



Transparency through mobile internet – Gajimu.com/garmen

Evaluation Report, February 2019
By Malene Sønderskov, Sten Toft Petersen & Rita Olivia Tambunan

StrategyHouse.dk
Mail@strategyhouse.dk

Contents

1. Executive Summary	2
2. Purpose of the Evaluation.....	4
3. The Project's Design	4
3.1 Feasibility of the Design	6
4. Methodology	8
5. Main Findings.....	8
5.1 Publication of workers' feedback on user-friendly webpages (content).....	8
5.1.1 <i>DecentWorkCheck</i>	9
5.1.2 <i>Factory Pages</i>	13
5.2 Use and outreach.....	15
5.2.1 <i>Gajimu.com/garment</i>	16
5.2.2 <i>Facebook and 'Marketing'</i>	16
5.2.3 <i>Targeting, goals and strategies</i>	18
5.3 Awareness raising, mobilization and social dialogue.....	19
5.3.1 <i>Key achievements</i>	19
5.3.2 <i>Drivers</i>	22
5.3.3 <i>Barriers</i>	23
6. Conclusions	25
6.1 <i>Scalability</i>	26
Annex I – Google Analytics Gajimu.com/garmen	27
Annex II	29
Annex III Informants.....	30

A special thanks to the WageIndicator Foundation and its team in Indonesia for the hospitality, practical support, advice, input and the interesting discussions that facilitated this evaluation.

Project Evaluation

1. Executive Summary

The 'Transparency through mobile internet – Gajimu.com' project aims to use mobile internet to strengthen the transparency of Indonesian garment factories' compliance with minimum wages and national labor law. At the same time it aims to increase the number of factories that comply with these.

The project began in April 2017 and will end in March 2019. It was implemented by the WageIndicator Foundation and its Indonesian 'branch' 'Gajimu.com'. In the project's first year, significant time and effort were invested to adapt WageIndicator's online tools, so that they could be used for compliance checking based on Indonesian legislation, and to develop an app for on and offline data collection. Two websites – one in Bahasa and one in English – were developed and interviewers were trained to collect data from workers.

Relevance: The evaluation team finds that the intervention is highly relevant (good). The intervention's goals and planned outcomes fully match the requirements to strengthen workers' voices and participation in improving working conditions in the garment industry. In addition, the intervention answers the call from many stakeholders in the sector for initiatives that bridge the gaps between workers, brands and consumers and thus 'embrace' the entire supply chain. However, the online survey has yet to prove its added value, compared to traditional offline methods of data collection.

The evaluation team does not exclude the possibility that, over time and with a proper introduction to the workers, online surveying via the website and possibly Facebook could be relevant survey approaches that allow workers to undertake the data collection themselves. However, the team believes that in order to overcome users' limited experience with online questionnaires, the surveys must still be collected manually using hardcopies

As a method, the survey offers a very practical approach to engaging and creating awareness among workers, so their voice can be heard. At the same time, the survey allows data to be collected concerning workers' perception of the working conditions in their place of work. Although the data remains the workers' perceptions 'only', it has the potential to contribute to setting an agenda in discussions with employers and in the work of brands and other stakeholders.

Factory pages are published on the website and show the results of the survey among the workers of each individual factory. They offer a very simple solution for transparency, which has the potential to put psychological pressure on non-compliance factories as well as consumer/image pressure on brands that source from these factories. They can also serve as a forum for competition and 'free of charge promotion' for factories with good compliance.

The intervention also fits the C&A Foundation's calls for proposal and working conditions ToC.

Impact: The evaluation team finds the project's impact is poor and ascribes this to the following factors:

First, the short duration of the project compared to its overly ambitious results' framework.

Second the project's strong focus on developing an app, database and communication platform, which enable the intervention to collect and share data among workers, employers, brands and other stakeholders. The intervention is not yet able to capitalize on the platform, which does not create an impact on its own.

Third, the intervention's correspondingly limited focus and efforts to create ownership, within all levels of the partnering trade unions (local, district and national), that would facilitate trade unions' having the capacity to manage and use the survey and would ensure that workers and factory union committees understood the project and how it benefitted them.

Notwithstanding this, the intervention has the potential to raise awareness and to mobilize workers to claim their rights, if they understand why the survey is important and if the trade unions use the findings in encounters with employers. The intervention also demonstrates that survey data can contribute to setting an agenda, when other stakeholders use the survey and follow-up the findings through their own work. The evaluation team is convinced that, in a second phase, greater impact could be achieved if Gajimu.com: invested in creating ownership and building the trade unions' capacity to introduce the survey among workers; facilitated a thorough data collection; and communicated and (most importantly) followed up on the survey's results with employers.

Effectiveness: The evaluation team finds that the intervention's effectiveness is adequate, even though the planned and implemented activities are still quite far from the intervention's goal and outcome targets as outlined in the LFA. This is caused by an overly optimistic and ambitious LFA.

Significant time and effort were spent establishing an online platform that Gajimu.com can use to collect and provide data to and from workers, employers, brands. The platform can also be used to assess workers' perception of their factories' compliance with the national labor legislation and minimum wages. As mentioned earlier, the evaluation team finds that this investment (into web-based communication platforms and a framework for data collection and processing) occurred partially at the expense other options. Namely of putting a focus on 'process management' and the establishment of an organizational and strategic setup that would ensure that the survey's potential to contribute to workers awareness-raising and mobilization was exploited. To strengthen the potential effectiveness of a second phase, Gajimu.com would need to emphasize and prioritize activities that support 'process management' at all levels in the project, from cooperation with trade unions at the national level to securing communication and following up with workers and trade unions at the factory level.

Efficiency: The evaluation team finds the intervention's efficiency is poor to adequate, because the results that were achieved were merely commensurate with the effort and money spent within the project period. The evaluation team notes that a review of the survey questionnaire is ongoing. The evaluation team took note of several initiatives which might strengthen the intervention's efficiency further, as well as their ability to engage with workers online, and which could enforce the credibility and accuracy of data collected. They are: a revision of the survey's length and wording; a review of the sampling criteria; the formulation of a social media strategy; professionalization of the communication on Facebook and an optimization of the Bahasa website for mobile use, which is workers' preferred device to access www.Gajimu.com and to enter (potentially) Gajimu.com/garmen sites.

In the intervention's second phase, efficiency could be further increased by making stronger efforts to train interviewers to allow enough time and space for workers to consider the survey's questions thoroughly and to ensure that workers are properly informed about the survey's results and how local trade unions intend to use the results. Today interviewers are paid on a piece rate, which may influence the time allocated per interview. The surveys would benefit from more experienced and full-time interviewers.

Sustainability: The evaluation team finds that the intervention's sustainability is still poor. This is to be expected for an intervention as short as the one evaluated herein. However, the evaluation team finds that scope and opportunity do exist to strengthen the project's probable sustainability, even within a mid-term timeframe, if Gajimu.com invests in trade union partners' ownership to the intervention and capacity to manage and follow-up on survey results in dialogue with factory management. The decision to replace student interviewers with interviewers from the partnering trade unions was a first, important step taken by Gajimu.com, during the project's first year, to strengthen sustainability.

2. Purpose of the Evaluation

The ‘Transparency through mobile internet – Gajimu.com’ project aims to use mobile internet to strengthen the transparency of Indonesian garment factories’ compliance with minimum wage and national labor law. At the same time, it also aims to increase the number of factories that comply with these.

In the period, January – March 2019, the C&A Foundation commissioned a summative evaluation of the project to assess the extent to which it had achieved its intended objectives. It also hoped to gather any lessons-learned on the extent to which the project’s design and implementation contributed to the intended outcomes.

More specifically the evaluation¹:

- Examined the project’s overall effectiveness, sustainability and impact in improving working conditions in Indonesia;
- Assessed the factors (in design and operations) that contributed to, or impeded achievement of, results, providing an opportunity to learn from successes as well as failures;
- Assessed the extent to which the initiative was ‘fit for purpose’;
- Distilled actionable and strategic recommendations and lessons from the findings, in order to feed into future C&A Foundation and WageIndicator Foundation cooperation.

3. The Project’s Design

Despite widespread improvement efforts in Indonesia, many garment factories still fail to comply with the minimum wage and labor legislation. Currently, workers and unions do not have access to granular information that would allow them to compare compliance between factories. This limits workers’ ability to make informed decisions on where to work.

In response to this, project partners KSBSI and Garteks initiated a project that ran from April 2017 to March 2019. From 2018, the project was joined by partners TSK SPSI Rekonsiliasi, SPN, TSK SPSI AGN, and the WageIndicator Foundation. The project was designed to promote more companies in Indonesia’s signing of improved collective bargaining agreements as well as their compliance with labor legislation and paying minimum wages.

The intervention was/is built on the rationale (Theory of Change) that:

- *if* non-compliance to minimum wages, payment of overtime and other labor laws and regulations in apparel factories was documented and shared with trade unions and employers.
- *if* model clauses were offered to improve working conditions, and to comply with minimum wages and labor law, and further improve those beyond the legal minimum; and
- *If* the results of compliance checks and current CBAs were published online, per factory.

Then workers and their trade unions would be able to engage in social dialogue with employers and to address cases of non-compliance, possibly resulting in improved working conditions.

On this basis, the intervention was organized around the following activities/phases:

Development: An adaptation of WageIndicator’s tools, to be used as compliance checks, which would generate factory pages with compliance overview. The tools, to be included in the so called DecentWorkCheck, were:

- Minimum Wage Compliance check,

¹ Terms of Reference

- Labor Law pages
- Text version DecentWorkCheck,
- Work and Wages Survey.

In addition, a sector-coded list of factories was included.

The DecentWorkCheck was to be offered in two formats: as an online survey with instant feedback and as a survey. The latter was able to be administered, using a smartphone/tablet in either an on or offline environment, for face-to-face data collection. The on and offline versions would be identical and would generate the same instant feedback concerning compliance with the actual minimum wage in the specific region and national legislation. The data that was generated would be coded/ cleaned and presented in the factory pages.

