



► Strengthening Social and Solidarity Economy Policy in Asia



October 2021

Mapping the Social and Solidarity Economy Landscape in Asia Spotlight on China

While the concept of Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) is not widely known in China, some forms of SSE organizations and enterprises (SSEOs), notably cooperatives, have achieved a scale that matches the country's position as the world's most populous nation. SSEOs have followed different growth trajectories as the country has transitioned from a socialist to a market-based economy. While cooperatives continue to dominate the SSE landscape, several other types of organizations have emerged. Drawing on ongoing

ILO research on SSE in Asia (see Box 1), this Brief describes the organizational landscape of SSE in China by identifying the main types of SSEOs and other organizations that share some of the SSE's core features (see Box 2). It concludes by assessing how SSE has evolved and its future trajectory in terms of the economic, social and democratic practices that define SSE.

Box 1: ILO Project on Strengthening SSE Policy in Asia

This brief is based on research that was carried out under the first phase of the ILO project "[Strengthening Social and Solidarity Economy \(SSE\) Policy in Asia](#)" that took place during 2019-2021. The research sought to better understand the current status of SSE in six countries in Asia (Republic of Korea, Japan, China, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines) in terms of the organizational landscape, adopt a framework suitable for cross-country comparison, identify policy challenges and suggest preliminary pathways for strengthening SSE. Through a second phase of the project, ILO will conduct additional country studies in Thailand, Vietnam, Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan, Laos and Cambodia. This brief presents key findings from the research paper "[Mapping the Organizational Landscape of the Social and Solidarity Economy in China](#)" by Kyungsoo Lee.

► Asia



Box 2: Defining SSE

While definitions vary (see Brief 1), core features of SSE have been described by the United Nations Task Force on SSE (UNTFSSSE) as follows:

“SSE encompasses organizations and enterprises that have explicit economic and social (and often environmental) objectives; involve varying degrees and forms of cooperative, associative and solidarity relations between workers, producers and consumers; and practice workplace democracy and self-management. SSE includes traditional forms of cooperatives and mutual associations, as well as women’s self-help groups, community forestry groups, social provisioning organizations or ‘proximity services’, fair trade organizations, associations of informal sector workers, social enterprises, and community currency and alternative finance schemes.”

Source: <https://unsse.org/sse-and-the-sdgs/>

Key organizations within the SSE arena

Following the methodology adopted by the project, which defines SSEOs as entities that combine certain economic, social and democratic features (see Brief 1), four types that are regulated by laws stipulate these aspects.¹

SSE Organizations and Enterprises (SSEOs)

Supply and marketing cooperatives (SMCs) were among the first forms of SSE organizations to be promoted after the 1949 revolution. Set up to supply farmers with inputs and sell agricultural products to industrial and urban sectors, SMCs now play a vital role in developing the rural economy by providing services such as agricultural social service, rural e-commerce and rural cooperative finance. SMCs are part of a national, federated system housed within the All China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives (ACFSMC),² with farmers as the principal members. Following a brief ‘golden age’ in the 1950s, the autonomy and intended socio-economic role of SMCs waned due, in part, to state control, competition from private enterprise, insolvency under economic reform and having lost touch with farmers’ interests (see Box 3).³ The market share of SMCs in the consumer goods sector declined from approximately 30 per cent in the 1970s to 2.3 per cent in 2005.⁴ A series of governance reforms and support measures, increased managerial

autonomy, self-financing mechanisms and e-commerce have sought to revitalize the sector. SMCs’ roles have expanded into product manufacturing, market information and technical assistance services, as well as coordinated transportation and storage activities. The number of SMCs increased by approximately 50 per cent over the past decade. In 2019 there were 32,465 primary level SMCs and a national network of 10,000 product distribution centres and 846,000 distribution sites.⁵ Sales and profits in 2018 reportedly amounted to 5.3 trillion Chinese yuan (approximately US\$800 billion) and 51.79 billion yuan (approximately US\$7.8 billion), respectively. SMCs also launched 3,152 poverty-alleviation projects in 2020, aimed at lifting 1.13 million people out of poverty.⁶

