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Department of Labor (USDOL) &
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**Independent Impact Evaluation for the
Strengthening Protections of Internationally
Recognized Labor Rights in Colombia Project**

FINAL

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This report describes in detail the final impact evaluation of the *Strengthening Protections of Internationally Recognized Labor Rights in Colombia* project. IMPAQ International, LLC, conducted an independent evaluation in collaboration with the project team and stakeholders and prepared the evaluation report according to the terms specified in its contract with the U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of International Labor Affairs and the DOL Chief Evaluation Office. IMPAQ would like to express sincere thanks to all the parties involved for their support and valuable contributions.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CAL:	Centro de Atención Laboral [Workers' Rights Center]
COLabora:	Centro de Orientación y Atención Laboral [Center for Orientation and Assistance on Labor Issues]
CGT:	Confederación General de Trabajo [General Labor Confederation]
CTC:	Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia [Confederation of Workers in Colombia]
CUT:	Central Unitaria de Trabajadores [Central Union of Workers]
DID:	Difference-in-Differences
ENS:	Escuela Nacional Sindical [National Union School]
ILAB:	Bureau of International Labor Affairs
ILO:	International Labor Organization
MSP:	Ministry of Social Protection
PMP:	Performance Monitoring Plan
PPP:	Pre-Post Plus
SAS:	Sociedad por Acciones Simplificadas [Simplified Stock Companies]
TPA:	United States–Colombia Trade Promotion Agreement
TPR:	Technical Progress Report
USDOL:	United States Department of Labor
WRV:	Workers' Rights Violation

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In December 2012, the United States Department of Labor (USDOL) Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB) awarded a \$1.5 million grant to Colombia's Escuela Nacional Sindical (ENS) to implement the project *Strengthening Protections of Internationally Recognized Labor Rights in Colombia (Workers' Rights Centers)* over three years. In 2015, ENS received a one-year extension with an additional \$600,000 in funding for a total of \$2.1 million.

The project focuses on increasing the awareness of workers' rights and sustaining the Colombian government's efforts to strengthen labor rights. As part of the United States–Colombia Trade Promotion Agreement (TPA), which went into effect on May 15, 2012, the Colombian government agreed to develop and implement an Action Plan Related to Labor Rights as a precondition for the TPA to take effect. Under the Action Plan, the Colombian government committed to take specific steps to bring Colombian labor laws and practices into greater conformity with internationally recognized labor rights.

ENS believes that the best way to realize the full potential of reforms initiated by the Colombian government is to engage workers and assist them in presenting well-supported claims of workers' rights violations (WRVs) to the proper administrative or legal authorities. To engage and assist workers, ENS established three Centros de Atención Laboral (CALs) [Workers' Rights Centers], in Bogotá, Cartagena, and Bucaramanga, and expanded an established CAL in Medellín. Law student interns and volunteers at the CALs provide free legal assistance services to workers to facilitate the effective protection of their rights. These activities are designed to achieve the project's two main outcomes:

- Outcome 1: Workers, with the assistance of the CALs, will improve their knowledge of and ability to defend their labor rights.
- Outcome 2: Workers will make more frequent and more effective use of the administrative and legal mechanisms to protect their labor rights.

To produce empirical evidence about the effectiveness of the project, ILAB (with funding from the USDOL Chief Evaluation Office) commissioned IMPAQ International to conduct rigorous implementation and impact evaluations. The midterm and end-of-project implementation reports provide an assessment of ENS's progress toward achieving its objectives, identify lessons learned from the program strategy, provide feedback to ENS with regard to its achievements, and make recommendations to ENS and ILAB for future consideration of similar projects. The present report describes the end-of-project impact evaluation results.

A. Evaluation Approach

The project is designed to address Colombian workers' lack of access to safe mechanisms through which they can address WRVs. The main purpose of this evaluation was to estimate the impact of CAL services on labor-related complaints and their resolution and on CAL clients'

knowledge of their labor rights. Although the specificity of the population targeted by the program and by the evaluation means that the results of this study may not be readily applicable to other contexts, the issues raised by the evaluation are potentially relevant in many contexts.

The evaluation team designed two separate impact evaluations: (1) the *Evaluation of the Effect of CAL Services on CAL Clients* and (2) the *Evaluation of Workers' Use of Labor Rights Protection Mechanisms*.

The first study, the evaluation of the effect of CAL services on CAL clients, aims at measuring the effect of CAL services on complaint-related outcomes among CAL clients. To measure these effects, the evaluation used a pre-post plus (PPP) methodology. PPP uses participants' baseline outcomes (pre-treatment) to approximate counterfactual outcomes, that is, workers' outcomes in the absence of the program, and compares them to the post-treatment outcomes. The specific research questions addressed by the first evaluation can be grouped in three main categories:

- (1) Does the CAL affect the probability that a worker will file a legal claim about a current WRV or address it directly with the employer?
- (2) Does the CAL affect the distribution and outcomes of legal claims and direct negotiations with the employers?
- (3) Do CAL services change workers' knowledge of their labor rights and their knowledge about the mechanisms to initiate/file labor-related complaints?

To implement this evaluation, the evaluation team collected primary data from workers visiting the Medellín and Bogotá CALs, the largest CALs, at two points in time: before receiving services (baseline) and approximately three months after receiving services (follow-up). Information was collected for two cohorts of workers. The first cohort included workers who visited the CAL soon after the start of the program. The second cohort included workers who visited the CAL closer to the end of the project. Data for each CAL and for each cohort were analyzed separately.

The second study, the evaluation of workers' use of labor rights protection mechanisms, measured the effect of the CALs and their outreach efforts on a general population of workers living in an area where a new CAL had been established (treatment group), compared with workers living in a region with similar characteristics, but with no CAL (comparison group). The study used a difference-in-differences (DID) methodology to assess the impact of the opening of a new CAL in Bucaramanga on a specific group of workers (mostly palm oil workers). This evaluation measured whether CALs can also have wider community-level effects and influence workers even if they have not visited a CAL. By examining a more diverse population of workers, this second evaluation had the following objectives:

- (1) Provide useful information about the knowledge, awareness, and legal actions taken by workers in palm oil.

- (2) Identify the potential for CALs to serve workers who would not otherwise seek redress for their WRVs.
- (3) Provide information about whether the presence of the CALs has a community-level impact.

The main research questions addressed by this evaluation are whether workers living in a region where a new CAL has opened, compared with workers living in a region with no CAL, experience a change in the following:

- Workers' awareness of CAL services in WRV cases and their knowledge about labor rights in general.
- Workers' probability of filing a legal claim using CAL services or addressing the WRV directly with the employer.
- Workers' outcomes, once they have filed a legal claim or started direct negotiation with the employer.
- Workers' likelihood of not filing a legal claim when experiencing a WRV.

The primary data for this evaluation were collected from workers in the treatment and comparison areas at baseline in June and July 2014 and then at follow-up from June to August 2015.

B. Key Evaluation Findings

Evaluation of the Effect of CAL Services on CAL Clients

This evaluation covered two cohorts of workers interviewed at two different points in time. Both cohorts were composed of workers who had actionable workers' rights violations and visited the CAL for the first time. The sociodemographic profile of CAL clients indicates that first-time CAL clients were predominantly low-income urban residents of both sexes, who were on average 39 years old. A small number of them were union members. Many clients learned about the CALs' services via the Ministry of Labor, and only a few learned about the CAL via other media including the CALs' outreach campaign. Most workers came to the CAL for WRVs related to nonpayment of wages and other job-related benefits, followed by issues related to compensation for wrongful dismissal.

The results of the PPP analysis, using first cohort data, show that the probability of filing a legal claim after receiving CAL services in Bogotá increased by 16.6 percentage points. This represents an increase of 286 percent with respect to the baseline mean of 5.8 percent. After receiving CAL services in Medellín, the probability of filing a legal claim increased by 11.7 percentage points, which represents an increase of 118 percent with respect to the baseline mean. Results for the second cohort are also positive and have an even larger magnitude.

Even though the data show an increase in the prevalence of filing legal claims after visiting a CAL, still a large fraction of clients do not file a claim after their first visit. The main reasons for

this seem to fall outside of CALs' control. Since CALs were designed to primarily help clients with the *preparation* needed for filing claims, they cannot directly file legal claims for workers. It is up to the workers to physically submit their claim to the corresponding authority. Thus, whether a claim is filed or not depends, partially, on factors outside the control of the CALs. At the same time, initial data suggest that CALs do help reduce some of the barriers that workers face to filing legal claims.

Specifically, CALs help reduce barriers that are within their control. For example, before visiting a CAL, the main reason workers in the first cohort gave for not filing a claim is that they did not know to whom to turn for help. Since CALs routinely provide information about filing legal claims and assist workers in preparing them, we would expect that lack of assistance services would no longer be a barrier. After visiting the CAL, the percentage of clients listing that they did not know to whom to turn for help (i.e. lack of assistance) as a reason for not filing decreased significantly in importance. Instead, personal reasons, defined as lack of time, interest, or motivation, were among the main reasons for not filing a legal claim, together with other (unspecified) reasons. Results for the second cohort indicate a similar pattern: before visiting a CAL, the main reason workers gave for not filing a claim was that they were looking into different options on their own. However, after they visited the CAL, workers seemed to find the help they needed, so this was no longer a prevalent reason for not filing a claim. Instead, the main reasons for not filing a legal claim after visiting the CAL were related to the effort required to pursue legal claims (e.g., lack of money, time, or motivation) and other reasons (e.g., circumstances like health issues, relocation, etc., that are unrelated to the availability of CAL services).

The results also show that workers felt substantially more confident in their knowledge of their labor rights and on how to file labor-related complaints after visiting the CALs. PPP results using first cohort data show that the probability of workers reporting knowledge of some or all of their labor rights increased, on average, by 22.5 percentage points in Bogotá. This result represents an increase of 75 percent with respect to the baseline mean of 30.2 percent. In Medellín, there was a 29.9 percentage point increase in workers' self-reported knowledge, on average. This represents a 112 percent increase with respect to the baseline mean of 26.6 percent. Results also show that the probability of workers reporting they knew how to file a labor complaint increased by 54.1 percentage points in Bogotá and by 60.9 percentage points in Medellín. These results represent increases of more than 900 percent in Bogotá and 760 percent in Medellín with respect to their baseline means (6 percent and 8 percent, respectively). Results for the second cohort have a similar magnitude. These results are broadly consistent with the qualitative evidence obtained during the site visits. Although the evaluation team did not ask specifically about participants' level of knowledge during the focus groups with CAL clients, one of the main reasons workers expressed satisfaction with the assistance received at the CALs was that they felt significantly better informed about their labor situation and legal options, even in the cases with which the CAL law student interns could no longer help them.

A general limitation of any pre-post analysis is that, in the absence of a comparison group, it is more difficult to attribute observed changes in outcomes to the intervention, because some of these changes could have occurred even in the absence of the intervention. Moreover, this study could capture only relatively short-term effects among CAL clients, and workers could continue pursuing legal claims on their own after the time of follow-up. This suggests that it is important for CALs to set up a robust system to track workers consistently over time, even after they have visited the offices, to capture both short-term and long-term effects.

Evaluation of Workers' Use of Labor Rights Protection Mechanisms

This evaluation used a DID analysis to assess the impact of the opening of the new Bucaramanga CAL on a specific group of workers (palm oil workers) to assess whether the CALs also had community-level effects in specific municipalities located near the CALs. The results of the DID analysis show that, after the opening of the Bucaramanga CAL, workers living in its area of influence increased their knowledge of CALs as an organization offering free assistance in case of WRVs by 19.8 percentage points, with respect to workers living in the comparison region without access to a nearby CAL. This represents a 194 percent effect with respect to the treatment group baseline mean of 10.2 percent. This finding shows that the Bucaramanga CAL was able to promote the services it provides among workers living nearby.

Despite this increase, there was still a large proportion of workers (about 70 percent of the sample) who did not know about the CALs, which suggests that there is still potential to reach more workers, if that is one of the strategic objectives of the Bucaramanga CAL. This finding is also in line with the findings of the implementation evaluation, which suggest that the project appears to have been more effective at reaching the urban population than the rural population. The potential to reach more workers has to be considered in combination with the implementation evaluation finding showing that most CALs do not have the physical capacity to assist a larger number of workers than they are currently helping, given their current office sizes.

After the Bucaramanga CAL opened, the probability of filing a legal claim using CAL services among those experiencing a WRV and being aware of it increased by 13.5 percentage points with respect to the comparison group (a 135 percent effect with respect to the treatment group baseline mean of 1 percent). However, the use of CAL services to file a legal claim was still relatively low in this population. Only 7 percent of workers in the area of influence of the Bucaramanga CAL had filed a legal claim using CAL services. This is not surprising given the limited coverage of the mobile CALs and the fact that palm workers may find it difficult to travel to the city (Bucaramanga) to file their legal claims using the direct assistance at the local CAL office.

One limitation of the DID methodology is that it might be difficult to attribute changes in outcomes solely to the implementation of the program, since the DID method does not capture unobservable time varying factors that affect the comparison and treatment regions unequally. For example, some factors that could change over the life of the project would be how local

government institutions respond when dealing with workers' cases or the implementation of other projects promoting workers' rights that are implemented differently in treatment and comparison regions. The method assumes that no such time varying differences existed between treatment and comparison group.

C. Conclusions

The main conclusion from the first evaluation is that the CALs seem to have had positive effects on workers using the services of the established offices in Bogotá and Medellín for the first time. After visiting the CAL, workers felt more knowledgeable about their labor rights and how to file legal claims. Workers were also more likely to take legal actions to defend their labor rights.

While the first evaluation looked at the direct effect of established CALs on CAL clients, the second evaluation assessed the impact of the opening of the new Bucaramanga CAL on palm oil workers (one of priority sectors of the project) in specific municipalities located near the CALs and on workers' knowledge and take-up rate of CAL services. The results indicate that the Bucaramanga CAL had some positive effects on workers living in these communities. Specifically, after the Bucaramanga CAL opened its doors, workers became more aware of the services CALs provided and more likely to use them when filing a legal claim. However, there is still potential for the Bucaramanga CAL to reach a wider population of workers in the surrounding regions.

This was ILAB's first impact evaluation of a technical assistance project that focuses on workers' rights; as such, it was a good start. Given the Colombian context (e.g., history of anti-union violence) and the high demand from workers in general for assistance of this kind from workers' rights centers, the above are important and valuable takeaways of this evaluation.

For stronger findings and more definitive conclusions about the project as a whole, this impact evaluation would have needed to be designed at the early stages of the project's implementation, even before the USDOL awarded the grant to ENS. Ideally, the evaluation design would have been part of the implementation of the project. For example, the evaluator could have worked with ENS to put together a sampling frame of workers that were going to be later targeted by an outreach campaign and that could have potentially been used to identify a comparison group. However, this alternative was not feasible given that the contract for the impact evaluation was awarded several months after the implementation contract was awarded to the implementing agency, limiting the time available to plan, develop, and coordinate the required work. By the time the evaluation design plan was finalized, many of the project activities were well underway, particularly in Medellín and Bogotá which both had pre-established CALs in operation.¹

Nonetheless, the findings support the qualitative findings from the implementation evaluation, which found that this project is a valuable project that has contributed to the goal of assisting

¹ The CALs in Bucaramanga and Cartagena started operations in March 2014; however, agreeing on a final evaluation design plan for the impact evaluation took longer than expected and was not approved until after this date.

workers in their ability to defend their labor rights by providing them with basic legal assistance.

1. PROJECT BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION

The United States Department of Labor (USDOL) Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB), with funding from the USDOL Chief Evaluation Office, contracted with IMPAQ International, LLC (IMPAQ) to conduct an independent evaluation of the project *Strengthening Protections of Internationally Recognized Labor Rights in Colombia*² under the contract titled “ILAB Impact and Implementation Evaluation for Colombia.” The main purpose of this evaluation is to estimate the impact of services provided by the Workers’ Rights Centers (Centros de Atención Laboral, or CALs) on the outcomes of workers who visit the CAL because they are experiencing a workers’ rights violation (WRV). To achieve this purpose, the IMPAQ team designed two separate evaluations: the *Evaluation of the Effect of CAL Services on CAL Clients* and the *Evaluation of Workers’ Use of Labor Rights Protection Mechanisms*. Section 2 describes in more detail the methodological approach used in each of these evaluations. This section provides an overview of the project.

1.1 Background: Labor Rights in Colombia

Workers in Colombia have minimal access to social protections and labor rights. Participation levels in the informal sector of the economy are very high, at 74 percent. The great majority of workers in the informal sector earn less than the minimum wage (approximately \$225 per month³) and lack access to comprehensive social protections, including health insurance, retirement savings, and occupational accident insurance.⁴ In addition, Colombia has a high level of structural unemployment, with more than 2.3 million people unemployed. Nearly half the people who are unemployed are youths under the age of 25.⁵

As part of the United States–Colombia Trade Promotion Agreement (TPA), which went into effect on May 15, 2012, the Colombian government agreed to develop and implement an Action Plan Related to Labor Rights (Action Plan), which was signed by Presidents Barack Obama and Juan Manuel Santos on April 7, 2011. Successful implementation of key elements of the Action Plan was stipulated as a precondition for the TPA to take effect. Under the Action Plan, the Colombian government committed to take specific steps to bring Colombian labor laws and practices into greater conformity with internationally recognized labor rights. Specifically, the Action Plan is geared toward meeting the following five objectives:

² The ILAB-ENS Cooperative Agreement states the agreement period as December 27, 2012, to December 26, 2015. USDOL ILAB granted ENS a one-year extension of the project from December 27, 2015, to December 26, 2016.

³ World Bank, *Informality in Colombia: Implications for Worker Welfare and Firm Productivity*, 2010. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/2889>. License: Creative Commons Attribution CC BY 3.0.

⁴ In 2016, the approved minimum wage was increased by 7 percent to COP 689,455. Due to currency depreciation, however, the minimum wage decreased in value from \$270 per month as of January 2015 to \$225 per month as of May 2016.

⁵ Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, 2014. <http://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/estadisticas-por-tema/mercado-laboral>.

- Promoting the formalization of labor by eliminating illegal labor intermediation
- Protecting the right to organize unions
- Protecting the right to collective bargaining
- Strengthening state institutions charged with labor administration
- Overcoming violence against unions and impunity for its perpetrators

In Colombia, during President Álvaro Uribe’s administration (2002–2006), the Ministry of Labor was merged with the Ministry of Social Security to form the Ministry of Social Protection (MSP).⁶ At that time, concerns were raised about the capacity of the MSP to enforce labor rights. For this reason, the current president of Colombia separated these institutions again in 2011. The newly re-established Colombian Ministry of Labor houses a labor inspectorate, which is charged with enforcing the provisions of the labor code, among other duties. Historically, labor inspectors have been unable to enforce the labor code efficiently and effectively because of a variety of logistical and regulatory impediments and a lack of training.⁷ Even with an increase in the number of labor inspectors and investigations conducted in priority sectors, several challenges still remain—for example, the minimal collection of fines imposed by Colombian authorities,⁸ which may be sending the wrong message to society.

As part of its continuing efforts to inform workers about their rights, the Ministry of Labor recently established a program called COLabora (Centro de Orientación y Atención Laboral) [Center for Orientation and Assistance on Labor Issues]. COLabora does not provide legal assistance services to individuals. Rather, it gives general guidance and responds to frequently asked questions about such topics as the amount of the minimum monthly wage or the maximum number of hours a person can work before overtime compensation is required. COLabora operates two offices in Bogotá, but the majority of workers access its services through a toll-free telephone number (69 percent) or onsite at the Bogotá office or one of the territorial branches (20 percent).⁹

1.2 Escuela Nacional Sindical and the Workers’ Rights Centers

Building on the momentum provided by the Action Plan, in December 2012, ILAB awarded a \$1.5 million grant to Colombia’s Escuela Nacional Sindical (ENS) to implement the project *Strengthening Protection of Internationally Recognized Labor Rights in Colombia*. Originally a three-year project, it received a one-year extension with an additional \$600,000 in funding for a

⁶ USDOL ILAB, Colombia Labor Rights, 2011. http://www.dol.gov/ilab/reports/pdf/colombia_LRR.pdf.

⁷ Ibid, p. 15.

⁸ Office of the United States Trade Representative and U.S. Department of Labor, Standing Up for Workers: Promoting Labor Rights Through Trade, p. 23. Washington, DC: 2015.

<http://www.dol.gov/ilab/reports/pdf/USTR%20DOL%20Trade%20-%20Labor%20Report%20-%20Final.pdf>.

⁹ Colombian Ministry of Labor. (2016)., COLabora Management Report, 2015. Bogotá: 2016.

<http://www.mintrabajo.gov.co/colabora>

total of \$2.1 million. The project focuses on increasing the awareness of workers' rights and supporting the Colombian government's efforts to strengthen labor rights through the establishment or expansion of four Workers' Rights Centers (CALs) operated by ENS in Medellín, Bogotá, Bucaramanga, and Cartagena.

The CALs provide free legal assistance services to facilitate the effective protection of workers' rights and help achieve the project's two main outcomes:

- Outcome 1: Workers, with the assistance of the CALs, will improve their knowledge of and ability to defend their labor rights.
- Outcome 2: Workers will make more frequent and more effective use of the administrative and legal mechanisms to protect their labor rights.

