on organisations are highly context-dependent (K. G. Smith, Grimm, Gannon, & Chen, 1991). Depending on contextual factors, uncertainty presents differing types of risks to organisations, such as threats to organisational survival, scandals, event-stigma (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009), political challenges, and the risk of making poor decisions.

The concept of uncertainty for organisations can be analysed on social-psychological, structural, and environmental levels. Although activity at these multiple levels moulds the ways organisational structures develop, in this dissertation I focus on how organisations undergo strategic re-structuring in response to environmental uncertainty. In the non-profit sector, organisations struggle to make predictions about the current and future state of the environment (Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998, p. 134), especially since these groups rely financially on intermittent grants, which are difficult to forecast. What strategies do these organisations take to deal with these unstable features of the civil sector?

For Chinese HIV civil organisations, which deal with constant political, financial, and social pressures (Kaufman, 2011; Spires, 2011; F. Wu & Chan, 2012), information about funding, policy changes, intervention outcomes, and staff commitment is often extremely limited. At the same time, these organisations frequently face simultaneous threats and demands from other actors, including government entities, community members, media outlets, and private companies, whose conflicting pressures present strategic challenges to organisation leaders. When opposing demands cannot be resolved, these leaders must navigate such “double bind” (Hennestad, 1990) situations. For example, a Chinese civil organisation might be offered a grant from an international foundation for a project that the

government does not support, while simultaneously being required to register with the government to keep a bank account needed to legally receive the international funding. Another instance would be a scenario in which laws require an organisation to register as a business to accept funding from an investment firm mainly interested in supporting the social mission of the organisation. Adaptive organisational structures represent an attempt to resolve double binds by increasing the flexibility of an organisation's outward projection of images and the ways in which it can decompose risks into manageable pieces. Jason Jay's (2013) study of the Cambridge Energy Alliance, a partnership between actors from different sectors, illustrates a situation in which multiple institutional logics "defin[e] the same organisational outcome as both success and failure"(Jay, 2013, p. 140). Jay suggests a process model in which these paradoxes iteratively reshape the logics that created them in the first place (Jay, 2013, p. 153). He theorises that after an organisation begins to carry out activity under conflicting institutional logics, it engages collectively with its clientele in order to resolve contradictory perceptions. One such process he describes is "splitting," in which organisations begin to separate responsibility and develop specialised subunits that can better deal with the burden of these paradoxes (Jay, 2013, p. 154). In Chapter 6, I consider how organisations resolve paradoxes that result from simultaneous internal and external pressures in a similar manner. I observe organisational restructuring and how organisational sub-units may help with managing conflicting demands from other actors.

Before reviewing how hybrid organisations have been defined and studied previously, it is worthwhile to note that an organisation's identity undoubtedly interacts with the images that it tends to project. Indeed, an *identity* forms as individuals who participate in an organisation's activities socialise each other into a shared set of practices and values. In a parallel process, an organisation's external reputation stems from how an organisation

projects *images* that represent the organisation's self-articulation. Yet these two concepts are not identical, since it is possible for organisations to modify their image despite their identity, or plural identities, as is often the case for hybrid organisations (Pache & Santos, 2013; W. Smith, Gonin, & Besharov, 2012). Kraatz and Block (2008) explain that organisations presenting multiple responses to plural institutional pressures must consider the extent to which appropriateness in one context may be viewed as inappropriate in another. Thus, their concept of organisational legitimacy involves multiple identities and multiple observers:

> The organization's attempts to comply with the demands of one constituency are likely to be observed by others, who may assign very different subjective values to the same displayed symbols…various internal groups with different constitutive beliefs and disparate notions of "appropriate" behavior are likely to come face-to-face in decision situations, particularly strategic ones…In situations like these, organizational actions appear to be co-produced by multiple identities and/or co-evaluated by multiple audiences. (Kraatz & Block, 2008)

The ways in which these multiple factors are integrated into an organisational presentation of images are not well understood. To what extent organisations create divergent or holistic images that can appeal broadly depends on environmental constraints. Moreover, both approaches to constructing organisational images occur in institutional pluralistic settings, which raises the question of what other factors affect the success of each strategy in a given context. In Chapter 6, I observe organisations that take advantage of loose coupling in order to present organisational images that may seem very different and even unrelated. I respond to Kraatz and Block's identification of loose coupling as a possible area of further investigation. They study higher education organisations and athletic departments as examples of organisations that present similarly divergent images:

> Loose coupling would seem to be a more suitable concept to describe the evident reality of the situation, as this concept does not stipulate the existence of a single organisational core. (Kraatz & Block, 2008)

As organisations develop identities constructed around divergent images, they must reconcile the way they frame their identities with the institutional norms that delineate what types of organisations are viewed as appropriate. Within the uncertainty produced by China's unevenly enforced regulatory environment, there is substantial scope for experimentation.

Unpacking hybridisation

Hybrid organisations constitute a topic of increasing interest in organisation studies, especially as organisational collaborations across traditional sectors have become more common. In this section, I review some of the definitions that have been used to describe hybrid organisations and then briefly summarise some of the key issues in the literature in order to frame the empirical analysis in Chapter 6. My goal is to show that while early stage research on hybrid organisations has focused predominantly on ideal type hybrids such as social enterprises, there are many other types of organisations that engage in hybrid organising as well. My theoretical contributions are to suggest a framework that can be applied generally to any organisations that borrow from multiple institutional references (forms, identities, practices, etc.) and to show that hybrid organising may be a common strategy in institutionally complex environments.

In previous studies, the concept of "hybrid organisations" has been defined in many ways. This term can refer to an organisation that unites multiple identities, institutional logics, organisational forms, organisational identities, decision-making controls, or resource pools (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana & Lee, 2014; Borys & Jemison, 1989; Giorgi, Lockwood, & Glynn, 2015; Glynn, 2000; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012; W. Smith et al., 2012; Zilber, 2002). As a result, research on hybrid organisations exhibits wide-ranging research questions and levels of analysis. Research has examined a wide range of topics, including

individual socialisation processes within Bolivian microfinance organisations (Battilana & Dorado, 2010, pp. 1425–26, 1428–30), Swedish healthcare administrators' role as "hybrid professionals" who negotiate institutional complexity (Blomgren & Waks, 2015, pp. 97–98), and how selectively coupled organisational structures help French work integration social enterprises (Battilana, Sengul, Pache, & Model, 2015; Pache & Santos, 2013). These analyses of tensions between forms, practices, and ideas within hybrid organisations provide several insights into how organisations manage complex institutional environments.

Kraatz and Block (2008) provide a useful typology of hybrid strategies including denial, compartmentalising, reining in, and forging new identities (Kraatz & Block, 2008), which has parallels to Oliver's typology of institutional responses (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Oliver, 1991). While my data largely supports this framework, my case studies appear to move freely between these practices, which indicates that the divisions between different types of organisational responses may not be so clear-cut.

Battilana and Lee (2014) neatly gather these insights under the category of "hybrid organizing," which they define as "the activities, structures, processes and meanings by which organizations make sense of and combine aspects of multiple organizational forms"(Battilana & Lee, 2014, p. 398). They describe the social enterprise as the ideal type of hybrid organisation, while also recognising the diversity of other types of hybrid organisations. They also ask "under what conditions, and through what processes, do hybrid forms gain the self-reproducing, boundary-maintaining qualities of well-established forms?"(Battilana & Lee, 2014, p. 427). By emphasising the processes and practices necessary to establish and maintain a hybrid organisation, this idea also helps to integrate research focusing on hybrids that mix institutional logics or organisaitonal forms.

Battilana and Lee's question above, while certainly of interest to research on social enterprises, applies mainly to contexts where new organisational forms are likely to gain official recognition. In a political context that does not recognise large classes of organisations such as China, why do organisations hybridise, and with what goals? HIV civil organisations exhibit a wide variety of hybrid organising activities, suggesting that the goal of these activities may be to navigate a complex political context. In this thesis, I ask not how hybrid strategies may yield new acceptable hybrid forms (such as social enterprises), but rather what motivates organisations to pursue hybrid strategies, and how we might conceptualise hybrid organising within a political context that largely does not support charity work, let alone hybrid organisations.

I view hybridisation as a possible strategy that can allow organisations to manage, reduce, and reallocate organisational risk. Hybrid organisations can exhibit greater resilience in environments with conflicting external pressures. However, the cases in this dissertation demonstrate that hybrid organising does not always shield organisations from environmental threats. To deal with multiple sources of uncertainty, organisations tend to build structures composed of loosely coupled, specialised components, each equipped to deal with a different kind of risk. This phenomenon has been documented both in large, bureaucratised organisations and in small, relatively informal organisations (Billis, 2010, pp. 46–65; Powell, 1987). Powell (1987) emphasises how competitive pressures that reward flexibility and efficiency are a main driving factor behind hybridisation, but my research indicates that other forces such as major political threats and high risk of financial insolvency can also encourage the use of hybrid practices. More broadly, hybridisation may also allow organisations to deal with institutional pluralism. In addition to allowing organisations to deploy multiple organisational images, hybrid practices also provide benefits for managing internal resources

and handling environmental factors such as political opportunities, constraints from other organisations, institutional pressures, and regulatory requirements.

Because of the small size and relatively fragile nature of Chinese civil organisations, sustaining their work often hinges on their ability to balance and coordinate different practices and organisational components. Battilana and Dorado (2010) point out that small start-up organisations face additional uncertainty, and greater instability regarding their organisational identity, since they cannot develop in close reference to rigid institutional blueprints, and their individual stakeholders play a more active and significant role in shaping their development. If this is true, then why would unstable hybrid organisations be adopted in uncertain environments?

Pache and Santos (2013) emphasise the role of selective coupling in managing hybrid organisations, calling for further exploration of an "understanding of hybrid organisations…[as] a viable organisational form that can exhibit distinct advantages in contexts of institutional pluralism"(Pache & Santos, 2013, p. 997). Pache and Santos indicate that hybrid forms can provide unique and customisable approaches to addressing complex institutional environments. Many recent studies of hybridisation examine organisations' ability to balance profit-seeking and social missions and are especially concerned with the extent to which management and productive efficiency may be maintained in spite of this hybridity (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana et al., 2015; Besharov & Smith, 2012; Defourny & Nyssens, 2010). Pache and Santos (2013) argue that organisations may superficially adopt hybrid forms to increase legitimacy such as in their "Trojan horse" metaphor (Pache & Santos, 2013, p. 973), which suggests that hybrid organising can help organisations deal with complex institutional demands.

My empirical research develops work on selective coupling in hybrid organisations to provide a new framework for hybrid organising, in particular linking a hybrid organisations' activities to an organisational ecosystem. The goal here is to extend previous work examining the internal conflicts that hybrid organisations must manage (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana & Lee, 2014; Blomgren & Waks, 2015; Mair et al., 2015; Pache & Santos, 2013; Powell, 1987), expanding the scope of analysis to include hybrid organisations' ability to create and deploy multiple images, expand their repertoire of core activity, and better facilitate partnerships. Hybrid organisations face several layers of internal challenges that affect how they navigate institutional pressures, construct organisational identities, and build hybrid organisational structures. I hope to contribute to a broader concept of how different layers of organisation can respond to repressive environments at both the intra- and inter-organisational levels and to possibly expand current ways of thinking about hybrid organising.

In Chapter 6, I re-examine the motivations and processes driving hybridisation, arguing that hybrid organising can provide more pragmatic advantages such as the ability to better manage risk across organisational subunits, to develop specialised units to match demands of institutionally plural environments, to adopt selectively coupled organisational components to maximally share resources while minimising intra-organisational conflicts, and to use multiple organisational images to expand availability of partnerships with other types of organisations. My evidence corroborates research suggesting that hybrid organising is a set of practices involving references such as organisational forms, and I extend this by characterising hybridisation as a continuous balancing act that borrows on a broader repertoire of institutional ideas. I argue for a more fluid view of hybrid organising that involves creative bridging work borrowing from a variety of institutional practices, forms,

and identities. I suggest that hybrid organising may be a useful and even common strategy within any organisation dealing with conflicting institutional pressures or mismatches between their missions and the available set of organisational forms.

Previous work on ambiguity in organisations

Ambiguity has been explored in various areas of organisation studies, at various levels of analysis, and it has proven theoretically useful especially insofar as it offers opportunities to think of how actors confront situations that are not rationally calculable. In this sense, states of ambiguity offer opportunities for creativity and institutional shifts. In this section, I review previous work on ambiguity in order to make several claims. First, I show that the concept of ambiguity appears in several different areas of sociology, largely representing a situation that presents opportunities to those actors (individuals or organisations) that can make sense from prolonged uncertainty. Second, I present work examining how organisations respond to ambiguity. I show that previous work has considered ambiguity to be an environmental feature that organisations must rationalise, whereas my empirical work questions this assumption. In Chapter 7, I present cases of organisations that both promote and reduce uncertainty. I aim to clarify how ambiguity can be used as a strategic tool for sustaining informal organisational networks, and how this subsequently has implications for understandings of Chinese civil society.

Ambiguity can furnish opportunities for institutional work and reinterpretation through translating or reframing knowledge and practices (Martin & Meyerson, 1988), and new institutional myths can emerge when there is a need for arranging knowledge so that it can be comprehended and accepted (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). While much of the research on this type of institutional work has examined intra-organisational processes such as goal-

setting in knowledge-intensive firms (Alvesson, 1993), ambiguity also affects smaller organisations as well, especially when deployed as a technique for state control. I now review several ways in which ambiguity has been used across different levels of analysis. These perspectives help to provide context for more specialised research on how organisations deal with ambiguity, which is relevant for examining Chinese civil organisations.

Jacqueline Best argues that ambiguity is a powerful tool for examining some of the workings of international politics, providing a broad definition that can be applied across various types of actors. She highlights the fundamental origins of ambiguity, and emphasises both its performative and consequential effects:

> The inherent slipperiness of interpretation is at the heart of the concept of ambiguity…Ambiguity represents a persistent and often intractable state of uncertainty based on the difficulty of interpreting information…the room for ambiguity only grows larger as we move into these increasingly complex and implicit forms of social communication…Ambiguity…both enables and complicates the performative force of our representations of the world. (Best, 2008, p. 356)

Ambiguity, as a persistent state of uncertainty, applies broadly to different phenomena of varying degrees of complexity, including language, rules, and institutions. It confronts individuals within organisations as well as groups that collectively handle information and develop strategic responses. Importantly, in the process of parsing and dealing with ambiguity, institutional conflicts can be retained, resolved, or remade, and thus the degree and nature of ambiguity evolve together with the actors working within it. In this sense, ambiguity offers challenges as well as productive possibilities. However, in the context of Chinese civil organisations, despite high levels of legal and administrative ambiguity, the dominant theories still begin by mapping out state interests and then constructing models that match these to outcomes for civil organisations. This work aims to supplement these by

examining the role ambiguity plays in making space for alternative institutional arrangements surrounding how civil organisations operate.

Several studies have examined what appears to be deliberate use of ambiguity in state policy to maintain flexibility in interpreting rules (Edelman, 1992), with many focusing on the Chinese state (Ho, 2001; Kang & Han, 2008). Peter Ho presents a framework in which ambiguity allows for informal resolution of disputes over rules in modern Chinese society:

> …institutional indeterminacy is the "lubricant" on which the system runs: the ambiguity of legal rules allows the land tenure system to function at the current stage of economic reforms. Moreover, this institutional indeterminacy is partly the result of efforts by the central leadership to create leeway for reacting to societal developments. For this reason, I speak of "deliberate institutional ambiguity" as upheld by the state. (Ho, 2001, p. 400)

The extent to which this institutional ambiguity is deliberate may be contested since the state comprises diverse actors and interests. Therefore, it is not appropriate to characterise state actions as the will of a single actor. However, Ho presents clear evidence of the ways in which ambiguity bolsters the state's ability to interpret rules flexibly according to context, and in doing so exert greater power over individuals in the case of land disputes. Yet despite this use, institutional ambiguity may not always serve the interests of the state in a straightforward way. Ho discusses how the latter concept of institutional ambiguity serves both as a source and remedy for social conflict:

> …institutional ambiguity can become a potentially explosive source for future social conflict. (Ho, 2001, p. 401)
> …
> Legal indeterminacy is a major feature of the current Chinese land rights structure. More importantly, a great deal of this stems from the needs of the Chinese leadership for sustaining a deliberate institutional ambiguity to avoid social conflict. (Ho, 2001, p. 407)

Ho's findings suggest that institutional ambiguity provides space for contestation that in some occasions brings about civil conflict and in others helps to avoid it entirely. While leeway in legal interpretation may allow the Chinese state discretion in deciding which policies to enforce to ensure political stability, it also presents civil organisations with opportunities to respond in pursuit of their own interests and agendas.

Patricia Thornton's study of dissent in China highlights rhetorical strategies by which individuals employ ambiguity to lessen state control, and contest state ideology while remaining ambiguously safe from legal consequences. She documents the ways in which individuals critique the state indirectly:

> In the face of extraordinary repressive capacities, irony, ambiguity and double entendre represent adaptive strategies for contentious claim-making. In the two cases discussed above, indirection, imagery and allusion serve to create conceptual "open spaces" within which collective identities may be forged and political agendas refined. (P. M. Thornton, 2002)

Thornton's study reveals how non-state actors can use ambiguity to navigate state controls, especially when these controls are highly restrictive and poorly defined. In the same way, civil actors are also responsible for the shaping of institutional ambiguity and may act in ways that are difficult to interpret in response to political repression. Both Ho's and Thornton's examinations of ambiguity demonstrate that both state and non-state actors deliberately use ambiguity to sustain informal relationships within institutional systems characterised by inherently conflicting symbols or rules. This flexibility can make space for otherwise infeasible institutional arrangements. Ho examines this in terms of legal interpretation, and Thornton studies individual dissent; yet their findings can also be applied to civil organisations.

Oliver's typology of strategic responses to institutional pressures also discusses the effect of uncertainty on organisational activity. She finds that higher levels of uncertainty

correspond with lower likelihood of organisational resistance to institutional pressures (Oliver, 1991, p. 170). While this may reflect a general pattern, it is important to consider whether this trend may in fact be an oversimplification of greater heterogeneity in how ambiguity affects organisations. One story regarding institutional ambiguity assumes that organisations nearly always attempt to reduce ambiguity via rational means (Dimaggio & Powell, 1983) and suggests that ambiguity limits organisations' ability to challenge institutions (Oliver, 1991). However, in certain contexts, ambiguity may exert other effects on institutions that diverge from these hypotheses. For instance, ambiguity may allow organisations new possibilities for adopting other strategic responses, such as avoidance and manipulation. Among the cases in this thesis, rather than categorically working to reduce uncertainty, civil organisations appear to also actively reproduce ambiguity to contravene state interference in their activities. The findings here suggest that in certain contexts, ambiguity may be a tool that organisations can use to expand possibilities for responding to institutional pressures.

To understand how ambiguity is manipulated by state and civil actors, it is important to resist the notion that ambiguity is a fixed feature of an institutional environment that results only from state policy. Levels of ambiguity within an organisational field are differently experienced by separate actors, and they result from interactions between multiple actors. As levels of analysis increase in complexity, the extent to which it makes sense to consider ambiguity from the perspective of a single actor (such as Dalton's study of managers) diminishes. While ambiguity is still a relevant concept for organisational fields insofar as it provides an alternative to rational choice frameworks, in these multi-actor concepts it is important to recognise that its influence as an institutional feature depends on how it is produced, interpreted, resisted, and reproduced by various actors in the

environment. Furthermore, it affects actors differently depending on how each one experiences and manages a state of intractable uncertainty.

A short review of these various perspectives on ambiguity suggests a few insights deriving from this concept. First, ambiguity can provide both challenges and opportunities for individuals and organisations to carve out new spaces within institutional constraints. Second, for increasingly complex systems, the concept of ambiguity should be adapted to incorporate interactions and interpretations among multiple actors. Therefore, to understand how ambiguity functions in a certain context, it is crucial to examine how organisations respond to its consequent institutional pressures, much in the spirit of Oliver (1991). The effects of ambiguity depend to a great extent on how organisations interpret and manage conflicting logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991) and how they respond to institutional norms more generally. I characterise the production of ambiguity as a viable strategy for civil organisations that is paradoxical under common rational assumptions about organisations and civil-state dynamics. In Chapter 7, I find that ambiguity emerges from mutually reinforcing interactions between state and civil organisations in order to sustain otherwise prohibited organisational networks. This extends previous research that has investigated the ways in which ambiguity created by lack of clarity in roles, sectors, or goals can present both challenges and productive opportunities to organisations (Best, 2008; Edelman, 1992; Lewis, 1998; Martin & Meyerson, 1988).

Ambiguity in civil-state interactions

Organisations have often been conceptualised as a technology arising from a need to process information, especially when there is a high degree of uncertainty (Galbraith, 1977; K. G. Smith et al., 1991). The cases in this thesis support this idea, especially as civil

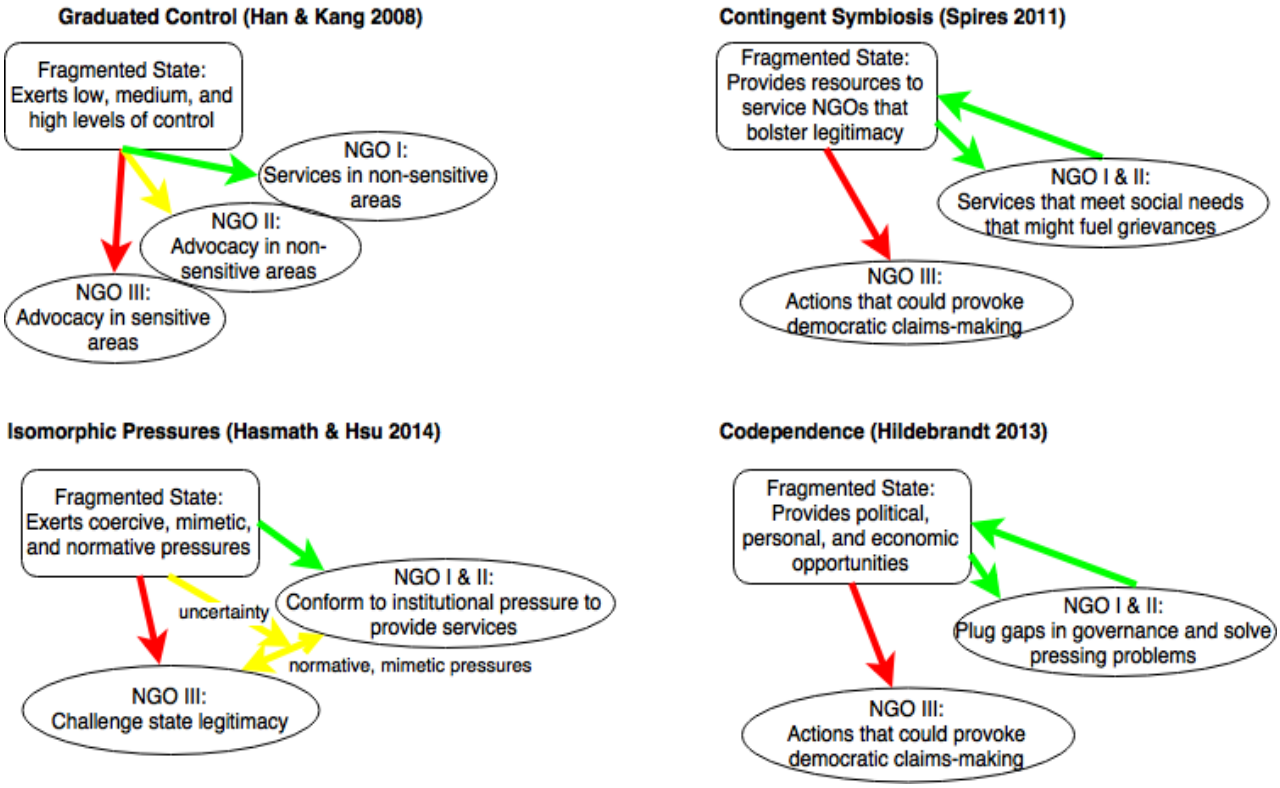
organisations share information with each other to better understand how government policy is likely to be interpreted. However, in the context of HIV-related work in China, it is evident that organisations also strategically respond to ambiguity by reproducing ambiguity for other actors. This pattern likely emerges from a common need to foster an autonomous space for civil organisations between stigmatised communities and state actors in a way that benefits these three types of stakeholders. The primary way in which this occurs is when organisations refrain from establishing clear identities and relationships. These strategies allow civil organisations to build new types of collaborations with the state in order to weather the current vague and restrictive policy environment. At the same time, whereas most social movements frameworks would predict close collaborations among civil organisations working on similar issues, these cases show minimal inter-civil organisation relationships, with these linkages existing primarily to share information rather than to carry out formal collaborations. Others have observed the high degree of informality of Chinese organisational partnerships in many sectors (Hildebrandt, 2013, p. 141; Tsai, 2006; Xin & Pearce, 1996), which are likely bolstered by the importance of social relationships (*guanxi*) in the Chinese cultural context of work and social engagement (Xin & Pearce, 1996). The evidence in these case studies also demonstrates deliberate seeking of informal ties, yet it does not seem to support the theory that the strength of individual relationships exceeds that of organisational linkages. In order to compare these hypotheses, it is necessary to consider how HIV civil organisations respond to specific institutional challenges in this context.

The policy of denying official registration to the clear majority of civil organisations in China has created an environment in which these groups are restricted to very small numbers of staff and limited geographic scope. Yet both central and local government actors rely on civil organisations to address problems that have not been solved through official

channels, especially when these involve work with marginalised groups. In Chapter 5, I find that when organisations act to maintain symbolic distance from other actors (individuals or groups) that may confer negative legitimacy through associative stigma, they can better reduce stigma transfer. State actors turn to these groups to provide services to these groups, while keeping them at a distance. In order to do so, state actors pursue a mixed strategy of selectively supporting but restricting civil organisations, in part through ambiguity in legal registration procedures and unknown consequences for unregistered activity (Kang & Han, 2008).

The current models for thinking about the interaction between civil organisations and the state assume that these actors pursue clear, rational interests, and that institutional context emerges from decisions made by state actors. A set of diagrams summarising the major theories can be found below. Although these generally locate institutional power in the interests of state actors, the models vary based on differing interpretations of how these interests are characterised.

Figure 1: Main Incumbent Theories of Chinese Civil-State Interaction



The diagrams in the above figure illustrate several key points about current frameworks for analysing Chinese civil society. First, they all highlight the fragmented nature of the Chinese state, which comprises multiple actors. This feature tends to be used as an explanation for the ability for civil society organisations to function in the 'gaps' that result from inconsistencies and conflicting interests among state actors (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014; Hildebrandt, 2013; Kang & Han, 2008; Spires, 2011). Second, even when considering the role of institutions on shaping organisational activity, these theories take state interests as a starting point, and conceptualise a set of state goals (stability, legitimacy, etc.) as the dominant set of institutional determinants for civil organisations. Although it is certainly true that the state has far greater power than civil organisations in terms of resources and coercive authority, this does not necessarily mean that it dominates the institutional environment for

civil organisations. Hildebrandt acknowledges the power asymmetry, yet perhaps goes too far in characterising this imbalance as applied to institutions:

> Within the codependent relationship between NGOs and the state in China, these [power] asymmetries can be especially large. The rules of the game are made by the state, and it remains the dominant force in the relationship. And with limited leverage over the state, NGOs can make changes only at the margins. The notion of codependence also helps us understand the long-term future of the relationship and the actors within it: codependent relationships, by their very nature, preserve the status quo. Therefore, in the case of China, we should not be surprised that the existence of NGOs has contributed to the persistence of the authoritarian regime, not undermined it. (Hildebrandt, 2013, p. 14)

The implicit assumption in this excerpt and in these other frameworks is that civil organisations do not participate significantly in the institutional work defining the norms and practices in HIV work. In this chapter, I identify ways in which HIV civil organisations play an active role in shaping the institutional environment despite this dramatic power imbalance. One such way in which these organisations manage the extent to which they are subject to institutional pressures such as direct interference from state actors is to reproduce ambiguity around the nature of their programs and partnerships with state actors. While this may not be a successful strategy when dealing with international foundations and private sector organisations, it seems to fulfil a government interest in keeping distance from stigmatised work and limiting risk of public criticism. Therefore, the reproduction of ambiguity by civil organisations suggests a more mutual negotiation of institutional constraints than the literature has previously documented.

Ambiguity over organisational identities and roles also can help prevent external observers from pinning responsibility on a single actor, giving both civil and state groups the ability to manage mishandlings informally and privately. This finding has implications for the concept of ‘audiences’ in organisation studies (Sutton & Callahan, 1987, pp. 405–7),

which have been under-theorised. Ambiguity in terms of an organisation's identity can influence how organisations are seen and evaluated by other actors. These accounts of deliberate creation of ambiguity as a strategic tool support Ho's work on state actors' motivations for legislating unclear land laws (Ho, 2001), research on the role of *guanxi* as institutional substitutes (Xin & Pearce, 1996), and analysis of informal institutions (Tsai, 2006). Ambiguity also makes possible partnerships characterised by a sense of maintained distance that can protect from associative risks and threats.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Ethnographers are seldom so single-mindedly interested in finding a unique solution to one specific problem…Instead, they are typically interested in developing an interlocking set of generalizations about many different aspects of the organization or community they are studying, and much of the force of an ethnographic description comes from seeing how the various generalizations support each other. (Becker, 1998, p. 208)

In this chapter, I explain the development of the research design and methods to justify the motivations for the qualitative approach taken in this project. In order to explore questions about the intermediary work that civil organisations play as development actors, I investigate organisational processes from three levels of organisation. Using multiple lenses enables comparative work that integrates activities, structures, and networks at the heart of the interactive dynamics that I hypothesise are responsible for shaping how civil organisations operate relative to other state and private sector organisations. To examine multiple levels of analysis with research questions concerned with mechanisms, I elected to use an iterative, qualitative methodology to build case studies of seven civil organisations. These case studies were selected from a broader list of HIV civil organisations in China compiled through a combination of online directories (including the China HIV/AIDS Information Network and UNAIDS), key partner organisations with affiliated research groups (such as a research team based in the Guangdong Provincial Sexually Transmitted Infection (STI) Control Centre and the Tsinghua University Comprehensive AIDS Research Centre), and various gatherings including two strategic planning meetings, one training workshop, three conferences, and dozens of other events, including informal lunches and dinners and an awards show. After this list was composed, four cities were selected, and interviews were conducted with organisation leaders in these cities. A subset of these

organisations was chosen based on relevance to the thematic focus and research questions of the project. Further interviews and conversations were conducted in order to develop case studies. The primary data for the cases consists of translated transcriptions of semi-structured interviews with the leaders of these organisations. These transcriptions were coded thematically, analysed in smaller groups selected by thematic relevance, and assessed in relation to the theoretical questions of each chapter.

As research conducted by an outsider in multiple respects (language, nationality, appearance, identity, etc.) on a sensitive and stigmatised issue, gaining access to these organisations and establishing credibility with informants was a large challenge faced in the process of the data collection phase of this project. I discuss these concerns later in this chapter, as they represent an important methodological challenge throughout the entire process of the research, including the choice of research sites, the interview process, and the coding and interpretation of data.

Design rationale

As a project aiming to understand strategic decision-making, structure, identity, and framing of small organisations, the methodology of this project has been designed to gather data from a diverse set of civil organisations in different regions in China. Qualitative methods are best suited for answering these questions due to their mechanistic focus within a disparate group of organisations that operate both clandestinely and on a small scale. The case study approach "is a research strategy that focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings"(Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 534), and conducting multiple case studies allows for testing and building theory using a number of organisations to examine a set of thematic issues developed in an iterative, grounded manner.

By observing the routine activities of these organisations at different periods of time over roughly one year, as well as engaging in in-depth interviews and informal conversations with their leaders, this project hopes to illuminate the subtle ways in which organisations act dynamically and in relation to the institutional forces of other organisations across multiple sectors. Broad patterns of what features tend to guide organisational survival have been documented within Chinese civil society (Hildebrandt, 2013; Y. Lu, 2005; Spires, 2011); this study aims to extend this initial phase of inquiry by interrogating the mechanisms and motivations that guide organisations within the dynamic, evolving, and interactive system that includes civil organisations as well as the various institutions that determine opportunities, risks, and institutional constraints within this space.

In order to capture these complex evolving mechanistic features of organisational activity in a single setting characterised by uncertainty regarding anticipated changes in registration policy, government management of foreign NGOs, and a sharp reduction in the major sources of international funding for HIV in 2012, this study adopted a comparative case study framework (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 534; Yin, 1984). In order to mitigate the limitations of working as a single researcher, the study aimed to approach the research questions on multiple levels of analysis and with various sources of qualitative data (Eisenhardt, 1989). This multi-level approach was a key aspect of this project, which aimed to critically evaluate notions of civil society and its role in development by examining organisational processes. I moved between multiple levels of analysis in order to search for underlying mechanisms that might help to explain heterogeneity found by other studies of Chinese civil organisations. This also allowed me to consider the interrelated sets of activities and strategic practices that might span multiple levels of organisation, such as links between organisational framing activities and structures.

To examine organisations exhibiting variation in location and several other political features, theoretical sampling was the dominant method used to select cases. Consequently, the fieldwork took place primarily in four locations and in trips ranging from two weeks to two months over the course of roughly one year. The interviews, translated and transcribed, constitute the primary corpus of empirical data analysed in this study, and have been used to build a set of case studies that attempt to capture the activities of civil organisations as they adapt and re-organise to new institutional rules. These interviews were supplemented by short periods of participant and non-participant observation, field notes, and other informal conversations with civil organisation leaders and staff throughout the fieldwork process.

Selection of case studies

Before setting out on fieldwork, a list of more than fifty civil organisations was compiled using online databases, news sites, and organisations with which I had personal connections from previous work and research. In 2014, I also helped organise a health promotion contest for HIV civil organisations, which helped to expand this initial list. In my first two fieldwork trips, informal conversations, interviews, and office visits were conducted in order to develop a preliminary thematic direction of the thesis and to investigate which organisations might make strong case studies. In this stage, the case study organisations were selected from this initial list to reflect a set of organisations that contained variation in political contexts, target population, and internal structures. These comprised organisations whose leaders were sensitive to the current environment and thought strategically about their organisations and their positioning within a broader field of other actors. The experiences of these leaders resonated with the themes identified in the early fieldwork, and thus provided a chance to extend and test early questions and hypotheses. Importantly, the cases were

selected on the basis of their ability to inform theory rather than in a random way (Eisenhardt, 1989, pp. 533, 537; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Thus, they were chosen as examples of organisations whose accounts could be usefully analysed and compared across multiple cases, exhibiting both variation and sufficient thematic focus so as to be comparable within the scope of the thesis. The table below summarises the case studies and shows variation across urban-rural setting, registration status, funding source, government relations, and ability to sustain operations.

Table 5: Summary of Variation in Case Studies

#	Case	Office Location(s)*	Registration Status**	Funding Source(s)	Government Involvement	Project Failure***
1	**ECB**	Urban/Rural	Commercial	HK Foundation, Private Investment, Revenue Generation	Collaboration with GONGO	No
2	**GB**	Rural	Commercial, Civil	UK Foundation, Revenue Generation	Collaboration with CDC and City Government Hospital	Yes
3	**ZX**	Urban	Commercial	Domestic Foundations, City CDC, Revenue Generation, International Foundation Grants	None	No
4	**LH**	Urban/Rural	Commercial	HK Foundation, Revenue Generation	None	Yes
5	**DB**	Urban	Commercial	Venture Capital, CDC, International Foundation Grants	Collaboration with CDC and Central Government	No
6	**MJ**	Urban	Commercial	U.S. Foundation, Revenue Generation	None	Yes
7	**TZ**	Urban	Civil	HK Foundation, Provincial CDC, Corporate Sponsorship	Collaboration with CDC and GONGO	No

* Urban as defined by Tier 1 (Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Tianjin, Chongqing), Tier 2 (Provincial Capitals), and Tier 3 Cities (roughly defined as large urban areas with population > 2 million). Rural includes smaller counties and townships outside of these jurisdictions. "Urban/Rural" indicates an organisation with offices in both areas. Though city tier definitions are not consistently defined, the distinctions among these case studies are clear.

** Registration with Ministry of Civil Affairs through Dual Registration System for civil organisations or with Bureau of Commerce for commercial organisations. "Commercial, Civil" indicates an organisation integrating multiple registered organisational components.

*** Denotes whether the project or organisation studied experienced full collapse or cancellation due to fiscal, political, or human challenges.

As a group of exploratory case studies placed in dialogue with theoretical frameworks from organisation studies, these should not be interpreted as a representative sample for making statistical generalisations. Rather, their goal is to extend the analytical vocabulary, metaphors, and theoretical frameworks used to consider organisations that are exceptional, marginalised, and understudied. Given the unsettled and dynamic nature of Chinese civil organisations, comparisons among case studies are needed to examine relationships that are "too complex for the survey or experimental strategies"(Yin, 2009, p. 19).

Fieldwork locations

The fieldwork sites for this project were four cities in China: Beijing, Dali, Guangzhou, and Shanghai (see Appendix F). These cities reflect regional diversity as well as differences in political influence, population size, urban development, and HIV civil organisation core activities. While there are other types of variation that are not captured by this sample, these sites provide a diverse sample of HIV civil organisations and offer a broad sense of the concerns and activities faced by organisations involved in this area of work. This section briefly discusses the features of each fieldwork location to explain the considerations that determined research site selection.