Farmers’ Specialized Cooperatives (FSCs) – *Nongmin zhuanke hezuoshe* – are mutual-help organizations incorporating mainly farmers. They serve their members by purchasing inputs and equipment, marketing, processing, transporting and storing farm products, as well as providing technologies and information related to agricultural production and operations. Despite the progress made over the years to improve conditions for people living in rural areas, a large proportion of smallholder farmers still face poverty. FSCs play a crucial role in poverty eradication and rural development. During the past decade their numbers have increased significantly, from 311,700 in 2010 to 2,173,000 in 2018. Nearly half (49.1 per cent) of rural households participate in FSCs. To develop and compete, many FSCs have diversified their product and service portfolio and

1 A fifth type comprises rural mutual cooperatives. Their growth, however, has been slow compared to both micro-credit companies supported by People’s Bank of China and village and town banks. It should also be noted that other types of SSEOs often exist – for example at the community level – that are not formally recognized or registered under law. As a starting point for mapping the SSE landscape, the ILO project focused primarily on legally mandated organizations.

2 ICA-AP, [Mapping: Key Figures. National Report: China](#) (2021)

3 Xiangyu Guo, Brian Henehan, and Todd Schmit, “[Rural Supply and Marketing Cooperatives in China](#)”, *Journal of Rural Cooperation* (2008).

4 Xiangyu Guo et al. “[Rural Supply and Marketing Cooperatives in China](#)”.

5 *Global Times*. 29 November 2020. <https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1208359.shtml>

6 *Xinhua*. 2 February 2021. “[China’s rural cooperatives report sales growth in 2020](#)”.

Box 3: SMCs: Changes in Governance and Performance

1949 – 1957: Growth and Successes – collective ownership by peasants who subscribed shares; dividends distributed; participatory governance.

1958 – 1982: Developmental Barriers – operated as state-owned enterprises; member governance structures and dividends abolished; mismanagement; profiteering and corruption among employees.

1982 – Present Economic Reform – collective ownership renewed; member participation in management; operational autonomy.

Source: Xiangyu Guo et al., “Rural Supply and Marketing Cooperatives in China” (2008).

merged to form larger units.⁷ FSCs do not distribute profits based on shareholding but by procedures decided by their members’ annual meeting based on a one-person one-vote system. While many FSCs still struggle economically, they can provide other intangible benefits, such as community revitalization through cooperation, trust, self-help and solidarity within the village, as well as improved relations between farmers and local authorities.⁸

Rural credit cooperatives (RCCs) are the leading financial institution for both savings and loans in rural areas. They provide credit to farmers, rural households and local enterprises through an extensive branch network. Although the deposit ratio across the total number of financial institutions is as low as 12 per cent, approximately 1,000 RCCs account for 80 per cent of rural household loans and 70 to 75 per cent of loans for township and village enterprises. RCCs are a hybrid of rural commercial banks and credit cooperatives. They can raise equity by bringing in individual and enterprise investors but are required to allocate a specific ratio of the amount borrowed to agricultural projects. The number of RCCs declined by more than half during the past decade, from 1,927 in 2012 to 782 in 2019. This was due to low profitability and rising debt to rural entities, especially local governments managing the township and village enterprises that received a large share of RCC loans. When RCCs were restructured in 2003, approximately half were bankrupt or had negative net worth.⁹

As indicated in Table 1, non-profit microfinance organizations, rotating savings and credit associations (ROSCA) and Rural Mutual Cooperatives are other financial service providers within the SSE landscape.

Social welfare enterprises (SWEs) – *shehui fuli qiye* – are a type of enterprise that provides occupational training, job opportunities and social services to persons with disabilities. The law dictates that 35 per cent or

more of an SWE’s employees should be persons with disabilities. Until the economic reform of the 1980s, the number of SWEs expanded due to government support and tax exemptions. Due to economic difficulties and heightened market competition, however, their numbers declined from over 40,000 in 2000 to approximately 15,000 as of 2015 when reporting stopped.

