Outcome Harvesting evaluation OIKKO (Unity): Bangladesh

December 2018
Richard Smith with Humaira Aziz and Joe Sutcliffe

care®
It starts with equal

Acknowledgements

About the author

During his career as a senior manager in international development organisations, Richard Smith first used Outcome Harvesting 2011 when commissioning an evaluation of a capacity building and advocacy network. Subsequently, he founded RDS Consulting Ltd to provide training and supporting social change initiatives and funding programmes with outcome-oriented design, monitoring, evaluation and learning with a focus on the practical application of Outcome Mapping concepts, in particular adapting the Outcome Harvesting tool. He currently serves as board member and steward of the Outcome Mapping Learning Community.

Email: rdsmith27@gmail.com | Profile: http://uk.linkedin.com/pub/richard-smith/32/369/879

Cover page photo: Sultana Begum is President of a Workers Federation in Bangladesh.

Image: CARE/Ben Morgan

Contents

Abbreviations

CWA	Community Worker Association
EKATA	Empowering through Knowledge and transformative Action
RMG	Ready made garment
TU-F	Trade union and federation

Executive summary

OIKKO (Unity in Bangla) was a 3 year project (March 2015 – February 2018) delivered by CARE Bangladesh with support from CARE Austria, with funding from the European Union and the Austrian Development Agency. The overall objective of the project was: *a strong and united civil society promotes the implementation of fundamental labour rights in the ready-made garment (RMG) sector in Bangladesh*.

OIKKO was implemented through the following actors: CARE Bangladesh and 3 partners Sheva Nari O Shishu Kallyan Kendra (SHEVA, Gazipur), Agrajattra (AJ, Chittagong), and Karmojibi Nari (KN).

The main interventions of the project were:

- Forming solidarity groups of women RMG workers known as EKATA (Empowering Through Knowledge and Transformative Action).
- EKATA members with a high leadership potential were selected to form larger Community Worker Associations (CWA) to facilitate engagement and participation in trade unions and federation.
- Form Community Support Groups to help foster a supportive environment for the project.
- A national platform to engage civil society.
- Gender sensitisation training for trade union and federation leaders.
- Publications including commissioned research on, for instance, minimum wage.
- A national convention to take stock of OIKKO and share achievements.

This evaluation was undertaken between September – December 2018. It was an internal evaluation in which CARE personnel were supported by an external evaluator. CARE anticipated that both the process of participating in the evaluation as well as the findings themselves would contribute learning of CARE Bangladesh, its OIKKO partners and CARE Asia, particularly on the project's achievements in supporting women workers to raise demands and hold duty-bearers accountable for responding to those demands.

The evaluation used a participatory approach – Outcome Harvesting – that was new to both the CARE staff and project actors who served as the main sources of data. Outcome Harvesting, an approach to monitoring and evaluation inspired by Outcome Mapping that uses the following definition of outcome: *a change in the behaviour i.e. relationships, activities, or actions of the people, groups, and organizations with whom a program works directly*[1]. Specifically, the evaluation required OIKKO actors to describe their outcomes and the contributions of the project to the outcomes according to the specifications of Outcome Harvesting – that is with sufficient specificity to make them verifiable.

Through their participation in all stages of the evaluation, CARE internal evaluators expected to develop their knowledge of and experience in using Outcome Harvesting and thereby be better informed about if and how it may be useful for monitoring and evaluation in other projects.

This report documents the key features of the harvest design (including the purposeful limitation of its scope), provides detail on the process followed and its limitations in order to assist others who may want to learn from the experience, presents the findings as answers to the three evaluation questions and ends with recommended points for discussion by CARE on the findings and use of Outcome Harvesting.

---

[1] Canadian International Development Research Center

Findings

I. A total of 46 outcomes were harvested, 32 about EKATA group members and 14 about trade union and federation leaders. These are considered to be sufficiently credible for learning and to be indicative of the main types of changes OIKKO has influenced. Several have already been substantiated (by independent sources) and can be shared externally. 5 of the 46 outcomes materialised after the OIKKO project ended, providing some evidence that the project has had a lasting effect.

II. OIKKO succeeded in influencing 13 different types of social actors, ranging from individuals (EKATA member, male community member, councilor etc) to groups of individuals (EKATA members, home owners, etc) and individual organisations (factory).

III. Seventeen outcomes provide clear evidence that women RMG workers raised demands in both work places and communities, either for the first time or in a significantly new way, at least in part because of OIKKO. The focus on demand-raising based on rights demonstrates that these outcomes are significant, as workers are often either unaware of their rights or are unwilling / unable to raise rights-based demands to their employer.

IV. The emergence of new worker leaders was central to a number of the outcomes being achieved and represents a vital contribution of the OIKKO project.

V. The evidence of workers both raising demands on behalf of other workers and deploying combative tactics to strengthen their bargaining position are particularly notable.

VI. 12 of the demands by women RMG workers that OIKKO contributed to resulted in responses from duty bearers.

VII. Four of the outcomes are remarkable for benefitting multiple employees, in one case (EKATA-17) over 400, with improved pay, compensation, payment of bonuses and work place conditions.

VIII. RMG workers who made demands showed remarkable leadership and OIKKO contributed to this through collective awareness raising, skills development and confidence building in EKATA.

IX. The EKATA approach to raising demands collectively can be successful at getting resolution of a range of community-level issues of concern to women RMG workers, such as sexual harassment in public places and inadequate sanitary facilities in accommodation.

X. At the household level, significant changes in gender relations were influenced in the personal lives of women who had suffered violence / abuse and of a girl whose child marriage was prevented. EKATA group and community actors were important in achieving these personal, household outcomes.

XI. As a result of the project, female trade union and federation representatives were better able to represent RMG workers in disputes over pay and compensation, in particular through use of the Compensation Toolkit developed by the project.

XII. Living wage research by the project contributed to advocacy by a union leader in national media.

XIII. Adoption of the outreach worker model by union and federation leaders trained by the project led to the use of such workers to successfully recruit hundreds of new members.

XIV. OIKKO training catalysed women to seek leadership roles and unions to recruit significantly more women to executive positions

XV. 7 new trade unions were formed in RMG factories, a significant development because estimated union membership is less than 5% in Bangladesh.

Learning considerations

Learning: OIKKO findings

I. The scope of actions taken by workers and access to rights and entitlements gained are far beyond what CARE has previously contributed to through worker training and group-based approaches, suggesting that CARE should invest in EKATA as an effective model for promoting access to workers' rights.

II. If the EKATA approach is to inspire further interventions, the factors that determine which groups are more / less successful should be examined.

III. The sustainability and potential amplification of OIKKO achievements beyond the examples evident in the outcomes is not clear and could be investigated further.

IV. How to enable demand-raising work place outcomes beyond legal rights should be considered when building on OIKKO / seeking to replicate it elsewhere.

<ol type="I" start="5">
Trade union and federation interventions could usefully build on further dissemination of gender sensitisation training, the outreach worker concept, compensation toolkit and research to underpin minimum wage demands.
Some anticipated pathways of change were not evident in the data; the reasons for this warrant investigation / monitoring in related ongoing interventions.
OIKKO supported workers to raise demands and access rights in an environment where their rights are restricted, but in doing so it also puts women workers at considerable risk. CARE should consider what can be done to soften the stance of duty-bearers and improve their respect for rights and responsiveness to workers' demands in order to mitigate risk and promote positive outcomes.

Learning: the Outcome Harvesting process

<ol type="I">
Outcome Harvesting is a powerful approach to documenting and learning about achievements for interventions whose success depends on influencing policies, practices, actions and relationships. Its utility depends on its adaptation to the particular purpose, user needs, data sources and available resources of each harvest.
When planning an outcome harvest, consider that outcomes take time to materialise – typically, they may materialise after a project – but that leaving a harvest too long after an intervention risks sources forgetting outcomes or lacking motivation to participate in the harvest.
Using Outcome Harvesting for monitoring could build evidence of how an intervention contributes to processes of change.
Sufficient time is needed to plan and prepare for a harvest because Outcome Harvesting is a participatory approach, both for your organisation and external data sources.
Risk management: the high-risk nature of interventions such as OIKKO that promote demand-raising by those with little power puts people at risk of reprisals / negative consequences.

1. Background

OIKKO (Unity in Bangla) was a 3 year project (March 2015 – February 2018) delivered by CARE Bangladesh with support from CARE Austria, with funding from the European Union and the Austrian Development Agency. The overall objective of the project was: *a strong and united civil society promotes the implementation of fundamental labour rights in the ready-made garment (RMG) sector in Bangladesh*.

OIKKO was implemented through the following actors: CARE Bangladesh and 3 partners Sheva Nari O Shishu Kallyan Kendra (SHEVA, Gazipur), Agrajattra (AJ, Chittagong), and Karmojibi Nari (KN).

The main interventions of the project were:

- Forming solidarity groups of women RMG workers known as EKATA (Empowering Through Knowledge and Transformative Action). Each EKATA group of 25-30 women had a 9 month programme of training and awareness raising covering rights, leadership, communication, empowerment, etc, delivered by a facilitator.
- Participants with a high leadership potential were selected to form larger Community Worker Associations (CWA) to facilitate engagement and participation in trade unions and federation.
- Community Support Groups were formed to help foster a supportive environment for the project. Members included local government representatives, influential community members and female workers.
- A national platform to engage civil society.
- Gender sensitisation training for trade union and federation leaders.
- Publications including commissioned research on, for instance, minimum wage; regular 'Watch Reports' that analysed coverage and gaps in Bangladesh's labour regulatory frameworks with respect to women workers' issues, rights and entitlements; and guidance documents such as a toolkit for calculating compensation.
- A national convention to take stock of OIKKO and share achievements.

During the implementation of OIKKO, it became clear that the project log-frame did not adequately capture the theory of change for the project. The OIKKO log-frame was developed specifically for the (European Commission) grant and did not, therefore, capture all dimensions of change anticipated for the project, particularly at the outcome level. As a result, CARE has begun to develop a more holistic theory of change which assumes that the range and scale of outcomes is broader and larger than the log-frame suggests. Potentially, harvested outcomes will serve as evidence of positive changes in personal and collective empowerment, collective action, leadership, access to social protections, working conditions and government responsiveness to gender and labour standards demands.

The original impact measurement system of OIKKO was tied to the logframe, so the 2018 project evaluation did not fully capture the outcomes of the project, nor did it help us understand the process of change as it occurred or how the specific interventions of the OIKKO project contributed to those outcomes.

The purpose of the harvest was:

1. To understand and learn from the range of outcomes achieved by the 3 intervention areas of the OIKKO project, particularly through the project's work in supporting women workers to raise demands and hold duty-bearers accountable for responding to those demands.
2. Promote shared ownership of outcomes among stakeholders.
3. Inform the design of potential further related work by CARE-BD, the OIKKO implementing partners and elsewhere in Asia by CARE-Asia.
4. To enhance knowledge of the Outcome Harvesting tool among the CARE Bangladesh Workforce Empowerment Team and Asia regional Dignified Work Advisor.

This was an internal evaluation facilitated by an external evaluator. CARE Asia contracted the external evaluator, Richard Smith, an international consultant experienced in using and mentoring people to use Outcome Harvesting, to lead the evaluation process from September – December 2018. The co-evaluators were Humaira Aziz (Director, Women and Girls Empowerment Program, CARE Bangladesh) and Joe Sutcliffe (Advisor - Dignified Work CARE International UK). Other CARE personnel participating in the evaluation were Mahadi Hassan (former OIKKO M&E lead, who contributed to the evaluation design and co-facilitated the workshops), Nargis Begum (Technical Coordinator, EKATA groups, who assisted with workshop facilitation) and Mahmud Hossain (former OIKKO project manager, who reviewed outcomes for accuracy). Below, these CARE Bangladesh personnel are referred to as the "CARE Bangladesh team". Richard was supported in his role by an interpreter and a translator as well as by a researcher, Maher Anjum, who assisted with data collection from sources.

The names of workers, factories, Trade Unions and Federations have been changed or omitted from this publication to protect identities.