Beijing has many HIV civil organisations whose proximity to the central government often offers strategic benefits for accessing resources and avoiding political threats. At the same time, this closeness can introduce a greater sense of political sensitivity into an organisation's everyday work. Beijing, as the capital city of China, also houses numerous international organisations, such as the WHO, UNAIDS, and the country headquarters of major foundations such as the Clinton and Gates Foundations. Because of this, civil organisations based here typically exhibit relatively strong transnational linkages. Dali, as a

small city in the relatively poor southern province of Yunnan, has higher rates of drug use, and most of the civil organisations working on HIV prevention and care target either injection drug users or their children, who often are at high risk of contracting HIV through mother-to-child transmission. Guangzhou, the provincial capital of Guangdong Province, has a well-established network of men who have sex with men (MSM) community organisations. When conducting fieldwork, my main affiliation was to the Guangdong Provincial Sexually Transmitted Infection (STI) Control Centre as part of a research group located within a hospital in Guangzhou, and this helped to establish relationships with the local HIV activists and organisation leaders. While performing fieldwork, I also assisted with a coordination project within the Guangdong Provincial Sexually Transmitted Infection (STI) Control Centre working with local MSM organisations as part of the initial set-up stage of a research trial funded by the U.S. National Institutes of Health (NIH), which examined crowdsourcing as a potential intervention for HIV testing and prevention. This work helped me gain access to key interviewees and offered opportunities for participation in planning meetings and conferences with HIV civil organisation leaders. Shanghai, as a flourishing financial metropolis, has had a large number of foreigners, and is considered a relatively open city. There are fewer international foundations than in Beijing, but still many international linkages through multinational firms and foreign residents.

The fieldwork locations were chosen in part to reflect variation in the environmental configurations of state-civil relations. Beijing and Shanghai both fall directly under the jurisdiction of the Chinese central government, so they tend to be more influenced by central government interests without exhibiting the same degree of conflicts between local, provincial, and central government actors. Beijing has a relatively large number of registered civil organisations, as well as a strong political climate due to the proximity to central

government authorities and international organisations (J. Y. J. Hsu, 2012; Spires et al., 2014). Guangzhou, on the other hand, is a provincial capital and falls under the jurisdiction of the Guangdong provincial government as well as the local city government. Because the city shares a language (Cantonese) with an extended region of Southern China that includes Hong Kong and Macau, and due to its position as one of the world's busiest trading hubs for manufactured goods, the city tends to exhibit relative openness to both international business and civil society. Nevertheless, the dual registration system that requires approval from both the relevant local government department and the Ministry of Civil Affairs has still made it difficult for many organisations to achieve official registration. Dali, a smaller city in Yunnan province, is considered a rural area, and has relatively large numbers of ethnic minority residents. Even though tourism in Dali has been growing in recent years, and the hospitality industry in the older parts of the city has been expanding, long-term international visitors are still relatively few. The local government has been active in supporting several health-related initiatives, such as programs to reduce injection drug use. As a rural area, the social expectations tend to be relatively conservative, which affects the intensity of stigma related to issues such as homosexuality and drug use.

These four fieldwork sites offer a diversity of political and cultural parameters in which various Chinese organisations in different regions must operate. Notably, the sample does not include organisations from cities in Western China, largely because these tend to have fewer active non-governmental organisations, making it difficult to understand how these groups fit into the local ecosystem of civil activity. Another set of areas where civil organisations tend to operate includes the so-called "HIV villages" (*aizibing cun* 艾滋病村), where unsafe blood-collecting practices in the 1990s led to extremely high infection rates. These organisations tend to be politically sensitive, and foreign researchers are often

prohibited traveling to these areas for research on this topic. While constituting another part of the story of HIV organising, organisations from these areas were not included in the sample used to build case studies in this dissertation.

Data collection

This study uses interview-based, qualitative methods in order to illuminate the various motivations and strategies that shape civil organisations' activities related to HIV treatment, care, and prevention in China. Earlier studies have taken this approach to studying HIV civil organisations in China, focusing on other key moments in their development (Cao, 2012; Chua & Hildebrandt, 2013; Hildebrandt, 2013; Kaufman et al., 2006; Saich, 2000; Szlezak, 2012; Z. Wu, Sullivan, Wang, Rotheram-Borus, & Detels, 2007; Yu, 2011), such as the adoption of the "Four Frees, One Care" (*simian yiguanhuai* 四免一关怀) policy that pledged unprecedented government-funded support to people living with HIV (Kaufman et al., 2006). This government initiative provided free antiretroviral drugs, free voluntary counselling and testing, free drugs to pregnant women living with HIV to prevent mother-to-child transmission and HIV testing of new-born babies, free schooling for children orphaned by HIV, and free care and economic assistance to families affected by HIV (WHO, 2005). Other pivotal moments that have been studied include the Chinese government's public acknowledgement of HIV after the SARS scandal in 2003, and the approval of a grant from the Global Fund for HIV prevention in China in 2007, which provided unprecedented financial support to many of the active HIV civil organisations over a five-year period. Like previous research on HIV in China, this study relies on in-depth interviews with key actors in the field in order to examine the next phase (dubbed by several interviewees as the "post-Global Fund" era) of civil activism around HIV. The semi-structured interviews in this

research inquired about leaders' reactions, analyses, readings, and strategies in response to various changes in the systems governing civil organisation funding, registration, and community engagement. They gathered information about the organisations themselves, including their activities, structures, and interactions with other actors, in order to build informative case studies that can be cross-compared thematically. They probed the way that the organisations have adapted and responded to institutional pressures, attempted to develop a sense for how civil organisation leaders think about the future plans of their organisations and explored the processes that leaders use to build and structure their organisations.

Measurement or evaluation of organisational impact or economic efficacy based on development indices or other similar metrics were not emphasised. This project also involved numerous brief segments of participant observation conducted when following organisational leaders' everyday work and attending meetings with representatives from other civil organisations. These observations were recorded in running field notes and were referenced during the development of descriptive and thematic codes for each case. The notes taken during participant observation were not the primary source of data for this dissertation, but they were helpful for referencing while coding and selecting thematic categories for analysis.

Challenges and limitations

Practical obstacles and difficult decisions abound when researching stigmatised organisations, especially as an outsider to the community. It is important to expose the main issues that were considered when handling the data presented here, since the context in which the data were collected is an important factor in reading and evaluating how the data were analysed and used to draw inferences.

Although I am a non-native fluent speaker of Mandarin Chinese, as an American doctoral student visiting China on field work trips, my obvious identity as an outsider presented challenges both to accessing organisations and to acquiring credible accounts during interviews. Some common attitudes make this outsider identity challenging in the Chinese context. For instance, a foreigner could be assigned special status that would encourage informants to put a positive spin on a situation as a host might do for a guest. There are other situations in which informants might be concerned that a concept might be difficult to explain to a foreigner, and therefore would partially omit part of their account. Regarding contacting and observing the activities of organisations, there were often reservations that the presence of a foreigner in a given situation might attract undue attention or result in greater regulation from the state. Previous activities of journalists in the area of HIV in China had also caused some suspicion toward foreigners who claimed to merely be 'observing' or 'studying.' These issues seem to have lessened as greater numbers of foreigners have been active in living and working in China over the last ten years, yet they still arose not infrequently during the field work.

To mitigate these obstacles, I took all measures possible to put informants at ease and spoke in Chinese when it was the preferred language of the interviewee. I also did my best to avoid being seen as a 'guest' to an extent that might cause undue pressure or formality. To ensure that my presence would not interfere with the activities of the organisations studied, I explained that these confidential interviews were not journalistic or media-related. In most cases, it was helpful to observe the organisation for a few days in order to build a basic level of trust, after which the interview would be conducted in the organisation's office. A small benefit of being an outsider was that some of the interviewees knew that issues sensitive in Chinese culture such as homosexuality were less so in the United States, and thus felt

somewhat more at ease discussing them with me. Based on my sustained interest in this topic, several informants assumed that I was part of their community, since they interpreted my research as stemming from personal experience, as their work had been in many cases. I limited sharing details of my personal life and identity (except for my role as a student researcher) so as to keep focus on the topics of the interview. I found that in some cases when many of my informants were open about their sexuality, HIV status, and the nature of their work, they had withheld this information from their friends and families, which suggests that my outsider position may have offered privileged access to hearing frank accounts from these individuals' regarding their work and identities.

Stigmatised communities are often difficult to research because their marginalised status makes them difficult to contact and engage. I attempted to find organisations that reflected heterogeneity in terms of position within HIV activism in China, and not only study the largest or most established organisations. Any non-random sampling tends to privilege organisations that are more visible or more easily contacted. However, given that these cases were selected from a larger group of civil organisations, I believe that this set of seven case studies captures adequate variation among civil organisations in China, based on comparison to similar HIV civil organisations which were not included in the sample. Since the chosen organisations capture diversity across most meaningful organisational features such as size, location, type of work, founder identity, and structure, these organisations constitute a basis that is theoretically sufficient to contribute to organisational theory and research on Chinese civil society in a preliminary, exploratory manner.

Theoretical positioning of the research

Recent quantitative (survey-based) and mixed-method studies of Chinese civil organisations have correlated various characteristics such as size, budget, interaction with government officials, and location (Spires et al., 2014). Spires et al. (2014) identify broad associations between civil organisations' various discrete purposes, government relations, and resources, and their ability to register and survive. I take these findings as entry points for further inquiry about the mechanisms and processes by which civil organisations develop new strategies and change their organisational structures in response to new policy and funding rules. Spires et al. (2014) suggest that further investigation is needed to explain the reasons behind different experiences and models for civil organisations working on the same issues. As a qualitative research project, the purpose is to supplement the existing research done by Kaufman, Saich, Kleinman, Hasmath, Hsu, Hyde, Szlezak, Spires, Hildebrandt and others in two important ways.

First, these scholars have identified important patterns about the overall organisational, resource-based, and bureaucratic aspects of Chinese civil society. For instance, Kaufman et al., Hasmath, and Hsu emphasise the ways in which civil-state relations operate on multiple levels and highlight the various ways in which the state has continued to strictly manage the civil sector over the last two decades. I expand on their findings by investigating the role that activity within HIV civil organisations can illuminate the evolving civil-state dynamics described in these studies. Second, this work has called for greater attention to the intersection between cultural configurations and pragmatic questions about how organisations mobilise, negotiate, and assert identities in a politically limited space. Sandra Hyde and Nicole Szlezak demonstrate the way in which the concept of the HIV problem in China is constructed, and how many international and domestic agendas intersect

to yield subtle 'practices' that shape experiences from international policy makers to individual sufferers of HIV. Hyde's notion of the circulation of "everyday AIDS practices" allows her to show that the way in which organisations respond to the "epidemic" largely hinges on the way in which it is constructed, circulated, and associated with other concepts such as sexuality, desire, morality, stigma, ethnicity, and class (Hyde, 2007). Szlezak shows the ways in which the Global Fund, a funding institution that provides an interface between international and domestic organisations, represents a place where knowledge about global health is "co-produced"(Szlezak, 2012). Szlezak argues that the perception of HIV in China as a "global" and "global health" issue has shaped the way that governance structures have developed there. This affects domestic and international organisations and must be considered when analysing the development of civil organisations that have been funded and trained by international health organisations.

I explore the way in which organisations emerge from, confront, and manage various institutional pressures, attempting to highlight how organisation-level dynamics are important to consider in developing countries. In particular, I consider how organisations make use of new identities, forms, and collaborations, and how they negotiate the influences of past practices and configurations while venturing into new modes of activity. Necessarily, this work approaches civil-state dynamics from several angles. In order to gain a fuller sense for the complex questions faced by civil society actors, I stitch together pragmatic challenges faced by civil organisations and the institutional factors in which they operate. At the same time, I reflect upon the ways that knowledge structures are produced, re-produced, and contested at the organisation level.

At this specific moment in the development of the Chinese civil sector, there are many reasons to believe that the rules governing how civil and state actors work together are

evolving in new directions. This is hinted at by quantitative work showing rapid growth in the numbers of organisations as well as dynamic organisational adaptation to new policies (Spires et al., 2014). Against this background, it is important to revise, update, and generate new ways of analysing the new paradigms governing the activities and evolution of Chinese civil organisations. The contributions of this work ideally can highlight fertile ground for both qualitative and quantitative research that can expand and verify grounded case-based frameworks. These theories may have broader applicability to other contexts and types of organisations.

Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interviews roughly comprise three sections. The first part gathers information about the organisation in order to distinguish the identity and core activity as well as the key actors that it deals with (including target groups, key partners, funding sources, etc.). The second section investigates the ways civil organisation leaders conceptualise the strategy, positioning, and development of their organisations, as well as their future strategic plans. The final section considers civil organisation leaders' perceptions on the composition and rules of the system in which they are operating, including framing, negotiation, and conflict management. By triangulating among these various cases, this project aims to gain insight into shared experiences and thinking patterns. These will help to develop hypotheses that can deepen existing theory on how organisations deal with institutional pluralism and collaborate with state actors.

As a constrained form of human interaction that can be mistaken for authoritative "data" with very broad scope, the research interview must be analysed in its given context, and the contents understood as a production of knowledge within a particular interactive

moment. When handling and interpreting interview data, there are numerous issues that must be kept in mind, including the presentation of coherent narrative for the interview, the identities and roles of the interviewee and interviewer, the political and moral motives of the interviewee, and the power of language and discursive expectation to constrain what can be said. These issues, and a balancing of three typical responses to these issues (neopositivism, romanticism, and localism) (Alvesson, 2003) have informed the reading and analysis of interview data in this project. Instead of interpreting the interview as an "instrument" belonging to the researcher or an encounter imbued with a need to "produce a particular order" (Alvesson, 2003, pp. 18–9), the interviews here are understood as a collection of interactions and conversations. These accounts "are in themselves empirical phenomena calling for explanation"(Alvesson, 2003, p. 19), and given this, the authority of the information therein must be handled as systematically as possible. In order to attempt to address this potential pitfall, the analysis is carried out in a highly comparative manner, cross-referencing multiple cases while building the theoretical categories through the coding process. Additionally, the project hopes to achieve a "logic of replication"(Eisenhardt, 1989) through a process of iterative analysis between groups of cases. This involves examining cases in twos and threes sequentially in order to compare the theoretical insights gained from groups of cases, taking conflicts and contradictions as opportunities to dig deeper.

In order to minimise the biases introduced by the roles, identities, and scripts that can be performed in an interview context, conversations were conducted in a comfortable and familiar place such as the organisation's office, clinic, workspace, or nearby restaurant, as determined by the interviewee. This decision prioritised the safety and comfort of the interviewee, and this appeared to enable long, in-depth conversations. One drawback of this approach was that one interview was conducted in a noisy café, which seemed to detract

from the depth of the conversation and made it impossible to transcribe. As a foreign researcher, I was conscious that this role might create the impression that I was requesting a specific type of story or issue. In order to try to minimise this effect, the multiple affiliations of the researcher, including both local and foreign research groups were made apparent, and the non-journalistic, research-oriented purpose of the project was made clear to all interviewees. The non-threatening identity of the non-professional, graduate student researcher appeared to mitigate some of the foreign-local power dynamics. During interviews, I wore simple, non-branded clothes.

Notably, the interviewees appeared happy to accept interviews and to share their stories. In most cases, the initial part of the interview asked leaders to narrate the story of their organisation and how it understood its identity, mission, and core activities. These typically came across as well-rehearsed reiterations of information commonly communicated in their daily work. Most leaders seemed genuinely curious to learn about the research findings, which suggested a shared sense that the field was dynamic, and open to multiple interpretations.

The interview questions were broken into three categories: 1) Organisational Identity and Core Activities, 2) Organisational Strategy and Structure, and 3) Institutional Context and Framing. For a detailed outline of questions used to guide the general course of the interviews, see "Appendix D: Semi-structured interview questions."

Interview recording, transcription, and coding

All interviews were recorded with informed oral consent of the interviewees. The recordings were then stored on a password-protected device and translated and transcribed from Mandarin Chinese (when applicable) into English with assistance from native Chinese

speakers who agreed to handle the information securely and maintain confidentiality regarding the contents of the interviews. The transcripts were then checked for errors and terminology consistency after translation and saved as a project in NVivo 11. A list of key detailed notes and a table of themes and subthemes was kept throughout the interview process, and these were coded in the interview transcripts using nodes in NVivo 11. Due to excessive background noise during one interview, the recording was deemed to be of insufficient quality to be transcribed and was not included in the study.

Because the fieldwork was carried out on four different trips, the interview guide and thematic focuses were developed iteratively, based on emergent themes from previous observations, conversations, and interviews. In this sense, the theoretical framework of the paper was built in a grounded manner, with initial fieldwork informing later theoretical investigation. Specifically, the process of "applying open codes freely within the structure of the interview guide" (Nsungwa-Sabiiti et al., 2004) allows for an iterative process which can adapt to multi-step, qualitative paths of inquiry. In the tradition of critical grounded theory building (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 33–34), the initial thematic areas of inquiry included, substantive theoretical issues concerning the field of HIV civil organisations such as challenges maintaining fiscal support, building partnerships, and achieving formal recognition. Subsequently, further probing of these issues and their respective managerial and organisational responses yielded a set of correlated formal subthemes, such as stigma, hybridisation, and ambiguity. Notably, the theoretical propositions in this dissertation should not be read as comparatively pre-tested generalisations that necessarily apply to other industries and contexts. Rather, they should be seen as the initial footing that calls for further verification and testing of the inductive models and basic system maps herein. Although the themes and subthemes were coded, these nodes were not analysed quantitatively (e.g. such as

in quantitative content or discourse analysis) due to the open nature of semi-structured interviews, evolving interview guide, and varying sizes and identities of the organisations studied. Instead, coding provided a methodical basis for organising data, identifying key patterns, and revisiting the areas where interview accounts might support or conflict with a proposed theoretical framework.

Case studies were selected from the interviews based on these subthemes to be developed particularly in the final stage of fieldwork and compared across various theoretical issues in each chapter. The iterative development of these case studies is closely linked to the theoretical arc of the thesis. These cases serve as illustrative cases of complex processes occurring within this field in multiple organisations and sites, yet as would be expected with a set of these studies, not all cases provided relevant information on all themes. In developing each chapter, when a case neither supported nor contradicted the thematic issues, it was omitted from the chapter's analysis. Thus, case studies relevant to the theme of each chapter were included. Within thematically related comparative case studies, this does not interfere with the ability for these organisational accounts to contribute to extending existing theoretical frameworks, since the analytical frame does not aim for statistical generalisability. Rather, the goal is to test existing models and lay the foundation for new theoretical frameworks about civil organisations and key issues and challenges they face. Theory is then iteratively analysed within the comparative case study framework, with the goal of yielding tentative new models and metaphors for thinking about these organisational processes and systems. The table below shows the intersection between cases and themes found in the data.

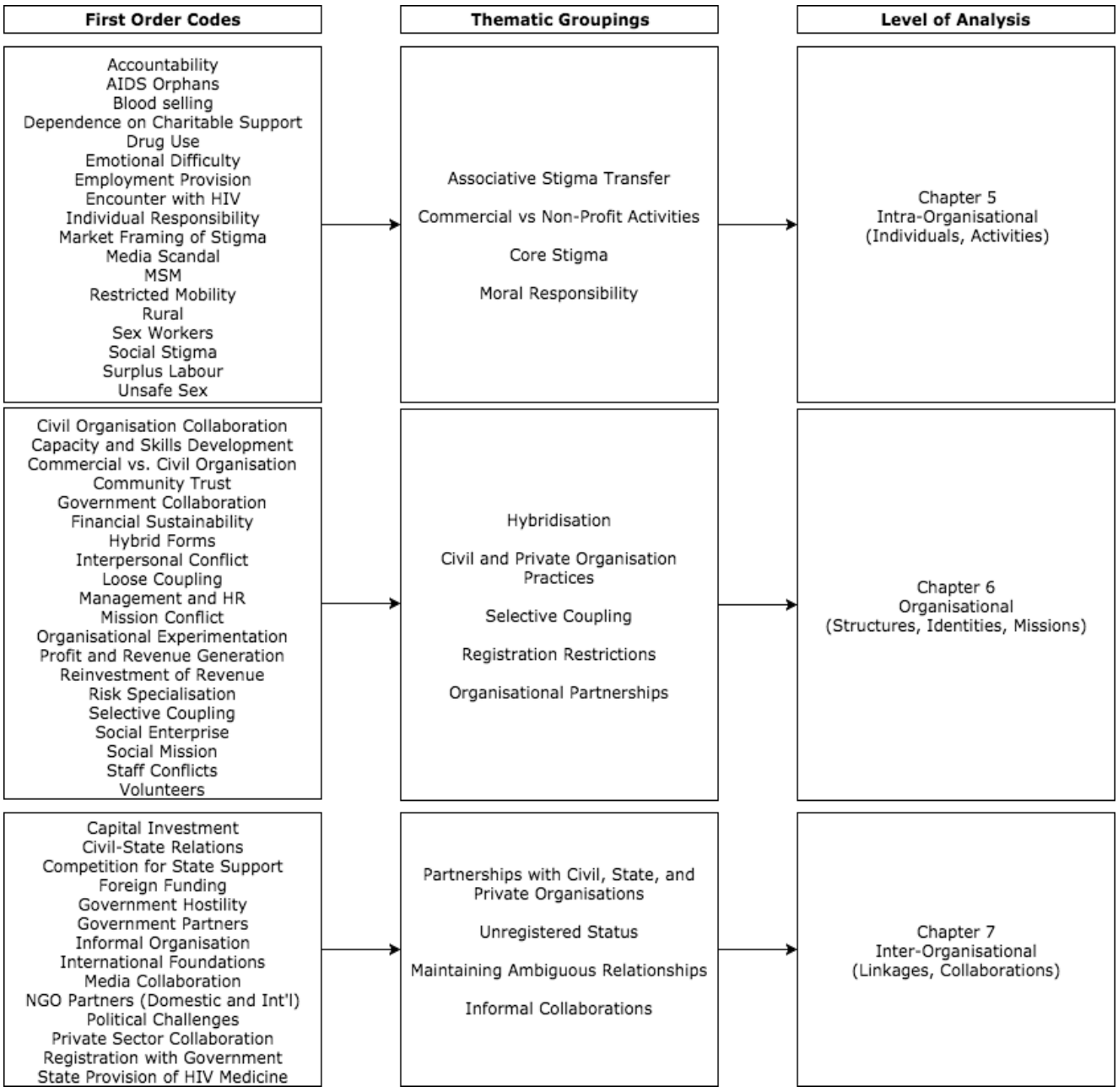
Table 6: Shared Thematic Patterns by Case on Stigma, Hybridisation, and Ambiguity

CASE / THEME	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Associative Stigma Transfer							
Associative core stigma related to HIV hinders work	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Commercial activities help to manage stigma	X	X		X	X	X	X
Commercial activities promote individual responsibility	X	X	X		X	X	
Hybridisation							
Civil organisations combining civil and private sector features and practices	X	X	X	X	X		X
Selective coupling of hybrid organisational components	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Hybridisation resulted at least in part from pressure from registration system	X	X	X	X		X	X
Hybrid structures help manage risks	X	X		X	X	X	
Hybrid structures increase ability to form partnerships	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ambiguity and Civil-State Collaboration							
Partnered with organisations from private sector	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Partnered with organisations from state sector	X	X		X	X		X
Partnered with organisations from civil sector	X	X		X			X
Cited ambiguity from state registration policy and state interference as major obstacle	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Maintained ambiguous organisational identity relative to the state and other entities	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Partnerships with state actors at a distance or through proxy organisations	X	X	X	X		X	X

Data analysis and theory building

I used a multi-step, iterative coding approach to condense descriptive codes to thematic or analytic codes within transcripts of interview data. This involved transcribing, coding, and revisiting theory in order to develop codes both using grounded approaches (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and concept-driven categories (Gibbs, 2007, p. 45). Coding was conducted throughout the research process and completed after the final field work trip. In order to test that these thematic categories were sufficiently grounded, I re-coded the transcripts a second time during the writing process to see if there might be additional themes to add using a data-driven categorisation approach. This yielded an expanded set of themes, with several new insights from the new coding with the benefit of additional temporal distance from the field work process. These preliminary coding results can be found in Appendix K. These themes were grouped together in broader categories, which then helped to outline the chapters of the thesis (see Table 6 above) At this point, it was apparent that the codes largely fell within different levels of analysis. This reinforced the value of collecting data at multiple levels of analysis, which allowed for analysis of the relationships between different aspects of organisational processes. These groupings that emerged from my coding were fairly distinct based on both level of analysis and thematic focus. The figure below outlines the process used to achieve these thematic groupings.

Figure 2: Thematic Coding Process and Structure of the Thesis



From these thematic categories, I extracted key quotes, and considered the relevance of these data with respect to research on related issues within the multi-disciplinary scope of the thesis. These quotes were presented either as direct citations in the text or in processed form either in data tables or more processed or tabulated forms (e.g. descriptions of case

study organisation features rather than direct quotes). The contribution of the thesis emerges from dialogue between these grounded analytic themes and integrative readings of theory from development studies, organisation studies, anthropology, work related to civil society, and China studies.

Case Study Summaries

In this section, I provide brief summaries of each case study. These will be referred to throughout the empirical chapters and include background information as well as descriptive information outlining the distinguishing features of each Chinese HIV civil organisation.

Table 7: Summary of Case Study Organisations

#	Case	Location	Summary
1	**ECB**	Guangzhou	Social enterprise selling ecologically friendly bags and employing women affected by HIV in a rural area.
2	**GB**	Dali	Gay bar and clinic created by a civil organisation and government hospital collaboration.
3	**ZX**	Beijing	Community support organisation and testing clinic that shared space with a large gay bar and nightclub.
4	**LH**	Kunming / Shanghai	Social enterprise aiming to provide HIV-related education and testing services to companies and local community.
5	**DB**	Beijing	Technology company founded out of a gay men community organisation that conducted HIV testing and community support work.
6	**MJ**	Beijing	Condom company started by an international non-profit as a public health initiative.
7	**TZ**	Guangzhou	Gay community organisation experimenting with market-based projects to generate revenue.

Case 1: ECB

ECB, a charitable project registered as a sub-entity under a separate social enterprise bakery project in Shanghai, runs a small bag-producing business that aims to employ women affected by HIV. Through selling these bags, the organisation aims to provide stable work

opportunities with a higher level of income than these women normally would find in a rural area characterised by unemployment and frequent discrimination against people linked with HIV. Initially supported by grants from a foundation based in Hong Kong that supports social enterprise in China, it now generates sufficient revenue to sustain its own production and pay living wages to its employees.

Case 2: GB

The GB project was a collaborative, cross-sector project carried out by an HIV prevention association affiliated with a local hospital's clinic for HIV testing and treatment. It consisted of a gay bar in a central area of the city with a small clinic on the upper floor and was staffed by gay men who had volunteered for the HIV prevention association previously.

The founder of the association and the gay bar is a doctor who directs the hospital's HIV clinic. As a medical practitioner, he observed a high rate of HIV infection among a group of men he thought might be gay, and after befriending a few who were candid about their sexual habits, learned about the high-risk behaviours in this group. He believed that these resulted from a lack of accepting social spaces and weak knowledge regarding safe sexual practices. Many men were having sex at night in parks and other outdoor public spaces, which were not conducive to discussion about healthy behaviour and informed decision-making (Personal Interview, January 2015). The idea to establish this commercial project stemmed from multiple goals. First, it aimed to provide both health interventions and a safe place for gay men to meet and learn about safe sexual practices. The founder knew that there were gay bars in larger cities that were allowed to operate and believed that this organisational form would be more acceptable both to organisational supporters and customers in his city.

He successfully secured a grant from an international foundation based in the UK to start the bar and attracted a wide variety of patrons, including international tourists and local gay men (Personal Interview, January 2015. The co-optation of commercial activity in order to gain acceptance for the project allowed it to flourish initially, and notably, it gained support from an official government agency, the local Center for Disease Control (CDC). Second, the founder also hoped that the revenue generated from the bar could ensure long-term sustainability for the bar and clinic. He explained: "We wanted to use the money made from running the bar to keep it operating in business and for us to begin to run our clinic"(Personal Interview, January 2015).

Case 3: ZX

This community support organisation, located in a newly acquired, rent-free office space atop one of Beijing's most well-known gay bars, offers HIV testing and health consultations for gay men and transgender women in Beijing, running support groups and pursuing close and sustained relationships with the groups with which they work. Though they have offered free testing in the past, they have begun to charge a nominal fee for their testing services, even when other organisations nearby offer the same HIV rapid tests at no cost. They are distinguished by their ability to work within extremely marginalised communities and establish long-term support groups for vulnerable individuals.

The collaboration between their clinic organisation and this large gay bar and nightclub represents a creative collaboration between two different types of organisations, with overlapping but distinct missions, structures, ownership, and funding sources. However, the collaboration rose out of a shared recognition of the importance of serving the needs of the gay community in Beijing, including provision of community space, entertainment, and health services.

Case 4: LH

While carrying out my fieldwork in September 2014, I was invited to attend a business-planning meeting for a new HIV social enterprise project as an observer. The purpose of the gathering, which included leaders of other HIV service groups in Shanghai and Wuhan, was to refine the strategy in advance of the projected launch of a revenue-generating HIV testing and education scheme. The project was supported and overseen by the long-acting leader of an established Hong Kong-based organisation that carries out HIV-related projects across China, which had secured a grant from a European foundation to support the endeavour.

The group had recently hired a woman who had work experience in the private sector for a pharmaceutical company, and she was to help develop the project as a member of a team of three staff. The other staff members did not attend the meeting, but they had contributed in previous discussions to the ideas laid out in the leader's presentation. Two months later, I interviewed the leader on this project, and learned about a number of obstacles that had prevented the organisation from advancing. I spoke with him again three months after that, and the social enterprise project had been tabled, and awaited another re-design. Though these obstacles prevented the organisation from ever launching, the concepts that went into the organisational design in many ways mirrored those of the previous case and illustrated a desire from the organisation to expand services to a more general population.

In accordance with one of the prominent ideas motivating social enterprise programs internationally, the founder hoped that this model would enable the project to operate sustainably without relying on continuous grant-based support. In order to achieve the goal of generating sufficient revenue to cover the operating costs and office rent, the director realised

that the market they would need to engage would need to include many more people than their typical high-risk clients. He explained that this was because HIV could affect anyone, and testing represented responsible behaviour for anyone who was sexually active (Personal Interview, December 2014). He believed that the standard approach of providing resources only to highly targeted interventions aimed at people with high risk of contracting HIV, largely promulgated by UNAIDS and the Global Fund, was outdated. He argued that this was one reason that the response to HIV was insufficient, and too slow to adapt to new paths of transmission. He cited recent increases in HIV infection rates among gay university students as one example of where the HIV response was falling short. In his view, a less targeted approach would reduce the isolation of HIV-related intervention, and result in a less stigmatised, broader reaching, and more effective response to containing the spread of the disease (Personal Interview, December 2014).

The leader of the LH project aimed to take advantage of two salient aspects of the "social enterprise model," a phrase he explicitly used to differentiate this project from the other charitable projects in China that were being implemented by the parent organisation, a Hong Kong-based registered charity. First, he transformed the free model into a fee-for-service alternative for four HIV testing and education services. Second, he chose to market these services to a different set of consumers, including both individuals and small businesses, which were not explicitly high-risk, stigmatised entities.

Case 5: DB

Originally a civil organisation that provided testing and social support services for gay men in China, this organisation has since developed as a hybrid organisation that combines a technology company with a community organisation. Since receiving three rounds of funding in 2013 for their gay social networking app, the organisation's civil health

promotion activities for gay men have been heavily influenced by a large infusion of venture capital that is managed flexibly between both arms of the organisation. Because the founder oversees both the community service and technology development components, both parts maintain a strong sense of social mission, lobbying to improve conditions for gay people in China while also promoting sexual health, specifically HIV testing, prevention, and education.

In this case, the relationship between the organisation's technological products (website and app) and the target population constituted the main source of value for investors. In this case, the gay men who were formerly stigmatised are reframed from a commercial point of view as a key market segment. The organisation's investors were strongly motivated by this opportunity and framed their decision to support this Chinese gay social networking app in these terms, citing the "pink economy" as a largely underexploited part of China. Gay men, they reasoned, are less likely to have families, and will have more discretionary income to spend on various luxury goods.

Case 6: MJ

MJ's director left an academic job to run MJ, a social enterprise in China working in branding and selling condoms. Among young gay men in China for instance, condom use is not consistent, with only 61% of respondents in a recent study reporting that they regularly used condoms (X. Zhang et al., 2013). The director believed that there was great potential to develop and expand the condom market by building a trustworthy brand. A family planning foundation in the United States provided the start-up capital for their first social enterprise in China, and the director built a team in Beijing.

In the first four years of operation, the MJ team designed two brands of condoms, in addition to laying the framework for distributing other types of contraceptives, such as IUDs,

injections, and birth control pills. One of the most challenging parts of this phase involved building relationships with the various regional distribution channels that would sell condoms in various pharmacies and stores throughout Northern China. Although the organisation struggled with corruption and transparency issues involving both internal staff and distributors, in its third year the organisation sold millions of condoms, which was sufficient to cover its operating costs. The founder believed that this indicated the potential for future profits if its production and sales could be scaled.

In 2014, after a disagreement with the U.S.-based foundation supporting the project, the director of MJ decided to close the office and cease activities in China. This followed the U.S. head office's refusal to increase the investment in the project. The organisation did not ever achieve sustainability, and upon folding donated its assets to other organisations in China involved in sexual health promotion.

Case 7: TZ

The leader of TZ founded the organisation in 2004 when he was a student in Xi'an. At the time, it was a project that had gained support from a prominent foundation in Hong Kong that provided support for many HIV-related projects in China. From the beginning, the organisation has had a primary focus on gay men's (*tongzhi* 同志) community issues. Alongside organising other community events, the organisation has worked on educating gay men about HIV prevention. In 2006, the organisation relocated to Guangzhou, and in 2009 the organisation established a gay community centre in Guangzhou. From this time, it collaborated with the local CDC to provide HIV testing and counselling to its community members. The organisation has established itself as one of the best-funded LGBT organisations in Guangzhou with an annual budget of approximately $100,000 USD, and it has expanded its services to include gay lobbying for gay-friendly policies, education

regarding how to confront violence and bullying, and advocacy regarding employment discrimination.

The organisation has received consistent funding from its parent foundation based in Hong Kong since its founding, which has covered basic operational expenses, rent, and a training program provided by the UN Population Fund. The organisation also has received grants from the Global Fund in 2008, which were partially replaced by government funding after these grants expired in 2013, though the organisation experienced a noticeable reduction in funding that year (Personal Interview, January 2015). Other than these grants, the organisation has also garnered sponsorship from several corporate sponsors, including a condom company, a medical company, and a beverage company, which make up roughly 15% of the organisation's budget. Currently, the organisation has four full-time staff, and shares an office with two other organisations that conduct similar work involving LGBT and HIV-related issues.

Like most civil organisations in China, this organisation never achieved official registration from the government. To be able to receive funding from the Gates Foundation, it processed grants and other payments through a government-affiliated organisation attached to the CDC. Between 2012 and 2014, the organisation applied unsuccessfully to register as an independent non-governmental organisation. The leader explained that these rejections came for various reasons, including changes to the government requirements that made it more difficult to register at that time. Managing money through a separate entity has been complicated; every time the organisation has needed funds, the leader has had to confirm exact amounts with them and provide relevant documentation and receipts. This has involved additional meetings to secure pre-approval even for very small expenses.

The organisation planned to incorporate several for-profit components into the organisation, which would require the registration of a commercial entity alongside the community organisation. Specifically, they had explored social enterprise-inspired ideas such as a gay-friendly social online platform, which would help companies that expressed gay-friendly attitudes reach markets through their community organisation. In addition, through their social networks, they could help companies hire gay men who might otherwise face discrimination. While the leader did not plan to charge for the HIV testing services they used, he planned to expand fundraising outreach to gay individuals who supported the mission of the organisation. For the marketing platform, the organisation was in the process of seeking private investment from venture capital firms.

The organisation was also beginning a new program that aimed to influence legislation by lobbying local Chinese government actors on behalf of the LGBT community. This program had not begun yet, and there was a great deal of anxiety about whether this strategy could be effective. The organisation had built partnerships with several government-organised groups such as the Guangdong Youth Foundation, and it hoped to strengthen these collaborations to improve their ability to cooperate with state actors.

Chapter 5: Stigma Buffering Through Market Activity: Distance and Division of Moral Responsibility Through Market Framing

Studies of organisational stigma have shed light on the importance of managing negative perceptions that can affect an organisation's ability to survive and operate. Most studies have examined large bureaucratic firms (Semadeni, Cannella, Fraser, & Lee, 2008; Sutton & Callahan, 1987; Wiesenfeld, Wurthmann, & Hambrick, 2008) or small businesses (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009, 2014), yet little attention has been given to how civil society organisations deal with similar problems. These groups, which often work with marginalised communities to address neglected social issues, frequently face high levels of associative stigma. Additionally, they exhibit a wide variety of structures and practices, often deploying resources and relationships in flexible and creative ways. This variance can provide insight into how organisations frame issues to adapt to different environmental contexts. In this chapter, I observe that institutional pressures such as stigma may not act equally on all organisations and are shaped and mediated by performative action. The effects of organisations' symbolic practices have tangible consequences on organisational outcomes, and the cases in this chapter illustrate how market strategies and their associated activities and meanings can transform the ways in which organisations become targets of attention, criticism, and stigma.

In this chapter, I examine ways that civil organisations strategically reduce the effects resulting from their associations (social stigma) as well as their core activities (moral stigma). While associative stigma is transferred from individuals with linkages to an organisation, moral stigma arises from questions about the fundamental acceptability of an organisation's core activities. Because organisational stigma intersects with both organisation-level and

individual-level categories and the ways in which these categories relate to common social values (Devers et al., 2009), there are many areas of overlap in which the stigma applied to individuals participating in organised activity is shared with the organisations to which they affiliate.