Partial hybrid organizations

As indicated in Figure 1, several other organizations within the SSE arena combine two of the core characteristics of SSEOs. Referred to in the ILO project as “partial hybrid organizations” (PHOs), they fall into one of three categories depending on different combinations of features. Organizations which, by law, are characterized by social and democratic features include Foundations, Village and Neighbourhood Committees and Civilian-Run Non-Enterprise Units (CRNEUs). These organizations not only share certain core SSE features but also interact with and support some SSEOs. Those combining economic and democratic features include Cooperative Shareholding Enterprises, while those combining economic and social features include Community Service Facilities. Particularly prominent are the following.

Foundations – *Jijinhui* – carry out diverse activities in various fields including scientific research, culture, education, and social welfare. Following legal reforms promoting both “public fundraising foundations”, which are allowed to raise funds publicly, and non-public fundraising foundations, which are not allowed to do so, their number and scale of activity increased significantly, notably after the enactment of Regulations on the Management of Foundations in 2004. A total of 6,322 foundations were registered as of 2017. As in the case of the Consumer Protection Foundation, the Youth Development Foundation, and the Confucian

7 Ren Dapeng and Wei Rong, “China: Rapid development of farmer cooperatives”.

8 Liao Yue, “How Village Co-ops Are Remapping China’s Rural Communities” (2019).

9 Lynette Ong, “China’s Rural Credit Problem”, (East Asia Forum 2013).

► **Table 1: Types of Financial Service Providers in Rural China since 2006**

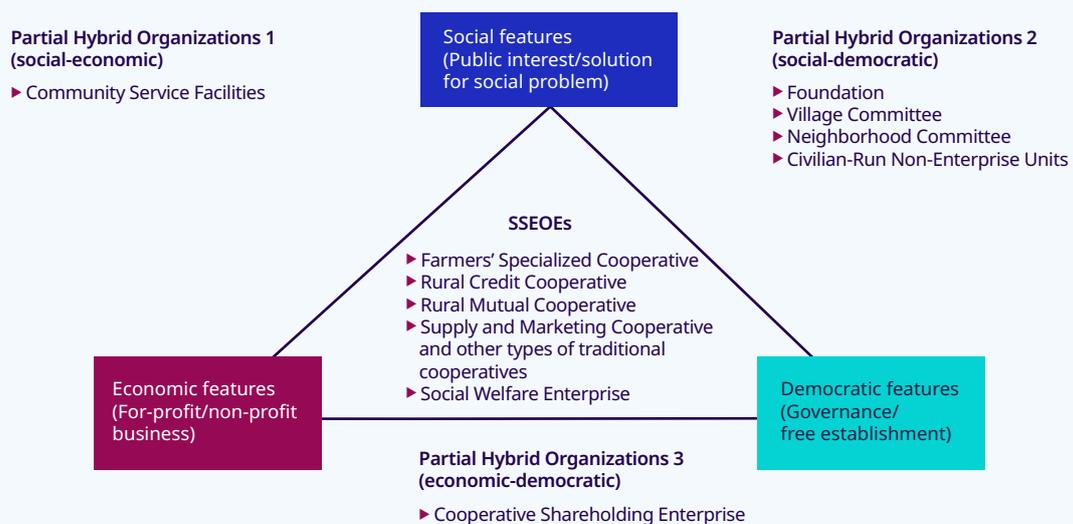
Providers	Policy-oriented	Market-oriented		Cooperative	Informal and Semi-formal
		State-owned	Private		
	ADBC (Agricultural Development Bank of China)	ABC (Agriculture Bank of China) PSBS (Postal Savings Bank of China)	VTB (Village or Township Bank) MLC (Microloan Company)	RCC (Rural Credit Cooperative) RMC (Rural Mutual Cooperative)	NPO MFI (Microfinance institution) ROSCA (Rotating Savings and Credit Association, <i>huzhuhui</i>) Moneylenders Pawnshops Friends and family

Source: Zhang and Loubere, *Rural Finance, Development and Livelihoods in China*, Duisburg Working Papers on East Asian Studies 94/2013, p. 15.