2. Evaluation design

Outcome Harvesting is a participatory approach in which the harvester facilitates the collection of evidence of what has been achieved and works backward to determine whether and how the project or intervention contributed to the change. The first of the six steps of Outcome Harvesting is its design[2]. The design specifies how the six steps are customised for a particular harvest. The following primary users[3] agreed the design with the evaluator: workforce Empowerment Team at CARE Bangladesh (Humaira Aziz, Mahadi Hasan), and the regional Dignified Work Advisor (Joe Sutcliffe).

The **primary users**' expected uses of the harvest are as follows:

- The **process** of participation in the harvest as well as the **findings** of the harvest will help each of these users a) develop an understanding of the results of OIKKO that is shared with other project actors; b) share outcomes of the project with external actors and c) learn from and make decisions about their future approach to supporting garment workers to claim their rights.
- The **process** of participating in all steps of the harvest will build the capabilities and confidence of Workforce Empowerment Team at CARE Bangladesh and regional Dignified Work Advisor in using Outcome Harvesting, thereby informing decisions on if / how to adapt Outcome Harvesting to meet future monitoring, evaluation and learning needs.

Secondary users are: Project implementing partners (3); EKATA facilitators and members, leaders of a selection of partner trade unions, civil society organisations working on advocacy of labour rights, and leaders of Community Worker Associations. Their uses of the harvest are as follows:

- The **process** of participation in the harvest as well as the **findings** of the harvest will help each of these users a) develop an understanding of the results of OIKKO that is shared with other project actors and b) learn from and make decisions about their future approach to supporting garment workers advocate for their rights.

Audiences: government (Ministry of Labour), national-level unions involved in OIKKO, donors, NGOs working on workers' rights, ITUC Asia Pacific.

---

[2] The six steps of Outcome Harvesting: 1. Design; 2. Document review; 3. Engage sources; 4. Substantiate; 5. Analysis and interpretation; 6. Support use.
[3] Those who expect to use the harvest to inform decisions and are involved throughout the harvest.

The following **evaluation questions** were agreed in light of the intended uses of the primary users and in light of what was practical with the time and resources available:

1. What do the outcomes influenced by OIKKO tell us about whether, and if so how, the project:
   a) Increased the ability (using new strategies, pathways, practical approaches) / confidence / motivation of women workers to raise demands in the work place or community, whether individually or collectively?
   b) Improved responses of employers to RMG worker demands for their legal rights and entitlements as well as responses of community service providers to worker demands?
   c) Changed gender relations and promoted gender justice within households and communities – changes such as getting support for their work lives, raising their voice in their personal lives or their relationships with TU/Fs or others who can be supportive?
   d) Strengthened the capacity of female members of trade unions and federations to represent their issues?
   e) Helped TU/Fs become more representative of women workers including changing practices / take actions in support of issues raised by women that they did not previously?

2. Are there are patterns or trends in the outcomes or the factors contributing to outcomes and, if so, what do these tell us about a) the most important / critical actual pathways of change, b) if these differed from those described or implied in the current (version 3.1) project theory of change?

3. Have there been any negative or unexpected outcomes as a result of project activities and if so, what are they and how can we learn from these outcomes?

To be considered sufficiently credible to be used in this evaluation, each outcome had to meet the required quality standards, that is it had to be formulated as an 'outcome statement' comprising three key elements:

- Description of the outcome - an observable and hence verifiable change in behaviour of an actor influenced by OIKKO, that is a change in the relationships, actions, policies or practices of women RMG factory workers who participated in OIKKO (EKATA group members), members and leaders of Trade Unions and Federations, community-based service providers (health, private housing providers), men in households / communities and other duty bearers (employers and local government). It is possible that OIKKO could unintentionally contribute to changes in these actors that detract from the objectives of OIKKO therefore the harvest recorded such negative outcomes in addition to positive outcomes. Ultimately, only one negative outcome was harvested.
- Significance of the outcome – a logical explanation of why the outcome was an important step towards achieving the objectives of OIKKO
- Contribution of OIKKO to the outcome – there must be a plausible contribution of OIKKO to the outcome. The contribution may be direct or indirect, intended or not.

The scope of the harvest was outcomes that materialised from the start of the project (March 2015) to the time of the harvest (September 2018) and had a contribution from OIKKO between that time of its operation: March 2015 – March 2018.

3. Evaluation process

Step 1: Design

With the **design** (Step 1, above) of the harvest agreed, the external evaluator and primary users worked together through the remaining five steps of OH: 2. Document review; 3. Engage sources; 4. Substantiate; 5. Analysis and interpretation; 6. Support use. This chapter describes how each step was customised for this harvest.

After each step, the design was reviewed and if necessary adjustments made in order to keep the process aligned with the principle uses of the primary users. For instance, after engagement of sources in two workshops (Step 3) it was clear that follow up with workshop participants to further refine / complete / clarify outcome statements was necessary to turn draft outcome statements to verifiable statements of the required standard. The design was therefore adjusted and the external evaluator spent time calling sources for additional information / clarifications.

Step 2: Document review

In OH, outcomes are described, with support from the harvester, by those that know best what has been achieved and how the project contributed. While it is always essential to engage sources so they describe their outcomes, document review is not always possible or desirable or it may, as in this harvest, be decided to use it only to a limited extent. Here, the primary users recognised from the outset that documents would contain little information on outcomes therefore Step 2 was undertaken only by the harvest facilitator and was limited to a review of the OIKKO final report and final evaluation. The objectives were twofold: a) familiarise the harvest facilitator with OIKKO and b) introduce the OH concept of 'outcome' and requirements for outcome statements to the primary users. The second objective was achieved by discussing the possible types of outcome identified in the documents with the primary users, then using these in 'Outcome Harvest guiding questions' (Annex D) to support Step 3. In addition, two exemplar outcome statements were developed from the document review in order to familiarise the primary users with the requirements of an outcome statement.

Step 3: Engage Sources

This was implemented by engaging project participants / social actors directly in workshops and harvesting outcomes from them. The main advantage over harvesting from the OIKKO team in CARE and its partner NGOs was that outcomes were described by those closest to the action / those who had actually experienced or been responsible for outcomes. Specifically, two workshops were convened in Dhaka, each lasting one day (see Annex C for participant lists):

- Workshop 1: Former EKATA facilitators, leaders and members and two CWA members from Gazipur and Chittagong. 15 participants (all women).
- Workshop 2: Current trade union and federation leaders from Dhaka, Gazipur and Chittagong. 15 participants (8 women, 7 men).

For each workshop, CARE invited former project participants who they expected would have knowledge of outcomes. Of those invited, only 15 could be accepted for each workshop because of the need to work in small groups of 3-5 to identify and describe outcomes with a facilitator. The 15 participants in each workshop represent those invitees who were not only available but also motivated to participate in a workshop 6 months after the end of the project. In other words, the selection was not random, rather it was designed in line with the purpose of the harvest: to identify, understand and learn from outcomes that were achieved by OIKKO. The targeted selection of workshop participants means it is likely that the workshop participants were able to describe more outcomes than the average OIKKO

participant. Indeed, the success of EKATA groups, for instance, was variable (Mahmud Hossain, Pers. Com.) and the final evaluation found a substantial proportion of groups had not helped resolve any issues.

The willingness of 30 participants who had direct 'field-level' knowledge of OIKKO achievements to devote several hours and in some cases stay overnight in order to participate in the workshops validated the decision by the evaluator team to seek outcomes from such sources rather than from staff of CARE and its OIKKO partner NGOs who would only have had indirect knowledge of outcomes.

Workshop facilitation was led by the external evaluator with support from the CARE Bangladesh team whose principal role was to coach workshop participants to identify outcomes achieved by OIKKO and record those outcomes in sufficient detail that they could be formulated as outcome statements by the external evaluator after the workshop.

Following the workshops (September – November), the external evaluator, supported by an interpreter and co-evaluator Maher Anjum and with valuable inputs from the former OIKKO project manager Mahmud Hossain, engaged several of the workshop participants by phone to clarify outcome descriptions and seek additional information needed to make the outcome statements meet the required standard. Additionally, Mahmud Hossain described one further outcome, bringing the total described by CARE Bangladesh to 3.

The external evaluator used the workshop transcripts to formulate outcomes as statements to the required standard. While the outcome and contribution elements of outcome statements were those of the sources, in most cases the significance was amended to aid clarity whilst remaining true to the originally stated significance. The CARE Bangladesh team reviewed outcome statements for factual accuracy. CARE inputs helped to clarify significance of outcomes, remove a duplicate outcome and combine others where this was logical. One additional outcome statement was added and others were verified or, in some cases, excluded from the final data set because they were either inaccurate or insufficiently SMART[4]. Altogether, about 15% of possible outcomes were not accepted.

The outcomes harvested were divided into two categories based on the social actors they were harvested from. The first category is outcomes reported by EKATA group facilitators leaders and members (and two CWA members) on what they thought were most significant changes as a result of EKATA process, and the second is outcomes reported by trade unions and union federations.

Step 4: Substantiation

In Outcome Harvesting, users decide what is needed to make the outcomes sufficiently credible for their intended uses. Those using outcomes for internal learning may not need the outcomes to be confirmed by independent third parties through substantiation, whilst outcomes shared externally or for accountability may need to be triangulated through documentary sources and / or substantiation by independent sources.

For the OIKKO harvest, the users agreed that the evaluation would primarily be used for internal learning, but that we would devote time to substantiate a sub-set of outcomes with independent sources, in order to a) test the overall accuracy of the outcomes and b) have a sub-set of outcomes that are credible enough for sharing externally.

In this evaluation, the following contributed to the credibility of the outcome data:

---

[4] Specific, Measurable, Achieved, Relevant and Timely, adapted for Outcome Harvesting: http://outcomeharvesting.net/outcome-harvesting-smart-me-outcomes/

- ✓ Users agreed the sources that would be most knowledgeable about outcomes
- ✓ Outcome sources went on the record / knew the outcomes they described may be published (albeit sometimes with names of factories / individuals redacted to avoid any risk to the sources in sensitive cases)
- ✓ The evaluator checked that a) all outcomes were observable facts described in sufficient detail that they could be verified and b) that the contribution of OIKKO to each outcome was plausible and verifiable, guided by the OH adaptation of the SMART criteria:
  - o **Specific:** The outcome is formulated in sufficient detail so that someone without specialised subject or contextual knowledge will be able to understand and appreciate it.
  - o **Measurable:** Containing objective, verifiable quantitative and qualitative information, independent of who is collecting data. How much? How many? When and where did the change happen?
  - o **Achieved:** The description establishes a plausible relationship and logical link between the outcome and the change agent's actions that influenced it. In other words, how did the change agent contribute to the outcome, in whole or part, indirectly or indirectly, intentionally or unexpectedly?
  - o **Relevant:** The outcome represents a significant step towards the impact that the change agent seeks.
  - o **Timely:** While the outcome occurred within the time period being evaluated, the change agent's contribution may have occurred months, or even years, before.
- ✓ One set of data (outcomes described EKATA group participants / facilitators) was internally verified and where necessary amended by CARE-BD's Mahmud Hossain, the former project manager of OIKKO responsible for the EKATA group work.
- ✓ A selection of the second set of data (outcomes described by TU-F participants) was internally verified by CARE-BD.

Additionally, independent people knowledgeable about outcomes were asked to confirm the accuracy of – **substantiate** - a sample of outcomes. A record of the substantiator responses is presented in Annex A.

Outcomes were selected for substantiation based on a) significance, as judged by the evaluator and CARE-BD and b) feasibility: considering the highly sensitive and sometimes personal nature of some of the outcomes, the evaluator needed to be confident that substantiation would not cause harm / distress. Additionally, outcomes concerning changes in factories could not be substantiated by factory representatives because it was expected they would be reluctant to admit there had been anything wrong. A further limitation is that the need to identify substantiators had not been integrated into project management as this outcome harvest had not been anticipated from the outset, hence it was challenging for project actors to identify substantiators for some outcomes. Lastly, third parties knowledgeable about outcomes did not necessarily know about how the OIKKO project had contributed, particularly when the contribution had been a group activity.