I begin this chapter by outlining how an organisation's orientation toward the market might help to mitigate stigma transfer. Drawing on ideas from anthropology, economics, and organisational sociology, I propose that images of organisational activity may help maintain organisational boundaries while also recasting an organisation's moral responsibility relative to a stigmatised group. Anthropologist Mary Douglas in *Purity and Danger* characterises the way in which a socially generated 'image' can shape individuals and organisations according to common norms:

> The idea of society is a powerful image. It is potent in its own right to control or to stir men to action. This image has form; it has external boundaries, margins, internal structure. Its outlines contain power to reward conformity and repulse attack. (Douglas, 1996, p. 115)

Douglas' characterisation of the 'image' of society provides a useful mechanism to understand how society shapes and replicates organisational forms. Douglas proposes that stigma's purpose is to order and clarify social reality:

> … ideas about separating, purifying, demarcating and punishing transgressions have as their main function to impose system on an inherently untidy experience. (Douglas, 1996, p. 4)

According to Douglas, stigma helps to make sense of reality, and to structure it in a way that accords with social standards that are commonly recognised. In *How Institutions Think*, Douglas outlines her theory of how institutions organise and classify information in categories that then constrain the way in which people within those institutions see the world (Douglas, 1986, p. 99). I aim to integrate these ideas, showing how stigma is one example of

a mechanism that reinforces the process of institutional 'thinking' for organisations. Douglas' writing on stigma and institutional categories suggest that different organisational forms might face different levels of scrutiny and criticism despite performing very similar work, a concept that this empirical research supports.

I consider several corollary questions to Douglas' ideas. Do purifying forces act equally for groups that either violate or conform to social expectations, or do they tend to either forgive or overlook organisations whose structures match a set of institutional norms? If the way in which organisations are perceived varies based on how an organisation's form fits rules about appropriateness, then might organisations exploit this and change their forms in order to be shielded from certain types of stigma? Can an organisation image in terms of both core activities and structure mediate the extent to which it is affected by stigma? Does the way an organisation frames its activities affect the extent to which it can become susceptible to associative stigma?

Institutions offer a set of widely shared notions that circumscribe the appropriateness of an organisation's form, boundaries, and activity, and they also determine to what degree an organisation is likely to be examined and stigmatised by society. The application of stigma to organisations helps to maintain these images by constraining and re-shaping activities that fall outside the mould of appropriateness. Douglas uses the metaphor of purification to represent the practice of dividing what is acceptable from what is taboo and suggests that this is the process that sustains an institutionally comprehensible social order. I argue that market strategies, as legible and accepted practices that also serve to separate interacting actors, allows organisations a way to create a buffer against negative associations with stigmatised individuals and negative perception of stigmatised work.

In this chapter, I discuss five case studies of Chinese HIV civil organisations to examine the way that these groups buffer themselves against associative stigma transfer by reframing their organisations and activities. I find that the organisations examined in this study, rather than distancing themselves from the stigmatised communities they serve, reposition their activities within the market to advance two goals. First, this allows them to develop a more sustainable and clearer relationship to stigmatised groups. Second, market framings of activities serve to symbolically mitigate associative moral stigma. The primary contribution of this chapter will consist of first outlining the specific mechanisms that have led to these findings, and second exploring the implications for this pattern of transformation among civil organisations' articulation of their own core activities. The cases examined in this chapter illustrate patterns across multiple organisations that respond to stigma affecting their core activities. While organisations working with such a sensitive topic as HIV all must address various types and degrees of stigma, these organisations share a set of strategic responses to stigma that point to new patterns of strategic work used to respond to this phenomenon.

To understand how these civil organisations resist stigma, the following issues must be considered. First, it is important to understand how stigma transfer occurs within these organisations. This requires expanding on the boundary management processes from Hudson and Okhuysen (2008) by exploring the effect of different types of relationships between organisations and the communities they serve on organisational stigma transfer. Second, it is necessary to examine how images of market exchange symbolically detach organisations from involvement in stigma, meanwhile allowing them to interact with, serve, and normalise these stigmatised individuals' role by casting them as workers, consumers, and users. Third, variation in organisational strategies must be examined to explain how civil organisations

determine whether to frame health service provision as commercial or not-for-profit, service work. These findings have implications for how markets affect delegation of ownership and responsibility and may inform strategy for development organisations operating in environments with high levels of stigma.

The first two cases in this chapter illustrate how treatment of HIV positive people as employees rather than aid recipients seems to reshape organisational stigma transfer. The following two case studies elucidate the effects of reframing HIV at-risk populations as customers rather than constituents. For each issue, one case consists of an organisation that has become relatively established within this sector, and the other focuses on an organisation that collapsed. Finally, the chapter investigates an organisation whose identity and structure changed drastically when it began to harness the social capital it had built from engagement with a large population of gay men across China. This last case illustrates how profit-seeking behaviour can be validated as a recognised form of activity in contrast with the community interest representation model it had previously assumed.

These case studies have been selected from a larger group of Chinese HIV civil organisations based on their ability to shed light upon the detailed motives of this process of marketisation. These organisations' leaders provided rich elaborations of their motives and the relevant considerations and influences that pushed them to steer their organisations in this way, and thus these case studies contain most of the relevant data on stigma-related issues from my fieldwork. Because each chapter's theme has been developed iteratively, for each one, most (but not necessarily all) of the cases are relevant. Thus, the two remaining cases that were not as relevant to the framework built in this chapter will appear in subsequent chapters.

A new framework for market activity and stigma

As I sat in a newly renovated two-level Beijing office building in December 2014, waiting to interview the founder of one of the most influential gay community organisations, one of the staff sitting with me showed me a Chinese news article on his phone, which was being shared widely that day on a social networking platform. The story described an eight-year-old boy pseudonymously named Kunkun who had been ostracised from his village because he had been diagnosed with HIV, which he had received via mother-to-child transmission. A photographer had taken a series of photos of the boy standing by himself, facing a corner in a brick wall and burying his face in his hands. “Discrimination is still very intense there,” he said to me, frowning as he posted the article publicly to share with his phone contacts. Perhaps the most tragic part, the journalist wrote, was that the village had convened a meeting to banish the child, and gathered a petition of 200 signatures, including that of his own grandfather.

Figure 3: Photograph of Boy Ostracised from Village



Burrows, Thomas. (6 April 2015). "A home at last for the eight-year-old Chinese boy banished from his village and described as a 'ticking time bomb' by his own family - because he has HIV." *Daily Mail*. http://dailym.ai/1yP9Js8.

Later, the organisation's leader said that although the coverage would be useful in exposing some of the inhumane aspects of stigma, it unfortunately would be at Kunkun's expense. Although the Chinese government later reacted by finding a special school that looks after HIV orphans to take care of the boy, he would never be able to conceal his HIV-positive status. Posting pictures of his face in the news meant that he would have no choice but to encounter a world of discrimination and stigma; he could never again live a private life free of stigma. "There is still a long way to go," my host sighed, staring at a large framed photo of him and his staff on the opposite wall. The group of young men were covered from the waist down by an enormous rainbow flag, and otherwise appeared naked.

Another leader with whom I spoke recounted the difficult initial phase of running his civil organisation, due to the widespread stigma from individuals living near his office. Believing that having people with HIV living nearby could put them in danger of infection, neighbours successfully lobbied his landlord to end the lease for the organisation. This instance of vigilante opposition to an HIV civil organisation was by no means singular; other organisations reported having been evicted, locked out of their offices, threatened, and denied commercial office spaces, often forcing them to move between residential buildings or other shared office spaces with legally ambiguous status. Stories such as these reveal the potency of stigma as it affects real day-to-day operations for individuals and small organisations engaged in HIV-related work, and the importance of overcoming stigma-related challenges to sustain operations.

The high degree of sensitivity with which these organisations managed social disapproval of their core activities represents a salient feature of service work for stigmatised groups. Though civil organisations that provide HIV-related services constantly devise measures to cope with the consequences of compound social stigma, which includes the associated taboos of homosexuality, drug use, sex work, and illness (Guo, 2016; Hood, 2011), not all are able to survive these multiple environmental threats. In order to provide insight into the effects of stigma on organisations, this chapter includes both successful and unsuccessful cases of these organisations' transformative attempts to gain acceptance and garner support in spite of a hostile socio-political context. By outlining the strategic decisions organisational leaders make to manage stigma, this dissertation will contribute two new frameworks that help explain the inverse relationship between market activity and stigma. This adds to the current body of work that examines developing countries with high levels of stigma as well as augmenting research on organisational stigma transfer.

Notably, Dinah Rajak's research on a mining company in South Africa whose Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) activities involve HIV-related services observed a pattern of attempting to improve workers' health while simultaneously constructing distance between the organisation and the source of stigma. She argues that "the company attempts to preserve the social and physical integrity of the workplace against the threat of HIV"(Rajak, 2010, p. 566). This has been widely observed in the case of HIV generally, and as Brooke Schoepf points out, organisations have made efforts to draw boundaries to stay independent from groups associated with HIV:

> A major social fault line is drawn between people of high moral repute and stigmatized "others": working class men and women "on the move." They include transport workers, miners, domestic workers, farm workers, waitresses, prostitutes, job seekers, and other poor migrants…migrants are represented as bringing sickness-constructed as social pollution and ritual danger. (Schoepf, 2001, p. 344)

Like Schoepf, in this chapter I also highlight boundary management as a key way in which organisations negotiate associative stigma, and I examine one such performative technique that seems to help with disassociation from the stigmatised groups with which they work.

Social stigma surrounding HIV has been one of the major factors limiting civil organisations' ability to provide adequate HIV testing and care to at-risk populations in many places in the world (Kelly et al., 2006). In addition to interfering with proper health maintenance behaviour among individuals most in need of protection and treatment (Kalichman & Simbayi, 2003), stigma also exacerbates both socioeconomic (ILO for China & Mongolia, 2010; Parker & Aggleton, 2003; Rao, Angell, Lam, & Corrigan, 2008) and psychological burdens for those it affects (C. Campbell, Nair, Maimane, & Nicholson, 2007; Otolok-Tanga, Atuyambe, Murphy, Ringheim, & Woldehanna, 2007; Parker & Aggleton, 2003).

When analysing social service organisations working in developing countries, stigma represents a recurring challenge that despite being very common, still lacks a high degree of mechanistic understanding. This can be at least partially explained by the fact that stigma operates on multiple levels, affecting individuals, groups, and activities, and conclusions about one analytical unit of stigma do not necessarily apply to another. As a socially enacted and highly context-specific concept, stigma varies greatly depending on its origin, target group, and associated concepts. This has resulted in a disjointed literature that does not share common terminology or units of analysis.

Previous research within sociology has examined both the stigmatisation of individuals within organisations on the basis of executive failure (Semadeni et al., 2008), disability (Stone & Colella, 1996), race and gender (Acker, 2006), mental illness (Markowitz, 1998), and HIV status (Rao et al., 2008). Important shared characteristics may be identified in these studies of individual-level stigma, which generally is conveyed through a publicly legible sign of physical deformity, affiliation to an outcast group, or moral depravity (Goffman, 1963). It is also highly associative and modulated by political and legal discrimination and unfair treatment toward stigmatised groups. Studies also enumerate individual responses to stigma, mostly focusing on the public reframing of issues through the recasting of events, motives, and values. To counteract stigma, disabled workers may speak openly about their challenges, emphasise common interests with co-workers, or articulate ideals such as fairness and legal equality (Stone & Colella, 1996).

Although the role of stigma on the free market has been acknowledged, such as when corporate failure causes long-term reductions in pay for executives (Semadeni et al., 2008) or when discrimination limits employment opportunities for people with HIV (Rao et al., 2008), the converse relationship has hardly been studied at both the individual and organisational

levels. Just as stigma mediates economic activity, economic activity also strongly affects the way that stigma is transferred among both individuals and organisations. For instance, a study combining a highway-side discrete choice experiment with short interviews that examined the role of social stigma surrounding purchasing genetically modified products found that although consumers consistently articulated a moral aversion to genetically modified foods, their consumption habits did not always reflect their stated preferences (Mather et al., 2012). This study contends that consumer behaviour varies greatly based on the way that a genetically modified food's scientific and health-related meanings are conveyed and understood[%].

Understanding how market activity transforms stigma has broad-ranging implications, and this theory is highly relevant in contexts when stigma is a major challenge to development interventions, such as in the global HIV response. If commercial activity has a fundamentally transformative effect on stigma, more effective models for commercially driven development organisations could be deployed within highly stigmatised environments. Moreover, a deeper understanding of the relationship between stigma and modes of commercial activity provides surprising insight into the fundamental relationship between material exchange and assigned personal responsibility, with consequences that expand our understanding of the micro-dynamics of associative stigma transfer.

[%] Studies of organisational stigma may have prioritised the economic effects of stigma over examining how market activity shapes stigma for a few reasons. First, market outcomes are much easier to quantitatively measure than the perception of stigma, so any mixed method or quantitative study would be sensible to designate price, wages, or employment as the dependent variable. Second, the economic implications of discrimination have more obvious policy implications, especially given their immediate legal consequences in many countries, such as for compensation owed to victims of unfair treatment in the work place (Loury, 2003; Williams & Segal, 2003). Revealing concrete outcomes of unjust stigma can identify discriminatory practices as well as shedding light on the intersectional effects of multiple stigmas (Acker, 2006). Admittedly, it may be more difficult to connect a deeper understanding of the relationship between market activity and stigma with policy, yet a grounded understanding of stigma will be necessary for examining this relationship in more depth. Stigma reduction is a more enduring and abstract goal that has not been systematically outlined across different contexts, and mixed-method and qualitative approaches are crucial in contexts where stigma remains deeply entrenched in policy and social intervention.

There are likely reciprocal, unintended effects of introducing commercial strategies to work with stigmatised communities as well. While market framing has the potential to reduce stigma surrounding a sensitive issue, it may also reshape stigma and in some cases increase it. For example, corporate outreach to the gay market since the 1990s in the United States has been formulated as a business decision (Sender, 2004, pp. 2–4), yet it has undoubtedly had self-enhancing political repercussions as the practice of targeting the gay consumer is normalised and gay identities are normalised around popular stereotypes that "sell" in mass marketing and media[^].

For Chinese HIV civil organisations, which face a high degree of social distrust and state restriction, stigma represents a major force that moulds the strategic choices made by leaders as they interact with institutions and organisations in a particularly marginalised context. In this chapter, I aim to elucidate one mechanism for coping with stigma, namely, how market-oriented organisational behaviour can reduce social and moral stigma. There has been much emphasis on the rational basis of the entrance of non-profit organisations into the market in order to ensure economic sustainability, typically in the context of studies of social enterprises (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006, 2010). Other studies of these types of organisations have examined institutional factors, such as greater levels of endorsement and support granted to organisations that exhibit corporate logics, especially from the private sector (Dart, 2004; Dart, Dees, & Anderson, 2006). Yet, the symbolic effects of market framings merit further study, which is the focus of this chapter.

Hudson and Okhuysen (2009), in a qualitative study of men's bathhouses, aim to delineate various strategies that organisations employ to manage their boundaries in response

[^] From a macro perspective, the reframing of homosexuality from being defined formally as a pathological mental illness to becoming a proudly articulated identity in the United States has been well studied. However, the detailed mechanics of how market activity contributed to this anti-stigma political movement demand further scrutiny.

to stigma. They find that different institutional environments can encourage different boundary management strategies, and identify five categories: isolating, integrating, dramaturg[ical], associational, and conventional processes (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009, p. 142). Like these men's bathhouses, the Chinese HIV civil organisations examined in this dissertation wrestle with the effects of core-stigma, since their core activity (i.e. HIV-related work) is persistently a source of social discredit. Hudson and Okhuysen clearly outline ways in which organisations can transfer stigma to their network partners (2009, p. 148), and identify boundary management as a key technique for mitigating this problem. In order to capture a wide variety of partnerships, they consider a mixture of organisational linkages in order to discover a broader set of processes. Yet the nature of the relationships between core-stigmatised organisations and partner organisations does not feature as a major consideration in their study. The cases in this dissertation reflect a similar diversity of organisational relationships, and the analytical work herein aims to deepen our understanding of how these organisational relationships can affect the extent of associative stigma transfer to organisations.

This work answers calls to investigate alternative organisational strategies that respond to institutional challenges and lack of legitimacy (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2014, p. 244). Building upon this framework which underscores the processes by which organisations manage boundaries, in this chapter I explore how different kinds of organisational relationships can affect what types of boundaries are formed. Because of the importance of how an organisation is perceived by a set of social actors (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2014, p. 243) in determining factors such as legitimacy, stigma, and appropriateness, the analysis of these case studies also considers the role of organisational images, or how organisations cast

and depict their activities especially when communicating with key stakeholders and partners.

The evidence from the cases in this chapter expose a very different outcome than what Ashforth and Kreiner (2013)'s theory would predict, namely, that stigmatised organisations would become more distinct from outside communities and form discrete entities. In fact, the political context for these cases precludes this strategy. Thus, transforming to become more like and more connected to mainstream organisations is the predominant strategy among these cases.

Table 8: Organisational Strategies Relative to Non-Stigmatised Organisations

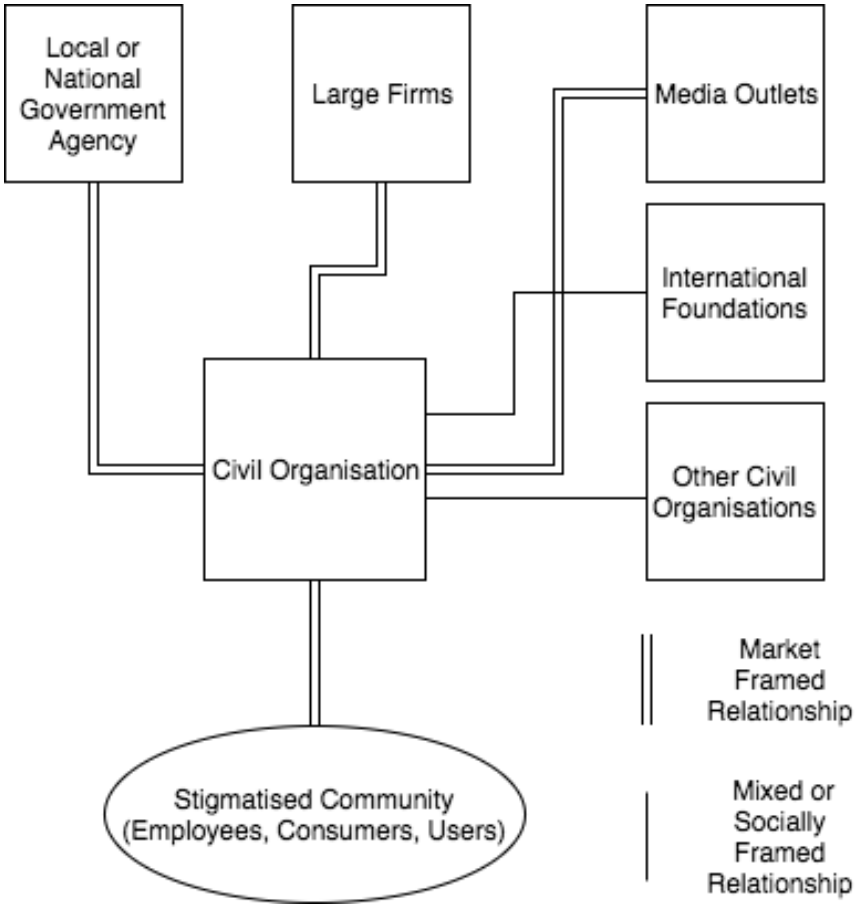
Case	Strategy	Organisational Linkages	Organisational Identity
1: ECB	Integration	Factory, Hotels, International Foundations, Other Civil Organisations	Social Enterprise, Bag Company
2: GB	Integration	Hospital, Health Organisation, Government, Gay Community	Gay Bar, Public Space, Tourist Destination
3: ZX	Integration / Isolation	Gay Bar, Gay and Trans Communities, International Foundations	Health Clinic, Educational Organisation, Support Groups (these did maintain discrete entities separate from mainstream organisations)
4: LH	Integration	International Foundations, Companies, HIV Positive Communities	Social Enterprise, Educational Organisation, Health Clinic
5: DB	Integration	Venture Capital, Technology Companies, Gay Community, Government, International Foundations	Technology Company, Gay Community Organisation

This suggests that when forming isolated entities and reframing a sign of stigma as a positive attribute are not possible, organisations can incorporate elements of other sectors to "blend in" and reduce their observable difference from other more legitimate organisational forms. Indeed, the strategy of blending in with established sectors to reduce political risk has been

well documented in research not specifically focused on organisational stigma transfer, notably with the emergence of trade unions as ways of private sector organisations avoiding being targets of political rent-seeking (Ma, 2002).

These cases illustrate a more sophisticated process of boundary and relationship management that involves manipulating the framing of relationships to protect from stigma. Given that stigma can originate from links with marginalised groups (associative stigma) or from negative perception of an organisation's core work (moral stigma), I argue that the organisations analysed in this chapter use various market framings to protect from these two types of stigma. To combat associative stigma, organisations re-structure their transactional relationships with stigmatised groups to resemble market relationships between employers, employees, customers, and users. Organisational leaders report that these relationships can increase the perceived distance of stigmatised individuals from their organisations. To mitigate moral stigma, organisations reframe their activities as profit-based rather than service-based, and this helps to align with images of appropriateness, thereby providing institutional acceptability with high-level actors such as large firms and government agencies. Yet civil organisations do not appear to abandon their social missions entirely. In fact, despite the reframing and restructuring of activities, these organisations' social missions remain strong motivators and are often deployed selectively to build partnerships with specific organisations that align with their social mission, such as international foundations. I argue that these result in a variation of framing at different levels, with organisations deliberately using market framing at high and low levels, while maintaining social missions internally selectively with key organisational partners.

Figure 4: Civil Organisations Selectively Use Market Framing to Buffer Moral and Associative Stigma



The figure above illustrates this pattern of selective framing of activities to different key partners. This figure will be further explained in this chapter, and it is largely derived from examining how organisations frame different types of organisational linkages (see Table 10). What can be seen here is that large bureaucratic organisational partners such as governments, firms, and media, tend to be associated with a shift toward market framings. Civil organisations have more mixed characterisations of their work toward other non-profit organisations such as other civil groups and international foundations. This may be due to the benefits that accrue to organisations with shared social missions. I find that the civil organisations in this chapter reframe and restructure their relationships to stigmatised groups.

I propose that the reason for this shift at these two levels stems from a need to mitigate both associative and moral stigma. In both cases, market framing helps to protect from negative effects on legitimacy. Based on research on the effects of market barriers on transforming interrelationships and mutual responsibilities that have been discussed in the literature review chapter, I propose mechanisms that may help to explain these findings.

As part of the fieldwork for this project, I attended a gala in Guangzhou to recognise journalists who had contributed to positive reporting on LGBT topics. In previous years, the event had been shut down by police, so the organisers held it in an unremarkable three-star hotel to keep the event relatively low profile. Several organisers with whom I spoke admitted to being on edge throughout the evening, saying that there was a possibility the event might be stopped at any time if the authorities were to arrive. The reason that the police would give for stopping the event was not important; such was the reality of the unspoken stigma against LGBT groups in China.

Chinese civil organisations face political hostility that strongly discourages them from collective mobilisation, and creates an atmosphere of deep distrust (Spires, 2011). First, the government does not allow civil organisations to develop national scope, and only allows an office to be registered in one city. Second, civil organisations have faced a great deal of social stigma due to suspicions of corruption, especially following news coverage of scandals involving the misuse of funds, such as one involving the Chinese Red Cross (J. Lu & Qiu, 2013). General unfamiliarity with civil organisations, which in most cases operate without official registration, exacerbates this sense of mistrust. Third, and perhaps most importantly, collective action touching sensitive areas that could expose failures of the state to look after marginalised individuals, such as untreated people living with HIV, carries political implications that some government actors perceive as threats to their power and legitimacy.

These factors dramatically increase the atmosphere of cautiousness and paranoia among civil organisations, and they permit the government to spontaneously take action to severely limit or shut down activities entirely (J. Y. J. Hsu & Hasmath, 2012b; F. Wu & Chan, 2012). In large part because the scope for alternative discourse has been limited, the outcomes observed differ from previous studies on stigmatised organisations.

Building on these ideas and theory discussed in the literature review, I propose the following framework to explain how commercial activity can separate organisations from stigmatised individuals. Through commercial interactions, Chinese HIV civil organisations create distance from stigmatised groups to reduce associative stigma. This occurs through the symbolic alienation that occurs across market barriers. These organisations also withdraw from the moral implications of entanglement while still managing to achieve their social mission and work closely with marginalised groups. As a special form of interaction in which value is transferred bi-directionally, market exchange allows these groups to engage in a type of boundary setting that enables them to serve stigmatised groups and avoid being implicated in suspicious activities. Equivalent exchanges of value allow goods and services to traverse organisational boundaries, maintaining a type of equilibrium in which the organisation does not take on full responsibility for the problems of the group being served. Avoiding the mode of "gifting" is important, as Slater points out that this type of interaction fundamentally differs from market activity: "in gifting, the act of exchange is inseparably the reproduction of the social relationship in which it is embedded"(Slater, 2002, p. 239). In this chapter, I explain how strategic boundary-setting and core transformation offers a particularly useful set of benefits to Chinese organisations. I end this chapter by linking this work to the effects of this market framing on organisational structures and on field-level dynamics linking civil and state organisations, which are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

The meaning of market framing in a Chinese political context

Since pragmatist reforms attributed to Deng Xiaoping in the early 1980s, the Communist Party of China (CPC) has strongly valorised and encouraged the development of new capitalist markets, especially by individuals and small businesses. Thornton argues that before this era, state actors' decision-making was governed by a clear agenda to retain moral legitimacy, and suggests that this process has likely continued throughout the reform era (P. M. Thornton, 2007). Under this framework, the state has relinquished the previous moral criticism of the market in favour of a strongly pro-market attitude that protects the pursuit of wealth from moral criticism. Although the party has maintained much of the rhetoric of the Communist era, and still deems its agenda one of "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics," it is basically one that encourages a morally unquestioned variety of consumer-driven capitalism (X. Wang, 2002). In this way, the government's pursuit of economic development has overshadowed other issues such as lack of political accountability to individuals or increases in socioeconomic inequality, both of which would require reconciling contradictions between current and previous stated ideologies.

Thus, the Chinese context offers a space in which the market is relatively insulated from political critique, and it provides an environment where stigmatised activities can be viewed independently from criticism that might arise within a politicised market space. The mechanisms by which the market facilitates clear division of moral responsibility are more apparent in a space that combines a relatively weak, suppressed civil sector with an open, state-endorsed market space. In this context, civil organisations must manage local stigma and draw on new forms of strategic identity and image management. As typically defined, symbolic management comprises "the use of stories and myths, distinctive language and metaphors, traditions and rituals, physical setting, rewards and status symbols, and so on to

shape the interpretation of given jobs by organisational members"(Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, p. 431). This chapter aims to apply this perspective to market exchange by taking them as a protocol for bringing consensual clarity to the motives and activities of individuals involved. While Ashforth et al. (1999) are concerned primarily with managers protecting an organisation's members from stigma, arguing that "because of the low prestige of many dirty work occupations, dirty work ideologies have a far greater impact on internal legitimacy than external" (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, p. 429), this is not the case for development organisations, which rely heavily on external relationships to do their work. This chapter emphasises how organisations defend against stigma that restricts their ability to receive support from and collaborate with other organisations and individuals. The framework I propose constitutes a new account of symbolic management that is fundamentally rooted in action rather than discourse. In other words, rather than engaging in discursive struggles over the framing of dirty work, organisation leaders change the nature of their work to transform the material basis of symbolic stigma transfer. Though admittedly the incentives for organisations to use market activity to deflect stigma may be strongest in contexts where the market reflects a political sanctuary from moral criticism, the evidence here suggests a more fundamental process in which the exchange of goods and services disentangles organisations from assuming moral responsibility while working with stigmatised groups.

It would be misleading to suggest that capitalist markets do not constitute a moralising project, or that the free market generally precludes moral criticism or discussion. Instead, this study draws on the fact that the political environment under China's authoritarian and pro-market rule has created a relatively open marketplace in which the moral consequences of neoliberal ideology typically go unquestioned. Given China's rapid pace of economic growth, expanding middle class, and burgeoning consumer culture, free

market spaces in China are relatively safe from moral criticism, as long as they do not clearly undermine the government's attempt to maintain social order and political unity. This feature makes commercialisation particularly appealing to organisations that struggle to establish legitimacy and dispel stigmatising forces. The following cases illustrate various ways that organisations take advantage of the Chinese market's disentangling effect to reduce their perceived participation in morally dubious activity. In turn, this allows organisations to reduce stigma transfer while maintaining their ability to deliver social services. These processes provide insight into the symbolic level on which civil organisations in China manage to obtain legitimacy without directly challenging the political controls enacted by the state, meanwhile expanding their own capabilities for new types of activity.

In contexts where certain reframing options are not available, civil leaders can strategically reduce the depth of stigma they face by taking advantage of a feature of commercial action. In this way, they protect their organisations from the moral connotations of dirty work while maintaining their ability to deliver services to marginalised groups. Most Chinese civil organisations operate with only a few full-time staff, under both political and financial pressures that limit the ability for organisations to replicate their structures across regions, and that constrain access to financial resources. Moreover, like most HIV civil organisations in China, the organisations examined in this dissertation provide a range of services (free or otherwise) in the areas of health education, basic testing services, and community support for people at-risk of or affected by HIV. Over the past few decades, the core activities of these organisations were conducted largely in a charitable manner, spending grant money to provide free services framed as community-oriented activities for the common good of marginalised groups. In the following cases, these organisations have begun to conduct their activities within a market framing, thereby maintaining independence from

sources of moral criticism aimed at civil organisations involved in this type of sensitive work. This may reduce the depth of stigma faced by each organisation. The market therefore appears to exert a role in transforming both the relationship between an organisation and its members as well as cleansing the imagined moral dirtiness of its work.

The cases chosen to illustrate this phenomenon illuminate the effects of free market activities at multiple levels of an organisation. Each examines a civil group that has somehow incorporated a commercial aspect into their core organisational activities, after at first experimenting with a traditional free service delivery model.

The first case, a traditional economic empowerment organisation, aims to help people affected by HIV by employing them. This organisation distributes and sells the cloth bags that they produce to generate revenue. In this instance, the core activity of the organisation is commercial, and its profits are redistributed to its employees, HIV-positive women living in a rural village. The second case illustrates an unsuccessful gay bar project in which a doctor attempted to establish a gay bar to improve sexual health knowledge for the gay community in a rural area. The third case shows an organisation that aims to distribute HIV-related services by marketing them to at-risk gay male populations, charging for these services to cover the replacement costs of the tests. Although the core activity is largely the same as the free service provision models adopted by many organisations in this space, the fee-for-service model crucially transforms them into commercial activity, and the leader of this organisation emphasises that this was an important decision they had made regarding their approach to completing their social mission. The fourth case shows a similar model for providing HIV testing developed by a traditional civil organisation, and while this was not successful, it provides insight into the logics and pressures that affect organisations in this

space. The fifth case reveals the use of a marginalised population as a potential market, combining this with a for-profit mobile app company to provide funding for free services.

The five cases in this chapter detail three different types of relationships connecting organisations to groups of stigmatised individuals. In these cases, by engaging in a market-mediated relationship with their employees, consumers, or users, each organisation can better protect itself from association with the contagious negative effects of various aspects of their work. The table below summarises these case studies based on the market-framed linkage between the organisation and the stigmatised group.

Table 9: Themes Drawn from Case Studies by Mode of Market Activity

Organisation's relationship to stigmatised individuals	**Organisations that sustained core activity**	**Organisations that experienced collapse**
Employer-Employee	Case 1: Reframed cash transfers as wage; labour exchange barrier protected organisation from stigma; helped develop business relationships and bring in revenue	Case 2: Hired gay community volunteers as employees, but workers remained dependent on founder's financial support; unclear distinction between constituents and staff; brought about PR catastrophe and intensified stigma
Supplier-Consumer	Case 3: Discovered that fee-for-service model improved trust, individual accountability, and basic sustainability of low-cost HIV services; offered need-based loans and let individuals volunteer in other organisations to build partnership and limit ideas of stigma, entitlement, and dependency	Case 4: Adopted fee-for-service model for HIV services formerly offered freely, but failed to market these products; struggled with personnel challenges and did not identify the needed consumers and partner organisations
Platform-User	Case 5: Monetised community organisation's social capital to attract venture capital; used profit-seeking motive to normalise and justify existence and reduce stigma transfer; established identity as innovative tech start-up	

This table illustrates a pattern of shifts toward market framing for multiple parts of an organisation. The analysis that follows will attempt to make sense of these patterns and to interpret variance in how organisations use market framing with different types of partner organisations to avoid stigma. I find that organisations that take part in market activities can use this action to reshape and mitigate both associative and moral stigma. Reconfiguring an organisation's relationship with stigmatised groups through commercial activity reduces social stigma transfer by constructing a clearly defined division between the organisation and an employee, consumer, or target demographic. These relationships are implicitly impersonal, and thus produce defensive boundaries that can protect an organisation from associative social stigma. Similarly, the morally neutralising aspect of the market as a public and consensual space, where transactions are mutual and recorded through accounting practices, reduces the moral uncertainty embedded within the public imagination of HIV. To combat moral stigma, organisations must change how they communicate their work to key organisational partners. This can help organisations reduce the 'depth' of moral stigma (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014) that they face from negative perceptions of their work.

In this chapter, I argue that the market serves as a transformative mechanism that lessens stigma and reconfigures the connotations of morally problematic behaviour on multiple levels of an organisation's relationships to other key partners. It is worth noting that the promotion of market activity constitutes an explicit part of the Chinese state's attempt to establish its own moral legitimacy, so the effect of market framing may be stronger in the Chinese context than in some other countries.

Wage exchange as a regulating barrier for stigma transfer

One common development model for redistributing resources to disadvantaged and marginalised communities involves building organisations that will employ people from these groups, thereby creating new job opportunities. This section examines two Chinese non-governmental organisations that use this model to achieve their social mission of addressing discrimination, improving health, and empowering marginalised groups. In the first case, the organisation effectively used the employer-employee relationship as a barrier to regulate the degree to which their stigmatised activities extended to the organisation's perceived identity. A model in which employees are alienated from the products of their labour (Polanyi 1944) may help to elucidate the dynamics in which the relationship between the individual and the organisation undergoes transformation, thereby allowing the organisation to buffer stigma from association with the individual. In the second case, an organisation employed gay men to run a public-facing gay bar, yet its strategy did not successfully isolate the organisation from core stigma conferred from its work with gay individuals. Since this ultimately led to organisational failure brought about by attacks on the enterprise's legitimacy, it illustrates the ways in which organisational images and spatial relationships can affect the stigma buffering mechanism. The following table presents the findings from this chapter's case studies, showing how market framing is applied variably to different partner organisations.

Table 10: Framing of Relationships to Key Organisational Partners for Cases 1-5

Framing strategy by type of organisational partner					
Organisational Partner	**Case 1: ECB**	**Case 2: GB**	**Case 3: ZX**	**Case 4: LH**	**Case 5: DB**
Government Agency	Market	Market	Market	Market	Market
Large Firms	Market	Market	Market	Market	Market
Media Outlets	Mixed	Mixed	Market	Market	Market
Other Civil Organisations	Mixed	Social	Social	Market	Mixed
International Foundations	Mixed	Mixed	Social	Mixed	Mixed

This table indicates that market framing appears to be most commonly applied to organisations that are more loosely coupled and that might influence organisational legitimacy to a broader, public audience. For organisations with more private relations that are less threatening to a civil organisation's reputation such as other civil groups or international foundations, framing of core activity tends to be more focused on the social mission aspect. The analysis of these cases that follows will help to trace how this table was constructed. The following section shows key parts of informants' understandings of their organisational shifts to market activity to shed light on leaders' motivations for choosing these framing strategies.

Case 1, as a civil organisation that hires women affected by HIV to produce bags, illustrates the way that the employer-worker relationship can allow an organisation to strategically conceal or highlight its social mission. Typically, for an organisation offering free services to people with HIV, the organisation's core activities are bound up with directly addressing the details of the social problem, and thus the organisation's identity cannot be divorced from the unsavoury connotations of the stigmatised group it serves. Within the framework of the exchange of wages for labour, after women sew bags and receive piecewise compensation, the relationship between the organisation and stigma is truncated, and the

parties remain disentangled. Nor does stigma necessarily extend to the bags themselves, which are commercial products with a charitable aspect that both organisations and their partners can choose to selectively highlight or conceal. The material exchange of commodities in this case allows the organisation to put distance between itself and the source of stigma.

The founder's account of how his organisation selectively emphasises the social mission of the project depending on the context of the interaction reveals how such a boundary between the bag-selling enterprise and the HIV-positive women workers is constructed. He explained that the social mission of the organisation, despite being its primary purpose, does not always play a central role in its business. From his observations negotiating contracts for selling the bags to individuals and small distributors, he believed that the customers that purchase his bags care mainly about the price point of the bags rather than their ability to help women affected by HIV (Personal Interview, January 2015). When asked whether his non-profit social mission garnered him preferential treatment from customers, he answered that they were mainly concerned about their economic interests in the transaction: "They only care about the price you offer, whether it's lucrative for them or not" (Personal Interview, January 2015). Evidently, the organisation's social mission is not essential to the value of the product for some individual customers, and even when it is advertised that the profits are reinvested in education for people affected by HIV, this may not always be the products' selling point. The fact that the founder foregrounds the business of selling the bags above their social mission suggests a symbolic function of the commercial aspect for this civil organisation.

Further up the value chain, the social mission of the organisation plays a more prominent role, and it is this aspect that provided the ability to land a large contract with a

French-owned hotel chain that distributes the bags as gifts to its clients (Personal Interview, January 2015). As the bags pass from production to sale, the association with the stigmatised group becomes more distant, and the organisation is able to exert some control over the degree to which its social mission is interlaced with its activities.