In September 2005, ENS partnered with the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT) [Central Union of Workers], Colombia's largest trade union federation, to pilot the CAL project in Medellín. Because of the high worker demand for CAL services, ENS and CUT opened a new office in Bogotá four years later.¹⁰ In 2011, CUT partnered with another trade union, Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia (CTC) [Confederation of Workers of Colombia] to further the CAL initiative and strengthen the institutional and political foundation of the project. ENS has also established a strategic alliance with the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (Solidarity Center) to promote research and projects protecting vulnerable groups. The two organizations work together to support the Afro-Colombian Labor Council to advance racial inclusion in the labor movement and in society. With funding from the USDOL grant, ENS reopened the CAL in Bogotá and established new offices in Cartagena and Bucaramanga in March 2014. Exhibit 1 shows a map of the four CAL offices.

¹⁰ This CAL closed in 2012.

Exhibit 1: Map of CAL Offices



1.3 CAL Services

CAL offices offer assistance to victims of workers' rights violations by providing free and immediate legal advice to workers.¹¹ Whenever possible, the CALs have been located close to the regional office of the Ministry of Labor to increase the number of workers who seek legal assistance. In addition, ENS staff collaborate with the CALs and the Solidarity Center to pursue strategic or emblematic cases, which have the potential to set legal precedents in favor of workers' rights.

¹¹ The fundamental rights are defined by the Colombian labor code, the National Constitution of Colombia, and the International Labor Organization (ILO) agreements on forced labor as equal remuneration for male and female workers, minimum age of entrance into the labor market, and collective bargaining.

The main services provided by the CALs are legal assistance services [*asesorías jurídicas*]. Two types of services are offered: (1) actionable services¹² and (2) informational services (see Exhibit 2).

Exhibit 2: Types of Legal Assistance Offered by CAL Offices

Nature of Legal Service	Type of Legal Action/Service
Actionable Legal Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Constitutional challenge [<i>tutela</i>]¹³ ▪ Formal requests [<i>derechos de petición</i>] ▪ Payment claims [<i>reclamaciones de pago</i>] ▪ Complaints [<i>quejas</i>] ▪ Criminal complaints [<i>querellas</i>] ▪ Research inquiries [<i>solicitudes de investigación</i>] ▪ Enforcement actions [<i>desacatos</i>] ▪ Appeal of a constitutional challenge [<i>impugnación de tutela</i>] ▪ Involuntary resignation [<i>renuncia motivada</i>]
Informational Legal Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Labor settlements [<i>liquidaciones laborales</i>] ▪ Labor rights information requests [<i>conceptos jurídicos</i>] ▪ Insistence requests [<i>solicitudes de insistencia</i>]

The CAL program targets workers in six priority economic sectors identified in the Project Document submitted by ENS to ILAB.¹⁴ These priority sectors are the public sector, ports, sugar cane, mining, flowers, and palm oil. The primary mechanism that the CALs use to reach workers in these sectors is the mobile caravans (or mobile CALs). In principle, the mobile CALs offer legal assistance services to rural workers who are unable to travel to any of the four urban CAL offices. Each CAL determines how to operate the mobile efforts based on estimates of the number of workers that the mobile units will assist. CAL staff undertake trips to the catchment areas (geographical areas served by each CAL) linked to their office. The mobile CALs also aim to increase workers' awareness of labor rights violations in the priority sectors by providing labor rights forums (*talleres sobre derechos laborales*). Exhibit 3 shows the mobile CAL coverage by sector of interest and geographic region.

Exhibit 3: Mobile CAL Coverage

Sector of Interest	CAL Office	Regional Influence
Ports	Medellín	Municipality of Turbo y Buenaventura
	Cartagena	Barranquilla and Santa Marta
Sugar cane	Medellín	Municipality of Palmira y Cali

¹² ENS identifies these legal activities as "*acciones jurídicas que se verifican.*" Actionable services are legal assistance services provided to workers so that they can file or otherwise initiate a legal claim.

¹³ A legal instrument that allows individuals and organizations that have experienced a violation of a constitutional right to present a legal claim before a judge.

¹⁴ ENS, Project Document, 2013, pp. 2-3.

Sector of Interest	CAL Office	Regional Influence
Mining (oil refinery)	Cartagena	Barranquilla and Santa Marta
	Bucaramanga	Barrancabermeja
Flowers	Bogotá	Gran Sabana region
Palm oil	Bucaramanga	Puerto Wilches

Note: Since public sector workers are located primarily in cities, the CAL offices are the primary resource for this sector.

1.4 Program Logic

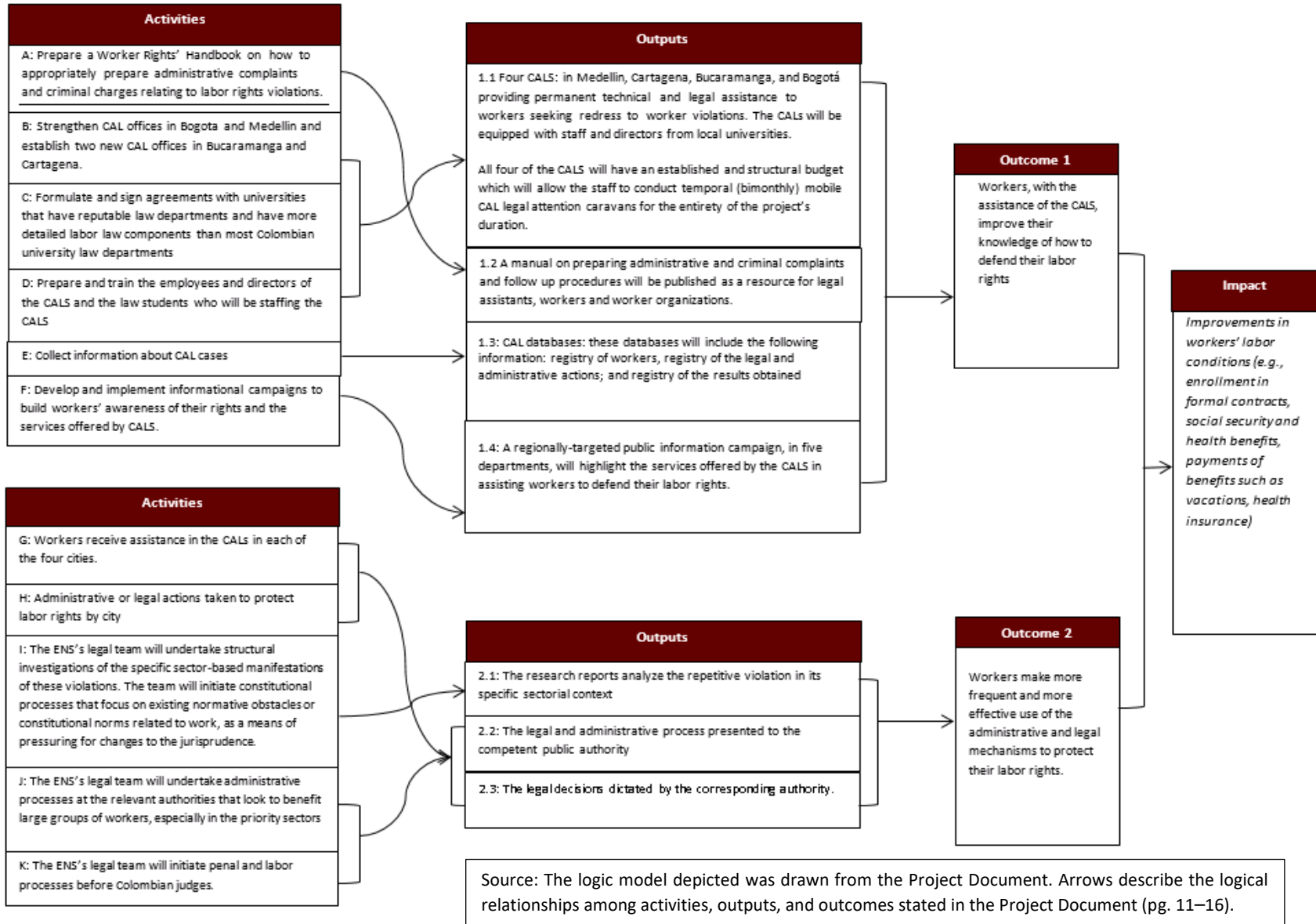
The program logic model presented in Exhibit 4 is based on the project's purpose, outcomes, outputs, and activities as described in the Project Document.¹⁵ The blocks on the left side of the exhibit list the activities that are implemented; the blocks in the middle list the outputs; the blocks on the right side identify the outcomes and impacts that will be achieved as a result of the interventions. As described in the Project Document¹⁶ and shown in Exhibit 4, the project will achieve its outputs by performing the following activities:

- A. Prepare a Workers' Rights Handbook.
- B. Build CAL infrastructure.
- C. Formulate and sign agreements with universities.
- D. Train CAL staff.
- E. Collect information on CAL cases.
- F. Launch an outreach campaign.
- G. Provide legal assistance services.
- H. Initiate administrative or legal actions to protect labor rights.
- I. Undertake structural investigations of the specific sector-based manifestation of labor rights violations in order to initiate constitutional processes.
- J. Undertake legal processes to benefit a large group of workers.
- K. Initiate penal and labor processes before Colombian judges.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 11-16.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

Exhibit 4: Program Logic



Activities **A** through **F** (left column of Exhibit 4) are expected to lead to the following outputs:

(1.1) Strengthen the CAL offices in Bogotá and Medellín (these offices existed before USDOL funding and are being expanded) and establish two new CAL offices in Bucaramanga and Cartagena to provide permanent technical and legal assistance to workers seeking redress for workers' rights violations. The four CALs will conduct bimonthly mobile CAL legal assistance caravans for the entire project duration.

(1.2) Produce a manual to help workers prepare administrative and criminal complaints. The handbook will contain the legal information (substantive and procedural) workers need to prepare complaints and charges.

(1.3) Develop CAL databases that include information on clients who have obtained legal assistance, legal and administrative actions taken, and outcomes of actions.

(1.4) Launch a regionally targeted public information campaign that will consist of distributing flyers and organizing and attending academic conferences on labor law issues. The flyers will contain contact information and a brief description of CAL services. The academic conferences will take place at universities and will aim to increase awareness of labor right violations and to disseminate recent changes in labor law.

Activities **A** through **D** and their associated outputs focus on building the CALs' capacity—for example, by strengthening staffing and training and by creating resources that will be readily available both to CAL staff and to workers. As described in the Project Document, the CALs will prepare periodic reports that provide examples of how workers can ensure the protection of their labor rights. These reports will inform the content of the Workers' Rights Handbook. The CALs also will organize workshops that will explain how workers can use the Workers' Rights Handbook effectively and follow its procedures to make demands and initiate complaints to protect their labor rights.

In addition, the systematic information collected at the CALs via the CAL databases (Activity **E**) will enable staff to gather evidence to support cases, design pathways for worker protection, and support the use of institutional mechanisms of worker protection. Thus, by seeking assistance from the CALs (Activity **G**), workers will gain access to resources about how to file labor claims. They will also gain broader knowledge about new and existing labor laws and a better understanding of the legal system (Outcome 1). These benefits will be reinforced by the implementation of the public information campaign (Activity **F**).

The rest of the CALs' activities (**H** through **K**) focus on the provision of legal assistance services, which can take several forms (e.g., *asesorías jurídicas* or, in some cases, the initiation of penal and labor processes before Colombian judges). These activities will lead to the following outputs:

(2.1) Research reports analyzing repetitive violations

(2.2) Legal and administrative processes presented to the competent public authority

(2.3) Legal decisions dictated by the corresponding authority

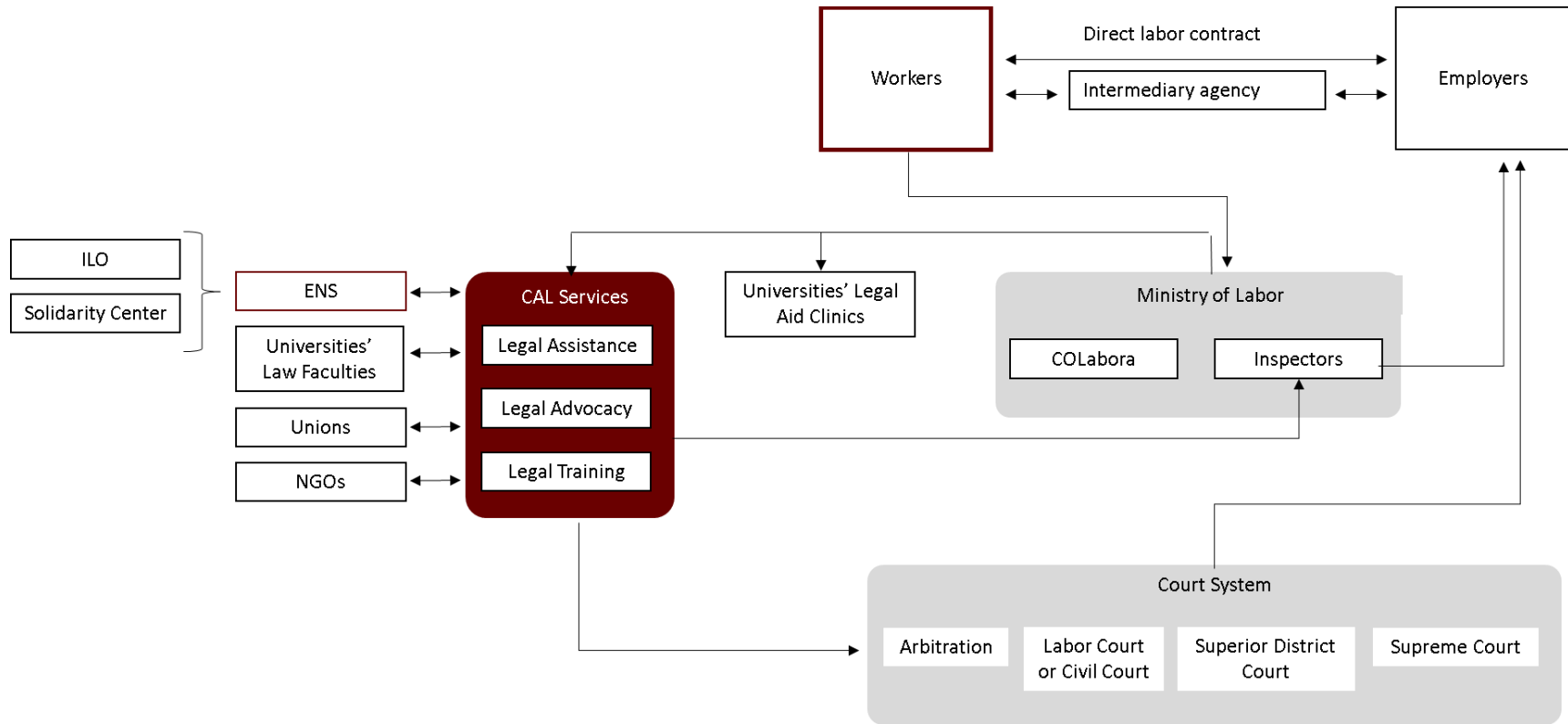
For example, through Activity I (ENS's analysis of repetitive types of cases brought to the CAL), the CALs will furnish the information needed for the ENS research reports that analyze structural investigations (Output 2.1). These reports, in turn, can guide the design of appropriate pathways for worker protection.

Thus, by receiving direct assistance from CAL services and guidance through the processes of the legal system, workers will learn how to file grievances, criminal complaints, and *tutela* actions and will be equipped to choose the most appropriate legal mechanisms to vindicate their labor rights. For example, one of the potential benefits of CAL services is that workers will be able to identify the appropriate legal instrument or mediation effort that they should use in each case. Moreover, the CALs are able to facilitate claims that would otherwise be difficult for an individual worker to pursue on his or her own. Accordingly, increasing the use of CAL services will result in increasing the frequency with which workers use administrative and legal mechanisms to protect their labor rights and will improve the effectiveness of those mechanisms (Outcome 2).

1.4.1 CAL Operational Context

The operational environment of the CALs consists of several institutions and organizations that seek to support and improve the labor rights of workers. These include government offices, workers' unions, university legal clinics, non-governmental organizations, and international organizations. Exhibit 5 presents a diagram of the context in which the CALs operate and the path for workers to receive legal support for labor rights violations in Colombia.

Exhibit 5: Operational Context for Receiving and Providing Legal Support in Colombia



As indicated in the top row of Exhibit 5, in Colombia, the worker–employer relationship should be governed by a contract between the two parties; however, employers often outsource services through intermediaries to avoid paying the benefits and compensation mandated by law. In cases in which a labor dispute arises between workers and their employers, workers often go to the Ministry of Labor for initial assistance (see the middle row of Exhibit 5). Ministry staff may provide basic legal information, but the law prohibits them from offering legal assistance. Workers are then referred to other organizations, such as university legal aid clinics and the nearest CAL. At the CAL, law student interns help workers prepare the documentation so that workers can submit complaints to the Ministry of Labor or file *tutelas* in the court system, both of which have jurisdiction over employers.

In addition to legal assistance to individual workers, the CALs also offer legal training to their student interns and to organized workers; they contribute to the legal advocacy work of ENS and the Solidarity Center. The key stakeholders are described below.

Ministry of Labor. A major stakeholder in labor rights advancement in Colombia is the Ministry of Labor. As mentioned in Section 1.1, the Ministry of Labor supports two efforts to assist workers: the COLabora program and the labor inspectorate. In May 2013, the ministry created the COLabora program (Centro de Orientación y Atención Laboral), intended as a national program whose purpose is to give workers “better tools to guide, inform, and answer concerns” raised by both workers and employers and “provide updated information on the duties and labor rights of all Colombians.” During 2015, the program assisted approximately 1.5 million people via four assistance channels: telephone (69 percent), onsite (20 percent), mail (7 percent), and Internet (4 percent).¹⁷ Although established as a national program, COLabora has only two offices, both located in Bogotá; however, the Ministry of Labor has regional offices, which are available to the public, in all departments. In addition, the Ministry of Labor employs labor inspectors who investigate labor complaints to ensure employers’ compliance with labor regulations.

Workers visiting a CAL have often been referred by a Ministry of Labor office. According to the project’s annual progress report for 2015, 78 percent of the clients of the Bogotá CAL were referred by the ministry. As part of their legal services, the CALs routinely help workers file complaints or petitions to labor inspectors, who also have the power to serve as arbitrators between employers and workers.

Court System. If a worker and an employer consent, labor disputes may be submitted to an arbitration panel. Cases can also be initiated in the lower courts, either in a labor circuit court or a civil circuit court if there is no labor circuit court in the area.¹⁸ In special circumstances, the CALs assist workers in filing complaints (*querellas*) through the legal system. If workers’

¹⁷ Colombian Ministry of Labor. COLabora Management Report, 2015, Bogotá: 2016.

¹⁸ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs. Colombia Labor Rights Report, Washington, DC: 2008. <http://www.dol.gov/ilab/reports/pdf/ColombiaLaborRights.pdf>.

constitutional rights are being violated by an action of or an omission by a public authority, or if there is an imminent threat to their well-being, workers can file a *tutela*, or constitutional claim, with any competent judge. The CALs assist workers in collecting evidence and documentation so that workers can present a *tutela* in the labor circuit court or, if necessary, appeal a ruling.

Workers' Unions and Federations. The CALs' main union partners are the CUT and the CTC, which are two of Colombia's three trade union federations. The third federation, which is not involved in this initiative, is the Confederación General de Trabajo (CGT) [General Labor Confederation]. The CUT and the CTC have regional representatives on the CAL executive board. Depending on the city, the unions may also provide operational support for the mobile CALs and help convene workers.

Universities. Partnerships with universities are essential to this initiative because the CALs depend on law students to offer legal services. The CALs, in turn, offer students additional training in labor law and other relevant topics.

International Labor Organization (ILO). The ILO in Colombia promotes international labor standards. The organization recently signed a memorandum of understanding with the Colombian government to collaborate and create decent working conditions for rural workers. ENS and ILO work jointly in the program to strengthen labor inspection in the Ministry of Labor.

Solidarity Center. The Solidarity Center in Colombia works with unions and community groups to help them protect their right to association, to help end labor subcontracting, and to promote inclusion of women and Afro-descendant workers. Like the CALs, the Solidarity Center also assists workers in vulnerable sectors such as palm oil, sugar cane, ports, and the public sector. ENS entered into an agreement with the center to assist in the project's design and cooperate during project implementation. The director of the Solidarity Center is a member of the CAL steering committee, and the center also has a representative on the management committee.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The CALs also cooperate with local NGOs to provide additional services to workers and to reach workers in the priority sectors.