Foundation, they are generally dedicated to broad areas of public interest rather than addressing specific social issues. Most public fundraising foundations are GONGOs (Government Organized Non-Governmental

Organizations), although they refer to themselves as non-profits or NGOs.¹⁰ Non-public fundraising foundations comprise 32 per cent of the total, while public fundraising foundations make up the other

► **Figure 1. Mapping of SSEOs in China**



¹⁰ FYSE, [China Social Enterprise Report](#) (2012).

68 per cent. Corporate philanthropy accounts for more than half of the total registered donations. Between 2011 and 2018 corporate philanthropy increased from 84.5 billion to 143.9 billion yuan (approximately US\$13.1 billion to US\$21.8 billion).

Civilian-Run Non-Enterprise Units (CRNEUs) – *Minfei*, also known as Non-enterprise Units Run by NGOs, are voluntary organizations engaged in non-profit activities. They are social purpose organizations engaged in non-profit activities that are freely-established and funded by enterprises, non-profit business units, social groups, and/or another social entity. By law, income generated by CRNEUs can only be used for activities set out in the relevant constitution of the organization, and profits cannot be distributed to members. CRNEUs benefit from income tax exemptions on revenue, government subsidies and donations. Reflecting government efforts to integrate NGOs in the social service provisioning system, their numbers have increased rapidly from 5,901 in 1999 to 444,092 in 2018.

Community service facilities – *shequ fuwu jigou*, provide a diverse range of social services to urban residents. With significant local variations, services relate to basic infrastructure and security; social welfare for the vulnerable; socialization for enterprises and employees; employment and start-ups; and social security system development. In areas where they are well-established, such as Shanghai, Qingdao and Dalian, as many as 300 services are provided. These facilities are a form of public-private partnership in that the public authorities account for the funds and private or civilian organizations, autonomy organizations of residents' committees, and village committees along with volunteers, manage daily activities.

Another institutional form known as Autonomy organizations comprises **Village Committees (*cunminhui*) and Neighbourhood Committees (*shequ juminhui*)**. They are self-governance units characterized by social purpose and a degree of democratic participation, autonomous operation and public accountability. Over half a million Village Committees manage local affairs in 'natural' villages.¹¹ They establish codes of conduct for village life, mediate disputes, mobilize funds and labour to build schools, operate day-care centers, and take care of the poor, the elderly and relatives of soldiers. With the end of collectivized farming system in 1984, village committees replaced traditional production brigades and became more autonomous from the party and government. Direct elections of village leaders were also held in what is regarded as the first step toward democratization.

Neighbourhood Committees started as urban grassroots organizations in the 1954 with the aim of providing health and welfare services to mothers, young children, the retired, students and others excluded from the social service system, which was linked to formal employment and enterprise sites. Numbering approximately 533,073 as of 2019, neighbourhood committees hold elections for the leadership positions and perform their work voluntarily. They also perform other functions such as explaining government policies and regulations, mediating in neighbourhood disputes and organizing community activities.

Economic, social and democratic challenges

China's SSE stands out when compared to other countries in two ways: The first is the vast scale of several types of organizations and their weight within certain sectors. The number of cooperatives, for example, is estimated to represent 34 per cent of the world total while the number of producer-members of cooperatives is estimated to represent 63 per cent of the world total (see Figure 2).

The second concerns the way in which various forms of organization have followed different trajectories of growth, as well as undergone significant changes in their composition. SMCs, for example, expanded during an initial 'golden age' but subsequently experienced decades of uneven and slow development, followed by a recent revival. RCCs dominated rural finance for decades but have since declined. Organizations such as FSCs and CPREUs, have expanded significantly in recent years as farmers have been encouraged to engage in more autonomous enterprise activities and as the government has turned to non-profit organizations as an instrument of social policy.¹² Other social innovations, such as RMCs, have been slow to take off.