Although the logic of environmental protection plays an extremely minor role in the organisation's fundamental purpose (Personal Interview, January 2015), the bags are also marketed to individual consumers as eco-friendly bags as opposed to HIV-support bags. This suggests that the presence of multiple social missions allows the organisation a degree of flexibility in managing its perceived activity and regulating the extent to which stigma is attached to the products it is marketing. As Bryant and Hudson (2008) found in their study of men's bathhouses, an organisation's partners also actively influence the boundaries affecting stigma transfer and the extent to which they advertise potentially scandalous information. The role of the organisation's primary social mission, namely, to improve the lives of people affected by HIV, can therefore be deployed selectively, and various parts of the commercial model buffer the stigma transferred across different types of activity.

Branding and marketing processes, which are widely accepted as a natural and necessary part of selling any commercial product, offer yet another barrier which can be used to disentangle stigma from an organisation's external activities with both key organisational partners and individuals. Thus, the shift to market-based activities offers civil organisations a broader repertoire that can be used to reframe and recast organisational identity across the links between different parts of the organisation. In many countries including China, international donor organisations such as the Global Fund and the Gates Foundation as well as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs have funded projects that claim to closely represent the interests of people affected by HIV (Doyle & Patel, 2008, p. 1930). As a

result, civil organisations have benefited from constantly rearticulating and demonstrating their closeness to the constituency they serve in order to gain financial support. Following the withdrawal of many of these major grant programs, this logic appears to have been superseded by an opposing impulse to re-brand organisations in more recognisable and broadly appealing ways that hide the stigma from the public-facing arm of the organisation.

The advertising component of marketing, as Miller asserts, originates in a mode of cultural production, since advertisers create the products and concepts that will be sold in the future to individuals before they can be assessed a price. Miller uses this example of the creative process of generating images that appeal to consumers and thereby subsequently what those people want supports his assertion that the cultural frame still contains the market. In this case, the opportunity to market a product plays a key role in its ability to be re-framed; the same product will appeal differently based on how it is described. The process of marketing a product gives organisations the ability to remake and redefine the outward-facing exchange activity that may be especially vulnerable to stigma. Importantly, in the traditional model of civil organisations offering free services, they lack the ability to acceptably re-frame, re-name, and re-classify the services they are offering; these are dictated externally by those funding the project, and in many instances key decisions reflect priorities that differ from those of the served. The commercial nature of this social project allows it to disassociate from marginalised communities, while maintaining a pragmatic relationship with its clients that minimises the negative effects of stigma transfer.

The process of abstraction by which the identity of the rural HIV-affected worker disappears from the way that the outputs of labour are marketed can be exploited to preclude associative stigma stemming from a group's transactional activities. This strategy allows the organisation to successfully achieve the desired social goal of improving employment for

these marginalised people in a rural area with high unemployment while remaining disentangled from the connotations of HIV infection. In fact, the ability to buffer this stigma is essential to the ability of the organisation to generate value for these women who live in an area with low employment and also face discrimination in the employment market. The founder of the organisation explains this aspect of the situation: "AIDS patients cannot work as migrant workers, unlike other people" (Personal Interview, January 2015). Thus, this intermediary civil organisation's role in buffering stigma and facilitating neutral commercial activity is an essential part of its ability to transfer economic resources from a vibrant big city (Guangzhou) to workers in a rural village in Henan Province.

In addition to the goal of decoupling the social mission from the commercial one, organisations also appear to reframe their activities as market-based to emphasise the value of individual responsibility and empowerment. Since HIV-related international aid plateaued in the period from 2007 to 2012, when both the Global Fund and the Gates Foundation were most active in China, there have been a number of incidents that exposed a key element of the stigma surrounding HIV involving moral blame and a desire for at-risk individuals to take charge of their own health. Criticism of subsidies for services reached an apogee during a widespread backlash against the Gates Foundation for providing financial incentives to people for getting tested for HIV:

> [T]he Gates H.I.V. prevention program in China is unusual because it offers a financial incentive to those drawing the blood — about $9 per sample and an additional $44 for those that come back positive — which is shared with donors. The program has provoked a flurry of criticism from some established AIDS organisations that say the money has given rise to a network of fly-by-night groups whose only interest is collecting money. (Jacobs, 2009)

Controversy surrounding this Gates program reflects a deeper mistrust of the moral status of people at risk for HIV. Accusations toward marginalised groups for lacking individual

responsibility have shaped the way civil organisations have approached social intervention. The director of ECB articulated the role of the individual responsibility logic in his social enterprise work:

> Some people become poorer and lazier because they receive help [money] directly from others. So we want to really help them, with the hope that they could be independent afterwards. The small loans and cooperatives we made aimed to make them participate…If they earned the money themselves, they won't complain about it if they couldn't get the same amount of money as last year. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

Commercial framings of development activity imply that the recipients of social services are both complicit and actively participating in the work being performed. This perception can insulate an organisation from criticism based on association with activity presumed to be morally questionable, since the division of activity and responsibility is perceived more clearly within a market framework. The contractual relationship between employer and employee is widely recognised, socially and morally acceptable, and shielded from criticism that would suggest the organisation is promoting illicit activity.

However, unlike in the previous case, in Case 2 (GB), a collaboration between the gay bar and the HIV clinic, the ill-defined relationship between the non-profit association and the for-profit bar led the stigma of the gay bar to cause serious liabilities for it supporters. The GB project failed to establish clear market-based barriers between organisational components, which limited its ability to compartmentalise and decouple its various types of activity. This illustrates the way in which the stigma buffering process can be undermined by a lack of strategic unity in clarifying the relationships between parts of an organisation. When it received attention from the media, a crisis of ownership for the project led to stigma transfer both within various parts, which led to the close entanglement of the various parts of the organisation in financial and symbolic terms. Consequently, this stigma then reached

external actors, leading to a withdrawal of support and the ultimate failure of the project to continue.

Although the bar was ostensibly designed to be a self-sufficient and self-sustaining project, the doctor explained that it quickly grew dependent on his personal support. This blurred the distinction between his clinical role as an infectious disease doctor and his role as a founder of the bar. The bar project, therefore, did not have a relationship to the doctor that was mediated solely by market exchange. In addition to supplementing his staff's income, the doctor also subsidised the cost of buying bar supplies and rent:

> If occasionally they needed a subsidy, I would offer it. I wanted [the staff] to earn 3,000-4,000 *yuan* per month, so that they would make it a proper career. That was my initial aim. …In the first year, we made some profit. In the second year, we didn't make a profit. I don't know if there were dividends, perhaps there were but they didn't tell me. But in the third year, I reckon that, including the rent and wages for other workers I had put up…I had personally paid around 50,000 *yuan* [~7,500 USD, or a few months' salary]. … After three years, they were still under my financial support. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

In this case, the previous social relations that developed when the doctor was offering HIV services and care to the gay men who later became his staff shaped the way in which the bar was run. The organisation's market-oriented activity evidently did not completely subsume these internal relationships. Thus, this reliance on the doctor's donated support was not only a threat to the sustainability of the organisation, it also limited the ability for the organisation to manage and buffer stigma, and the doctor remained socially entangled with the gay men whom he supported.

Thus, from the doctor's account, it is clear that the commercial venture undertaken by the health association did not successfully allow market activity to create barriers to reduce stigma transfer. As he kept the project afloat by contributing his own personal money, he became inextricably embedded in the project's activities, and exposed to a greater extent to

stigma from the community whom the bar was intended to serve. He confessed his feeling of being unable to withdraw from the project after he had begun to invest in its sustained operation:

> The first one or two years were okay, but later on I realised that I had invested money in this, and consequently I wanted to get a return on this project. [The staff], on the other hand, thought that this project belonged to them since they thought they controlled the resources. They perhaps didn't want me to interfere much. I didn't want to interfere. I just wanted to achieve my goals; to help implement safe health measures. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

Coupled with the later outcome of the organisations breaking apart and disaffiliating in response to stigma brought about by media attention, this suggests that the stigma-related risk of the gay bar was not properly contained by market barriers. By examining the factors that made it difficult for the bar to buffer stigma across market transactions, it is clear that the social nature of the relationships between the founder, staff, and volunteers constantly defined the scope and nature of its economic activity.

As he described the story of the bar, the doctor repeatedly returned to the problems that the complex social relationships caused with the bar operations. It was these fundamental problems within the social fabric of the organisation that he cited as the underlying reason for the bar's failure:

> I think it was during the middle of 2010…that I quit. I had some conflicts with the volunteers. Towards the end, it was because of these issues. I had bad relations with the volunteers. It was too complicated. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

Interestingly, he did not write off the potential for a project such as the gay bar to be financially sustainable; he saw the reason it never achieved this more as stemming from the internal management problems than from the accounting aspect. In fact, he continually believed that they could become profitable and earn a comfortable income running the bar:

> [The staff] all wanted to make money, but I don't really know. The respect they felt for me [was not strong]…. They were not an independent NGO, but they wanted to be one…I'm not sure why they didn't understand my point, I said to them many times that if they did their jobs well, then they could earn 4,000 *yuan* per month. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

The pre-existing social relations between the founder and staff encumbered the economic activity of the bar, while also exacerbating the way in which stigma affected the various pieces of the organisation. The founder characterised the fraught relationship he had with his staff, explaining that tensions arose from differing social class, occupation, motivations, and priorities:

> We were worried about the dependency problem. But we got through it. We have weathered all kinds of trouble…I am a doctor, I have a doctor's license, I was doing all this work solely to help those [gay men]. But when people thought that I was only there to make some profit and started to suppress me…at that time…I faced a lot of pressures. They had the notion that I thought I was above everyone else. There were those that were envious, jealous, or hated me, I suppose. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

The social frames that pervade the economic activity of the bar including the management of labour, allocation of wages, acquisition of capital, and payment of debts clearly play a central role in the organisational structure. This chapter proposes that barriers of market transaction that exist at a level sufficiently independent from social frames can act as stigma buffers. This case illustrates the limited effectiveness of these market barriers if they do not subsume the social relations that constitute the channels through which associative stigma spreads.

Public attention in the media brought on a slew of criticism for the project, which was accused of being "a waste of taxpayer money, or an indirect endorsement of homosexual behavior"(Hornby, 2009). The bar's stigmatised core activity was not possible to contain, and it affected both the government organisation and the hospital association that had funded it. In the end, the founder cut ties to the project, and it was taken over by the government,

which relocated it outside of the city where it would not be scrutinised. Within two years, the bar closed unceremoniously. The founder speculated that it was not managed carefully and let to fold, since the government appeared to make decisions that went against the interest of keeping the bar running. He highlighted the role that the stigma played in the organisation's ultimate demise.

It is crucial to consider the nature of the organisation's partnerships with the government and the health promotion association on a symbolic level. When these organisations provided grants and subsidies in a way that closely resembled gift exchange, they became implicated in the shared moral culpability of what the gay bar represented, and when media attention exacerbated the degree of stigmatisation, they had to sever ties with the gay bar. Had these relationships been market-based, that is, if there was a mutual, transactional, exchange-based relationship between these entities and the gay bar, they may have been able to protect themselves from the public backlash against the gay bar and continue to contribute to managing and sustaining it. As a counterpart to the first case, the GB project represents a civil organisation's attempt to use a commercial form to gain social acceptance, while demonstrating the risks of continued entanglement that facilitates stigma transfer in spite of the market activity. This suggests that the instrumental stigma-buffering effect of market activity has two preconditions. First, market activity must be accepted *de facto* as a legitimate form of interaction, cleanly separating the actors on each side of the exchange. Second, this market activity must appear independent from the embedded social relations that conduct stigma transfer and to a certain extent subsume these relationships. In this way, organisations can plausibly claim a degree of independence and remain free from the associative moral responsibility that stigma implies.

Serving customers, not constituents

The following two cases illustrate groups that previously provided free HIV-related services over the last ten years that were underwritten by grants from international foundations. As grant money has withdrawn from China, they have begun to offer the same types of services at a small fee and have attempted to distinguish themselves from other free services in several ways.

First, they promote their ability to provide reliable counselling and offer a supportive community network, which adds value to the testing and information services that they provide. This often means that clients are willing to pay a nominal amount for these services, and that customers are less price-sensitive than they are concerned with both the quality of the care they receive and the relationships that result from visiting a clinic or office.

Second, they are beginning to focus on a broader target population relative to the small at-risk groups with which they previously engaged. At the peak time of availability for international HIV-related grants in China, from roughly 2007 to 2012, civil organisations wrote proposals that emphasised the targeted nature of their interventions due to their ability to reach marginalised populations who generally faced multiple types of overlapping stigma. This logic, imported from international health organisations and foundations interested in evaluating the per dollar efficacy of their programs, encouraged civil organisations to specialise and build relationships with individuals with demonstrably high risk for HIV infection, and to avoid testing and education programs targeting the public.

As the amount of grant-based funding has waned in China, organisations have begun to market their services to broader segments of the population, including those at lower risk for HIV. Their rationale is that if they can sell more test kits to a greater number of people, they will be able to subsidise the cost of kits for those who cannot afford to pay with the

revenue they generate. At the same time, their organisations will be more self-sufficient, and can choose to reinvest revenues more flexibly without having to remain accountable to long-term budgets and plans overseen by these grant-making organisations. Sustainability and effectiveness, while often aligned, may also push organisations to make different strategic choices.

Importantly, the price point for these sold services is still sufficiently low so as not to exclude most consumers, even those who do not possess a significant amount of wealth. For individuals who truly cannot afford to purchase these, the organisations generally offer alternatives such as subsidies or loans. Thus, the change to the operating approach of these organisations will likely not create a strong exclusionary effect.

Beyond fiscal sustainability, this turn also has a symbolic meaning in terms of assigning moral responsibility to the customers of the organisation rather than framing their services as a form of freely provided community service. Rather than framing their activity as originating from or representing a community interest, these organisations have reframed their services as commercial ones, providing a general service that may happen to appeal to their previous constituency of high-risk category individuals, to a slightly greater degree than the average person. However, they assert that since more than ninety per cent of new HIV infections in China are sexually transmitted, the people who should be tested are a much greater segment of the population (i.e. anyone who is sexually active who might have been exposed to the virus).

The following two case studies illustrate how engaging in market activity can shift the way in which moral responsibility is assigned to individuals and organisations. This strategy mediates associative stigma transfer from individuals to organisations, and differs

from other strategies such as isolation that have been outlined as typical responses to challenges related to organisational stigma (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009).

The leaders of Case 3, a community support organisation that offered HIV testing at a small cost, justify their pay-for-service model as a necessary step toward instilling a sense of personal responsibility in their clients:

> We are not paying people to get tested and we will actually ask people to pay some fees when they come for tests. We use the money we raised to cover the cost of tests, not relying on money from other foundations. If people come to get detections, I want them to know they are doing it for themselves, and we are here to help. We don't earn money from them, but they should at least pay the cost, and in this way, we are able to buy more reagents. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

For this leader, commercial transactions emphasise individual responsibility, and this limits the scope of involvement in illicit activities that an organisation can take part in. He linked this ethic to disapproval of the Gates Foundation's program, which compensated people for getting HIV tests:

> To be honest, I don't really agree with the ways some foreign Funds operate in China. For example, the Gates Foundation's China AIDS Project started buying blood for testing. They paid people to get tested...This makes people think others are responsible for their health. But they should get detections regularly themselves, and they have to be responsible for their own health. They must be aware when they are sexually active, especially if they are gay. It's not right that we are emphasising the same things to them, asking them to get tested. They should know the risks. I really think paying them to get detections is very wrong, even though the Gates Foundations' intentions were good. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

The organisation's decision to charge a nominal amount for services was as much principled as it was practical. The organisation's founder explains how the money was reinvested in the organisation, and how this revenue generated was used to create a fund that emphasised individual accountability through small loans.

> We charge 10 *yuan* to cover the cost [of the test]. We have an emergency assistance fund that gives poor people financial aid to get treatment for venereal diseases or HIV. Some people are only 16 or 17 years old and are still going to high school…. Our fund helps those who have financial difficulty, and they can apply for support to go to the hospital. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

The founder continued to articulate the theory behind providing loans rather than grants, which matched the ideology guiding the fee-for-service model of encouraging individuals to look after their own health and not to become too entangled with and dependent on a civil organisation for help. He explained the way that emergency assistance fund loans were administered, highlighting how the logic of personal responsibility influenced his organisation's decision to adopt this practice:

> We can pay for you now if you have no money to see a doctor. But in the future, you have to pay it back. If you borrow 3,000 *yuan* from us now, you should pay it back in one or two years. We are not giving the money to you; you still need to repay us. When you repay us, you can pay more than what we paid you, since the money is going to help more people. In the case of teenagers, by the time they should repay us, if they still don't have money, they can go to some non-profit organisations we specify and work enough hours to offset the money they owe us. We use this model to encourage people to receive our help and retain the sense of responsibility. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

It is important to note that the organisation did not use profit generated by the HIV tests to cover its overhead costs; rather, the fees collected barely covered the costs of tests. The organisation put any excess revenue in an emergency assistance fund for loans made to individuals in need. Thus, the organisation's decision to adopt a commercial pattern of activity does not seem to be motivated solely by concerns about financial sustainability. By clarifying that individuals are meant to take personal responsibility for their health, this civil group extricated itself from associative moral questions related to the victim-blaming nature of HIV-related stigma. The ethic described here, as exemplified by this organisation's practices, which resist a gift-like, free service provision in favour of commercial forms of

exchange (selling goods and services and granting microloans), helps the organisation keep associative, moral stigma at bay while also allowing them to provide additional services (such as the emergency assistance fund). Additionally, the organisation's policy about repaying debts by working for *other* non-profit organisations reveals the group's careful management of association with stigmatised individuals. Instead of mobilising labour for its own activities, the organisation sends these individuals to work for other groups, and in this way can take advantage of the debts it is owed in a way that maintains distance from these individuals in its normal operations. At the same time, adopting this approach also emphasises individual responsibility by providing an alternative way of responding to a situation in which loans would normally have to be forgiven (in the situation where poor clients have neither collateral nor means to repay the money borrowed).

In this case, the prevalent idea that market exchange promotes individual responsibility helps to limit stigma transfer from marginalised at-risk populations. When the nature of the relationship between the individual and an organisation can be framed in commercial terms, a clear boundary divides the HIV civil organisation and the morally fraught activities of their clients. Indifferent service provision constitutes neither symbolic endorsement nor active participation in the stigmatised sphere to which individuals associated with HIV belong. The organisation's responsibilities end at the point of transaction, and the moral implications of at-risk behaviour are devolved to individuals rather than shared with the organisation itself. Notably, this process benefited from the state's hands-off approach toward the free market, which grants organisations a greater degree of independence when they operate in this morally neutral mode. This organisation continues to expand, and in spite of its work with marginalised populations such as transgender and gay

sex workers and drug users, it has been successful in preventing stigma from limiting its ability to operate.

In Case 4, an attempt to build a social enterprise arm of a civil organisation, the leader argues that if this project could generate revenue independently and cease reliance on grant-making organisations, it would then be able to quickly and iteratively design its own interventions. He described how he had turned down much of the funding that was available, in particular the grants from the Global Fund, explaining his rationale as follows:

> We don't take [their] money…We consider [them to be] like KFC and McDonalds; it's not healthy…because…they give you very strong deadlines, very bureaucratic terms and conditions, and you just mechanically compl[y] to what they call SOP [Statement of Purpose]. And it doesn't make sense. [You don't] use your mind to do anything. So we call those [grants] unhealthy food…. We like organic food. Always we take funding…with high flexibility. We are not very good [at] compliance to our donor's money, and our donors get used to it. Otherwise they [leave]. (Personal Interview, December 2014)

Here the founder concludes that accountability requirements from grant-making foundations limit his organisation's ability to adapt iteratively to information encountered when implementing a program. To his organisation, it is paramount to preserve this flexibility, and this principle has led to deliberate acceptance and rejection of financial support from international organisations.

He also correlates organisational innovation with the social enterprise model, pointing to traditional civil organisations' tendency to stagnate, and seeing market pressure as a solution that will force organisations to continuously develop creative solutions:

> That's why I think that social enterprise is the direction to go. One thing I feel is, I think sooner or later, when you work with traditional AIDS organisations, you find out that they are not really passionate people. They could do something, but it is difficult for them to be very creative. They get used to take the money, do the work. No money, no working. This is the problem. They are too

> much relying on the existing model [*sic*]. (Personal Interview, December 2014)

The concept that social enterprise models have the potential to provide sustainability and incentives to innovate are clear from this leader's account, and they strongly inform his decisions to work toward launching this new project among other more traditional activities.

Yet in addition to the functional benefits that the founder associates with social enterprise, there are also mitigating effects on stigma due to the anonymous nature of interacting with the organisation as a consumer rather than a community member. The founder explains how both organisations and individuals struggle because of stigma transfer within the constituency of a traditional community-based organisation:

> Always, the community is a limitation. Social enterprise is supplementary to this strategy. The majority of [their customers] are gay. They don't want to be tested by the gay community. Because if they know each other, the gossip spreads around. The second thing is that a lot of people want to hide their identities. "I am gay, but [now] I'm dealing with people in a different circle." "I don't want a lot of people to know about my [situation]"… I'm trying to give a better option [to them] for these services. This is how we think about the social enterprise model. (Personal Interview, December 2014)

By outlining the ways in which stigma interferes with the smooth provision of services in a highly-stigmatised environment in which individuals wish to remain anonymous for fear of the spread of information from gossip within the gay community, this organisation demonstrates the way in which treating individuals in a non-targeted, anonymous manner as customers helps to prevent stigma transfer from occurring. The alienating process of market exchange both demands and presumes less information from the individual about his motivation for seeking services, thus limiting the spread of suspicion through gossip or associative inference.

Although this particular social enterprise did not succeed and was mired by delays for over a year due to problems retaining staff and garnering key distribution partners, the motivations that led its founder to work for a year on launching a social enterprise reveal the way in which a desire to limit stigma transfer can shape the design of organisational structures and core activities. The anonymous nature of the relationship between customers and private sector organisations helps disentangle individual from organisation, thereby quelling associative stigma transfer. This aspect must be considered alongside traditional notions of financial sustainability that dominate studies of social enterprise emergence.

Monetising community-based social capital

The prevailing approach to HIV service provision since 2007 in China is reflected by the Global Fund's emphasis on inclusion of civil organisation representatives and People Living with HIV in the decision-making bodies that determine how grants are disbursed (Brugha et al., 2004). International donors have placed great pressure on governments and foundations to further empower civil organisations in the response, which has resulted in a greater degree of involvement of stigmatised communities in HIV service provision. As civil organisations have built stronger connections with the communities they serve, they have amassed social capital whose value can be transferred to other types of activities outside of these initial HIV-related activities.

Many organisations began to mobilise this social capital by exploiting the advertising value of their relationship with the specific group of hard-to-reach, stigmatised individuals that they have served. One example is the application created by a Beijing-based gay community organisation (Case 5: DB), which received investment based on its potential to commercialise the gay users in its online community. Because gay-targeted ads could be

perceived negatively by the general public, many companies had trouble reaching this particular demographic, which they recognised had increasing wealth and a propensity to spend on certain types of products such as travel and luxury goods. The investors believed that the mobile app platform could offer advertisers a way of shielding themselves from stigma by using an advertising channel directed specifically toward this community that would not be seen by people outside the community. Thus, the community organisation's pre-existing social capital became an economically valuable resource for increasing the directedness of advertising and protecting partners from stigma-transfer when they advertised products through the platform.

More broadly, the recasting of gay individuals as an economically valuable group of consumers rather than a group of high-HIV-risk recipients of international aid helps to both reduce stigma and limit its transferability. First, within the Chinese social frame, the consumer constitutes a nearly anonymous, abstract person whose motives do not typically make cause for moral questioning. The act of purchasing adheres to the general reform-era ethos to participate in consumerism (X. Wang, 2002, p. 7), and in some cases, it might conform to patriotic and nationalistic ideas. In this case, the product represents a subordinate, ancillary concern. This is one effect of the market pattern; the very act of exchange has the potential to obscure the meaning of the products that change hands. Second, the act of economic exchange must be clearly distinguished from the highly entangled and dubious act of receiving international aid, which draws attention to what is being given, and the interrelated motives of each party involved in the transfer of goods. Given Chinese state concerns about maintaining political stability and the threat of Western countries promoting conflicting values through civil organisations, grants from international organisations based in the West are subject to an additional level of scrutiny and inherent danger. The following

case illustrate the way in which restructuring the relationship between an organisation and a stigmatised group can address these concerns, helping to limit stigma transfer in multiple ways.

Case 5 (DB)'s app represents a new strategy to market products to stigmatised individuals as consumers rather than recipients of aid. The founder of the organisation explained that in the short term the app was not drawing in large profits from its large user base: "We are not trying to earn more money from gay people and [our product] is still a free app"(Personal Interview, December 2014). However, he explained that this was a strategic decision to make larger returns in the future, and the founder clarified that the investors were undoubtedly motivated by the prospect of lucrative returns from the app's future monetisation: "They [invested] because of the commercial advantages they could gain"(Personal Interview, December 2014). The organisation's leader explained that the repositioning of the organisation as an attractive venture transformed its ability to be publicly reported on, revealing the way in which stigma has been transformed by a reframing of a stigmatised group as a "market opportunity" rather than a public health risk or marginalised community:

> In the past, media couldn't really report on gay news. But because of the investment, they could interview us from this angle, and you can find a lot of reports since then. The reports were all positive, of course. (Personal Interview, December 2014)

When they are framed as consumers, at-risk individuals can be construed as indistinguishable from the broader community, and the moral transferability of HIV stigma is held at bay by the anonymising force of the market. This example further illustrates how the market can limit stigma transfer between both active consumers and passive target consumers, and it also shows how marketisation can bring strategic benefits to organisations dealing with stigma. The government's differential treatment of organisations with social missions that manage to

position themselves as commercial reflects the success of this strategy. It is particularly revealing that an international venture-capital backed gay technology company could be reported on in official business news, whereas an international aid-backed gay community group would be neither newsworthy nor safe to cover in the media.

Though the app currently does not sell advertisements, the investors hope to recuperate their investment in the long run through a combination of other revenue sources, which harness the large social capital of the organisation. The founder explained the future plan to monetise the app gradually:

> We may add memberships, e-commerce, games, and online-to-offline services. We may also have more advertisements, but it will likely make up a small portion of our income. (Personal Interview, December 2014)

This plan reveals how the organisation aims to recast the gay community as a source of economic value rather than a vulnerable part of society requiring donation-based help. In other words, the organisation resists stigma in two ways: it normalises gay individuals, recognising their commonality with other consumers, and it limits its own entanglement with the gay community through anonymous relationships mediated by exchange over its technology platform. Advertisers on the platform would have an exclusive way of targeting gay men, a demographic that, due to the unavailability of traditional family structures, would be more likely to spend income on themselves rather than children. Furthermore, by means of calling attention to the economic value of the gay collective, the app inherently validates the group as one that can contribute to the consumerist ethos of Chinese society.

When traveling with a collaborator, I had the opportunity to visit the DB office before it opened, when it was still under renovation. We toured the building and afterwards spoke to the founder and one of his staff over dinner about the plans for the new venue, which was a

huge upgrade resulting from the immense venture capital investment. It was a very exciting moment, and the founder's speech brimmed with an anything-is-possible attitude.

Figure 5: DB Office During Renovation Before Opening



The office itself spanned two stories, with a large staircase in the centre. The top floor, dedicated to the technical staff, had an open layout, with space for large desks and computers, and windows on all sides. The founder explained that it was meant to resemble offices in Silicon Valley. The office plan included a small, discrete clinic in the back of the office for HIV testing and counselling, as well as a small café on the ground floor, which the founder explained would offer free coffee to anyone who stated that they supported the gay community.

The café, though not a prominent feature of the office upon its opening, reveals much about the way in which this organisation viewed its own transformation. In so many aspects of its new establishment, this venture capital-backed part-start-up, part-civil organisation aimed to mimic recognised commercial entities in order to demonstrate that its activities fit within accepted forms of stigma-free, market activity. The recognisable motifs of the café

and the technology office, which the founder evoked in his design of the office, reinforced the idea that the organisation was a normal commercial venture. With a closer look, this could hardly be further from the truth; the organisation is in so many ways unlike any other in China. The organisation's appropriation of the market mode enhanced its own starting point as an unchallenged entity and protected it from much of the limiting stigma that had constrained its ability to expand.

Summary

The structure of this chapter's argument, which aims to deepen our understanding of organisation-level stigma transfer, can be summarised as follows. First, I consider how the concept of disentanglement through market exchange, as exemplified through the debates among Callon (1998), Miller (2002), and Slater (2002) at the border of economic sociology and anthropology, can be used to understand why stigma transfer may be mitigated when mediated through commercial activity. Gift-based aid provision, on the other hand, which connotes shared moral responsibility, may exacerbate associative stigma for organisations. Using a series of case studies comprising Chinese HIV civil organisations, I suggest a variety of methods by which market exchange appears to build barriers between organisations and marginalised individuals, thereby reducing the way that associative stigma is transferred to organisations. These cases, which can be grouped by the relationship that links each organisation to stigmatised groups, together suggest a pattern of strategic and intentional distancing that organisations use to manage the stigma inherent in their work. The findings in this chapter show various strategies by which organisations can distance their activities from groups that could be sources of associative stigma. They also reveal a need for additional frameworks for understanding how organisations manage stigma. Rather than developing

independence as an organisational field or adopting one of the boundary management strategies enumerated by Bryant and Hudson (2008), these organisations choose to disassociate from one another while attempting to partner with non-stigmatised organisations in other sectors. They also exhibit new market-based ways of reducing associative and moral stigma while maintaining sustained relationships with marginalised communities.

These approaches to avoiding stigma are assembled to offer a new framework for understanding how market framing can help limit organisational stigma transfer in certain contexts. The Chinese civil organisations in this chapter have adopted commercial activity as an alternative way of managing sustained association with stigmatised individuals. Due to the construction of the market as a natural boundary of responsibility, market-oriented imagery helps organisations avoid moral entanglement with the populations they serve. It also helps to avoid scrutiny by casting core organisational work as recognisable and appropriate. Both approaches may be enhanced due to the Chinese state's deliberate attempts to legitimise liberal market activity while discouraging the development of capacious civil organisations.

Market exchange exerts a powerful symbolic effect on the relationship between actors. Douglas describes an analogous effect with regards to the representational aspect of money:

> The metaphor of money admirably sums up what we want to assert of ritual. Money provides a fixed, external, recognisable sign for what would be confused, contradictable operations; ritual mediates experience, including social experience…. The more we reflect on the richness of the metaphor, the more it becomes clear that this is no metaphor. Money is only an extreme and specialised type of ritual. (Douglas, 1996, p. 70)

Market exchange, conducted through the transference of money, represents a ritual that mediates the way in which associative stigma transfer takes place. It is this aspect that seems

to have been overlooked in most studies of both hybrid organisations and social enterprise, and yet in these cases represents a central motivating factor of organisational restructuring.

As Chinese civil leaders reorient toward the market, it is important to investigate whether organisations that move towards forms that are "appropriate" (e.g. March & Olsen, 1989) are gaining protection from stigma or simply becoming less likely to be investigated, and therefore less vulnerable to negative perception. This suggests a variety of important questions for further pursuit. Do organisational structures change the extent to which organisations face negative social sanctions because of how they carry out their stigmatised work, how society pays attention to their organisation in general, or because of a combination of the two factors? Douglas discusses both possibilities, describing mechanisms by which rituals modulate both perception and experience:

> So ritual focuses attention by framing; it enlivens the memory and links the present with the relevant past. In all this it aids perception. Or rather, it changes perception because it changes the selective principles. So it is not enough to say that ritual helps us to experience more vividly what we would have experienced anyway…It can come first in formulating experience. It can permit knowledge of what would otherwise not be known at all. It does not merely externalise experience, bringing it out into the light of day, but it modifies experience in so expressing it. (Douglas, 1996, p. 65)

From the cases analysed in this chapter, it is apparent that the ritual value of engaging in market-based exchange helps to change the perception of organisations both by influencing attention and perception, notably helping to reduce the depth of associative stigma transfer. Douglas' characterisation of money and ritual bring this to light, especially in view of the strong state support for market organisations in the Chinese context.

Chinese HIV civil organisations have increasingly been redesigning their core activities as market-oriented. While for most the services provided and organisational missions have not shifted, both the practices and framings have changed to commercial rather

than non-profit modes. However, organisations appear to convey this market orientation selectively, and when engaging with certain organisational partners, civil organisation leaders still emphasise the social mission of the organisation. The pattern among these cases suggests that organisations prioritise their social mission internally and with other civil organisations, while more often using market framing when interacting with large state and private sector actors, or with stigmatised communities. One reason for this pattern could be the need to address both associative and moral stigma, which would most likely emerge from perceptions of proximity to stigmatised groups or work that is morally questionable. These preliminary insights suggest a need for further investigation of how market framing and activity can interact with processes of stigma transfer to organisations.

In this chapter, I have presented evidence about three mechanisms by which once-traditional civil organisations have incorporated commercial logics into free HIV testing and prevention models previously supported by grants and donations. In each case study examined, a marginalised community is reframed through the lens of a commercial venture, and each organisation attempts to preserve its social mission alongside commercial activities. Together, these cases help to flesh out the ways in which market activity can construct stigma-mitigating barriers and re-cast stigmatised activity so that it will not be transferred to organisations. Examples of challenges faced by organisations that attempted to do this unsuccessfully also show some of the risks involved with reframing activities in this way.

Taken together, these cases strongly suggest that stigma transfer can be transformed when activities are framed through market relationships. In other words, the process of stigma transfer undergoes modulation when interaction occurs through commercial interactions and arrangements. Social mission organisations face less intense stigma when their linkages with stigmatised groups are constructed as commercial, profit-seeking

relationships. This phenomenon, by which stigma is "laundered" via a process of legitimate and legitimising free market transactions, raises new questions about the nature of stigma transfer. Undoubtedly the extent to which stigma transfer is reduced within commercial activities will be subject to the political context in which these activities are viewed. The particularly strong emphasis on wealth production and economic growth that has been promoted by both state policy and mass media in China could augment this effect. However, stigma reduction in this manner likely holds a wider relevance spanning many social contexts, including international outsider organisations, groups that work with marginalised communities, and development organisations in general. The last case study demonstrates the positive effect that an infusion of venture capital had on the organisation's degree of stigmatisation. The fact that receiving investment permitted the organisation to be covered by international media suggests that the market has a similar effect across geographical and cultural contexts. Shifts to social enterprise-like models may be motivated at least in part by a desire to obscure the origins of stigma and reduce the intensity of associative moral stigma from marginalised groups.

The findings here raise many questions about the finer mechanisms by which organisations mitigate stigma by adopting market-oriented practices and organisational forms. While these cases suggest that Chinese civil organisations may adopt market-based practices and structures to lessen stigma, the reasons that these strategies seem to succeed require further elaboration. In this chapter, I argue that organisations take advantage of market barriers to disassociate from stigmatised individuals and mimic or adopt commercial forms to gain broader acceptance. Yet it remains to be determined if organisations avoid stigma transfer because they are less subject to suspicion and examination, or if the source of stigma is fundamentally transformed when viewed through a different social frame.

This chapter began by asking whether organisations might be able to transform their relationship with the free market to gain protection from associative stigma. A close analysis of cases focusing on Chinese civil organisations working on HIV shows that leaders attempt to take advantage of the symbolic effect to mitigate extreme social stigma inherent in this type of work. The question of how these shifts transform organisational structures has not been studied in depth, and the following chapter examines this issue of how conflicting missions and environmental considerations have led to a trend of hybridisation among civil organisations.

A slight re-orientation of the original question in this chapter may help guide future research on organisational stigma transfer. If organisations indeed can lessen stigma by framing their relationship to stigmatised individuals through market metaphors, how does this mitigation process occur? How is appropriateness constructed, and does the process of stigma reduction take place through changes in audiences' attention or the social frames by which activities are evaluated? In this chapter, I propose several new frameworks, such as building economic barriers with stigmatised groups and selectively using market framing to reduce assumption of moral responsibility. These are indeed starting points, and just as for Bryant and Hudson's (2008) five boundary management strategies, the strategies outlined here are not exhaustive. As organisations operate across cultural and geographic areas, associative stigma becomes increasingly relevant to organisational leaders. Yet the mechanisms by which associative stigma can be dealt with are not well mapped out. For solutions involving marketisation of civil organisations, more research remains to be done to determine how and why the market seems to have this effect. This will guide both researchers and practitioners toward a more nuanced understanding of how organisations can work effectively when facing high degrees of stigma in their core work.

Chapter 6: Hybrid Organisations in the Civil Sector: Multiple Identities and Partitioned Risk in Response to Institutional Pluralism

Like hybrid species in nature, hybrid organizational models can be a fountain of innovation. But they also face distinct challenges that may prevent them from thriving. When organizations combine social mission with commercial activities, they create unfamiliar combinations of activities for which a supportive ecosystem may not yet exist. (Battilana et al., 2012, p. 51)

The previous chapter identified ways in which civil organisations choose to engage in market activity to manage organisational stigma transfer. This analysis offers insight into how commercialisation can protect civil organisations from negative perceptions about their work. While the previous chapter focuses on strategies of framing and entering markets, this chapter looks at the ways in which such practices cause structural shifts in organisations. As organisations straddle different types of activity based on social and market framings, they also tend to adopt hybrid structures that reflect and respond to these external demands. Within the cases examined in this thesis, I examine how cross-sector organisational structures are designed to deal with specific environmental challenges in the Chinese context. While many studies have examined the challenges that hybrid organisations face when reconciling conflicting internal logics (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana & Lee, 2014; Pache & Santos, 2013), the ways in which hybridisation confers strategic advantages in politically hostile environments are less well understood, especially in non-Western settings. In the literature review (Chapter 3), I explained that there are many different ways of defining hybrid organisations, including organisations that combine activities, logics, identities, forms. Taking a step back from these different concepts of hybridity, I argue that hybrid organising should be seen as any activity that relies on borrowing from repertoires of ideas about organisations. Institutional reference points for organisations thus make up a

palette from which hybrid organisations can draw to navigate contradictory pressures and mitigate environmental risks.