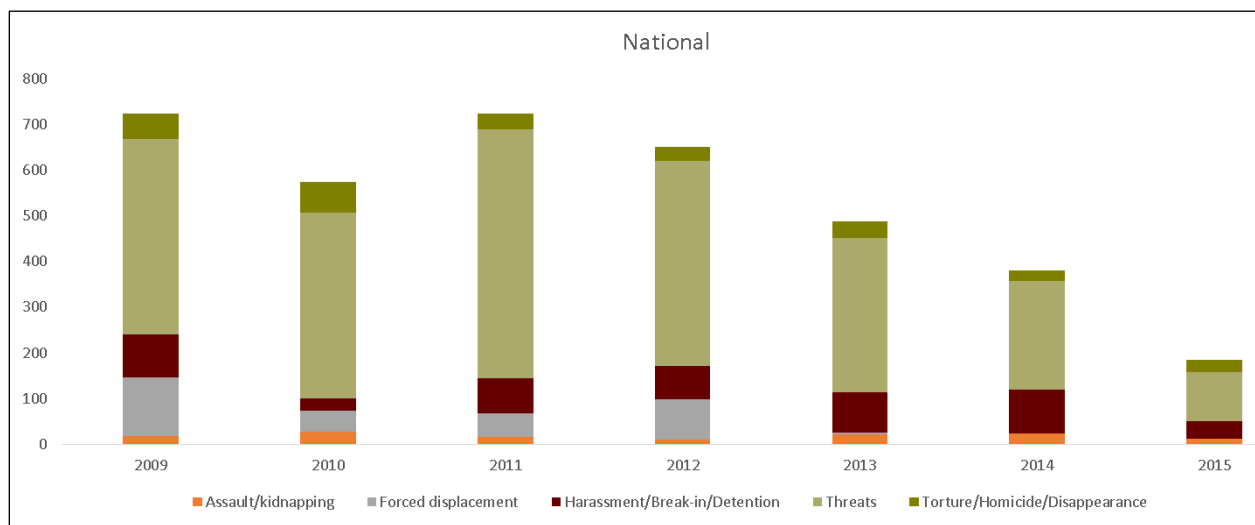
1.5 Union Violence as a Contextual Factor

The evaluation design plan for this project identified violent acts against union members or leaders as an important contextual factor that could affect the relationship between CAL services and the project's expected effects. While the reduction of violence against union members was not an output of the project, the relationship between violence and workers' ability to pursue rights violations is likely to be complex. If Colombia experiences a reduction in the incidence of violent acts against union members or leaders, there should be a positive effect on workers' use of labor rights services. On the other hand, a reduction in violence may indicate improvement in the overall environment for workers' rights, and claims may decline as a result.

To investigate violence as a contextual factor, the evaluation team conducted semi-structured interviews, focus groups with workers, and a document review. Focus groups with workers were conducted separately for male and female workers. They were composed of both workers who were union members and those who did not belong to a union.

Based on information from the ENS database SINDERH (Information System on Human Rights), which tracks violence against union members, between 2009 and 2015 the majority of reported cases of violence against union members were threats, followed by cases of harassment. As Exhibit 6 shows, the total number of violent acts has decreased consistently, from 725 reported cases in 2011 to 185 cases in 2015, a reduction of 75 percent. The number of violent cases in 2015 was reduced by half compared to the previous year.

Exhibit 6: Anti-Union Violence by Type, 2009–2015



Source: ENS, SINDERH.

Despite this improvement, homicides and assaults remain an issue. The International Trade Union Confederation, an advocacy group based in Belgium, recently released its 2016 Global Rights Index, which ranks the world’s worst countries for workers. The index rated 141 countries on a scale from 1 to 5 based on the degree of respect for workers’ rights. Colombia ranked 5, “no guarantee of rights.” Further, it was among the 10 worst for union violence, and its record of 20 murders of trade unionists in 2015 was the worst of any country.¹⁹

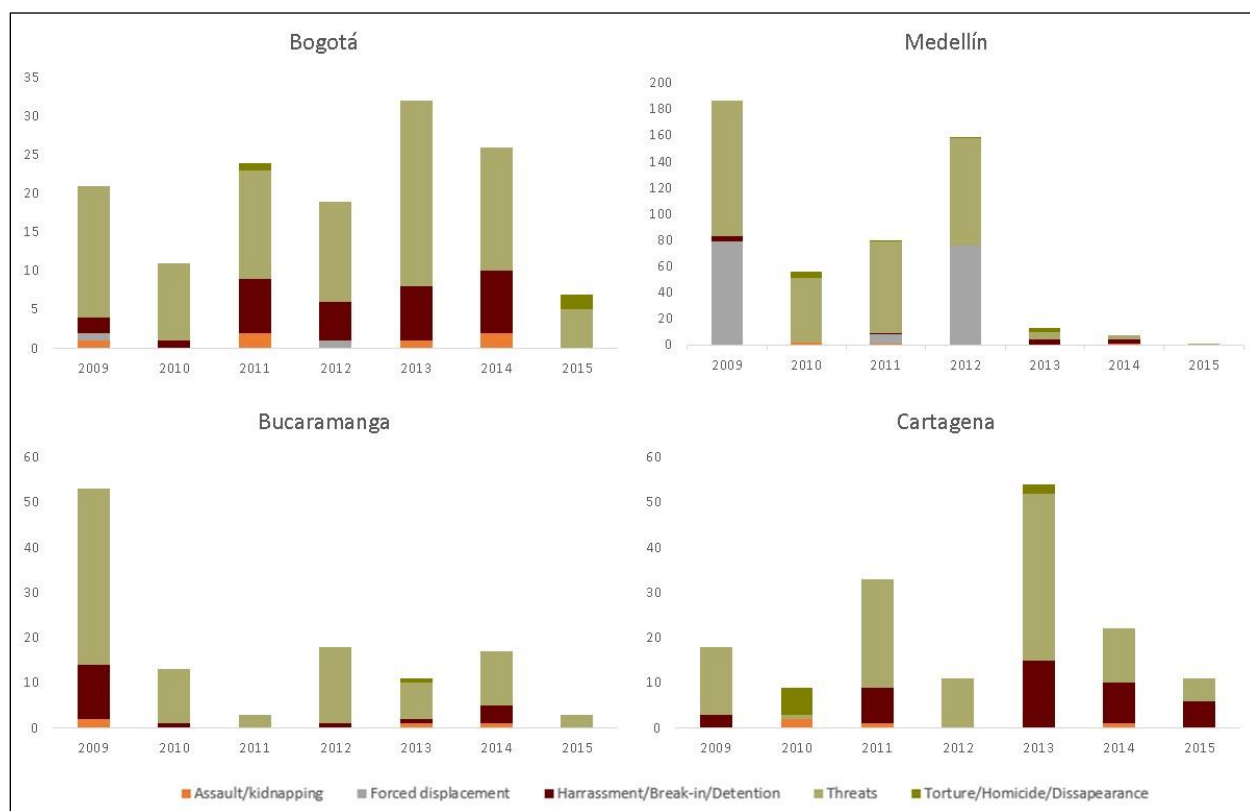
Exhibit 7 shows the number of violent acts against union members, by type of act, in each of the cities where a CAL is located. Comparing the four cities since 2009, Medellín has experienced the largest number of cases (503), followed by Bogotá (137), Cartagena (155), and

¹⁹ ITUC Global Rights Index 2016. <http://www.ituc-csi.org/ituc-global-rights-index-2016>

Bucaramanga (116). However, the largest reduction in reported violent acts was also seen in Medellín: a 92 percent decrease in 2013 compared to the previous year.

The most common type of violence reported by participants in the focus groups was harassment at the workplace. For both union members and non-union workers, the harassment was intended to pressure them to resign their job or to stop claiming benefits. For instance, most workers mentioned being harassed or fired from their jobs when they had a health problem. In Bucaramanga and Bogotá, male workers discussed union violence as an underlying threat that they had not experienced personally but was “always present.”

Exhibit 7: Anti-Union Violence by City, 2009–2015



Source: ENS, SINDERH.

The overall conclusion of this analysis is that, even though anti-union violence has been decreasing since 2013, workers still feel intimidated by it. The general perception of violence, both at the workplace and in the society in general, is an important factor that could influence workers’ willingness to visit the CALs, file legal claims, or engage in direct negotiations with the employer.

1.6 Implementation Summary Findings

This section summarizes the findings from the *Implementation Evaluation Report* that are relevant to the analyses conducted in the impact evaluation.

Project Strategy

This project was based on the premise that offering legal services to individual workers at the CALs would broaden and expand the knowledge and expertise of ENS and the unions. An increase in knowledge and expertise was expected to help develop a legal strategy that would improve the legal context for workers in Colombia. However, implementing the strategy of establishing new CALs exposed a tension between the two main mechanisms designed to reach the project's goals: assisting individual workers at the CALs vs. pursuing emblematic cases through ENS (strategic cases that have the potential to establish new legal precedents or impact a large group of workers). CAL staff and their clients believe that assisting individual workers at the CALs provides quick results and is a unique and important service for which there is much demand. However, according to ENS, this is not the main mechanism that will bring the greatest benefit to the majority of workers. ENS believes that pursuing emblematic cases could bring about more impactful changes over time. The slower-than-expected progress of the emblematic cases is a source of frustration and has affected the progression of the project's goal to improve the overall labor rights justice system for workers.

*Target Population and Mobile CALs*²⁰

In addition to the CAL offices in four cities, mobile CALs were created to reach workers in the priority sectors identified in the Action Plan (palm oil, sugar cane, mines, ports, and flowers). Only about one-tenth of workers who received CAL services received them through a mobile CAL. Moreover, the CALs have not been equally effective in implementing mobile CAL efforts, indicating that the project has not been as successful as planned in reaching the sectors of interest.

Workers' Rights Handbook Trainings

An important project activity consisted of the development of a handbook to educate workers about their labor rights. Printed copies of the handbook were not available until April 2016, which meant that socialization and training with the handbook did not start until that time. Despite this, the CALs did offer some trainings to union members, sometimes through mobile CALs.

Outreach Campaign

The project's outreach campaign, another key activity, is no longer suitable for its original purpose. While the initial outreach strategy was intended to increase demand for CAL services, this approach is no longer feasible because most CALs do not have the physical capacity to assist a larger number of workers, given their current office sizes. According to the implementation evaluation findings, ENS has revised the outreach strategy to help disseminate the CALs' work, share practical information and news on labor rights, and provide a communication platform to unions. To do this, the CALs are increasing their online presence

²⁰ To maintain consistency between the terminology used in ENS's Project Document and the Implementation Midterm and Final Reports, "mobile CALs" refer to the *caravanas legales* [legal caravans] organized by each CAL Director.

through a new website (www.calcolombia.co), various social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube), and electronic newsletters. Leveraging resources from other funding sources, ENS hopes to provide unions with a more comprehensive strategy that combines legal assistance, trainings, and communications. Given that the new website was not launched until sometime after July 2015, it is unlikely these changes had an effect on the general population.

2. EVALUATION PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes in detail the purpose of the impact evaluation, the research questions addressed, and the methodology used. The results of the evaluation are presented in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.1 Evaluation Purpose

The main purpose of this evaluation was to estimate the impact of CAL services on the outcomes of workers who visit the CAL because they are experiencing a WRV. In this report, a WRV is defined as any action taken by an employer that deprives an employee of his or her rights as outlined in the 1991 Colombian Constitution, international treaties, and the Colombian Labor Code. As described in more detail below, the impact evaluation consisted of two components driven by different research questions and methodological approaches.

The results of this evaluation are intended to contribute to future program evaluation efforts by helping build a body of knowledge about the impacts that can be expected of this type of intervention and by highlighting the methodological challenges associated with this kind of evaluation research. Although the specificity of the population targeted by the program and the evaluation means that the results of this study may not be readily applicable to other contexts, the issues raised by this evaluation are potentially relevant in many contexts.

2.2 Considerations of Methodological Approach

The features of the CAL project guided the methodological approach used to evaluate the impact of CAL services on workers' outcomes. Two features, in particular, informed the approach used for this evaluation:

- *Absence of a sampling frame:* Any worker can visit a CAL at any time. The evaluation team can only identify clients once they are at the CAL. If CAL services were provided to only a specific group of workers, for instance, union members, and if unions could have provided contact information of their members, the evaluation team could have used that as a sampling frame. However, CAL services are available to all workers. Absence of a sampling frame also prevented the evaluation team from finding a suitable comparison group for CAL clients.
- *Impossibility of restricting services once visitors were at the CAL:* Given the sensitive nature of workers' visits to the CALs, it was not feasible to restrict the provision of services to only some of the workers, as is typically done in randomized controlled trials. As was mentioned in Section 1, the funding for the CAL project was awarded in December 2012, and the Medellín CAL was already in operation by that time.

Taking these features into consideration, the IMPAQ team designed two separate evaluations:

- *The Evaluation of the Effect of CAL Services on CAL Clients* measured the effect of the CALs on complaints-related outcomes among CAL clients using a pre-post plus (PPP) methodology. This evaluation does not use a comparison group; rather, it uses CAL clients' outcomes during baseline as a counterfactual.
- *The Evaluation of Workers' Use of Labor Rights Protection Mechanisms* measured the effect of the CALs and their outreach efforts on a general population of palm oil workers living in a region where a new CAL had been established (that is, the study was not restricted to CAL clients). This evaluation used a twin region/city comparison group and a difference-in-differences (DID) approach.

Sections 2.3 and 2.4 describe each of these evaluations in detail.

2.3 Evaluation of the Effect of CAL Services on CAL Clients

The main objective of the first evaluation was to measure the impact of CAL services on CAL clients' complaint filing behavior and their knowledge of their labor rights. This section describes the population targeted by this evaluation, the research questions addressed, the methodological approach, and the data used to conduct the analysis.

2.3.1 Target Population

The main purpose of the CALs is to provide legal assistance services to workers whose labor rights have been violated. As described in Chapter 1, the CALs provide two types of legal assistance services: (1) actionable services and (2) informational services (see Exhibit 2, above). The focus of the first evaluation is on CAL clients who visited the CAL for the first time and had an actionable item.

2.3.2 Research Questions

The primary hypothesis of the impact evaluation is that CALs affect the complaint filings for WRVs and subsequent outcomes (e.g., a resolution favorable to the worker) in a way that would not have occurred without the CAL intervention.²¹ A *current* WRV refers to the violation that caused the worker to seek assistance at the CAL.

For the evaluation of CAL services, the team also collected data on outcome variables aimed at directly measuring workers' knowledge of labor laws and WRVs. The assumption was that, in the process of going through the CAL and following the legal advice of law student interns and

²¹ Throughout the text, the term "complaint" refers to either the filing of a legal claim or any action taken by the workers to address the WRV directly with the employer, i.e., engage in direct negotiations or mediation outside the Colombian legal system.

volunteers, workers would gain a general knowledge of existing labor laws and a better understanding of the legal system. In addition, some CAL activities had a few educational components that might increase general awareness of workers' rights. The following are the specific research questions that this evaluation addressed:

(1) Does the CAL affect the probability that a worker will (a) file a legal claim about a current WRV or (b) address it directly with the employer?

The CALs cannot directly file a legal claim for the workers; they can only help clients with the preparation for filing a legal claim. However, if workers receive help in preparing legal and administrative actions to defend their labor rights, the team may observe that workers are more likely to take action when a workers' rights violation occurs, by engaging more directly with the employer to solve the problem or by filing legal claims.

(2) Does the intervention affect the distribution of legal instruments used?

One of the potential benefits of CAL services is to help clients prepare well-documented legal claims. For example, in the absence of CAL services, workers might not be able to go beyond the stage of right to petition (*derecho de petition*), which consists of a formal request for documentation to support their case before moving forward. However, after receiving assistance from the CAL, workers might be able to file legal claims that require more extensive documentation to prove that a WRV has occurred, such as *tutelas* or labor demands. Thus, the CALs might influence the type of complaint that workers pursue. However, it is important to note that the CALs are better equipped to help workers file *tutelas* than other types of legal claims such as labor demands, which require the professional advice and representation of a lawyer, a service not provided by the CALs. In addition, the type of claim that should be filed depends on the specific characteristics of the WRV.

(3) How do CAL services affect the outcomes of legal claims filed as the result of the current WRV? And specifically.²²

- Did the worker obtain a resolution that was favorable to himself/herself rather than to the employer?
- Was the worker satisfied with the resolution?

This research question investigates in more detail what happens to the legal claims filed by workers. We would expect workers who file a legal claim after receiving assistance from a CAL

²² The Evaluation Design Report originally proposed also to estimate the time for obtaining a resolution. However, only a small proportion of workers had obtained a resolution at baseline. As a result, the sample size we could use for this part of the analysis was very small, which resulted in large standard errors. Therefore, the results obtained were not informative for the evaluation.

to obtain a resolution that is favorable to the worker because the claim was well-documented.²³

(4) How do CAL services affect the outcomes of clients who address the current WRV directly with the employer? Specifically, did the employer solve the problem satisfactorily?

Since direct negotiation with the employer is an important avenue for workers to resolve their WRV, we might expect the CAL also to help workers build a stronger case, be better prepared to address the problem directly with the employer, and obtain a favorable resolution.

(5) Do CAL services change (a) workers' knowledge of their labor rights and (b) workers' knowledge about the use of mechanisms to initiate/file labor-related complaints?

Even though the outreach campaign of the CALs was initially limited only to the goal of increasing awareness of CAL services, we might expect to see an impact on workers' knowledge of labor rights—especially knowledge about how to file labor-related complaints—as workers receive assistance through the CAL. For example, prior to receiving services from the CAL, workers may not be aware of the specific laws that protect certain labor rights or know the appropriate legal and administrative actions to take to initiate and file a labor-related complaint.

2.3.3 Methodology: Pre-Post Plus Analysis

The effect of CAL services on CAL clients was evaluated using a PPP approach. A traditional pre-post comparison seeks to establish the impact of a program by measuring changes in outcomes for program participants over time. It uses participants' baseline outcomes (pre-treatment) to approximate counterfactual outcomes, that is, workers' outcomes in the absence of the program. To minimize the possibility that factors outside the influence of the project were the ones causing the observed changes in outcomes, we added a “plus” component by also controlling for other time-variant observable characteristics. However, since the time between the baseline and follow-up was very short (three months), the number of factors that could change between baseline and follow-up was limited. Exhibit 8 lists all of the outcomes analyzed in this report.

The PPP design was implemented by estimating the following regression equation:

²³ A challenge with research questions 2 and 3 is that few workers may have filed a legal claim for their current WRVs before receiving services from a CAL, that is, at baseline, making a pre-post comparison of outcomes difficult. In anticipation of this problem, we collected retrospective data on *past* WRVs, i.e., WRVs that occurred before the worker received CAL services and that were not the reason that the worker sought legal assistance. The purpose was to have a larger pool of WRVs for which the workers could have taken action before coming to the CAL. However, the data indicated that only a limited number of workers had past WRVs, and for this reason the information did not increase the power of the analysis. Thus, given the small sample sizes, the results of these research questions have to be interpreted with caution.

$$y_{ivt} = \alpha_{iv} + \gamma POST_t + \lambda X_{it} + u_{it} \quad (1)$$

where:

- y_{ivt} is the outcome of WRV v for worker i in period t (baseline or follow-up). The majority of the outcomes are measured at the WRV level because workers often reported experiencing more than one WRV. The exception is outcomes about workers' knowledge, which vary at the worker level.
- α_{iv} is worker-WRV fixed effects that control for unobservable time-invariant characteristics associated with each worker-WRV, for example, workers' motivation to pursue a specific type of workers' rights violation.²⁴
- $POST_t$ is an indicator variable equal to one for the follow-up period and zero for the baseline period.
- γ measures the change in outcomes from baseline to follow-up that is attributed to the CAL.
- X_{it} is a vector of time-variant characteristics including worker's union status, city-level quarterly unemployment, and underemployment rate at baseline and follow-up. The last two variables are a proxy for economic conditions at the time the legal claim is filed that may have influenced workers' actions.²⁵
- u_{it} represents all other unobserved characteristics not included in the model.

²⁴ For outcomes that measure knowledge, we used workers' fixed effects because outcomes are measured at the worker level.

²⁵ In a standard pre-post analysis, it is generally not feasible to include any secondary data sources that are city/time-specific (such as city-level unemployment rate at baseline and follow-up) because these variables would have the same values for every worker at baseline and at follow-up. This would create an estimation problem because the unemployment rate would be perfectly collinear with the post indicator in the regression. However, we were able to include that information in the regression at the worker-WRV level because the specific time when a worker files a legal claim varies across workers. But for outcomes that measure knowledge, we could not exploit that additional source of variation and could only control for union status. In addition, it is unlikely that changes in economic conditions during the short period between baseline and follow-up would affect workers' knowledge of their rights.