Outreach: This aimed to engage with garment workers and to offer them the DecentWorkCheck. It was to be administered in two ways:

- *On the ground:* Together with the partners KSBSI and Garteks, TSK SPSI Rekonsiliasi, SPN, TSK SPSI AGN, workers in selected factories would be asked to participate in the survey (primarily in West Java). Initially, it was planned to hire students, to be trained to conduct the surveys, but at the partners' request they were replaced by teams of interviewers appointed from the trade unions themselves. Interviewers used an app that was designed to facilitate workers' instant reporting of whether their wages and conditions complied. The surveyed factories were selected based on the participating trade union's presence in these factories.
- *Online:* Garment workers, who were part of the organic traffic to the UX-proof Gajimu.com/garmen and Gajimu.com/garment websites, would be invited to complete the DecentWorkChecks safely and anonymously. This would offer them instant feedback and would suggest possible next actions, including representation by trade unions. As much as possible, the collected data would include the company's name, if workers were willing to report this.

Reporting: Reporting planned to pass on the results of the DecentWorkCheck to trade unions and factories and to discuss strategies for how to improve compliance at an individual worker level and by means of collective bargaining: This would include:

- Conducting strictly formatted debates with employers, brands and labor inspectors to encourage compliance with the help of mini social dialogues.
- Alerting trade unions to reported cases of non-compliance in their region, with further information about possible next course(s) of action.
- Alerting employers to reported cases of non-compliance, with quarterly notifications of reported cases of non-compliance, and offering suggested courses of action.

Developing and publishing factory pages. The factory pages were to be developed for the Gajimu.com/garmen and Gajimu.com/garment website, to summarize the information submitted by the workers through the DecentWorkCheck and from CBAs per factory. The pages would provide an overview of compliance with labor law and minimum wages, and insights into existing CBAs.

Engage brands. Finally, the intervention aimed to engage brands to use the factory pages to monitor working conditions within the factories in their supply chains, and to require measurable improvements.

The intervention's rationale was based on the assumptions that²:

- Workers could be reached adequately, through the DecentWorkCheck via Gajimu.com/garmen and via Facebook as made available by the project
- Workers were willing to submit and compare wages and employment and working conditions
- Most trade union representatives were willing to address non-compliance
- A sufficient number of trade union representatives and employers would adopt the intervention's proposed process for social dialogue, in order to improve existing collective bargaining agreements and to sign new ones.

3.1 Feasibility of the Design

The design's clarity and its logical links between data collection, outreach, transparency through publication and the engagement of brands is a key strength. So also is its ambition – spelled out in a very simple and practical way – to embrace the entire supply chain, from workers to brands and buyers through a website that is accessible in Bahasa as well as in English.

However, we found the design had the following limitations:

Stakeholders' analysis: The project document included no description of the educational background, personal capabilities, likely interests or practical abilities of the workers who would engage with Gajimu.com either online or during a face-to-face survey. In addition, the design did not include an assessment of the capacity of the trade unions or the willingness of factories and brands to engage and use the data from the survey. It also did not describe how other factors or actors would be likely to influence factories in their decision to work towards compliance with the national labor legislation.

Communication strategy: The absence of a marketing and communication strategy that was directly linked to www.Gajimu.com/garmen's audience, with a description of how the intervention would 'market' factory pages with foreign brands and other stakeholders, was another design limitation. There seemed to be an assumption made that brands and other potential users would almost automatically access and use the survey's results once they were publicly available. While the evaluation team appreciates the strategy: to collect data and *then* engage with brands, a strategy for engagement was still lacking and, until now, the project has not been able to reach out to brands. Additionally, many other stakeholders (potential allies) had limited information about the initiative.

Gender sensitivity: Neither the project document nor the LFA addressed gender issues. This seemed to affect the project's implementation, as gender was not considered as a selection criterion when interviewers were appointed or when participants in the survey were selected. Partners did not report gender disaggregated membership data. Gender disaggregated data was also missing in other parts of the statistical material.

Conflict sensitivity and risk mitigation: The space for trade unions and other national actors to address working conditions is – in general – much better in Indonesia than in many other Asian countries. However, mitigating the risks of conflict, between stakeholders in the intervention, remains a concern, despite the available risk management procedures. The main risks include (but may not be limited to):

- Interviewers and other trade union representatives losing their job following the survey.
- Internal conflicts and competition between factory-level trade unions, which precludes factory-level trade unions' preparing of an effective and unified response to the survey's findings.

² Project LFA

The project's design (the project document) did not include any analyses of these or other risks, or a description of any conflict prevention or mitigation measures to be taken during the intervention.

Notwithstanding this, the evaluation team finds that the design itself could contribute significantly to reducing risks. In particular, this would be possible if employers were thoroughly informed and gave their consent before a survey was conducted (see recommendation # 15), and if the intervention established a project advisory committee consisting of Gajimi.com and partnering trade unions. This would allow them to process the lessons learnt and to address any obstacles to a smooth implementation of the intervention, including internal conflicts between trade unions at the factory level (see recommendation # 12).

Ownership: The design did not consider why or how the intervention might stimulate ownership and commitment to the survey and its findings. The decision to hire external student interviewers, who had no prior link or relationship to the trade-union partners, was a clear example of this. This decision was changed and the students were replaced by interviewers from the partnering trade unions. The absence of a project advisory committee, consisting of partners and Gajimu.com staff, was another example of the design's limited consideration of ownership (see recommendation #12).

The team finds that at least some of the challenges faced during the project's implementation could have been foreseen and considered, had such analyses been included in the design of the project. The C&A Foundation's format for project proposals may have contributed to this as the Foundation did not require applicants to conduct a stakeholder analysis – including a needs assessment – that described the interest, needs, concerns and capabilities of stakeholders who were to engage with the intervention.

Recommendation # 1: Revise C&A Foundation's application format

Given the above, we recommend that the C&A Foundation revise its application format, in order to better stimulate critical reflection and focus among partners and applicants concerning:

- the different stakeholders' needs, motivations and capacities to engage in the project
- why and how applicants believe their proposed activities will contribute to the desired outcomes.

Furthermore, the evaluation team finds that the expected results and key performance indicators were overly optimistic and ambitious for a two-year project. This was especially true considering that a significant amount of time was dedicated to adapting WageIndicator's tools and databases, to be used as compliance checks. Not all the outcomes and performance indicators planned were directly attributable to Gajimu.com's interventions but may have been outcomes that Gajimu.com could have contributed to, together with other factors and actors. These included: inspections by government labor inspectors, brand audits and audits and capacity building processes initiated by BetterWork Indonesia.

In a second phase, some realistic intermediate outcomes and process indicators, which could be directly attributed to Gajimu.com/garmen might include (but would not be limited to):

- Workers are aware and claim their entitlements and rights according to the labor law and minimum wages. Gajimu.com could verify this through interviews or repeated surveys among workers.
- Workers are informed about how local and district trade unions use survey results in negotiations with employers. Interviews and surveys among workers could contribute to verifying how, and to what extent, their trade unions keep them informed and follow-up on surveys.
- Survey results inform the claims, raised by local- and district-level trade unions, during social dialogue with employers. Interviews with employers and local trade unions could verify this. A comparison between the improvements made at factory level and the issues identified in the surveys could also contribute to verifying this; provided, of course that improvements are made in working conditions.

- Factory pages (with survey results) and trade union's claims contribute to influencing the agenda and formulation of new or renewed collective bargaining agreements. Gajimu.com can verify this through interviews with stakeholders in the CBA process, with the use of Google data and through a comparison (desk review) between the issues raised in surveys and the revised/new collective bargaining agreements.

The evaluation's findings suggest that the intervention will contribute to its broader purpose: improved working conditions, including new or improved collective bargaining agreements for workers in the garment industry, if these process or intermediate outcomes are achieved.

4. Methodology

In order to respond to the purpose and questions raised, the evaluation team conducted the following:

- A desk review of relevant project documents and interviews and discussions with WageIndicator Foundation and Gajimu.com staff, to get an overview of the completed activities and challenges that were faced during the implementation of the project.
- A data analysis to assess the traffic and flow and origin of users of the two websites that were developed specifically for the initiative: www.gajimu.com/garmen and gajimu.com/garment as well as the Gajimu.com's Facebook account. The findings of this analysis led to an assessment of communication strategy, set-up and use of Google Analytics and Facebook Managing Tool as well as user experience in key areas of the websites.
- A staff and partner workshop to discuss the project's initial results as well as the barriers and drivers that affected these results.
- Focus group discussions with 92 workers and local trade union committee members, at plant level, to assess the intervention's impact at factory level.
- Semi-structured interviews with local, district and national-level union representatives and external stakeholders in or around the garment sector.

5. Main Findings

5.1 Publication of workers' feedback on user-friendly webpages (content)

The websites www.Gajimu.com/garmen (Bahasa language website) and www.Gajimu.com/garment (English language website) were designed and launched in 2017, to provide a platform for:

- Workers to assess working conditions and minimum wages either at their own factory or before seeking employment with a factory
- Factory trade unions to report on possible improvements of conditions in a factory
- Brands to check suppliers' or potential suppliers' compliance with labor legislation and minimum wages

The two sites have an almost identical content and are built around/based on two main features:

- A *DecentWorkCheck* (survey) that enables workers to test/assess whether their wages and working conditions comply with the national/regional minimum wages and national labor legislation
- *Factory pages* that provide information about factories that have been surveyed using the DecentWorkCheck. Each factory page includes the following sections:

- General information about the factory's location, production line, and trade unions represented in the factory
- Brands sourcing at the factory
- Compliance according to the issues assessed by the survey
- A reference to 'Better Work's' factory audits. This reference is important since the DecentWorkCheck omits information about factories' practices and procedures that might disclose violations of the labor law and which might be captured by government labor inspectors or auditors from Better Work.
- Opportunities for workers/unions to provide feedback and additional information on improvements towards better compliance, following a DecentWorkCheck or other interventions.