In this chapter, I investigate how hybrid organisations persist in high-risk environments, overcoming additional challenges involved in hybrid work, including the tensions in "performing, organising, belonging, and learning"(W. Smith et al., 2012). If hybridisation is a "high risk strategy"(Galaskiewicz & Barringer, 2012, p. 47), how will organisations pursue this in a high-risk environment? Given that hybridisation characterises many of the Chinese civil organisations working on HIV, identifying how leaders manage challenges in hybrid organising can help to outline the relationship between organisational structure and environmental factors in China that may favour hybrid organisational forms. Here, I aim to expand current understanding of the origin, advantages, and disadvantages of "under-theorised"(Skelcher & Smith, 2015, p. 434) cross-sector organisational collaborations.

Due to state policies that limit organisational registration and financial transfers to the civil sector, Chinese HIV civil organisation leaders struggle to maintain consistent funding sources. Simultaneously, they also must navigate intermittent government interference, managing threats of being restricted or shut down by state agencies. Based on these parameters, I hypothesise that hybridisation helps address the issue of managing multiple risks by helping to partition sources of risk between different parts of an organisation. Subsequently, each organisational compartment can develop specialised ways of mitigating the kinds of risks it faces more often. Hybrid organisations are likely to benefit from loose coupling, since greater independence among organisational sub-units will allow them to better divide risk. Additionally, hybridisation may allow organisations to address recent reductions in international funding by expanding opportunities for partnerships, especially

ones that can provide mutually beneficial relationships with other organisations in various sectors.

In this set of case studies, political recognition also plays an important role in helping organisations survive and grow, and this chapter calls for additional attention to organisational partnerships that function to validate organisations and protect them from political risks. The case studies in this chapter include several examples of organisations that fail due to structural issues that exacerbated pre-existing political and financial obstacles, as well as instances of organisations that successfully used hybrid organising to protect from these same hazards. Together, these examples illustrate how leaders manage hybrid organisations in this context, choosing close coupling on levels where they can benefit from organisational combination and loose coupling on levels where it may reduce risk. The selective and flexible process by which leaders adjust these links may represent a strategic approach to building hybrid organisations. Finally, this chapter identifies areas that may represent fruitful starting points for further research, arguing that these cases of hybrid organisations may provide useful models for those interested in building development organisations in politically hostile or high-risk environments.

Here, I examine the five case studies from the previous chapter as well as two additional cases, which reveal the ways in which hybridisation affects an organisation's ability to handle environmental threats and build partnerships to ensure sustainability. These seven cases include several unsuccessful hybrid organisations and illustrate how hybrid structures can at times increase vulnerability to threats. The first additional case is a social enterprise selling with the support of a foreign-operated international family-planning foundation based in the United States. The second is a gay men's community organisation that has begun to adopt hybrid structures, departing from a traditional free service model.

Collectively, evidence from how these seven organisations' hybrid strategies helps to develop an analytical framework linking organisational structures to complex systems of external pressures. This evidence also shows how organisations use selective coupling to balance opportunities and risks. My theoretical contribution is first to suggest a framework for understanding the trade-offs that make it desirable for organisations to hybridise, and second to argue that the various definitions for hybrid organisations collectively describe a process of hybrid organising that is much more fluid than some theories (e.g. based on formal organisational forms) would suggest. I argue that even organisations that do not appear to be hybrid organisations (e.g. social enterprises) can engage in hybrid organising, and that this phenomenon may be a common and beneficial strategy in contexts with contradictory institutional pressures.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. First, I examine the benefits and challenges that hybrid organisations face, showing how these manifest in several cases. Principally, I highlight the ways in which multiple missions and complex institutional demands can create internal management challenges as well as risks for how an organisation manages multiple (often conflicting) images and identities. Second, I consider one way of understanding the process by which organisations hybridise as a balancing of benefits of shared resources and extended networks with the risks connected to internal and external tensions. I present the effects of hybrid structures on several levels of organisation, extracting themes from these findings. These themes comprise the main drivers for hybridisation found in the case studies here: avoiding intraorganisational conflict, facilitating collaborative innovation, managing external risks, and expanding partnership opportunities. I highlight examples of these themes in accounts from organisational leaders across cases. Finally, I present a model that integrates these findings and expands on the final theme of partnerships in the Chinese HIV context,

showing how a hybrid HIV organisation can fit into the organisational ecosystem, and where hybrid structures provide advantages. This connects to the next empirical chapter, which considers field-level dynamics between these organisations and various state and private sector actors.

Multiple logics and identities: A double-edged sword

As Battilana and Dorado (2010) suggest, organisations that manage conflicting logics and identities may face greater instability due to their need to reconcile different staff backgrounds, outcome measurement, and missions (Battilana & Dorado, 2010). Hybridisation can improve an organisation's ability to cope with multiple institutional demands found in complex environments. Chinese HIV civil organisations are small, fragile organisations without stable stocks of resources, and while hybridisation represents a common feature of many of these organisations, many of them still do not survive.

In this section, I explore the benefits and risks that hybridisation can provide to organisations within politically fraught contexts. I examine several case studies introduced in the previous chapter to illustrate the different levels on which hybridisation can bring benefits to organisations while also introducing new challenges. I also analyse two new case studies, one showing the process of organisational collapse that related to risks associated with its hybrid organisational form, and the other representing a successful hybrid organisation that carefully managed its risks from having multiple missions and organisational identities. I identify selective coupling as an important way that managers mediate trade-offs inherent in hybridisation.

The types of hybrid activities that I observed were generally justified in several ways, including as responses to challenges with registration, attempts to expand organisational

partnerships, and ways to improve revenue generation. However, it is clear that regardless of the primary reason caused these organisations to engage in hybrid activity, these groups were adopting these strategies to achieve multiple goals simultaneously. The table below compares the benefits described in interviews brought about by hybrid organising across the seven case study organisations. These data suggest that hybrid organisations are a continuous process that provides many opportunities for organisations on multiple levels.

Table 11: Hybrid Organising Fulfils Multiple Organisational Needs Simultaneously

Case	Formal Registration	Organisational Partnerships	Revenue Generation
1: ECB	"We are registered as a rural commercial cooperative [and]… a non-profit organisation. We have a big commercial organisation in Shanghai, and this is affiliated to it."	"[A hotel chain] invested one hundred thousand *yuan* into this project to buy equipment and hire workers."	"I don't know exactly how many bags were sold, but the sales reach one million yuan every year. The profits reached 300,000-400,000 yuan when the sales were good. It is a quite mature project now."
2: GB	"We didn't register [our organisation]. It was under the Health Promotion Association [in the hospital] so we didn't have to pay any taxes."	"An NGO would not have been under [the district CDC's] support. But in China, they couldn't find any other suitable organisations. I believe that our model was a good one, because we first formed a partnership [with the community], then…formed a side occupation as a means of obtaining revenue, which was followed by public [service] work."	"The way around it was to open a bar, to generate a fixed income, so people could stably stay here to work. Help them to solve their living costs."
3: ZX	"We just wanted to do some programmes for public good….We registered as a business….We have a foundation that holds fundraising events."	"We wanted to cooperate with [a large gay bar in Beijing] since they can help us with branding, promotion and so on. And they've always wanted to collaborate with some non-profit organizations as well…I don't think there will be commercial cooperation. We are after all a non-profit organization…We can cooperate…for psychological consultation and community services. They have some rooms we can use to organize programmes. They have a good platform too, and a lot of people	"We use the money we raised to cover the cost of [HIV] tests, not relying on money from other foundations…We can pay for you now if you have no money to see a doctor. But in the future, you have to pay it back."

		know about [the bar], including gay people living in Beijing or other cities, even internationally."	
4: LH	"We registered…as a charity in HK? …In China, we [registered as] local [business] offices. We have been running the offices for years."	We want to give [the community] more options to [access HIV] services. This is how we think about the social enterprise model."	Most of the NGOs want to just get the money and free services and do not care about sustainability…They are used to taking the money and doing the work, if there is no money, …then there is no work. They rely too much on the existing model…Social enterprise is like a supplementary part to the strategy."
5: DB	"We just registered as a commercial company…AIDS prevention and control is part of our Corporation Social Responsibility (CSR), and we have a department for it." "Before we positioned [ourselves] as a charitable organization, but now with the investment, we registered as an incorporated company."	"I thought we had to go down the path of commercialization, only in this way could [we] develop sustainably…We have investors…We cooperate with the Ministry of Public Health."	"Earning money means we could hire more talented employees, launch better products, and do other ideal things. So…when we were offered investment, we accepted it."
6: MJ	"We are registered as a business, but we are working under a non-profit in the US."	"We work with distributors in many regions in Northern China…we also have links with other NGOs and our parent foundation in the US."	"We nearly broke even after only two years, and our revenue increased dramatically each year."
5: TZ	We applied [to register] three times in the last two years and failed…We used to use a qualified finance section of [a GONGO] organization to [manage] our money…[In the future] we will be both a commercial entity and a public affairs…organization."	"If the company has a good policy for gay employees we will help the company on marketing. We can also help some companies to enlarge their market…We have companies that sponsor us…and support from foundations…We want to learn [foreign organisations'] ideas and study their experience, their methods, and their techniques. We have a cooperation with an American organization and have had several exchange programs with them. I have been there three times."	"[On this online platform, we will make profit] from both sides. Both from the users and the NGOs and other companies for helping them on marketing."

Now I will discuss several individual cases in more detail. In the case of the GB project, the organisation represented a partnership between the Chinese local government Center for Disease Control (CDC) and a doctor specialising in sexually transmitted infections

who established a civil organisation (a health promotion association), which was affiliated with the local hospital's HIV clinic. The project began in 2003, when a foundation from the UK reached out to the doctor to support activities for gay men in China. Suspecting that gay men might be at risk for HIV, the doctor began to research the gay community in the local area and began to develop a hybrid organisation that could receive international aid, employ members of the local gay community, provide a safe space for them to socialise, and facilitate HIV interventions. The resultant configuration, which was a gay bar and clinic established by a civil health promotion association, illustrates the challenges and limitations that conflicting logics can place on an organisation. The gay bar had social missions (providing sexual health knowledge and offering a safe space to gay men) as well as an economic mission (earning money to sustain itself), which were negotiated internally as the organisation built its distinctive structure iteratively.

Combining multiple organisational logics and structures conferred certain advantages on the organisation, both technical and institutional. First, resources could be easily shared between the health promotion association, which could apply for international aid, and the bar, which generated income from selling beverages to customers. Second, the organisation could collaborate with a wider variety of individuals and organisations, including the government, a foreign foundation, and the local gay population. The health association had a consistent track record of collaborating with the government hospital and the health bureau, though it had difficulty establishing relationships with the undisclosed gay community. The founder explained that when he initially began to try to understand the local gay community and what kind of high-risk behaviours they might be engaging in, his patients were typically reluctant to openly discuss topics related to homosexuality, and only after knowing him for a while would they decide to disclose information that might suggest that they or their friends

had engaged in such behaviour (Personal Interview, January 2015). The bar, on the other hand, run by community volunteers, served as a gathering space for gay men, and helped the doctor interface with this target population more efficiently. To the leaders of the gay community, it was very important to have a space that would recognise the legitimacy of their identity, which echoes work connecting place to institutional work (Thomas B Lawrence & Dover, 2015). At the same time, by developing a distinct manner of hybrid organising, the gay bar aimed to gain more resources to advocate, publicise, and carry out interventions to achieve its multiple social and economic goals. Because of its core organisational identity as a gay bar, it encouraged a starting point that was more open, and even attracted international visitors who were interested in seeing a Chinese gay bar (Personal Interview, January 2015).

However, these advantages also came with risks common to organisations that juggle multiple identities and images. One involves reconciling the individual identities of staff members with the missions of each organisational component. For the community-based volunteers, their participation was strongly tied to the organisation's social mission, which was to serve the gay community. The founder explained the clash between the hospital-affiliated health association and the gay bar project:

> I don't think the partnership worked very well. I didn't realise it at the time. When a hospital partnered with us, they had their goals and we had ours. Yet the aspirations were for good causes…[The gay bar volunteers] perhaps didn't want me to interfere much. I didn't want to interfere. I just wanted to achieve my goals; to help implement safe health measures. I was interested in health intervention, how many people got infected and how to reduce infections whereas they primarily wanted to make more friends, to establish themselves and to make money. As a consequence of the difference in goals, there was a conflict of interest. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

As the organisation continued to operate with divergent missions, disagreements between the founder and the bar staff became more extreme, and the stress eventually forced him to step away from the gay bar project:

> I think the conflict arose because they had been in control for too long, they wanted to do what they wanted… I was in a very passive position, so I decided to opt out... After half a year, I quit, they could no longer operate, and hence the bar closed. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

The divergent identities and logics guiding the different internal factions in this case were a large obstacle to the organisation's operational sustainability. As the doctor described, the clashes between staff extended to contestation of how the bar's space would be purposed:

> We had already had a clinic next door to the bar, but it wasn't for them to use. Because they wanted to have performances, they took over the room and made it into a dressing room…. One of the rooms was a dressing room, the other a clinic. I said there must be a clinic room. I realised that the volunteers didn't really want to work anymore. They just wanted to do shows, meet more gays, make more friends and increase their sexual relations. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

Based on the persistent conflicts between divergent internal logics, the founder concluded that trying to bridge these different identities would not be possible, so he ultimately withdrew his involvement in the project: "If there are capable people about, then I'd want them to get involved in the organisation, but I would like to stay as a doctor. Having a dual profession is not good"(Personal Interview, January 2015).

The GB project faced a great deal of uncertainty upon its founding, given its pioneering nature as the first rural gay bar in China. Not only did it confront challenges due to its association with its gay community members, which was generally a taboo subject in this region, but it also represented an unprecedented collaboration between organisations from the government, private, and civil sectors. In addition to these factors, the complications introduced by hybridity made it more difficult for the project to manage its structural issues,

and eventually the project broke off from its founding parent organisation and folded. The organisation struggled both to reconcile multiple organisational missions and staff identities, as well as to break into effective units that were specialised to resist external threats.

The LH case provides another example of how conflicting staff identities can create discord within an organisation. The launch of a social enterprise project for this organisation required new expertise, and to address this situation the director hired a woman who had marketing experience in the pharmaceutical industry. However, she was the only member of the social enterprise with a private sector background, and very quickly it became apparent that the team had a disjointed set of norms for interaction. At one point in the planning meeting, she made a comment that others perceived as homophobic. The team quickly changed the subject, yet a series of these incidents seemed to suggest a cultural barrier that could be a persistent issue in the organisation's internal work.

Battilana and Dorado (2010) identify two main methods of socialising newly hired members in a hybrid organisation: "integration" and "apprenticeship"(Battilana & Dorado, 2010, p. 1435). In the case of the former process, in which employees from different backgrounds are encouraged to learn mutually from each other as they collaborate, they describe tensions between staff socialised in different institutional logics, and how these can limit an organisation's ability to function. Indeed, it seems that a similar type of persistent conflict may have occurred within this organisation, as evidenced by the palpable differences in jargon, expectations, and values that distinguished the staff member with business experience and those who had been working in the non-profit field for years. A few months later, the woman left the team, and the director told me that he was trying to find a replacement staff member with business training. The director confessed that HIV services did not typically attract people with this background and described the difficulty of allowing

people with different skills to work on this project (Personal Interview, December 2014). Months later, the project was still on hold, and the director still sought the right combination of staff who would be able to implement his plan of generating revenue at a larger scale to support its activities, rent, and staff.

The case studies here illustrate the many internal challenges that hybrid organisations face, including tensions between internal logics, conflicts over organisational missions, and contradictions in articulations of organisational identity. This evidence suggests that conflicts can arise when components of hybrid organisations are too closely coupled, yet it also indicates that there are also clear benefits to close collaboration and shared resources that prevent organisations from dividing into disparate entities. The following two new cases help to illustrate these dynamics in more detail.

Case 6 (MJ), a social enterprise in Beijing supported by an international foundation that provided funds for its initial operating costs, encountered two major challenges: how to merge its profit and social impact missions, and how to measure outcomes for each one. The ultimate disagreement with its parent organisation, which led to the premature end of the project, demonstrates how failure to resolve this conflict can lead to the downfall of an organisation.

The organisation's parent organisation, an international non-profit dedicated to addressing family planning issues globally, used key performance indicators based on public health outcomes. In part because of its original family planning-focused mission, it emphasised couple-based interventions over interventions targeting young, single people. Indeed, the mission statement from the organisation mentions that it provides innovative services to "couples." The international organisation had been successful in many countries

at providing contraception to married women, and its self-evaluation metrics were shaped by this track record.

The Beijing-based director, on the other hand, had a distinct plan for the project's design in China. Because he was interested particularly in prevention of sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV, for whom young people were particularly at risk, he chose to focus on building a social enterprise that would brand and sell condoms, which seemed to address both motivations, while also providing a straightforward model for generating revenue. However, the performance indicators for each part of the organisation remained divided, which came into focus just before the parent foundation withdrew support for the Beijing project.

Because the parent organisation operated in many different countries, it measured cost effectiveness by calculating the number of unwanted births prevented per dollar. This allowed it to easily compare outcomes across different types of interventions and in different contexts. However, it did not weigh in the effect of sexually transmitted diseases, often because these data were not easily obtained, and because this was a secondary goal to the central leadership (Personal Interview, January 2015). Although the Beijing office had made tremendous progress along the lines of increasing revenue and building distribution networks in preparation for scaling the number of condoms sold, the estimated number of births prevented per dollar invested in the project was still much lower than other types of interventions, such as IUDs. The director of the Beijing office argued that condoms had many other benefits, and that the head office's metrics did not capture many of these additional positive effects of facilitating safe sexual behaviour for young people. However, the parent organisation nevertheless ultimately decided to discontinue support for the activities in China. Furthermore, the head office was not willing to give MJ a loan to allow

the project to continue for a few more years; its timeframe was much shorter and demanding than what the director saw as necessary for building an effective consumer goods business.

These divergent approaches to assessing outcomes reveal the dangers of conflicting metrics and timeframes for evaluating a hybrid organisation's success. The resulting managerial crises that can follow from this situation force hybrid organisations to develop more sophisticated ways of overcoming this barrier. What strategies might help hybrids avoid such organisational failures resulting from conflicting logics and identities? In the following case studies, I examine similar hybrid organisations that did not collapse and find two ways that organisational leaders manage threats. First, they design organisations with loosely coupled components to avoid creating conflicting organisational images. Second, they ensure that organisational components develop specialised coping mechanisms to confront the specific types of risks they face individually.

Case 7 (TZ), a gay men's community organisation that aimed to develop revenue-generating community services including HIV testing and a community advertising platform. The organisation's articulation of its immediate strategic plans reveals a strong desire to use a hybrid organisational structure to reach more opportunities and navigate the regulatory challenges of the government's dual registration policy. Hybridisation would provide the ability to operate better across sectors, build partnerships with private actors such as venture capital firms and companies, and register commercially. At the same time, the organisation could strengthen personal ties with the government by partnering with government-affiliated entities more likely to work with civil organisations, such as GONGOs and the CDC. In this case, a hybrid structure would seem to enhance the repertoire of partnerships available, while helping the organisation better navigate the challenging political environment.

These hybrid organisations all faced various types of conflict derived from managing hybrid tensions. The following table summarises several of the conflicts discussed above, organised by case.

Table 12: Hybrid Challenges Faced by Case Study Organisations

Case	Internal challenges	External challenges
1: ECB	Hard to manage bag manufacturing employees and community volunteers in separate offices	Tricky balancing multiple social and market logics and missions
2: GB	Difficult to balance different employee goals working in both community organisation and bar; tension between social and profit mission	Criticism from media for conflation of social and market missions
3: ZX	Loose network of community leaders, dispersed management	Highly stigmatised organisational work presented with higher visibility when housed proximal to large gay bar setting
4: LH	Different backgrounds created tensions in work environment; hard to recruit and keep people willing to work across sectors	Difficult to establish recognition as social enterprise with organisational partners without clear organisational form
5: DB	Hard to allocate resources from investors to charity arm; unclear how to prioritise social and profit missions	Need to reframe organisational identity to market-driven technology company rather than community organisation while sustaining core activities
6: MJ	Conflict between missions and priorities in US and China offices	Organisational identities clashed causing friction with key partners (funders)
7: TZ	Lack of personnel with business backgrounds to help expand for-profit arm	Partnerships fragile due to complexity of environmental demands from state policy

These data illustrate the many types of challenges that bridge different levels of a hybrid organisation, from individual-level to field-level.

I have presented a variety of evidence from case studies to show the challenges faced by hybrid organisations in complex political environments. While using hybrid forms reflects one strategic response to managing conflicting or contradictory demands placed on organisations, these strategies can also create additional risks and difficulties, from managing personnel with different backgrounds to avoiding conflict between organisational identities.

The table above shows the diversity of conflicts present in hybrid organisations. This evidence suggests that managers of hybrid organisations must manage the extent to which an organisation is divided into separate parts, weighing information about environmental risks as well as internal readings of staff and missions. In the section that follows, I consider the extent to which the management of the coupling of organisational components across different levels might offer a scaffold for considering how hybrid organisations can balance these trade-offs across multiple levels of organisation.

Resource pooling and risk-based selective coupling

One strategy that hybrid organisations typically use to preempt internal conflicts is to maintain internal separation among their sub-units. For hybrid organisations, such internal loose coupling helps to reduce intra-organisational dissonance among components embodying different logics and practices. In practical terms, these arrangements can take various shapes, such as building offices in different areas, separating staff, giving organisational components different names, and characterising the relationship between components as a partnership rather than as a unified organisation. At the same time, when organisations work closely together, they can share resources, such as office space, staff expertise, accounts, and tax benefits. Thus, the optimal arrangement for hybrid organisations allows its components to strike a balance that maximises resource sharing while minimising risks of internal conflicts. Pache and Santos (2013) allude to "selective coupling" for hybrid organisations, yet they frame it mainly in terms of organisations gaining legitimacy (2013, p. 974). This chapter helps to develop this idea by providing a finer grain by which coupling can be analysed, including various examples of incentives for close and loose arrangements.

These various trade-offs can be further categorised based on which type of resources or risks are affected by the coupled-ness of organisational components. The table below illustrates the ways in which coupling affects organisations on various levels, including the relevant cases for each theme. The following sections detail the ways in which this multi-level selective coupling framework can be helpful for understanding hybrid dynamics, showing how these coupling strategies respond to issues commonly faced by hybrid organisations.

Table 13: Trade-Offs for Close and Loose Coupling in Hybrid Organisations

(Relevant case study in parenthesis)

Conceptual Level	**Closely Coupled (Resource Sharing)**	**Loosely Coupled (Risk Management)**
Physical	Lowers rent for shared spaces (1,2,3,5,7); diminishes transportation costs (1); increases internal information transfer (6)	Avoids space conflicts (2,3); reduces conflicting information; takes advantage of location features such as nearness to market, labour costs, urban/rural, etc. (1,2,3,6)
Human	Facilitates staff collaborations (5); encourages skill sharing, interactive learning, and joint trainings (3,5); exposes staff to new skills and practices (1,5)	Prevents identity conflicts; reduces interpersonal disagreements and antagonism among staff (2,4)
Institutional	Integrates multiple institutional logics innovatively (2,5,6,7); houses greater awareness of institutional pressures (1,5)	Circumvents risk of perception of mission conflicts (2,6), clarifies norms and expectations (1,2,3,4,6)
Environmental	Attracts support for new organisational forms, e.g. funding specifically for social enterprises or support for public-private partnerships (2,3,5,6,7)	Reduces suspicion from partner organisations of unfamiliar form or structures (2,7); lessens chance of organisational image interference (2,6)

These findings can be digested into several thematic groupings. Within an organisation, the primary concerns for hybrid organisations appear to be avoiding internal conflicts between

individuals with different backgrounds or motivations and facilitating collaborative innovation by combining perspectives and resources in creative ways. At a higher level, I consider the relationship between a hybrid organisation and its environment. Here there emerge two additional themes, namely managing risks associated with outside perceptions of contradictory organisational identities and seeking broader sets of partnerships by using multiple organisational images and modes of work. The following sections examine each of these themes in greater depth, drawing from empirical cases to show the detailed processes by which organisations grapple with these concerns.

Loose coupling to avoid intra-organisational conflict

Pache and Santos (2013) characterise the set of French work integration social enterprises (WISEs) in their study as "sustainable hybrid forms that selectively couple elements drawn from different logics, within the constraint imposed by their need for legitimacy"(Pache & Santos, 2013, p. 996). This section builds on this work, developing a framework that includes other factors that cause hybrid organisations to manage their coupling strategically. For instance, I find that hybrids may adopt loosely coupled structures to prevent separate missions and identities from clashing. Loose coupling also offers opportunities for organisational flexibility and specialisation.

To best work with marginalised gay and transsexual sex workers while at the same time working with state actors, ZX's outreach volunteer team form a separate and independently managed part of the organisation. ZX's leader explained that this structure was necessary to gain better access to the marginalised communities, and that these outreach activities were most effective when they were coordinated and conducted outside of the organisation's office:

> Unlike other organisations, we have focused mainly on community outreach. We did outreach work in 2004 when we first started. We went to parks, lavatories, bars and bathrooms where gay people go often to get in contact with them. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

The loose coupling between the office and the volunteer corps was necessitated due to the organisation's need to reach marginalised groups, while assuring them that the organisation would not expose them to law enforcement. This required a very loose linkage between the organisation, which collaborated with the government, and the organisation's volunteer outreach team, which worked closely within these marginalised communities. The founder continued to describe the way his volunteers interacted with the organisation's three staff:

> We have about 30 regular volunteers… They manage a lot of things themselves, so we don't really need to spend much time supervising them. We have distributed tasks to everyone, so they focus on their own work most of the time, and we can cooperate when we need to integrate our resources. It eases the heavy workload. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

The founder saw the organisation's activities involving marginalised groups as potentially threatening to its other fundraising work. At the same time, it was crucial for the organisation to maintain close ties to the community to work more effectively and understand their specific needs. He described how other organisations had encountered credibility problems when their public work seemed too closely associated with on-the-ground community work:

> We want to get more associated with the community. No matter whether you are dealing with gay people or AIDS infected people, it's very important to know their demands. A lot of organisations, for example advocacy organisations, are drifting away from the community. They make the organisation very sensitive; for example, they fight against the government every day or raise some sensitive topics. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

Keeping the office's fundraising and testing activities separate from the outreach ones was necessary to prevent the office's partnerships from affecting its ability to work closely with communities that were very sensitive to being associated with official institutions. For

instance, sex workers, many of them transgender women, were more willing to work with these community support groups than with a government-sponsored organisation, since the government had previously issued harsh punishments for sex workers and had even incarcerated them in the past. Thus, a loose coupling provided strategic advantages for the organisation's social mission and its ability to work closely to a marginalised community.

The ECB project took similar measures to distance itself from the source of its funding and to keep the various interests within its organisation from coming into conflict. Though its funding came via a partnership between a foundation in Hong Kong and a French company, it was registered through an office in Shanghai, which allowed it to maintain a registered identity as a small, locally run business. The women producing the bags worked in a factory in a rural area, which had very little contact with the Hong Kong-based foundation. Indeed, while initially the bags had been designed in Hong Kong, the leader of the project separated these groups further, liaising between the two and limiting the contact between the factory and the social enterprise foundation. This gave him greater flexibility to manage the image of the organisation and tailor it to different partners, and as mentioned in an earlier chapter, it was sometimes desirable to reframe the project as an eco-friendly project not explicitly concerned with HIV. This helped keep the profit-making logic of the production line insulated from the social mission of the organisation, which posed complications due to its stigmatised connotations.

Loose coupling can help hybrid organisations compartmentalise the various identities and logics that they contain. It provides benefits not only in the realm of legitimacy, as other studies have described, but also in helping organisations to manage internal conflicting elements. The next section examines how these coupled organisational sub-units combine individuals with different repertoires, experiences, and resources for productive

collaboration. I examine how specialised sub-units can develop special features that help manage risk and increase the types of available organisational partnerships.

Collaborative innovation and resource sharing

Many of the organisational leaders from the case studies described resource-sharing collaborations with other organisations from other sectors. The most common arrangement seemed to be for civil organisations to share offices with for-profit organisations, generally paying little to no rent. The for-profit organisation often would offer their space in this way either due to a shared social mission or having shared employees or other resources.

The ECB project, for instance, shared an office space with a local gay community organisation. The two organisations, although not related in terms of governance, shared a common social mission of HIV prevention. In this case, the arrangement was ideal because it allowed the social enterprise to save on rent while remaining structurally independent from the other organisation, therefore minimising the possibility that the groups' activities might come into conflict.

Other organisations exhibited similar patterns of sharing offices with like-minded organisations, while maintain distance with the organisations in that space. The GB project, for instance, tried to capitalise on the central location of the gay bar to establish an HIV testing clinic, which would offer services to customers of the bar. ZX also had recently moved into an office above a prominent gay bar in Beijing:

> We wanted to cooperate with [a large gay bar in Beijing] since they can help us with branding, promotion and so on. And they've always wanted to collaborate with some non-profit organisations as well…We can cooperate with [the bar] for our psychological consultation and community services. They have some rooms we can use to organise programs. They have a good platform too, and a lot of people know about [the bar], including gay people living in Beijing or other cities, even internationally. So we can use this

> platform to disseminate what we want to express…They are actually letting us use this room for free now. So this is another way for us to find resources like this instead of raising money. This is a new strategy for us, because we don't need to pay money to rent a testing room. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

This leader's account shows that this partnership not only saved the organisation costs, but also enabled greater levels of partnership and collaboration than would otherwise be possible without this physical proximity. This shows how hybrid partnerships can expose organisations to other modes of thinking and operating. As will be explained in more detail in the following chapter, other features of these hybrid organisations also enable them to adapt to a hostile political context with a high degree of flexibility.

Many other cases exhibit similar physical space-sharing arrangements, highlighting ways that shared spaces led to creative collaborations. LH used another HIV testing clinic's office space to convene a strategic planning meeting and invited leaders of several local HIV civil organisations to provide input. In this way, the leader gathered diverse sources of experience to develop a social enterprise. DB used a communally shared space for its community organisation and software developers, and although roughly 90% of the employees belonged to the for-profit, start-up arm of the company, the two teams worked in parallel in the same office. Notably, because these two organisational arms had separate bureaucracies but still shared an executive director, it was common for the organisations to carry out joint initiatives.

One such collaboration took place on the company's website, in which the community organisation utilised free advertising space for public health online campaigns. The images in the figure below are examples of these ads, which promote free HIV testing in ads designed to appeal to the gay users of the website. The mobile app also included ads promoting safe sex without any direct commercial benefit to the for-profit company, and the

community arm of the organisation was responsible for planning and designing these kinds of initiatives. Another innovative collaboration between the two organisational components involved placing red ribbons on more than eight million app users' profiles, which if clicked, would display HIV-related health information and resources. This campaign, launched in observance of World AIDS Day 2014, can be seen in the top-right of the figure below.

Figure 6: DB Web- and App-Based Public Health Collaboration

Web-Based



A website advertisement for a hotline providing appointments for free HIV testing in Beijing



A website advertisement promoting a brand of rapid HIV test

Mobile App-Based



A red ribbon was added to all user profiles for World AIDS Day 2014, which if clicked provided information on how to prevent HIV transmission



A mobile advertisement providing a link to information on safe sex

These collaborations, which were implemented across organisational sub-units, fulfilled common goals and used common resources between the for-profit and non-profit arms of the organisation. This type of activity was facilitated by the close coupling of the organisation's separate teams and the organisation's registration as a single commercial entity. Similarly, the GB project could avoid paying tax on the revenue since the health association owned the bar, and the organisation's budget was managed under the local hospital. Indeed, the association's close linkages with the government hospital brought about many benefits. The founder described the way in which the organisational coupling helped the association share its tax-exempt status with the bar:

> [The gay bar] was under the Health Promotion Association [in the hospital] so we didn't have to pay any taxes. So [the staff] didn't have any pressure. They were given the green light…. If the tax authorities came, we would give them the government seal of approval and then they would not make us pay tax. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

These cases illuminate how hybrid organisations in this sector have sought space-sharing arrangements to reduce rent costs, facilitate innovative collaboration, and gain privileges from access to organisational registration. These contrasting sets of examples illustrate that the benefits of close coupling must be weighed against its risks. The next set of examples illustrates how loose coupling can benefit hybrid organisations, and how these organisations selectively manage the degree to which their various components are linked.

Specialisation for risk management

Hybrid organisations develop specialised structures not only as a response to dual pressures to address social issues while operating efficiently (Battilana & Lee, 2014, p. 428), but also as a way to prepare more effectively for dealing with various types of political risk. An organisation's subcomponents can cast distinct images as tailored responses to political

threats. Thus, loose coupling allows several organisational images to be deployed without mutual interference. Additionally, specialised organisational components help to formulate more specific images that address distinct sources of political risk.

The ECB project, for example, could operate in a very sensitive area of Henan province in part because of its hybrid organisational model. While many other civil organisations, especially those receiving funding from outside of China, were prohibited from operating in areas of this province where HIV infection rates were high (Personal Interview, January 2015), this organisation instead built a production factory, using an organisational form that would be less politically controversial. The employees were not able to relocate to find work, due to the household registration system which limited their ability to seek employment opportunities in other cities. Many who needed to take care of children in the rural area could only secure treatment from their local hospitals due to their rural health insurance being tied to their place of residence. They also feared the prospect of HIV-related stigma from other employers. ECB's leader explained the benefits of loose coupling for the organisation:

> I came to Guangzhou a couple of times and realised it's a great place for small companies to develop. Because women from the rural areas are usually good at making cloth, I thought we should make good use of their techniques in the textile industry. Guangzhou is very advanced in textile industry and finished product areas. So I decided to work in Guangzhou, and I want to connect all the resources I have and build an integrated product development team. We plan to build factories here in Guangzhou, but the ultimate goal is to reach Henan, and give infected women opportunities to do this job…those women are not busy except for taking care of their kids and doing some farm work, so most of them want to do this job…because they can just work at home, not in big cities. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

The separation of the for-profit component of the organisation and the foreign-funded social enterprise element demonstrates how components of a hybrid organisation can develop

specialised features to manage various political constraints, opportunities, and risks. Guangzhou, a major international city with diverse opportunities for sponsors and a relatively supportive environment for charitable goals, was suitable for fostering the organisation's social mission and selling the products. The rural area, where a charitable organisation would be perceived as politically sensitive, had a need for well-paying and non-discriminatory employment, and therefore constituted an appropriate location for a small labour force for the organisation's factory. In this case, loose coupling enabled the organisation to accommodate multiple institutional pressures simultaneously.

DB, as a community-based organisation and technology start-up, uses its hybrid structure to specifically address the pressures that different actors exert on each component of the organisation. Because the organisation's arms are more closely linked, DB's leader presents different organisational images depending on the stakeholders that are present. The for-profit arm is equipped to respond to investors, sponsors, companies, and government agencies, which have standard protocols for interacting with and supporting commercial entities. Moreover, the for-profit organisation's image as a technology company helps project appropriateness in a system that highly values a so-called "scientific" approach to development (Fewsmith, 2004). This can disarm many critiques levied against community-based organisations, including poor measurement and evaluation and lack of ability to build meaningful partnerships with established organisational forms.

Meanwhile, DB's non-profit arm is still able to maintain a credible relationship with other key stakeholders, including gay community members, grant-making organisations, international organisations, and other civil organisations. The separate set of pressures from these groups, including competitive threats from other civil organisations, specific programmatic demands from grant-making organisations, and state expectations for being

politically non-threatening, must be dealt with using a different set of organisational images. In these cases, the non-profit component deliberately designs structures that suit the requirements of managing these separate environmental pressures.

Lastly, MJ provides an additional instance of a hybrid organisation that deploys specialised components to manage political sensitivity. As an organisation working on sensitive topics such as HIV and sexual health and supported by funding from a foreign foundation, MJ faced strong pressure to avoid activities that might be perceived politically subversive. By hybridising, the organisation minimised the political risks of operating in Beijing and focused on activities that resembled those of its private sector competitors, namely, other condom companies such as Durex and Okamoto. By doing this, the organisation positioned itself to respond more effectively to environmental pressures such as stricter state restrictions for foreign-funded NGOs, while still receiving grant-based funding from its parent foundation, whose social mission of family planning could be fulfilled through this project. The founder explained that the organisation could partner with regional distributors in various provinces in China to distribute condoms through their networks of local shops and pharmacies. Civil groups face restrictions on establishing offices or chapters across different cities, so these partnerships helped overcome this strict regulatory limitation. While working with distributors presented additional challenges, such as a reported propensity for distributors to misrepresent sales data, the organisation had the ability to scale quickly in its first few years due to its ability to be seen as a commercial entity when expanding its scope of operation.

Building broader partnerships

In addition to allowing developing specialised responses to multiple types of environmental risks, hybrid organisations can expand their repertoire of collaborations. For many organisations, collaborations occur across organisational boundaries, and are facilitated by boundary-spanning broker individuals, who are able to identify mutual interests of both organisations (Fleming & Waguespack, 2007). Hybrid organisations can expand the number of possibilities for collaboration by setting out a wider variety of specific boundary-spanning opportunities in each of their organisational components.