Given that SSE emerged and expanded in response to government transfers and incentives and to meet policy objectives, the nature of its development is closely tied to the relationship with the state. As a result, certain trade-offs, tensions and dilemmas are evident when considering the three core features of SSE, namely economic orientation and sustainability, the social purpose organizations and their democratic foundation and governance.

11 The term 'natural villages' is used to distinguish human settlements of a certain size from 'administrative villages' that form part of the multi-tiered structure of government.

12 Xiaomin Yu, "Social enterprise in China: driving forces, development patterns and legal framework", *Social Enterprise Journal*, Vol. 7. No. 1 (2011): 9 – 32.

► **Figure 2. Number of Cooperatives and Producer-Members**



*1.0 equals 1 million

Source: Hyung-sik Eum. [Cooperatives and Employment, Second Global Report 2017](#). CICOPA.

Economic sustainability

A major challenge for SSEOs worldwide is to be able to operate economically without being heavily dependent on the state or donations. As in many countries, non-governmental organizations in China are transitioning to become social enterprises that generate income. Regulations, however, still prevent or constrain non-profit and community organizations from engaging in for-profit activity.

Other regulations and the subsidy regime that supports SSE organizations generate additional challenges. Many SSE organizations are formed to take advantage of government funding and other incentives without having the assets needed for a sustainable SSE organization, notably social and human capital. Weak organizational structures and financial constraints have made it difficult for many SSE organizations, in particular SMCs and RCCs to compete with commercial enterprises in a context where market reforms have expanded the scope for commercial enterprise. Non-profit organizations, too, often face financial constraints.

Reliance on subsidies and other incentives can undermine autonomy, managerial efficiency and longer term economic sustainability. On the other hand, it can underpin the possibility of affordable basic needs provisioning for low-income or vulnerable groups. Subsidies for RCCs, for example, are part of a policy to maintain low interest rates for farmers and other rural residents in a context where providing financial services in rural areas can involve high costs and risks for lending institutions.¹³

Social purpose

Virtually all SSE organizations serve a social purpose, be it to defend the interests of specific groups such as farmers; via activities in broad fields of public interest such as education, healthcare and culture – as in the case of Foundations and CRNEUs; or to address specific issue-based problems. SWEs, for example, were first established with a clear aim of job creation for persons with disabilities; RCCs and RMCs were promoted to increase rural access to financial services; and community service facilities were built to provide social services in urban areas where the traditional work-unit system had disappeared. With the transformation of the socialist system, SSEOs filled important gaps in social service provision. In particular, from the mid-1980s they assisted the rural migrants flooding urban centers in search of work who lacked access to the social security system.

Both the regulatory environment and close ties with the state can facilitate and undermine the social purpose of SSE organizations. Because legal responsibility for key aspects of social service provision rests with non-profit and community organizations, along with the state, for-profit organizations' cannot easily expand their activities in this field. Furthermore, as bureaucratic and political interests gained influence within governance structures, some SSEOs were distanced from the social base they were meant to serve. This has been particularly evident in the case of SMCs. Both the lure of government subsidies and other economic incentives, as well as the control of SMC structures by local elites have distorted their economic and social functions.¹⁴ To survive in a more competitive economic environment, RCCs partially

¹³ World Bank, [The Reform of China's Rural Credit Unions](#) (2009).

¹⁴ Zhang Ying and Rer Dapeng. 2010. Nongye jingji wwentilun nongmin zhuanhu hezuoshe de guifanhua - cong hezuoshe de zhenwei zhibian tanqi Nongye-jingjiwentilun. 31(4): 41-45

shifted their focus of attention towards projects with lower risk and higher capital returns, which in turn, affected loans for farmers and rural enterprises.¹⁵

Democratic governance

Close ties with the state can also undermine key features of SSE related to autonomy, democratic governance and active citizenship. Resident or village committees, communities, and part of FSCs are directed by the authorities and sometimes work instrumentally as an extension of public authorities rather than being democratically and socially managed by and for their members. Accordingly, the democratic feature of SSE may vary among entities even within the same organizational type.