Developing the sites and the corresponding coding, to facilitate the completion of online surveys, uploads and updates of surveys, was a significant investment, particularly in the project's first year. This was – among others – based on a UX review of the host page 'www.Gajimu.com'. Significant scope and effort were required to complete the process.

An understanding of the amount of effort is vital to appreciating the impact that has been made so far, and in assessing the intervention's effectiveness and efficiency.

Likewise, a significant investment, as well as much time and effort were required from both WageIndicator's international IT staff and staff based in Indonesia. This effort was invested in developing, introducing and training trade union interviewers in the use of a minimum wage/labor law app, in order to be able to complete the surveys online and offline, and technical maintenance of the necessary websites and databases.

This resulted in a platform from which Gajimu.com can collect and provide data to workers, employers, brands and other stakeholders. The platform can also be used to assess workers' perception of their factories' compliance with national labor legislation and minimum wages. Thereafter, other stakeholders in and around the garment sector can take this assessment into consideration, when they themselves assess a factory's performance and working conditions.

5.1.1 DecentWorkCheck

The online version of DecentWorkCheck was initially designed as an opportunity for workers – regardless of their location – to assess their factory's compliance with Indonesia's minimum wages and national labor law. The original idea was to offer an opportunity for a 'mass surveying' of factories, on a scale that trade unions were unable to offer. The survey was offered to workers, employed in factories where one or more of the five trade unions that participated in the project were present.

The survey consisted of 51 questions, covering themes related to decent working conditions, sexual harassment, child labor, hazardous work, working hours, minimum wage, health and safety, social security, freedom of association, precarious work and others.

5.1.1.1 *Main findings*

The evaluation team finds that the questionnaire itself has a strong potential to raise awareness among workers about their rights and entitlements and what these mean in practice. In addition, the survey could be instrumental in creating a momentum and an additional tool for plant-level unions – with the support of branches and/or their national union. This could assist them to initiate and/or strengthen an already existing social dialogue with factory management, about the improvement of working conditions through the signing of improved or new collective bargaining agreements.

Furthermore, the evaluation team finds that the disclosure – with prior notice to the factory management – of DecentWorkCheck's findings has the potential to motivate factories to improve on issues where the factory does not comply with minimum wages or the national labor law. As one interviewer and trade union representative (interviewed by the team) explained: *'Factories don't listen to workers or unions. They just listen to brands and buyers or to third parties such as Gajimu.com'*

This statement seems mostly to apply to factories that are part of Better Work – and therefore already sensitized to the issues of compliance and factory audits, and/or that produce for export markets where buyers and brands may – potentially – hold factories accountable. Factories that produce for the local market seemed less receptive, according to several trade union representatives that we interviewed. Additionally, working conditions in factories producing for the local market are reported to be better (less stressful) than in export-oriented factories.

5.1.1.2 *Main strengths*

Questions 'form reality'. This is so, not only in the field of DecentWorkCheck but also in life in general. When asked in an enabling space, questions draw the audience's attention to the issue being discussed and stimulate reflection, curiosity and internal learning. Therefore, questioning is - in general and across the globe – a very powerful and simple tool to help set an agenda, without imposing a solution on the person or persons being questioned. Questions invite their audience to co-create solutions and invite them to engage and take ownership. For this reason questioning is also a tool that will supplement the non-confrontational advocacy approach to factories and brands that Gajimu.com, and its national trade union partners, might wish to adopt in the follow-up process to the survey.

5.1.1.3 *Main limitations*

The online survey's usefulness is questionable, especially within a social media context, where it was assumed that workers would answer the questions online. In practice, most surveys were completed in a hard-copy version and uploaded one-by-one by interviewers afterwards.

The survey's trustworthiness might have been affected by the factors described below:

5.1.1.3.1 *Absence of joint standards and guidance on selection criteria*

Interviewers were not given any guidance about how to select informants for the interview, although the importance of random sampling and representation of all workers in the production line was stressed. This approach left scope for interviewers to adjust the use of the survey to local contexts and the 'art of the possible'. However, it also risked that the sample did not reflect the factory's worker population and that certain issues were not properly considered, such as lack of severance payment for fixed contract workers or sexual harassment. Non-union members were not included in the survey and workers on fixed contracts seemed to have been underrepresented in the survey process. Male workers (who seemed to be more inclined to volunteer to undertake the questionnaire) were overly represented in the samples.

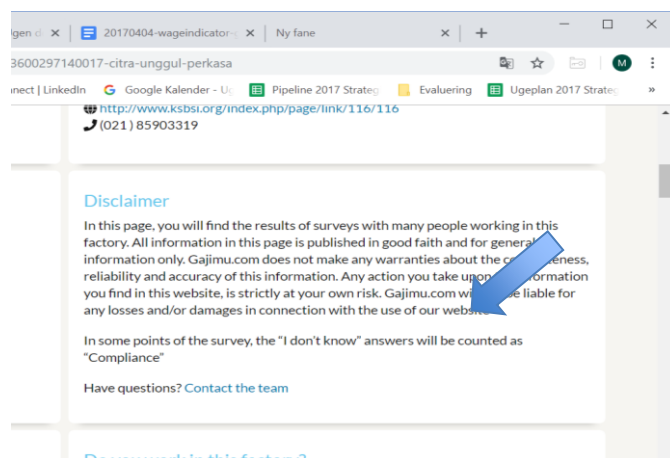
In general, the survey seemed to have been completed by union members, many of whom were trade union committee members. Their status and function in the factory remains unknown. However, the lack of clarity – and transparency on the factory pages – about the selection criteria and respondents' position may have undermined the survey's credibility and usefulness for potential users.

5.1.1.3.2 *Questioning technique*

Most of the questions in the questionnaire could be answered with either a 'yes' or a 'no', with an implicit assumption that the workers did know whether or not their factory complied with the issue that the question addressed. However, this was not always the case, so workers may choose to answer 'don't know' and wrote that on the hard copy they use. 'Don't know' was not an option when interviewers uploaded the answers online, and 'don't know' answers may therefore have been categorized as 'yes'. Gajimu.com was transparent

about this (see screenshot below), but nevertheless the practice was problematic, since it may have contributed to painting an overly positive picture of the situation in a surveyed factory or of its workers' perception of the situation.

Yes/No questions did not provide space for a deeper understanding of the quality of implementation of legal provisions. Factories may – for example – have provided paid maternity leave for twelve weeks, however, if the survey asked if maternity leave was provided for thirteen weeks, then workers would have answered 'No'. This answer told nothing about how the maternity leave was actually administered and when – e.g., during and after the pregnancy – the leave was granted. To compensate for the limitations of the Yes/No format some of the workers interviewed suggested adding space to the questionnaire for open questions or individual remarks so '*we get the chance to tell how we really feel*'.



Some questions and statements were open to individual interpretation. For example, the answer to the question 'Does the employer engage pregnant and nursing workers in hazardous work', depended on the respondent's individual interpretation of 'hazardous', unless space was provided by the facilitator and interviewer to discuss what 'hazardous' means. However, this was often not the case, as described in the following sections.

The evaluation team recognizes that Gajimu.com is in the process of revising the questionnaires and editing the questions in the survey, and that some improvements have been made recently.

5.1.1.3.3 Length, Internet literacy and wording

Feedback from interviewers (and workers) suggested that the questionnaire (51 questions) was too long to allow for a thorough consideration of all questions, even when the questionnaire was completed offline. This was particularly true in the social media context, where users in general (not specific to Gajimu.com) rarely spent the required thirty minutes to complete the survey.

Workers and interviewers also found that some questions, formulations and terminologies that were used in the survey were too difficult for workers to understand or, at times, they were not as relevant to the context and situation of the specific workers interviewed. Many – if not most – workers would therefore need support and additional explanations from interviewers to complete the questionnaire. Particularly if they are completing the questionnaire for the first time.

Barriers to workers' being able to complete the survey, without the presence of an interviewer, were: the survey's wording and current length, users' low computer literacy and familiarity with using a tablet for surveys. These points were confirmed by workers and interviewers alike and represent serious obstacles to the project's initial idea that workers could undertake the survey on their own, online, without any additional support.

Interviewers, who were trained for the project, coped with these barriers by distributing the printed versions of the survey to a group of workers, or by completing the questionnaire in 'modules'. The interviewer read the survey aloud (thus compensating for any weak reading skills and lack of familiarity with the key concepts among informants) and answered the questions as the informants completed the survey. Next, the interviewer collected all the completed forms and filled them in, online, one-by-one, after the sessions. According to

Gajimu.com staff, this meant that it could take weeks, before an interviewer up-loaded the sample of 30 surveys needed for publication.

Other interviewed informants reported coping by sitting next to each worker during the entire process of completing the survey online. Some interviewers gave the informant the questionnaire to complete at home and then collected them a few days later.

In all cases, the need for support and follow-up with workers remains a key feature, which questions the possibility for a 'mass-up-scaling' of the DecentWorkCheck, on social media, without the presence of a support structure in the form of an interviewer or a union representative who can support the completion of the survey.

5.1.1.3.4 Time available

The available space and timing also affected the quality of the answers provided to the survey. Several informants interviewed explained how they had completed the survey in a rush, during lunch time, with very little opportunity to consider the questions properly before answering and with no time to discuss the questions and the possible answers with other workers in the room.

It is important to ensure that the survey is conducted in an atmosphere of peace and given sufficient time. This is important not just for the quality of the answers but also for the learning process and given the opportunity that the questionnaire truly represents.

Interviews with workers seemed to indicate that there was no 'one size fits all', so it remains important that an interviewer considers the time and space available when organizing an interview. Whereas some workers might have 45 minutes for their lunch break, and work in production lines that give sufficient time and space to complete a questionnaire thoroughly, other workers in the same factory or department might be under considerable stress and would need to complete the questionnaire after working hours.