DB's hybrid structure demonstrates how organisations can establish a broader set of partnerships by projecting multiple organisational images. Its for-profit identity has allowed it to garner contracts with venture capitalists, advertising businesses, event managers, and merchandise companies. By establishing a for-profit entity that can handle capital investment, DB's private sector arm allows it to interface with other organisations in a set of conventionally recognised configurations. This includes a range of types of organisations from media to investors to other businesses. As a technology company, the organisation gained investment from venture capitalists, received recognition from the central government, and received positive coverage in international business publications and official news outlets. It did this while still maintaining ties with groups that supported its social mission of promoting the interests of the gay community, such as international foundations, other civil organisations, local state health organisations, and academic research groups. This case illustrates how the ability to flexibly deploy a repertoire of organisational images allowed DB to effectively manage stigma and gain access to resources not typically available to non-profit organisations.

Scandals involving civil organisations have cast doubt upon the financial transparency and reliability of civil organisations in the eye of the Chinese public. One notable example is the Guo Meimei incident in 2011, which involved a young woman supposedly affiliated at a low level with the Chinese Red Cross (a GONGO) who posted extravagant photos on social media with luxury handbags and cars. This led to public outrage and criticism of the Chinese Red Cross for the associated corruption and embezzlement of charitable funds. Yet in spite of this incident, international organisations have continued to emphasise the importance of directing funding to civil organisations in order to address a variety of social issues in China including HIV. Thus, while these groups have faced difficulties in gaining domestic financial support, they have been relatively successful in attracting continued international aid despite on-going suspicion about accountability and transparency.

Civil organisations have a distinct set of avenues for collaboration, especially when working with academics, international foundations, and other grant-making organisations. DB's charity arm partnered with an entirely different set of organisations, and its hybrid structure allowed it to gain special recognition from a high-level government official, who honoured this organisation as an exemplary civil organisation:

> Premier Li Keqiang wanted to meet some NGOs working on HIV prevention and control. The Ministry of Health asked different provinces to recommend, and then selected [the organisations]. Ours was really lucky to be chosen. Maybe they thought we were special since we used the Internet to do HIV prevention and control. (Personal Interview, December 2014)

By deploying a flexible identity as both a community-based organisation and a web-based group, DB accessed political benefits that likely would not have been available to a non-hybrid organisation. In short, since partnerships must identify different organisational images to contemplate opportunities for collaboration, the ability to project distinct organisational

images can enhance an organisation's strategic repertoire vis-à-vis its responses to institutional pressures. This may be particularly pronounced in environments characterised by high levels of institutional pluralism, where organisations must navigate contradictory pressures, both positive and negative. This supports Kraatz and Block's characterisation of how pluralistic environments present key opportunities:

> We will suggest that institutionally-adept organizations are often able to simultaneously meet the expectations imposed by various institutional spheres in which they operate...More importantly, we also think that significant complementarities often exist between institutionally given identities, such that the organization's ability to successfully be one thing actually enhances its ability to be others. (Kraatz & Block, 2008)

These case studies illustrate several ways that hybrid organisations manage complex institutional pressures through building organisational components and presenting multiple identities. These hybrid structures represent adaptations to the multiple and contradictory pressures in the Chinese context and enable partnerships that are difficult to form due to political legal restrictions that target civil organisations.

Summary

This chapter suggests that hybridisation can benefit organisations as they interact with politically challenging environments. While hybrid organisations may face greater risks due to the conflicting identities, processes, and components that they balance, selective coupling seems to offer a way to mitigate these issues while simultaneously offering other strategic benefits such as the ability to develop specialised organisational units and expand boundaries for partnerships.

Responding to calls for research regarding "innovations in the ways [Chinese] citizens assume more and more responsibilities for solving society's problems, especially as

the interests of businesses come into conflict with those of citizens"(Lan & Galaskiewicz, 2012, p. 501), this chapter elucidates a more fluid way of thinking about how civil organisations integrate multiple logics, practices, and identities through hybrid organising. By examining patterns among several of these hybrid organisations, this chapter identifies several mechanisms that seem to drive these new types of collaborations.

Organisations seem to hybridise in order to deal more effectively with complex uncertainty. By coordinating semi-autonomous parts with different identities and types of activity, they present multiple images tailored to dealing with different institutional demands. This resolves the challenge of responding to conflicting pressures that otherwise would not be manageable. Organisational leaders cited the combination of economic and political pressures as a core reason for needing to hybridise. However, the decision to hybridise was not a one-time matter – these managers constantly were engaged in balancing and borrowing from a repertoire of ideas about organisational forms and activities, in order to keep their organisations at an appropriate balance to fulfil various goals. Notably, one way that hybrid organisations managed the dangers of having internally conflicting identities and logics (Battilana & Dorado, 2010) was through selective coupling (Pache & Santos, 2013), which helped compartmentalise pieces of organisations that might not be commensurate within a single organisational entity. To sustain this, leaders must engage in a balancing act, weighing the risk-avoidance effect of loose coupling with the benefits of close coupling, such as shared working spaces and increased ability to collaborate internally. I thus present the following themes from my case study data, which suggest a more flexible framework for thinking about hybrid organising and the contexts in which in occurs.

First, coupling arrangements between components of hybrid organisations permit various types of resources to be used more effectively, including shared offices, crossover

staff, specialised information, and community linkages. These benefits are balanced against risks such as internal conflicts between staff with different backgrounds or missions and clashes over how space is purposed within an organisation.

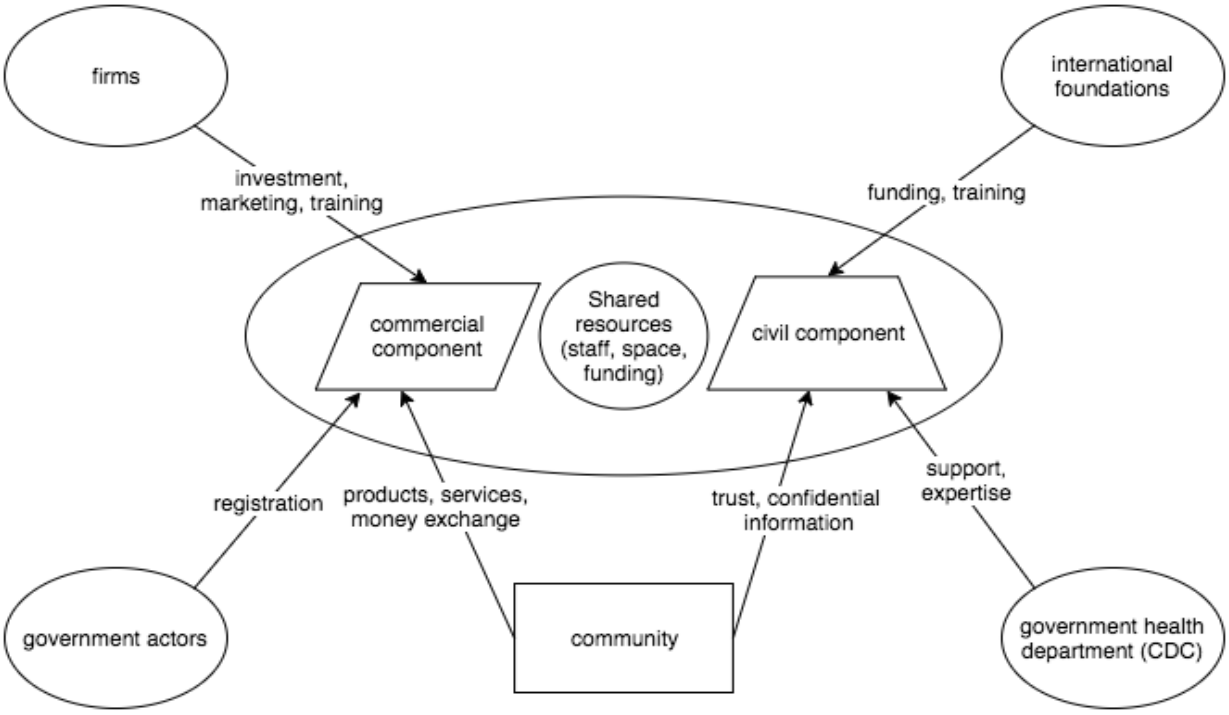
Second, collaborative innovation that results from combinations of individual experiences, organisational missions, and hybrid components can provide strategic advantages. Evidence from these cases shows how new capabilities and possibilities emerge from these hybrid environments, often combining resources, practices, and skills not available to a typical non-hybrid civil organisation.

Third, hybridisation can help organisations manage complex risks. In this chapter, risk can be thought of as a collective system of political threats extending from the state and other stakeholders. Organisational components can develop in ways that allow organisations to mitigate multiple types of external risk. These cases illustrate how institutional paradoxes can be addressed by loosely coupled components that respectively satisfy different environmental demands. By developing various specialised sub-units, hybrid organisations deconstruct complex risks and present multiple responses to risks at different boundary locations of the organisation.

Fourth, hybridisation expands the repertoire of available organisational partnerships for an organisation, especially in contexts where collaboration is highly regulated for certain types of organisational such as civil organisations in China. In such contexts, hybridisation allows organisations to sidestep state restrictions on organisational partnerships as well as other normative expectations of how cooperation typically occurs between different organisations. This intermediary activity is explored further in Chapter 7, which examines the relationship between civil organisations as intermediary actors and civil-state relationships.

A summary of these findings can be seen below in the following figure, which illustrates the ways in which hybrid organisations are deeply embedded and responsive to various environmental factors. While the challenges of balancing the internal pressures of managing hybrid organisations are indeed challenging, the many advantageous interactions between organisational components and other actors can be a strong motivating factor for hybridisation. The figure below depicts the variety of organisational partners that interact with a hybrid organisation, illustrating how specialised components can facilitate organisational partnerships and reduce environmental threats. Shared resources keep hybrid organisations from decoupling. Accounts from hybrid organisational managers show the challenge of balancing these various benefits against risks of conflicts between various internal hybrid organisational differences and articulated organisational images.

Figure 7: A Model for Understanding Chinese HIV Hybrid Civil Organisations



HIV civil leaders reshape their organisations to combine and incorporate additional logics, structures, and practices to protect their groups from political and economic risks while enabling them to expand and access social and financial resources beyond the limited scope of the Chinese civil sector. Hybridity provides advantages beyond the establishment of legitimacy; it also helps groups to organise, understand, and respond to complex institutional environments. These findings concur with Kraatz and Block (2008), who propose that, "A second approach to adapting to pluralistic legitimacy standards is to 'compartmentalize' identities and relate independently to various institutional constituencies"(Kraatz & Block, 2008, p. 250). Kraatz and Block (2008) emphasise how compartmentalisation can mediate internal institutional conflicts that arise between members of an organisation. The cases in this chapter, on the other hand, apply this argument to include the ways in which compartmentalisation affects an organisation's ability to manage external risks and opportunities. This chapter proposes a model of sub-organisation level specialisation, in which organisational compartments adapt to risks and seek a broader range of collaborative partners only available to hybrid organisations. Hence selectively coupled, specialised forms, may be more (and not less) robust to the specific complex environments in which they operate. Politically repressive environments may force organisations to develop iteratively, experimentally, and flexibly, and institutional pluralism may contribute to the success of hybrid organisations. For this reason, studying hybridity may offer relevant insights to development organisations facing consistent barriers to operating in foreign settings.

The current blurring of organisational boundaries in many contexts (Battilana & Lee, 2014) has brought a flourishing of new organisational forms that often recombine recognisable forms through different degrees of linking and collaboration. This chapter highlights several dangers of hybridisation, including conflicts among staff, controversy

following conflicting organisational images, and difficulty settling a mission amongst various interests and goals within a group. It also analyses how organisations' selective coupling and specialisation aids the construction of partnerships, and how the associated risks with this strategy can be managed through delegation of various tasks to specialised organisational components.

The larger contribution of this chapter is to bring attention to a definitional concept in hybrid organisations; the conceptual framework for examining hybrid organisations has not been defined clearly in the literature.

Just as some have begun to develop a typology for social enterprise models (Mair, Battilana, & Cardenas, 2012), there may be room for similar work related to hybrid organisations and their responses to institutional pluralism. For example, in this chapter I propose that risk can be partitioned between different organisational components, this concept should be tested and developed further, and examined on multiple levels of organisations. How does hybridising affect how organisational risks might be transferred, moved, mitigated, and divided across an organisation? Is this process reactive, pro-active, or interactive? The cases in this chapter suggest that hybrid organising is a collection of balancing strategies and processes that can satisfy distinct organisational goals. The findings here suggest the value of further research on how to categorise and conceptualise hybrid organising generally.

Chapter 7: Mutual Reproduction of Ambiguity in Civil Society: A Field-Level Adaptation Strategy Across an Organisational Network

A negotiated order will need to be founded on collaboration rather than competition…so far as this process gains ground a mode of macroregulation may be brought into existence which is turbulence-reducing without being repressive or fragmenting. Its virtue will be that it will have been built by the stakeholders themselves. (Trist, 1983, p. 273)

Previously, I observed how organisations framed relationships with stigmatised groups and how these were reflected in the process of building hybrid organisational structures. In this chapter, I consider the intermediary role that civil organisations involved in HIV-related play as they build linkages with multiple types of organisations that would normally be classified as belonging to distinct sectors. These organisational partners comprise Chinese state actors, including both local and central government actors in various departments such as the Ministry of Civil Affairs, the Ministry of Health, and the CDC, private sector organisations, and international foundations. While certain studies have presented theories of Chinese civil society that diverge from state-centric and rely on top-down models, such as characterisations of the civil-state boundary as 'porous' (Alagappa, 2004, p. xii), the predominant literature describes civil organisations as passive objects of strong state policy and management.

While various models for Chinese civil society attempt to explain the diversity of configurations of civil-state relationships, many tend to exhibit an implicit bias that state actors' interests and decisions are responsible for what configuration ultimately appears. Corporatist models, even those that incorporate state-NGO collaboration (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014), tend to emphasise the state's influence on organisations through various types of

institutional pressures, at the exclusion of how organisational responses can shape how the state manages collaborations with civil organisations. As Mary Gallagher observes:

> The corporatist paradigm and its China-specific applications set their sights not only on the formation of associations, but on the role of the state in initiating, running, and controlling these groups, not necessarily through repression or violence but through mutual penetration, converging interests, and co-optation. (Alagappa, 2004)

The frameworks of graduated control (Kang & Han, 2008) and contingent symbiosis (Spires, 2011) also point to space for collaboration, yet primarily construe the possibility of collaboration as an explanation for organisational survival rather than a complex interactional system that shapes the relationships each model attempts to describe. Embedded activism (Ho, 2007) powerfully characterises the way that civil organisations working closely with the government are able to exert influence on policy, yet it does not seem to fully represent highly autonomous civil organisations that shape institutions in spaces negotiated outside of state control. These theories provide helpful metaphors for understanding how varied interests of both state and civil organisation actors intersect, yet they may give too much managerial authority to the state, especially in conditions of ambiguity.

Many studies construe the forms of legal and managerial ambiguity found in China as a set of conditions that allows state actors greater flexibility and power over the civil sector (Ho, 2001; Kang & Han, 2008; Spires, 2011). It is true that the uncertainty faced by civil organisations creates great challenges for their leaders and may encourage them to act conservatively when dealing with political sensitivity. The effects of the Chinese dual registration system illustrate this pattern. By restricting most organisations from achieving official status as civil organisations (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014, p. 941), this policy puts most Chinese organisations in a state of illegality, making it easy for the state to shut an organisation down at a whim. However, the pressures placed on organisations by this policy

also have forced them to adopt different forms and find creative ways to sustain themselves. In Chapter 6, I highlighted several of these hybrid approaches, including private sector crossovers and new forms of collaboration.

In this chapter, I analyse a set of civil organisations at the field-level and find that institutional ambiguity can open space for organisations to operate with greater independence from institutional constraints. I suggest that ambiguity, rather than always comprising a limiting factor to organisations as they work (Oliver, 1991), can also help them fit within and push against institutions. These cases suggest that in environments characterised by persistent uncertainty for civil and state actors, civil organisations may develop networks to share information to protect themselves from the state's unpredictable application of legal interventions, while still refraining from formal, horizontal collective action (Fu, 2016; Ho, 2007). Based on these findings, I propose a need for a more interactive conception of civil organisations and state actors that can better capture the intersectoral dynamics that sustain these network relationships. I argue that organisational leaders in the Chinese context act as creative participants in the production of ambiguity, and that informal information-sharing networks can mitigate the problems of high levels of uncertainty while resisting coordinated action across organisational networks.

Resisting the idea that ambiguity is strictly a constraint on organisations, I consider the productive aspects of irreconcilable uncertainty and investigate to what extent these can be applied to weak networks of civil organisations in China. In Chapter 3, I reviewed how ambiguity represents a broad-ranging concept in the study of organisations and suggested that this concept helps illuminate one way by which civil organisations could partner with state actors in spite of institutional challenges prohibiting such collaborations. Despite the flexibility (and indeed ambiguity) of the term, it constitutes a useful tool for understanding a

process by which informality and uncertainty persist and can provide mutual benefits to stakeholders within an organisational field, especially under various environmental constraints. I also argue that the main incumbent theories tend to build institutional models primarily from rational representations of state interests.

In this chapter, I turn to case studies to illuminate the ways in which inconsistency and uncertainty produce lasting ambiguity for organisations, and how these organisations reproduce these conditions to utilise informal arrangements for their benefit. I propose several motivations that could lead state and civil actors to actively sustain various kinds of ambiguity and explain a few mechanisms by which this strategy can provide advantages in this context. Organising patterns found across case studies, I identify forms of ambiguity that civil organisations actively reproduce. I then integrate the findings to propose a conceptual model in which both civil and state actors share information that helps coordinate action despite informal and weak forms of collaboration between civil organisations and the government. This is an attempt to challenge characterisations of the allegedly low levels of civil-state collaboration (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014) by describing new types of collaboration that are distant, dispersed, and based on sharing information rather than coordinated action. These insights are nascent and stem from a small number of case studies. As such, they imply further questions about how ambiguity can enable emergent cross-sector collaboration among various types of organisations.

Maintaining ambiguously defined partnerships

In order to understand how ambiguity emerges among organisations, it is necessary to examine organisational partnerships between civil organisations and other types of organisations. These partnerships typically consist of shared resources and/or overlapping

areas of work and are strongly shaped by how each organisation frames its identity, abilities, and needs. This section presents accounts from various cases illustrating the ways in which organisations refrain from clarifying partnerships, especially those involving collaboration with government entities.

Since late 2012, the responsibility for supporting HIV civil organisations increasingly has been transferred to state actors rather than international foundations. In some cases, state funding has replaced grants to sustain the previous programs they had supported, while in others, civil organisations received significantly reduced funding after the grants expired. Yet despite this shift, the organisations in this study retained substantial autonomy from the state, which supports the idea that the distance between civil organisations and the government was constructed by mutual interests of civil and state actors rather than insufficient opportunities to collaborate or merge. The leader of LH argued that excessive government funding would create dependency issues for civil organisations, and that autonomy allowed civil organisations to develop and innovate outside the state bureaucracy:

> The government paying all the money for the NGOs is not a good thing, and it is not healthy. … NGOs are not governments employees. If we get 100 or 90 per cent of our funding from the government, it means we will be a government department, and we will only serve the government. A good model would be a portion [of the funding] from the government, a portion from the private donors, a portion from the public. The resources should be put into different categories to ensure organisational development and sustain a good balance. (Personal Interview, December 2014)

Even in situations when funding scarcity presents a major obstacle to organisational survival, civil organisation leaders in this sector reiterated the importance of maintaining a sense of autonomy from government collaborators. In this context, it is unsurprising to see that these organisations deploy strategies involving sustained ambiguity regarding the closeness of collaboration with the government in order to protect against state corporatist tendencies.

When organisations did build collaborations, they usually kept a distance, often collaborating through government proxy civil organisations such as GONGOs or other government-affiliated groups. TZ, ECB, and GB were two other examples of organisations that chose these types of partnerships through government proxies, while refraining from directly collaborating with state actors.

DB, as a hybrid organisation combining a technology company with a gay men's community group, managed to successfully collaborate with state actors. However, the group leader notes that political danger can arise from public knowledge of formal partnerships between his organisation and the state, in particular because of the negative perception of public funds going to support gay community interests. Thus, partnerships constructed through the channel of HIV-related services often involve high degrees of ambiguity:

> There is a growing risk of political danger: we might cause the government trouble because of the huge number of gay people (15 million) in China since people still have prejudice towards this issue. HIV prevention and control are channels for us to collaborate and interact with the government. So first we use business to support programs for public welfare, and second we use the programs for public welfare to protect our business…We have a cooperative relationship [with the government]. (Personal Interview, 24 December 2014)

DB's informal partnership with the state allowed for relative stability for the civil organisation, since it was less vulnerable to interference from state actors. At the same time, the state could coordinate HIV prevention projects without being too close to stigmatised populations, with one degree of removal from the civil organisation so that it would be less susceptible to associative stigma. In this vaguely defined partnership, DB's interest in obtaining government resources and stabilising its operations were aligned with the state's intent of avoiding close involvement with sensitive issues and stigmatised groups. These ambiguous linkages, often described by leaders using words such as "collaboration" or

"cooperation" (*hezuo* 合作), encompass a wide variety of forms, represent informal and ambiguous terms of partnership. Indeed, within all cases, leaders chose to leave the terms of these types of partnerships open and did not have institutional templates for communicating details about how these collaborations were structured. Under an ambiguously defined category, there is ample room for experimenting rapidly and adjusting forms informally to changing circumstances.

The leader of another organisation, ECB, also characterised partnerships with state actors in vague terms. He repeatedly described the partnership with a government-organised civil organisation as a 'cooperation,' leaving the nature of the agreement unclear both in terms of formality and closeness:

> …we worked on cooperation with the GONGOs such as the Guangdong Youth Development Foundation during the campaign and hope to cooperate in the long term. (Personal Interview, January 2015).

The leader of ZX used similarly vague language to describe the 'projects' (*xiangmu* 项目) that represented collaborative work between the organisation and state actors supplemented by funding from international foundations:

> A few years ago, we had some small government projects. But the government doesn't pay for administrative expenses: offices, employees' wages, and so on. We always get money from foundations. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

Such language underscores the ways in which organisations preserve ambiguity around the nature of their informal partnerships with the state. However, rather than assuming this to be a consequence of state institutional pressures, it may also represent strategic action from civil organisations to carve out space for autonomous action.

The following table presents interview data showing the diversity of relationships between civil organisations and different types of civil organisational partners. While there is

some variation between organisations, there are clear patterns of similar relationships between civil organisations and each type of organisational partner. These observations are listed on the right column of the table below.

Table 14: Variation Among Types of Civil Organisation Partnerships

Civil Organisational Partner	Evidence from Case Studies	Observations on Collaboration
State Agency	"But in China, [the government] couldn't find any other suitable organisations [to do HIV interventions]. I believe that our model was a good one because we first formed a partnership, then we helped them on this road, then we formed a side occupation as a means of obtaining revenue, which was followed by public service work." (GB) "If you call yourself a civil society organisation, then the next day you would be shut down. You should say you are the supplements for the national strategy working with the government." (LH) "Firstly, you need to be recognised and approved by the government, gain their trust, and if they didn't trust you, then they wouldn't support you to run an NGO. We have helped the government a lot, and it was only because of what we have achieved that the government are willing to help back. If right at the start, I had opposed the government, then if I had applied for grants, the government definitely would not have approved." (GB) "We have a cooperative relationship [with the government]. We cooperate with the Ministry of Public Health. Programmes are mainly the same, funded by the Global Fund or the Gates Foundation's China AIDS Project. Now that the Global Fund has dropped out of China, there are still some smaller programmes for detection or publicity funded by government finance. The government also asks us to do some projects for AIDS prevention and control." (DB)	Informal Cooperation Management Through Uncertainty and Threat Adoption and Replication of Successful Experimental Models
State Affiliate	"We worked on cooperation with the GONGOs…and hope to cooperate in the long term." (TZ) "I obtained 120,000 RMB from the government. So how did they give the money to us? The hospital didn't want to take this responsibility anymore. Previously, the funding had gone to our hospital, so I said we shall use this opportunity to form a new NGO. Thus, our NGO started to operate with this 120,000 RMB…The government at the time was hugely supportive of the health bureau." (GB)	Informal Cooperation Interaction Through Dual Registration Support and Resources Expertise and Training
Private Sector Organisation	"We wanted to cooperate with [a gay bar in Beijing] since they can help us with branding, promotion, and so on. And they've always wanted to collaborate with some non-profit organisations as well." (ZX) "They found us because they saw our product in the app store.	Informal Cooperation Support and Resources

	And they thought we did a good job and wanted to collaborate with us. In the beginning, I was a bit resistant, because I had to give part of the shares to the investors, and I could no longer take positive control. Now I think the mind-set I had before was a bit naive, not very professional." (GB)	
International Foundation	"We want to learn [international organisations'] ideas and study their experience, their methods, and their techniques. We have a cooperation with an American organisation and had several exchange programs with them. I have been there three times." (TZ) "We mainly get money from foundations, almost nothing from the government. A few years ago, we had some small government projects. The government doesn't pay for administrative expenses: offices, employees' wages and so on. We always get money from foundations." (ZX) "At the end, we applied and obtained funds from the Global Fund, 50,000 *yuan* a year, 30,000 *yuan*, 80,000 *yuan* and so on. So we applied continuously. We wanted to train infected individuals using such health projects." (GB)	Loose Collaboration Support and Resources Expertise and Training
Civil Organisation	"[Other civil organisations] do their jobs and we do ours… [It's not because we] have different concepts…. The two organisations are not complementary to each other, so it's hard for us to match, and this doesn't provide us with a chance to cooperate." (TZ) "We don't really cooperate with other gay community organisations. Because what we do is similar, the only differences are the strategy, focus and objectives." (ZX) "There are only about 10 organisations [helping sex workers] in China. We mainly cooperate with organisations in other regions. We are the only organisation helping sex workers in Beijing." (ZX)	Information Sharing Mimicry Distance Fear of Redundancy

A striking result that can be seen from these accounts is that most of these organisational linkages are informal, ambiguous, and with some maintained distance, whether geographical or symbolic. Furthermore, this ambiguity is something that is not only accepted, but also actively produced by the civil organisations themselves. Given that ambiguity can make these organisations' activities difficult to scrutinise, it is likely that ambiguity is a strategic way of maintaining autonomy. This is rather different from a common story in research in Chinese civil society which views civil autonomy as granted by state actors. Challenging this

assumption reveals a more sophisticated set of interactions linking civil and state actors within this system. These various interactive relationships are summarised in the table below.

Table 15: Summary of Civil Organisation Partnerships

Civil Organisational Partner	Key Interactions	Summary of Relationship
State Agency	Government relies on civil organisations to carry out public services with stigmatised communities Government provides some funding Exchange of support and resources for services and local knowledge	Informal, ambiguous cooperation based on mutual assistance and tacit rules
State Affiliate	GONGOs helped to put distance between state actors and civil organisation State actors expressed wariness of close involvement with civil actors	Informal cooperation in order to avoid scandal
Private Sector Organisation	Private sector organisations provide funding and resources Civil organisations help private sector organisations carry out social missions	Informal and formal cooperation based on overlapping social missions
International Foundation	Expertise and training from international organisations International foundations provide fairly continuous funding to civil organisations, but not always openly	Informal relationships involving funding and skill transfer
Civil Organisation	Difficulty cooperating with similar organisations with fear of redundancy Mutual knowledge sharing and observation	Information sharing with limited direct collaboration

Here we can see that various informal organisational linkages between civil organisations and partner organisations are motivated by different types of interests and transfers of resources. Importantly, these are all sustained by a managed ambiguity that is coproduced by civil organisations and state actors. The following section attempts to explain some of the advantages that this strategy might have in this context, emphasising the ways in which civil relationships with non-state actors play a role in the dynamics of civil society.

Experimentation of organisational forms and network-based information sharing help deal with prolonged uncertainty

Experimental activity in many civil organisations[++] provides valuable information to other civil and state actors regarding rules and expectations as well as possibilities for civil organisational design. Civil organisations learn about how government policies are likely to be applied, and state actors can improve their ability to evaluate organisational credibility when developing future partnerships and replicating successful models.

While other studies have emphasised the effects of unevenly enforced restrictions on civil organisations and the resultant variety of forms within the civil sector, these issues have not been framed in a way that examines the mutual benefits of persistent ambiguity in civil-state collaboration. Indeed, while vagueness can support state control (Kang & Han, 2008), it can also aid organisational innovation and experimentation, allowing organisations to perform other functions under a system of flexibly-defined relationships to other actors. Ambiguity in state policy regarding the acceptable scope of activities for civil organisations undoubtedly shapes the development of this particular organisational field. While restricting civil organisations by placing them under constant threat of shutdown, it paradoxically creates space for a parallel process in which civil society leaders respond to this pressure by accepting such vagueness and perpetuating it. In several cases, the maintenance of ambiguity allows for partnerships that are intentionally left open to multiple interpretations. This in turn

[++] As discussed in the previous chapter, China has undergone a great deal of experimentation in the public sector, which has enabled new channels for civil organisations to partner with state actors. Lan and Galaskiewicz (2012) describe this aspect of public sector innovation, emphasising the many varieties of organisational cooperation:
"The most striking innovation is the blurring of the boundaries across sectors, the purpose being to harness the unique capabilities of the different sectors to address common problems. Two innovations stand out. First, there are cross-sector partnerships and collaborations. Here non-profit organizations co-operate with governments and businesses to pursue a range of goals. Second, new hybrid organizational forms are emerging, which incorporate elements of different sectors within their operations"(Lan & Galaskiewicz, 2012, p. 495).

contributes to a type of organisational experimentation that otherwise would not be possible. In the context of HIV-related work in China, informal arrangements may be better suited to meet the respective interests of both state and civil actors. Because of government policy-based limitations on organisations establishing offices in multiple cities in China, most civil organisations exist as small service provision groups with local scope. Thus, most of the experimentation in this sector takes place across networks of small organisations rather than within large bureaucratic organisations. Despite their small number of staff, HIV civil organisations share information on outcomes for new models of organisations in conferences and informal settings, which contributes to the testing and development of new arrangements for civil-state collaboration.

Communication between various organisation leaders was a common phenomenon reported in multiple case studies, even though the civil organisations rarely worked in collaboration with each other. The founders of DB, ZX, and TZ explained that the organisations in Beijing and Guangzhou kept close tabs on other organisations, but had different focuses, so did not implement programs together (Personal Interviews, December 2014 and January 2015). These organisations evidently gathered news about other organisations' experiences in a collaborative fashion; despite competition for similar sources of funding, they remained open to private discussions of their experience in order to improve their collective ability to reduce uncertainty about how government policy would affect their organisations. At the same time, these groups often refrained from working in close partnership with other civil organisations. For instance, when asked about such partnerships, the leader of TZ explained that there was a problem of complementarity among similar organisations:

> They do their jobs and we do ours… [It's not because we] have different concepts. … The two organisations are not

> complementary to each other, so it's hard for us to match, and this doesn't provide us with a chance to cooperate. We are kind of paralyzed. Now there are not many programs with cooperation. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

A similar account was provided by the leader of ZX when asked about partnering with other organisations. While he knew the leaders of the other organisations well and communicated frequently with them, they did not engage in any substantive partnerships or activities with other community organisations or government actors:

> We don't really cooperate with other community organisations. Because what we do is similar, the only differences are the strategy, focus and objectives. Some organisations are doing detections to get the data, because it's part of the government's strategy. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

The scarcity of partnerships between civil organisations in contrast with the commonness of loose collaborations with government partners breaks from the typical conception of civil activity from social movements theory, in which organisations with shared missions typically collaborate more actively. Yet although direct collaboration among civil organisations may be uncommon, the dynamics in the Chinese political context involve subtler forms of mutually beneficial interaction in which groups share expertise and information while refraining from politically prohibited, coordinated activity.

The case study organisations in this dissertation certainly exhibit the same tendency to develop a collective sense of 'expertise' to pre-empt conflict with state actors, yet rather than becoming fully embedded in the state, they collaborate with state actors by providing service provision models that can then be supported, replicated, or discontinued. Most HIV civil organisations provide community-based services such as testing, counselling, education, and advocacy, with only a small number actively involved in policymaking and government planning. Yet all seven of the groups highlighted the importance of avoiding an antagonistic relationship with the state and characterised their collaboration as one in which state actors

observed their activities to understand various approaches to dealing with these sensitive issues. For instance, the leader of the GB project explained that the government trusted and supported only organisations that offered valuable services:

> In my opinion, I think that NGOs face a lot of difficulties. Firstly, you need to be recognised and approved by the government, gain their trust, and if they didn't trust you, then they wouldn't support you to run an NGO. We have helped the government a lot, and it was only because of what we have achieved that the government are willing to help back. If right at the start, I had opposed the government, then if I had applied for grants, the government definitely would not have approved. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

Civil organisation leaders in other case studies also described how observing other civil organisations and mimicking successful strategies that seemed to be endorsed by government formed a part of their strategic decision-making (Personal Interviews, December 2014 and January 2015). These accounts corroborate the corporatist models describing three types of isomorphic pressures: coercive, mimetic, and normative (Hasmath & Hsu, 2014). Yet they add to this by emphasising the extent to which civil organisations are active in negotiating the effects of these pressures. As civil and state actors obscure the nature of their collaborations, maintain informal independence, and share information in order to develop a common understanding without formalised close ties, the effects of institutional pressures vary depending on the relationships that organisations negotiate with other actors.

Building a network diagram showing informal interaction through ambiguity

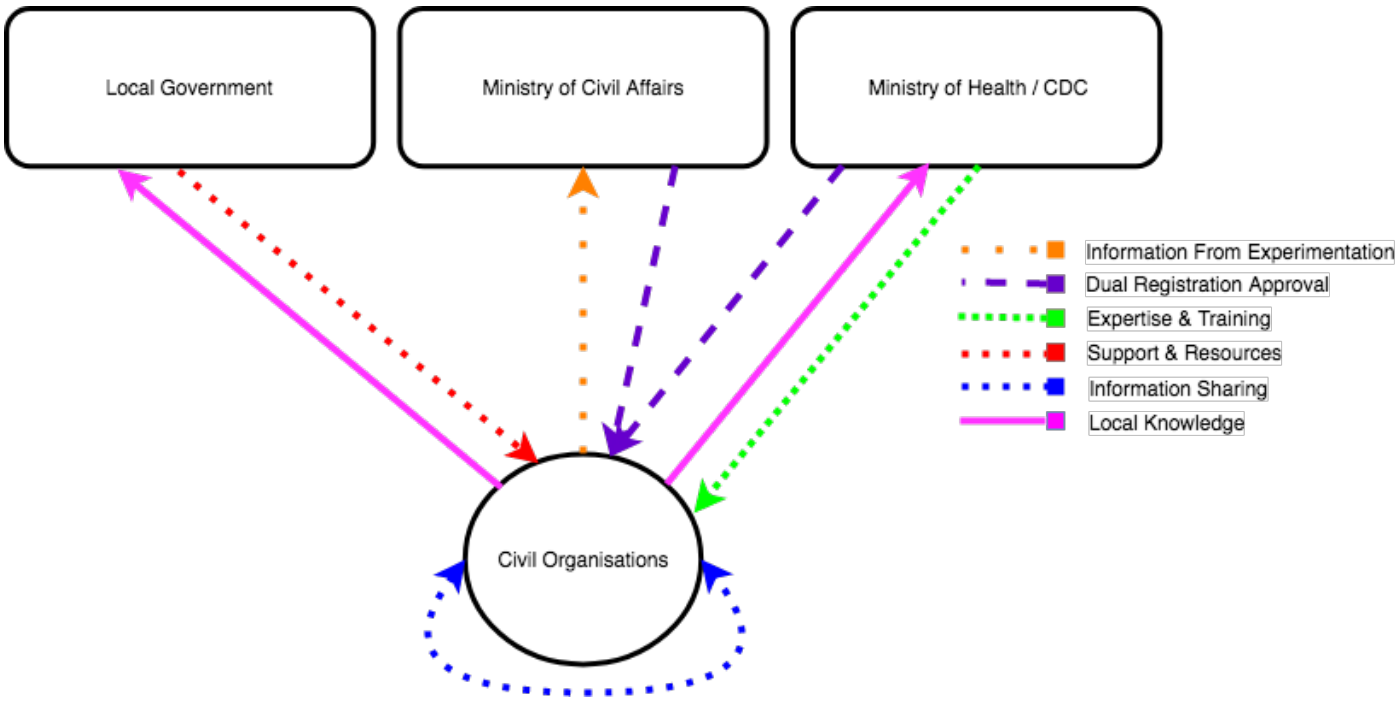
Like previous studies of civil society organisations, the cases here highlight great variation in how closely civil organisations collaborate with the state. They exhibit multiple types of state involvement ranging from financial support to hostile intervention. Civil organisations typically focus on service provision, and generally the state treats these

activities either neutrally or positively, on occasion providing political or financial support. State actors also seem to intervene when civil organisation activities create a risk of scandal, which could affect legitimacy or stability. However, solely focusing on civil and state organisation interactions does not account for the more diverse layers of interaction within this organisational ecosystem. These cases illustrate a shared set of strategies that organisations use to balance out state control over institutional norms. By building flexible, informal relationships characterised ambiguously, civil organisations work at a distance from the state, while collaborating variously with other types of organisations. Assembling evidence across multiple case studies, I find that civil organisations engage with the state in several mutually beneficial ways. This supports and extends the theories of contingent symbiosis and codependence by validating the overall pattern of complementarity in activity that Spires and Hildebrandt describe and delineating how civil organisations shape these arrangements.