Substantiation of EKATA workshop outcomes

Despite the challenges noted above, it was possible to attempt substantiation for a high proportion of outcomes[5]: a total of 19 of the 33 EKATA workshop outcomes (58%) were selected for substantiation by one or more independent person.

Of the 19 outcomes for which substantiation was attempted, it was not possible to reach the substantiators of four of the outcomes. Of the 15 remaining outcomes, one or more substantiator fully confirmed the accuracy of 13 outcomes and partly confirmed a further 2; no outcomes were said to be inaccurate.

---

[5] Commonly, +/-20% of outcomes are substantiated to test the accuracy of the full set of outcomes.

Considering the 4 outcomes with one or more 'partly agree' substantiator response:

- One substantiator was unsure that the outcome had occurred as described, a second did not know about the outcome and a third confirmed the outcome as follows: *In 2016, a councillor ensured the drainage / sewage system was improved in many homes rented to RMG workers and introduced systematic / regular waste collection in Laskmipura, Gazipur.* In addition, the outcome is not fully SMART: the name of the councillor, what they did exactly and how many homes were improved are all not stated. <u>In conclusion, there is some uncertainty about the outcome and it is excluded from the analysis</u>.

- In Outcomes EKATA-14 and 15 (related outcomes), the only substantiator to respond recognised the role of 9 EKATA groups in seeking more accessible / affordable healthcare services but noted that the provider was already engaged in making their services more accessible to RMG workers before the EKATA initiative. <u>In conclusion, the outcomes are retained as valid because the substantiator's response is consistent with the EKATA groups contributing to the service provider discounting the price of key services to women</u>.

- In the fourth partly substantiated outcome (EKATA-32), the substance of the outcome and contribution was confirmed by the substantiator, however, they did not know the details of who had talked to EKATA groups about savings nor where EKATA members had opened savings accounts. <u>Considering the outcome meets the SMART criteria, it has been retained as a valid outcome at least for learning purposes</u>.

In summary, three of the four partly substantiated outcomes are considered to be sufficiently accurate and valid to be used as evidence, at least for learning, and the fourth was rejected.

> The evaluators conclude that all 32 EKATA outcomes are sufficiently credible for learning but that further verification (through documentation) and / or substantiation with independent third parties is recommended before non-substantiated outcomes are used externally. Supporting this conclusion is the large number (17) of substantiators consulted, the significant proportion of outcomes (43% or 15 of 32 total outcomes) that were confirmed by substantiation and the absence of any substantiator responses that contradicted the accuracy of outcomes or the OIKKO contribution.

Substantiation of TU-F outcomes

Substantiation was attempted for 6 of the 14 outcomes (43%) with calls to 7 independent people identified by workshop participants. Outcomes were selected for substantiation based on feasibility: considering sensitivities of the issues involved, which outcomes was it reasonable to ask someone else's views on without risking harm or distress.

Of the 6 outcomes for which substantiation was attempted, three were fully substantiated (outcome and contribution from OIKKO) by one or more substantiator. Another was partly confirmed (outcome: part agreement; contribution: confirmed). Another two were said to be inaccurate but substantiators gave additional information which in one case was consistent with the original outcome such that it was possible to update the outcome statement and consider it valid (TU-F-6).

Additional information was also given for outcome TU-F-12, resulting in an updated outcome statement and an additional, new outcome statement concerning a factory's negative response to a struggle for maternity pay (TU-F-13). This is the only negative outcome in the harvest.

A pattern is evident in the substantiator responses: each of the 3 fully confirmed outcomes concern actions taken by the Trade Unions and Federations to increase their number of women members and leaders, or actions taken by RMG workers directly. In contrast, each of the 3 outcomes that were found to be inaccurate or partially accurate concerned factories paying compensation or maternity benefits. This may reflect the position of the participants who articulated the outcomes, as whilst trade union leaders could accurately articulate outcomes of OIKKO that benefitted their own organisations, their description of OIKKO outcomes that benefitted workers through the actions of the unions were more prone to inaccuracies.

> In conclusion, the evaluators consider that the 6 outcomes (half of which were confirmed by substantiation) concerning TU-F leaders or female RMG workers taking action are sufficiently credible to be considered as evidence. In contrast, the 7 outcomes concerning factories paying compensation or honouring entitlements need to be treated with caution as the outcomes appear more prone to inaccuracies. The latter are accepted as valid for learning but further verification (through documentation) and / or substantiation with independent third parties is recommended before using them externally.

Step 5: Analysis and interpretation

Appropriate categories were identified for classifying the outcomes in order to answer the evaluation questions and an Excel database created by the evaluator (Annex A). In addition, outcomes were given a unique number, the source(s) noted and a short title given for ease of communication. The main categories used were:

- Year outcome materialised
- Who changed (social actor)
- Direct / Indirect / Negative / Unintended
- Theme of outcome
- Contribution of OIKKO
- Relevance to theory of change
- Substantiation response

In addition, EKATA workshop participants rated the significance of the OIKKO contribution using the following criteria agreed with the primary user.

1. The outcome would have happened without the project
2. OIKKO but also others made an important contribution.
3. Others contributed but OIKKO made the most important contribution
4. OIKKO was the only contributor

Evaluation standards

Throughout, this evaluation was guided by the four widely accepted standards of evaluation of the American Evaluation Association[6]. Thus, the evaluator ensured that the evaluation's findings were not only valid but also credible to the intended users. The evaluator also took into account the welfare of those involved in the evaluation, as well as those affected by its results with questions such as

---

[6] See the universal standards for evaluation of the American Evaluation Association at www.eval.org

confidentiality of data and sources addressed head on. Finally, the evaluator sought to ensure that the evaluation procedures were practical and cost effective and caused the minimum disruption of CARE's ongoing activities whilst achieving the maximum necessary information.

Limitations

CARE decided to focus the evaluation in specific areas in line with its purpose: learning about what has been achieved by OIKKO and how in order to inform future programmes. The harvest sought to describe outcomes that would illustrate the types of achievements that OIKKO achieved using a range of strategies in a particular context. It did not set out to be a comprehensive harvest of all outcomes achieved by OIKKO or to understand the extent to which OIKKO strategies had been successful or not at achieving outcomes. The targeted nature and scope of the harvest meant that outcome sources (e.g. workshop participants) were not selected randomly from project participants, rather they were chosen with the expectation that they would know about outcomes (see Evaluation process, Step 3). In addition, CARE refined the scope of the harvest by deciding:

- To prioritise the participation of sources knowledgeable about EKATA group outcomes over outcomes achieved by CWA groups - the structures that selected EKATA groups evolved into. This was because EKATA group outcomes were anticipated to be most useful for learning, and because participants with knowledge of EKATA outcomes would be more readily available to participate in the harvest.
- Not to seek to describe outcomes at the level of Government (because none were expected)
- Not to see outcomes at the level of the Civil Society Platform (because these were anticipated to be less useful for learning).

It is typically challenging to identify **negative outcomes** because people generally prefer sharing successes and can be uncertain how negative outcomes will be interpreted. In this harvest, one negative outcome was identified. The potential for more negative outcomes is very evident because of the sensitive work that OIKKO was engaged in. This evaluation created a safe space for sharing negative outcomes in that it offered to keep any information anonymous at the request of outcome sources and only to seek substantiation of outcomes by others with permission of outcome sources. However, time constraints meant it was not possible to offer outcome sources one-one interviews with an evaluation team member or otherwise to create a more reassuring / safer settings for sharing negative outcomes. A specific focus on identifying potentially very personal negative outcomes in confidential setting could have provided valuable insights to inform future practice but was beyond the scope of this evaluation.

A further set of limitations relate to **practical constraints**. It is likely that more outcomes could have been described with longer workshops / time for interviews with sources. The workshops were effective at identifying outcome ideas but less successful at obtaining all the information needed for verifiable, SMART outcome statements. Substantial follow up was needed with many of the participants to clarify / obtain additional information. This was not successful in every case. Engaging more sources using workshops, interviews or otherwise may also have identified more outcomes.

Closer examination of some project documentation may have revealed more outcomes. The final evaluation contained clues to three possible outcomes, for instance. And more information was reported to be available on responses of duty bearers but was not made available.

The harvest sought to identify outcomes that had materialised up to three years previously. In one respect, the timing was appropriate for identifying more mature outcomes of the project and even outcomes that came after the project. However, the passage of time also means that some important outcomes particularly for learning about the pathways of change are likely to have been forgotten / not identified in the harvest. It also meant that it was challenging for sources to be precise about dates and

details, sometimes to the extent that what was a possible outcome could not ultimately be considered as sufficiently robust to include in the harvest.

An important practical constraint on the effectiveness of the workshops was that the evaluator did not speak Bangla while the participants did not speak English. This challenge was not known to the evaluator until just before the workshops and the very short time between contracting and the in-country time of the external evaluator (the dates of which could not be moved because the former OIKKO M&E advisor was moving to a new role) left less than the ideal time needed to implement mitigation measures, namely to give CARE staff practice in doing OH. Still, in a very short time additional resources (CARE staff, translator and interpreter) were secured which together made it possible to identify and a set of draft outcomes and possible outcomes.

The resulting quality of data from the workshops was less than the external evaluator would expect if the workshop had been conducted in English. This is for two reasons: a) the external evaluator was only able to provide limited, real time feedback to participants through an interpreter and b) the CARE team supporting the facilitation had no prior experience with OH. Learning Outcome Harvesting takes practice and although the co-facilitation of the workshops by CARE staff was invaluable, none had prior experience with Outcome Harvesting therefore they could not be expected to guide participations in the detailed formulation of outcome statements. With more preparation, particularly more time for CARE staff to practice formulating outcomes as required by Outcome Harvesting, more and higher quality outcome data is likely to have been produced.

A knock-on effect was the need to devote additional time to following up with sources after the workshop, sometimes successfully, other times less so, to seek clarifications and missing information.

The evaluation was also intended to have **process uses including building the capabilities of CARE to use Outcome Harvesting**. CARE and the external evaluator faced some challenges to achieving this outcome, as one key staff member at CARE Bangladesh moved onto another project during the harvest which affected the timing of the workshops and limited CARE's ability to participate in finalising draft outcomes and analysing outcome data. Nonetheless, all involved demonstrated great interest and made much time available to participate in the design and harvesting during the workshops, and contributed important follow ups on the refinement and analysis of outcomes. The harvest has improved the capabilities of two of the primary harvest users – Humaira Aziz (Director of Women and Girls' Empowerment, CARE Bangladesh) and Joe Sutcliffe (Advisor – Dignified Work, CIUK) – to use Outcome Harvesting, and CARE is now applying these skills in Dignified Work projects at CARE Bangladesh and beyond. In particular, CARE is modifying the database of outcomes to be used as a monitoring tool in a new project involving EKATA groups. The tool will be used to monitor and document potential outcomes as they are reported by EKATA members during their meetings, and will be reviewed periodically to identify potentially significant outcomes to be explored further through interviews with participants to define clear outcome statements. In some cases, CARE will also look to substantiate outcomes with third parties. This use of outcome harvesting techniques in monitoring will enable CARE to more regularly define outcomes as they are occurring, avoiding time-lag issues and providing a strong range of data that can be used for evaluation and learning.

4. Findings of the evaluation

In this section, the broad characteristics of the outcomes are first described, then each of the evaluation questions is answered. Any learning points are highlighted at the end of the answer to each question.

4.1 The outcomes

The evaluation set out to harvest a set of outcomes that are indicative of the main types of changes OIKKO has influenced; it did not set out to record all outcomes (see Section 3, Limitations). A total of 46 outcomes were harvested, 32 about EKATA group members and 14 about trade union and federation leaders. Most of the harvested outcomes materialised in 2016, the year when most of the 9 month EKATA group intervention was delivered but before the training of trade union and federation leaders (**Figure 1**). Notably, 5 of the 46 outcomes materialised after the OIKKO project ended, providing some evidence that the project has had a lasting effect (**Figure 2**).

