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EVALUATION REPORT



**UDF-CPR-11-447 - Empowering Vulnerable People through Internet:
E-Learning Initiative for Young Migrant Workers in China**

Date: 13 January 2016

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All photographs used in the report were provided by ICO.

Disclaimer

The views expressed in this report are those of the evaluators. They do not represent those of UNDEF or of any of the institutions referred to in the report.

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

(i) Project data

The project was managed and implemented by the ICO Institute for Social Agenda Limited in association with two implementing partners: the School of Humanities at Shenzhen Polytechnic College and the School of Journalism at Nanjing University of Finance and Economics. Ten CSOs were invited to join the project.

Implementation of the project began on 1 February 2013, and concluded, after an approved 3-month, no-cost extension, on 30 April 2015. It had a budget of \$225, 000, including \$25,000 for UNDEF evaluation purposes. The project focused on providing support to young migrant workers in the Pearl River Delta in Guangzhou, in SE China, and in the Yangtze River Delta, somewhat further north, also on the eastern seaboard. Project activities were managed from ICO offices in Shenzhen, a city of 3.6 million people in Guangdong Province in the Pearl River Delta, immediately north of Hong Kong, and in Nanjing, which has 7 million residents, situated inland in Jiangsu Province in the Yangtze River Delta.

The project focused on enhancing the awareness of their rights among young migrant workers, as well as the provision of other information and practical knowledge that might enable them to better protect themselves and improve their living and working conditions. It also sought to facilitate sharing of information among young migrant workers (YMWs) by encouraging and enabling them to build informal virtual networks.

(ii) Evaluation findings

Relevance: The project was directly relevant to UNDEF's priorities through its emphasis on enhancing the prospects for social inclusion of a marginalized group, young migrant workers (YMWs), in the industrial cities of China's eastern seaboard. It sought to provide them with the tools to facilitate mutual support and information-sharing within the group and to enable them to protect and assert their rights.

Weaknesses in project strategy, linked to unwarranted assumptions about the roles assigned to YMWs and the second key group in the project, university students, undermined the prospect of achieving the results set. The project was built around the contribution that social media and E-Learning, through the project web-site, might make to connecting workers to each other and a wider world of knowledge, ideas and practical possibilities, to help them to change their lives for the better.

Unfortunately, it was found that young workers were not familiar with computers, had limited access to them, and little time or inclination to work on E-Learning courses. Inexpensive smart phones are favoured by YMWs as their tool for communication. However, the phones are used for social purposes and entertainment and have limited capacity for downloading large files. This limited to a considerable degree the relevance of project strategy in this sphere.

Students at the two universities were to form support groups to assist the YMWs in using social media. However, most of the students involved lacked the level of interest and commitment required to enable them to engage in a sustained way with the young workers.

ICO, the grantee, assumed that, without providing any resources to them, its 10 CSO associates would be willing to take on a set of tasks concerning the facilitation of ongoing linkages between YMWs and students and providing support to the most active of the young workers trained by the project in helping to form workers' groups. The assumption was unrealistic, and nine of the 10 original CSO associates withdrew from the project.

Finally, the project was seriously affected by a dramatic change in the political environment which came in 2013 and 2014, following the selection of Xi Jinping as President of China. The extent of the change and of the new political controls which were introduced proved to be beyond anything which could have been anticipated. ICO had taken some careful steps to mitigate political risk in advance of beginning implementation, but these were only partly effective in dealing with the new conditions.

Effectiveness: As a result of the factors described above, the project was less effective than might have been expected in achieving the proposed outcomes. However, despite this, it was able to achieve some worthwhile results. Whatever its difficulties, the project stands out as a brave initiative to work at the edge of what was possible at a time of challenging political conditions and a government increasingly hostile to advocacy by civil society, as well as to human rights and cooperation with foreign partners.

The project met its targets in its large training program, with 1200 YMWs trained through 90 workshops. Of the trainees, 956 (540 men and 416 women) completed the 3-part program and received certificates of completion. Of these, 851 were from the Pearl River Delta and 105 from the Yangtze River Delta. The disparity in numbers between the two regions is accounted for by the greater political sensitivities and conservatism of government authorities in The Yangtze River Delta.

IOC selected 100 of the most active of the trainees as Focal Points, with the intention that they would become the coordinators and catalysts for local workers' groups, established with the assistance of the CSOs which hosted the training program. Led by the Focal Points, the group members would maintain contact and share ideas and information through social media. The student support groups, in coordination with the CSOs, would provide assistance. In practice, for the most part, the Focal Points did not become active, though they may have gained enhanced knowledge from the project which will serve them in the future. The student support groups did not materialize. The CSOs met during the evaluation did not receive guidelines to facilitate their role with either students or Focal Points

The project's web-site, intended as the hub of the E-Learning component, was of good quality and included a range of relevant and practical resources, presented in accessible language and style. There were also 20 E-Learning courses, designed for the YMW audience, accessible through the site, along with links to many other resources. The web-site was also expected to act as a hub to provide news and information to distribute to the trainees through social media. Unfortunately, for reasons noted above, these resources were little-used.

In the sphere of social media, ICO assisted the trainees in establishing micro-blog and instant messaging accounts with well-known service providers. A small number of the trainees, drawn from the ranks of the Focal Points, emerged as young labour leaders, playing important roles in organizing their colleagues to petition employers and local government on specific labour grievances, and, at times, mobilizing other YMWs to take part in strike or protest action. With the support of ICO and CSOs, members of this small group made effective use of social media, demonstrating how effective a tool it could be for sharing information and for informal organization.

However, for a large majority of those trained by the project, it appears that there was no change in their use of social media. The young workers who were interviewed for the evaluation, as well as the CSO representatives who worked with them, all expressed a preference for face-to-face communication as a means of building trust and solidarity.

The students who were involved were enrolled in optional, for credit, courses on communications and migrant worker issues. The academic coordinators were committed to the project and were well-informed about the situation of migrant workers and issues concerning labour rights. They collaborated with ICO in designing the courses, and students were exposed to a range of guest speakers, and also had the opportunity for discussion with YMWs. However, the initial enthusiasm of many students declined once they learned how much work was involved. While the more committed students had the chance to sit down on several occasions with YMWs, with meetings arranged by CSO hosts, the idea of the student support group did not translate into practice.

While some students gained valuable experience, many of those involved lacked the commitment to taking an active role in support of the YMWs. Further, the role assigned to the students in “assisting YMWs in using social media” was vague, and they lacked guidance on what to do and how to do it. In addition, the students, as well as the academic coordinators and the CSO representatives interviewed, all commented on the wide social gap between students and the young workers, which made communication difficult.

The project succeeded in meeting its targets in its final phase, including the development of 20 proposals and petitions by YMWs and CSOs working with them, concerning desired improvements in working and living conditions. Of these, eight described practical initiatives or small projects. Each of the eight was awarded a small grant to implement the plans proposed.

Overall, ICO was impressive in dealing with broad issues, but less so in translating concepts into practice. The project was unnecessarily vague in clarifying roles and responsibilities and in providing the guidance that participants needed to work together effectively.

Efficiency: The project tried to do too much with too many beneficiaries in too many locations. A more focused project would have been both more efficient and more effective. For the most part, project resources were deployed well in support of the project plan. However, in retrospect, given the limited success of the E-Learning and social media components, as well as the limited duration of the engagement that the project had with most YMW trainees, there are questions as to whether project resources were utilized in the most efficient way to support the designated beneficiaries.

Impact: Despite the weaknesses in methodology and the problems ICO faced during implementation, the project did make a modest contribution to the broader development objective addressed. It was able to draw attention to the potential value of social media in building and reinforcing connections within a highly mobile and scattered social group. The prominence of some of the Focal Points as young labour leaders also demonstrated that the project was effective in some cases, at least, in enhancing practical knowledge and skills, enabling them to work with others to bring about justice and better conditions for YMWs.

Sustainability: It is unlikely that project results will be sustained without investment in further activities. ICO remains strongly committed to continuing its work in the protection of labour rights. The extent to which that may be possible in the future, given tightening political controls, remains uncertain.

(iii) Conclusions

- The project was designed at a time when there seemed to be a more positive environment for internationally-funded projects which sought in a careful way to meet the needs of marginalized communities. However, the atmosphere in the country changed and tighter political controls interfered significantly with project implementation.
- Project objectives were directly relevant to a key objective of a democratic development or human rights agenda by supporting the social inclusion of a marginalized group – in this case, Young Migrant Workers (YMWs).
- In addition to facing unanticipated political difficulties, the project was also negatively impacted by problems arising from a number of what turned out to be unwarranted assumptions concerning the interests and level of commitment of both YMWs and students, the two core groups of participants in the project.
- Similarly, ICO assumed that its designated CSO associates would be willing partners without the provision of any funds to support them, except to cover the direct costs of training workshops. This assumption also proved problematic.
- The project components focussing on activities concerning the use by YMWs of social media and E-Learning did not produce the expected results. This was mainly through a lack of clarity on how social media and E-Learning would be used for information sharing and knowledge-building, and a lack of fit with the way YMWs communicated. YMWs were accustomed to using social media for social and entertainment purposes. Few of those involved in the project would give attention to utilizing their cheap smart phones to obtain and share information and ideas on labour rights and issues affecting the group.
- Aside from social media and E-Learning, a second major area for investment of project resources was training. In cooperation with CSOs, ICO succeeded in meeting its targets in delivering 90 workshops and training 1,200 YMWs.
- It was intended that the 100 Focal Points, selected from the most active training participants, would work closely with the CSOs and become the catalysts for the

formation of workers' groups. In practice, ICO was able to follow up with some of the 100, and some did succeed in building some workers' groups. In several cases, the Focal Points became prominent as leaders in labour actions and in organizing petitions concerning labour grievances.