Exhibit 8: Research Questions, Associated Outcomes, and Population of Interest for the Evaluation of the Effect of CAL Services on CAL Clients

Research Questions	Outcomes	Population Used in Estimating the PPP Model	Counterfactual
1. Does the CAL affect the probability that a worker will file a legal claim about a current WRV or address the problem directly with the employer?	Probability that a CAL client: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Files a legal claim Addresses the problem directly with the employer 	CAL clients experiencing a WRV	Outcomes for the current WRV before receiving CAL assistance
2. Does the intervention affect the distribution of legal instruments used?	Probability that a CAL client: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Files a <i>tutela</i> Files a <i>querella</i> Files a labor demand Files a right to petition 	CAL clients experiencing a WRV who file a legal claim	Outcomes for the current WRV before receiving CAL assistance
3. How do CAL services affect the outcome of a legal claim filed as result of the current WRV?	Probability that a CAL client: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Obtains a favorable resolution Is satisfied with the resolution 	CAL clients experiencing a WRV who file a legal claim	Outcomes for the current WRV before receiving CAL assistance
4. How do CAL services affect the outcomes of clients who engage in direct negotiation with the employer about the current WRV?	Probability that the CAL client: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Obtains a satisfactory resolution by engaging in direct negotiation with the employer 	CAL clients experiencing a WRV who address the problem directly with the employer	Outcomes for the current WRV before receiving CAL assistance
5. Do CAL services change workers' knowledge of their labor rights and their use of mechanisms to initiate/file labor-related complaints?	Probability that the CAL client: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is knowledgeable about his/her labor rights Knows how to file labor-related complaints 	CAL clients experiencing a WRV	Outcomes for the worker before receiving CAL assistance

2.3.4 Primary Data: The CAL Client Survey

2.3.4.1 Survey Design

The econometric model used to evaluate the effect of CAL services on CAL clients requires information on CAL clients both *before* they receive legal assistance services at the CAL (baseline survey) and *after* they receive legal assistance services (follow-up survey). In addition to this information, the model requires that time has passed to allow the legal process to be completed. While ENS has administrative data in hand, it does not have all the required information for workers visiting the CALs, particularly details on workers' WRV histories (needed at baseline) and detailed information on actions taken and outcomes after visiting the CAL.

IMPAQ engaged Centro Nacional de Consultoria (CNC), a local survey firm, to implement the CAL Client Survey, which was designed to collect the data needed to evaluate the effect of CAL services on CAL clients. Baseline data were collected in person at the CAL before workers received services. Follow-up data were collected by phone approximately three months after completion of the baseline data collection. Exhibit 9 lists the main topic areas included in the baseline and follow-up CAL client surveys.

Exhibit 9: Topics Included in the Baseline and Follow-up CAL Client Surveys

Baseline Survey	Follow up Survey
Demographic characteristics	Not collected because these do not change between baseline and follow-up
Employment and workplace characteristics of the job where the current WRV occurred	
Knowledge about relevant labor laws and fundamental labor rights	Knowledge about relevant labor laws and fundamental labor rights
Information about current WRV(s)	Information about current WRV(s)
Complaint behavior before using CAL services	Complaint behavior after using CAL services
Types of complaints filed before using CAL services	Types of complaints filed after using CAL services
Outcome/resolution of complaints before using CAL services	Outcome/resolution of complaints after using CAL services
Reasons why a complaint was not filed before using CAL services	Reasons why a complaint was not filed after using CAL services
Information about prior WRVs	Not collected because this does not change between baseline and follow-up

The baseline client survey included two filters at the beginning of the questionnaire:

1. A filter that excluded clients who had already visited the CAL and received legal services. This filter excluded visitors who had already been exposed to the CAL services, thus producing a clean baseline. A total of 527 workers who had visited a CAL were excluded from the first cohort based on this filter (271 in Bogotá and 256 in Medellín). For the second cohort, 289 workers were excluded using this filter (197 workers in Bogotá and 92 workers in Medellín).
2. A filter that excluded clients who visited the CAL only to request informational services. This filter was used to maximize the chance that the sample included clients who visited the CAL because they were experiencing a WRV and who might file a complaint after their visit. A total of 544 workers were excluded from the first cohort based on this filter

(484 in Bogotá and 170 in Medellín).²⁶ For the second cohort, 156 workers were excluded using this filter (106 workers in Bogotá and 50 in Medellín).

2.3.4.2 Data Collection Activities

Data were collected for two separate client cohorts to detect whether there was a change in the impact that CAL services had on CAL clients' outcomes over time. If we observe that the effect of CAL services on CAL clients was the same in the first and second cohorts, this would signal that the CALs were already operating in a steady state. On the other hand, if we observe that the effect was different in the first and second cohorts, this may be a signal that the CALs were becoming more efficient and effective over time. It may, however, also reflect other external factors.

The primary data collection for both cohorts originally targeted all four CAL offices (Bogotá, Medellín, Bucaramanga, and Cartagena). However, only the CALs in Bogotá and Medellín had a sufficient flow of eligible clients to reach the required sample size. In agreement with ILAB, the evaluation team decided to complete data collection only for these two CALs. As described in the previous section, CAL clients were screened for eligibility using two filters. In the first cohort of the CAL client survey, most CAL clients in Bucaramanga were ineligible because they had visited the CAL previously. In contrast, most CAL clients in Cartagena were eligible, but there were significantly fewer clients visiting this CAL compared to the others.²⁷

For the second cohort, the evaluation team tried once again to include the smaller CALs in the impact analysis. In consultation with ENS, the team learned that the average number of CAL clients each day had increased considerably for both the Bucaramanga and Cartagena CALs. In addition, the team agreed with ENS to have the data collection team join the mobile CAL efforts to increase the chances of reaching the required sample sizes. While the field team was able to confirm this increase in workers visiting the CALs, most clients were still ineligible because they were not first-time clients. After a reasonable amount of time in the field, CNC was unable to collect a sufficient number of interviews.²⁸ Data collection for these cities was suspended on October 29, 2015.²⁹

CNC collected baseline information for the first cohort of CAL clients in September and October 2014 in Bogotá and between September 2014 and January 2015 in Medellín (Exhibit 10). The

²⁶ The total number of first cohort CAL clients in both cities and second cohort CAL clients in Medellín as obtained from the baseline survey are broadly consistent with the total number of CAL clients visiting the CALs during the same period as reported in the implementation report.

²⁷ IMPAQ Memo to ILAB, October 8, 2014.

²⁸ IMPAQ Memo to ILAB, October 23, 2015

²⁹ At the time the decision to suspend data collection was made, the evaluation team was not aware of any additional mobile CALs scheduled in these cities. However, even if the team had known about these mobile CALs, it would still have been difficult to reach the required sample sizes.

differences in the time spent in each city was determined by the required sample size per CAL³⁰ and the number of workers visiting the CAL each day. Bogotá had a significantly larger flow of workers, so a greater number of surveys could be completed each day (an average of 17 per day) compared to Medellín (an average of 6 per day), and therefore the targeted sample size could be met sooner.

Follow-up data collection for the first cohort of CAL clients took place in April and May 2015 and was conducted via telephone. Initially, the team had planned to implement the follow-up survey three months after the baseline survey. This duration was selected based on the fact that most legal claims and direct negotiations with employers would have concluded within three months, increasing the odds of tracking down a CAL client as well as reducing potential recall problems. This timeline was adjusted, however, due to a nationwide judicial strike that took place between October 2014 and January 2015 (discussed in more detail in Section 2.3.6). Considerable uncertainty remained in the first weeks of 2015 due to threats that the strike might resume in February 2015. The team postponed data collection to allow sufficient time for the backlog of legal claims to be resolved, as well as to make sure that the strike did not resume.

CNC collected baseline information for the second cohort of CAL clients between September 2015 and November 2015 in Bogotá and between September 2015 and December 2015 in Medellín. The targeted sample size was not achieved for Medellín, where the average was 5.6 surveys per day, slightly fewer than the required average of 6 surveys per day.

The follow-up data collection for the second cohort took place between February and April 2016. This data collection could be scheduled earlier in the year than that for the first cohort for two reasons. First, baseline collection for the second cohort ended earlier than it did for the first cohort,³¹ and, second, conditions in the Colombian judicial system, though still problematic, did not have as much of an impact as in the previous year.

Exhibit 10: Timetable of CAL Client Surveys

CAL	Baseline	Follow-up
First Cohort		
Bogotá	Sep 2014 to Oct 2014	Apr 2015 to May 2015
Medellín	Sep 2014 to Jan 2015	Apr 2015 to May 2015
Second Cohort		
Bogotá	Sep 2015 to Nov 2015	Feb 2016 to Apr 2016
Medellín	Sep 2015 to Dec 2015	Feb 2016 to Apr 2016

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014–2016.

³⁰ The final target sample size for the Bogotá and Medellín CALs was 353 workers each.

³¹ Based on discussions with ILAB, it was agreed that data collection in Medellín would be concluded earlier than the previous year, because of the additional time the CALs were planning to be closed during the December–January vacation period.

As shown in Exhibit 11, not all workers interviewed at baseline could be tracked for follow-up. In the first cohort, a total of 700 workers (79 percent of those interviewed at baseline in Bogotá and 82 percent in Medellín) were interviewed again at follow-up. The sample size reached was in line with the anticipated sample size needed for the evaluation in both cities.³² In the second cohort, a total of 635 workers could be tracked for follow-up (85 percent of those interviewed at baseline). The follow-up sample size, however, was achieved only for Bogotá. Since Medellín had a smaller number of baseline surveys, it was harder to achieve the follow-up target sample size.

Exhibit 11: Number of Surveys Collected by the CAL Client Survey

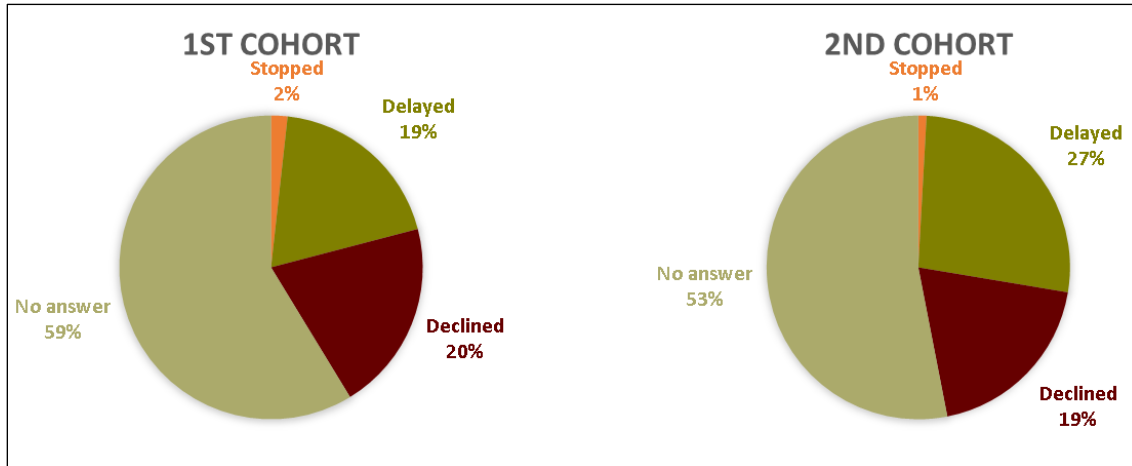
CAL	Baseline	Follow-up	Percentage of Baseline Surveyed at Follow-up
First Cohort			
Bogotá	446	351	79%
Medellín	425	349	82%
<i>Total</i>	<i>871</i>	<i>700</i>	<i>80%</i>
Second Cohort			
Bogotá	430	357	83%
Medellín	320	278	87%
<i>Total</i>	<i>750</i>	<i>635</i>	<i>85%</i>

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014–2016.

Exhibit 12 shows the reasons that the CAL survey could not be completed at follow-up. In more than half of these cases (59 percent in the first cohort and 53 percent in the second cohort), workers could not be reached (no answer). This reason was followed by workers agreeing to complete the survey at an unspecified later time (delayed) and workers declining to complete the survey (declined). The distributions of these reasons did not change substantially between cohorts.

³² The evaluation team had anticipated this issue and therefore incorporated some attrition estimates in the initial power computations. The final sample size obtained for the first cohort is in line with the anticipated attrition rate and the required final sample size of 353 workers.

Exhibit 12: Reasons Workers Did Not Complete the Follow-up Survey



2.3.5 Secondary Data Sources

The primary data collection efforts described above were complemented by a comprehensive environmental scan of relevant secondary data sources. This environmental scan enabled the team to identify the contextual economic variables that were used in the regression analysis. The additional data had to be at the city level—preferably with a monthly or quarterly frequency—coinciding with the time the surveys were administered. When city-level variables were not available, the team searched for regional-level data as the next option.

The team searched through various data sources to find potential variables for employment, informal economy, regional violence levels, union activity, efficiency of the judicial system, and a number of other economic and labor force participation variables. The only variables that fit the criterion of being available at the city level and for the years included in the evaluation were the economic and labor force participation variables, which were obtained from the National Administrative Office of Statistics (DANE).

2.3.6 Limitations

A limitation of a pre-post analysis is that it is possible that some of the observed changes would have occurred even without the intervention. For example, the propensity to seek justice for labor violations could be changing in the population due to broad social changes that are happening independently of the CAL or as a result of changes in the prevalence of violence over time. As described in Section 1.5, there has, in fact, been a decline in violence against union members over the past few years in the cities where the CALs are located. This reduction in violence might induce workers to file legal claims for their WRVs regardless of the receipt of CAL services. However, information collected during focus groups suggests that violence is still present in workers' daily lives.

In general, events other than the CAL intervention that happened between baseline and follow-up might have had an effect on outcomes that would bias the results.

As was mentioned in the previous section, there was a judicial strike that lasted from October 9, 2014, to January 12, 2015. The strike did not impact the counseling services offered by the CALs, but it did affect the filing of some legal actions (*tutelas* in particular) since judges in some cities were not receiving them. The strike did not impact all cities equally, because the union organizing the strike (ASONAL) had internal problems and not all its workers participated. The CAL in Bogotá postponed to 2015 most of the legal actions that were supposed to be filed in the period from October to December 2014. Operations in the Medellín CAL continued without major disruptions because judges accepted *tutelas* during the strike.³³

Given its timing, the strike could potentially have affected the results for the Bogotá CAL, biasing the results downwards, since clients might have been discouraged from presenting legal claims after visiting the CAL. A comparison of results across CALs provided insights about whether the results might have been biased by the strike (see Section 3.1.2).

Another limitation of this analysis is that CAL clients are not likely to be representative of the overall population of workers experiencing a WRV. CAL clients are considered “rights seekers” because visiting a CAL indicates that they are actively pursuing action to seek redress of their rights and resolve a complaint. Rights seekers might be more likely to file a legal claim compared to the general population of workers who do not seek legal assistance when their rights are violated. In contrast, “no-shows” are workers who do not pursue action. The second evaluation, the *Evaluation of the Workers’ Use of Labor Rights Protection Mechanisms*, covered a broader population of workers that included both rights seekers and no-shows.

Finally, this evaluation only measured short-term effects. Over time, some of the effects might dissipate; for example, workers might feel less knowledgeable about their rights as laws and regulations change, or the proportion of workers who file a legal claim could increase as workers find the time needed to do it.

2.4 Evaluation of Workers’ Use of Labor Rights Protection Mechanisms

This evaluation estimates the impact of CAL services on a general population of workers living in a region close to where a new CAL has been established (treatment group), with respect to workers living in a region with similar characteristics, but with no CAL (comparison group). Workers included in this evaluation may or may not be experiencing a WRV. This section describes in more detail the targeted population, research questions addressed, methodological approach, and the data used to conduct the analysis.

³³Another strike took place in early 2016, but it was not as severe as the ASONAL one, and ENS confirmed it was not affecting the CALs’ operations.

2.4.1 Target Population

As described in Section 2.3.6, workers experiencing a WRV can be divided into two groups: rights seekers and no-shows. CAL clients are considered rights seekers because visiting a CAL indicates that workers are actively pursuing action to resolve a complaint. No-shows, on the other hand, are workers who have experienced a violation of their labor rights, but do not seek direct negotiation with the employer or file a legal claim. No-shows can be classified into three groups:

- (1) Workers who may not be aware that their rights have been violated. Workers in this group do not know their labor rights and therefore do not recognize a workers' rights violation.
- (2) Workers who know their rights have been violated, but who do not know where to obtain help.
- (3) Workers who know their rights have been violated and know where to obtain help, but are disinclined to seek help (e.g., those who are afraid to seek help, those who feel that resolution is out of reach because it is too costly, or those who lack faith in the justice system).

The examination of a more diverse population was undertaken to achieve the following objectives:

- Provide useful information about the knowledge, awareness, and legal actions taken by workers in palm oil.
- Identify the potential for CALs to serve workers who would not otherwise seek redress for their WRVs.
- Provide information about whether the effects of the CALs are large enough to be detected at the community level. There are three reasons why a CAL might have such a large effect:
 - If the CAL serves a large proportion of the workers in the community.
 - If CAL services have large spillover effects on the communities surrounding CAL clients.
 - If the general population of workers is influenced by the CALs' outreach campaign.

2.4.2 Research Questions

The specific research questions addressed by this evaluation are described below.

1. *Are there changes over time in workers' awareness of the CAL and other assistance services to protect their labor rights, in comparison to workers living in a region with no CAL?*

The opening of new CALs was accompanied by outreach efforts designed to let workers know of the availability of CAL services. In addition to other mechanisms, the outreach campaign consisted of flyer distributions and public announcements. The target audience for this

campaign was workers in the communities surrounding priority sector workplaces. In addition, mobile CALs were designed to reach workers in the priority sectors in rural areas, which are harder to access.

This research question is one of the most important because changes in workers' knowledge of labor rights or changes in claim filing behavior can be attributed to the CALs only if workers are aware that a CAL exists. It is relevant for the general population of workers, regardless of whether they experienced a WRV.

2. Are there changes over time in workers' knowledge of their labor rights in comparison to workers living in a region with no CAL?

The presence of a CAL in a region can have an effect on the knowledge of workers who have not visited a CAL through two main mechanisms. First, communities around CAL clients may learn from these clients' experiences and be encouraged to advocate for their own rights. Second, these general population members may become aware of the CALs through the outreach campaign and be motivated to find out more about their labor rights. This research question is relevant for the general population of workers, regardless of whether they experienced a WRV.

As described above, the main purpose of the outreach campaign activities was to increase workers' awareness of CAL services. The campaign did not necessarily aim to increase workers' knowledge of labor rights, although some elements may have had an effect on the general awareness of workers' rights. For example, CAL staff participated in labor rights forums and university conferences, and a Workers' Rights Handbook was compiled, although it has not yet been widely disseminated.

3. Are there changes over time in the probability that a worker will file a legal claim or address the violation directly with the employer, in comparison to a region with no CAL?

The presence of a CAL in a given region could signal the greater availability of legal assistance services and encourage workers to file more legal claims and/or use CAL services to address their WRVs when filing a legal claim. We would expect that workers who experience a WRV and decide to file a legal claim would take advantage of the new services. Moreover, trying to resolve a problem directly with the employer is a frequently used method by workers. We would also expect that workers living in a region where a CAL is located might feel more empowered and be more likely to address their problems directly with the employer. This research question is relevant for the general population of workers who experienced a WRV.

4. Are there changes over time in the type of legal instrument used, in comparison to a region with no CAL?

One of the potential benefits of having access to targeted legal assistance services through the CAL is that these services might help workers filing a legal claim to identify the appropriate legal

instrument needed to vindicate their rights. For example, we would expect to see workers filing more complete and well-documented types of legal claims. This research question is relevant for workers who experienced a WRV and filed a legal claim.

5. *Are there changes over time in the outcomes for workers who file a legal claim or address the WRV directly with the employer, in comparison to a region with no CAL?*

This research question aims at investigating what happens to legal claims filed by workers. For example, we would expect workers filing a legal claim to be more likely to obtain a resolution to their claims, especially a favorable resolution. This research question is relevant for workers who experienced a WRV and filed a legal claim.

It is important to note that the outcomes for research questions 4 and 5 will depend on the proportion of workers in the general population who know and have used CAL services. If this proportion is low, it will be difficult to find statistically significant results.

6. *Are there changes over time in the probability that a worker is a no-show, in comparison to a region with no CAL?*

The opening of a CAL in a new region could potentially affect no-shows in two ways: (1) workers may become more willing to take action on their WRV because of the availability of CALs, and (2) workers may become aware that they are experiencing a WRV if they learn more about labor rights through either the CAL's outreach efforts or "spillover effects." This research question will therefore analyze whether the prevalence of no-shows changes over time in the affected region.

7. *Are there changes over time in the probability of workers being hired through illegal hiring practices, in comparison to workers living in a region with no CAL?*

According to Colombian labor regulations, companies should hire workers directly if workers are engaged in the "normal and permanent activities" of the company.³⁴ However, there is evidence of ongoing indirect hiring using two different legal mechanisms: the Cooperativas de Trabajo Asociado (CTA) [workers' cooperatives] and the Sociedades por Acciones Simplificadas (SAS) [simplified stock companies]. Companies use these indirect hiring mechanisms to avoid complying with labor rights laws.³⁵

It is important to emphasize that the reduction of illegal hiring was not a direct goal of the project, and the CALs did not plan any activities to reduce these practices. However, there may

³⁴ Law 1233 prohibits labor intermediation in Colombia.

³⁵ Interview with Rafael Pardo, Minister of Labor. (July 24, 2013). *Portafolio*. Retrieved from <http://www.portafolio.co/finanzas-personales/multas-139000-millones-intermediacion-laboral>.

still be some indirect effect on illegal hiring as companies and workers learn more about workers' labor rights.

2.4.3 Methodology: Difference-in-Differences Analysis

This evaluation used a DID methodology to estimate how workers' knowledge and behaviors changed after a new CAL office opened in a nearby area. The DID method compares changes in outcomes among workers in the treatment group before and after the establishment of the CAL to changes in outcomes over the same time period among workers in the comparison group.