Figure 1: Number of outcomes by year, 2016-2018
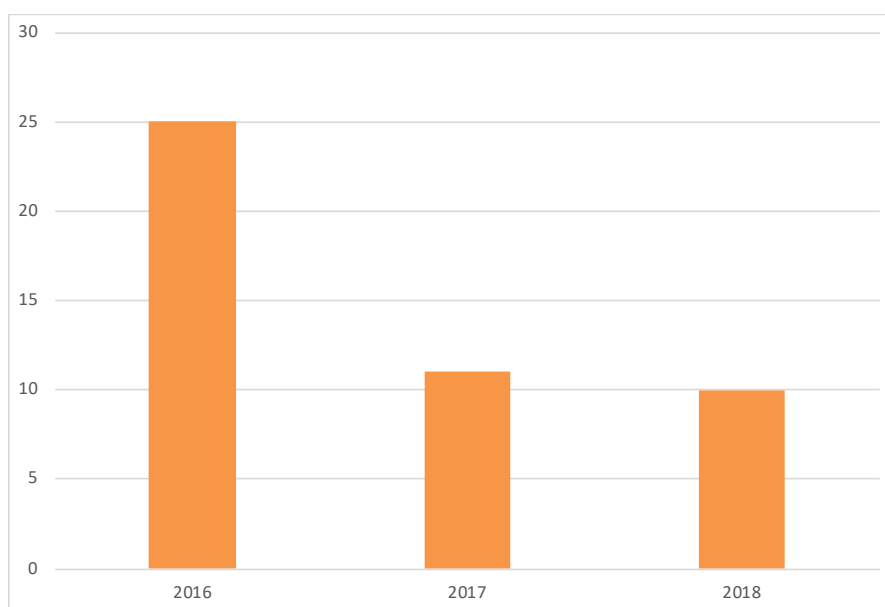
Figure 2: Number of outcomes that materialised during and after the OIKKO project
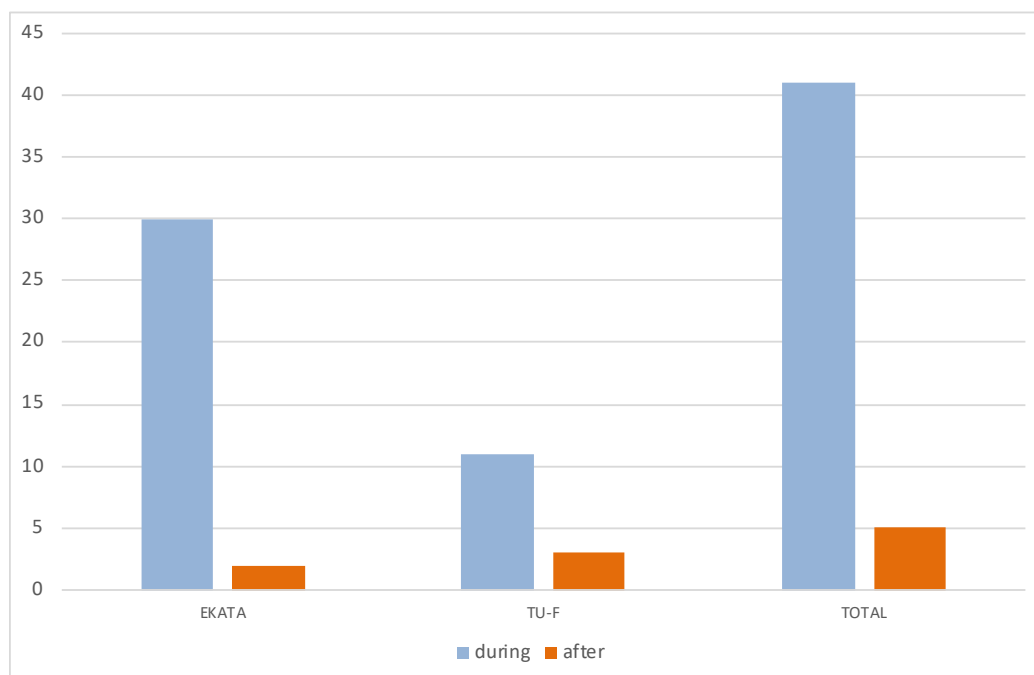
The outcomes show that OIKKO influenced 13 different types of social actors, ranging from individuals (EKATA member, male community member, etc) to groups of individuals (EKATA members, home owners, etc) and individual organisations (factory). The frequency of each type of social actor is summarised in **Figure 3**.

Figure 3: Frequency of social actors whose behaviour was influenced by OIKKO
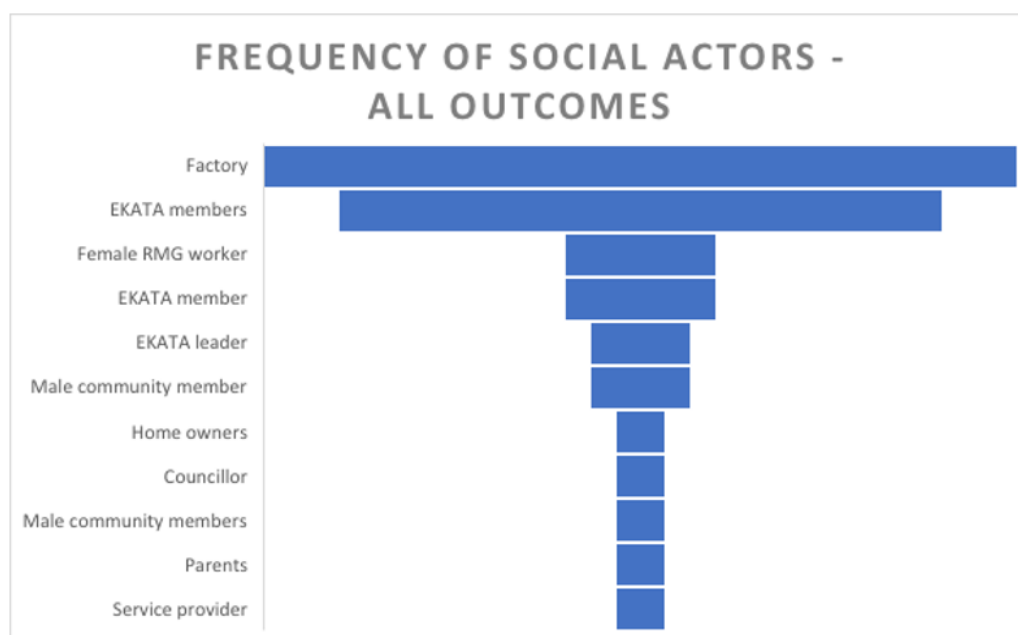
'Factory' and 'EKATA members' were the most common type of social actor; least common were parents, male community members, councillor and home owners (**Figure 4**). Outcomes described by EKATA workshop participants concerned behaviour changes of 11 types of social actor; outcomes from the TU-F workshop concerned only 4 types, two of which were also evident in the EKATA workshop outcomes: 'factory' and 'female RMG worker'.

Figure 4: Frequency of social actors by source (EKATA / TU-F workshop)

Whose behaviour did OIKKO influence?

EKATA workshop outcomes						TU-F workshop outcomes		
EKATA members, 12	Factory, 8				EKATA member, 3	Factory, 7		
	EKATA leader, 2	Counc... 1	Male comm... mem...	Parents, 1		Female RMG worker, 2	TU-F leader, 2	TU-F leaders, 2
	Male community member, 2	Home owners, 1	Female RMG worke...	Service provid... 1				

Sources in the EKATA workshop were asked to rate the significance of the OIKKO contribution to the outcomes they described. The rating was only sought for outcomes where OIKKO made a direct contribution. Of the 15 outcomes rated, 6 were given the highest ranking (OIKKO was the only contributor), 9 the second highest (OIKKO made the most important contribution). The OIKKO contribution to outcomes harvested at the TU-F workshop was not rated as CARE understands their contribution was limited.

4.2 Evaluation question 1A:
What do the outcomes influenced by OIKKO tell us about whether, and if so how, the project: Increased the ability (e.g. using new strategies, pathways, practical approaches) / confidence / motivation of women RMG workers to raise demands in the work place or community, whether individually or collectively?

The outcomes
Seventeen outcomes provide clear evidence that women RMG workers raised demands in both work places and communities, either for the first time or in a significantly new way, at least in part because of OIKKO; see **Table 1**.

A number of these demands – 12 – led to responses from duty bearers; these related outcomes are considered in the answer to question 1 (b). A larger set of duty bearer responses – 74 – was recorded in the project evaluation commissioned by the EC but these are not considered here as the descriptions of the responses do not have sufficient information to meet the criteria and standards of this evaluation (see Section 2, Evaluation design).

Outcomes occurred both during and after the 9 month EKATA intervention (December 2015 – August 2016), showing the potential durability of the new behaviours influenced by the intervention.

Below, the outcomes harvested have been analysed in relation to the issues raised during demand-raising, the scope and objectives of the demands and the different strategies of demand-raising used in workplaces and communities.

Demand-raising in workplaces

Workplace demands were the largest number of outcomes identified in the harvest, with 8 outcomes in total. Workers raised demands on a variety of issues, including: requests for women-only washrooms (EKATA-1), maternity pay (EKATA-4), festival bonus (EKATA-8), compensation (EKATA-16), payment of the minimum wage (EKATA-30), sick leave (EKATA-25), reinstatement of a sacked colleague (EKATA-27), and preventing sexual harassment and abuse (EKATA-6; EKATA-31). The focus on demand-raising based on rights demonstrates that these outcomes are significant, as workers are often either unaware of their rights or are unwilling / unable to raise rights-based demands to their employer.

The scope and objectives of the demand raising also varied, including:

- Workers **raising demands on their own behalf**, such as a worker who claimed her 16 weeks maternity pay (EKATA-4).
- Workers **supporting each other to raise demands** for entitlements, such as EKATA members supporting one of their fellow members to apply for sick leave which had previously been denied (EKATA-25).
- Workers **raising demands on behalf of other individuals**, such as an EKATA leader insisting that action be taken against a supervisor that was abusing a worker (EKATA-6) and EKATA members raising the case of a worker who was sacked whilst on maternity leave to management (EKATA-27).
- Workers **raising demands on behalf of all workers / a significant group of workers in the factory,** such as a worker demanding that management pay salaries and compensation to all workers during a period of factory closure (EKATA-16), a worker demanding the festival bonus be paid (EKATA-8), a worker demanding the factory raise salaries to the legal minimum and provide back pay (EKATA-30) and workers requesting the factory install women-only washrooms (EKATA-1).

The outcomes demonstrate that workers used different strategies and tactics to support their demands. Workers raised their demands to supervisors, HR, the Worker Participation Committee and directly to senior managers. This was the method encouraged by the OIKKO intervention during the development of action plans, with workers encouraged to first use existing channels for raising concerns within the factories before resorting to other tactics if this is unsuccessful. In a number of examples, workers deployed tactics to strengthen their bargaining position and the possibility of achieving a positive outcome. One worker organised meetings with other workers in the factory to make them aware of their right to their salary and compensation during a period of temporary factory closure and gathered their support behind her demands, this also enabled her to threaten protests if the management did not meet the workers' demands (EKATA-16). Another worker organised a peaceful strike lasting 1 month in order to convince management to pay the legal minimum wage and back pay (EKATA-30). Other examples include a worker demonstrating that they know how to file complaints if their demands for legal entitlement to the festival bonus were not honoured (EKATA-8), and workers threatening police action if management did not take action against a perpetrator of sexual harassment (EKATA-31).

A number of the outcomes demonstrate workers taking on a leadership role through organising and representing other workers which they had not done previously, including Manu* (EKATA-16), Maaryam* (EKATA-6) and Sita* (EKATA-30). This emergence of new worker leaders was central to a number of the outcomes being achieved and represents a vital contribution of the OIKKO project.
Names changed to protect identities

The evidence of workers both raising demands on behalf of other workers and deploying combative tactics to strengthen their bargaining position are particularly significant. Workers are commonly not very aware of their rights and very hesitant to raise demands for fear of negative backlash from managers – which can include verbal and physical abuse, being fired and being blacklisted from employment in other factories – so these outcomes demonstrate a marked shift in knowledge, skills and confidence.