- Students taking part in the project were expected to play an important supporting role in the project. Following completion an optional credit course to prepare them, they were to assist the young workers in making effective use of social media. In practice, the role was poorly-defined and students were unclear on what to do. The YMWs were also uncertain as to the assistance the students could provide. The CSOs, which were to host the meetings and help the students organize themselves into support groups also lacked guidance. In the end, the support groups did not appear.
- Although some students gained valuable experience, for most, the program had little impact. Many lacked a real commitment to the objectives of the project. The plan for students to build effective support relationships with YMWs through a blend of on-line and off-line engagement was unsuccessful.
- The project succeeded in achieving its targets for the final phase of the project, with a small number of Focal Points, together with CSOs, and with ICO advice, developing a set of 20 proposals and petitions concerning working and living conditions and specific labour grievances.
- ICO is to be commended for its dedication and commitment to an effort to work in a sphere where political risks were inevitable, and for its willingness to operate "on the edge" of what would be accepted by the authorities.
- It was good at developing broad and innovative concepts and ideas. It proved to be less successful in translating them into practice.
- The project tried to do too much, and resources were distributed across too many locations, with too many beneficiaries. Insufficient attention was given to clarifying roles and responsibilities, and in developing practical methodologies and guidelines to assist partners and beneficiaries to achieve the core results.
- While the project seems to have been able to enhance awareness of the YMWs of their entitlement to the protection of their rights, and, among student participants, of the circumstances of living and working of the YMWs, the benefits received by most of those who took part in the project were modest.
- Without additional investment and follow-up with beneficiaries, it is unlikely that project results will be sustained. For all that, the project did represent an important beginning in demonstrating the potential role of social media in building connections and bringing group members together for collective action.
- For the future, it may be wise for ICO to consider including a mix of government-supported (or government-approved) partners, along with independent CSOs, in its projects. It may also be advisable for it to consider cooperation with CSOs with a social

service orientation, injecting a rights-based agenda into a broader approach to meeting the needs of YMWs.

(iv) Recommendations

It is recommended that:

- ICO devote more time to clarifying roles and relationships and the character of partnerships required to build an effective project;
- In developing future projects, in consultation with its partners and associates, the ICO team ensures that detailed guidelines are developed to ensure that partners and beneficiaries have a road map on: what to do; how to do it; with whom; where; when; and, how frequently;
- In future projects, ICO concentrates its resources on a more compact design, with smaller numbers of beneficiaries in fewer locations, and providing continuing support to its partners and beneficiaries throughout the implementation period;
- For the future, ICO may wish to consider including a mix of government-supported (or government-approved) partners, along with independent CSOs in its projects. It is also recommended that it consider cooperation with CSOs and local agencies with a social service orientation, injecting a rights-based agenda into a broader approach to meeting the needs of YMWs;
- Where cooperation with universities is concerned, ICO consider concentrating on building links with law schools and social work departments, utilizing university-run legal clinics (or assisting in establishing them in communities where YMWs live) and social work internships or placements, as mechanisms for involving more committed students;
- Given the current political situation in China, UNDEF give careful consideration to assessing the feasibility of future projects in the country.

I. INTRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

i. The project and evaluation objectives

The project was implemented by the ICO Institute for Social Agenda Limited. The organization has a complicated structure. Because of delays in securing registration in China, the Institute is registered in Hong Kong as a charitable organization (documentation has been supplied to confirm this). The entity is owned by the Institute of Contemporary Observation (ICO), an NGO, founded in 2001 in Shenzhen, Guangdong Province, China. According to project documents, in the overall structure of ICO, there is a complete separation of the budgets and activities of the Institute for Social Agenda Limited and its parent organization. The focus of ICO is on the defence of labour rights and the promotion of social justice, with a particular focus on migrant workers. Through its commercial arm, it also provides a range of training programs to management and employees of major companies.

The project was managed and administered by ICO, the grantee, in partnership with two implementing partners: the School of Humanities at Shenzhen Polytechnic College and the School of Journalism at Nanjing University of Finance and Economics. Memoranda of Understanding were signed with each partner. Ten CSOs were invited to join the project.

Implementation of the project began on 1 February 2013, and concluded, after an approved 3-month, no-cost extension, on 30 April 2015. It had a budget of \$225, 000, including \$25,000 for UNDEF evaluation purposes. The project focused on providing support to young migrant workers in the Pearl River Delta in Guangzhou, in SE China, and in the Yangtze River Delta, somewhat further north, also on the eastern seaboard. Project activities were managed from ICO offices in the city of Shenzhen, a city of 3.6 million people in Guangdong in the Pearl River Delta, immediately north of Hong Kong, and in Nanjing, which has 7 million residents, situated inland in Jiangsu Province in the Yangtze River Delta.

The project focused on enhancing the awareness of their rights among young migrant workers, as well as the provision of other information and practical knowledge that might enable them to better protect themselves and improve their living and working conditions. It also sought to facilitate sharing of information among young migrant workers (YMWs) by encouraging and enabling them to build informal virtual networks.

This evaluation belongs to a larger set of evaluations of UNDEF-funded projects from Rounds 2, 3 and 4. The purpose of these evaluations is to “contribute to a better understanding of what constitutes a successful project, which will in turn help UNDEF to develop future project strategies. Evaluations are also to assist stakeholders to determine whether projects have been implemented in accordance with the project document and whether anticipated project outputs have been achieved”.¹

ii. Evaluation methodology

Planning for the overall evaluation and the field mission to Shenzhen and Nanjing in China followed on from an initial plan developed by the international consultant, based on a preliminary

¹ See: Operational Manual for the UNDEF-funded project evaluations, page 6

review of project documents, and through initial exchanges with the grantee, prior to the recruitment of the national consultants. The plan was then refined, and details of the mission elaborated, through discussions between the international and national consultants by email and through detailed exchanges between the national consultants and the grantee. Final plans and logistical details were confirmed by the consultants in an initial meeting in Shenzhen on Sunday, 11 October.

The field mission proper took place between October 12 and 16, 2015. In order to meet a wide and representative range of project participants and stakeholders, it was agreed that the evaluation team would spend the first two full days in conducting interviews in Shenzhen and its vicinity, starting with a full morning devoted to an overview discussion with the Executive Director, who was also the Project Director, and his team at ICO. Visits were then made to Shenzhen Polytechnic, as well as to labour CSOs in the industrial zones surrounding the city. Wednesday was devoted to travel, and on Thursday and Friday, meetings were held with the two university partners in Nanjing. The evaluators also held a summing-up session and met with Dr. Liu, the Project Director (who had also travelled to Nanjing) on Thursday evening.

Efforts to organize meetings with CSOs (and workers) in Nanjing or Suzhou, also in the Yangtze Delta, were unsuccessful, despite the best efforts of ICO and the evaluation team. The project's objective of engaging students in Nanjing in providing support to workers has not been successful, for reasons discussed below. Hence, no meetings with students were held during the evaluators' visit to Nanjing.

It was a disappointment that ICO was able to arrange for the evaluators to meet only a few workers and students. Part of the reason for this was the increased political sensitivity of activities concerning workers' rights and education, as well as the increasing attention the government is giving to internationally-funded projects.

As for many UNDEF projects - and quite understandably - very little of the project's documentation is available in English. This makes interviews and small group discussions the central source of evaluation data. Core project documents were well-written and complete. In addition, ICO had also prepared a special report on the project in Chinese and English, which provided additional information. One of the national consultants also made a quick review of the web-site established by ICO to provide support to the workers involved in the project. A viewing of photographs provided by the grantee on project activities was helpful, not only in providing a source of illustrations for this report, but also in offering the evaluators a glimpse of the range, character and gender of participants involved in project activities

Key stakeholders and beneficiaries interviewed included the following:

- Members of the ICO Project Team;
- Representatives of the three universities involved in the project; those interviewed were the coordinators of the project, who cooperated most closely with ICO, and supervised student involvement;
- Representatives of labour CSOs, as well as volunteers and staff members, who participated in the project;
- Students from Shenzhen Polytechnic; and,
- Worker participants associated with the CSOs visited.

iii. Development context

One of the foundations of China's extraordinary economic growth in the post-1978 era has been the ability of state and private firms in the manufacturing and construction sectors to draw on an apparently limitless supply of cheap labour drawn from the rural areas of the interior. In 2014, according to official statistics there were 274 million "rural workers" working in China's cities, comprising 36 per cent of the country's labour force. As is noted in the Problem Analysis included in the Project Document, 43 per cent of migrants work in the cities of the Pearl River and Yangtze River Deltas.



China: The Target Regions for the Project

The majority of migrants are employed in manufacturing and construction, with smaller, though increasing, numbers in the service sector.² In the past few years the balance of supply and demand has changed, with fewer rural residents choosing to move to work in the cities. With companies, including international conglomerates, seeking to continue to expand, the growing demand for labour has pushed wages up. However,

hours of work and working conditions remain difficult, and migrants have little job security, few recognized rights, and little in the way of protection through a social safety net. Lax health and safety regulations have also led to high levels of industrial accidents and deaths.

With the diminishing supply of labour, workers have found that they now possess greater leverage over their employers in negotiating for improved wages, working conditions and compensation for injury and disability claims. However, efforts to use the courts to obtain justice have been largely unsuccessful. Reflecting its concern to oppose the establishment of organizations independent of state control, from the early days of Communist Party rule, the government has outlawed the development of independent labour unions, or other workers' associations.

Recent years have witnessed mounting labour unrest. According to China's Academy of Social Sciences, there has been a rapid increase in the number of major disputes involving more than 100 workers, from 23 in 2007 to 209 in 2012.³ Central, provincial and local governments have been particularly concerned to allay the fears of major investors that China can no longer provide secure and stable conditions for production. Not surprisingly, attempts by workers to

² See *China Labour Bulletin*, 2014.

³ See: Tom Mitchell, "End of China's Migrant Miracle – Toil and Trouble", *Financial Times (FT.com)*, 7 June, 2015.

organize and lobby employers have met with strong resistance from local government and the Public Security Bureau (police). The authorities have been particularly vigilant in monitoring and preventing labour disruptions in factories and worksites served by migrant workers.

The ICO project with UNDEF was designed and submitted in 2012 under what were perceived to be improving conditions. There were positive signals, or, at least, there were no negative signals, from local government officials. In order to avoid future problems, ICO had shared the project document with the Public Security Bureaus, and discussed project plans with officials. Yet, as the project began implementation, the situation changed rapidly. The problems were not unique to the UNDEF project, but reflected those facing other organizations and individuals seeking to support advocacy for enhancing rights of vulnerable groups, including migrant workers.