The time to deal with the questions was really so limited, so I could not read all the questions. I just skimmed them and then answered

The interviewers were paid on a piece rate, meaning payment was made after a sample of 40 surveys had been up-loaded. This might have had a negative impact on the amount of time the interviewer spent on each interview.

5.1.1.3.5 Data processing and follow-up:

The processing and verification of data and its uploading to the factory page is currently slow. In some cases, it can take more than six months, from the time the data is collected by the interviewer to the date the survey results are uploaded to a factory page. This can mean that momentum and opportunities for workers' mobilization are lost.

Not all trade union representatives and factory managers remembered that they had received the results of the survey, which had a thirty-day notice period for comments, before publishing. They only learnt about the survey after it was published and some results seemed to be published in tri-partite meetings with no opportunities for a thorough discussion. Poor follow-up and limited space for a thorough discussion resulted in situations where stakeholders' responses were generally limited and conflict situations developed at the factory-level, forcing unions to distance themselves from Gajimu.com non-compliance with agreed procedures.

Recommendation #2: To strengthen the survey's credibility and the accuracy of the respondents' answers, Gajimu.com is recommended to:

- Formulate selection criteria for respondents in cooperation with the trade unions that are participating in the project. A participatory approach is recommended in order to ensure that trade unions fully understand the purpose of the criteria and how to apply them.
- Revise the questionnaire to reduce the risk of questions' being misinterpreted and misunderstood and ensure that the questions are easy for workers to understand. We recommend [Gajimu.com](https://gajimu.com) collect inputs from experienced interviewers who will be able to tell, which questions are particularly problematic. It is recommended to include a "Don't know"-option where relevant.
- Leave space for respondent's personal accounts and anything they wish to add that would further qualify the answers they have shared.

Recommendation # 3: Create an enabling space to ensure workers thoroughly understand and process the questionnaire

While 'no size fits all', time and space remain a crucial factor for the quality and credibility of answers. Time and space are also vital, if the survey's potential for learning and worker mobilization is to be explored. It is therefore recommended that Gajimu.com stresses each trained interviewer's responsibility to provide proper 'time and space' for the completion of questionnaires. They must allow workers to ask questions or to discuss the survey's questions internally among themselves. Having fewer, but more well-trained interviewers working on a permanent basis could be considered and this would also avoid the need for piece rate targets.

Recommendation # 4: Consider dividing the questionnaire into short 'modules' for online completion

As internet users rarely spend thirty minutes on a survey, it is recommended that Gajimu.com considers dividing the questionnaire into shorter thematic 'modules'. For example, there could be modules on contractual rights, health and safety, maternity protection and/or severance pay. These figures should be included in the samples on the factory pages whenever possible.

5.1.2 Factory Pages

5.1.2.1 Main findings

Gajimu.com published a factory page for each of the factories surveyed with information about:

- The factory's contact details.
- The trade unions that are represented in the factory.
- Brands sourcing from the factory (either directly or through sub-contractors).
- Updates on improvements in the factory's compliance
- Links to Better Work, which includes independent audits of the factory and supplements information provided by workers, such as administrative practices and procedures that the factory may – or may not – adopt to bypass regulations on overtime, overtime payment or contractual regulations. Such practices are mainly revealed during audits provided by Better Work and labor inspectors.
- The results of the DecentWorkCheck, with a graphical illustration of the factory's compliance.

According to agreed procedures, the information published on the factory pages should be verified and confirmed by the factory's management and the local trade union before it is published. The evaluation team found that this procedure was not followed in all cases or at the least the management and local union had the impression that it was not applied.

5.1.2.2 Main strengths

The main strength of the factory page is the opportunities it offers to embrace the entire supply chain, from garment workers and their (local) trade unions to buyers, brands and consumer and human rights organizations – often located on the other side of the globe. The site offers transparency by linking brands to complying and non-complying factories. This in turn contributes to putting psychological 'pressure' on brands

and employers because they know that they can be held accountable for the working conditions they offer their workers. This is so, because the information on the site provides opportunities for:

- factory trade unions to take action on non-compliance, as a lack of action will be disclosed to other parts of their trade union.
- Consumer and human rights organizations to look up brands and to hold them accountable.
- Brands to look up complying factories and to seek more information about the working conditions offered in the factory.

‘These surveys are a ‘shock-therapy for factory trade unions. They motivate them to act when they realize the situation in their factory’.
National-level trade union leader

However, the evaluation team finds that there is still scope to more fully explore the site’s potential for transparency and accountability. Very little has been done to ‘market’ the factory pages among potential users, beyond local and district trade union structures and more could be done to ensure the accuracy of information that is provided on the site.

The main limitations and barriers to a full exploration of the site are described below:

5.1.2.3 Main limitations

5.1.2.3.1 Accuracy and updated information

There is a lack of information on the brands sourcing from the factories, as well as descriptions of how, and to what extent, factories follow up on completed DecentWorkChecks with links to Better Work’s independent audits, despite Gajimu.com’s intention to provide this information. Some factory pages note that factories responded to conditions of non-compliance – and the date of that response – but do not mention *how* the factory responded or what the improvements were.

The evaluation team visited several factories where workers were able to name the brand – or brands - sourcing from the factory as well as the specific improvements since the last DecentWorkCheck, such as the provision of medical care facilities or exchanging fixed contracts for permanent contracts. However, this information was not available on the factory page.

The evaluation team recognizes that finding and updating information about brands, the status of DecentWorkCheck and the additional information provided by BetterWork may be a time-consuming and – at times – difficult task. The team is equally aware that complete accuracy of all provided information cannot be guaranteed.

Despite this, the evaluation team finds that Gajimu.com could do more to meet the expectations that the factory pages themselves contribute to creating. For example, the evaluation team was surprised to learn that cooperation and coordination with BetterWork Indonesia appeared sporadic. This was despite the fact that Better Work’s public Transparency Portal could be used as a reference, to help Gajimu.com meet web-users’ expectations and requirements to access additional information about individual factories.

Doing so would contribute to the pages’ credibility and usefulness for external stakeholders. This includes smaller brands that don’t have their own compliance infrastructures, to ensure supplier compliance with national and international labor standards, and INGOs and other external stakeholders who wish to hold brands accountable for their choice of supplier factories.

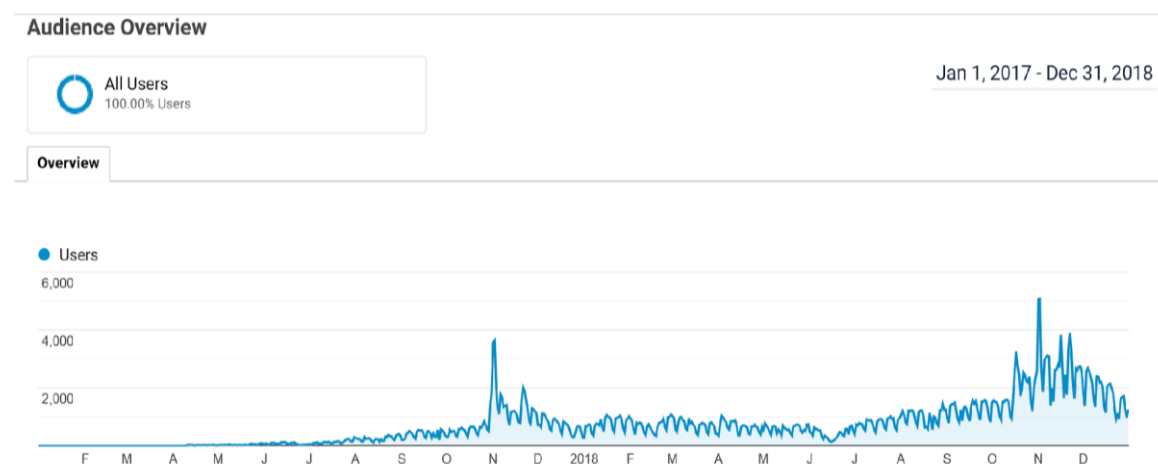
Recommendation # 5: It is recommended that Gajimu.com invests human resources in finding and regularly updating the information on brands, factory management and trade unions’ response to DecentWorkChecks and complementary audit reports by Better Work. This will help to avoid situations where the information that is available on the factory pages is outdated.

Recommendation # 6: If the project wishes to engage brands, as originally planned, it should consider targeting factories from where ethical brands source their products. This is recommended for the following reasons: A) because ethical brands would be sensitive to non-compliance B) because big brands have their own audit systems (and may be hard to engage, C) because ethical brands may, in fact, have a (recognized) need for the information provided by Gajimu.com.

Recommendation # 7: Given that data credibility is essential, the site should make every effort to increase the credibility of the figures provided on compliance/non-compliance. As a first step it should refrain from calculating “Don’t know” responses as “Compliance”. As a consequence, the sample number of replies might become uneven; but, as indicated under Recommendation # 4, this would not be a problem for the credibility – in fact, rather the opposite.

5.2 Use and outreach

The Bahasa language website (Gajimu.com/garmen) was launched in April 2017 and the English language website (Gajimu.com/garment) was launched in November 2017. The findings and insights presented in this section are based on an analysis of data collected from the websites, using Google Analytics – but with the proviso that not all of the functionalities of Analytics were enabled: no 'Conversion Goals' were set in Analytics, and 'Campaigns' that were set to identify traffic sources were limited to emails. That means not all data are available or very transparent, e.g. there are many URLs for the same page, so to get precise metrics one must look through 6000 URL names manually and sum up the metrics. This could be avoided by setting up the aforementioned features.



Users of Gajimu.com/garmen, April 2017 – December 2018

Most visitors went to the Bahasa language website. It was visited by 470.000 users in the period April 2017 – January 2018. The number of visitors on the site peaked, at close to 80.000 users per month in the months October, November, and December, which were the months where new minimum wages were published.