The majority of the demands-raised were in response to incidents and attempts by management to deny their rights – such as actions to claim the festival bonus and payment during factory closure. Only one of the demand-raising outcomes related to improving the working environment more generally – workers raising the issue of women-only washrooms with management. This was to be expected as OIKKO aimed to support workers to raise demands and protest violations of their rights, but the project theory of change did not expect workers to identify factory non-compliances and drive improvements more generally.

Table 1: Number of outcomes about the increased ability, confidence or motivation of women RMG workers to raise demands individually and collectively

	Number of outcomes		
	Total	In work place	In community
Individually	4	4	0
Collectively	11	4	7
Total	15	8	7

Demand-raising in communities

The outcomes demonstrate that demand-raising outside of the workplace was directed towards a number of different duty-bearers, including local authorities (councillors, ward commissioner, local politicians) and service providers. The issues raised also varied by duty-bearer, including:

- **Local authorities** – inadequate drainage and sewage systems (EKATA-3), child marriage (EKATA-12), lack of security lights and poor water supplies (EKATA-10), eve-teasing (EKATA-18 and 24), divorce (EKATA-20).
- **Non-government service providers** – more accessible health services (EKATA-14).

Much as in the workplace, the scope and objectives of the demand raising varied. Some demands were raised by workers on their own behalf, such as getting support to secure a divorce (EKATA-20). Some demands demonstrate EKATA groups working together to raise demands on behalf of individuals, particularly to prevent eve-teasing i.e. sexual harassment in public places (EKATA-18 and 24). Finally, some demands were also raised on behalf of all / a significant number of people in a community – such as raising issues of inadequate drainage and waste collection (EKATA-3) and lack of security lights (EKATA-10) and more accessible health services (EKATA-14).

In the community, workers also deployed different tactics and strategies to support their demands. In cases where workers wanted to lobby for improved infrastructure and services, they set up meetings with councillors and local elites to raise concerns collectively in order to strengthen the power of their demands. Also, in cases where demands involved challenging the attitudes and behaviours of family or community members, individuals and EKATA groups were also successful in getting support from local councillors to lend weight to their arguments. For example, workers had taken action individually and as an EKATA group to try and prevent a child marriage taking place but had failed to change the parent's minds. In response, the EKATA members enlisted the support of local councillors to help them speak to the parents (EKATA-12). This outcome is particularly significant, not only because it is unusual

for women workers in communities to raise demands collectively, but also because they identified the need to intervene as a group and took the initiative to involve the councillor when initial attempts failed.

How did OIKKO contribute to the outcomes?

OIKKO delivered the following core activities to support each EKATA group[7]:

- **Month 1-2**: EKATA formation session. Prioritization of problems, service provide mapping, progressive woman traits, etc.
- **Month 3-4**: Gender, empowerment, rights and laws. Awareness raising on work place and household rights e.g. power and women empowerment, labour rights, sexual harassment, etc.
- **Month 5-6**: Leadership, communication and problem solving. Communication in the workshop, problem-solving, leadership traits, etc.
- **Month 6-7**: Health-personal hygiene. Reproductive health and family planning, AIDS and STD prevention, occupational health and safety, etc.
- **Month 8**: Women's financial empowerment and annexation. Economic literacy, savings, financial institutions, etc.
- **Month 9**: Establishing a relationship with CWA and TU, active participation and providing leadership. Labour rights and Labour Act 2006, trade union participation, etc.
- **Additional work to support delivery of EKATA action plans**, including establishing relationships with local leaders, authorities and service providers and setting up meetings with them for EKATA groups.

The outcome sources rated OIKKO contributions to outcomes to be significant (level 3 or 4) for both community and work place outcomes. The OIKKO contribution to work place outcomes were rated most highly (all but one was rated as 4 - OIKKO was the only contributor). The lower rating for OIKKO contribution for community-level outcomes is an indication that other actors (councillors, other elites, other citizens) played a role in outcomes in addition to RMG workers.

The outcomes reveal that OIKKO contributed in four main ways to women RMG workers demonstrating new abilities, confidence or motivation to raise demands:

- **Awareness** of workers' rights, laws and entitlements
- **Skills** on collective action, leadership and communication
- **Confidence building** and group support
- **Introductions** to duty bearers such as service providers

The contributions evidenced by the harvest reflect the majority of the core activities OIKKO delivered to support EKATA groups.

Substantiation supported the contribution of OIKKO were as stated in the outcome statements. However, it is important to note that the description of how OIKKO contributed was in some cases somewhat vague and for some outcomes the lack of detail suggests the contribution descriptions may be incomplete. The facilitators of the EKATA groups identified the contribution of OIKKO to the demand-raising outcomes, so it is likely that they were only able to identify contributions that they were more directly aware of, such as facilitation of the EKATA sessions themselves, but not relationship building and linkages established with relevant duty-bearers. With this caveat in mind, EKATA facilitators identified the following the main types of contribution made to demand-raising outcomes by OIKKO as presented in **Table 2**.

---

[7] OIKKO Module: EKATA project, CARE Bangladesh.

Table 2: How OIKKO contributed to women workers raising demands

Outcome	OIKKO contribution			
	Awareness	Skills	Confidence	Introductions
Work place - individual				
Worker claimed maternity pay (EKATA-4)	◆			
Intervention to stop worker abuse (EKATA-6)		◆		
Action to claim festival bonus (EKATA-8)	◆	◆		
Compensation demand (EKATA-16)	◆			
Worker becomes a leader (EKATA-23)	◆	◆	◆	
Recruitment of 300+ to federation (TU-F-2)	◆			
Work place - collective				
Request for women-only washrooms (EKATA-1)	◆		◆	
Sick leave (EKATA-25)	◆	◆		
Protest unlawful dismissal (EKATA-27)		◆		
Sexual harassment (EKATA-31)	◆		◆	
Community - collective				
Drainage and waste (EKATA-3)	◆	◆	◆	◆
Security and sanitation (EKATA-10)		◆		
Child marriage (EKATA-12)	◆	◆	◆	
Access to healthcare (EKATA-14)		◆		◆
Eve-teasing (EKATA-18)	◆		◆	
Domestic violence (EKATA-21)	◆	◆		
Eve-teasing and theft (EKATA-24)	◆			

The range of contributions identified demonstrate the importance of building awareness, skills and confidence for enabling workers to raise demands. Whilst EKATA facilitators pointed to different contributions for the outcomes, awareness, skills and knowledge are closely interrelated and the contribution findings suggest that the focus of OIKKO on building worker capacity across these three factors was important.

EKATA facilitators reported that raising workers' **awareness of gender inequalities** and knowledge about their rights was important for most of the outcomes. Relevant topics mentioned include awareness of workers' rights, entitlements and laws[8]. In the community, important topics were public hygiene (EKATA-3); disadvantages of child marriage (EKATA-12); violence against women (EKATA-21) and sexual harassment (EKATA-24).

---

[8] EKATA-1: EKATA-25; EKATA-31

For over half of the outcomes about demand-raising, an important OIKKO contribution was its role in **building and enhancing the skills of EKATA members in leadership, communication and taking collective action**. Focussing the skills building element of EKATA on **collective organising and action** therefore appears to have been an important contribution, as workers applied these skills to raise demands in the workplace and community, frequently organising themselves to work collectively and in some cases organising other workers in their factories and representing other workers in their case to management. **Confidence-building** through empowerment, leadership and communications training and simply being part of a supportive group was mentioned 7 times.

Most EKATA members referred to the awareness, skills and confidence gained as the primary contribution of OIKKO to the outcomes; but the methods deployed by the workers in raising demands points to the important role of the EKATA group and methodology in achieving those outcomes. EKATA groups aim to develop group solidarity and a support network – which EKATA members did reference as a contribution in 7 outcomes – but crucially support workers to collectively identify gaps in access to rights, identify actions to address these issues, and provide an organised space in which to organise that collective action. A large number of outcomes demonstrate workers benefitting from this contribution, as the actions taken were identified through EKATA action plans agreed by each group and workers acted collectively with their EKATA group members to take action on a shared issue or received support from their peers in dealing with an individual case. It is likely that this would have been less likely to happen without the collective identification of issues, action planning and peer support network fostered within EKATA. This explanation is supported by CARE's prior experience delivering training programmes to workers on rights and life skills, which demonstrated that individual training approach can support individuals to make better informed decisions and raise demands individually on their own behalf; but is very unlikely to facilitate collective action on a broader scope of rights-based demands.

Introductions of EKATA members to elites such as councillors as well as service providers was integral to the EKATA approach in each group (Hossain, pers. Coms.) yet the role of OIKKO in making **introductions** was only mentioned for two outcomes. This contribution may have been under-represented in the outcomes because it occurred early in the EKATA intervention which started nearly three years prior to the harvesting of outcomes, and because the outcome sources (EKATA facilitators) were less aware of these contributions.

In all but one case, the RMG workers who raised demands had participated in either the EKATA intervention or the training to TU-F leaders. The one exception is an RMG worker who claimed an entitlement (maternity pay) after having learned about her entitlement to such pay from a CWA leader (EKATA-4). Here, the role of OIKKO was to build the awareness and capacity of a CWA leader who then passed this on to the RMG worker. Such sharing of knowledge and building of confidence of others is key to the wider success of the EKATA / CWA approach and could be investigated further.

4.3 Evaluation question 1B:
What do the outcomes influenced by OIKKO tell us about whether, and if so how, the project improved responses of employers to RMG worker demands for their legal rights and entitlements as well as responses of community service providers to worker demands?

OIKKO did not (and did not seek to) directly influence the actions, policies or practices of factories. Instead, it supported women workers to raise demands in a way that would enable access to and greater respect for their rights from factory managers. Nine (indirect) outcomes influenced by the project evidence **positive responses from factories to workers' demands**. Of these, 7 were about

responses on pay, compensation or benefits, specifically: compensation after dismissal / factory closure (TU-F-11, EKATA-17); maternity pay / reinstatement (EKATA-5, EKATA-28); payment of festival bonus (EKATA-9); payment of sick leave (EKATA-26) and payment of minimum wage (EKATA-30). A further two outcomes were about responses to demands for an improved work place environment (EKATA-2) and ending abusive behaviour from a supervisor (EKATA-7).

Garment factory employers are frequently resistant to worker attempts to organise and raise demands, and those workers who attempt this can face serious reprisals – including verbal and physical abuse, being fired and being blacklisted from working in other factories. CARE's experience demonstrates that demand-raising often starts on soft and non-confrontational issues, but progressing to rights-based demands is incredibly difficult as that is when employer resistance can become severe. The rights-based focus of these outcomes and workers' success in getting positive responses from managers demonstrates the significant success the OIKKO project achieved in achieving an improved response from employers to worker's demands.

Four of the outcomes are remarkable for benefitting multiple employees, in one case (EKATA-17) over 400, with improved pay, compensation, payment of bonuses and work place conditions. The pathways of change linking the OIKKO contribution to these four outcomes is illustrated in **Figure 1**. In each of these cases, the employer's response brought them into line with statutory entitlements due to women workers. These achievements are significant for achieving respect for women workers' rights and gender equality, demonstrating the impact that organising, collective action and demand raising can have in enabling access to rights in the workplace.

Above all, the outcomes illustrate that the women RMG workers who made demands showed remarkable leadership and that OIKKO contributed to this through collective awareness raising, skills development and confidence building in EKATA. In the celebrated example of compensation secured when a factory closed (EKATA-17), the newly developed leadership capability of EKATA group member Manu* was recognised by an award she received for her bravery as a new leader from CARE-BD Dignified Work Programme.

In all but one case, the scope of employer responses were in response to demands for workers' legal rights and entitlements. The exception is EKATA-9, an outcome about compensation paid beyond that required in law when the factory paid festival bonus to all 20 workers (out of 3,000) who did not qualify under company policy as they had less than 6 months employment. In all other cases, responses from factories honoured their legal obligations but did not go beyond them. OIKKO did not aim to push factories to move beyond legal compliance, as closing the persistent gaps between legal rights and the reality of working conditions was the focus, and this was reflected in the outcomes achieved.