The changed atmosphere and “the cold wind” that came from Beijing were experienced by those in a number of sectors where independent thinking might be found. During 2013 and 2014, the Ministry of Education issued directives to universities that certain topics were no longer to be mentioned or discussed during classes. These included “universal values”, “constitutionalism”, “civil society”, “freedom of the press”, and “mistakes of the Party”.⁴ Internal Party documents issued in 2013 and 2014 denounced the pernicious influence of “universal values” and indicated the Party’s firm opposition to western concepts of freedom, democracy and human rights.

“Constitutionalism” is seen as undermining the supremacy of the Party and the legitimacy of China’s system of governance. “Civil society” is viewed as a means through which to challenge the Party’s power at local level and a disguised form of political opposition to the state, while undermining its “social foundations.” In addition to facing restrictions on what may be said in lectures and classes, university faculties are now being guided by the Party in reviewing all text books in order to purge them of “foreign ideas”. Links involving students in meetings with outside groups, or invitations to external experts to speak on campus on what were now viewed as sensitive topics, were now viewed with suspicion.

From the mid-1990s, and prior to March 2013, there had been signs of a gradual opening of the regime, particularly at local level, to various aspects of low-key political reform. This provided opportunities and justification for international donors and other international organizations to develop cooperative programming with Chinese partners in democratic governance, as well as dialogue on human rights. Independent civil society organizations, mainly in social service provision, had been permitted to operate at local level. All of these positive developments were halted in the spring of 2013.

Since the ascendancy of President Xi in March 2013, there has been a harsh crackdown by Public Security (police) forces against human rights lawyers, activists, media outlets and independent thinkers, all of whom are described as standing against the “mass line” espoused by the Party. Many CSOs have been closed down, while a number of individuals viewed as labour leaders, as well as defence lawyers involved in trials of those detained by police for labour or human rights activities, along with journalists and bloggers reporting on such developments, have been arrested. Advocacy organizations for women’s rights, as well as legal

⁴ Subsequently, cameras and microphones have been installed in the classrooms and lecture halls of many universities to allow for monitoring of what is presented and/or discussed in classes. Communist Youth League members are assigned to attend lectures and other classes and report on what takes place.

aid organizations, have met with the same treatment.⁵ In addition, paralleling developments in Russia in recent years, new legislation has been adopted to restrict opportunities for Chinese civil society organizations to receive funding from international organizations.⁶

⁵ See: *NGO Monitor: China*, 28 September 2015 (published by the International Center for Non-Profit Law (ICNL), and “Mass Crackdown on Chinese Lawyers and Defenders”, *Human Rights in China (HRIC)*, updated 16 November, 2015.

⁶ Specifically, see: “CDB English Translation of the Overseas NGO management Law (2nd Draft)”, *China Development Brief*, 8 May, 2015. More generally, on recent political developments in China under Xi Jinping, see, for example: “The Guardian View on China Under Xi Jinping: It Prefers Control to Reform”, Editorial, *The Guardian*, 10 August, 2015; Sebastian Veg, “China’s Political Spectrum under Xi Jinping”, *The Diplomat*, 11 August, 2014; “Does Xi Jinping Represent a Return to the Mao Era?”, *A China File Presents Transcript (Panel Discussion)*, *China File* (Asia Society), 6 May, 2015.

II. PROJECT STRATEGY

i. Project strategy and approach

Government reports indicate that most migrant workers move to the cities when they are around 17 years of age, and it is the younger workers who feel most isolated and who face the greatest difficulties in integrating into a harsh urban environment. Hence, the focus of the project was on this target group. The emphasis on social media and the internet was intended to address the problem of maintaining connections in the context of high mobility rates of young migrants. This resulted from their need to move from job to job, because of short-term or part-time employment, or of the need to move in search of a living wage. This, in turn, made it difficult for them to maintain wider contacts. It was also a response to an opportunity, given the high rate of “smart phone” use among younger age groups in China, where phones are inexpensive and fees for air time are relatively low.

The project sought to use social media and internet-based training as a means to enhance networking among young migrants on issues concerning their rights as employees and the benefits to which they are entitled. By building their knowledge on such topics, it aimed to empower young migrants, enabling them to build a virtual community and a sense of a shared fate, thus facilitating their ability to seek answers and solutions to their concerns. It also sought to help YMWs build and benefit from connections with the wider society.

The project’s broad objective was the empowerment of migrant youth and the protection of their human rights. Specifically, it aimed to empower (and to network) young migrant workers in the 16-24 age group through utilization of the internet and social media. In this way, the project intended to build up the capacity and knowledge of young migrant workers (YMWs) through internet-based learning. ICO had previously conducted a small pilot study with 100 young migrant workers (2011) on the feasibility of organizing a project of this kind.

The project was delivered by the Implementing Agency in cooperation with two Implementing Partners, both universities – one in Shenzhen in Guangzhou Province and one in Nanjing in Jiangsu (later a second university in Nanjing replaced the first). It pursued three outcomes:

Outcome 1: Increased awareness among YMWs of their rights, and their improved ability to articulate their concerns in a more focused way;

Outcome 2: Establishment of networking mechanisms among YMWs and of effective support through the participation of youth supporters and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs);

Outcome 3: Proposals prepared and actions taken by YMWs to promote their rights are implemented by themselves and by external parties (i.e. employers, government offices, NGOs and professionals).

The project’s intended direct beneficiaries were:

- 1,000 selected active young migrants who participated in training workshops. It was intended that the members of this group would become leaders, capable of extending their network among YMWs and facilitating solutions to their needs for learning. In so

doing, they would build a constituency to share concerns and draw public and employers' attention to their priority needs.

- 200 young supporters studying at two partner universities who would take part in support groups; and,
- 10 local CSOs, invited to join the project.

Key outputs and activities included the following:

Outcome 1:

- Provision of E-Learning Courses;
- Capacity Development Training Courses (face-to-face) for YMWs;
- Selection of 100 of the 1,000 trainees to be focal points for others;
- University visits of YMWs to break down barriers between the young migrants and the students in support groups;

Outcome 2:

- Capacity Development Workshops for 200 Youth Supporters, who would be organized into Teams;
- Capacity Development Workshops for 10 CSOs;
- Study Tours for 200 Students to Visit YMW Communities and their Workplaces;
- Development of a YMW Network Based on Social Media, with the 100 Focal Points, supported by the Youth Support Teams, as the core of the Network;
- Organization of YMW Groups in Workplaces or Migrant Communities;
- Establishment of Support Mechanisms, with 10 support teams, each involving 20 students and one CSO, and with each team supporting 10 YMW Focal Points.

Outcome 3:

- Holding of E-Discussions, facilitated by the Support Teams and Focal Points. It was expected that topics might include: working conditions and occupational health and safety; social insurance; health care; equal rights to education for migrants and their children; protection of female migrants; career development; and, political issues. It was intended that each discussion would last for 1-2 months. It was hoped that journalists, lawyers and academics would take part and publicize the discussions in the mass media;
- Formulation of a series of Proposals and Actions to improve YMWs' Living and Working Conditions. The proposals would be developed through E-Discussions, network meetings and training sessions. They would then be brought to the attention of employers and policy-makers;
- Setting-up of a Data-Base of Legal Actions and Lawsuits to Protect Labour rights and Human rights;
- Holding of a Final Conference to Summarize Learning and Results. The Conference would involve 20 Focal Points, 10 Student Representatives (1 for each Support Team), 4 Student Supervisors and 10 CSO Representatives, along with 50 other participants (donors, journalists, government officials, labour union representatives and academics).

The Project Document presented a design which was clearly based on a good deal of careful thought and analysis. Although the emphasis on E-learning and virtual networking was new for the grantee, as is documented in its 2011 Annual Report, the organization has considerable experience in designing and implementing training programs for managers and workers of a range of major companies in the cities of the Pearl River Delta region. However, as will be discussed below, a number of critical assumptions about the principal participants, workers and students, proved to be unwarranted,

As a basis for preparation of the project's results framework, the grantee collected and utilized detailed baseline data, including information drawn from a needs assessment survey of YMWs. This enabled it to develop a set of measurable indicators for each outcome. A number of provisions were made for support to women and their active involvement in the project. Given the high percentage of women, particularly among migrant workers in assembly operations and the clothing trades, as well as office work, it seemed unlikely that this would present major difficulties.

The grantee included a short section on ***Risk and Risk Mitigation Strategy*** in the Project Document, which, at first, appears comprehensive in scope. Yet it is apparent that the project team seriously underestimated a number of the most critical risks, many of which arose from quite unexpected developments, linked to the broader political trends, described above, while others were more mundane.

The project had been carefully designed to fit within the bounds of what was thought to politically acceptable in 2012, though it was understood that there were political risks. With this in mind, Dr. Liu had provided a copy of the Project Document to the Municipal Public Security Bureau in Shenzhen, and had explained the project's activities to them.

Despite these efforts at risk mitigation, under the changed circumstances of 2013 and 2014, the project now became potentially vulnerable for a number of reasons:

- for its focus on workers' networking and building awareness of their rights;
- because of its focus on migrant workers at a time of growing labour unrest and strikes at factories owned by companies in the export industries concentrated in the Pearl River Delta, which depend on migrant labour;
- for the effort to bring students and workers together (a taboo since the Tiananmen crisis in 1989);
- because funding to partners was received from an international organization, with funds channelled through Hong Kong; and,
- the fact that the project leader was Dr. Liu, well-known for his work on behalf of workers, and as a supporter of the students at Tiananmen Square in 1989, and who was now being monitored by Public Security.

These factors caused significant problems for the project and interfered with most project activities, as will be discussed below.

ii. Logical framework

The chart is based on detailed information included in the project's framework, as set out in the Project Document, adjusted to take into account results and activities as set out in as the final report. There are some gaps in the indicator list, where activities are not directly linked to results.