Approximately 75% of the traffic to the Bahasa site was generated through Google, as users searched for ‘minimum wage’. Users from Google spent 45 seconds per session, on average, enough time to get an answer about minimum wages. This corresponds to the fact that the page on minimum wages ranked highest of all the pages available. The vast majority of site’s visitors limited their visits to this page only and did not spend time on other parts of the website, including the *DecentWorkCheck* and the *factory pages*. Therefore the question remains of how visitors to the minimum wages page can be motivated to visit other parts of the site as well.

Direct traffic accounted for 23 % of visitors to the site. Their origins remain unspecified but included ‘deep links’ (announcements), directly writing the Gajimu.com address in the URL and other sources which were not tagged by setting up 'Campaigns' via Google URL builder.

Very few users accessed the website through Gajimu.com's newsletter³. However, those who did spent significantly more time on the site – more than four minutes per session. This could mean that expanding the emailing list and engaging with subscribers via email might be an opportunity to build trust. It might also allow the construction of a (smaller) user base, of highly dedicated users, by providing information that site visitors can use in their work. Unfortunately, the website provides no obviously visible sign-up forms on all pages of Gajimu.com/garmen (pop-up or similar). Gajimu.com's Facebook site also does not offer a sign-up to the newsletter (most effective when users don't have to click and leave Facebook).

Geographically, the vast majority of users came from Indonesia – accounting for 95% of all visits. This is hardly surprising given the website's language.

Approximately 80% of users accessed the website from a mobile phone, while 20% used a desktop. The bounce rate (the percentage of visitors who leave the site immediately without browsing or clicking on links) was slightly higher for mobile phone users (87%) than for desktop users (84%). There might be several reasons for this, including lowered level patience or distractions when using a phone (as the visitor is searching for something else) or poor internet access.

5.2.1 Gajimu.com/garment

The English-language site only hosted 1939 users (2656 sessions) in the same period, equal to 177 sessions per month. They used 2.14 minutes per session. That meant that they spent significantly more time than users of the Bahasa site. A bounce rate of 68% (significantly lower than that of Gajimu.com/garment) indicated that users were more focused and knew what they were looking for.

Approximately half of the users were from Indonesia, 10% from the United States and 6% from Singapore. Users from the US were unlikely to be brands who considered the factory pages carefully, as they spent less than 1 minute on the site. More than 60% of users used a desktop. This indicated they may have visited the site from their place of work.

Users accessed the site through Google (76%) and direct links (19.7%). The factory page (list) was the most visited site with 9% of all page views. Users of this site typically moved on to visit a single factory page or two. Most other visits were spread over the minimum wage pages. This corresponded with the fact that WageIndicator's 'minimum wage' site was in Google's top three most-visited sites.

5.2.2 Facebook and 'Marketing'

The limited use of the sites (except from the 'minimum wage' page) is hardly surprising since Gajimu.com has done very little to introduce the sites to trade unions, workers or external stakeholders - who are all potential users of the site.

The evaluation team introduces workers to their factory's factory page

Of the almost 100 workers and local trade union representatives interviewed during the evaluation, less than a handful of them had been thoroughly introduced to the site or knew how the site could be useful to them. One or two had visited the site on their own initiative. However, when the team explained about the site, many expressed interest (if not excitement) and some looked up the factory page for their factory, on their own initiative, using their own device, either during the interview session with the team or immediately afterwards.

³ A breakdown of users is not available, however, Gajimu.com does have the full emailing list

Workers' current use of the internet stresses the need for Gajimu.com and if Gajimu.com wants more workers to visit and use the site, then its partners must introduce the workers to the site comprehensively and explain how it may be useful to them. Most workers interviewed explained that today they mainly use the internet for entertainment (YouTube, Facebook or searching for news). Hardly anyone uses it to search for information about work-related or social issues, but may be motivated to do so, if thoroughly introduced to the site and the findings of their own survey.

Most workers interviewed had a Facebook account that they used to communicate with friends and family or to post selfies and pictures from events. The evaluation team was puzzled by Gajimu.com's decision not to use its Facebook account for marketing, because of users' very low response rates to posts made by Gajimu.com. The team recommends that Gajimu.com reconsider this decision.



End of focus group discussion - time for a Facebook post?

Facebook Post – Example

“Your salary survey results show that most workers are aware of visits from labor inspectors but are almost never involved in the inspection. Fill in the work feasibility survey, fill in the name of the garment factory where you work and compare the level of compliance of the factory where you work with other garment factories in the factory yard which can be accessed for free at <https://Gajimu.com/garmen>”

The findings, from the evaluation team's analysis of Gajimu.com's Facebook site, suggest there is still scope to use – or at least correctly test – the site's potential for communication and marketing towards workers. This is provided the Facebook site's content and language match the profiles and expectations of its users and that it complies with professional standards and strategies for communication and 'marketing'.

Many – if not most – posts on the Facebook site spoke to the 'logic' of users, rather than their emotions or direct personal benefit (which has proven the most effective approach in 'marketing' or promotion of Facebook sites).

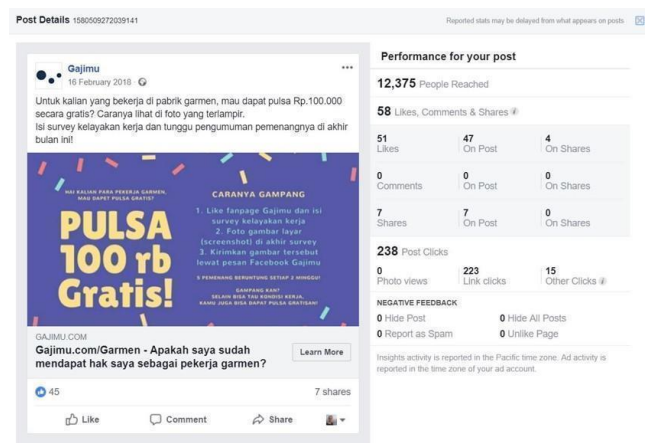
Additionally, not all the posts included a direct appeal or call to action, such as 'Complete the DecentWorkCheck to see if you get the benefits you are entitled to' or, "Afraid your fixed contract will

not be renewed? – Complete the DecentWorkCheck to see if you are entitled to a permanent contract”.

Rather, the posts were long, (too) academic, the benefits for workers remained unclear and the language was unlikely to have matched the language and perspective of workers/readers who may not even have been aware that they have rights and entitlements according to Indonesian law.

It is therefore hardly surprising that the two posts with the best response were a competition and a more personal account of working conditions

The Facebook site is currently managed and maintained by Gajimu.com's local staff in Jakarta. None of them has a background in professional communication or social media management (but they all possess many other good qualifications), and scope remains to professionalize the communication on and management of the Facebook site.



Recommendation # 7: Reconsider the use of the Facebook site as a channel for communication with workers.

The evaluation team finds that Gajimu.com has a unique opportunity to communicate with workers through Facebook, provided the Facebook site and its benefit to workers are properly introduced, and provided that the site is managed and maintained professionally. It is therefore recommended that Gajimu.com reconsiders the Facebook site as a tool for ‘marketing’ and communication with its audience.

Recommendation # 8: Use the tools offered by Facebook to customize ads.

It is further recommended that Gajimu.com considers using some of the more advanced tools offered by Facebook that allows more customization of ads and campaign objectives, building an audience, tracking conversions, and retargeting. Using those tools would enable Gajimu.com to engage with the users they get from organic traffic at www.Gajimu.com/garmen (75 %) and who have already shown some interest by visiting the website⁴.

Recommendation # 9: Boost opportunities for users of Facebook to sign up to Gajimu’s newsletter.

As users from the email newsletter list spend a significantly longer time on the website than other users, it is recommended that Gajimu.com boosts the visibility of a ‘sign-up’ link on all web-pages and on its Facebook site. This may complement existing efforts to collect email addresses during ‘live’ events, such as meetings, surveys and focus groups.

5.2.3 Targeting, goals and strategies

The two websites, Gajimu.com/garmen and garments are almost identical, although one would expect the target audience for the two sites to be very different. One would expect Gajimu.com/garmen to address Indonesian workers primarily, while Gajimu.com/garment would target international buyers, international NGOs and other stakeholders with specific interest in the industry’s compliance with national and international labor standards.

Different targets require different goals and different strategies to achieve these goals, however the broader goals could be:

- For the Bahasa-language site: to have workers checking the status or follow-up to a DecentWorkCheck on a specific factory, signing up for information about workers’ rights in Indonesia or reporting improvements in their factory.
- For the English-language site: that international buyers search – and find – information on factories’ compliance with national and international standards or – if users are international NGOs – that they access information about the link between non-compliant factories and brands that they wish to hold accountable.

Currently , the lack of segregation and distinction between the two sites and their potential audiences seem to have led to a situation where neither of the two websites really ‘speaks to’ an audience or (with the exception of the page on minimum wages) are able to meet the needs of their anticipated audience.

Recommendation # 10: Develop a social media strategy for Gajimu.com/garment and garmens’ websites.

⁴ To access these tools Gajimu.com should use the Ads Manager in Goggle Analytics. This would allow them to set up campaigns when making paid ads in FB: <https://www.facebook.com/ads/manager/> or set up a business account / FB Business manager: <https://www.facebook.com/ads/manager/> - Set up Facebook pixel tracking to collect data about your audience, track conversions on your website from Facebook ads, retarget your website visitors and optimize ads.

To ensure that the websites are relevant and effectively communicate and deliver their (defined) messages it is recommended that Gajimu.com develops a separate strategy for each website that includes:

- Measurable goals (what do we want to achieve with the websites?)
- An identification of the audience's needs and interests.
- A content strategy based on the audience's identified needs.
- A goal-driven design to help the audience accomplish the website's goals.
- An outreach strategy - to get the correct traffic to the websites.
- Optimization that enables Gajimu.com to measure and monitor results. This can be done by using Google Analytics to analyze and understand users' journeys leading up to a goal and to understand how converting and non-converting users are different⁵.

Recommendation # 11: Assign a Bahasa-speaking web and social media manager to manage the Bahasa website and Facebook.