Simple changes over time observed in the treatment group could capture not only the effect of the treatment (i.e., the CAL), but also other time-varying factors that could affect outcomes (such as the enactment of other labor laws and the implementation of other projects oriented to promote workers' rights). The DID methodology nets out those potentially confounding factors by comparing the changes in the treatment group with changes in the comparison group over the same time period. Therefore, the DID estimates are more likely to provide an estimation of the causal effect of the CAL than would a simple pre-post methodology. It is important to note that DID does not require the treatment and comparison groups to have the same levels of outcomes at baseline (i.e., before the intervention), but it does require that the treatment group would have experienced the same changes over time as the comparison group in the absence of the intervention (often referred to as the parallel trend assumption).

To implement the DID approach, we estimated the following regression equation:

$$y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma P + \delta(T \cdot P) + \gamma_m + \lambda X_{it} + u_{it} \quad (2)$$

The left-hand side of the equation is the outcome variable of interest. A full list of outcomes and associated research questions is provided in Exhibit 13. The variables on the right-hand side include:

- A dummy variable P that equals one in the follow-up year (i.e., the post period) and zero in the baseline year. The estimate of γ captures the time effect. Thus, P controls for any changes in the outcome variable that occur over time and are common to treatment and comparison group members.
- A dummy variable T that equals one if the observation is in the treatment group and zero otherwise. The estimate of β captures the group effect. Thus, T controls for any differences in the outcome variable that are associated with being in the treatment group.
- An interaction term ($T \cdot P$) that equals one if the observation is in the treatment group *and* in the follow-up year and zero otherwise (i.e., for comparison group members in both the baseline and follow-up years and for the treatment group in the baseline year). The estimate of δ captures the impact of the project on the outcome variable—this is the parameter of interest.
- A set of municipality fixed effects (γ_m).

- A vector X_{it} of other relevant explanatory variables that may be related to the outcome of interest and will help control for workers' characteristics (e.g., demographics, workers' economic sector).
- u_{it} represents all other unobserved characteristics not included in the model.

Exhibit 13: Research Questions, Associated Outcomes, and Population of Interest for Evaluation of Workers’ Knowledge and Use of Labor Rights Protection Mechanisms

Research Questions	Outcomes	Population/ Sub-population	Counterfactual
1. Are there changes in workers’ awareness of CAL and other assistance services to protect workers’ labor rights?	Probability that a worker is aware of the CAL and other free assistance services	All workers	Before-after changes in the outcome among workers in the comparison group
2. Are there changes in workers’ knowledge of labor rights?	Probability that a worker is knowledgeable about his/her labor rights	All workers	Before-after changes in the outcome among workers in the comparison group
3. Are there changes in the probability that a worker files a legal claim using CAL or addresses the WRV directly with the employer?	Probability that a worker: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Files a legal claim using CAL ▪ Addresses the WRV directly with the employer 	Workers experiencing a WRV	Before-after changes in the outcome among workers in the comparison group
4. Are there changes in the type of legal instrument used?	Probability that a CAL client files a: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tutela</i> ▪ <i>Querella</i> ▪ Labor demand ▪ Right to petition 	Workers experiencing a WRV who file a legal claim	Before-after changes in the outcome among workers in the comparison group
5. Are there changes over time in the outcomes of workers who file a legal claim or address the WRV directly with the employer?	Probability that a worker: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Obtains a favorable resolution to the legal claim ▪ Is satisfied with the resolution ▪ Solves the WRV satisfactorily with the employer 	Workers experiencing a WRV who file a legal claim or address WRV with the employer	Before-after changes in the outcome among workers in the comparison group
6. Are there changes in the probability that a worker is a no-show?	Probability that a worker experiencing a WRV does not seek legal assistance	Workers experiencing a WRV	Before-after changes in the outcome among workers in the comparison group
7. Are there changes in the probability of being hired through illegal hiring practices?	Probability of a worker being hired through illegal hiring practices	All workers	Before-after changes in the outcome among workers in the comparison group

The DID evaluation approach required the following steps:

- Identify a general population of workers suitable for the study in the region where a CAL is located (the treatment region).
- Identify a suitable comparison region (or twin region).
- Identify a general population of workers suitable for the study in the comparison region.
- Collect baseline information in the treatment and comparison regions before the start of the project.
- Collect follow-up information after the project has been in place for a certain period of time, in both the treatment and comparison regions.

To find a suitable comparison region, the evaluation team used criteria similar to those that were used to select locations for the new CALs. According to the Project Document, cities must satisfy the following requirements to have a new CAL:

- Proximity to priority sectors (mining, flowers, palm oil, ports, sugar cane, and public sector workers)
- Institutional conditions appropriate for effective CAL operations
- Proximity to high quality law schools
- Established relationships with the union movement and other civil organizations, to ensure the CAL's sustainability.

Using these criteria, and based on field work in March 2014, the evaluation team identified Bucaramanga and its surrounding areas (treatment) and Villavicencio and its surrounding areas (comparison) as the best regional pair for this evaluation. Similar to Bucaramanga in recent years, Villavicencio has become increasingly important in agricultural production, particularly in the palm oil sector. Both cities have a similar labor market structure: 70 percent of current employment is in the sectors of hotel and restaurants, transport, and personal services. In terms of oil production, Villavicencio has a large palm oil complex that produces approximately 100,000 barrels per day. It is also home to several public universities, such as Universidad de los Llanos and a branch of the nationally renowned Escuela Superior de Administración Pública. The team worked with ENS to define areas in which there was a large concentration of workers in the priority sector (palm oil). More details about the data collection strategies employed are provided below.

2.4.4 Primary Data: The General Population Survey

2.4.4.1 Survey Design

Exhibit 14 lists the general items included in the cross-sectional survey. The survey collected information on workers' backgrounds (employment and demographic characteristics) and workers' knowledge of free services that provide assistance in WRV cases. The questionnaire

also captured information about workers’ knowledge of their rights and, through a series of questions, determined whether the respondent was experiencing a WRV and whether he or she had taken action to address it.

Exhibit 14: Topics Included in the General Population Cross-Sectional Survey

Variables of Interest
Demographic characteristics
Employment and workplace characteristics
Knowledge about relevant labor laws and fundamental workers’ rights
Knowledge of the CALs
Incidence of WRVs (self-reported and objective)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Type of WRV
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Complaint behavior
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Type of complaint
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Outcome/resolution of complaint
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reasons a legal claim was not filed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Satisfaction with resolution

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

2.4.4.2 Data Collection Activities

This evaluation’s primary focus was on palm oil workers because palm is one of the priority sectors targeted by the new Bucaramanga CAL. The original sample design aimed at obtaining a random sample of households near Bucaramanga and the comparison city (Villavicencio). However, during the pilot stage, the team discovered that most household members were unemployed or employed in the tourism sector, and not in the palm oil sector. The evaluation team, in agreement with ILAB, pursued a different approach to identify a group of workers suitable for the evaluation.

In the new approach, ENS, in cooperation with unions, gathered workers from specific municipalities³⁶ near the cities of Bucaramanga and Villavicencio, where a high concentration of palm oil workers are located. The majority of workers in the treatment group came from the municipalities of San Alberto, San Martín, and Puerto Wilches, which can be considered within the area of influence of the Bucaramanga CAL. San Alberto and Puerto Wilches, in particular, were targeted by some mobile CALs.³⁷ The majority of workers in the comparison group came from the municipalities of Villavicencio, Acacias, Cumaral, and San Carlos de Guaroa, in the Meta department.

³⁶ Municipalities are Colombia’s administrative subdivisions within departments.

³⁷ Puerto Wilches is located in Santander department, the same department in which Bucaramanga is located. San Alberto and San Martín are located in Cesar department, bordering Puerto Wilches.

The baseline and follow-up surveys were collected in mid-2014 and 2015, respectively. Exhibit 15 summarizes the data collection timetable and the number of surveys completed in each of the treatment and control areas at baseline and follow-up.³⁸ A different group of workers was interviewed at baseline and follow-up (i.e., a repeated cross-sectional design).

Exhibit 15: Timetable and Number of Workers for the General Population Survey

Group	Baseline		Follow-up	
	Time	No. of Workers	Time	No. of Workers
Treatment	June 2014	402	June–July 2015	425
Comparison	June 2014	331	July–August 2015	373
Total		733		798

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

2.4.5 Limitations

A general limitation of any DID methodology is that it may be difficult to attribute changes in outcomes solely to the implementation of the program, because the analysis does not capture unobservable factors that might affect the comparison and treatment regions unequally and that change over time. Some of these unobservable factors might be a more proactive Ministry of Labor, a new local COLabora office, or the implementation of other projects promoting workers’ rights that are implemented differently in the treatment and comparison regions. The method assumes that no such time-varying differences exist between the treatment and comparison groups.

In addition, if the proportions of rights seekers and no-shows were small relative to the overall population of workers, the team would not be able to observe changes in outcomes. Similarly, if the outreach activities were targeted to small sectors of the population, as seems to have been the case, then the potential for changes in outcomes to be detected by this analysis is limited.

Another limitation of the study is that the results might not be applicable to the entire population of workers, given that the workers included in the study were not a random sample from the overall worker population, but instead a convenience sample recruited by ENS.

Finally, at the time the team collected baseline data, in June 2014, the Bucaramanga CAL had already been open for a few months, and some mobile CALs had already occurred. This means that the baseline may have been “contaminated” to the extent that the treatment sample of workers already knew about the CAL at baseline. This would be likely to bias the results downward (i.e., estimated impacts could otherwise be larger). However, the descriptive

³⁸ The numbers of workers interviewed is very close to the sample size of 780 workers that had been originally planned.

statistics, discussed in more detail in the next section, show that a very small fraction of the population in the area of influence knew about the CAL at baseline, indicating that there was very little contamination.

3. RESULTS OF THE EVALUATION OF THE EFFECT OF CAL SERVICES ON CAL CLIENTS

This chapter describes the results of the evaluation of the effect of CAL services on CAL clients, using data obtained from the baseline and follow-up CAL client surveys. The results from the first and second cohorts are described in Sections 3.1 and 3.2, respectively.

3.1 Results of the CAL Client Survey, First Cohort

This section describes the results from the first cohort of the CAL client survey. Section 3.1.1 provides a description of the general socioeconomic and demographic profile of the workers using CAL services, including how they learned about the services, and the types of WRVs they reported at the CALs. Sections 3.1.2 through 3.1.5 describe the outcome results, following the order of the research questions discussed in Section 2.3. All results are presented separately by CAL (Bogotá and Medellín).

3.1.1 Profile of CAL Clients

The demographic profile of CAL clients is an important element in understanding the types of workers who use CAL services. In addition, a clear picture of the demographic profile of CAL clients may help inform current and future CAL outreach efforts.

Exhibit 16 describes the demographic and socioeconomic profiles of CAL clients in Bogotá and Medellín.³⁹ More than half of the CAL clients in Bogotá (55.6 percent) and half in Medellín (49.6 percent) were women. This is consistent with the implementation evaluation findings, where Bogotá consistently served more women than men compared to the other CALs. The average age of a CAL client was close to 39 years in both cities.

The Bogotá and Medellín CALs serve a predominantly urban and relatively poor population. The great majority of workers lived in an urban area (97.4 percent in Bogotá and 94.8 percent in Medellín), and over 95 percent came from the three lowest socioeconomic strata.⁴⁰ These are workers whose household characteristics make them eligible to receive subsidized municipal public services. Nearly 20 percent of workers belonged to a subsidized health plan; these are workers that the government considers too poor or vulnerable to afford their own social security contributions. A large proportion of CAL clients were married or lived with a long-term

³⁹ The results in this chapter are based only on the sample of workers interviewed both at baseline and follow-up.

⁴⁰ Colombia's socioeconomic stratification is based on household characteristics and is categorized as follows: (1) low-low; (2) low; (3) middle-low; (4) middle; (5) middle-high; (6) high. Households in categories 1 through 3 are beneficiaries of government subsidies in municipal public services, while those in categories 5 and 6 pay an extra amount for these services. Category 4 households pay the exact cost for the services received. Retrieved from http://www.dane.gov.co/files/geoestadistica/Preguntas_frecuentes_estratificacion.pdf

partner (49.6 and 43.3 percent in Bogotá and Medellín, respectively), and 29.9 percent in Bogotá and 24.9 percent in Medellín had more than high school education.

Only a small fraction of CAL clients belonged to a union (3.7 percent in Bogotá and 5.2 percent in Medellín), which correlates with the low percentage of union referrals shown in Exhibit 17. The low representation of union members may also be a reflection of the overall status of unionization in the country: according to ENS staff and the Solidarity Center, only 6 percent of Colombian workers belong to a union.

In the survey, the team also collected information about whether workers had ever been displaced by violence (last row in Exhibit 16). While only 8.3 percent in Bogotá had been displaced by violence, 20.6 percent in Medellín reported displacement. This difference between the cities may be a reflection of the different levels of violence against union members. According to ENS's data, there were 502 cases of violence against union members in Medellín between 2009 and 2014, compared to 133 cases in Bogotá during the same period (see Exhibit 6 and Exhibit 7, above). These represent 14 percent and 4 percent of the national number of cases, respectively.

Exhibit 16: Workers' Sociodemographic Characteristics, First Cohort

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Women		
Mean	0.556	0.496
Number of obs.	351	349
Age (years)		
Mean	39.638	39.484
Number of obs.	351	349
Belongs to a union		
Mean	0.037	0.052
Number of obs.	351	349
Lives in an urban area		
Mean	0.974	0.948
Number of obs.	351	349
Socioeconomic stratification (stratum 3 or lower)		
Mean	0.954	0.956
Number of obs.	350	344
Belongs to a subsidized health plan		
Mean	0.188	0.203
Number of obs.	351	349
Black, mulato, or indigenous		
Mean	0.088	0.060
Number of obs.	351	349
Married or living with a partner for two years or more		
Mean	0.496	0.433
Number of obs.	351	349
Highest level of schooling achieved		

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Primary or less		
Mean	0.199	0.201
Number of obs.	351	349
High school or less (but more than primary)		
Mean	0.501	0.550
Number of obs.	351	349
More than high school		
Mean	0.299	0.249
Number of obs.	351	349
Displaced by violence		
Mean	0.083	0.206
Number of obs.	351	349

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Note: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

Knowing how workers learn about CAL services is an important piece of information that can help the CALs to better target their outreach efforts. Exhibit 17 shows how workers learned about CAL services. In Bogotá, most workers learned about the CAL via the Ministry of Labor (61.0 percent), followed by family, friends, and coworkers (26.5 percent). Four percent of workers indicated that they learned about the CAL via the Internet, and 13.7 percent learned about it via other means (including various non-governmental organizations).⁴¹ In Medellín, most workers learned about CAL services via family, friends, and coworkers (48.1 percent), followed by the Ministry of Labor (25.8 percent), other means (12.3), and the Internet (11.5 percent).

Interestingly, in both cities, the CAL survey data show that only a very small number of workers reported learning about the CAL through unions. Although the program was not designed to specifically serve union workers, it was expected that the union federations, CUT and CTC, would refer a significant number of workers to the CALs. However, as the data gathered for the implementation evaluation confirms, union referrals in these two cities were one of the least frequent sources of referrals. Moreover, only 1.7 percent of workers in Bogotá and 2 percent in Medellín learned about the CAL via other media including the CALs' outreach campaigns.

The fact that, in both cities, the Ministry of Labor was an important source of knowledge about CAL services is consistent with the findings of the implementation evaluation. It was expected that, since Bogotá has two COLabora offices, there would not be as great a need for a CAL in that city compared to other cities. However, considerably more referrals were made by the ministry to the Bogotá CAL than to the Medellín or other CALs. The implementation evaluation revealed that referrals from the ministry to the CAL Bogotá made up 67 percent of the total referrals in 2014 and 78 percent in 2015,⁴² compared to 23 percent for Medellín in 2015.⁴³

⁴¹ Respondents could report more than one option.

⁴² Represents only three quarters of 2015; the fourth quarter was missing.

These percentages are similar to those for how workers learned about CAL services, as shown in Exhibit 17. In an interview for the midterm implementation evaluation, a COLabora official explained that the Ministry of Labor is unable, by law, to offer legal assistance to workers. The staff are permitted only to give information regarding workers' rights and offer tools such as the online calculator (*La Calculadora Laboral*) to provide information regarding severance and benefits pay.

Finally, Exhibit 17 shows that about one-quarter of workers returned to the CAL after their first visit (23.4 percent in Bogotá and 24.9 percent in Medellín). This is consistent with observations made during the focus groups with CAL clients. While some of the focus group participants were relatively new clients, a significant number had visited the CAL multiple times, either to receive further assistance for their current case or for additional WRVs.

Exhibit 17: How Workers Learned about CAL Services, First Cohort

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
How worker learned about the CAL		
Union		
Mean	0.011	0.049
Number of obs.	351	349
Ministry of Labor		
Mean	0.610	0.258
Number of obs.	351	349
Family/friends/coworkers		
Mean	0.265	0.481
Number of obs.	351	349
Internet		
Mean	0.040	0.115
Number of obs.	351	349
TV/newspaper/radio/flyers/campaign		
Mean	0.017	0.020
Number of obs.	351	349
Other means		
Mean	0.137	0.123
Number of obs.	351	349
Worker returned to CAL after first visit		
Mean	0.234	0.249
Number of obs.	351	349

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Note: Responses do not add up to 100 percent because respondents could select more than one response.

⁴³ The 2014 information is missing for Medellín.

Exhibit 18 describes the characteristics of the job where the WRV occurred. The first row displays the proportion of workers who visited the CAL for a WRV related to their current job versus their previous job. In Bogotá, only 22.5 percent of workers came to the CAL for a WRV related to their current job. In Medellín, the proportion is 35.5 percent. The majority of workers visited the CAL for a WRV that occurred in their previous job. In both cities, a large proportion of workers came from the service industry (34.5 percent in Bogotá and 39.5 percent in Medellín). As described in Section 1, CAL services are not limited to specific groups of workers, and priority sectors are reached mainly by mobile CALs because workers in priority sectors are located mainly in rural areas (the Medellín mobile CALs could reach the ports and sugar cane sectors, while the Bogotá mobile CALs could reach the flowers sector).⁴⁴ Since the CAL surveys were conducted at the CAL offices and not at mobile CALs, most of the six priority sectors are not represented in the data.

The data also indicate that workers had held the job where the WRV occurred for an average of about four years. They worked close to 10 hours a day, for an average wage of 548 US\$ per month in Bogotá and 742 US\$ per month in Medellín. Only 2.5 to 3 percent of workers reported that a Ministry of Labor inspector had visited his or her workplace. This may be an indication of the limited extent of the investigation of companies by labor inspectors. According to ILO standards, Colombia should have 2,000 labor inspectors, given its economically active population, which would average 15 cases per inspector.⁴⁵ However, as of November 2014, the number of active labor inspectors was 715, less than half the number recommended by the ILO,⁴⁶ and each handled about 48 cases.

Exhibit 18: Workplace Characteristics of Job Where Current WRV Occurred, First Cohort

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
WRV occurred in current job		
Mean	0.225	0.355
Number of obs.	351	349
Sector of employment where WRV occurred		
Service sector		
Mean	0.345	0.395
Number of obs.	351	349
Commerce		
Mean	0.154	0.095
Number of obs.	351	349
Construction		
Mean	0.043	0.146
Number of obs.	351	349

⁴⁴ According to the implementation evaluation findings, 10 percent of all CAL clients in 2015 came from mobile caravans.

⁴⁵ <http://www.eltiempo.com/economia/sectores/oit/14075496>

⁴⁶ Dirección de Inspección, Vigilancia, Control y Gestión Territorial, Informe Nacional Inspección del Trabajo Año: 2013, November 2014.

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Manufacturing		
Mean	0.085	0.049
Number of obs.	351	349
Transportation		
Mean	0.088	0.074
Number of obs.	351	349
Other		
Mean	0.285	0.241
Number of obs.	351	349
Years in job		
Mean	3.875	4.151
Number of obs.	351	349
Average number of hours worked per day		
Mean	10.003	9.777
Number of obs.	351	349
Average earnings per month (US\$)		
Mean	548	742
Number of obs.	341	331
Ministry of Labor inspector visit to workplace		
Mean	0.025	0.030
Number of obs.	322	264

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Note: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

Exhibit 19 describes the number and types of current WRVs reported at the CALs. To facilitate the description of results, WRVs were grouped in the following categories:

- Workplace harassment, which refers to pressure or other mistreatment at the workplace.
- Unfair dismissal, which refers to workers being terminated without just cause.
- Nonpayment of wages, wage adjustments, or other job-related benefits, including salary, benefits (overtime, vacation, holidays, etc.), or settlements of complaints.
- No recognition of union rights, such as being terminated for joining a union.
- Workplace safety violations, including being forced to perform duties against medical advice.