Project Activities & Interventions	Intended outcomes	Key indicators (target)	Development Objectives
<p>Conduct study on needs of YMWs and analysis of data.</p> <p>Establishment of web-site and design and deliver E-learning courses; Design, organization and delivery of 90 capacity development (CD) training courses for 1,000 YMWs (3 modules, each delivered 3 times).</p>	<p>Increased awareness among YMWs of their rights, and their improved ability to articulate their concerns in a more focused way</p>	<p>80% of YMWs completing E-Learning (1 module) show improved understanding of their rights (post-learning survey)</p> <p>80 % (800) of YMWs trained have advocacy skills (post-learning survey)</p>	
<p>Design, organization and delivery of 8 CD workshops for youth (student) supporters (200 students in 2 universities); Study tours for 200 students to visit workplace communities & take part in YMW training; Design, organization & delivery of 10 CD workshops for CSOs (200 attendees); YMW network, based on social media, established; YMWs organize workers' groups in their communities; Formation of 10 support groups through the 2 partner organizations (universities)</p>	<p>Establishment of networking mechanisms among YMWs, and of effective support through the participation of youth supporters and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)</p>	<p>10 support groups (5 in Pearl River Delta & 5 in Yangtze River Delta created, with 20 students/group) & 10 CSOs, forming 10 support groups</p> <p>50,000 YMWs join the social media network, including 100 "focal points" & 900 trained YMWs</p>	<p>To empower migrant youth and the protection of their human rights. Specifically, to empower (and to network) young migrant workers in the 16-24 age group through utilization of the internet and social media</p>
<p>Facilitation of E-Discussions on key topics of concern</p> <p>Solicitation through the network Of 20 proposals on actions to improve YMWs' living & working conditions</p> <p>Design & set-up of data-base of legal actions & lawsuits to protect labor rights and human rights of YMWs</p>	<p>Proposals prepared and actions taken by YMWs to promote their rights are implemented by themselves and by external parties (i.e. employers, government offices, NGOs and professionals).</p>	<p>20 proposals formulated by YMWs, of which 50% are adopted and implemented by relevant bodies</p> <p>5,000 cases from the 2 target areas are collected by implementing agency & implementing partners</p>	
<p>Organization & holding of Final Conference to present the findings of the project</p>			

III. EVALUATION FINDINGS

The evaluation is based on a framework reflecting a core set of evaluation questions formulated to meet the evaluation criteria of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The questions and sub-questions are listed in Annex 1 of this document.



Group Photo of YMWs at Training Workshop, Shenzhen, 24 November, 2013

i. Relevance

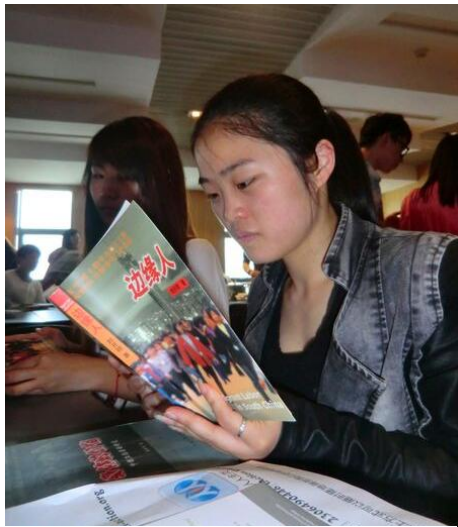
The project sought to find a methodology through which to increase awareness of their rights among young migrant workers (YMWs), a large and particularly vulnerable group at the base of the urban socio-economic hierarchy. Secondly, it sought to provide them with training and educational opportunities to enable them to act on the basis of their needs and interests, and, perhaps, improve their job prospects. Thirdly, it aimed to facilitate the development of sustainable networks to enable YMWs to communicate among themselves and to share information, experiences and ideas.

In broad terms, the project's objectives were directly relevant to strengthening social inclusion of a marginalized group, providing its members with tools to enable them to support each other in claiming their rights and improving their livelihoods in a context where their needs are often ignored. Yet, at a practical level, there were significant limitations to the value of the strategy adopted by ICO, the grantee, in its efforts to support YMWs. These limitations would have affected the project, regardless of the political difficulties it was to face.

Three of the problems encountered, which arose from mistaken assumptions about three of the principal set of participants in the project, were rather basic, suggesting gaps in the initial needs analysis and feasibility assessment conducted by the project team. The first concerned the primary beneficiaries, the YMWs, and a lack of fit between the character of planned project activities and their way-of-life. It was discovered that they had limited time availability and an unpredictable schedule of working hours. Given what is widely known about the conditions of work and living of migrant workers, this should not have been a surprise. Further, there was a problem in the viability of the project's emphasis on internet-based E-learning, since YMWs do not have the time, opportunity or custom, of accessing the internet for learning purposes. This led to the ineffectiveness, or limited value, of some major components of the project, and some changes in project delivery plans for others.

A second problem arose from the limited interest and commitment by students, who were to have constituted the core of the Support Groups. This contributed substantially to the failure of the project to establish Support Groups, which were expected to involve students, with CSO support.

The third basic problem, which might have been addressed in the initial planning of the project, concerned the CSOs. All but one of the ten organizations initially selected proved to be unwilling to take part –mainly because no resources were made available to support their involvement. Once again, this is not surprising, given the scarcity of funding support for labour or other advocacy CSOs in China. A number of the labour CSOs which were involved were subsequently closed down by Public Security, but this is a separate issue.



Young women workers at training session in Dongguan in the Pearl River Delta on 30 June, 2013

ICO was caught out by the rapidity of social and technological change which made internet cafes redundant as a site for social communication, based on computer-based email and file or photo exchange, among YMWs. The project vision was of YMWs sitting in neighbourhood cafes, taking part in substantive discussions through micro-blogs and chat groups, and taking part in E-learning courses, uploaded to the project web-site. By the time of the project's inception, inexpensive "smart phones" had become the vehicle of choice for communication among group members. Internet cafes were going out of business because of dwindling numbers of customers, or because of actions by Public Security to close them down. Further, the project team failed to recognize that few YMWs were comfortable in using computers, and that they also lacked the time, opportunity or inclination to sit at computers and devote (often short) evenings or Sundays to taking E-Learning courses.

The other risks noted above, associated, respectively, with student participation and CSO partnership, seem to have come as a surprise, suggesting some unwarranted assumptions about the depth of motivation for participation on the part of a majority of students, as well as a failure to appreciate the widening social gap between YMWs and students which would make it difficult for the two groups to relate to each other. There was also the absence of recognition that the uncertain financial circumstances of CSOs focusing on labour and human rights would have an impact on their ability and willingness to play the role assigned to them. In these two areas, a thorough feasibility assessment and consultation process at the time of project's design would surely have led to some changes in initial plans.

As to political risk, it was understood from the outset that, simply by virtue of its subject matter, and through the participation of YMWs, the project would be at risk of drawing critical attention from the authorities. Since, under current conditions, any project dealing with themes consistent with the UNDEF mandate would be likely to draw the attention of Chinese authorities, there was little that could be done to mitigate political risk beyond the steps taken by Dr. Liu, the ICO Executive Director, in advising Public Security of project plans, and in pointing out that the project focused on protection of workers' rights, not on organizing a union.

All project principals understood that there might be some risks, but out of respect for Dr. Liu and his own commitment and courage, they were prepared to go ahead –at least, at the beginning. One further way in which Dr. Liu sought to reduce risk was to cooperate with partner organizations where he had well-established connections, and where he had already established trust with the key individuals who would play a leading role in the project. In the end, the project team was unable to push back against the broader forces of political control, although it did its best to find ways to adjust the project and continue on a more modest basis in the face of adversity.

ii. Effectiveness

Despite limitations to the effectiveness of the project in achieving planned results, all those interviewed affirmed and admired the level of commitment to workers' rights demonstrated by ICO in undertaking a bold initiative, which was likely to be contentious in the view of the government authorities. The Difficulties arising from the political factors and the problematic assumptions about YMWS and students, discussed above, had an impact on all three outcomes. However, in each of the three spheres of activity, the project was able to achieve some worthwhile results, while also making a contribution to achieving the broader objective, within the limitations of the current political environment.

Outcome 1: *Increased awareness among YMWs of their rights, and their improved ability to articulate their concerns in a more focused way:* Implementation of the project under all the outcomes was informed by the findings of a survey conducted by ICO and its CSO partners during 2013. Completion of The survey also constituted the first major output under Outcome 1. ICO took advantage of its commercial training and factory audit activities on behalf of companies at industrial centres in both the Pearl River and Yangtze River Deltas. Additional interviews were conducted on an ad hoc basis on the street in migrant worker communities in Shenzhen and Nanjing, and by CSOs in their regular meetings with YMWs. While not a random sample by social science standards, the number of completed questionnaires which were subsequently validated (836 of 944) was sufficiently large for the findings to provide a valuable source of information on the circumstances and concerns of the target group. For all this, it is clear that there were gaps in survey design, since the project faced unexpected challenges in the willingness and ability of the trained YMWs to utilize social media and the internet in the ways anticipated in the project plan.

The first project activities influenced by the survey were those relating to **E-Learning and communications**. ICO succeeded in establishing a comprehensive web-site (i-action.org), which was to serve as a base and reference point for this sphere of project work. The national consultants have reviewed the web-site and found it to be well-designed, stocked with a range of relevant and practical resources presented in easy-to-understand language and accessible formats. In addition, throughout the life of the project, multi-media, online courses were uploaded to the site. By the end of the project, 20 had been developed by ICO specifically for YMWs, with English and career development courses were found to be the most popular; other courses developed included some focusing on computer skills and fitness. The site (which continues in operation) also provides access to nearly 300 other courses.

However, as noted above, the E-Learning component ran into major difficulties. Most YMWs are unable to make use of the site, because of the limited time available for learning, because of the limited capabilities of the cheap smart phones in use, as well as their unfamiliarity with many of

the features of their phones, and because of a lack of fit with the way YMWs use their leisure time. Many interviewees agree that young workers are interested in learning to improve their future prospects. However, in practice, time limitations make it difficult for them to follow up. One CSO representative interviewed commented that many of the workers who participated in the ICO training were keenly interested in taking advantage of the English-language course offered, and several registered and began the course. However, as they came to realize how difficult it was, how much time it would take, as well as the ongoing need to access a computer, their interest rapidly waned and they did not continue.