We recommend Gajimu.com assign a Bahasa-speaking web and social media manager with professional communication and social media skills and experience in web-site and social media management. The responsibility of the social media manager will be to ensure that Facebook posts, web content, emails newsletters, links and design updates support and comply with Gajimu.com's social media strategy (to be developed) and that the different platforms that Gajimu.com uses for its communication supplement each other.

5.3 Awareness raising, mobilization and social dialogue

5.3.1 Key achievements

5.3.1.1 Mobilization and empowerment of workers

The evaluation team finds that the intervention contributed to strengthening awareness among some workers about their rights and entitlements, as well as their self-esteem and courage to articulate these rights. This was particularly true in factories where the interviewer and trade unions provided enough time and space for workers to thoroughly consider and reflect on the survey's questions.

"The survey helps us to know our rights. Now the knowledge is not just with the management. We have changed our status from uninformed to informed".

"Now, I have more courage to speak about my rights. I know there is a legal reference so I dare to speak".
Workers, FGDs 1st February 2019

Furthermore, workers who completed the survey twice – and who witnessed positive changes in their working conditions after the first survey – stated that participating in the survey had encouraged them to continue articulating their rights and entitlements and had strengthened their belief that "they could be part of the change".

However, the vast majority of workers interviewed during the evaluation filled in the survey because they were told to and they did it without further reflection. This equates to a lost opportunity for awareness raising and mobilization.

⁵ To exploit the full functionality and possibilities that Google Analytics provides in order to understand what to do: - Enable 'Demographics' and 'Interest' sections/reports - helps understand who users are. - Set up 'Goals' for different targets that comply with garment(s)' strategies and to measure conversions, e.g. to a 'Thanks for filling out the survey page', or a 'minimum session duration' - Set up 'Campaigns' for traffic sources e.g. Facebook posts and ads via Google URL builder - to collect accurate data about which traffic drivers are successful.

A 'Help Desk' phone line is available for visitors to the sites. A part time lawyer works in the project to provide legal assistance to workers, among other tasks. The assistance is limited to advising on the different steps the complainant can select, to raise a complaint. They are offered the possibility to contact a union, which they seldom choose, or to file a case with the Industrial Court. The lawyer does not help to file cases and does not represent workers in court. Additionally, workers who fall victim to sanctions, because of their involvement with the surveys, are not offered and legal assistance, beyond the above.

5.3.1.2 *Mobilization of local trade unions*

The evaluation team finds that the survey has the potential to mobilize trade unions behind an agenda to improve working conditions at the factory level and to provide workers with a specific 'agenda' that they can use to initiate a dialogue with factory management. However, this potential remains largely unexplored.

At the **national level**, trade unions' engagement with the project differs from one trade union federation to another. Some federations perceived the survey as an opportunity for mobilization while others were less engaged. While national trade union representatives expressed some understanding of the project in terms of worker mobilization and "holding employers accountable", their view of the survey remained that it was a technical tool and "delivery" to Gajimu.com.

This perception is reinforced by Gajimu.com's MoUs/contracts with partnering trade union federations. The contracts are activity-based, focus on the delivery of a certain number of surveys and do not consider performance or results such as mobilization of local trade unions or members. Nor do the MoUs specify why or how the project is important and the project document is not attached to the contract.

The evaluation team felt that scope remained for them to understand fully why and how the intervention was important to the partnering trade unions and their members. The partners were not involved in the governance of the project. This seemed to limit ownership during the implementation. Strategic discussions and interaction between partners on experiences, lessons learnt, and other issues related to the project were very limited, as Gajimu.com had no forum for such exchanges.

The team was not exposed to any qualitative considerations or justifications for partner selection. The first two partners were selected because of a long-standing partnership and the second group because they had the largest membership base in the sector.

District-level trade union secretaries have been a de facto driving force in distributing and managing surveys. However, without a recognized role in the project (because the project is supposed to be implemented by national coordinators in each partner trade union), district-level trade union representatives have been partially ignored as stakeholders, resource persons and subjects for training. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the district secretaries' involvement range from strong engagement and intuitive understanding of the purpose of the intervention to a very limited involvement.

In most cases, **local-level** trade unions were not engaged in or did not understand the broader purpose of the survey. They did what was requested by their district or national leaders, and distributed the survey, but they felt no ownership, neither to the survey itself nor to the results and felt no need to communicate the results to the workers.

The survey was rarely discussed in the local factory committees and the local committees' leaders had no, or a very limited, capacity to address issues raised by the survey with factory management.

Recommendation # 12: Establish a project advisory committee to strengthen ownership and engagement of partners (national trade union federations).

To strengthen ownership, engagement and organizational anchoring Gajimu.com it is recommended that a project advisory committee is established, that includes representatives from WageIndicator Foundation, Gajimu.com, coordinators and representatives from the political leadership of the partner trade unions.

Likewise, it is recommended that Gajimu.com engages partners in the possible development of a new phase of the project and assesses the feasibility and potential match of partners, against the intervention's values, before inviting new partners to join the intervention.

Recommendation # 13: C&A Foundation is recommended to request applications and their partners to sign the application jointly.

To stimulate partners' ownership and further involvement in the project formulation process, C&A Foundation is recommended to request applicants and their partners to co-sign applications submitted to C&A foundation.

Recommendation # 14: Assign full-time interviewers/survey facilitators at trade union district level to conduct interviews, collect data and facilitate follow-up with factory trade unions.

In recognition of the key role that district-level trade union representatives/leaders play in the distribution of surveys and data collection, it is recommended that full-time interviewers/survey facilitators are assigned at this level, in order to strengthen communication about the purpose of the survey, the process of data collection and to follow-up with trade unions at factory level.

5.3.1.3 *Change in management attitudes and factory conditions*

Indirectly, the survey seemed to stimulate discussions with employers about the improvement of working conditions. This was because BetterWork used the surveys as the inspiration to focus their factory audits and to verify issues which, according to the survey, were areas of non-compliance. BetterWork also encouraged local factory trade unions and employers to include results from the survey in factories' self-assessment.

*"Before [the survey, red.], cooperation with the management was not good. Now the management has issued a statement that it intends to comply with the law. From 2018 we have received the minimum wage",
Worker, Bogor, 3rd Feb. 2019*

Other employers that we met seemed to react with either hostility or indifference, especially in situations where employers had not been a part of the process, itself. For example, when the survey was not introduced to the management in advance, when employers got the impression that results were published on the web-site without their being given the chance to comment or when results were published in tri-partite meetings (where they could not be thoroughly discussed).

Limited involvement led to limited prioritization of the survey. As a result, employers often sent junior staff from the HR department to the tri-partite forum meetings, with no mandate to make commitments.

The team finds it unlikely that improvements in working conditions and CBAs in the factories, surveyed by Gajimu.com, can be attributed to the surveying process alone. In most cases, those surveyed were also subject to BetterWork's audits and supplied big brands such as Asics, GAP, H&M and New Balance. These are brands that conduct their own factory audits and whose directives 'count', in the managers' minds, often more strongly than the labor law itself. As one manager interviewed by the team explained: "We want to comply with the provisions of the labor law and meet the demands of our buyers".

The evaluation team finds that the survey process may provide a platform, for workers to express their concerns as well as an opportunity for employers to assess the prevalence of these concerns⁶. As such, the survey has the potential to contribute to reducing and solving conflicts constructively, before dissatisfaction leads to strikes and economic loss for factories.

Before [the survey, red.] workers used to write about their concerns on the toilet walls. With the survey they have a channel to pass their concerns directly to us
HR Department, Seadong, 4th Feb 2019

Recommendation # 15: Explore mechanisms for strengthened involvement of employers.

To strengthen interest and ease the follow-up process once results are available, Gajimu.com is recommended to encourage interviewers/partners to obtain consent from factory-level managers before the survey is introduced. However, this does not give employers the right to veto a survey.

Gajimu.com might inform factories about potential benefits to them, from the project (in terms of branding and conflict prevention), as well as the process and the role they can play.

Gajimu.com might also explore opportunities for cooperation with BetterWork, who could facilitate access to employers. Doing so may further contribute to mitigating the risk of conflicts or the dismissal of trade union representatives or members who participate in the surveying process.

5.3.2 Drivers

The evaluation team finds that the following factors have contributed to Gajimu.com's achievements so far:

5.3.2.1 The survey

Despite its limitations, the survey has the potential to become a strong platform for Gajimu.com. It could create awareness among workers and raise their attention to working conditions that do not comply with the law's basic provisions. It could also create an agenda that could assist workers and their organizations to engage in encounters and negotiations with employers that improve conditions at their factory.

Exploitation of survey's potential depends on the extent to which local trade unions and interviewers create an enabling framework for workers to thoroughly reflect on and answer the questions, and the extent to which the plant and branch-level trade unions keep workers informed during the follow-up process and negotiations with the factory management. As described below, this remains an area where further investments are required.

5.3.2.2 Disclosure and transparency

Although the website (gajimu.com/garment) is currently visited by relatively few users – and much remains to be done to 'market' the garment pages with potential stakeholders – the evaluation team finds that the factory pages may contribute to setting an agenda and that its psychological potential and contribution must be taken seriously. This remains true, even though the survey data needs verification.

⁶ This was only mentioned by one factory manager, but is included in this report, because 'conflict prevention' and a reduction of the risks that workers face strikes us as a direct benefit for employers, and an argument that Gajimu.com could use to encourage factory owners and management to join the project.

Some informants stated that they used the factory pages to identify what to look for when they conducted audit visits. One informant refers buyers to factory pages, unofficially, as a reference for workers' perception of the situation in their factory.

Other informants mentioned that, in general, the transparency provides an opportunity for workers to express their opinions of the conditions in their work place, something that is taken seriously by brands – at least to the extent where they may be prepared to consider the issues that are raised.