Unlike the models found in the theories mentioned above, a framework that can capture the various organisational work occurring in civil society must rely on a rich understanding of organisational processes developed from multiple angles. For instance, an organisation that helps combine resources from international foundations and private sector organisations to provide services to marginalised communities necessarily will develop multiple types of partnerships, boundaries, and practices depending on its position within an organisational field. When considering how the Chinese state's restrictive policies affect civil society, it is not sufficient to observe that these policies produce weak civil society organisations, since they also create niches for organisations that fulfil a diverse set of intermediary roles. Rather than understanding civil society only by examining spaces that lack state presence, it may be more useful to see civil organisations as intermediaries which

bridge, span, reconcile, and translate between multiple state organisations and an array of issues and communities that are difficult for the state to reach. The diagram below illustrates the shared features found in these case organisations.

Figure 8: Network Diagram for Civil Organisations' Collaborative Relationships



This diagram illustrates the variety of resources flows and collaborations that are occurring within civil society. Notably, all of these require a degree of ambiguity to be sustained, and this ambiguous state is actively reproduced by civil organisations.

These cases suggest that civil and state actors rely on informal relationships to sustain tacit mutual arrangements characterised by ambiguity and separation, with relatively open channels for sharing information and a flexible treatment of articulated rules (e.g. laws governing civil organisation registration). When the implementation of the legal framework governing civil organisations' activities exhibits high levels of uncertainty, this can limit organisations while unintentionally creating an environment in which civil-state collaboration occurs across a loose and informal information network. This network activity

provides civil organisations with a better understanding of government interests and enforcement patterns, while simultaneously providing the state distance from which it can safely observe and learn from experimental organisational models for health service provision. In this arrangement, state actors can refrain from shouldering the risks of experimentation, which is discouraged within the bureaucratic and risk-sensitive system of government officials. At the same time, civil organisations are afforded a greater degree of independence than would be expected from their subjection to opaque and unpredictable laws, which allows them to address the state's gaps in service provision.

Jack Barbalet cites William James' writing on pragmatism to emphasise that knowledge consists of apprehending the "future-located" consequences of action: "A general pragmatic notion, shared by all of its exponents, is that knowledge resides in concrete human acts"(Barbalet, 2009, p. 203). Given that future state actions are not easily calculable for HIV civil organisations in China, collaboration relies on observable, pragmatic experimentation to establish mutual trust. Both state and local actors confront this crisis, in which uncertainty as to the political motivations and future actions of other actors constitutes a major source of risk, yet at the same time a certain degree of collaboration is clearly necessary. Thus, for collaboration to be possible, trust must be established through actions observed at a certain distance. This collaboration can deepen following expectations built on this information. This mirrors how actions taken in uncertain circumstances help build initial trust:

> In most social situations, James observes, action is taken in the absence of evidence concerning its most appropriate course (James 1956: 23–4). The general form of such a circumstance he calls a "forced option," a situation in which there is no possibility of not choosing (James 1956: 3). A paradigm case is trust. In order to achieve an outcome in a social context[,] cooperation between persons is typically required. To effectively cooperate, one actor is frequently called upon to trust another. But whether trust is warranted can only be known after it is given. (Barbalet, 2009)

In short, to initiate civil-state cooperation, a degree of performative communication through coordinated action is needed to jump-start the process of establishing trust. These actions help to convey information about future outcomes while maintaining a high degree of flexibility in the closeness of coupling and state responsibility for unsuccessful experiments. Civil actors engage in this experimentation since they are afforded advantages for independently verifying models of service provision without excessive involvement from the state. The leader of the project described his actions vis-à-vis state actors as a type of example setting rather than lobbying or advocacy work:

> You have to be clear what you want to achieve. I cannot use my thinking to change much; I need to help the government to help change the government's strategies. I cannot use my own attitude to change them, I need to create an example to move them and help shape them for the better, this is the only way for the organisation to be maintained and to operate long-term. This is what you call strategy. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

This differs from the traditional concept of social movements in which civil action precipitates through public demonstration with explicit demands or through embedded forms of mobilisation within the government bureaucracy. Yet importantly, it combines aspects of both strategies. While avoiding confrontation with state actors, this approach signals important information to the government through independent and observable (though not necessarily public) action. At the same time, these organisations refrain from becoming closely embedded within government decision-making apparatuses, through informal and periodic collaborations. For example, when collaborating with government entities, TZ chose to collaborate with a government-affiliated organisation, which gave them the ability to work under the aegis of the government without getting too close (Personal Interview, January 2015). In this way, the organisation modelled and conveyed new approaches to the

government while avoiding formal partnerships that might present risk to state actors. These forms of risk include the possibility of accountability scandals that could affect careers or legitimacy of local state actors. Notably, this type of modelling activity is also framed using market metaphors, which resonates with the ways in which organisations characterised their own activities (see Chapter 5 on market activity and stigma). Furthermore, this market metaphor helps to accentuate the sense of distance in the collaborations undertaken between state and civil actors, which differs from Ho's closer and more corporatist model of embedded activism. The same leader described the example-setting process using the metaphor of a free market in which civil organisations compete by offering different service models:

> A lot of NGOs in China think that they are above everyone else. If they do something good, they constantly blow their own trumpets and boast about it and then say that the government doesn't give them this and that. The government is like God, if they want to buy you they will, if not, they won't. You are just offering them a service. You have to offer a good service in order for them to buy your goods. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

This account illustrates that the civil-state relationship in cases such as this one exhibit autonomy and collaboration that is continuously re-evaluated and adjusted based on the interests of each side (i.e. as in a market involving some sort of open bidding mechanism). The sense of uncertainty that affects both civil and state actors has yielded a set of practices that involve symbolic communication, organisational experimentation, and flexible collaboration across sectors. Indeed, other researchers have documented cases in which the government seemed to replicate models of successful civil organisations: "A representative for a Shanghai-based NGO explained that it is not unusual for the government to 'steal' the ideas and programmes of small successful NGOs"(Hasmath & Hsu, 2014, p. 943). The leader

of GB described how the government lacked good organisational models, and turned to civil organisations to fill this gap:

> The District CDC is a government institution…An NGO organisation would not have been under their support. But in China, they couldn't find any other suitable organisations. I believe that our model was a good one, because we first formed a partnership, then we helped them on this road, and formed a side occupation as a means of obtaining revenue, which was followed by public work. (Personal Interview, January 2015)

While civil organisations may lack the same authority as the state, they have other ways of offering value to and creating space for autonomous work. Technical expertise, close understanding of how to work with marginalised populations, and experience with various types of experimental organisational models are all types of knowledge that civil organisations can offer state actors, and help these groups negotiate and shape institutions under the management of the Chinese authoritarian state.

Summary

In this chapter, I analysed how civil organisations reproduce ambiguity in order to operate in high-risk contexts with uncertain rules. I found that ambiguity enabled civil organisations to build a variety of partnerships, reframe issues, and overcome uneven power structures. Moreover, organisations sustained states of ambiguity through inconsistency, contradiction, and reticence, deriving strategic benefits from conditions of prolonged uncertainty. Although ambiguity also presents many challenges to organisations, this chapter questions the assumption that organisations will always attempt to reduce uncertainty to the greatest degree possible. These findings support studies of organisations that emphasise sensemaking as an ongoing process and suggest that there may be ways in which organisations do not always pursue certainty for strategic reasons. Oliver's characterisation

of organisations' interest in reducing uncertainty in search of stability and predictability (Oliver, 1991, p. 147) may need to be expanded to include situations in which organisations achieve stable field-level outcomes by perpetuating uncertainty. This tendency for Chinese civil organisations to retain ambiguous (and often precarious) positions relative to state actors may in fact be at the core of their strategy, which seeks greater flexibility and protection from threats related to a legally ambiguous environment. By building information sharing networks, organisations can gather information on the institutional environment to avoid the major threat of government interference.

The Chinese state has used vague and restrictive policies and registration practices as a control mechanism in order to place most civil organisations in a state of legal ambiguity, thereby placing them in a constant state of legal vulnerability. Yet as suggested by variably interpretable symbolic strategies used by individuals to protest state control (P. M. Thornton, 2002), ambiguity can also allow social movements to voice dissent while avoiding overt confrontation. In the cases presented in this chapter, organisations often choose to uphold and reproduce ambiguity rather than fighting against it, and through a system of flexible and loosely defined collaborations with government share information with other civil organisations as well as state actors. In this way, organisations reduce some types of uncertainty while prolonging others. This field-level pattern seems to have emerged due to the potentially disastrous effects of outside observers such as media or the public who may criticise these collaborations as inappropriate collaborations or condemn them due to stigma associated with this work.

As state and civil actors perpetuate ambiguity, civil organisation leaders can establish flexible and varied collaborations across sectors, including the testing of new organisational forms and partnerships. Yet persistent uncertainty creates new challenges, such as difficulty

anticipating responses from other actors. One clear example is how civil organisations cannot predict whether the state will enforce policies that define their operations as illegal. To mitigate these challenges, civil leaders closely observe similar organisations, and these actors share experiences in conferences and online communication groups. These informational networks increase the ability for organisations to deal with prolonged uncertainty while still refraining from formalising their standing in relation to state actors. Ultimately, organisations seem to elect to keep distance from the state, resisting corporatism in favour of more autonomy and independence. State actors tolerate this arrangement, most likely on the basis that keeping civil organisations at a distance insulates bureaucracy from the risks of organisational experimentation in the nascent and dynamic civil sphere.

These examples contribute a new collaborative model for organisations operating under conditions of political hostility, suggesting that state controls based on ambiguity can foment reciprocal responses, flexible collaboration, and organisational experimentation. While this result may be an unintended consequence of policies designed to weaken the civil sector and give the state more control over civil organisations, it may also represent a way of solving a paradoxical situation in which the state benefits from civil organisations' experimentation without assuming the risks associated with failures of new types of organisational structures and cross-sector collaborations. This finding has implications for research on field-level dynamics for organisations in politically sensitive spaces. The functions of ambiguity as a feature of a field that can be produced and maintained by organisational actors deserves further examination. Specifically, it is worth examining how ambiguity can resolve political paradoxes and mediate civil-state collaborative arrangements. A typology of such arrangements would be useful to determine patterns in shared features across different contexts. Key questions that follow from this will involve considering the

parameters that foster the development of ambiguously defined fields sustained by actors that intentionally avoid formalisation and definition in their activities.

For these organisations, political constraints have created an environment in which ambiguity has strategic value for influencing the effects of institutional pressures. This framework must be tested in other contexts characterised by thin civil society and ambiguity regarding state intervention in civil activities. Ambiguity creates both challenges and opportunities for organisations, and depending on the political context, the ways that organisations manipulate uncertainty are likely to vary greatly. Moreover, organisational leaders can employ the field-level implications of ambiguity to pursue strategic aims. To understand civil-state dynamics as a system of control and resistance is simply insufficient. Underlying the give and take between organisations in the civil and state sectors are strategic interests that drive risk-taking and institution building in pursuit of systems that may better meet the goals of many actors in different sectors. From the selection of activity to organisational structure to networks, the organisations involved in addressing issues brought together by their relation to HIV constitute a field whose rules and relationships are constantly in a state of negotiation, experimentation, and interaction. Both despite and because of the political controls imposed on civil organisations, these groups frequently adopt new structures and redefine organisational identities, creatively using ambiguity to foster a distinct type of organisational network activity and experimentation.

There are two main contributions from this chapter, in which I have focused on the ways in which organisations have used ambiguity as a sustained strategy for pursuing goals. First, research on ambiguity has typically construed it as a problem that limits organisations' abilities to rationalise their work. While this is an important perspective, the evidence here also finds that ambiguity can be an important feature that sustains an organisation's work as

well. Ambiguity can allow for new types of organisational partnerships, especially in contexts that prohibit formal collaboration such as in China. Scholars in organisation studies may want to reconsider the role that ambiguity plays in creating possibilities for new types of organisational linkages, and how ambiguity is coproduced by multiple actors in a network. Second, research on Chinese civil society has neglected the rich ecosystem of organisational actors, and the diagram in this chapter suggests not only that state actors take on various roles vis-à-vis civil organisations, but also that other types of organisations (e.g. private firms and international organisations) are also key players in shaping outcomes for civil organisations.

Chapter 8: Discussion

The purpose of this dissertation has been to investigate the civil activity at the intermediate layer between state actors, marginalised groups, international foundations, and private firms. In contexts with weak civil society such as China, civil organisations must constantly renegotiate relationships with other actors to sustain their work. For HIV civil organisations, this includes services that especially benefit marginalised, at-risk, and vulnerable individuals. As these relationships are negotiated, an organisation-based framework allows for integrating examination of processes at multiple levels of analysis. These include mechanisms related to intra-organisational activity, organisational structure, and inter-organisational linkages.

The nascent HIV civil sector in China provides an opportunity to examine how a group of organisations manages key challenges such as associative stigma, political threats, and sustained ambiguity regarding rules and norms. HIV groups have been studied previously from a macro-level perspective (Alagappa, 2004; Hildebrandt, 2013; Kang & Han, 2008; Spires, 2011), and they have played an important part in the conceptualisation of civil-state dynamics in China (Doyle & Patel, 2008; Kaufman, 2011; Kaufman et al., 2006; Saich, 2000). This dissertation supplements previous research by testing and extending theory through a qualitative comparative case study approach at multiple levels of analysis.

HIV civil organisations exhibit diverse organisational forms while pursuing similar goals under shared environmental pressures. Patterns among these groups offer a chance to inspect and test theory regarding intermediary organisational processes in an environment characterised by institutional plurality and flexible experimentation. Marginalised groups in

particular may be more likely and able to experiment due to their lower cost of deviating from institutional norms and imperative to find alternative models of mobilisation (Clemens & Cook, 1999, p. 452). Organisations that work within taboo areas are also understudied, and research on organisational stigma can "expose areas of social life that remain otherwise hidden"(Hudson & Okhuysen, 2014, p. 242). The specific social and political challenges that affect these groups touch upon several areas of research, including development studies, organisation studies, and the study of civil society.

Work in development studies has focused on the delivery and effects of foreign aid and has much to gain from a more detailed understanding of the organisations through which programs are delivered. Because of its origins as an academic field housed primarily in developed countries, its dominant areas of research have viewed development principally through the perspective of major Western bureaucratic organisations (Escobar, 1994; Sylvester, 1999), and increasingly, multinational firms (McMichael, 2004). The preoccupation with examining relationships between these large international agencies and individual outcomes often do so without specifically examining the role of intermediate actors that negotiate, mediate, and transform how international policies affect individuals and small communities[+*].

By orienting analysis around the strategic action carried out by development actors working in challenging institutional contexts, this dissertation can more closely examine the institutional work (T. B. Lawrence, Leca, & Zilber, 2013; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010)

[+*] The result may be a bias toward an elitist and largely structuralist conception of social life in the developing world, a critique articulated by Norman Long:
"Underpinning (either explicitly or implicitly) this interest in social actors is the conviction that, although it may be true that certain important structural changes result from the impact of outside forces (due to encroachment by the market or the state), it is theoretically unsatisfactory to base one's analysis on the concept of external determination. All forms of external intervention necessarily enter the existing life-worlds of the individuals and social groups affected, and in this way are mediated and transformed by these same actors and structures" (Long, 1990, p. 6).

performed by HIV organisations as they shape the network arrangements and institutional rules that govern how HIV-related services are delivered. The relationship between foreign aid, development policy, and outcomes (individual or aggregate) too often is conceptualised as a "black box" (Bourguignon & Sundberg, 2006, p. 316). In addition to this tendency to collapse multiple layers of causality, the concept of direct causal links from policies to country outcomes can also be questioned (2006, p. 317). Intermediary actors, with dynamic and interactive network relationships spanning sectors and levels of organisation, comprise a set of processes that shape non-linear and complex relationships between policies and outcomes.

This dissertation examines a set of key intermediaries engaged in such work: a group of HIV civil organisations that shape institutions, interpret policy, and distribute aid resources. Importantly, these organisations also should not be imagined as a single layer that passes on top-down interventions, as if on an assembly line. It may be useful to reflect on the tendency for organisations, especially in nascent contexts with rapid change and uncertainty, to resemble "organised anarchies":

> …an organisation is a collection of choices looking for problems, issues and feelings looking for decision situations in which they might be aired, solutions looking for issues to which they might be the answer, and decision makers looking for work. (Cohen, March, & Olsen, 1972, p. 2)

In the context of the Chinese HIV sector, examples abound to support this characterisation. The cases in this study include organisations that have transformed their core activities to exploit grant-based resources, harnessed community social capital to gain investment for a social networking app company, and combined divergent organisational forms and practices to navigate politically complex environments. These cases suggest that civil organisations are much more active in drawing on environmental resources and shaping

their own institutional environments than metaphors used to describe civil society suggest. For instance, my work could provide insight into the challenges of programs dedicated to "capacity-building," since the capacity of organisations is in large part emergent from their position within a system of institutions, and the process of increasing capacity in most cases is a complex question of how to effect systems change. International programs in China that aim to empower civil society groups have yielded many unintended consequences, and one of the goals of this work is to shed light on new ways in which such programs might be designed to be more sensitive to institutional context. This is perhaps the first area in which studying Chinese civil organisations tends to diverge from studying similar groups operating within states that are relatively permissive of civil activity. Whereas in most contexts the state plays a regulatory role that shapes the institutional environment for civil organisations, China's state policy has reduced the number of legally acceptable modes of collective organising drastically. Though the result appears to be a high level of variation in the types of strategies that organisations adopt, this thesis aims to identify comparable features and practices among these organisations, which have implications for research on civil organisations in other contexts that are fraught or politically restricted.

I have presented the main theories describing Chinese civil society, many of which use ecological metaphors that fall largely into two categories. The first tend to portray the Chinese state as the primary determinant of civil organisations' ability to function. In this view, institutional context seems to be equated with state application of policy, with a strong focus on examining the effect of different environmental factors and organisational characteristics on organisational survival. The second group emphasises the mutual contingencies of state agencies and civil organisations, highlighting examples in which organisations can be successful when engaging in civil-state partnerships or other forms of

mutual support.

Similar to the work presented in this thesis, these theories are concerned with understanding how organisations can operate in conditions where the state does not easily grant legitimacy to civil organisations. The dominant theories of Chinese civil society tend to look closely at associations between organisational characteristics and outcomes (e.g. growth, survival). However, in this thesis I am interested in understanding the organisational processes that create and sustain the conditions of these patterns. For example, Howell comments on the "ingenuity" of civil organisations as evidenced by their ability to survive under numerous policies designed to limit their capacity (Howell, 2007), and he leaves it to others to determine what these ingenious strategies would look like. These various questions about outcomes and processes are highly complementary; it is necessary to understand the landscape of typical civil organisational outcomes in order to understand the context in which leaders handle uncertainty and engage in institutional work. Both areas of research highlight the importance of organisations as key actors that work sometimes alongside, sometimes in lieu of state organisations. In this thesis, I aim to develop a framework that might help illuminate *how* civil, state, and private sector organisations interact in order to understand the underlying dynamics that have produced a Chinese civil society that is patterned in certain idiosyncratic ways.

As I have mentioned above, my work draws on tools from organisation studies to meaningfully integrate research across multiple levels of analysis. For instance, while it appears that collaboration between civil and state organisations can have a large effect on organisational capacity, the nature of these partnerships is not always disaggregated. Following Theda Skocpol's characterisation of the state as an autonomous and heterogeneous set of actors and structures (Skocpol, 1985), this work aims to better articulate the dynamics

between civil organisations and other types of organisations, especially insofar as apparent conflicts can yield new types of collaborative arrangements. Just as Skocpol argues that the state does not possess a uniform agenda, civil organisations also represent a conglomeration of representative interests. As these organisations pursue various goals, patterned networks begin to develop, yielding systems that respond to restrictive policies and other threats to sustained operation. By examining the generation of these systems, I aim to build a more grounded framework for civil society. Before beginning this process, it is important to revisit an overview of research on Chinese civil society as a reference point.

The dominant theories of Chinese civil society provide several key insights. First, civil organisations are highly vulnerable to government shutdown and must address this risk in order to become sustainable. Second, civil organisations have limited access to resources, and often rely on multiple types of support to make ends meet. Third, symbolic action can shape the degree to which civil organisations are perceived as politically destabilising, which appears to influence the ways in which state organisations respond to and manage these organisations. To extend these insights, scholars have examined which civil organisations have been able to survive and have correlated these outcomes with other variables such as the political implications of core activities (K.-M. Chan, 2010; Kang & Han, 2008; F. Wu & Chan, 2012), the registration status of an organisation (Hildebrandt, 2011), or the issue on which a civil organisation focuses (Spires et al., 2014; S. Wang & He, 2004). However, these features are in fact components of a set of coordinated processes that sustain these organisations within cross-sector collaborations. In this thesis, I have attempted to show the value of integrating observations of organisational processes, structures, and networks. With this finer-grained view of organisations as actors embedded in institutional contexts and

organisational networks, it is possible to classify and understand shared strategies that allow civil organisations to operate creatively in prohibitive environments.

These case studies underscore the importance of further specifying the dynamics of the intermediary space in which civil organisations operate. Civil organisations play a key role in shaping the linkages between state policy and organisational outcomes, and thus an understanding of the nature of framing processes, information sharing, and intermittent, informal collaborations helps to shed light on key, underlying organisational processes. The following section reviews the empirical work of the thesis and aims to integrate these into a framework that connects observations about internal organisational activities and structures to external linkages and cross-sector collaborations.

Summary of findings

I now summarise the key empirical findings from the thesis. These span three levels of analysis, including organisational processes, structures, and linkages. The purpose of this review is to examine thematic connections between different layers and build a framework for understanding civil organisations as intermediary actors that can play an important role in development. These findings exhibit how civil organisations perform institutional work and shape organisational fields that mediate the effects of policy on outcomes including delivery of HIV-related services. I first present the findings of each chapter, then in the following section, I attempt to group these findings and link together different levels of analysis thematically.

In Chapter 2, surveying recent published work in top development studies journals, I find consistent indication that civil organisations are highly relevant development actors, yet I also suggest that there remains key integrative work to do to link studies conducted with

different units of analysis. In particular, there is a common pattern of connecting macro- and micro-level outcomes without examining the meso-layer of intermediary activity, the space in which many of these key organisations operate. Following calls from recent critical work in development studies, I aim to shift the focus to actors and processes rather than outcomes (Beck, 2016), for which I turn to organisation studies for its ability to integrate organisational inquiry across multiple levels of analysis. Applying these tools to a set of cases outside the typical contexts studied in this field offers a rich testing ground for validating theory and extending existing frameworks.

To investigate what types of activities might occur in this meso-layer of organisations between high-level state organisations and individuals or small communities, I engage in an analysis of key themes generated from interview-based case studies, which points to a set of inter-related organisational processes that indicate significant multi-level and multi-sector interaction across all of the case studies. These themes individually raise questions related to organisational stigma transfer, hybridisation under institutional complexity, and informal multi-sector organisational networks of collaboration. These are relevant individually as well as collectively, as they reveal an ecosystem of organisations with much greater fluidity and complexity of relationships than characterised in incumbent theories focused on the dynamics of Chinese civil organisations.

In Chapter 5, I argue that organisational stigma transfer may be mediated by manipulation of the qualitative nature of organisational linkages. This represents an additional contribution to complement other stigma avoidance strategies (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009). In particular, in the context of these Chinese organisations, it appears that market-based relationships connecting organisations and stigmatised groups help to serve as a buffer for stigma transfer. The evidence points to the need to better understand how the

nature of organisational relationships can act as another lever by which organisations can reduce associative stigma. Future studies can assess the extent to which this phenomenon varies across cultural contexts, especially in terms of how market modes of activity are constructed and validated as appropriate for a given area of organisational activity.

Hybrid organising, which can be found in all of the case studies in this thesis, has been studied primarily in contexts in which civil organisations are recognised as acceptable organisational forms. Some studies have examined civil organisations that incorporate logics and structures from for-profit businesses. These typically are social enterprises motivated by the prospect of greater sustainability due to the introduction of revenue generation. In Chapter 6, I present evidence that indicates that the strategic goals of organisational leaders may require a more nuanced set of considerations involving the positioning of organisations within complex institutional environments. While hybridisation brings about definite challenges, it can also allow organisations to better manage environmental risks and expand their repertoire of ways in which they can share resources and collaborate with a broader range of other organisations. This suggests that selectively coupled hybrid organisational forms may provide a useful tool for reconciling institutional pressures that are often contradictory and unpredictable. These cases suggest a need to develop a framework for analysing hybrid organising as a common organisational activity that involves balancing conflicting concerns at different levels of organisation by borrowing institutional repertoires comprising ideas about organisational activities, identities, and forms.

In Chapter 7, engaging with the state-focused literature on civil society in China, I suggest that more interactive, cooperative, and multi-sectoral models are needed. The crucial involvement of firms, sponsors, and foundations in the work of civil organisations both in terms of offering resources and markers of social acceptance clearly indicate that this space

should not be conceived in two-dimensional or bilateral terms. I propose that the nature of the autonomy that civil organisations enjoy can be maintained via ambiguity. I also observe that this strategy is sustained by a network of other activities (e.g. information sharing and managing diverse portfolios of collaborations) that allow organisations to operate in persistently uncertain conditions.

This investigation offers a fresh analytical framework in which civil organisations create new possibilities for collaboration between various other types of organisations. This approach extends conventional corporatist or social movement models for civil activity, breaking down sectoral dividers and calling for a process-focused framework for viewing civil society distinct from social movement theory. Chinese HIV civil organisations exemplify this type of organising; they rarely work collectively in publicly perceptible ways. Instead, they maintain many informal partnerships in order to facilitate flexible project-based and intermittent collaborations.

Mutual contingency between civil and state organisations is certainly an important factor in determining the extent to which civil organisations can survive and expand. Civil organisations can present political risks to state actors, and state organisations do not typically permit politically-orientated civil organisations to operate. At the same time, state actors benefit from civil organisations that fill gaps in its service provision, and civil society also offers an experimental space from which the government can select successful innovative organisational models. The insights from this level of analysis are the ways in which civil organisations reproduce ambiguity while sharing limited information that helps understand state interpretation and enforcement of legally contradictory situations. Civil organisations also frequently collaborate informally with various organisations including small businesses, multinational firms, GONGOs, and international foundations, which

influence their standing vis-à-vis state actors. In light of these dynamics, a framework for understanding the development of this space must accommodate the varied effects of linkages and collaborative activity not just with state actors. This will add new dimensions to civil-state relations beyond those circumscribed by interactions between civil and state actors. In fact, collaboration between civil organisations and private sector firms seemed to improve recognition and support from state organisations. Future research may interrogate these factors that enable civil organisations to persist in a hostile and risky environment. This can extend observations of macro-level outcomes such as organisational features, distribution, and survival, and it can also supplement current understandings of civil-state interaction that underappreciate the importance of organisational ecosystems that comprise private and other civil actors.

The following table illustrates strategies identified in each chapter that suggest shared themes connecting multiple levels of analysis. Since these insights from different levels of organisation are highly interrelated, it is valuable to consider how these phenomena may be part of a linked set of processes occurring within organisations.

Table 16: Key Strategies and Goals Across Empirical Chapters

Chapter	Strategy	Goal
5	Reframe activities using market imagery	Reduce organisational stigma transfer
5	Create perceived distance with stigmatised groups	Reduce organisational stigma transfer
6	Hybrid organising and selective coupling	Balance shared resources and maintain organisational distance
6	Deploy multiple organisational images	Expand possibilities for partnerships; reduce risks from harsh policies
7	Sustain ambiguous, informal collaborations	Protect both parties from associative risks from stigmatised issues or scandals; Maintain flexibility of decision-making and resource allocation
7	Share information across organisational networks	Reduce uncertainty about state enforcement of contradictory policies

I now highlight some of the ways in which each set of observations are interdependent on the dynamics happening at other levels of analysis. This suggests that as civil organisations operate as intermediary organisations, there are multiple levels of dynamic processes occurring within and between organisations. In the sections below, I examine these interactive, multi-level dynamics. Later in the discussion, the implications of these combined multi-level processes will be analysed with reference to the incumbent literature in several areas of research.

Intraorganisational activity and organisational structure

Chapters 5 and 6 illustrate a set of closely interrelated processes in which organisational activities shape organisational structures and vice versa. In these cases, civil organisations reframe their identities using market imagery and enter into commercial modes of activities. Once this happens, these organisations develop hybrid structures to facilitate their performance of market exchange alongside their social services. These structures enable organisations to further articulate market identities while preserving their essential core mission and services.

The goal of reducing organisational stigma transfer can be achieved more effectively through these complementary processes. Organisations operating as businesses can maintain distance with their customers so as to manage perceived moral entanglement with marginalised groups. Hybrid organisations can deploy specialised organisational images that conceal or reframe relationships that might confer stigma or present other types of risk. In other words, the symbolic distance created by organisational performance can be complemented by structural changes (e.g. hybridisation and selective coupling) to help organisations manage the degree to which they associate with marginalised groups.

Another example of the interplay between intraorganisational activity and structure is how hybridisation facilitates new repertoires of activity for organisations. Hybrid organisations often juxtapose workers with different goals and backgrounds, and this can produce innovative types of crossover work, combining skills and knowledge from civil and private sector backgrounds. Different organisational components can also develop specialised ways of dealing with challenges, while avoiding interference due to overlapping organisational boundaries. These repertoires can also enable civil organisations to flexibly and coherently incorporate market imagery into their activities, as described above.

The cases here demonstrate that organisational processes aimed at reducing stigma cross several layers of organisations. These inter-level connections also show that activities and structures designed to mitigate stigma can evolve concomitantly, with amplifying effects occurring between the two levels of organisation.

Organisational structure and interorganisational activity

Considering Chapters 6 and 7 together reveals linkages between hybridisation and field-level arrangements and linkages. One strong motive for organisations to adopt hybrid structures is the need to expand the ability to form partnerships with different types of organisations. With a repertoire of multiple organisational identities, for instance, a hybrid civil organisation might be able to raise revenue, venture capital, and grant funding. The organisation can then combine these assets in novel ways within an organisational form that facilitates resource sharing. It is also important to note that the availability of a given type of partnership depends greatly on the institutional environment. For instance, the government policy of restricting bank accounts for receipt of international funding for unregistered civil organisations has shaped the ways in which linkages between these groups and funding

organisations have evolved. In some cases, they have led organisations to register as businesses in order to establish bank accounts. Laws governing registration, taxes, funding, collective action, and expansion strongly influence the ways in which civil activity occurs. Although restrictions do make it more challenging for civil organisations to operate, this is not the only effect observed in these case studies. In fact, I have documented widespread restructuring of organisations in ways that allow them to become more capacious and flexible than traditional civil organisations. This suggests that the interplay between state restrictions and organisational development is much more complex than that implied by current theories. Moreover, future dynamics of civil society may emerge from these configurations, with new modes of collaboration linking community groups and the state. A satisfactory framework for describing civil-state dynamics, therefore, should take into account the heterogeneity of linkages between civil organisations and many other types of actors.

One feature of these linkages is their temporary and implicit nature. For many of the cases in this thesis, leaders described how they avoided building formal partnerships, and instead opted to engage in short-term project-based collaborations, which were in flux and not always made explicit to external observers. In many cases, these informal, ephemeral working relationships are not recorded in archives or official reports. As has been shown, this informality has strategic benefits, offering greater flexibility and protecting the parties involved from reputational risk following a scandal. These dynamics must be incorporated into both theory and research design when observing civil organisations that operate in challenging institutional contexts.

Intraorganisational activity and interorganisational activity

Activities occurring within an organisation such as reframing processes can affect

interorganisational connections as well. As civil organisations begin to engage in market activity to avoid organisational stigma transfer, they can build new types of organisational partnerships in other sectors and with new modes of engagement with other entities. Just as hybrid organisations develop specialised components that expand their ability to partner with new organisations, new types of activity also create new ways of engaging with other organisations in mutually beneficial ways. For instance, an organisation that begins to sell formerly free services may find new ways of partnering with sponsors, producers, distributors, and other business organisations that were not previously willing to entertain the possibility of collaboration. This shift occurs both on a symbolic level, by which organisational audiences may have a changed perception of an organisation engaging in different modes of core activity, and on a pragmatic level, by which organisations engaging in markets then adopt conventions that allow them to exchange various types of resources with other private sector organisations.

Analysis of empirical findings

These findings highlight the importance of an organisation's ability to form diverse types of linkages and manipulate relationships with other organisations. The detailed nature of these linkages also can strongly affect other important associative phenomenon, such as the transfer of stigma. In this context, the optimal arrangement often involves high levels of trust accompanied by informal partnerships and distant arrangements. This is similar to Fligstein and McAdam's characterisation of organisational fields' tendency to constantly involve actors adjusting to field conditions:

> [T]here is constant jockeying going on in fields as a result of their contentious nature. Actors make moves and other actors have to interpret them, consider their options, and act. Actors who are both more and less powerful are constantly making

> adjustments to the conditions in the field given their position and the actions of others…Even in "settled times," less powerful actors can learn how to take what the system will give them and improve their positions in the field. (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011, p. 5)

In the context of Chinese civil organisations, there seems to be a similar type of constant repositioning which is played out through both symbolic and practical activity within organisations. The strategies and processes that enable Chinese civil organisations to operate in challenging political context are varied, yet the civil organisations studied as cases in this thesis show several clear patterns that break from previous work.

Rather than operating in the 'shadow' of the Chinese state (Hildebrandt, 2011), civil organisations work at the intersection of many different actors including state actors, firms, foundations, and other community organisations. This suggests that rather than occupying in a negative space, civil organisations act as agents that integrate and combine resources across different sectors in order to pursue challenging missions. These involve paradoxes, such as actively maintaining rather than reducing uncertainty. Sustained ambiguity suggests a need to better understand the multidimensional nature of civil society, including organisational networks, and diverse types of linkages and resource flows. My findings challenge metaphors carried forward from population ecology that suggest that the state largely determines the institutional environment in which civil organisations operate. I also show the importance of cross-sector partnerships for understanding the processes by which civil organisations collect and distribute resources, gain recognition, and shape institutions. Crucially, the institutional environment, while shaped by the state, also can be shaped by private and civil sector organisational norms, which is a key lesson from how the case study organisations here dealt with stigma and political risks.

In general, studies of civil society emphasise contentious or collaborative

relationships between civil organisations and state agencies. The evidence from this thesis strongly indicates that such sector-based distinctions can obscure the important network effects of distributing resources and gaining legitimacy through partnerships with a range of organisations from various 'sectors.' This area of research tends to emphasise visible collective action over hidden, informal partnerships, which are much more prevalent in environments such as China where public protest is not a safe form of activism. Additionally, it is worthwhile to observe the fluidity that these case study organisations exhibit as they deploy identities and images that could place them in several sectors at once.

The consistent use of such hybrid strategies and market framing among the case studies here supports the Battilana and Lee (2014)'s recommendation to "consider hybridity…as a more general phenomenon"(Battilana & Lee, 2014, p. 425). Observing the frequency of hybridisation among the Chinese civil organisations challenges the common assumption that these organisations are isolated and reliant on the state. It also indicates that there are widespread strategic patterns among civil organisations that require an organisation-level view to understand the composition of civil society. Sector distinctions between civil society and other sectors have become increasingly blurred, both in terms of placing organisations and viewing key partnerships. This implies that research on civil society must be increasingly multi-sectoral, multi-level, and sensitive to both institutional context and organisational processes.

These findings also provide several insights that can inform current research in organisation studies, given that case studies from the Chinese political context may provide opportunities to test theories developed primarily in Western democracies. First, these cases suggest that organisational stigma transfer can be dealt with symbolically through the reframing and transformation of organisational activity. Framing relationships through

market imagery may be one effective strategy for creating organisational distance, which is one way to build buffers for associative stigma transfer.

While strategies for managing stigma have been of recent interest to those studying organisations (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014; Hudson, 2008; Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009), there are several features of organisational linkages that have not been fully explored in the literature. While the notion of associative stigma clearly depends on organisations being related, the type of activities that sustain a relationship and their symbolic meaning appears to be an important factor in establishing the 'contagiousness' of associative stigma. For instance, different organisational relationships between employers and employees, companies and consumers, community advocates and vulnerable individuals, or businesses and clients may have variable effects on facilitating stigma transfer. My findings suggest that the fundamental framing of activity independent from the activity itself may have effects on perceived associative stigma, raising questions about the relationship between performative and material action in modulating these effects. They also indicate that perceived distance between organisations may be an important factor in regulating stigma transfer as well, since organisations demonstrate intentional action to disassociate from marginalised actors for strategic reasons. The set of strategies observed among Chinese civil organisations of reframing activities using market metaphors raises important questions about the extent to which the market can take on a cleansing or buffering function when mediating organisational linkages. It would be helpful to examine similar phenomena in other contexts in which norms toward market activity differ to the almost explicitly pro-market atmosphere in present-day China.

The empirical work presented here also has broader implications for understanding hybrid organisations. Current research on hybrid organisations has centred largely on three

themes. First, researchers have examined the intraorganisational capacities and conflicts that can arise due to the mixing of different logics and experiences in an organisation with multiple missions. Second, there has been interest in the relationship between complex environments and hybrid organisations, and how hybrid organisations as open systems provide more insights into relationships between organisations and their environments. Lastly, the social value of hybrid organisations given their ability to link resources and networks traditionally thought of as separate has sparked great interest in both research and practice. In short, hybrid organising offers an opportunity to challenge preconceptions about organisational identities, forms, and logics:

> …the study of social enterprises and other hybrid organizations presents an unprecedented opportunity to question some of our basic assumptions about the unified nature of organizational forms, a theoretical agenda that extends beyond social enterprise into a larger population of organizations that combine forms in innovative ways. (Battilana & Lee, 2014, p. 428)

The existing literature on hybrid organisations emphasises processes of dealing with institutional complexity, and it examines the challenges in integrating these different ways of that organisations think and work. My empirical research of hybrid organising practices in Chinese civil organisations builds on nascent work on this theme in several key ways.