How did OIKKO contribute to factory response to worker demands?

In each of the 9 cases of company responses, the OIKKO contribution was indirect (see above): the project did not influence factories directly, rather it sought to promote demands from RMG workers. The OIKKO contribution to demand-raising by RMG workers is described above in section 4.2

Factory level responses

Figure 5: Factory responses to women RMG worker demands that benefitted multiple workers

OIKKO contribution	RMG worker demand	Factory response
Sita* learned about labour rights and communication through the EKATA group. (EKATA-30)	Sita* used these new abilities to request the correct salary and then organise a peaceful strike. (EKATA-30)	The factory authority agreed in 2016 to raise salaries to the mandated legal minimum and paid back-pay to all staff within a month. (EKATA-30)
Manu*, the only EKATA member at this factory, learned about labour laws and rights for the first time through the EKATA group. (EKATA-16)	Manu* informed the factory managers that she and others were willing to start protesting if not paid in line with their entitlements. (EKATA-16)	In 2016, the management of her factory paid due salaries and compensation in full to all 4-500 workers on the closure of the factory. (EKATA-17)
Tarika* learned about rights and skills to raise issues in her EKATA group. (EKATA-8)	Tarika* informed her supervisor that if they didn't pay the festival bonus to all staff she could file a case against the factory. (EKATA-8)	In 2016, her factory paid the festival bonus to all 20 workers (out of 3,000) who did not qualify under factory policy because they had less than 6 months employment. (EKATA-9)
Maaryam* and Rafia* learned about workers' rights in 2016 through participating in the EKATA group and became confident in claiming these rights. (EKATA-1)	In 2017, Maaryam* and Rafia* asked the factory administrators to install separate (women-only) washroom facilities for its 400 women workers. (EKATA-1)	In 2017, their factory installed separate washroom facilities for women. (EKATA-2)

In addition to factory responses, the outcomes provide evidence of responses from community-level service providers, one from a **healthcare provider** and another **homeowners / landlords** of properties rented to women garment workers. Together, the responses show that the EKATA approach to raising demands collectively can be successful at getting resolution of a range of issues of concern to women RMG workers.

The healthcare outcome concerned gaining access to affordable healthcare in the vicinity of garment factories outside the normal working hours of garment workers. In the only example of EKATA groups cooperating (EKATA-15), members from nine groups collaborated with neighbours and others in the community to ask BAPSA, a private healthcare provider in Gazipur, to make their services more accessible. BAPSA was receptive to the request because it was already engaged in meeting the needs of women workers near factories but the EKATA group intervention succeeded in securing a 50% reduction in the price of some services in clinics that are accessible to workers after dark, unlike the government clinic which is not local to the workers. OIKKO contributed through building skills in taking collective action and introductions to service provider representatives.

The response from **homeowners** came in response to concerns about the lack of security lighting and inadequate water supplies in properties rented to multiple garment workers (EKATA-11). As the garment sector has expanded rapidly in Gazipur, the pressure on housing has grown, resulting in crowded rented accommodation with inadequate facilities (Mahmud Hossain pers. com). In this context, members from the EKATA group first approach local elites who in turn took their concerns to councillors. The councillors intervened to ensure homeowners provided security light and adequate water supplies, particularly in the evenings when demand is greatest. OIKKO contributed by training the group in how to take a collective approach when demanding services.

In a separate outcome (EKATA-3), members from a different EKATA group sought the support of a councillor to resolve sewage and waste collection problems. It is not known if these concerns were resolved. OIKKO contributed through raising awareness on public hygiene, skills on taking action collectively and introductions to councillors, all of which built confidence of the members.

4.4 Evaluation question 1C:
What do the outcomes influenced by OIKKO tell us about whether, and if so how, the project changed gender relations and promoted gender justice within households and communities – changes such as getting support for their work lives, raising their voice in their personal lives or their relationships with TU/Fs or others who can be supportive?

A further 12 outcomes provide evidence of changed gender relations at the household (8 outcomes) and community levels (4 outcomes). Some of the household-level outcomes were achieved through mobilization of EKATA members outside the household, showing the potential value of collective action extends beyond the work place and community and into domestic life.

A set of **household-level outcomes** concern EKATA members adopting a new behaviour individually or collectively to resolve a range issues:

- Some EKATA members opened **savings** accounts in formal institutions (EKATA-32). Encouraging women workers to save in a secure, formal institution was an objective of OIKKO because it helps provide women with autonomy over how they use their salaries, something that is sometimes challenged by men in their households. OIKKO contributed by building awareness of the value of savings and using formal institutions for savings. In another case, a woman convinced her husband to support her in opening a bank account. Here, OIKKO

contributed through awareness raising and direct support from the facilitator who spoke to the husband directly (EKATA-22).

- Other EKATA members (EKATA-21) helped **resolve a broken marriage** of one of their members by involving local elites to help reconcile a couple after a women divorced her husband to escape his physical and mental abuse. The divorced couple decided to get back together and the man committed in front of witnesses not to repeat his abuse (EKATA-22). OIKKO contributed through raising awareness on violence against women and building skills in acting collectively.

- In a contrasting case (EKATA-20), an EKATA member used what she learned through the EKATA group about family law and divorce law to involve community leaders in **securing her divorce**, freeing her from her husband's physical abuse and demands for her salary. The divorce came after the woman and sought to resolve her problems directly with her husband.

- A **child marriage was cancelled** (EKATA-13) after EKATA members involved councillors in talking to the parents, an intervention that followed previous unsuccessful attempts from family members.

- Lastly, one outcome concerns the type of behaviour change that was the foundation for much that followed: a women worker and EKATA member **overcoming family restrictions** to start speaking out, eventually becoming a CWA and then Federation member in 2017 (EKATA-23). This change is not only highly significant for the person involved (they raised demands and helped resolve issues, as described in other outcomes in the harvest), it is also symbolic of the challenge many women workers are likely to have overcome when, presumably, male household members had to be made comfortable first with their participation in the EKATA groups – these typically met late in the evening, after work and household duties – and then with their public role in raising demands. OIKKO facilitated the acceptance of women's participation in the EKATA groups by the project staff directly engaging in visits and dialogue with members of numerous households (Mahmud Hossain, Pers, Com.)

At the **community-level**, changed gender relations are evidenced by EKATA members working together to address a shared concern: sexual harassment in public places, a problem reportedly affecting almost 80% of women in the village of one of the outcome sources (EKATA-18). In a case in Chittagong, EKATA members first took action (EKATA-18), using the knowledge and confidence gained through OIKKO, by engaging their Community Support Group (set up by OIKKO) and a ward commissioner who then gathered the accused and warned them they must stop (EKATA-19). In Gazipur, a group of about 12 EKATA members sought support from members of the ruling parting to stop eve-teasing and theft of salaries on the street. OIKKO contributed by bring the members together in an EKATA group, then working with them to raise their awareness on gender discrimination, sexual harassment and inequality.

4.5 Evaluation question 1D:
What do the outcomes influenced by OIKKO tell us about whether, and if so how, the project strengthened the capacity of female members of trade unions and federations to represent their issues?

To answer this question, the evaluators analysed 6 outcomes in which factory authorities changed behaviour as a result, at least in part, because of the actions of a female trade union or federation member.

The outcomes provide evidence that as a result of the project, female trade union and federation representatives were better able to represent RMG workers in disputes over pay and compensation. Four of the 5 outcomes are about trade union / federation officials using the **compensation toolkit and training on using the toolkit provided by OIKKO** to secure due payments or compensation for RMG workers when, for example, a factory was moved or an employee unlawfully dismissed. The outcomes provide evidence that the unions used the toolkit to gain correct payments for workers for overtime pay, severance pay and maternity pay. In one case (TU-F 4), the compensation toolkit was used to help

ensure 1,300 workers received the correct overtime and severance pay when their factory was moved. According to trade union and federation outcome sources, the toolkit is significant because previously it was difficult for them to accurately calculate compensation and to agree compensation with factories, but now the toolkit makes it easy for the union to confidently calculate and demonstrate to management the amount of compensation required.

One outcome (TU-F-9) also provides evidence that OIKKO contributed to a female union leader understanding how to calculate a living wage and justify it to other stakeholders. This led her to publicly endorse a minimum wage of BDT 16,000 for the first time.

> In June 2018, the management of a factory in Gazipur, finally paid a former RMG worker the payments due to her following dismissal from her job after she made accusations of harassment. (TU-F-7)

Not all uses of the toolkit were successful in securing due compensation or benefits but one outcome (TU-F-6) shows that even when this is the case, the engagement with factory authorities that the toolkit supports can still result in a positive unexpected outcome. In this case, use of the toolkit by a TU-F leader trained by OIKKO failed to secure maternity benefit for a women returning to work after having a child. However, the dialogue the toolkit supported led to the factory reinstating the RMG worker - now a TU leader- to the position she held prior to taking maternity leave (TU-F-6). This was significant because it is common for an employer to treat a woman returning from maternity leave as a new employee.

The one other outcome relevant to this question also concerns compensation being secured after illegal dismissal of a worker for becoming pregnant: *In August 2018, the management a factory in Dhaka, paid compensation due to an RMG worker who had been fired because she became pregnant and paid her the salary due - BDT 90,000 - after the Trade Union Federation represented the worker in the negotiations. (TU-F-11).* In this outcome, OIKKO contributed indirectly through its training that raised awareness of rights and how to claim compensation when they are breached. Inspired by this training, an RMG worker raised the issue of compensation due because of unlawful dismissal due to pregnancy with factory authorities. When this was unsuccessful, a second RMG worker, inspired by the actions of the first, made a written complaint via the union to factory management. This shows how actions by workers inspired by OIKKO can inform and inspire the actions of others, a critical factor if OIKKO is to extend beyond those engaged directly by its interventions.

4.6 Evaluation question 1E:
What do the outcomes influenced by OIKKO tell us about whether, and if so how, the project helped TU/Fs become more representative of women workers including changing practices / take actions in support of issues raised by women that they did not previously?

To answer this question, the evaluators analysed 7 outcomes[9] related to improved gender responsiveness of the unions achieved, at least in part, through a contribution from OIKKO. The outcomes provide evidence of:

- **Trade unions increasing the number of women members** – including one union that increased female membership by 20% (TU-F 1), a second union that recruited 60 new members (TU-F-5) and a third union that organised 300-400 new members (TU-F-2).
- **Trade unions promoting more women leaders to decision-making position** – in particular, one outcome provides evidence of a union partner increasing the number of women on their

---

[9] TU-F-1, TU-F-2, TU-F-3, TU-F-5, TU-F-8, TU-F-9, TU-F-10

Executive Committee from 11 to 17 (TU-F-1); and one worker who became an executive member of a federation (TU-F-3).

- **The formation of new trade unions** – including trade union formation starting in 7 new factories (TU-F-10)

These outcomes are significant because the number of workers in unions in Bangladesh remains very low (estimates suggest less than 5%) – and men are disproportionately represented in union membership and leadership positions. CARE assumes that a higher proportion of women in leadership and membership will result in more and better representation of issues of particular concern to the women workers who make up 80% of the workforce.

The contribution of OIKKO to achieving these outcomes varied. The use of outreach workers to recruit union / federation members was said by many sources to be a new strategy that they learned from OIKKO training. It involves the recruitment and training of women from the locality of a garment factory - some, but not all, of whom are factory workers themselves – to engage with factory workers to recruit them as members of a particular federation or union. One union leader delivering the training to 15 women workers, which resulted in trade union formation starting in 7 new factories (TU-F-10). In other cases, simpler contributions such as setting up a meeting between union leaders and workers were enough to support women to join (TU-F-5).