Forms of SSE organization with features related to democratic governance or that were freely or voluntarily established are relatively few. Cooperatives, such as FSCs, supply and marketing cooperatives, industrial cooperatives, rural credit cooperatives (RCCs), and rural mutual cooperatives (RMCs), have codified the principle of democratic ownership and management in their regulations. However, what is stipulated in law does not necessarily apply in practice.

Only foundations and FSCs have associational freedom since other types of organizations must receive formal permission, approval and supervision from government institutions. This results in a high level of institutional control by the state. Local governments often dominate the governance and management structures of SSEOs. In the case of RCCs, for example, their subordination to local and provincial governments and the state banking system often compromised both voluntary participation and independent management.¹⁶

Future pathways

It is these tensions that underpin a third distinctive feature of SSE in China, namely the seemingly constant process of institutional and policy reform and experimentation that has taken place over several decades since economic reform began (Box 4). Cases in point are the ongoing efforts to reform farmers' cooperatives as well as the structures governing SMCs to ensure that they are more responsive to farmers' interests and economically viable. Furthermore, Neighbourhood and village committees have recently garnered renewed attention as a modest step in relation to national democratic reform. Committee members

are partly elected by the people within the sphere of jurisdiction of each committee.

Although SSE has developed within the limits allowed by the state, the fact that the SSE arena has expanded to address various social challenges, including reducing urban-rural inequality, suggests that its future in China could be promising. The steady increase of SSEOs and social organizations attests to their capacity and potential in meeting the unmet needs of the society.

As is occurring in many counties, it remains to be seen whether China's promotion of SSE will center significantly on social enterprises, namely, entities that combine social purpose and income-generating or for-profit practices.¹⁷ A combination of factors – including funding constraints affecting non-profits, external influences, entrepreneurial motivations and capabilities – look set to expand the arena of social enterprises.

Social organizations have experienced a chronic shortage of financial resources in their activities. To overcome these difficulties, organizations need to establish a stable business model to meet their operating costs by providing paid services and investing in commercial activities for organizational development, better service delivery and securing future profits. The social work outsourcing system provided social organizations with additional channels for business activities. Non-profit organizations in sectors such as education, health care and elderly care, cooperated with local government branches and commercial enterprises by playing a service delivery role, and thus began to tap into profit-making businesses.¹⁸

At the same time, social organizations such as Foundations, CRNEUs, and community service facilities have the potential to contribute to SSE if they are allowed to engage in income-generating activities. Furthermore, the current promotion of CSR activities could develop into a specific policy of nurturing social enterprises which could in turn contribute to the development of the SSE in the future. Some of these innovations, however, will require policy reform since the current regulations limit the working areas of social organizations to the non-profit sector.

Key policy challenges could be addressed to enable the social enterprise sector to expand and have the desired impact. Access to affordable finance remains a major hurdle as does the capacity to retain human capital. Unlike social enterprises in countries like the Republic of Korea, there is no specific law governing social enterprises. This, in turn, can constrain access to

¹⁵ Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, [Rural Banking in China](#) (2010).

¹⁶ World Bank, [The Reform of China's Rural Credit Unions](#) (2009).

¹⁷ Rebecca Lee, "[The Emergence of Social Enterprises in China: The Quest for Space and Legitimacy](#)", *Tsinghua China Law Review*, Vol. 2 No. 79 (2012): 81-99.

¹⁸ Yulei Zhang, "Feiyingli zhuzhi shichang hua yunzuo de guowai jingyan jiqi dui woguo de qishi." *Henan Shangye gaodeng zhuanke xuebao* (2007)