In both CALs, the most frequent type of WRVs reported is related to nonpayment of wages and other job-related benefits (78.3 percent of workers in Bogotá and 50.7 percent in Medellín). This is consistent with the findings of the implementation evaluation, which reported that, of

approximately 14,000 legal, administrative, and other actions handled by the CAL during 2014, about 47 percent were related to the nonpayment of wages and other job-related benefits.⁴⁷

Compensation for wrongful dismissal is the next largest category of reported WRVs (26.2 percent in Bogotá and 41.5 percent in Medellín). Workplace harassment is the third largest category in Medellín, with 12.9 percent of workers reporting it as a WRV, and the prevalence is similar in Bogotá (13.7 percent of workers). Workplace safety violations and problems related to recognition of union rights represent only a small fraction of reported violations.

At the Bogotá CAL, 59.6 percent of workers sought assistance for more than one WRV; at the Medellín CAL, a large majority of workers reported only one WRV (71.1 percent).

Exhibit 19: Number and Types of Current WRVs Reported at the CALs, First Cohort

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Number of current WRVs reported at the CAL		
Reported 1 WRV		
Mean	0.405	0.711
Number of obs.	351	349
Reported 2 WRVs		
Mean	0.425	0.221
Number of obs.	351	349
Reported 3+ WRVs		
Mean	0.171	0.069
Number of obs.	351	349
Type of current WRV		
Workplace harassment		
Mean	0.137	0.129
Number of obs.	351	349
Nonpayment of wages, wage adjustments, or other job-related benefits		
Mean	0.783	0.507
Number of obs.	351	349
No recognition of union rights		
Mean	0.011	0.011
Number of obs.	351	349
Workplace safety violations		
Mean	0.017	0.034
Number of obs.	351	349
Compensation for wrongful dismissal		
Mean	0.262	0.415
Number of obs.	351	349
Other		
Mean	0.151	0.100

⁴⁷ This figure is divided between payment claims (30 percent) and severance payments (17 percent).

Number of obs.	351	349
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Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Note: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

3.1.2 Filing of Legal Claims and Addressing WRVs Directly with the Employer

This section describes the changes in key outcomes between baseline and follow-up and the results of the impact evaluation. The tables are structured as follows: the mean is presented for each outcome variable at baseline (columns 1 and 4) and follow-up (columns 2 and 5). Columns 3 and 6 present the unadjusted difference between follow-up and baseline, with a notation for statistical significance. These tables are then followed by the impact regression adjusted results for the same outcomes obtained by estimating the PPP model described in Chapter 2. To streamline the report, some regression adjusted results are summarized in the main body of the text, and the full tables of results are presented in Appendix 1. The results are presented by CAL.

As discussed in Section 2.3.2, the first issue investigated was whether workers are more likely to take action to resolve their WRVs after visiting the CAL (research question 1). Exhibit 20 describes the actions workers took to address their current WRVs. The data indicates that at baseline (i.e., before using the CAL) workers frequently tried to resolve their WRVs by addressing the problem directly with the employer (66.1 percent in Bogotá and 60.1 percent in Medellín, columns 1 and 4, respectively). That percentage remained relatively stable between baseline and follow-up in Bogotá (65.6 percent, column 2). In Medellín, the percentage of workers who tried to address the problem directly with the employer increased to 70.4 percent (column 5). This is a statistically significant increase (unadjusted) of 10.3 percentage points (column 6).

Exhibit 20: Actions Taken for the Current WRV, First Cohort (Research Question 1)

Variable	Bogotá			Medellín		
	Baseline (1)	Follow-up (2)	Difference (3) = (2)–(1)	Baseline (4)	Follow-up (5)	Difference (6) = (5)–(4)
Worker addressed WRV directly with employer						
Mean	0.661	0.656	–0.005	0.601	0.704	0.103***
Number of obs.	643	643	1,286	486	486	972
Worker filed legal claim						
Mean	0.058	0.240	0.182***	0.099	0.253	0.154***
Number of obs.	643	643	1,286	486	486	972

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant differences at 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

Regarding the filing of legal claims, few WRVs had been formally addressed through a legal claim at baseline (5.8 percent in Bogotá and 9.9 percent in Medellín). The percentage of WRVs for which a worker filed a legal claim after visiting the CAL increased to 24 percent in Bogotá and 25.3 percent in Medellín (corresponding to an unadjusted difference of 18.2 and 15.4

percentage points, in columns 3 and 6, respectively). Both of these increases were statistically significant.

The regression adjusted results, shown in Exhibit 21, remain statistically significant only for the probability of filing a legal claim; the coefficient of the post-variable measures the change in the probability of filing a legal claim between baseline and follow-up. The results are similar to the unadjusted raw differences and show that the probability of filing a legal claim increased by 16.6 percentage points in Bogotá and 11.7 percentage points in Medellín between baseline and follow-up (these correspond to a 286 percent and 118 percent increase relative to the baseline mean in Bogotá and Medellín, respectively).

The change in the probability that a client addressed the WRV directly with the employer is very close to zero and is statistically insignificant, once other observable characteristics are controlled for. This is likely related to the high prevalence of direct negotiation with the employer at both baseline and follow-up. During the focus groups, some workers reported talking to their employers as part of the company’s administrative process for termination (*diligencia de descargo*). During this meeting, the employer presents the reasons and evidence for the termination, and the employee may be able to respond to the allegations. Other workers reported talking to their employer through informal channels. Addressing WRVs directly with the employer is therefore an action that workers tend to engage in frequently, regardless of whether they receive CAL services.

Exhibit 21: Actions Taken for the Current WRV, PPP Regression Results, First Cohort (Research Question 1)

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Worker addressed WRV directly with employer		
Post-coefficient	0.004	0.006
Standard error (SE)	(0.033)	(0.064)
Number of obs.	1,286	971
Worker filed legal claim		
Post-coefficient	0.166***	0.117***
SE	(0.031)	(0.042)
Number of obs.	1,286	971

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively. Robust cluster standard errors shown in parentheses.

The team also performed an additional exploratory analysis to investigate whether the results varied across different types of WRVs. It is possible that the aggregate results mask diverse responses depending on the type of WRV the worker experienced. Specifically, the team investigated separately for each broad WRV category—violations related to nonpayment of wages and benefits, wrongful dismissal, harassment, and all other types—whether the

probability of filing a legal claim or addressing the problem directly with the employer changed after visiting the CAL.⁴⁸

The results, presented in Exhibit 44 (Appendix 1), indicate that, especially in Bogotá, there was some variation in the probability of filing legal claims across types of WRVs. For example, PPP coefficient estimates indicate that the probability of filing a legal claim significantly increased, by 16.8 percentage points between baseline and follow-up for WRVs related to nonpayment of wages and other job-related benefits and by 22.6 percentage point for WRVs related to wrongful dismissal. The PPP changes for WRVs related to workplace harassment and other WRVs were positive, but smaller in absolute value and not statistically significant. This is likely related to the smaller number of WRVs in these groups, making the estimates less precise.

As described in Chapter 2, the team hypothesized that the judicial strike that took place between baseline and follow-up might impact claim filing behavior. In particular, the strike might discourage workers from filing a legal claim and therefore bias the results downward (i.e., produce lower impacts). However, since the results were similar across both cities even though they were affected by the strike to a different degree,⁴⁹ this is likely not the primary cause for workers not filing a legal claim.

The team explored in more detail the reasons why CAL clients did not file a legal claim for the current WRV before and after visiting the CAL and whether these reasons changed over time. Workers were first asked whether they had filed a legal claim; if not, they were asked the reasons why they did not file. The descriptive results are presented in Exhibit 22. The regression adjusted results shown in Exhibit 23 are generally consistent with the unadjusted differences in sign and, in most cases, significance level.

Exhibit 22: Reasons That Workers Did Not File a Legal Claim, First Cohort

Variable	Bogotá			Medellín		
	Baseline (1)	Follow-up (2)	Difference (3) = (2)–(1)	Baseline (4)	Follow-up (5)	Difference (6) = (5)–(4)
Do not know whom to turn to for help						
Mean	0.424	0.108	–0.316***	0.450	0.099	–0.351***
Number of obs.	606	489	1,095	438	363	801
Not sure about own rights						
Mean	0.218	0.065	–0.152***	0.158	0.058	–0.100***
Number of obs.	606	489	1,095	438	363	801
Fear of losing job/retaliation						
Mean	0.120	0.035	–0.086***	0.094	0.085	–0.008

⁴⁸ Because many types of WRVs have small sample sizes, it was not possible to estimate the effects for each type. Thus, violations were grouped according to major categories. The estimates were obtained by estimating a PPP regression model where the post indicator interacts with each of the mutually exclusive four broad types of WRV.

⁴⁹ According to ENS staff, the strike had a greater impact in Bogotá than it did in Medellín.

Variable	Bogotá			Medellín		
	Baseline (1)	Follow-up (2)	Difference (3) = (2)–(1)	Baseline (4)	Follow-up (5)	Difference (6) = (5)–(4)
Number of obs.	606	489	1,095	438	363	801
Personal reasons (high cost, lack of time, or motivation)						
Mean	0.081	0.260	0.179***	0.039	0.218	0.179***
Number of obs.	606	489	1,095	438	363	801
Discouraged/pessimistic about getting justice						
Mean	0.086	0.076	–0.010	0.112	0.091	–0.021
Number of obs.	606	489	1,095	438	363	801
Other						
Mean	0.381	0.722	0.341***	0.185	0.694	0.509***
Number of obs.	606	489	1,095	438	363	801

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant differences at 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

The data show a decrease in the percentage of workers reporting that they did not file a legal claim because they did not know whom to turn to for help. In Bogotá, approximately 42 percent of respondents reported this reason at baseline (column 1), whereas only 10.8 percent reported it at follow-up (column 2). This represents a statistically significant decline of 31.6 percentage points in the unadjusted difference (column 3). A similar decrease occurred in Medellín, from 45.0 percent to 9.9 percent.

The regression adjusted results also show a statistically significant decline of similar magnitude for this variable. The probability of not filing a legal claim because of not knowing whom to turn to for help decreased by 28.0 and 30.8 percentage points in Bogotá and Medellín, respectively (first row in Exhibit 23). Indeed, these results are reasonable since the CALs routinely provide information about filing legal claims and assistance in preparing them.⁵⁰

The unadjusted differences in Exhibit 22, however, indicate a large increase between baseline and follow-up in the probability of not filing a legal claim due to lack of time, money, or motivation. In Bogotá, this justification increased from 8.1 percent of cases at baseline to 26 percent at follow-up (a statistically significant 17.9 percentage point difference). The effect was similar in Medellín and was positive and statistically significant in the regression adjusted results as well. A plausible explanation for this increase is that, after visiting the CAL, workers better understood the time and resources it would take to pursue a legal claim and the fact that

⁵⁰ In both cities there was a decline in the prevalence of workers citing uncertainty about their labor rights and fear of retaliation or losing their job as reasons for not filing a legal claim, although the regression adjusted results indicate that these declines were statistically significant only for Bogotá. A possible explanation for this result is that, after workers visit the CAL, they feel more secure about their labor rights and less affected by the possibility of some form of retaliation.

they would have to obtain and submit all documentation themselves. Qualitative evidence collected during the final site visit seems to corroborate this explanation. Although most workers in the focus groups had been to the CALs multiple times and actively pursued their claims, they mentioned as difficulties in this process the cost of photocopies and transportation and the time and effort to obtain documentation.

There was also a large prevalence and increase in the category of other (unspecified) reasons. Based on the results of the first cohort, the team expanded the response options on the questionnaire for the second cohort to better capture additional reasons that workers might not file a legal claim. The results provide a more nuanced picture of workers' behavior after visiting the CAL and are analyzed in more detail in the next section.

Exhibit 23: Reasons That Workers Did Not File a Legal Claim, PPP Regression Results, First Cohort

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Do not know whom to turn to for help		
Post-coefficient	-0.280***	-0.308***
SE	(0.045)	(0.091)
Number of obs.	1,095	800
Not sure about own rights		
Post-coefficient	-0.127***	-0.060
SE	(0.032)	(0.070)
Number of obs.	1,095	800
Fear of losing job/retaliation		
Post-coefficient	-0.103***	-0.055
SE	(0.031)	(0.045)
Number of obs.	1,095	800
Personal reasons (high cost, lack of time, or interest)		
Post-coefficient	0.189***	0.260***
SE	(0.037)	(0.076)
Number of obs.	1,095	800
Discouraged/pessimistic about getting justice		
Post-coefficient	-0.023	-0.002
SE	(0.026)	(0.032)
Number of obs.	1,095	800
Other		
Post-coefficient	0.302***	0.336***
SE	(0.048)	(0.086)
Number of obs.	1,095	800

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively. Robust cluster standard errors are shown in parentheses.

Further inspection of the data indicates that the probability of filing a legal claim is correlated with the number of times workers visited the CAL. The proportion of workers filing a legal claim

at follow-up was 19.9 percent (across both CALs) for workers who visited the CAL only once, but it increased to 39.5 percent among workers who used CAL services more than once (data not shown). This suggests that workers who visit CALs more frequently are able to get the extra support they need to file legal claims and potentially overcome some of the obstacles. However, it could also indicate that workers who are more determined to file legal claims are also likely to seek assistance from the CAL more frequently. Thus, this observed correlation should be interpreted with caution as evidence of a causal effect of the intensity of services on outcomes.

Overall, the results analyzed so far indicate that, although the prevalence of filing legal claims for a WRV increased after workers visited the CAL, still a large proportion of workers did not file a legal claim. However, the data seem to indicate that the main reasons were not related to the fact that workers did not know whom to turn to for help, which was the primary barrier CAL services were intended to remove, but rather to workers’ idiosyncratic circumstances and the efforts required to pursue legal claims.

3.1.3 Types of Legal Claims Filed

The evaluation team investigated whether there was a change in the types of legal actions taken between baseline and follow-up for workers who actually filed a legal claim (research question 2). Since relatively few people filed legal claims, especially at baseline, the sample sizes are small. The results, therefore, only provide suggestive evidence for the changes in the types of legal claims and have to be interpreted with caution.

The information presented in Exhibit 24 shows that the main legal actions in which statistically significant variation was observed are right to petition and labor demands. In both CALs, there was a decline in right to petition filings between baseline and follow-up, although the variation is larger for Medellín. In Medellín, right to petition filings decreased from 60.4 percent of legal claims filed at baseline to 17.9 percent at follow-up (a statistically significant unadjusted difference equal to 42.5 percentage points). In contrast, there was an increase in the proportion of legal actions filed as labor demands for both CALs. In Medellín, labor demand filings increased from 8.3 percent at baseline to 35.0 percent at follow-up, while the corresponding increase in Bogotá was from 24.3 percent to 44.8 percent.

Exhibit 24: Types of Legal Claims Filed, First Cohort (Research Question 2)

Variable	Bogotá			Medellín		
	Baseline (1)	Follow-up (2)	Difference (3) = (2)–(1)	Baseline (4)	Follow-up (5)	Difference (6) = (5)–(4)
Tutela						
Mean	0.243	0.201	–0.042	0.250	0.374	0.124
Number of obs.	37	154	191	48	123	171
Right to Petition						
Mean	0.324	0.149	–0.175**	0.604	0.179	–0.425***
Number of obs.	37	154	191	48	123	171

Variable	Bogotá			Medellín		
	Baseline (1)	Follow-up (2)	Difference (3) = (2)–(1)	Baseline (4)	Follow-up (5)	Difference (6) = (5)–(4)
Labor Demand						
Mean	0.243	0.448	0.205**	0.083	0.350	0.266***
Number of obs.	37	154	191	48	123	171
Other						
Mean	0.189	0.201	0.012	0.063	0.098	0.035
Number of obs.	37	154	191	48	123	171

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

The PPP results are shown in Appendix 1, Exhibit 45. The results tend to be imprecise given the small sample sizes. There were no statistically significant changes between baseline and follow-up in the types of legal instruments used in Bogotá. In Medellín, on the other hand, the reduction in right to petition actions and the increase in labor demand actions were statistically significant: a 36.4 percentage point decrease and a 31.3 percentage point increase, respectively.

The results for Medellín may be explained by the fact that, before filing a labor demand, workers need proper documentation such as proof of a labor contract or payment statements to support their claim. When workers do not have this information, they can obtain it by filing a right to petition to the relevant person or authority. It is likely that at baseline (i.e., before receiving CAL assistance), the majority of workers who initiated the process stopped at this stage because they required further assistance to move forward. This would explain the large prevalence of right to petition filings at baseline. After having visited the CAL, workers may have obtained the additional assistance they needed to proceed with a labor demand.

It is also important to note that, while the CALs are able to provide in-depth assistance with filing *tutelas*, they cannot help workers file labor demands directly, because there are no licensed lawyers on staff. In other words, the CAL law student interns and volunteers guide workers and help them gather the documentation to move to the next step in the legal process, but then refer the workers to lawyers if they need to file a labor demand. The type of legal claim a worker should pursue (e.g., labor demand, *tutela*) generally depends on the individual case. The fact that the majority of legal actions reported at follow-up are labor demands may also provide some insight into why so many workers do not file a legal claim. If many workers come to the CALs for WRVs that require filing a labor demand, the extra burden required for filing this type of legal claim may discourage workers from pursuing any legal action. This would be consistent with the high prevalence of workers reporting at follow-up that they did not file a legal claim because of lack of time, money, or motivation.

3.1.4 Outcome of Legal Claims and Addressing WRVs Directly with the Employer

The descriptive statistics presented in the top panel of Exhibit 25 show what happened to the legal claim once it was filed: whether the worker obtained a resolution that was favorable and satisfactory. If the CAL helps clients to file legal claims, clients may be more likely to obtain a favorable resolution to their case. As in the case of the types of legal claims filed, since

relatively few workers had filed a legal claim, especially at baseline, the sample sizes are small. The results, therefore, only provide suggestive evidence for impacts and have to be interpreted with caution.⁵¹

Between baseline and follow-up, there was an increase in the percentage of WRVs for which a claim was filed and a favorable resolution obtained. In Medellín, before workers visited the CAL, only 8.3 percent of the WRVs for which they filed a claim had a favorable resolution, but this proportion increased to 25.2 percent at follow-up. The unadjusted mean difference, 16.9 percentage points, is statistically significant. The unadjusted mean difference for Bogotá is not statistically significant. The adjusted regression results shown in Appendix 1, Exhibit 46, indicate a positive change in the probability of obtaining a resolution to the legal claim, but the results are not statistically significant, likely due to the small sample sizes.

In addition to helping workers prepare legal claims, the CAL could also help workers more satisfactorily address the WRV directly with their employer. For example, after visiting the CAL, workers might be better prepared to talk to their employer. The data in the bottom panel in Exhibit 25 indicate that, in both cities, there was an increase in the percentage of CAL clients who were able to satisfactorily address their WRVs by engaging in direct negotiation with their employer. For example, in Bogotá at baseline, there was a satisfactory resolution only in 1.2 percent of cases. The proportion of workers resolving the WRV satisfactorily with the employer increased to 16.4 percent at follow-up (an unadjusted raw difference of 15.2 percentage points). The results are very similar for Medellín. These results were positive and statistically significant also in the regression adjusted estimates, but smaller in absolute value for Medellín.

Exhibit 25: Outcome of the Legal Claims Filed and Addressing WRVs Directly with the Employer, First Cohort (Research Questions 3 and 4)

Variable	Bogotá			Medellín		
	Baseline (1)	Follow-up (2)	Difference (3) = (2)–(1)	Baseline (4)	Follow-up (5)	Difference (6) = (5)–(4)
Worker filed a legal claim						
<i>Worker obtained a favorable resolution</i>						
Mean	0.081	0.123	0.042	0.083	0.252	0.169**
Number of obs.	37	154	191	48	123	171
<i>Worker is satisfied with resolution</i>						
Mean	0.081	0.130	0.049	0.146	0.179	0.033
Number of obs.	37	154	191	48	123	171
Worker addressed WRV directly with the employer						
<i>Employer solved problem satisfactorily</i>						
Mean	0.012	0.164	0.152***	0.014	0.208	0.194***
Number of obs.	425	422	847	292	342	634

⁵¹ The information on time to obtain a resolution has several missing values and is also very “noisy” given the small sample sizes; for this reason, it is not reported.

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant differences at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

3.1.5 Workers' General Knowledge of Labor Rights and Mechanisms to File Labor-Related Complaints

The evaluation team also analyzed whether there was a change in clients' practical knowledge about filing labor complaints and knowledge of their labor rights. At the time of the evaluation design, the team understood that the main purpose of the outreach campaign activities was to increase workers' awareness of CAL services, but not necessarily to increase the knowledge of labor rights among the general population. However, it was assumed that in the process of visiting the CAL and following the legal advice of law student interns and volunteers, workers would gain a general knowledge of existing labor laws and a better understanding of the legal system. In addition, it was expected that some workers might even participate in one of the CAL's several educational activities (Workers' Rights Handbook and associated workshops, academic conferences, and other trainings) between baseline and follow-up, thus increasing their knowledge of labor rights and filing mechanisms. However, the implementation evaluation shows that the Workers' Rights Handbook had not been finalized at the time of the impact evaluation and that trainings were more targeted to union members, who were not a representative sample in the data.