In addition, the factory pages create an opportunity to compare factories' performances and create an atmosphere of 'competition' in performance. One employer that we interviewed mentioned that he saw the site as a contribution to the marketing of his factory and the survey as complementary to the audit conducted by the brand (New Balance) that sourced from his factory.

Therefore the website should not be judged solely on the number of visitors but also on the idea of transparency and accountability that it represents, even though this is currently only realized to a limited extent.

5.3.3 Barriers

The workers interviewed by the evaluation team generally reported that they were unaware of the purpose of the survey. By the same measure they did not understand how it could benefit them or what the next steps would be after the survey had been compiled and shared with the management. They were also not aware of any results of the social dialogues that had taken place with factory management after the survey was completed, shared and uploaded.

The workers expressed uncertainty about the role of Gajimu.com, what it was and its role in the ongoing process. Some workers seemed to anticipate – or at least to hope – that Gajimu.com would react to and approach factory managers about issues of non-compliance. Many also expressed a limited understanding of the role of their own trade union in that respect.

During the interviews, the team got the impression, from workers, interviewers and plant-level union representatives that district, branch and plant-level trade unions had introduced and managed the survey and its follow-up in very different manners. It was felt that the survey's positive impact on workers' awareness and engagement in the process depended on the effort local trade unions made to explain the purpose of the survey thoroughly, and to create space for workers to consider the questions and ask for clarification, and in how they kept workers informed about the follow-up.

While some branches and local plant-level unions seemed to have invested reasonable time and effort, others seemed to have treated the process as 'just another survey' or source of income and not as a tool for, or part of, a broader process of learning about one's right, mobilization and sharing.

We are actually thankful about the survey and its publication online. Now people can see the facilities we provide. And with the second survey we can show our improvements. This will have a positive impact because buyers can see the positive conduct of our company, so it is a free promotion that can help introduce our factory to the public
HR management, Seadong, 5th February 2019

'The branch leader [of the trade union, red] just came to our factory during lunchbreak and told us to complete the questionnaire. We were not informed about the purpose of the questionnaire, the process, the factory pages or who Gajimu.com is'
Worker, 2nd Feb 2019

The evaluation team considers this a major ‘lost opportunity’, as the survey could have created the opportunity for exactly the kind of awareness raising, mobilization and advocacy that enables workers to have a voice and to participate in improving working conditions in their own place of work.

5.3.3.1 *Communication, coordination and capacity of local trade unions*

The main cause of the limited ‘embeddedness’ of the survey with the workers we interviewed was the weak coordination, communication and capacity of local trade union representatives. They did not inform workers about some important aspects; namely, the purpose of the survey, the role of the Gajimu.com website, the process following the survey and the disclosure of results, and the potential benefits of the project for workers.

First and foremost, trade union representatives and interviewers are trained on the survey itself and its technical aspects, including how to insert data into the app. No, or insufficient, training or opportunities for discussion are offered on issues that will contribute to workers’ and trade union’s empowerment and understanding of their own role and potential contribution(s) to improving working conditions in their factories. These include issues such as:

Why did we engage with this initiative in the first place?

- Gajimu.com and the rationale behind the survey and the factory pages:
Why are we doing this and how can it contribute to improve working conditions.
- The supply chain and the link between brands, subcontractors, factories and working conditions. Why and how can factory pages be an important tool for workers?
- ‘Decent work’, what does it mean and how does it relate to the legislative framework in Indonesia?

How do we manage the survey and follow-up process, so that it contributes to workers’ empowerment and ownership?

- ‘Setting the scene’ and how to create an enabling space where completing the survey becomes an opportunity for learning, mobilization and reflection among workers.
- The importance of ‘process management’ and transparency to keep workers informed about the results of the survey and the process that follows.

The absence of training and follow-up on these and similar issues seems to leave plant- and branch-level trade unions – who are responsible for the data collection and follow-up on survey results – largely unprepared to manage the process or to use the opportunities provided by the survey for membership mobilization, communication, awareness raising and empowerment.

Recommendation # 16: Invest in additional training and follow-up support for trade unions to facilitate ‘surveying’ among workers.

It is recommended that Gajimu.com invests significantly more time and resources in the training and follow-up support offered to interviewers. This would ensure that interviews are conducted in such a way as to provide an enabling and empowering space for a thorough reflection about the questions raised in the survey and an understanding of how the survey can contribute to improve working conditions at the factory level. The surveying process does have a potential to create awareness, and to empower and mobilize workers. However, this cannot happen without a support structure provided by trade unions and a thorough communication about why and how the survey could benefit workers.

After this meeting [FDG] I will make sure to go to the next committee meeting [in the trade union, red] and remind the leaders to keep us updated. Because if they don’t, we will forget and then it will just be business as usual.
Worker, 3rd Feb 2019

Recommendation # 17: Invest in capacity building for factory-level trade unions, covering ‘being’ a trade union and what that entails in terms of facilitating effective communication with members, membership engagement and negotiation with employers.

Capacity building for local trade unions should include a focus on leadership development, to give local leaders the competencies required to secure follow-up on non-compliance through social dialogue. This might include, but is not limited to:

- Organizational skills (including meetings and participatory process management)
- Negotiation skills
- Communication skills
- Personal leadership and confidence.

Gajimu.com could achieve this by adding a capacity building element to a possible future project.

Networking and cooperation between Gajimu.com and other stakeholders in the sector

Cooperation with Better Work Indonesia and other stakeholders in the sector remains largely unexplored, although some stakeholders clearly stated that the factory pages were relevant to them and/or that they would be willing to assist the intervention to access employers.

The intervention’s limited investment in networking and cooperation with other stakeholders, whose positions and effort might contribute to creating synergy or easing Gajimu.com’s work with employers, trade unions and brands, represents a ‘lost opportunity’ which – if addressed – might help Gajimu.com overcome some of the challenges faced during the implementation of the project’s first phase.

Recommendation # 18: Strengthen networking and cooperation with other stakeholders in the sector.

Given the above, we recommend Gajimu.com strengthens its cooperation with stakeholder in and outside Indonesia, whose work may help facilitate Gajimu.com’s aims and objectives and who may benefit from the information provided by Gajimu.com/garmen. Gajimu.com.

6. Conclusions

Questions ‘form reality’. This is so, not only in the field of DecentWorkChecks but also in life in general. When asked in an enabling space, questions stimulate reflection, curiosity and internal learning. If asked in an open manner and with a spirit of appreciate inquiry, questions represent a non-confrontational approach to drawing someone’s attention to a (critical) issue. Therefore, questions are also a powerful and simple tool to help set an agenda and to influence a target without imposing a solution on the person or persons being questioned. Questions invite their audience to co-create solutions and to engage and take ownership.

The intervention ‘Transparency through mobile internet – Gajimu.com/garmen’, offers a way to ask workers questions and to stimulate their awareness, reflection and learning about rights. It collects workers’ answers, and, through the publication of survey results, it provides an opportunity to set an agenda, to alert employers, brands and other stakeholders about workers’ perception of their working conditions and to facilitate a non-confrontational social dialogue about how working conditions might be improved.

As such, the intervention offers a simple, yet technologically sophisticated approach that contributes to give workers a voice in initiatives to improve working conditions in the garment industry

During the implementation much (needed) time and effort were invested in development and in introducing an app for data collection, coding websites to enable online surveying and the uploading of surveys on factory pages. These were 'necessary investments', which resulted in a platform from where data could be collected and communicated. However, in the intervention's first two years, the strong – and necessary – focus on data collection as a 'product', with all that this entailed in terms of 'creating a data collection tool that works' did serve to turn attention away from data collection and questioning as a process for learning and agenda setting. As a result, vital preconditions were not sufficiently prioritized, such as : ensuring that questions and questioning did, in fact, lead to reflection and the mobilization of workers; the mobilization and follow-up by local trade unions; and a thorough understanding among workers and trade unions about why and how this initiative was important to them. It is also vitally important that trade unions follow up the survey to maintain workers' interest in the tool. If the intervention's potential is to be released, in a second phase, a stronger focus on these preconditions is a must; as concerns the survey design, the communication through Facebook, websites and face-to-face and the way ownership and capacity is built with partnering trade unions.