The web-site has been used by the worker Focal Points as a key resource. Yet, it did not work as intended as a “self-help resource” for YMWs in general. For a minority, the web-site and E-learning materials were, and are, valuable. Yet, it must be concluded that the E-learning component of the project, despite the resources invested in it, did not play the part in the project intended for it.

With the limited effectiveness of E-Learning as a tool, the project team gave increasing attention to social media as a vehicle for the transfer of knowledge and information. This was somewhat more effective, with micro-blog (“*Sina Weibo*”) accounts and “*WeChat*” public accounts established. Posts on current issues and news items relating to workers’ rights were uploaded to the WeChat account by ICO, with some student support. These proved most popular with the worker Focal Points and participating students.

Despite the popularity of social media as a means of communication for social purposes and entertainment among YMWs, it proved difficult to convince them to focus on more serious matters. Hence, the investment in social media proved less effective than expected. It was apparent to ICO and the CSOs involved that YMWs become seriously concerned about their rights and related issues only when they, or their friends, are personally affected. Hence, the concept of social media as a mechanism for sharing information and knowledge among workers’ groups seems to have been put into practice by and for only a small minority of the worker Focal Points.

Perhaps surprisingly because of their limited leisure time, the workers interviewed for the evaluation emphasized their strong preference for face-to-face contacts and activities in order to build familiarity, trust and solidarity with other members of the group. They viewed on-line communications as ineffective, except where they complement pre-existing off-line (in-person) connections.

An example of how social media can complement off-line activities was provided in the course of a long interview with the Director of a small labour CSO in Longhua, an industrial district outside Shenzhen. There was a major labour dispute underway in the area, and, after workers brought together in the district has completed the training program provided by ICO, there was broad recognition of the way local developments reflected what had been learned from Dr. Liu and his colleagues. Consequently, a number of those involved formed *WeChat* groups and set up microblog accounts. At the beginning of the labour struggle, the mainstream media was silent on the events taking place. However, workers used social media to speak out on the situation and their demands for justice. This made a difference in that the mainstream media now began to cover the story.

While this account provides a positive example of the potential role of social media, the broader picture concerning awareness of labour rights, is less encouraging for ICO and its partner CSOs. Where workers only express an interest in their rights when they themselves are affected directly, it is clear that the work on building the awareness of their rights among YMWs is at a very early stage.

After E-Learning, the other principal means by which the project sought to raise workers' awareness was **face-to-face training**. In terms of quantitative targets, in this area, the project met its aggregate goal, delivering 90 separate workshops, with 851 trainees completing the 3-part program and receiving certificates in the Pearl River Delta and 105 in the Yangtze River Delta. Several hundred others attended at least one of the workshops. Of those who received certificates, 540 were men and 416 were women. It will be noted that there was an imbalance between the numbers trained in the two regions of focus for the project. The drastically lower number in the Yangtze River Delta, served by the project's Nanjing office, were the result of greater political sensitivity in the region's cities, along with local governments which were more conservative, and the absence of a critical mass of labour CSOs.

For the most part, the workshops were organized in cooperation with the local CSO partners. There were three elements of the training, each of which was addressed through a separate module, intended for delivery by the ICO core team over a 6-hour period in one day. The first focused on how to access the internet as a means to pursue career development and the ways in which YMWs can improve their future prospects through self-instruction using E-Learning tools. The second provided instruction on how to use social media, and how to write stories to provide content for micro-blogs. The third focused on: legal knowledge and labour law; how to use the information on labour rights through the internet to protect their rights; consideration of recent cases involving workers and the law, as well as an examination of situations where workers had engaged in collective action; and, how to network.

Following the training, ICO selected 100 of those who had been most active and engaged as **Focal Points**; more than 50 per cent of those selected were women. However, in practice, it was found that the level of subsequent activity among the 100 was lower among the women. Most of women selected were employed in office or administrative work, with more education than female assembly plant workers, or regular workers in the garment factories, but also working longer hours in many cases.

Initially, the ICO team maintained close contacts with the Focal Points, encouraged them to take an active role on social media and assisted them with their posts. None of the three CSOs with whom the evaluation team met had any knowledge of this aspect of the project. This is puzzling, since it was the role of the CSOs to provide leadership in providing support to this group. More consideration will be given to the role of CSOs below.

While some workers' groups formed in the course of the project remained engaged, for the most part, it is apparent that the Focal Point program did not fully materialize and that few workers' groups were formed and maintained. More broadly, according to the CSO teams interviewed, as with E-Learning, many workers expressed a strong interest in the topics and ideas raised during the training. Yet, in the absence of follow-up, the interest was not sustained.⁷

⁷ Apparently, some labour CSOs (for example, the Yulian Bookstore for Migrant Workers in Longgang District, outside Shenzhen) organize and moderate their own social media groups, with support provided by worker volunteers. The group organized by Yulian reportedly has 200-300 members.

A third component of activities covered under the first outcome concerned visits of YMWs to the partner universities. In practice, this aspect of the program was abandoned half-way through, as a result of the intervention of the Party Committees and security departments of the two original partner universities (Shenzhen Polytechnic and Nanjing University of Economics and Finance). One small-scale visit did take place at Shenzhen Polytechnic in December 2013, with 16 workers meeting with 13 students. All those involved had been involved in the project's E-Learning activities. Nanjing University joined the project in 2014, when its local peer institution was obliged to withdraw (this will be discussed in more detail below). It organized a dialogue between 12 visiting YMWs from Zhejiang Province and 45 students in March of that year. The relevance and effectiveness of this set of activities will be reviewed below in the context of the role of students in the project and the relationship between YMWs and students.

Two indicators were set for outcome 1 (see Logical Framework above). ICO was unable to report on either since it had no means of verification. There is no data available on numbers of YMWs completing E-Learning modules, or on the difference it made. Based on anecdotal evidence obtained in the course of the evaluation, it is clear that while some of those trained, particularly some of the 100 selected as Focal Points and other trainees (see discussion under Outcomes 2 and 3), had an enhanced understanding of their rights, and had honed their advocacy skills, the impact on the majority was very modest.

Outcome 2: *Establishment of networking mechanisms among YMWs, and of effective support through the participation of youth supporters and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs):* The project facilitated the involvement of students through the signing of partnership agreements with two universities: Shenzhen Polytechnic (SP) and its School of Humanities and the Nanjing University of Finance and Economics (NUFE), through the Department of Journalism. Later, the second university was obliged to withdraw, and, in 2014, was replaced by Nanjing University and its Department of Social Work and Social Policy.

At both SP and NUFÉ students were invited to apply to take part in an optional (for credit) course. In both cases, there was an enthusiastic response with a healthy initial enrolment (100 at SP and 80 at NUFÉ), but numbers dropped off significantly once it was learned how much work would be required. According to SP students interviewed, classes sometimes stretched over an entire day, from 8.00 AM to 8.00 PM, sometimes on weekends.

The course at SP was more elaborate, with 10 major sessions involving, first, the ICO team, and then visits from outside legal specialists, migrant worker organizations, managers from FOXCONN (the world's largest electronics contract manufacturing company, based in Taiwan) which employs large numbers of YMWs. At **NUFE**, there were six sessions during 2013. In addition, students were organized into groups (initially of 20), with a vague mandate to contact YMWs and teach them about social media.



Students training on the E-Learning & Social Media initiatives with Dr. Liu Kaiming at Nanjing University of Finance and Economics, 27 March, 2013

As noted above, there was one field visit by students from NUFE with YMWs, arranged by Dr. Liu and ICO, in Suzhou, where 40 students met with 60 YMWs, to discuss one-on-one, or in small groups, how to use social media. There was one other meeting with YMWs, but, by the end of the university's involvement with the project, students had shown that they lacked a strong commitment to pursuing the role defined for them by the

project. Partly because of this, as well as the vagueness of the role assigned to them, and inadequate preparation for both students and workers in building a foundation for collaboration, there had been no success in establishing connections between students and workers.

The university's involvement with the project ended in May 2014, following pressure from the university administration and the security department to bring to end meetings between students and workers. However, ten students from the Journalism Department were sufficiently keen on the project to join with the group that was subsequently formed at Nanjing University's Department of Social Work and Social Policy.

At **SP**, the students seem to have learned a great deal about the experience of migrant worker life. Around 30 students became thoroughly engaged and met frequently. Once the training was completed, the students who remained involved pursued two lines of activity: to work with CSO partners in support groups to assist workers groups with effective use of social media, and, secondly, to assist ICO with running the web-site dedicated to YMWs. Some students also attended the training sessions for YMWs. Because of external pressures (as at NUFE) which began to be felt in 2014, and it then became more difficult for students to take part in group activities.

In the end, despite the strong interest of some students, there was very little direct and ongoing contact with YMWs. Students interviewed indicated that they had met with YMWs outside class on only 3 or 4 occasions. They also commented that when they visited CSOs to meet with YMWs, they did not really know what to do. It was also clear to the students involved that the YMWs were also not sure about how the students could help them. This brought disappointment and diminishing motivation on the student side. Further, in the later part of the academic year meeting the demands of their regular course-load took priority.

Students from **NU** joined the project in 2014, at the invitation of Dr. Liu. There was only one preparatory session, and no special course as at the other two universities. However, in this

case, the students, who came from the Master's Degree Program in Social Work and Social Policy, were more experienced and had professional interests more in line with the objectives of the project. They worked closely with *Little Fish*, a labour NGO in Yongkang⁸, in Zhejiang Province (the organization was later closed down by Public Security). Students met with YMWs and followed up, both on-line and off-line.



Students hosting a group of Young Migrant Workers visiting Shenzhen Polytechnic in 2013

Ultimately, in the view of the coordinator for the project at NU, while the students learned a lot about the situation of YMWs, the value of the initiative to the YMWs was not clear, and there was no real benefit to the CSO. As in the other two universities, what was very clear was the socio-economic gap between the students and the YMWs, which was a serious barrier to

communication and collaboration, even for the social work students. The project's target of forming 10 student work groups, coordinated by CSOs was not met. In practice, student involvement was ephemeral, while CSOs were not guided by ICO in providing leadership in the development of the groups. While they cooperated with ICO in the holding of the training program, they were unable to perform the role which ICO had envisaged for them in relation to students.