The outcome variables related to knowledge of labor rights are described in Exhibit 26. The first panel captures workers' own perceptions on how knowledgeable they felt about their labor rights. This information was collected at baseline and again at follow-up. The data indicate that self-reported knowledge of labor rights increased between baseline and follow-up for all workers. At baseline, 30.2 percent of CAL clients in Bogotá reported that they felt informed about all or some of their labor rights before they received CAL services; this percentage increased to 52.7 percent at follow-up (an unadjusted, statistically significant 22.5 percentage point change). Similar changes were observed among CAL clients in Medellín.

Finally, the last row in the table shows the percentage of workers who reported knowing how to file a labor-related claim at baseline and at follow-up. There were large changes in both cities. The percentage of workers who reported being able to file a complaint increased from 6.0 percent to 60.1 percent in Bogotá (an unadjusted, statistically significant 54.1 percentage point increase) and from 8.0 percent to 68.5 percent in Medellín, also a statistically significant increase. Although the team did not specifically ask about participants' level of knowledge during the focus groups with CAL clients, one of the main reasons workers gave for their satisfaction with the assistance received at the CALs was that they felt significantly better informed about their labor situation and legal options, even in the cases in which the CAL law students could no longer help them.

Exhibit 26: Workers' Knowledge of Labor Rights and Mechanisms for Filing Labor Complaints, First Cohort (Research Question 5)

Variable	Bogotá			Medellín		
	Baseline (1)	Follow-up (2)	Difference (3) = (2)–(1)	Baseline (4)	Follow-up (5)	Difference (6) = (5)–(4)
Worker feels well informed about all or some of his/her labor rights						
Mean	0.302	0.527	0.225***	0.266	0.562	0.295***
Number of obs.	351	351	702	349	349	698
Worker knows how to file a labor complaint						
Mean	0.060	0.601	0.541***	0.080	0.685	0.605***
Number of obs.	351	351	702	349	349	698

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant differences at 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

The adjusted regression results (Exhibit 47 in Appendix 1) confirm the unadjusted raw differences in the knowledge variables and also the increase in the probability of being able to file labor complaints. These results provide some evidence that the CALs do help workers to become more confident about filing labor-related complaints.

3.2 Results of the CAL Client Survey, Second Cohort

As described in Section 2.3, data on CAL clients were collected for two separate cohorts to assess whether there was a change in the impact that CAL services had on CAL clients' outcomes over time. For instance, we would expect to see a different impact over time if, as CALs become more established, they were able to provide better services. On the other hand, if we observe that the effect of CAL services on CAL clients is similar in the first and second cohorts, this would signal that the CALs were already operating in a steady state or that other factors were influencing the CALs' effectiveness.

The discussion focuses on one of the main outcomes of interest for the evaluation—whether the prevalence of filing legal claims increases after visiting the CAL—and then briefly highlights key differences that may have emerged in the other outcomes with respect to the first cohort. Descriptive statistics are presented, followed by a brief description of the regression adjusted results. The remaining results are provided in Appendix 2.

3.2.1 Profile of CAL Clients

The analysis of the sociodemographic profile of CAL clients indicates that the profile of the second cohort clients was very similar to that of the first cohort along many demographic characteristics (Exhibit 48 in Appendix 2). The cohort is a predominantly low-income urban population. The average age of clients was about 39 years, and nearly half were women (47 percent), with very limited representation of union members (1.1 percent in Bogotá and 2.9 percent in Medellín). Approximately half of CAL clients were married or lived with a long-term partner, and about a third had more than a high school education. More workers in Medellín than in Bogotá reported having been displaced by violence (25.5 vs. 10.6 percent), supporting

the interpretation that this difference between cities may be a reflection of local differences in violence as documented in the ENS violence database described earlier.

In response to the question of how workers learned about CAL services, there is a similar pattern in the first and second cohorts (Exhibit 49 in Appendix 2); specifically, a large proportion of workers learned about the CAL via the Ministry of Labor (58 percent in Bogotá and 47.5 percent in Medellín), consistent with the findings of the implementation evaluation. Very few workers learned about the CAL via other media including the CAL outreach campaigns. The small number of referrals to the CAL by means of the outreach campaign is observed in both the first and second cohorts. This finding is observed also in the implementation evaluation and may signal that the CALs' outreach efforts evolved over time as the CALs needed to adjust their strategy.

Workers in the first and second cohorts also reported experiencing WRVs in similar types of jobs (Exhibit 50 in Appendix 2). Most workers came to the CAL for a WRV related to their previous employment, and a high proportion worked in the service sector. Also, the nature of the WRVs reported at the CALs seems to be broadly stable over time. The data indicate that, in both CALs, the most frequent type of WRVs reported were:

- Nonpayment of wages and other job-related benefits (82.9 percent of workers in Bogotá and 70.1 percent in Medellín)
- Compensation for wrongful dismissal (24.1 percent in Bogotá and 36.7 percent in Medellín)
- Workplace harassment (19.0 percent in Bogotá and 24.8 percent in Medellín)

Problems related to the recognition of union rights represent only a small proportion of reported violations (Exhibit 51).

The following sections describe in more detail the results related to the filing of legal claims, one of the main outcomes of interest. The results in this section will shed some light on the finding that only about 25 percent of workers in the first cohort filed a legal claim after visiting the CAL.

3.2.2 Filing of Legal Claims and Addressing WRVs Directly with the Employer

Exhibit 27 describes the actions that workers took to address their current WRVs (research question 1). Before using the CAL, workers in the second cohort often tried to resolve their WRV by addressing it directly with the employer (68.3 percent of reported WRVs in Bogotá and 71.6 percent in Medellín). That percentage remained relatively stable between baseline and follow-up in Bogotá, but decreased in Medellín by 8.7 percentage points.

Regarding the filing of legal claims, few WRVs had been formally addressed through a legal claim at baseline (3.4 percent in Bogotá and 7.4 percent in Medellín). The percentage of WRVs for which a legal claim was filed after the worker visited the CAL increased to 23 percent in

Bogotá and 29.4 percent in Medellín (corresponding to unadjusted, statistically significant differences of 19.5 and 22.1 percentage points, respectively).

Exhibit 27: Actions Taken for the Current WRV, Second Cohort (Research Question 1)

Variable	Bogotá			Medellín		
	Baseline (1)	Follow-up (2)	Difference (3) = (2)–(1)	Baseline (4)	Follow-up (5)	Difference (6) = (5)–(4)
Worker addressed WRV directly with the employer						
Mean	0.683	0.653	–0.030	0.716	0.629	–0.087***
Number of obs.	640	640	1,280	585	585	1,170
Worker filed legal claim						
Mean	0.034	0.230	0.195***	0.074	0.294	0.221***
Number of obs.	640	640	1,280	585	585	1,170

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016.

Notes: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant differences at 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

PPP results, described in Exhibit 28, show that the probability of engaging in direct negotiation with the employer in either city did not change after the worker visited the CAL. Results also show that, after visiting the CAL, workers were more likely to file a legal claim. These results suggest that addressing WRVs directly with the employer is an action that workers tend to engage in frequently, regardless of whether they receive CAL services. However, filing of a legal claim is something that is more likely to occur after receiving the CAL’s assistance.

Exhibit 28: Actions Taken for the Current WRV, Second Cohort, PPP Results (Research Question 1)

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Worker addressed WRV directly with employer		
Post-coefficient	–0.048	–0.041
SE	(0.056)	(0.060)
Number of obs.	1,275	1,167
Worker filed legal claim		
Post-coefficient	0.282***	0.316***
SE	(0.049)	(0.081)
Number of obs.	1,275	1,167

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5 and 10 percent level, respectively. Robust cluster standard errors shown in parentheses.

To further investigate this issue, the team explored the reasons that CAL clients did not file a legal claim before or after visiting the CAL and whether the reasons changed over time. The descriptive results in Exhibit 29 indicate a decrease in the percentage of workers reporting that they did not file a legal claim because they did not know whom to turn to for help. This was reported as the reason for not filing a legal claim in 18.4 percent of cases at baseline in Bogotá

and in 12.8 percent of cases at follow-up (an unadjusted, statistically significant decrease of 5.7 percentage points). A larger change was observed in Medellín (from 23.1 percent to 11.1 percent, an unadjusted, statistically significant decrease of 12.0 percentage points). This decrease is also observed in the regression adjusted results (Exhibit 30), although it is statistically significant only for Medellín.

Interestingly, at baseline in both cities, the data indicate that a large proportion of CAL clients did not file a claim because they were in the process of investigating different assistance options on their own before taking action. However, after visiting the CAL, the percentage of people who indicated this as one of the reasons for not filing a claim decreased significantly. In addition, the regression adjusted results indicate there was a 22.0 percentage point reduction in the percentage of workers citing uncertainty about their own rights as a reason for not filing a legal claim after visiting the Bogotá CAL (Exhibit 30).

The unadjusted differences shown in Exhibit 29 also indicate a large increase in the probability of not filing a legal claim because of reasons related to time, cost, or lack of motivation. For example, in Bogotá this reason was cited for not filing a legal claim in 3.9 percent of cases at baseline and in 27.8 percent of cases at follow-up (a statistically significant 23.9 percentage point difference). The effect was similar in Medellín and was also statistically significant in the regression adjusted results. There was also a statistically significant increase in the probability of not filing a legal claim because people were generally discouraged or pessimistic about the prospects of obtaining justice. An increase in the prevalence of these reasons for not filing a legal claim may be related to the fact that, after they visit the CAL, workers feel discouraged by the time and resources needed to pursue legal actions on their own and do not have a strong enough motivation to do so. For the first cohort, qualitative evidence from the site visits seems to suggest that this might be the case.

Also, as shown in Exhibit 29, some workers did not file a legal claim after visiting the CAL because they were able to solve their problem either through the employer or in some other way (12 percent of workers in Bogotá and 11.4 percent in Medellín, a statistically significant increase from almost 0 percent at baseline). The data also indicate an increase in the prevalence of other reasons between baseline and follow-up; workers reported a variety of reasons such as health issues, lack of enough evidence/documentation, or moving away.

Exhibit 29: Reasons That Workers Did Not File a Legal Claim, Second Cohort

Variable	Bogotá			Medellín		
	Baseline (1)	Follow-up (2)	Difference (3) = (2)–(1)	Baseline (4)	Follow-up (5)	Difference (6) = (5)–(4)
Do not know whom to turn to for help						
Mean	0.184	0.128	–0.057**	0.231	0.111	–0.119***
Number of obs.	618	493	1,111	542	413	955
Investigating different assistance options on their own						
Mean	0.335	0.073	–0.262***	0.572	0.111	–0.461***

Variable	Bogotá			Medellín		
	Baseline (1)	Follow-up (2)	Difference (3) = (2)–(1)	Baseline (4)	Follow-up (5)	Difference (6) = (5)–(4)
Number of obs.	618	493	1,111	542	413	955
Not sure about own rights						
Mean	0.317	0.120	–0.197***	0.137	0.102	–0.035
Number of obs.	618	493	1,111	542	413	955
Fear of losing job/retaliation						
Mean	0.061	0.026	–0.035***	0.031	0.041	0.010
Number of obs.	618	493	1,111	542	413	955
Personal reasons (high cost, lack of time or motivation)						
Mean	0.039	0.278	0.239***	0.048	0.252	0.204***
Number of obs.	618	493	1,111	542	413	955
Discouraged/pessimistic about getting justice						
Mean	0.003	0.055	0.052***	0.002	0.048	0.047***
Number of obs.	618	493	1,111	542	413	955
Solved with employer or other way						
Mean	0.002	0.120	0.118***	0.000	0.114	0.114***
Number of obs.	618	493	1,111	542	413	955
Wants to give time to employer to solve on good terms						
Mean	0.201	0.081	–0.120***	0.059	0.039	–0.020
Number of obs.	618	493	1,111	542	413	955
Other						
Mean	0.042	0.406	0.364***	0.011	0.363	0.352***
Number of obs.	618	493	1,111	542	413	955

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016.

Notes: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant differences at 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

The regression adjusted results are reported in Exhibit 30. The results are generally consistent with the unadjusted difference in means. Overall, the results seem to confirm what was observed for the first cohort—that, although there is a higher prevalence of workers filing legal claims after visiting the CAL, still a large proportion did not file a legal claim. Again, the analysis of the data seems to indicate that the main reasons for not filing a legal claim are related to workers' idiosyncratic circumstances and the efforts required to pursue legal claims on their own after having been assisted at the CAL.

Exhibit 30: Reasons That Workers Did Not File a Legal Claim, Second Cohort, PPP Regression Results

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Do not know whom to turn for help		
Post-coefficient	–0.050	–0.281***
SE	(0.057)	(0.082)
Number of obs.	1,106	952
Investigating different assistance options on their own		
Post-coefficient	–0.333***	–0.392***

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
SE	(0.056)	(0.087)
Number of obs.	1,106	952
Not sure about own rights		
Post-coefficient	-0.220***	-0.071
SE	(0.066)	(0.064)
Number of obs.	1,106	952
Fear of losing job/retaliation		
Post-coefficient	-0.048	0.030
SE	(0.029)	(0.039)
Number of obs.	1,106	952
Personal reasons (high cost, lack of time or interest)		
Post-coefficient	0.336***	0.226***
SE	(0.054)	(0.058)
Number of obs.	1,106	952
Discouraged/pessimistic about justice		
Post-coefficient	0.053**	0.119**
SE	(0.026)	(0.046)
Number of obs.	1,106	952
Solved with employer or other way		
Post-coefficient	0.127***	0.106***
SE	(0.032)	(0.039)
Number of obs.	1,106	952
Wants to give employer time to solve on good terms		
Post-coefficient	-0.118**	0.009
SE	(0.057)	(0.054)
Number of obs.	1,106	952
Other		
Post-coefficient	0.381***	0.339***
SE	(0.056)	(0.064)
Number of obs.	1,106	952

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5 and 10 percent level, respectively. Robust cluster standard errors shown in parentheses.

3.2.3 Other Outcomes

As described in the research questions, the receipt of CAL assistance could affect the types of legal claims filed and the resolution of those claims. The results do not indicate a consistent pattern in the types of legal instruments used across CALs, and none of the regression adjusted results were statistically significant (Exhibit 54, Appendix 2). For Medellín there was a positive and statistically significant result for the probability of obtaining a favorable resolution to the legal claim and being satisfied with the resolution (Exhibit 55 and Exhibit 56, Appendix 2). Again it is important to note that, given the relatively small sample sizes, these results have to be interpreted with caution and taken only as suggestive evidence of (the lack of) impacts. In both

cities, there was an increase in the likelihood of obtaining a favorable resolution with the employer.

Finally, the team analyzed changes in workers' knowledge of labor rights and knowledge of how to file labor-related complaints. The results, which are very similar to the changes observed for the first cohort, are displayed in Exhibit 57 and Exhibit 58 (Appendix 2). The data indicate that self-reported knowledge of labor rights increased between baseline and follow-up for all workers, as did knowledge about how to file a labor-related claim.

3.3 Summary

The evaluation of the effect of CAL services on CAL clients used a PPP methodology to assess whether workers were able to address their WRVs after using CAL services. The analysis covered two cohorts of workers, both composed of workers with actionable items who came to the CAL for the first time. The first cohort included workers who visited the CAL between September 2014 and January 2015. The second cohort included a different set of workers who visited the CAL approximately one year later (between September and December 2015). Workers were interviewed in person at the CAL before they received any services (baseline), and the same workers were interviewed later by phone (follow-up).

The results across the both cohorts indicate that the profile of CAL clients did not substantially change over time: it is a prevalently low-income urban population, formed by almost equal percentages of men and women. Most of these workers were referred to the CAL by the Ministry of Labor or by family and friends. The majority of workers came to the CALs because they had experienced workers' rights violations related to nonpayment of wages and other job-related benefits. The profile of CAL clients, the pattern of referrals, and the types of reported WRVs seem to be consistent with the qualitative evidence from the implementation evaluation.

Data for the first cohort show that before visiting the CAL about 6 percent of workers in Bogotá and 10 percent of workers in Medellín had filed a legal claim before visiting the CAL. PPP results show that, after visiting the CALs, there was an increase in the probability of filing a claim of 16.6 percentage points in Bogotá and 11.7 in Medellín, which represent increases of 286 and 118 percent, respectively, relative to the baseline means.

Data for the second cohort shows that the probability of filing a legal claim after visiting the Bogotá CAL increased by 28.2 percentage points, which represents an 829 percent increase from the baseline mean of 3.4 percent. After visiting the Medellín CAL, the probability of filing a legal claim increased by 31.6 percentage points, which represents a 427 percent increase with respect to the baseline mean of 7.4 percent.

Despite these large increases, the majority of CAL clients had not filed a legal claim at follow-up. The main reasons for this seem to fall outside of CALs' control. Since CALs were designed to primarily help clients with the preparation needed for filing claims, they cannot directly file

legal claims for workers. Thus, whether a claim is filed or not depends, partially, on factors outside the control of CALs.

Since CALs routinely provide information about filing legal claims and assist workers in preparing them, we would expect a decrease in the prevalence of not filing a legal claim due to lack of assistance services after visiting the CAL. Compared to the baseline, we observe a decrease in the prevalence of workers reporting not filing a legal claim because they do not know whom to turn to for help or because they are trying to solve the problem or are looking into different options on their own. In other words, after they visit the CAL, workers seem to find the help they need. At the same time, we also observe more workers not filing legal claims because of the effort required to pursue legal claims (e.g., lack of money, time, or motivation) and for other reasons (e.g., circumstances like health issues, relocation, etc.). The qualitative evidence collected during the final site visit of the implementation evaluation appears to corroborate this explanation. Although most workers in the focus groups had been to the CALs multiple times and actively pursued their claims, some of the difficulties they mentioned in this process were the cost of photocopies and transportation and the time and effort to obtain documentation. As described in the limitation sections, it is also possible that workers may have decided to file legal claims in a timeframe beyond that of the follow-up survey and that the proportion of workers who file a legal claim could increase in the longer term as workers find the time needed to do it.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis of the other outcomes are limited by the smaller sample sizes. At least for the first cohort, there is some suggestive evidence that, for the Medellín CAL, among workers who filed a legal claim, the types of legal claims changed over time from right to petition to labor demands. When workers do not have the proper documentation to support their claim, such as proof of a labor contract or payment statements, they can obtain it by submitting a right to petition to the relevant person or authority. It is likely that, at baseline (i.e., before receiving CAL assistance), the majority of workers who initiated the process stopped at this stage because they lacked further assistance to move forward. This would explain the large prevalence of right to petition filings at baseline in the first cohort. Once they visited the CALs, these workers may have obtained the additional assistance they needed to proceed with a labor demand.

Regarding the resolution of legal claims, there is also some suggestive evidence that workers in the second cohort in Medellín who filed a legal claim were more likely to obtain a favorable resolution after visiting the CAL. Further, the results from both cohorts suggest that workers were also more likely to obtain a favorable resolution when addressing their problem directly with the employer. This was true in both Bogotá and Medellín.

Moreover, the results for both cohorts indicate that workers felt more confident about their labor rights and reported that they were more knowledgeable about how to file labor-related complaints. Again, this seems to be broadly consistent with the qualitative evidence obtained during the site visits. Although, during the focus groups with CAL clients, the evaluation team did not ask specifically about participants' level of knowledge, one of the main reasons workers

expressed satisfaction with the assistance received at the CALs was that they felt significantly better informed about their labor situation and legal options, even in cases in which the CAL law students could no longer help them.

4. RESULTS OF THE EVALUATION OF WORKERS' USE OF LABOR RIGHTS PROTECTION MECHANISMS

The evaluation of workers' use of labor rights protection mechanisms investigated the impact of CAL services on a general population of workers living in a region close to where a new CAL had been established (treatment group), compared to workers living in a region with similar characteristics, but with no CAL (comparison group). As described in Chapter 2, the evaluation team collected data through a general population survey and used a difference-in-differences (DID) methodology to estimate the impacts. This section describes the results of the analysis. Section 4.1 provides a descriptive profile of the general population of workers; the subsequent sections describe the results for the research questions discussed in Section 2.4.

4.1 Profile of the General Population of Workers

This section describes the profile of the general population survey respondents at baseline and follow-up for workers in the treatment region (area of influence of the Bucaramanga CAL) and workers in the comparison region (municipalities in the Meta department).⁵² Exhibits in this section are structured as follows: each table presents the summary statistics for each variable, for both treatment and comparison group workers at baseline (columns 1 and 2) and at follow-up (columns 4 and 5). The differences between the two groups are shown in each time period (columns 3 and 6).

Exhibit 31 shows that there was a slightly higher number of workers in the treatment region, 401 workers at baseline and 425 at follow-up, compared with 331 in the comparison region at baseline and 373 at follow-up. The majority of workers were men. At baseline, women represented only 11 percent of the sample in the treatment region and 8.5 percent in the comparison region; at follow-up, the proportion of women decreased in the treatment region to 6.6 percent and increased in the comparison region to 21.4 percent. Workers, on average, were 40 years of age in both the treatment and comparison regions. Over 60 percent of the workers were married, and more than 20 percent were affected by some type of disability.

Workers in the treatment group were significantly more likely to live in an urban area relative to those in the comparison group, both at baseline and at follow-up (by 31.2 and 26.1 percentage points, respectively). The treatment group also had a smaller percentage of black/mulato workers relative to the comparison group (especially at baseline).