> In November 2017, the Secretary General and the President of a Trade Union Federation in Gazipur were motivated to speak at a meeting with RMG workers from two factories.
>
> Following this, 60 workers joined the federation. (TU-F-5)

> From 2017-September 2018, leaders of a Federation in Dhaka initiated actions to increase the number of women members and women in leadership roles in the Federation. The number of women members has increased by 20% and the number of women on the Executive Committee has increased from 11 to 17 since the President and Executive Secretary decided to seek such an increase at the Federation's convention in November 2017. (TU-F-1)

In one case (TU-F-1), the OIKKO training on the importance of promoting women members and leaders within the union helped to catalyse the leadership to start a process that resulted in both increases in women's membership and representation in leadership roles. OIKKO training had demonstrated to union leaders how to develop women union outreach activists who could reach out and organise women workers. The union rolled out outreach events to women workers and their families, and utilised women worker leaders trained under OIKKO to lead organising efforts. This demonstrates that OIKKO was able to achieve institutional change in a trade union partner which could have a significant long-term impact on how the union operates.

While most of the outcomes relate to shifts in the behaviour of the unions to enable increased representation and voice for women, one outcome also points to the direct role OIKKO played in supporting new union leaders to emerge (TU-F-3). Nilima* progressed from EKATA member, to CWA lead and today is a federation leader: *In 2018, following her participation and speech in the OIKKO National Convention, Nilima* decided she wanted to become a TU/F leader. In August 2018, she became an executive member of a Federation in Chittagong.* Here, OIKKO contributed not only through the EKATA group work and CWA formation but also by inviting Nilima* to present at the OIKKO National Convention, a move that was instrumental to her decision to seek a federation leadership role.

4.7 Evaluation question 2:

Are there are patterns or trends in the outcomes or the factors contributing to outcomes and, if so, what do these tell us about a) the most important / critical actual pathways of change, b) if these differed from those described or implied in the current (version 3.1) project theory of change?

To answer this question, the evaluators first analysed the actual outcomes achieved to see if they demonstrate progress towards the Participant / Strategic Partner and Stakeholder outcomes projected in the theory of change (See Annex B or **Figure 6**). Next, the evaluators examined the outcomes achieved and contributions made by OIKKO, to see if the pathway of change is similar or different to what was projected in the theory of change.

Figure 6: OIKKO theory of change planned outcomes

Extract from OIKKO model for evaluation
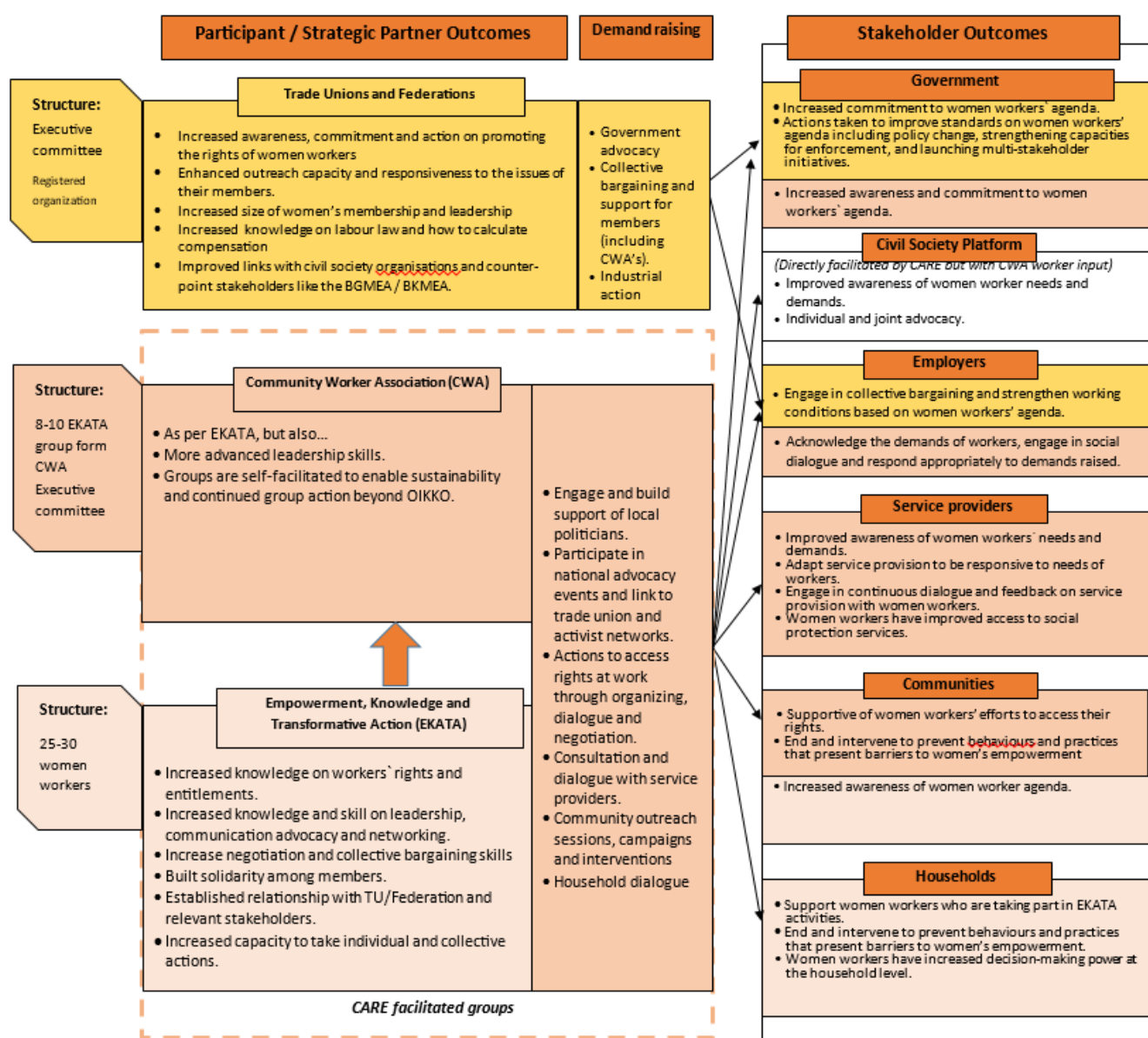
Participant / strategic partner outcomes

Trade Unions and Federations

OIKKO achieved the majority of planned outcomes for Trade Unions and Federations, as outlined in **Table 3**.

Table 3: Trade Unions and Federations: planned vs achieved outcomes
N.B. Some achieved outcomes are relevant to more than one planned outcome

Planned outcome	Number of achieved outcomes	Example
Increased awareness, commitment and action on promoting the rights of women workers	13	Sandeep*, president of the federation, first received training on workers' rights from OIKKO. She then provided it to others in her federation, including Nadira*, under the banner 'Karmojibi Nari'. Nadira* used what she learned from Sandeep* and relevant training from Action Aid to train other women workers and enrol them in the federation. (TU-F-2, contribution)
Enhanced outreach capacity and responsiveness to the issues of their members.	3	In 2017, Saleem*, Trade Union Secretary, provided training on how to be a trade union / federation outreach worker to 15 women workers in the 7 areas of Dhaka and Gazipur. (TU-F-19)
Increased size of women's membership and leadership	6	Since February 2017, Nadira*, an RMG worker, has been active in a workers' federation; to date she has mobilized 3-400 RMG workers to join the federation. (TU-F-2)
Increased knowledge on labour law and how to calculate compensation	4	In August 2018, the management of a factory in Dhaka, paid compensation due to an RMG worker who had been fired because she became pregnant and paid her the salary due - BDT 90,000 - after a Garment Workers Federation represented the worker in the negotiations. (TU-F-11)
Improved links with civil society organisations and counter-point stakeholders like the BGMEA / BKMEA.	none	

Only one Trade Union and Federation outcome was not demonstrated by the harvest - 'improved links with civil society' – but this part of the OIKKO intervention was intentionally not included within the scope of the evaluation (see section on Limitations).

The OIKKO theory of change projects that through increasing the number of women union members, increasing the number of women in leadership positions in unions and improving the gender sensitivity of male union leaders; the representation of culturally sensitive, gendered issues (like gender-based violence, and sexual and reproductive health) in union advocacy and collective bargaining will increase and result in greater respect of these rights for women workers.

The EC evaluation provided evidence of male union leaders becoming more comfortable discussing culturally sensitive gendered issues, but this was not reflected in the outcomes harvested for this evaluation. Furthermore, whilst the outcomes do evidence increased membership of women and more women in leadership positions; the extent to which this has influenced the advocacy and collective bargaining agenda of the unions is unclear. As such, the harvest demonstrates that OIKKO has

achieved significant progress but has not fully achieved or evidenced its pathway of change towards the planned outcomes.

Participant / strategic partner outcomes: CWA and EKATA

No outcomes reference the **development of group solidarity** explicitly. However, the nature of the collective actions taken and the support provided by EKATA members to each other – including raising demands collectively to service providers and employers, banding together to support an individual member to resolve her problem – makes this contribution plausible, as it is unlikely these kinds of behaviours would have happened if the groups had not develop a sense of peer support and solidarity in promoting shared demands and addressing shared problems. Information collected by CARE during the intervention also suggests that workers referred to other EKATA members for their opinion and advice before deciding on how to address an issue or raise a demand, though this contribution did not appear in the outcomes.

OIKKO did establish **links between EKATA groups and trade unions and federations**, but none of the outcomes harvested referenced these links; though the outcomes do evidence EKATA members joining unions. The OIKKO theory of change also assumes that links to trade unions and federations will support workers in demand-raising, as they can get advice and support from the unions in negotiating with management. None of the outcomes harvested reference the role of unions in supporting the EKATA members when they raised demands. EKATA members did reference the support of union federations to CARE during the project implementation, but it is interesting that this did not appear in the outcome statements. This may be due to lack of specificity in the contribution descriptions of the outcome statements (see Section 3, Evaluation process: Limitations).

Only four outcomes reference **CWA's**, but this may be due to both the limited number of CWA leaders involved in the harvest – the majority of participants were EKATA facilitators who were not involved in CWA formation and work – and general lack of specificity of OIKKO contributions identified by the participants. Nevertheless, the four outcomes that reference CWA evidence that CWA's can meet their planned objectives. In particular, CWA leaders demonstrated advanced leadership skills in advising and representing other workers – such as a CWA leader who informed a worker about maternity benefits which she then successfully claimed (EKATA-4) – and can sustain the demand-raising behaviours achieved under EKATA (EKATA-5). One outcome demonstrates an unexpected outcome which was beyond the expectations of the project; with CWA acting as a stepping stone for a worker who went on to become a union federation leader (TU-F-3). This evidence reinforces CWA developments the CARE team has witnessed outside the harvest, including two CWA's formally registering as trade unions.

The anticipated demand raising outcome *Collective action to prevent harmful practices in households and communities* is evidenced by several examples concerning actions aimed to stop child marriage, eve-teasing and domestic violence / abuse.

The anticipated demand raising outcome *Dialogue in households to support EKATA participation*, presumably means that women workers would themselves have such dialogues and / or support one another in doing so. None of the achieve outcomes demonstrates though this was an activity that the project team itself undertook itself (Mahmud Hossain, Pers. Com.), so it was clearly important.

Pathways of change

Pathways of change start with the inputs / actions of OIKKO.

At the **individual level**, all four inputs (group establishment, facilitation, training - awareness of rights, life and leadership skills - and Community Support Group formation) were evident in the outcomes though in many cases the contribution was not described with sufficient clarity to understand which aspects of training / which of the inputs was most important.

At the **community level**, linkages with service providers and capacity building on leadership and communication were evident in the outcomes. Missing was evidence that linkages between EKATA/CWA groups and trade unions and federations made by the project had contributed to outcomes.

No outcome statements included descriptions of **sub-national inputs** from OIKKO. In part this may be due to the lack of detail on contributions.

Most **national level OIKKO inputs** were directed at trade unions and federations. Those that contributed to outcomes are Gender sensitisation and Outreach training for trade union and federation leaders. In a deviation from the described inputs, outreach activists were not trained directly by OIKKO, rather some trade union and federation leaders trained by OIKKO used their new know-how to train their staff, including newly recruited outreach activists. The other national level input evident in one outcome was a CWA leader participating in the OIKKO National Convention (and being inspired by that experience and involvement in OIKKO since EKATA group formation to become a federation executive). Outcomes that may have resulted from civil society platform establishment were beyond the scope of this evaluation.