There was little incentive for the CSOs to invest in developing the student connection. The project made no financial provision to assist the partner CSOs, most of which were struggling to survive. Further, those interviewed by the evaluators were unaware of the concept of the support group. In any case, they were not persuaded of the contribution that students could make. Hence, the support groups were not established. In part, this was due to the need to replace CSOs as they were closed, or dropped out of the project. It was also undermined by the political pressures on the universities, concerning student participation. Beyond this, there were serious gaps in the preparations by ICO.⁹

None of the principals involved –students, YMWs and CSOs- received adequate guidance on the purpose of their collaboration. In particular, there was a lack of precision in the objectives set for the students, and no guidelines on how they were to work with the YMWs. The project has been more successful in its efforts to involve YMWs in social networks, with 22 groups established on the QQ instant messaging service. However, while 6,606 YMWs were reported to be registered with the groups, the pattern of communications is mostly social in character, and does not reflect the goals of the project. The target of 50,000 YMWs joining the social media

⁸ Yongkang: A smaller city with a population of 540,000 and 100,000 migrant workers.

⁹ ICO did hold training workshops for CSOs, staff and volunteers. However, the CSOs visited by the evaluation team, which had joined the project mid-way, had little knowledge of the components of the project beyond the training workshops for YMWs.

network was not met. It is not known how many of the YMW trainees registered and have remained active. ICO has concluded, in its own report on the project that: given the circumstances of YMWs, it was particularly difficult to arouse great interest among them in the internet and social media. The report goes on: *Although empowering workers through internet and social media can be an effective way, it will still be a long time before we can achieve the anticipated goal.*¹⁰

According to ICO, 10 workers' groups have been formed: 8 in the Pearl River Delta and 2 in Zhejiang Province. However, the evaluation team was unable to verify this. It is clear that some of the Focal Points have been active in the recent labour struggles, and that they have been engaged in using both the QQ network, as well as the *Sina Weibo* network (a micro-blogging network, combining some features of both Twitter and Facebook) for advocacy and sharing information within groups which they have coordinated. Their role in the unofficial labour movement is a demonstration of their ability to put into practice some of what was learned from the project, and from ongoing ICO support.

The grantee reports that one barrier to wider and more effective use of social media by the workers' groups stemmed from the increasing intervention by the government in employing network filtration technology to monitor and disrupt internet-based communications. This had a negative effect on the willingness of workers to post information.¹¹

Outcome 3: *Proposals prepared and actions taken by YMWs to promote their rights are implemented by themselves and by external parties (i.e. employers, government offices, NGOs and professionals).*

The project succeeded in reaching its two targets under the third outcome. First, the Focal points and collaborating CSOs, with advice from ICO, developed a set of 20 proposals and petitions concerning desired improvements in working and living conditions. Of these proposals 8 were identified as worthy of further support. Some were petitions and statements of the position of workers concerning their rights. Each proposing group which had developed a proposal for a local initiative received a sub-grant of \$485, for a total of \$3,800. At the request of the evaluation team, ICO supplied information on six statements and three small grant proposals from CSOs. These are of interest and are listed in the text box below. A review of the proposals would suggest that the project and ICO played a supporting role, at least indirectly, in helping some groups of workers articulate their grievances and focus their campaigning. The small grant projects would seem to be of varying relevance.

¹⁰ See: *Empower the Powerless; Vocalize the Voiceless - Empowering the Vulnerable People through Internet: E-Learning Initiative for Young Migrant Workers in China* (1 February, 2013-30 April 2015). ICO, Shenzhen, October 2015, p. 48.

¹¹ See: Comments by ICO included in the UNDEF Project Extension Request Form, not dated, but presumably late 2014, and approved by UNDEF

At a more mundane level, the project also met its target of collecting details of 5,000 cases from the internet and from interviews with YMWs during the project. These cases cover such topics as work-related injuries, occupational diseases, contractual problems and job insecurity, working hours, and social security. The cases were recorded in the database linked to the website, with selected cases being shared through social media.

Proposals and Statements Prepared by YMWs and CSOs for Outcome 3

Examples: Six statements/proposals (1-6) and 3 small-grant project reports.

- 1) A joint statement against New Anlun Company (producing car lights) with around 60 signatures from workers, CSOs and their staff, after a 20-day strike. The statement requested the company to assist to release the arrested workers, purchase social insurance for workers, improve conditions at the workplace and respect the human rights of workers.
- 2) A joint statement of more than 600 workers claiming the right to collective bargaining.
- 3) A joint statement of more than 500 workers in Guangzhou against a Japanese bag manufacturing company which failed to provide social insurance and other welfare to workers, and against the local government's "terrorist attack" on workers and labor lawyers.
- 4) A joint statement of more than 1000 workers condemning violence against labor NGOs.
- 5) A joint statement of more than 300 workers on a female worker's suicide, who got fired for participating in a strike.
- 6) A local NGO in Shenzhen proposed paid menstrual leave for women after consulting more than 200 women workers.
- 7) Mr. Fan Zhiming from Youth Dream Center introduced one of their "partner programs", where students and young workers exchange and participate in activities together. This program was mainly supported by the local Communist Youth League Committee. They proposed this program to ICO and got a small fund of 3000rmb as one of ICO's small grant initiatives under the evaluated project. According to Youth Dream Center's report, they had 4 sessions, the themes of which were: a lecture on career wisdom and public interest micro project; training on putting on a stage play; mid-term reporting of micro projects; and movie watching, a reading club and the closing ceremony (presentation of micro projects). It was not clear what the micro projects were, nor the nature of the interactions between students and workers.
- 8) Yulian Bookstore reported that they conducted 3 workers' activities between May 1 and July 31st in 2015. The themes of the 3 sessions were making traditional desserts, hiking, a live concert by labor bands, and a workshop on how to improve training for workers and enhance their capacity to speak out to the public on their needs.
- 9) Woyun Labor Development Center in Dongwan City carried out a project helping workers use the internet to protect their rights in cases of occupational injuries. They had visited hospitals 20 times and family of injured workers 5 times, teaching 110 workers to use smart phones to search for information online; they consulted injured workers through 50 phone calls and called back to follow up 30 times; they assisted in dealing with 4 cases and carried out 2 lectures on internet and dealing of occupational injuries.

Information provided to the Evaluation Team by Dr. Liu Kaiming of ICO

The project's Final Conference was not held as planned, because of anticipated intervention by Public Security, which was monitoring Dr. Liu and his activities closely. Hence, two workshops were held instead, one for workers and one for students. No reporting has been provided on these events.

Project Achievements and Limitations: As a preface to some more critical comments, it should be noted that the evaluation team is of the view that Dr. Liu and his colleagues are to be commended highly and deserving of admiration for their determined effort to devise low-level strategies to enable them to carry on with project activities, despite operating in an increasingly unfriendly political environment. ICO and its partners are all strongly committed to the issue of the protection of workers' rights, and the level of their commitment was one of the reasons that the project was able to complete most of its program in the face of many challenges. There is no question of the passion, determination and sheer hard work that ICO brought to the project.

Beyond this, at a more mundane level, although ICO has established a record of achievement in recent years, and has proved itself to be a thoroughly professional organization, there was an atmosphere of informality about the project, which conflicted with the systematic approach described in the Project Document. Of course, in part this was healthy in defusing possible tension, and was the result of the fact that the project took place in an environment of increased political control and surveillance. Yet, even taking this into account, there were many areas where a more systematic and thorough approach was called for.

One way in which the project team sought to deal with anticipated problems was to ensure that it worked with partners it could trust. All three of the principals responsible for the project in the universities were well-known to Dr. Liu and respected his commitment and admired the kind of work in which he was engaged. However, selecting partners on this basis precluded an effort to consider which students would be best-suited as project participants. Insufficient advance planning took place in considering which students, from which academic programs, at which level (graduate, senior undergraduate?), should be involved, and in which way. In retrospect, it would have been advisable to involve more carefully-selected students in a way that contributed more directly to their academic programming and related practical experience, with a focus on very specific tasks.¹²

ICO was very good in dealing with broad issues, but less so in translating concepts into practice. The project was unnecessarily vague in clarifying the role of its partners, as well as in providing detailed guidance to CSOs, YMWs and students on how they were to collaborate, and what they would do. The training curriculum for YMWs and students alike did not go far enough in moving from description into setting out a framework for action. The contact between ICO and the YMW trainees was too brief. Implementation of the plan that the training would provide a launching pad for E-Learning and social media connection-building was unsuccessful. Despite the time limitations restricting their availability, all the YMWs, as well as the CSO representatives, with whom the evaluation team met, expressed a strong preference for face-to-face meetings.

The project attempted to do too much. There was a need for extended engagement with a smaller group of YMWs, and a more carefully-selected group of students. This would have enabled ICO to continually assess, adjust and refine its methodology through a pilot program,

¹² For example: linking the project with the work of law students through university legal clinics, providing services to YMWs and providing information sessions to build awareness of the law and how to protect themselves; providing opportunities for social work students to undertake internships with labour CSOs and service agencies to support YMWs.

and would have offered a far better prospect of achieving results. Despite all this, the project was a courageous effort to work at the edge of what was feasible in China under current political conditions in exploring new ways to provide support to YMWs.

Yu Hui, a male student, who recently graduated from the Design Program at Shenzhen Polytechnic, who was an active participant in the project: “The program was quite good. I came to realize that the condition of migrant workers was not good. We read “Factory Girl” and I thought about their work and their housing: why are they living in conditions like that? Do they have a community to support them? I learned a lot from Dr. Liu on how to use social media and the internet – I thought that helping YMWs to change their situation was a good thing to do...I learned that they were frustrated because they had no chance to learn... we met with young workers 3 or 4 times in the industrial zone: some women our age, or a little older, sitting with them in ones and twos. Most are quite active and they read a lot. The last time we met, there were 20 workers and 10 students – active, interested students, willing to understand the issues. We wanted to have direct contact with the workers, but it seemed they were rather indifferent...”