Box 4: Key legal and political reforms since the 1980s

- 1982 The current Constitution of the People’s Republic of China was adopted, promoting multiple forms of cooperatives in rural and urban areas.
- 1985 The Communist Party of China (CPC) and the State Council issue *Ten Policies to Invigorate the Rural Economy* which, inter alia, encouraged farmers to engage in exploratory businesses and called for the development and improvement of the rural cooperative system.
- 1987 *The Organic Law of Village Committees* of 1987 (fully adopted in 1998), set the rules and regulations under which the Chinese villagers may govern their villages as well as terms and conditions for village elections.
- 1991 The *Provisional Laws on Social Welfare Enterprises* promoted employment generation by hiring workers with disabilities through SWEs.
- 1993 Guidance by the Communist party designated Cooperative Shareholding Enterprises as a new enterprise type to advance ownership reform.
- 1995 The CPC Central Committee and the States Council issued the “Decision about Deepening Reform of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives”, which re-established the ACFSMC, promoted a new system of SMCs and developed logistical and other services to benefit farmers.
- 1998 *Regulations for Registration and Management of Social Organizations* specified that 50 or more Chinese citizens could associate freely to realize a shared objective, according to their rules, and engage in non-profit activities.

The *Provisional Regulations on the Registration and Management of Civilian-Run Non-Enterprise Units* authorized social organizations and enterprises using non-state-owned assets to engage in non-profit social service provision.
- 2002 The Ministry of Civil Affairs institutionalized neighbourhood-based communities within experimental zones for urban community construction.
- 2003 The State Council issued the Pilot Program for Deepening Rural *Credit Cooperative Reform* to fundamentally restructure RCCs.
- 2004 The *Regulation on Fund Organization Management* facilitated the establishment of different types of foundations.
- 2006 The China Banking Regulatory Commission (CBRC) authorized new financial institutions including rural mutual credit cooperatives and village and township banks.
- 2007 The Law of the People’s Republic of China on Specialized Farmers Cooperatives was implemented.
- 2016 The enactment of the Charity Law promoted social sector development via corporate and other forms of philanthropy.
- 2017 The Farmers’ Specialized Cooperatives Law was revised granting FSC’s equal legal status with other market entities, greater scope for diversifying production, the right to invest non-monetary assets such as land use rights, among other benefits.¹
- 2018 The Credit Cooperative Act of The Republic of China was adopted for the purposes of strengthening the sound operation of credit cooperatives, safeguarding the rights and interests of cooperative members and depositors, and coordinating with national financial policies.

¹ ICA-AP, *Cooperatives in China* (2019).

government support, finance and fiscal incentives such as tax relief.¹⁹

While such a development may favour economic sustainability it can, give rise to additional challenges in regards to democratic governance. For instance, as individuals with entrepreneurial capabilities and a stronger asset base play a more active role within FSCs, will the democratic principles underpinning cooperative development be respected?²⁰ And will skewed asset ownership, mergers and corporatization heighten inequalities within the cooperative field?

Whether or not such tensions are managed and mitigated depends not only on smart policy but also

whether bottom-up pressures shape the reform process and ensure that policy changes are aligned with the interests of farmers and other social or vulnerable groups that are the primary stakeholders in SSE. This, in turn, requires the formation of federated structures where autonomous associations representing members' interests can advocate and influence the policy process at local, provincial and national levels. The considerable efforts taking place to reform organizational practices and governance locally also need to be matched by changes at other levels of governance and representation.

► Acronyms

ACFSMC	All China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives	PHO	Partial hybrid organization
CRNEUs	Civilian-run non-enterprise units	RCC	Rural credit cooperative
FSC	Farmers' specialized cooperative	RMC	Rural mutual cooperative
GONGO	Government-organized non-governmental organization	SMC	Supply and marketing cooperative
ICA-AP	International Co-operative Alliance Asia-Pacific	SNU	Seoul National University
ILO	International Labour Organization	SSE	Social and solidarity economy
KoSEA	Korea Social Enterprise Promotion Agency	SSEOEs	Social and solidarity economy organizations and enterprises
NGO	Non-governmental organization	SWE	Social welfare enterprise

¹⁹ Nathan Hubbard-Miles, "The Shape of Social Enterprise in China", (British Council).

²⁰ Xiaoshan Zhang, "Challenges Facing the Development of Farmers' Specialized Cooperatives in China". In Bruno Roelants (ed.). *Cooperative Growth for the 21st Century*. (ICA/CICOPA 2013).

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