Examples of OIKKO inputs evident in the outcomes that are not explicit in the theory of change are:

- Introductions to duty bearers and people of influence
- EKATA group facilitators directly assisting RMG workers in raising demands
- CARE / partner project team interventions in households to win support for women's participation in EKATA groups.

In summary, while not all OIKKO inputs are evident in the outcomes the absence of some is to be expected considering that the scope of the evaluation was purposefully targeted to understanding EKATA and Trade Union and Federation outcomes (Section 2: Design). Nonetheless, some expected community and sub-national inputs were not evident in the EKATA outcomes; the reasons for this warrant further investigation to understand if this is due to the outcomes known to the particular sources engaged in the harvest, or if it is because the inputs did not result in outcomes.

Turning to the Participant / Strategy partner outcomes, the dominant pattern was of EKATA group members actively demonstrating the changes anticipated in the theory of change and influencing outcomes not only at the community and household levels but also strong evidence that they realised changes among employers and to a limited extent among some service providers (in line with those anticipated for CWA groups).

Trade union and federation outcomes demonstrate many of the OIKKO inputs had been useful in supporting / catalysing actions. The only exception not evident was new or strengthened links with civil society organisations. The most evident pathway of change involved use of the OIKKO compensation toolkit to negotiate with employers.

Stakeholder outcomes evidenced by the harvest included changes by employers, service providers, communities and households. As expected, influencing employers was the dominant change achieved by unions and federations. Notably, this was also the case for EKATA members, though they achieved notable successes at the household and community levels.

At the household level, the outcomes achieved provide some validation of the expected household-level outcomes. Specifically, the outcomes about stopping a child marriage, starting savings, stopping domestic violence, enabling a divorce and facilitating a reconciliation of a separated couple are examples of planned outcomes on preventing barriers to women's empowerment and increasing women's decision-making power at the household level. Some household changes involved community members and / or collective action by EKATA members.

Community-level outcomes achieved go beyond the planned 'Increased awareness of women worker agenda' to include duty bearer responses on drainage, security, sanitation, waste, eve-teasing and theft.

No outcomes achieved are relevant to the Civil Society Platform as such outcomes were not sought in the harvest. Similarly, no attempt was made to harvest outcomes at the Government level.

4.8 Evaluation question 3:
Have there been any negative or unexpected outcomes as a result of project activities and if so, what are they and how can we learn from these outcomes?

One negative outcome was described.

> **Outcome**: In 2018, shortly after the TU intervened to help Sheela* get the maternity pay she was due, the management asked her why she had involved others in the issue and her supervisor warned her over lateness and poor work.
>
> **Significance**: Sheela*had not received any such warnings in 8 years previous employment at the factory.
>
> **Contribution from OIKKO**: Sheela* was supported in making her claim for maternity pay by TU-F leaders who had been trained by OIKKO and given the OIKKO compensation toolkit.

This negative outcome illustrates that fostering social change is inherently riskiest for those with least power / influence. While the work of OIKKO shows that women RMG workers can be empowered and can find ways to secure rights and entitlements, they remain at risk during the types of social change sought by the project.

5. Learning considerations

Learning: the OIKKO findings

The scope of actions taken by workers and access to rights and entitlements gained are far beyond what CARE has previously contributed to through worker training and group-based approaches, suggesting that CARE should invest in EKATA as an effective model for promoting access to workers' rights. Future projects using an EKATA-like approach should build on the integrated awareness / skills / group formation / relationship building approach and also learn from other inputs that were found to be important for achieving outcomes. The outcome data tells us that OIKKO's most important contributions to outcomes achieved by EKATA group members were: building awareness of rights, developing skills in, for example, communicating with duty bearers and working collectively, and creating solidarity with a supportive group. The harvest also identified other OIKKO inputs – not described in the current version of the theory of change – that have also contributed to outcomes are warrant consideration in future interventions:

- Introductions to duty bearers and people of influence
- EKATA group facilitators directly assisting RMG workers in raising demands
- CARE / partner project team interventions in households to win support for women's participation in EKATA groups.

If the EKATA approach is to inspire further interventions, the factors that determine which groups are more / less successful should be examined. This evaluation did not set out to examine if some EKATA groups were more successful than others and why. Project team members and the EC evaluation did note that success – in terms of participation, demands raised and issues resolved – was variable.

The sustainability and potential amplification of OIKKO achievements beyond the examples evident in the outcomes is not clear and could be investigated further. Some very significant outcomes were achieved that will have lasting effects, such as the rise to executive leadership of a federation of a female RMG worker, EKATA/CWA leaders continuing to support demand-raising in the work place after the project, and union / federations significantly increasing women representation in leadership positions and membership. Nonetheless, relatively few (10%) outcomes harvested occurred after OIKKO. For the EKATA outcomes, this pattern may be an artefact of the very limited participation of CWA group members (EKATA groups evolved into CWA groups). Potentially more can be learned about the sustainability of OIKKO achievements by harvesting outcomes from CWA group participants which superseded the EKATA groups. Consideration should be given as to what more could be done with similar initiatives in order to multiply and sustain their achievements.

How to enable demand-raising work place outcomes beyond legal rights should be considered when building on OIKKO / seeking to replicate it elsewhere. All but one of the employer responses documented in the outcomes concerned their responses to demands for workers' legal rights and entitlements. There was, therefore, little evidence that those who had participated in OIKKO were using their strengthened knowledge, skills, confidence and group support to seek non-statutory changes in work place policies and practices.

Trade union and federation interventions could usefully build on further dissemination of gender sensitisation training, the outreach worker concept, compensation toolkit and research to underpin minimum wage demands. These OIKKO inputs supported significant outcomes by trade union partners and could be more widely disseminated and implemented with unions. These concepts and tools could also help influence trade unions and federations who are not as open to change as those that participated in OIKKO.

Some anticipated pathways of change were not evident in the data; the reasons for this warrant investigation / monitoring in related ongoing interventions. Missing was evidence that linkages between EKATA/CWA groups and trade unions and federations made by the project had contributed to outcomes. The reason for this is unclear and could be investigated further. No outcome statements included descriptions of sub-national inputs from OIKKO. In part this may be due to the lack of detail on contributions. Again, further investigation could usefully explore if these inputs were delivered and if so what resulted. Nonetheless, some expected community and sub-national inputs were not evident in the EKATA outcomes; the reasons for this warrant further investigation to understand if this is due to the outcomes known to the particular sources engaged in the harvest, or if it is because the inputs did not result in outcomes.

OIKKO supported workers to raise demands and access rights in an environment where their rights are restricted, but in doing so it also puts women workers at considerable risk of negative backlash from employers, authorities, community leaders and their own families. At present, the structural barriers to change – particularly social norms which restrict women's rights, and government and employer repression of worker's rights to associate and bargain – appear intractable, and the power imbalance between the industry and government on the one hand, and workers on the other, may mean that the risk borne by workers is inevitable as they attempt to shift the balance of power. Nevertheless, **CARE should consider what can be done to soften the stance of duty-bearers and improve their respect for rights and responsiveness to workers' demands**, in order to both reduce the risk to women workers and promote better outcomes.

Learning: the Outcome Harvesting process

Outcome Harvesting is a powerful approach to documenting and learning about achievements for interventions whose success depends on influencing policies, practices, actions and relationships. It's utility depends on its adaptation to the particular purpose, user needs, data sources and available resources of each harvest. This evaluation succeeded in evidencing outcome-level achievements of OIKKO by harvesting from sources external to CARE and its implementing partners. The harvest design was developed to reflect available data sources, user needs and resources. It was adapted during implementation, the external evaluator and primary users continuously revisiting the design and taking decisions to e.g. follow up extensively with workshop participants after the workshop to finalise outcomes. This flexibility was vital for realising the findings and documenting them in a useful way.

When planning an outcome harvest, consider that outcomes take time to materialise – typically, they may materialise after a project – but that leaving a harvest too long after an intervention risks sources forgetting outcomes or lacking motivation to participate in the harvest. In this harvest, both groups of outcome sources / workshop participants were able to identify and describe numerous outcomes even though the project interventions had ended 6 or more months before the harvest. The ability of EKATA facilitators and members to describe outcomes is particularly notable because that part of the OIKKO project ended in August 2016, over 2 years before the harvest. Recollection of outcomes a long time after the project ended suggests the outcomes described represent important changes for those who described them. However, descriptions of the significance of outcomes and how OIKKO contributed were lacking in detail for a number of outcome statements, limiting in particular what could be learned about which OIKKO strategies were important for achieving particular outcomes / the pathways of change. For some draft outcomes, it was not possible to get the missing information by following up with sources after the workshop and the possible outcome had to be excluded from the harvest.

Using Outcome Harvesting for monitoring could build evidence of how an intervention contributes to processes of change. The timing of data collection after the project and limited time available for engaging with outcome sources (one day plus brief follow up by phone), limited the

description of intermediate outcomes and limited the detail on how OIKKO contributed to the outcomes that were described. If instead / as well as being used at the end of a project outcomes are harvested periodically during a project, this could provide near real-time evidence of the changes that are being influenced and foster reflection and adaptation of the project by the implementing team. CARE is working to trial this approach as part of a new project that is further scaling EKATA groups.

Sufficient time is needed to plan and prepare for a harvest because Outcome Harvesting is a participatory approach, both for your organisation and external data sources. Both CARE and the workshop participants demonstrated strong motivation to participate in the harvest. For the project staff, all had moved on to new projects with their urgent demands yet they did all that was possible to make themselves available. For the external sources, they gave up considerable time to participate in the workshops and in some cases brief follow up calls. Substantiators also gave time for short calls to confirm / comment on outcomes. To maximise the efficiency and effectiveness of a harvest:

- Ensure one person responsible for all aspects of the harvest is available to work with the harvest facilitator / evaluator throughout the process.
- Allow sufficient time (e.g. 2 weeks) between commissioning / contracting a harvest and any harvest activity like a workshop or interviews. This is to allow for the thorough design of the harvest by the evaluator and primary users, including the resolution of any conceptual or practical uncertainties.
- All those facilitating a harvest need experience / confidence / competence in Outcome Harvesting. It is a different way of thinking and describing achievements that takes time to master. If guiding others, it is imperative that you have some experience, even in writing a handful of outcome statements yourself that an experienced harvester has critiqued.
- Ensure a team facilitating a harvest includes people experienced in Outcome Harvesting who speak the language of those who will be sources of outcomes and / or substantiators.
- Plan for a minimum of 2 days for a harvesting workshop or be confident of following up with participants to complete outcome statements.

When using Outcome Harvesting for learning, work with any external evaluator to analyse and interpret the data. As in this evaluation, the external evaluator facilitated the process and worked with the internal evaluators to make sense of and communicate the findings. If feasible, include a sense-making workshop in the harvest design so you can work together (also with outcome sources if feasible) to analyse the data in a dynamic space before writing the report.

Risk management: the high-risk nature of interventions such as OIKKO that promote demand-raising by those with little power puts people at risk of reprisals / negative consequences. In OIKKO, risks to project participants had been monitored during the project. If using OH to monitor such negative outcomes then consideration needs to be given to creating appropriate safe spaces to engage project participants e.g. one-one interaction with project staff.

Annexes

To protect participant privacy, Annexes will not be published. They are available upon request.

Annex A: Database of outcomes

Annex B: OIKKO theory of change

Annex C: Workshop participant lists

Annex D: Workshop facilitation guides

CARE Asia

Lesley Abraham
Made by Women Strategy Coordinator
lesley.abraham@care.org
care.org/madebywomen

CARE Bangladesh

Humaira Aziz
Director of Women and Girls' Empowerment
humaira.aziz@care.org
carebangladesh.org

About CARE

CARE works with poor communities in developing countries to end extreme poverty and injustice.

Our long-term aid programs provide food, clean water,basic healthcare and education and create opportunities for people to build a better future for themselves.

We also deliver emergency aid to survivors of natural disasters and conflict, and help people rebuild their lives.

We have 70 years' experience in successfully fighting poverty.

care.org/madebywomen