“There were only 2 real connections between students and worker: 2 girls wanted to practice their English, but this never developed into anything of substance. In a few cases, we were asked to help on social media in labour disputes. The course increased student knowledge of the conditions of migrant workers and suggested some possibilities for working together, but that was it! I think we could cooperate and help each other; sharing knowledge is the critical thing. There is a knowledge gap for YMWs working with new technologies, and we can help to bridge that gap.”

iii. Efficiency

Project costs, including those for staff, were reasonable, given the high volume of activities completed. However, there were a number of changes to the original plan and budget, and it is not always clear how funds were reallocated. The initiative to offer small grants to CSOs is not covered in the original budget, nor was it explained in communications with UNDEF prior to beginning the activity (on the initiative, see the discussion of Outcome 3 in *Effectiveness*, above). Similarly, there is no explanation of the costs incurred with the two closing workshops, or of how the funds saved as a result of the decision not to proceed with the Final Conference were used. Presumably, the funds were utilized for the workshops, but no explanation is provided. No reporting has been provided on the workshops, nor has a record been provided of attendance at the two events.

The project was led by the ICO Executive Director as Project Manager with the project budget covering 10 per cent of his salary. Two Project Coordinators were engaged full-time on project work, one in Shenzhen and a second in Nanjing, but with the UNDEF budget covering only 30 per cent of salary costs for the two. The budget also paid for 50 per cent of the salary of an internet technician in Shenzhen. Ultimately, the project reported to the ICO Board, which had three members, one of whom was the ICO Executive Director. In addition, a Steering Committee was appointed, with representatives from ICO and the two partner organizations, as well as the

target groups and invited CSOs. The Committee was to meet quarterly to approve project action plans and review results.

On paper, institutional arrangements were adequate. However, a more active and engaged Project Steering Committee might have made a difference in tackling some of the issues which emerged in the course of the project and in considering alternative options to resolve them.

The main factor undermining project efficiency was the fact that resources were distributed over too many activities, supporting too many activities. No funds were made available to the partner CSOs to support their involvement in the project. Further, funding for the university partners may have been inadequate. At Shenzhen Polytechnic, the coordinator explained (without complaining, it must be added) that he was obliged to subsidize activities from his own pocket.

A more focused project with smaller numbers of beneficiaries would have been both more effective and more efficient. Some of the project outputs – for example, the web-site and, perhaps, the core E-Learning courses – were of good quality, but had negligible influence on project outcomes.

iv. Impact

Although ICO encountered considerable difficulties in implementing the project – some, of its own making, and some entirely beyond its control – It can be concluded that the project did make a modest contribution on the larger development problem it sought to address. Despite gaps in the project methodology, it was able to draw attention to the value of social media in establishing connections among YMWs. However, as ICO recognizes, much remains to be done in showing how social media can make a substantial contribution in assisting YMWs in their efforts to protect their rights and improve their position in society.

Among beneficiaries, for a minority of those YMWs who were trained through the project, it seemed that ICO was able to provide ongoing support and advice and have contributed to the emergence of a cadre of young leaders (drawn from the group identified as Focal Points), who are playing a prominent role in the nascent labour movement in the Pearl River Delta particularly. It has also been demonstrated that, for this group, the use of social media has been a valuable asset in sharing information and ideas within small networks of the like-minded.

Judging by the interviews conducted for the evaluation, for a small number of the students involved, engagement in the project, however short-lived, was an eye-opening experience, which is likely to contribute, at the very least, to reinforcing, or helping them to build, a social conscience in a society which is becoming increasingly stratified and unequal. A few of the Social Work students at Nanjing University used their exposure to the situation of YMWs as a basis for research for their Master's Degree dissertations.

On the other side of the ledger, for a majority of the YMWs and students, there was some awareness-building, but, unfortunately, the value of the inputs provided by the project is unlikely to be of great long-term value without follow-up. The engagement with both students and YMWs was too short-lived. However, for some of the YMWs, although the benefits were less tangible than for the young labour leaders, at least a few seem to have been inspired to think of new

possibilities by the training experience.¹³ A few others seem to have gained new information on labour law and labour rights through following up on E-Learning opportunities.¹⁴ However, for most YMWs and students involved, the benefits were more modest.

Given that the Party leadership in China has firmly rejected any moves in favour of democratic development or enhanced human rights, it would not have been possible for the project to have had a broader impact or catalytic effect.

v. Sustainability

It is unlikely that any of the results achieved by the project will be sustained without further investment. For its part, ICO remains strongly interested in continuing to work in this sphere. To what extent this will be possible, under current political conditions, is uncertain.

The evaluation team suggests that it would be wise to include as partners in future projects a mix of government-supported organizations, such as the Youth Dream Centre, visited by the evaluation team, as well as a number of more independent CSOs. Further, it will be advisable to promote cooperation with CSOs and local agencies with a community service and social work orientation to reduce the probable sensitivity of the project. A rights-based approach can still be pursued, but delivered within the context of service provision and a response to the needs of YMWs. The regular programming of some of the CSOs visited already reflects increasing attention to these matters.

For UNDEF, there is much to think about in considering future projects in the country, given the risks to effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability posed by political risk under current conditions in China, as indicated by the experience of this project. Accordingly, under prevailing political conditions, in addition to the normal screening, it will be advisable to undertake a brief feasibility assessment of proposals for China projects.

vi. UNDEF Added Value

It may be that the UN label provided some degree of protection for the project, since the UN is still viewed with respect, while bilateral donors are regarded with increasing suspicion. However, it is unlikely to have made much difference, in that the Communist Party seems to focus its attention on all projects receiving foreign funding, as well as all initiatives focusing on labour rights.

¹³ See, for example, the account by “Joy”, entitled: *We can Change: Sidelights of E-Learning Project Workshops at Fuyong (not dated)*, English translation provided by ICO. “Joy” was one of a large number of young women who attended the workshops.

¹⁴ See: *Milestone Verification Report* on training workshop in Longgang District, Shenzhen, 20 October 2013.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

(i) The project was designed at a time when there seemed to be a more positive environment for internationally-funded projects which sought in a careful way to meet the needs of marginalized communities. However, while **ICO, the grantee had taken political risk into account, during 2013 and 2014, the atmosphere in the country changed dramatically** and tighter political controls interfered to a significant degree with project implementation. With a focus on labour rights and foreign funding, the project was doubly vulnerable to drawing the attention of the Public Security Bureau.

(ii) **Project objectives were directly relevant to a key objective of a democratic development or human rights agenda** in supporting the social inclusion of a marginalized group – in this case, Young Migrant Workers (YMWs) in the 16-24 age groups.

(iii) **In addition to facing unanticipated political difficulties, the project was also negatively impacted** by problems arising from a number of what turned out to be unwarranted assumptions concerning the interests and level of commitment of both YMWs and students, the two core groups of participants in the project.

(iv) **Similarly, ICO assumed that its designated CSO associates would be willing partners without the provision of any funds to support them**, except to cover the direct costs of training workshops. This assumption also proved problematic. Nine of the initial ten associate NGOs withdrew from the project.

(v) **The project's planned focus on activities relating to the use by YMWs of social media and E-Learning did not produce the expected results.** This was mainly because of a lack of clarity on how social media and E-Learning would be used for information sharing and knowledge-building, and a lack of fit with the way YMWs communicated, in that they preferred to use inexpensive smart phones, with limited capacities for downloading documents and accessing web-sites. Further, YMWs were accustomed to using social media for social and entertainment purposes. Few of those involved in the project would change their customary pattern of use to give attention to obtaining and sharing information and ideas on labour rights and issues affecting the group.

(vi) **Aside from social media and E-Learning, a second major area for investment of project resources was training.** In cooperation with CSOs, ICO succeeded in meeting its targets in delivering 90 workshops and training 1,200 YMWs. From the trainees, 100 of those who had been most active and engaged were selected as Focal Points.

(vii) **It was intended that the Focal Points would work closely with the CSOs and become the catalysts for the formation of workers' groups**, which would share

information and cooperate, linking through social media. Student support groups would provide further assistance. In practice, ICO was able to follow up with some of the 100, and some did succeed in building workers' groups. In other cases, such groups already existed under the auspices of the CSOs. In a number of cases, the Focal Points became active as leaders in labour actions and in organizing petitions concerning labour grievances.

(viii) For a majority of trainees, including most of the Focal Points, however, ***the project had little impact, beyond contributing a little to their enhanced awareness of labour rights***, and, in some cases, building self-confidence. There was an absence of follow-up with the trainees, with most of the Focal points, and with the CSOs. Hence, lacking the expected connection to social media and E-Learning, the training stood alone.

(ix) Under the project plan, it was ***intended that students from two universities, one in Shenzhen and one in Nanjing***, would play an important supporting role. Those involved would be prepared for their participation through completing an optional credit course, during which they would also meet YMWs. Their role was to provide assistance to the young workers in training them in how to make effective use of social media. In practice, ***the role was poorly-defined and students were unclear*** on what to do when they met with their worker counterparts. The YMWs were also uncertain as to the help the students could provide. The CSOs, which were to host the meetings and help the students organize themselves into support groups also lacked guidance. In the end, the support groups did not materialize.

(x) ***The social gap between students and YMWs proved difficult to bridge in what is becoming an increasingly stratified society***. While some students gained valuable experience, for most the program had little impact. Many lacked a real commitment to the objectives of the project, or the motivation to try to make a difference. The plan for students to build effective support relationships with YMWs through a blend of on-line and off-line engagement was unsuccessful.

(xi) ***The project succeeded in achieving its targets for the final phase of the project***, with a small number of Focal Points, together with CSOs, and with ICO advice, developing a set of 20 proposals and petitions concerning working and living conditions and specific labour grievances. Eight of the proposals were linked to small initiatives, and each of these was awarded a small grant to support the proposed activities.

(xii) ***Overall, ICO is to be commended for its dedication and commitment*** to an effort to work in a sphere where it is inevitable that there will be political risks, and for its willingness to operate "on the edge" of what would be accepted by the authorities.