6.1 Scalability

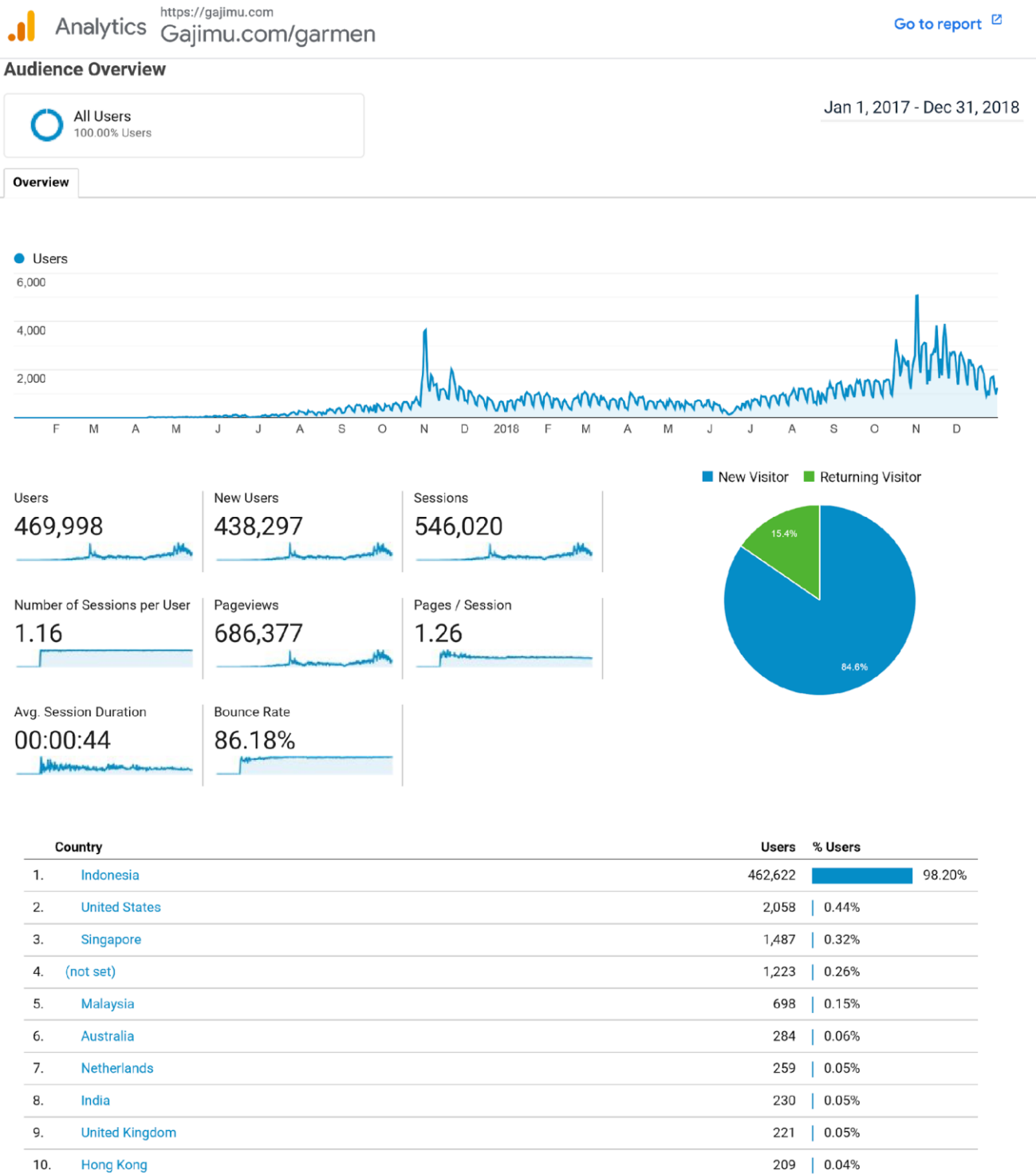
Workers throughout the world are increasingly using mobile phones for communication, through Facebook, WhatsApp and other social media platforms. The internet is used to search for news and entertainment. The 'Transparency through mobile internet – Gajimu.com' intervention aimed to capitalize on this trend and to create a platform for transparency, where workers communicate their perceptions of, and aspirations for, brands and other actors in the global garment supply chain.

This evaluation shows that while a web-based publication of workers' surveys provides an opportunity to share workers' perceptions with other actors in the supply chain and 'set an agenda', workers do not 'automatically' access and use online platforms for communication about their working conditions.

Many factors affect how or to what extent workers will use platforms such as Facebook or online apps to communicate about their working conditions. Examples are: the accessibility and optimization of websites for mobile use, the user friendliness of surveys, workers' familiarity with completing online surveys, workers' understanding of why and how a website or Facebook site may benefit them, and the language and 'appeal' of such a site to workers' immediate needs and interests..

This evaluation finds that Gajimu.com is yet to 'break the code' that attracts workers to online communication on Facebook or apps about their rights in large numbers. If, or when, this happens, the project has potential for scalability to other countries, in addition to Indonesia and Ethiopia where it is currently implemented. This would be possible if the approach was adapted to each individual cultural context and the way workers use and access the internet within that specific context.

Annex I – Google Analytics Gajimu.com/garmen



Annex II

Component aspect	Ranking for the component and interventions		
	Poor	Adequate	Good
Relevance	<p>The intervention's objectives, outcomes or activities are <i>poorly</i> suited to the priorities, policies and needs of the interventions' direct beneficiaries and other key actors in the garment production supply chain (workers, trade unions, employers and brands)</p> <p>The intervention does not suit the C&A Foundation's calls for proposal and working conditions TOC.</p>	<p>The intervention's objectives, outcomes or activities partly suit the priorities, policies and needs of the interventions' direct beneficiaries and other key actors in the garment production supply chain (workers, trade unions, employers and brands)</p> <p>The intervention partly suits the C&A Foundation's calls for proposal and working conditions TOC.</p>	<p>The intervention's goals, outcomes and activities fully suit the policies, priorities and needs of the of the interventions' direct beneficiaries and other key actors in the garment production supply chain (workers, trade unions, employers and brands)</p> <p>The intervention fully suits the C&A Foundation's calls for proposal and working conditions TOC.</p>
Efficiency	Insufficient results were achieved for the effort and money spent within the project period.	Results achieved were commensurate with effort and money spent within the project period.	Results achieved exceeded expectations for the effort and money spent within the project period.
Effectiveness	The planned and implemented activities did not, or are unlikely to, meet the intervention's goals and outcome targets as outlined in the intervention's LFA.	The planned and implemented activities are partially achieved, or are partially likely to meet the intervention's goal and outcome targets as outlined in the LFA.	The planned and implemented activities are achieved, or are highly likely to meet, the intervention's goal and outcome targets as outlined in the LFA.
Impact	<p>The intervention has achieved less than 40% of pre-defined outcome targets.</p> <p>The possibly unexpected results that were identified are unlikely to contribute significantly to the intervention's goals or outcomes.</p>	<p>The intervention has achieved 40-70 % of pre-defined outcome targets.</p> <p>The possibly unexpected results that were identified are likely to contribute to the intervention's goal and outcomes.</p>	<p>The intervention has achieved 70-100% of pre-defined outcome targets.</p> <p>The possibly unexpected results that were identified are likely to contribute <i>significantly</i> to the intervention's goal and outcomes.</p>
Sustainability	Most of the expected or unexpected results achieved are unlikely to contribute to progress towards the intervention's goal, after the funding ends.	<i>Some of</i> the expected or unexpected results are likely to contribute to progress towards the intervention's goal, after the funding ends.	All the expected or unexpected results achieved are likely to contribute to progress towards the intervention's goal, after the funding ends.

Annex III Informants

(Names of 80 workers not included)

Participants in partner and staff workshop

No	Name	Position and Organisation
1.	Kustandi	TSK-SPSI AGN, General Secretary, Gajimu Project Coordinator
2.	Eti Jumiati	TSK-SPSI AGN, Chairperson for Women Empowerment, Gajimu Project Coordinator
3.	Dadang Supriyanto	TSK-SPSI AGN, Secretary of Karawang Branch Level, Surveyor
4.	Yatini Sulistyowati	KSBSI, Gender Equality Project Officer, Gajimu Project Coordinator
5.	Trisnur Priyanto	Garteks-KSBSI, General Secretary, Gajimu Project Coordinator
6.	Mulyono	TSK-SPSI Rekonsiliasi, Vice Chairman, Gajimu Project Coordinator
7.	Sugito	TSK-SPSI Rekonsiliasi, General Secretary, Gajimu Project Coordinator
8.	Zulkifli	SPN, Director of Organisation Dept, Gajimu Project Coordinator
9.	Sugiyanto	SPN, Programme Director, Gajimu Project Coordinator
10.	Lidya Hamid	Gajimu, Data Collection Coordinator
11.	Nadia Pralitasari	Gajimu, Project Coordinator

Interviewers:

1. Faizal Rakhman - Garteks Serang (M)
2. Faisal - Garteks Bogor (M)
3. Aris Sokhibi - Garteks Tangerang (M)
4. Isrowi - TSK SPSI Rekonsiliasi Tangerang (M)
5. Agus Darsana, Federation Treasure TSK SPSI AGN Tangerang (M)
6. Agus Sudrajat, Head of District, SPN Bogor (M)
7. Mitra - TSK SPSI Rekonsiliasi Jakarta (F)
8. Heru - TSK SPSI AGN Purwakarta (M)

Partner trade unions representatives:

Djoko, President SPN (M)
 Ramidi, General Secretary KSPI (M)
 Sukiyanto, Program Coordinator SPN (M)
 Ary Joko, Garteks (M)
 Sulistri, KSBSI (M)
 H. Nurdin, TSK SPSI AGN

Local trade union leaders Bandung:

Wagiyanto, trade union President, Multi Garmen Jaya (M)
 Kardono, trade union President, Masterindo (M)

Wawan, trade union President, Sandang Priangan (M)

Interviews with trade union leaders from Bandung Indah Gemilang and Ciptagria Mutiara Busana

05.04.02.19

Dodi, FSB Garteks, Ciptagria Mutiara Busana, President factory TU (M)

Hormat Gultom, FSB Garteks, Ciptagria Mutiara Busana, Secretary factory-level TU (M)

Wawan, FSB Garteks, Ciptagria Mutiara Busana, Vice President factory-level TU (M)

Munir, FSB Garteks, Bandung City trade union branch, Secretary General (M)

Jerry Suganda, FSB Garteks, Bandung Indah Gemilang, Vice President factory-level TU (M)

Dedi Suryadi, FSB Garteks, Bandung Indah Gemilang, Public relation Secretary factory-level TU (M)

Sandi Darajat, FSB Garteks, Bandung Indah Gemilang, Treasurer factory-level TU (M)

Dian Yudianingsih, FSB Garteks, Bandung Indah Gemilang, Training and Gender Responsible factory-level TU (F)

Ranti Meranita, FSB Garteks, Bandung Indah Gemilang, TU Committee member (M)

Pendi, FSB Garteks, Bandung Indah Gemilang, TU Committee member (M)

Nanang Wahidin, FSB Garteks, Bandung Indah Gemilang, President factory-level TU (M)

Interviews with other stakeholders:

Amalia Falah Alam, Country Representative FairWear Foundation (and CNV) (F)

Indah Saptorini, xxx IndustriAll (F)

David John Welsh, Country Director, Solidarity Centre (M)

Jumisih, President FBLP (F)

Lucky, Industrial Relations, Department of Manpower, Bandung (M)

Firman Desa, Industrial Relations, Department of Manpower, Bandung (M)

Andriko Otang, Director, TURC (M)

Satay Budi Utama, Program Unit Senior Manager, CARE International Indonesia