First, the majority of research on hybrid organisations involves studies of social enterprises, which are typically organisations founded somewhat explicitly (especially in environments where states provide special benefits to such officially recognised organisations), and which generally combine business and charity in several different configurations. However, the scope of types of hybrid organisations is much larger than just social enterprises, and in contexts where the social enterprise is not a recognised form such as China, there are many other types of organisations that develop in different ways. Specifically, this dissertation points to a group of civil organisations that exhibit hybrid

organising in the restrictive Chinese political context. These groups engage in this activity in order to resolve problems related to resource allocation and risk management across different levels of organisation. The existing literature on how hybrid organisations deal with external factors tends to claim that hybrids face additional struggles to achieve legitimacy and resources (Battilana & Lee, 2014, pp. 410–411), limiting their ability to gain support from state organisations, financial partners, and similar-minded, and competing non-hybrid organisations with similar missions. The evidence in these case studies highlights many of these concerns, while complicating these claims by showing examples of organisations that use hybrid organising to gain wider acceptability and partnership opportunities in prohibitive contexts. For instance, the state appears to recognise hybrids with business and charity elements to a greater degree than straightforward charitable organisations. Also, hybrid organisations can act as key bridges between businesses, and in order to understand the dynamics of hybrid organisations on the level of organisational fields, it is necessary to examine closely the new possibilities for linkages available only to hybrid organisations. This requires fine-grained accounts of how organisations connect, and how hybrid organising can enable new network arrangements.

Second, theories of hybrid organisations tend to emphasise how organisations appear to 'audiences,' a topic that emphasises the strong performative element involved in reconciling contradiction and conflict. In this thesis, I aim to outline in more detail the nature of balancing activity required by hybrid organisations that adjust their internal structures to address external contradictory pressures. I observe convergence and conflict between performative and pragmatic goals and describe how selective coupling offers the ability to balance these trade-offs more effectively within a hybrid organisation. Pache and Santos (2013) also observe this strategy within social enterprises as a response to institutional

pluralism (Pache & Santos, 2013). However, while their focus is on using symbolic adoption of new logics in order to obscure or conceal the reality of organisational practices, my research points to a more diverse set of concerns, both symbolic and practical, that must constantly be managed by hybrid organisations. Broadly, these include weighing the benefits of close coupling, such as resource sharing and collaborative innovation, against the virtues of loose coupling, such as risk management and partnership expansion.

The contribution to this area of work is to normalise hybrid strategies in low-resource environments and to show that hybrid strategies can emerge from typical organisational activities such as balancing resource allocation and managing linkages; hybrid organising does not necessarily mean total organisational transformation. This evidence suggests first that hybrid organising may be part of a more general set of bricolage-like activities that occur in diverse contexts. Additional empirical work is needed to test the relationships between levels of organisation, modes of activity, and institutional context to verify and extend these findings.

Finally, these case studies aim to contribute to an important new agenda in development studies that emphasises organisational processes as a key part of the set of activities that development comprises. Civil organisations have been gestured to as important actors in development, yet they tend to be observed as a bellwether of political shifts or as a stock from which collective action is to flow. I argue that these organisations can be important vehicles for social change as intermediary organisations. I order to understand this type of role, it is necessary to examine both how civil organisations shape institutional contexts and how they are connected variously to a diverse set of organisational partners.

Implications for policymakers and practitioners

Development policy can benefit from greater consideration of how civil organisations perceive, interpret, digest, and respond to institutional pressures. Given that this task requires examination of many actors of various sizes and types, developing basic frameworks that place civil organisations at the nexus of various other types of organisations will help better trace interactions within complex institutional environments. For instance, for civil organisations to be effective, it is important to consider the extent to which their activities and structures can be adapted to their institutional environments as well as civil organisations' positions within networks of partner organisations. The nature of these partnerships also involves managing institutional pressures, and the realm of possibilities for collaboration is far greater than a choice between antagonistic or cooperative relationships. In particular, cross-sector relationships represent an important aspect to include in current theories of civil society. These collaborations have been under-theorised and are common in developing countries as cross-sector linkages become increasingly ubiquitous.

The ideal role of civil organisations in international development has proved evasive. Mixed results from programs such as the Global Fund's grants for HIV prevention in China from 2007-2012 demonstrate the sensitivity required to implement grants delivered via civil organisations. Indeed, while there are many clear reasons to engage civil organisations, including local knowledge, community engagement, and expanded delivery networks, much work remains in order to develop policies that effectively utilise this potential. Many organisations involved in development work confront major contextual challenges that affect the efficacy of different types of interventions.

For instance, associative stigma related to work with marginalised communities, and foreign identities often affects the core activities of development organisations. A deeper

understanding of how organisations manage core stigma can improve the effectiveness of development interventions. In particular, organisations may consider the stigma buffering effects of market-framed relationships as part of a strategy to engage with marginalised groups. Importantly, such interventions should also consider the possible unintended consequences of greater distance from the community as compared with free care, advocacy, community organising, and community health worker (*accompagnateur*) models for health services. In areas where political sensitivity and stigma make it difficult or impossible for organisations to operate, organisations using market activity may find new ways to expand feasibility, scope, collaboration, and sustainability.

Institutional pluralism, a common feature of work at the intersection of international and local organisations from multiple cultural contexts, can cause major challenges for organisations involved in development work. The evidence in this thesis suggests that innovative organisational forms such as hybrids can be more resilient to complex environments. For instance, they can develop specialised components that expand the repertoires of collaboration, including funders, sponsors, distributors, customers, and marketing partners, as well as better dealing with contradictory or difficult-to-predict political risks. Practitioners may consider whether hybrid organisations might present alternative models to designing organisations for complex environments. The frameworks in this thesis may help structure analysis of trade-offs for hybrid organisations that keep specialised, loosely coupled organisational components. Policymakers may consider ways of encouraging organisational experimentation so as to allow creative hybrid organisations to flourish without consequences resultant from their sector-crossing identities.

Cross-sector collaboration has become more frequent in both the developed and developing world, and this offers particular promise to civil organisations, which have much

to gain from engaging with government and private sector partnerships. For civil-state collaboration, such partnerships will not always resemble formal corporatist models, and it will be important to explore and test alternative network-based strategies that may better meet the interests of multi-actor organisational fields. Practitioners may attempt to map out networks of organisations in order to escape sectoral divisions and see the diversity of resource flows and mutually beneficial arrangements that civil organisations can pursue. Viewing civil organisations as key intermediaries at the nexus of many other types of organisations may yield fruitful strategic insights for policymakers as well as practitioners such as organisational leaders operating in contexts with weak civil society.

Thus, for both policymakers and practitioners, these frameworks are likely to offer additional tools for reimagining the possibilities for civil organisations in development. An inclusive view of development must take seriously the potential of small organisations that can provide key opportunities for individuals to engage in collective action. The analysis here illustrates the range of strategic activities that civil organisations can engage in, suggesting promising new directions that can result from bringing organisation studies perspectives to bear on civil organisations in development.

Directions for future research

The seven case studies examined in this thesis point toward numerous new directions for comparative research. Although these civil organisations in many regards exhibit great diversity of approach, activity, strategy, and form, the clear patterns of shared strategies that challenge traditional notions of how these groups typically operate imply new questions about organisations, civil society, and development. Descriptions of civil society organisations in China typically note great diversity and divergent outcomes based on

different features of organisations. However, the consistent strategies shared among different types of organisations in different regions here suggests a need to attend to organisational processes in order to understand what aspects should be taken into account when attempting to explain organisational success or failure. Without this view, it is too easy to focus on the state as a monolithic, institution-setting entity, and fall short of recognising the role of civil organisations in performing institutional work and positioning themselves in systems of mutually interacting organisations.

Collectively these insights support an agenda that calls for the conception of civil spaces as interactive nexuses through which organisations draw resources from a variety of partners while managing a complex set of institutional forces. Rather than being subject to institutional constraints determined by a strong state, the cases in this thesis illustrate the ways in which organisations can pursue goals without developing along a path of bureaucratisation outlined by many capacity-building programmes. In fact, even small organisations that lack traditional forms of power can still play key intermediary roles in contexts with development interventions, helping to better allocate and distribute resources, share information, and align visions and priorities among diverse organisational actors. What this suggests is that traditional notions of civil society that emphasise the ability to consolidate resources or take collective action as markers of organisational capacity may need to be re-examined.

This reimagining of theories of civil society in order to accommodate the full scope of intermediary action performed by civil organisations would likely have practical effects on prescriptions for development interventions such as capacity building programs. With a broader conception of what civil organisations are capable of achieving comes a larger toolkit for thinking about how to address situations in which institutional constraints present

challenges to transferring development practice to new contexts. The relative strengths of one type of intervention over another would have to be evaluated with attention to the available organisational niches as well as the institutional dynamics in which organisations operate. While such an approach to conceptualising and evaluating development organisations may be difficult to operationalise immediately, it provides key insights that can then be used to expand the focus on measuring outcomes that represents a dominant area of research in development studies. The systems metaphors used in this thesis are in no way opposed to outcome-driven work; in fact, they aim to complement this area of research by encouraging an expanded view of what variables are relevant to both designing interventions and measuring outcomes.

This work engages a set of theoretical issues across different disciplines using empirical cases that offer a fresh look at how organisations manage political hostility and institutional contradictions. It points to a promising direction of research in development studies that emphasises the role that organisational adaptation and innovation play in mediating interactions between macro-level effects such as policies or institutional norms and individuals meant to benefit from development interventions. In this thesis, I have attended to organisational processes within civil organisations in China in order to build grounded frameworks for how these resilient organisations act as intermediaries. From these findings, patterns have emerged that can provide insights about field-level structure. Moving between three levels, I have observed the underlying dynamics that form interactive systems comprising organisations from many sectors.

As can be expected of work that is exploratory in nature, this dissertation raises more questions than it answers. These cases emerge from, in some senses, a somewhat idiosyncratic political landscape, and in order to generalise the insights of this dissertation,

further comparative work will need to be conducted in other contexts. The hope is that these case studies will contribute to identifying new directions for understanding the role of organisational activity in development. Additionally, the patterned findings across cases may expand on existing theories of organisational processes by showing new strategies for dealing with stigma and uncertainty at multiple levels of organisation. The results of this multi-level approach to studying organisational dynamics among Chinese HIV civil organisations reveal a great need to adopt a multi-sector, multi-level, and multi-dimensional framework to examine civil organisations in development contexts. As civil organisations in most places become increasingly characterised by high degrees of fluidity and interconnection, theories of civil society must be revised to capture these key strategic processes that play an important role in configuring intermediary layers of organisational activity.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

In this thesis, I engaged a set of theoretical issues across development studies, organisation studies, research on civil society, and China studies through comparative analysis of seven empirical cases of Chinese HIV civil organisations. Attempting to understand the strategies that sustain civil organisations in politically prohibited and institutional complex environments, I examined a set of interrelated themes including market framing and organisational stigma, selective coupling within hybrid structures, and sustained ambiguity across multi-sector networks. I found that civil organisations actively framed issues, designed structures, and built networks to respond specifically to institutional challenges and contradictions. My work offers new insight into the possibilities for civil society to play an important intermediary role under a strong state and shows several core features. My analysis of how market imagery can transform associative linkages between organisations shows that previous theory about gifts and market exchange may have higher-level analogues for organisations, in particular insofar as they involve stigma transfer. I link these activities to hybrid organising, with many civil organisations using selective coupling or multiple identities to address specific environmental risks while building partnerships with many different types of organisations. Based on this evidence, I advocate for a conceptualisation of civil society that can account for greater diversity of linkages and partnerships extending beyond the civil-state relationship.

This thesis represents a new approach that applies the tools of organisational theory to the study of civil society, emphasising organisational processes over outcomes. The broader goal here is to bring additional focus to organisational processes when examining civil society and development. There is broad evidence from development studies that civil

organisations are an important component of development work, and I demonstrate how a closer examination of organisational processes alongside organisational features can help gain important insights into the underlying mechanisms shaping an organisational field. A comparative case study method provides a high-resolution understanding of civil organisational processes to extend previous macro-level work on civil society. This evidence shows how civil organisations can shape both institutional environments and organisational networks, and the themes that I identify provide hints for future work examining contexts in which institutional pressures present major obstacles to civil society.

There are four broadening questions that follow. First, my findings on organisational stigma transfer suggest that the nature of organisational linkages represent a new dimension to be explored in examining the associative nature of stigma for organisations. The question of how linkages in organisational networks shape the dynamics of associative stigma transfer complements current areas of inquiry related to organisational stigma, especially those concerned with organisational responses to stigma.

Second, I provide a framework for how hybrid organisational managers may perform balancing work to deal with institutional complexity. I also describe the ways in which hybridisation is furthered by pressures from organisational framing and network-building activity. It will be important to test and develop this framework as well as to explore the question of how to operationalise observations about hybrid organisations' advantages in dealing with institutional complexity. This study illustrates the value of examining multiple levels of analysis such as intraorganisational activity and interorganisational collaborations, as the findings here suggest that these aspects are likely to play a key role in shaping hybrid organisational structures.

Third, when examining an organisational field such as the set of organisations involved in civil responses to HIV, I demonstrate the heterogeneity of organisational linkages and the role of civil organisations in managing and shaping institutional norms and building organisational networks. I have presented and charted different types of collaborations and relationships surrounding civil organisations, which raises the question of how to develop a more general model for civil society as a nexus of strategic activity rather than a space delineated by the absence of state control.

Lastly, it will be important to test these conceptual models across cultural contexts, considering places where perceptions of markets, sources of stigma, and institutional configurations might have different effects on civil organisations. To answer the question of the extent to which the Chinese context may be idiosyncratic, and the extent to which these findings can be generalised to other places will require similar comparative case study research. In conclusion, this thesis has elucidated the need to theorise civil organisations involved in development work from a multi-dimensional, multi-level perspective that observes and incorporates cross-sector collaboration. The next task will be to integrate these ideas into existing frameworks, building on previous insights while properly acknowledging the agency of civil organisations that operate as key intermediary actors.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CDC	Center for Disease Control (in China)
CPC	Communist Party of China
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
GONGO	Government-Organised Non-Governmental Organisation
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
MSM	Men who have Sex with Men
NIH	National Institutes of Health
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
UN	United Nations
WHO	World Health Organisation
WISE	Work Integration Social Enterprise

Appendix B: Notes on terminology

1. The terms “China” and “Chinese” are used in this dissertation in reference to Mainland China, the area under jurisdiction of the People's Republic of China excluding Hong Kong SAR, Macau, and Taiwan. The political economies of these excluded regions and the issues faced by civil organisations there are distinct. Hence all of the case studies in this dissertation were selected from regions in Mainland China. This choice has been made not for any political reason, but rather for brevity in writing. The selection of cases solely from this region improves comparability between cases within the sample.

2. It may seem counterintuitive that this work avoids using the term NGO when many other papers examining Chinese civil society list this as a main keyword. This choice was made deliberately after consideration of the various ambiguities of the status of civil organisations in both English and Chinese. Because the term NGO can refer to an organisation officially registered with the government as such, any non-governmental entity, or even a so-called non-governmental organisation that is in effect controlled by the government (i.e. GONGO), this term has not been used when possible. Instead, the term “civil organisation” has been used to refer to small grassroots civil organisations created and operated considerable autonomy from the government. This emphasises the role of these organisations as part of civil society rather than drawing what I see as an overly dichotomous distinction between civil and state entities.

3. For the sake of conciseness, I use the term HIV to refer to HIV/AIDS, which in Chinese is typically represented by the single word *aizibing* (艾滋病). Though this term is etymologically closer to AIDS, it refers more generally to the virus including both stable and severe cases (only the latter of which would be technically described as AIDS in English), as well as to the series of phenomena related to the virus, including stigma, discrimination, and

the other social meanings that the illness conveys. Thus, the term HIV aims to more inclusively represent the phenomenon in question, though notably the terms HIV, AIDS, and HIV/AIDS are used inconsistently and often interchangeably in other studies, and none explicitly refers to the full scope of the disease's associated experiences.

4. While many studies of hybrid organisations in developed countries have examined "social enterprises," Chinese civil leaders do not always use the equivalent term *shehui qiye* (社会企业) to describe their own organisations. While some of them refer to this as a concept with which they are familiar due to exposure to social enterprise training from abroad, these innovative hybrid organisations seem to spring from more than isomorphic, mimetic forces, and do not always follow typical social enterprise models. Thus, I avoid referring to these organisations "social enterprises," since I see these cases as part of a larger class of combinatorial organisational forms and practices.

Appendix C: Background on HIV in China

Following a few cases of HIV diagnosed in foreigners between 1985 and 1990, the first cases of HIV affecting indigenous Chinese appeared around 1990. The disease spread unannounced and often undiagnosed along drug and sex trafficking routes, probably from Southeast Asia to northern Chinese cities. Throughout the 1990s, a few provinces began purchasing blood collected in rural areas, which created secondary markets for blood collection and re-sale. Many of these blood collectors re-used equipment and re-injected typed blood to donors, which led to extremely high prevalence "HIV villages," most notably in rural areas of Henan and Anhui provinces. The earliest high-prevalence areas involved transmission through injection drug use (in Southern provinces) or unsafe blood collecting practices (in Central-Northern provinces). Though the local authorities were made aware of these outbreaks of disease, they publicly denied that there could be HIV infection in these areas.

After the SARS outbreak in 2003, the Chinese government began to acknowledge and begin to offer support for people infected with HIV, which marked an abrupt about-face from their previous stance (Xue, 2005). Since 2007, it has been estimated that the most common mode of transmission for HIV is through sexual contact, whereas previously it was spread primarily through injection drug use and unsafe blood transfusions (L. Lu et al., 2008). In particular, young men who have sex with men (MSM) have demonstrated high rates of HIV infection, with some recent surveys indicating prevalence as high as 5-7% (Hong et al., 2009; Li et al., 2011; Z. Wu et al., 2013). Currently, there is a marked need for new approaches to HIV testing and prevention, and some studies have associated a tendency to conform to ineffective methods among HIV civil organisations in China with persistent ineffectiveness

(Chien, 2008). Recent years have shown increases in infection rates among certain populations, including MSM (Li et al., 2011; Song et al., 2013; Z. Wu et al., 2013; X. Zhang et al., 2013), rural-to-urban migrants (Lei Zhang, Chow, Jahn, Kraemer, & Wilson, 2013), older female sex workers (Hao et al., 2014), and injection drug users (Qian et al., 2006). Currently, China is considered a low-prevalence country, with total number of people living with HIV estimated at less than one million, or less than 0.01% (National Health and Family Planning Commission of China, 2015).

In China, as in other countries, HIV is stigmatised multiply due to cultural ideas about its origin and associations. Taboos around sex, sex work, homosexuality, and drug use colour the perception of HIV, and though there is high variance in a country as large as China, have produced a consistent pattern of discrimination in all areas of life. These ideas stem partially from norms of behaviour that extend into the private sphere, including expectations for family life, propriety, and shame avoidance. The role of Judeo-Christian religion in shaping attitudes toward sexual behaviour has been less pronounced, which distinguishes China from many other contexts in which this plays a clear role in affecting notions of stigma.

Appendix D: Semi-structured interview questions

(Expected length: 1-2 hours)

ORGANISATIONAL IDENTITY AND CORE ACTIVITIES

(1) Study introduction and informed consent
- Introduce researcher and affiliation, describe purpose of the project, clarify consent and confidentiality

(2) Tell me about your organisation (Organisational identity and core activities)
- What does your organisation do?
- Why was it established, and how long has it been operating?
- What is its mission / objective?
- What was its goal at founding – has it accomplished that / has that changed?

(3) Tell me about your organisation's external relations and funding sources (Funding sources)
- Does your organisation have a source of income or funding?
    - How long is this funding for? (Are there stipulations? What are they?)
    - When did you receive it? (Renewable?)
    - What is your usual process of receiving funding? (Grants?)

(4) Is your organisation registered? With whom, and as what? (Registration process)
- Did your organisation ever register as an NGO or commercial entity?
    - When did this occur? What would be / were the reasons and motivations for registration?
    - What was the process like? How did you choose which type of registration to pursue?
    - What kind of benefits would/does registration give your organisation?

(5) Do you partner with international, domestic, or government organisations or with private enterprise or the media? (Partnerships and linkages)
    - Is this organisation a subsidiary of another organisation, do you report to another NGO or government organisation?
    - How often do you interact with these organisations and in what context?
    - Are your members in other (similar or dissimilar) organisations?
    - How did these partnerships arise?
    - How long have these partnerships existed, and how have they affected your organisation?

ORGANISATIONAL STRATEGY AND STRUCTURE

(6) Tell me about your role within the organisation (Individual actors)
- How long have you been involved?
- How did you get involved?
    - How did you find out about this organisation?
    - What was your role then / how has it changed?
- Why did you get involved? (Personal motivations?)
- What are your personal goals for the organisation?
- What do you see yourself doing in the future with the organisation?
- How have you personally negotiated with challenges of working in this organisation?
- What changes have you overseen that have affected the way your civil organisation operates?
- How do other members of the organisation understand the process of organising as fitting into their aspirations? What motivated them to join / how did you recruit them?

(7) Tell me about your organisation's structure (Organisational forms)
- How many members are in your organisation? How do you define members?
    - Can you describe a typical/specific member? (college students, HIV positive, gay men, etc.)
- How many permanent staff do you have? How did they join the organisation? How long have they been involved? (Turnover rate)
- How many volunteers do you have? Can you describe the role of these volunteers?
- What services does your organisation provide? Why did you choose those services?
- How did your organisation determine its structure? Has the structure changed?
- Does it resemble other organisations (government, private sector, international NGO), and do you think its structure will change?
- What challenges does your organisation routinely face?
- What kinds of strategies does your organisation use to overcome obstacles?
- How have your organisation's activities been affected by their working environment?

(8) How have you been affected by funding schemes or registration policy? (Resources)
- Has the process of receiving funding or the funding itself changed recently?
- Did the end of the Global Fund grants in 2012 affect your organisation? How are your funding sources distributed across international NGOs, foundations, private donors, or government, or other sources?
- Does your organisation generate income by charging for services? Do you have plans to do this to generate revenue in the future?
- Has the relationship with the government changed over the last 5 years?
- Do new government policies affect your plans to register or stay registered?

(9) What criteria and processes do you use to evaluate your organisation's ability to be successful and meet goals? (Organisational values)
- Have these metrics changed since the founding of your organisation?
- Do you compare yourself to other similar organisations?
- How much do you spend on evaluation of your programs?
- What kind of changes have you made based on evaluations of programs

(10) Can you tell me about how your organisation has developed or evolved and its plans for long-term expansion or maintenance? (Long-term development)
- What changes have you observed in this organisation in the last year?
    - Why have these changes occurred?
    - Can you describe an example of this change?
- How has your organisation developed since it was founded?
    - Growth in size, funding, changing structures, changing partnerships, etc.
    - Key turning points, moments of expansion or contraction
- What challenges have your organisation faced? How did you face them?
- What challenges does it face now, and which do you think it will continue to face?

INSITTUTIONAL CONTEXT AND ORGANISATIONAL FRAMING

(11) How does your organisation articulate the problem and its particular approach to solving the problem? (Framing)
- Has this language changed since the founding of your organisation?
- How does this differentiate your organisation from others doing similar work?
- How has this been received by other stakeholders (government, other civil organisations, international NGOs, funders)?
- How has the role of technology influenced the development of your organisation?
- Do you see your organisation representing a particular issue, and how does that representation differ from how other organisations represent the issue?
- What other ideas do other international and state organisations have regarding your work?

(12) How does your organisation engage and mobilise community members? (Community engagement)
- Who belongs to the community you serve?
- Are there other organisations serving the same community?
- How have you chosen to build an organisation around this group of people?
- How do you organise or reach out to your members? How has this changed over the years? (including use of technology)
    - How do you advertise / advocate / disseminate information?
    - Do you engage community members online?

(13) How does your organisation negotiate the variety of actors and ways of thinking about HIV, and what mechanisms do you have for facing disagreement or conflict?
- Can you describe a conflict and how it was resolved?
- How do you keep your bargaining power in these discussions?
- What agendas do you infer about other parties involved, and how do they interact with your goals?

(14) How has your organisation incorporated so-called "social enterprise" principles into its daily operations?
- What portion of your revenue comes from grants? What portion of it is from sale of goods/services?
- How does your commercial activity balance profit-making and public service goals?
- Are these ever in conflict or opposition?
- What has happened to your revenue streams since 2012?
- What were the main reasons behind these changes?
- What do you expect will happen as a result of these changes?

Appendix E_1: Participant information sheet

(Explained orally before interview)

CONTACT:
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QEH Department of International Development
3 Mansfield Rd, Oxford OX1 3TB, United Kingdom

ABOUT THIS STUDY:
This study aims to understand the dynamics and the effects of recent changes in the civil sector in China as part of Samuel Galler's doctoral dissertation fieldwork. This research will involve interviews with people involved in this space, including people working with grassroots organisations, foundations, international organisations, and government agencies. The information from these interviews will be incorporated anonymously into this dissertation, which will be available online and in the University of Oxford library. The data gathered from interviews will be encrypted and stored securely on a cloud server run by the Department of International Development at the University of Oxford and on a secure personal computer owned by the researcher. Research assistants may access this data confidentially in order to transcribe and/or translate it for use by the researcher.

You have been asked to participate in this project because of your role in an organisation involved in civil society and/or HIV in China. You may decide to withdraw your consent (see CONSENT FORM) at any time.

This project has been reviewed by and received ethics clearance through the Research Ethics Committee of the Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford.

IF YOU HAVE CONCERNS:
If you have a concern about any aspect of this project, please speak to Samuel Galler, or his supervisor, Xiaolan Fu (Email: xiaolan.fu@qeh.ox.ac.uk, Address: QEH Department of International Development, 3 Mansfield Rd, Oxford OX1 3TB, UK), who will do his/her best to answer your query. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford (Chair, Social Sciences & Humanities Inter-Divisional Research Ethics Committee;
Email: ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk; Address: Research Services, University of Oxford, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD, UK).

Appendix E_2: Consent information sheet

(Used to establish oral consent)

CONTACT:
Samuel Galler | 黃善銘
samuel.galler@qeh.ox.ac.uk
University of Oxford | 英国牛津市牛津大学国际发展学系
QEH Department of International Development
3 Mansfield Rd, Oxford OX1 3TB, United Kingdom

TERMS OF AGREEMENT:
I agree to engage in an anonymous, audio-recorded interview with Samuel Galler, who is a DPhil student at the University of Oxford in the Department of International Development. I will be interviewed primarily with regards to my work and role in an organisation and may be asked questions about other organisations with whom I work as well.

I understand that information from this interview may be incorporated into a published academic work, and that my name and identity will not be directly revealed in the published text or in any drafts of the work. This work may be available online and will be deposited in the University of Oxford libraries upon completion.

I agree to participate in this interview as part of this DPhil dissertation research project in the University of Oxford Department of International Development.
I give my permission to Samuel Galler to use notes from this interview and/or the interview recording, without any further approval on my part, for the purposes specified above.

I know that I am not obligated to answer any questions in the interview and have the right to stop the interview at any point for any reason without penalty of any kind. I understand that I can choose whether or not to participate in this interview, and that I can ask questions about the study before making this decision.

Appendix E_3: Participant information sheet (Chinese)

牛津大学黄善铭博士学位论文实地调查
参与者告知书

关于这项研究：
本项目是牛津大学黄善铭的博士学位论文的实地调查部分，旨在调查中国非政府组织部门近期的动态变化和影响。本采访将访问相关领域工作的人们，包括民间非政府组织，基金会，国际组织和政府机构。采访所得信息将会在黄善铭的博士学位论文中匿名公开，并且能从网站上和牛津大学图书馆获取。牛津大学国际发展系将会给采访所得的数据分配一个 ID 号，并且加密和存储在其管理的云服务器上。研究助理可以秘密访问这些数据来转译或者翻译供研究者使用。

鉴于您是中国某民间团体和（或者）HIV 组织的工作人员，您被要求参与此项目。您也可以随时决定撤回您的同意书（见同意书）。

本项目受牛津大学国际发展系学术道德委员会监管。

如果您有疑问：
如果您有任何关于此项目的疑问，请联系黄善铭或者他的博士生导师傅小兰教授（电子邮箱：xiaolan.fu@qeh.ox.ac.uk，地址：QEH Department of International Development, 3 Mansfield Rd, Oxford OX1 3TB, UK），他们将尽全力回答您的问题。如果您仍不满意或者想要正式投诉，请联系牛津大学学术道德委员会主席 (Chair, Social Sciences & Humanities Inter-Divisional Research Ethics Committee；电子邮箱：ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk，地址：Research Services, University of Oxford, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD, UK)。

Appendix E_4: Consent information sheet (Chinese)

牛津大学黄善铭博士学位论文实地调查
采访同意书

同意条款
本次采访的目的是学术研究。

我同意以匿名的方式参与同牛津大学国际发展系博士生黄善铭的访谈，并同意录音。我将基于我所在组织中的工作和职责来完成采访，同时会被问及和我工作相关的其他组织的问题。

我知道本采访的信息将会被公开的学术文章采用，而我的个人信息不会被公开。本采访的内容可能可以在网站上获得，并且将会保存在牛津大学图书馆。

我同意参与此次采访，并将其纳入牛津大学国际发展系的博士学位研究项目。

我允许黄善铭使用本次采访的笔记和录音。若是基于上述目的，无需另行获得我的同意。

我知晓我没有义务回答本采访的任何问题，并且有权利随时以任何理由停止采访而无需作任何形式的赔偿。我知道我可以选择是否参与此次采访，并且在作出决定之前询问有关此研究的问题。

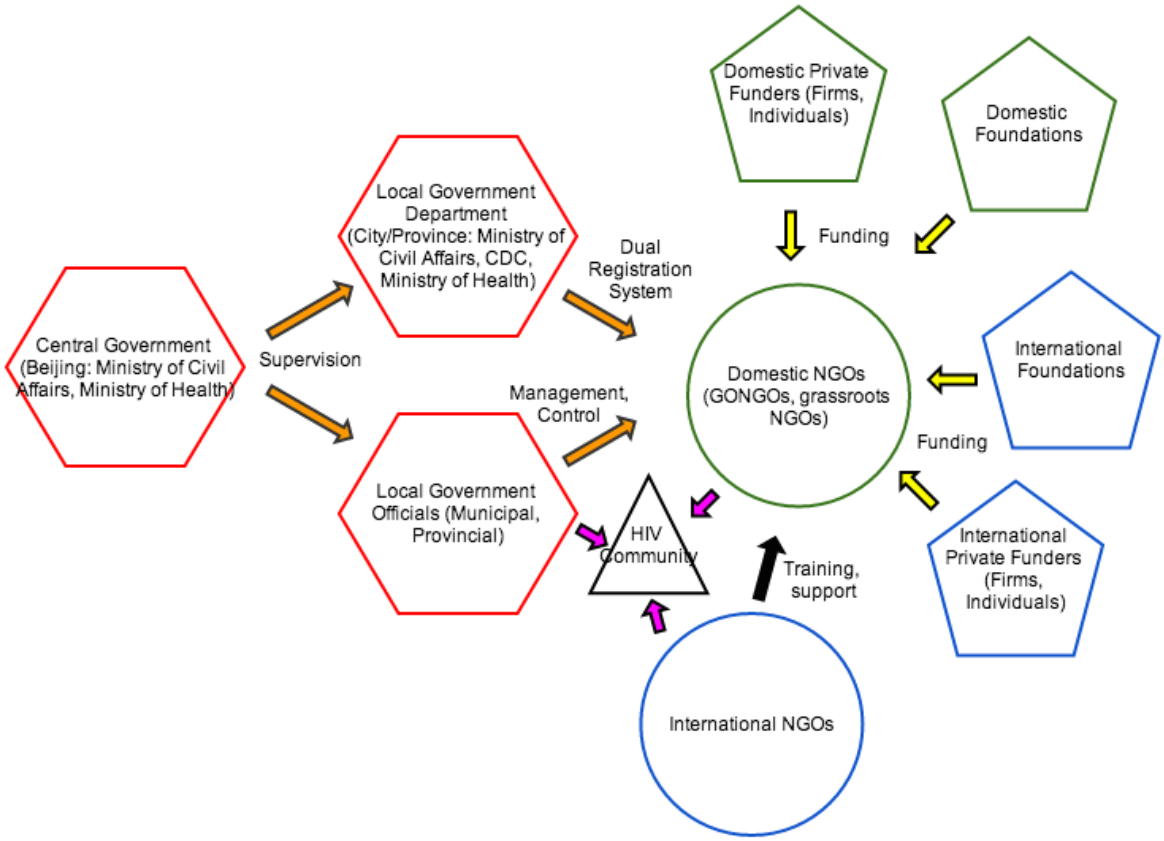
Appendix F: Map of fieldwork locations

Beijing, Dali, Guangzhou, Shanghai

北京、大理、广州、上海



Appendix G: Diagram of relevant actors for Chinese civil organisations



Appendix H: Fieldwork timeline

The fieldwork was conducted on four separate trips over the course of one year. This allowed for follow-up meetings with key interviewers. The timeline for fieldwork, thus, spanned most of the first year following policy changes for civil organisation registration, and tracked organisations following the expiration of most Global Fund grants in late 2012.

Fieldwork Schedule

	Start	End	Location(s)	Trip Duration (days)
1	09-July-14	14-July-14	Guangzhou	6
2	11-Sep-14	25-Sep-15	Guangzhou	15
3	11-Dec-14	2-Feb-15	Guangzhou, Beijing, Shanghai, Dali	54
4	14-Mar-15	29-Apr-15	Shanghai, Beijing	47

Appendix I: Researcher affiliations

Below is a list of all affiliations I carried as a field researcher. While the first was always made clear as my primary affiliation (e.g. on my personal name card), the others were deployed in various situations in order to improve access and establish rapport.

Affiliation	**Type**
University of Oxford, Department of International Development	Academic institution (UK)
Social Entrepreneurship for Sexual Health (SESH)	Research group (US-China)
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC) Project China	Academic Collab. (US-China)
Guangdong Provincial STI Control Centre	Government hospital (China)
Hong Kong University, Department of Family Medicine	Academic institution (HK)
Harvard University, Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures (Prev.)	Academic institution (US)
Tsinghua Univ., Med. Soc. Dept., Comprehensive AIDS Research Centre (Prev.)	Academic institution (China)

Appendix J: Ethical considerations and risks

In China, as in many other countries, people living with HIV face a high degree of stigma and discrimination in many areas of life. Though there are legal protections for people with HIV, they have often not been upheld in courts (International Labour Office for China and Mongolia, 2010), and legal advocacy surrounding HIV discrimination is not widely available. Revealing an individual's HIV status thus can have serious negative effects on education, employment, access to basic services, and health, in addition to the psychological effects among family, co-workers, and friends. Thus, confidentiality was maintained in all interviews and written work, and fake names or anonymous placeholders have been used. In particular, for individuals who disclose information related to HIV status, this information was not disclosed to anyone and was kept highly confidential.

Civil organisations that present political threats to local or central government actors are often repressed, bullied, or shut down, and there is a clear element of political sensitivity to working in the civil sector under a set of state actors that closely monitors and manages these groups. As a foreigner, different kinds of political sensitivity can arise for organisations, since the current government has explicitly discouraged foreign involvement in civil society (e.g. a 2015 law harshly restricting Foreign NGOs). Thus, suspicion that foreign interests are behind NGO activities can place organisations and their members in jeopardy. Maintaining confidentiality and disguising the names of the organisations in the submitted dissertation can help protect the safety of any interviewees whose activities and relationship with foreigners could invite negative political consequences.

In order to protect anonymity and ensure data security, all interviews were stored on a password-protected mobile phone and personal laptop. When uploaded to an online backup folder, they were stored in an encrypted cloud storage drive. The speaker's HIV status was not solicited within the context of the recorded interview. These data have not been shared with anyone other than the supervisors, collaborators, and those assisting with transcription.

Appendix K: NVivo nodes from initial coding runthroughs

Code	Sources	References
Accountability	1	1
Civil Organisation Collaboration	2	3
Community Trust	3	10
Dependence on Charitable Support	4	7
Emotional Difficulty	1	3
Employment Provision	2	9
Encounter with HIV	2	3
Government Collaboration	6	22
Competition for State Support	1	2
Political Challenges	3	8
AIDS Orphans	2	3
Blood selling	1	1
Drug Use	3	10
MSM	4	7
Sex Workers	2	7
Unsafe Sex	1	3
Individual Responsibility	2	5
International Foundation	6	19
Capacity and Skills Development	5	10
Foreign Funding	3	3
Management and HR	4	8
Amphibiousness	3	5
Volunteers	2	6
Mission Conflict	2	8
Interpersonal Conflicts	1	2
Organisational Experimentation	5	16
Informal Organisation	1	1
Loose Coupling	3	3
Social Enterprise	4	12
Private Sector Collaboration	5	17
Capital Investment	4	13
Private Sector Distribution	1	1
Profit and Revenue Generation	4	18

Fiscal Pressure	3	4
Reinvestment of Revenue	3	6
Registration	5	25
Commercial	5	11
NGO	4	9
Rural	2	15
Restricted Mobility	1	2
Surplus Labour	2	8
Social Mission	3	10
Social Stigma	6	19
Media Scandal	5	7
Non-Targeted Service Logic	2	3
State Provision of HIV medicine	3	4
Civil-State Relations		
Government Hostility	3	8
Government Partners	4	9
Registration Flexibility	6	17
Financial Sustainability	1	1
Hybrid Forms		
Risk Specialisation	2	2
Selective Coupling	4	8
Social Enterprise	4	9
Staff Conflicts	5	13
Media Collaboration	4	8
NGO Partners		
Domestic NGO Partners	2	2
International NGOs and Grants	6	19
Private Sector Partners	4	5
Market Framing of Stigma	1	1
Social Stigma (HIV, MSM, IDU, CSW, etc.)	4	5
Technology	2	5