(xiii) ***ICO did well in developing broad and innovative concepts and ideas***. It was less successful at translating them into practice. The project tried to do too much, and resources were distributed across too many locations, with too many beneficiaries. Insufficient

attention was given to clarifying roles and responsibilities, and in developing practical methodologies and guidelines to assist partners and beneficiaries to achieve the core results.

(xiv) While the project seems to have been able to enhance awareness of the YMWs of their entitlement to the protection of their rights, and, among student participants, of the circumstances of living and working of the YMWs, the benefits received by most of those who took part in the project were modest.

(xv) Without additional investment and follow-up with beneficiaries, it is unlikely that project results will be sustained. For all that, the project did represent an important beginning in demonstrating the potential role of social media in building connections and bringing group members together for collective action. A small, but important, number of the Focal Points have become active in labour struggles and disputes and have played a visible part in articulating messages concerning the grievances of employees. With the support of ICO and CSOs, they have also made effective use of social media in bringing fellow-YMWs together.

(xvi) For the future, it may be wise for ICO to consider including a mix of government-supported (or government-approved) partners, along with independent CSOs, in its projects. It may also be advisable for it to consider cooperation with CSOs and local agencies with a social service orientation, injecting a rights-based agenda into a broader approach to meeting the needs of YMWs.

(xvii) Where cooperation with universities is concerned, it may be more fruitful for ICO to concentrate on building links with law schools and social work departments, utilizing university-run legal clinics (or assisting in establishing them in communities where YMWs live) and social work internships or placements, as mechanisms for involving more committed students.

(xviii) For UNDEF, there would seem to be serious risks to the effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability of projects with civil society organizations in China. As indicated by the experience of this project, current political conditions pose a particular challenge. Hence, it will be advisable for UNDEF to give careful consideration to assessing the feasibility of future projects in China.

V.RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that:

(i) ICO devotes more time to **clarifying roles and relationships** and the character of partnerships required to build an effective project (based on Conclusions iv, viii and ix);

(ii) In developing future projects, in consultation with its partners and associates, the ICO team **ensures that detailed guidelines are developed** to ensure that partners and beneficiaries have a road map on: what to do; how to do it; with whom; where; when; and, how frequently (based on Conclusions iv, viii and ix);

(iii) In future projects, ICO **concentrates its resources on a more compact design, with smaller numbers of beneficiaries in fewer locations**, and providing continuing support to its partners and beneficiaries throughout the implementation period (based on Conclusions viii, xiii, xiv and xvi);

(iv) For the future, **ICO may wish to consider including a mix of government-supported (or government-approved) partners**, along with independent CSOs in its projects. **It is also recommended that** it consider cooperation with CSOs and local agencies with a social service orientation, injecting a rights-based agenda into a broader approach to meeting the needs of YMWs (based on Conclusion xvii);

(v) Where cooperation with universities is concerned, **it may be more fruitful for ICO to concentrate on building links with law schools and social work departments**, utilizing university-run legal clinics (or assisting in establishing them in communities where YMWs live) and social work internships or placements, as mechanisms for involving more committed students (based on Conclusions x and xviii);

(vi) Given the current political situation in China, **UNDEF gives careful consideration to assessing the feasibility of future projects in the country** (based on Conclusion xix).

I. ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: EVALUATION QUESTIONS

DAC criterion	Evaluation Question	Related sub-questions
Relevance	To what extent was the project, as designed and implemented, suited to context and needs at the beneficiary, local, and national levels?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Were the objectives of the project in line with the needs and priorities for democratic development, given the context? ▪ Should another project strategy have been preferred rather than the one implemented to better reflect those needs, priorities, and context? Why? ▪ Were risks appropriately identified by the projects? How appropriate are/were the strategies developed to deal with identified risks? Was the project overly risk-averse?
Effectiveness	To what extent was the project, as implemented, able to achieve objectives and goals?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent have the project's objectives been reached? ▪ To what extent was the project implemented as envisaged by the project document? If not, why not? ▪ Were the project activities adequate to make progress towards the project objectives? ▪ What has the project achieved? Where it failed to meet the outputs identified in the project document, why was this?
Efficiency	To what extent was there a reasonable relationship between resources expended and project impacts?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Was there a reasonable relationship between project inputs and project outputs? ▪ Did institutional arrangements promote cost-effectiveness and accountability? ▪ Was the budget designed, and then implemented, in a way that enabled the project to meet its objectives?
Impact	To what extent has the project put in place processes and procedures supporting the role of civil society in contributing to democratization, or to direct promotion of democracy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent has/have the realization of the project objective(s) and project outcomes had an impact on the specific problem the project aimed to address? ▪ Have the targeted beneficiaries experienced tangible impacts? Which were positive; which were negative? ▪ To what extent has the project caused changes and effects, positive and negative, foreseen and unforeseen, on democratization? ▪ Is the project likely to have a catalytic effect? How? Why? Examples?
Sustainability	To what extent has the project, as designed and implemented, created what is likely to be a continuing impetus towards democratic development?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent has the project established processes and systems that are likely to support continued impact? ▪ Are the involved parties willing and able to continue the project activities on their own (where applicable)?
UNDEF value-added	To what extent was UNDEF able to take advantage of its unique position and comparative advantage to achieve results that could not have been achieved had support come from other donors?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What was UNDEF able to accomplish, through the project, that could not as well have been achieved by alternative projects, other donors, or other stakeholders (Government, NGOs, etc.). ▪ Did project design and implementing modalities exploit UNDEF's comparative advantage in the form of an explicit mandate to focus on democratization issues?

ANNEX 2: DOCUMENTS REVIEWED

Project Documents:

Project Document, UDF-CPR-11-447

Mid-term Progress Report

Final Financial Report 04 2015

Final Report

Milestone Verification Mission Reports, 20 October, 2013 and 8 June, 2014

Project Extension Request, approved 30 April, 2015

P.O. Additional Note

ICO Annual Report 2011, 30 January, 2014

Empower the Powerless; *Vocalize the Voiceless - Empowering the Vulnerable People through Internet: E-Learning Initiative for Young Migrant Workers in China* (1 February, 2013-30 April 2015). ICO, Shenzhen, October 2015

Other Documents and Reference Materials:

CDB English Translation of the Overseas NGO management Law (2nd Draft), *China Development Brief*, 8 May, 2015

China Labour Bulletin, 2014

“Does Xi Jinping Represent a Return to the Mao Era?”, *A China File Presents Transcript (Panel Discussion)*, *China File* (Asia Society), 6 May, 2015

“Xi Who Must be Obeyed” and “The Power of Xi Jinping”, *Economist*, 20 September 2014

“The Guardian View on China under XI Jinping: It Prefers Control to Reform”, Editorial, *The Guardian*, 10 August, 2015

NGO Monitor: China, 28 September 2015 (published by the International Center for Non-Profit Law (ICNL))

“Mass Crackdown on Chinese Lawyers and Defenders”, *Human Rights in China (HRIC)*, updated 16 November, 2015

Tom Mitchell, “End of China’s Migrant Miracle – Toil and Trouble”, *Financial Times (FT.com)*, 7 June, 2015.

NGO Monitor: China, 28 September 2015 (published by the International Center for Non-Profit Law (ICNL))

Sebastian Veg, “China’s Political Spectrum under Xi Jinping”, *The Diplomat*, 11 August, 2014

ANNEX 3: SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEWS

11 October 2015, Sunday: Shenzhen
PM: Introductory meeting and joint planning, International and National Consultants
12 October 2015, Monday: Shenzhen
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. AM: At ICO Offices, Meeting, which continued over lunch, with Dr. Liu Kaiming and the project team: Sun Jun, Senior Advisor and Trainer, and Ms. Mikar Cai, Project Coordinator; 2. PM: at Longhua with Wu Guijun, Head of a small labour NGO (not named); 3. A planned meeting with a group of workers did not take place.
13 October 2015, Tuesday: Shenzhen
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. AM Meeting at Shenzhen Polytechnic, Nanshan District, with Dr. Zhang Ke, Vic-Dean, School of Humanities and Coordinator of the project at the partner institution; lunch with Dr. Zhang Ke at Polytechnic; 2. PM: at Shenzhen Polytechnic: individual meetings with 3 students, who were active participants in the project: Xu Hui, Gao Yi Fu, and Ms. Lu Wei. 3. 5 PM, Meeting at Yulian Bookstore for Migrant Workers (CSO) in Longgang District: Zhu Qiang, Director; Cheng Wen Yu, staff member; Dong Kai Run, worker volunteer and training participant.
14 October 2015, Wednesday
<p>AM: Longhua New District, Visit to Youth Dream Center; Meetings with Ms. Tang Lan Ying, Kindly Individual Deed Organization (KIDO), Public Welfare Center; Fan Zhiming, Head of the organization and Executive Director, Good People, Good News; Ms. Cheng Meung Ge, Director, KIDO; and three workers who took part in the training program: Ms. Tang Ju Hong; Zeng Jie; and Huang Haigui.</p> <p>PM: No meetings held; Travel to Nanjing.</p>
15 October 2015, Thursday: Nanjing
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. AM Nanjing University of Finance and Economics; Meeting with Professor Huong Jianyuan, Journalism Department, and Coordinator of the project at the partner institution; 2. PM Dinner and discussion with Dr. Liu, who had also travelled to Nanjing; 3. Debriefing and report planning meeting among the consultants.
16 October 2015, Friday: Nanjing
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. AM Professor Zheng Guanghuai, Department of Social Work and Social Policy, Nanjing University 2. Brief Meeting with Dr. Liu, who provided the evaluation team with additional project photos and documents; <p>PM: Consultants depart from Nanjing.</p>

ANNEX 4: LIST OF ACRONYMS

CD	Capacity Development
CSO	Civil Society Organization
NU	Nanjing University
NUFE	Nanjing University of Finance and Economics
NGO	Non-Government Organization
ICO	Institute of Contemporary Observation
SP	Shenzhen Polytechnic
UN	United Nations
UNDEF	United Nations Democracy Fund
YMW	Young Migrant Worker