⁵² The vast majority of workers in the treatment group came from the municipalities of San Alberto, San Martín, and Puerto Wilches in Santander and Cesar departments. The vast majority of workers in the comparison group came from the municipalities of Villavicencio, Acacias, Cumaral, and San Carlos de Guaroa, in the Meta department.

The vast majority of workers had less than a high school education, and virtually all belonged to a low socioeconomic stratum. A large proportion belonged to a union at baseline (58.6 and 43.8 percent in the treatment and comparison areas, respectively). The large share of union workers is likely due to the unions' assistance in recruiting workers for the surveys.

Exhibit 31: Workers' Demographic and Household Characteristics

Variable	Baseline			Follow-Up		
	Treatment (1)	Comparison (2)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (3) = (1)–(2)	Treatment (4)	Comparison (5)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (6) = (4)–(5)
Women						
Mean	0.110	0.085	0.025	0.066	0.214	–0.149***
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Age (years)						
Mean	40.965	40.006	0.959	39.660	39.311	0.349
Number of obs.	401	329	730	424	373	797
Any disability						
Mean	0.214	0.302	–0.088***	0.240	0.190	0.050*
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Belongs to a union						
Mean	0.586	0.438	0.148***	0.809	0.432	0.378***
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Lives in an urban area						
Mean	0.711	0.399	0.312***	0.704	0.442	0.261***
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Black, mulato, or indigenous						
Mean	0.155	0.399	–0.244***	0.195	0.260	–0.065**
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Married or living with partner for two years or more						
Mean	0.691	0.677	0.014	0.755	0.614	0.141***
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Highest level of schooling achieved						
Primary or less						
Mean	0.397	0.498	–0.102***	0.501	0.445	0.056
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
More than primary, less than high school						
Mean	0.426	0.441	–0.015	0.445	0.453	–0.008
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
More than high school						
Mean	0.177	0.060	0.117***	0.054	0.102	–0.048**
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Socioeconomic stratification (stratum 3 or lower)						
Mean	0.989	1.000	–0.011	0.993	0.993	0.000
Number of obs.	278	122	400	278	149	427
Displaced by violence						

Variable	Baseline			Follow-Up		
	Treatment (1)	Comparison (2)	Difference Treatment- Comparison (3) = (1)–(2)	Treatment (4)	Comparison (5)	Difference Treatment- Comparison (6) = (4)–(5)
Mean	0.150	0.306	–0.156***	0.158	0.245	–0.086***
Number of obs.	401	330	731	423	372	795
Belongs to a subsidized health plan						
Mean	0.140	0.152	–0.012	0.113	0.167	–0.054**
Number of obs.	401	330	731	425	372	797
Number of employed household members						
Mean	1.489	1.685	–0.196***	1.405	1.882	–0.477***
Number of obs.	401	324	725	425	373	798

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: For each variable, means and number of observations are presented in columns 1, 2, 4, and 5, and the differences between the treatment and comparison groups in columns 3 and 6. The number of observations may not be equal to the total number of units surveyed because of missing information in the variable analyzed.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

As described in the next exhibit, the majority of workers had a job at the time of completing the baseline and follow-up surveys. Most of them worked in the palm oil sector, which is one of the target sectors of the project. Workers in the treatment group had held the same job for about 10 years, while workers in the comparison group had been in the same job for about 8 years, both at baseline and at follow-up. Workers in both groups reported working a little more than 8 hours per day, with those in the comparison group working more hours than those in the treatment group, both at baseline and at follow-up. At baseline, treatment group workers earned an average of 626 US\$ per month, while workers in the comparison group earned an average of 504 US\$ per month, which was above the 2014 minimum wage of 326 US\$. Reported earnings at follow-up were lower for both groups (560 US\$ and 491 US\$, respectively) but still above the minimum wage of 234 US\$ in 2015.⁵³

Finally, the last row in Exhibit 32 indicates that at baseline 17.7 percent of workers in the treatment group worked in a workplace that had been visited by the Ministry of Labor, relative to 3.6 percent in the comparison group. Those percentages grew over time for both the treatment and comparison groups. As mentioned earlier, the relatively low frequency of inspections, especially in the comparison group, might be an indication of a limited presence of inspectors investigating companies for labor violations.

⁵³ Because of currency depreciation, the minimum wage in 2015 was lower than in 2014 in U.S. dollars. In 2016, the approved minimum wage was increased by 7 percent to COP 689,455. Due to currency depreciation, however, the minimum wage decreased in value from \$270 per month as of January 2015 to \$225 per month as of May 2016.

Exhibit 32: Workers' Employment and Workplace Characteristics

Variable	Baseline			Follow-Up		
	Treatment (1)	Comparison (2)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (3) = (1)–(2)	Treatment (4)	Comparison (5)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (6) = (4)–(5)
Has a job						
Mean	0.888	0.973	–0.085***	0.990	0.944	0.047***
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Works in palm oil sector						
Mean	0.818	0.940	–0.122***	0.946	0.772	0.174***
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Time in current (last) job (years)						
Mean	9.679	8.113	1.566**	9.732	8.327	1.405**
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Average number of hours worked per day						
Mean	8.100	8.436	–0.336***	8.033	8.547	–0.513***
Number of obs.	400	326	726	418	362	780
Average earnings per month (in US\$)						
Mean	626.21	503.97	122.244***	559.53	490.64	68.88***
Number of obs.	398	323	721	411	350	761
Ministry of Labor inspector visit to workplace						
Mean	0.177	0.036	0.140***	0.219	0.116	0.103***
Number of obs.	396	329	725	411	372	783

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: For each variable, means and number of observations are presented in columns 1, 2, 4, and 5, and the differences between the treatment and comparison groups in columns 3 and 6. The number of observations may not be equal to the total number of units surveyed because of missing information in the variable analyzed.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

The previous exhibits indicate that, even though the treatment and comparison regions are similar in a number of dimensions, there are several differences. For this reason, all regression analyses that follow will also include the control variables described so far.

As described in Section 2.4, workers in this sample include two broad groups: those who have experienced a WRV and those who have not experienced a WRV. Exhibit 33 describes the incidence of self-reported WRVs in the general population.⁵⁴ Less than 50 percent of the sample reported currently experiencing a WRV or having experienced one in the past 12 months. At baseline, 47.9 percent of workers in the treatment group and 43.8 percent of those in the comparison group self-reported experiencing a WRV. At follow-up, these proportions decreased to 45.9 and 30.3 percent, respectively.

⁵⁴ A self-reported WRV means that the worker responded that he or she was experiencing a WRV at the time of the interview or had experienced one in the previous 12 months.

To facilitate the presentation of results, WRVs were grouped into the following categories:

- Workplace harassment, which refers to pressure or other mistreatment at the workplace.
- Unfair dismissal, which refers to workers being terminated without just cause.
- Nonpayment of wages, wage adjustments, or other job-related benefits including salary, benefits (overtime, vacation, holidays, etc.), and settlements of complaints.
- Nonrecognition of union rights, such as being terminated for joining a union.
- Workplace safety violations, which includes being forced to perform duties against medical advice.

At baseline, the majority of WRVs were related to nonpayment of wages, wage adjustments, or other job-related benefits (64.1 and 74.5 percent in the treatment and comparison groups, respectively), followed by workplace harassment (41.7 and 45.5 percent, respectively). The regressions that estimated the outcome of a legal claim controlled for the types of WRVs reported.⁵⁵

Exhibit 33: Incidence of Workers' Rights Violations

Variable	Baseline			Follow-Up		
	Treatment (1)	Comparison (2)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (3) = (1)–(2)	Treatment (4)	Comparison (5)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (6) = (4)–(5)
Worker experienced WRV during the past 12 months (self-reported)						
Mean	0.479	0.438	0.041	0.459	0.303	0.156***
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
WRV type (self-reported)						
Workplace harassment						
Mean	0.417	0.455	–0.039	0.554	0.381	0.173***
Number of obs.	192	145	337	195	113	308
Unfair dismissal						
Mean	0.109	0.034	0.075**	0.154	0.106	0.048
Number of obs.	192	145	337	195	113	308
Nonpayment of wages, wage adjustments, or other job-related benefits						
Mean	0.641	0.745	–0.104**	0.682	0.770	–0.088
Number of obs.	192	145	337	195	113	308

⁵⁵ Regression adjusted results for all outcomes controlled for age, sex, disability status, race, marital status, education level, whether displaced by violence, in subsidized health plan, employment status, whether works in palm oil sector, number of household members employed, number of years on the job, whether a Ministry of Labor inspector inspected the workplace, earnings, and earnings squared. Regression for the outcomes related to actions taken in case of WRVs, types of claims, resolution, and no-shows also controlled for the type of WRV experienced by the worker.

Variable	Baseline			Follow-Up		
	Treatment (1)	Comparison (2)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (3) = (1)–(2)	Treatment (4)	Comparison (5)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (6) = (4)–(5)
Nonrecognition of union rights						
Mean	0.240	0.193	0.046	0.446	0.159	0.287***
Number of obs.	192	145	337	195	113	308
Workplace safety violations						
Mean	0.115	0.359	-0.244***	0.185	0.301	-0.116**
Number of obs.	192	145	337	195	113	308

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: For each variable, means and number of observations are presented in columns 1, 2, 4, and 5, and the differences between the treatment and comparison groups in columns 3 and 6. The number of observations may not be equal to the total number of units surveyed because of missing information in the variable analyzed.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

4.2 Workers' Awareness of Resources in WRV Cases and Their Knowledge of Labor Rights

The next sections present the key outcomes related to workers' awareness of the CALs and other sources of assistance in cases of WRVs and to workers' knowledge of their labor rights.

The tables are structured as follows: first, descriptive statistics are presented for each outcome variable at baseline and follow-up, and then the unadjusted difference between the treatment and comparison groups at baseline and follow-up is reported, together with the statistical significance. Each descriptive table is then followed by a table presenting the impact regression adjusted results for the same outcomes obtained by estimating the DID model in Section 2.4.3, which represents the estimated impact of the project.

The results related to workers' awareness of free assistance resources in addressing WRVs are displayed in Exhibit 34. The data indicate that, at baseline, workers in the treatment group were more likely to know about the existence of free resources, including the CALs, relative to the comparison group. For example, 3.0 percent of workers in the treatment group vs. 0.9 percent in the comparison group knew about COLabora (4.7 percent vs. 1.9 percent at follow-up) as shown in the first row in the exhibit. The DID regression adjusted results for the various types of resources (not shown) indicate that there was not a differential change over time in the proportion of workers who reported knowing about free legal services, except for knowledge about the CALs.

Indeed, the data indicate that, at baseline, 10.2 percent of workers in the treatment area knew about the existence of the CALs, compared to only 2.7 percent in the comparison area.⁵⁶ This difference increased over time for the treatment group to 33.4 percent at follow-up, but

⁵⁶ Workers were interviewed at baseline in June and July 2014, just a few months after the nearest CAL, in Bucaramanga, had opened (March 2014). In addition, a few mobile CALs had already taken place in the municipalities covered by the survey. This may explain why some workers already knew about the CAL in the treatment region. It is also possible that workers were reporting their knowledge about the existence of other CALs that had been in operation for a longer time, for example, the Medellín CAL, which is located in the nearby Antioquia department.

remained relatively stable for the comparison group. The DID regression adjusted results in Exhibit 35 are consistent with the descriptive findings showing that there was an increase of 19.8 percentage points in the probability of knowing about the CALs at baseline and follow-up in the treatment group relative to the comparison group.

Although workers' knowledge of the CALs increased over time in the treatment area, a large proportion of workers did not know about them. This is likely related to the timing and coverage of the CALs' outreach efforts.⁵⁷ Indeed, while some mobile CALs targeting palm workers took place in the municipalities of San Alberto and Puerto Wilches, where most of the treatment workers lived, most of the mobile CALs dispatched between the baseline and follow-up surveys took place in different nearby municipalities. The data also indicate that, in most cases, fewer than 30 workers obtained assistance from each of the mobile CALs. Moreover, palm workers in these municipalities may face substantial transportation barriers to go to Bucaramanga, the nearest city, to get direct assistance. Taken together, these factors may explain the relatively limited knowledge (and use) of CAL services in the sample even though the Bucaramanga CAL had been operating for more than a year by the time of the follow-up survey.

⁵⁷ Information compiled from ENS's Technical Progress Reports (TPR) to ILAB.

Exhibit 34: Workers' Knowledge of CALs and Other Organizations Offering Assistance Services in WRV Cases (Research Question 1)

Variable	Baseline			Follow-Up		
	Treatment (1)	Comparison (2)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (3) = (1)–(2)	Treatment (4)	Comparison (5)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (6) = (4)–(5)
Knows COLabora						
Mean	0.030	0.009	0.021**	0.047	0.019	0.028**
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Knows union						
Mean	0.431	0.239	0.193***	0.494	0.276	0.218***
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Knows Ministry of Labor						
Mean	0.389	0.338	0.051	0.334	0.359	–0.025
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Knows legal clinics and universities						
Mean	0.100	0.048	0.051***	0.078	0.062	0.016
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Knows CALs						
Mean	0.102	0.027	0.075***	0.334	0.021	0.313***
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798
Knows other						
Mean	0.007	0.000	0.007	0.014	0.019	–0.005
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: For each variable, means and number of observations are presented in columns 1, 2, 4, and 5, and the differences between the treatment and comparison groups in columns 3 and 6. The number of observations may not be equal to the total number of units surveyed because of missing information in the variable analyzed.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

Exhibit 35: Knowledge of the CAL as an Organization Offering Free Assistance in WRV Cases, DID Estimates (Research Question 1)

Variable	DID Results
Knows CAL	
DID coefficient estimate	0.198***
SE	(0.034)
Number of obs.	1,424

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively. Robust standard errors shown in parentheses.

The descriptive statistics of the outcome variables related to workers' knowledge of labor rights are presented in Exhibit 36. The summary statistics do not indicate a clear pattern of changes in measures of workers' knowledge of labor rights over time. For example, at baseline, treatment group workers reported themselves to be more knowledgeable, on average, than did

comparison group workers (e.g., they were 20.3 percentage points more likely than comparison group members to report knowing some or all of their labor rights). If the CAL had an effect on the knowledge of workers in its area of influence, we would expect the self-reported knowledge of treatment group workers to increase more over time than the knowledge of comparison group workers. However, workers' knowledge remained relatively stable over time for both the treatment and comparison groups. The DID estimates presented in Exhibit 37 show no statistically significant changes over time in the treatment group relative to the comparison group.

As discussed in Section 2.4.2, the presence of a CAL in a region could also affect the knowledge of labor rights on the part of workers who were not CAL clients, through two main mechanisms: CAL clients could communicate their knowledge to other workers in the general population, or workers who were not CAL clients might become aware of the CALs through the outreach campaign and start to find out more about their labor rights. However, although the CAL campaign targeted workers, its scope was limited: it initially focused primarily on informing the public about CAL services, not necessarily directly educating about their labor rights. As such, it is likely that only workers who received CAL services would have directly benefited from the outreach campaign in terms of an increase in their knowledge of labor rights.

Exhibit 36: Workers' Knowledge of Their Labor Rights (Research Question 2)

Variable	Baseline			Follow-up		
	Treatment (1)	Comparison (2)	Difference Treatment- Comparison (3) = (1)-(2)	Treatment (4)	Comparison (5)	Difference Treatment- Comparison (6) = (4)-(5)
Worker's self-reported knowledge of labor rights						
<i>Worker feels well informed about all or some of his/her labor rights</i>						
Mean	0.726	0.523	0.203***	0.713	0.531	0.182***
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: For each variable, means and number of observations are presented in columns 1, 2, 4, and 5, and the differences between the treatment and comparison groups in columns 3 and 6. The number of observations may not be equal to the total number of units surveyed because of missing information in the variable analyzed.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

Exhibit 37: Workers' Knowledge of Their Labor Rights, DID Estimates (Research Question 2)

Variable	DID Results
Worker knows all or some of his/her labor rights	
DID coefficient estimate	-0.003
SE	(0.057)
Number of obs.	1,424

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively. Robust standard errors shown in parentheses.

4.3 Filing of Legal Claims and Direct Negotiation Behavior

As was shown in Exhibit 33, a relatively large proportion of workers reported experiencing a WRV within the previous 12 months. Exhibit 38 examines whether the probability of taking action to address these WRVs changed over time. The data indicate that, at baseline, workers in the treatment and comparison groups were equally likely to address their WRV directly with their employer: 72.4 percent in the treatment group and 71 percent in the comparison group. At follow-up, however, the corresponding figures were 42.1 percent and 60.2 percent, indicating that workers in both groups became less likely to engage in direct negotiations. However, the decrease was larger in the treatment group. The results for addressing the WRV directly with the employer also remained negative and statistically significant in the regression adjusted results, indicating a decline over time in the probability of engaging in direct negotiation with the employer in the treatment group relative to the comparison group (a 20.4 percentage point decrease, as shown in Exhibit 39). A possible explanation for this result is that filing a claim and negotiating directly with the employer are alternative ways of solving a WRV. It is possible that workers facing a WRV try to solve the problem directly with the employer; only when those negotiations are unsuccessful do the workers go to the CAL and try to file a legal claim to resolve the problem. Findings from the implementation evaluation site visit reveal a similar pattern among focus group workers. Either through their own initiative or because the company had a formal review process, the majority of workers had tried to discuss the issue with the employer before going to the CAL; however, most were dissatisfied with this avenue.

The second outcome, also shown in Exhibit 38, examines whether workers who experienced a WRV filed a legal claim using CAL services. As expected, the proportion of workers in the comparison group who used CAL services to file a legal claim did not change from baseline to follow-up, remaining at zero. This was expected, because the comparison group did not benefit from having a nearby CAL. In contrast, the proportion of workers in the treatment group who filed a legal claim using CAL services increased from 1 percent to 7.1 percent after the opening of the CAL.

Exhibit 38: Workers Who Took Action When They Were Aware That They Had Experienced a WRV (Research Question 3)

Variable	Baseline			Follow-Up		
	Treatment (1)	Comparison (2)	Difference Treatment- Comparison (3) = (1)–(2)	Treatment (4)	Comparison (5)	Difference Treatment- Comparison (6) = (4)–(5)
Worker addressed the WRV directly with the employer						
Mean	0.724	0.710	0.014	0.421	0.602	–0.181***
Number of obs.	192	145	337	195	113	308
Worker filed legal claim using CAL services						
Mean	0.010	0.000	0.010*	0.071	0.000	0.071***
Number of obs.	401	331	732	425	373	798

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: For each variable, means and number of observations are presented in columns 1, 2, 4, and 5, and the differences between the treatment and comparison groups in columns 3 and 6. The number of observations may not be equal to the total number of units surveyed because of missing information.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

The regression adjusted results (Exhibit 39) are consistent with the descriptive statistics; they show a statistically significant effect on the filing of legal claims using CAL services. The results indicate that the probability of filing a legal claim using CAL services increased over time by 13.5 percentage points in the treatment group relative to the comparison group.

Exhibit 39: Workers Who Took Action When They Were Aware That They Had Experienced a WRV, DID Estimates (Research Question 3)

Variable	DID Results
Worker addressed WRV directly with the employer	
DID coefficient estimate	-0.204**
SE	(0.098)
Number of obs.	603
Worker filed legal claim using CAL services	
DID coefficient estimate	0.135***
SE	(0.036)
Number of obs.	603

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

Robust standard errors shown in parentheses.

The results associated with the types of legal instruments used and the resolution of the legal claim were generally not statistically significant given the small sample sizes, which resulted in large standard errors. These results therefore are not reported. The rest of the discussion focuses on research questions 6 and 7.

4.4 No-Shows

Exhibit 40 displays descriptive statistics for no-shows. No-shows are classified here into three types: (1) workers who experience a WRV but do not seek any assistance because they are not aware of the WRV; (2) workers who, despite being aware of experiencing a WRV, do not know how to obtain help; and (3) workers who, despite being aware of experiencing a WRV, decide not to seek help.

We would expect the CAL and its outreach efforts to impact the first type of no-shows if the lack of awareness about WRVs decreased over time in the treatment group relative to the comparison group, or if it increased at a slower rate. The data indicate that the incidence of the first type of no-show increased over time among both treatment and comparison group workers (from 33.3 percent to 44.6 percent in the treatment group, and from 49.1 to 56.2 percent in the comparison group). However, the regression adjusted results in Exhibit 41 show no statistically significant differences between the treatment and comparison groups over time.

Indeed, this type of no-show is likely to be the most difficult for the intervention to affect in the expected direction, given the initially limited scope of the CAL outreach campaign.

The incidence of the other two types of no-shows declined over time in both groups; for example, the proportion of workers who did not seek help decreased from 47.4 percent to 30.8 percent in the treatment group and from 57.9 to 52.2 percent in the comparison group between baseline and follow-up. The DID regression adjusted estimates shown in Exhibit 41 indicate that there was a marginal statistically significant decrease over time in the third type of no-show, by 15.9 percentage points, suggesting that fewer people experiencing a WRV decided not to seek help. This provides some suggestive evidence that the availability of CAL services removes some barriers related to lack of access to available legal services for workers experiencing a WRV.

Exhibit 40: Types of No-Shows (Research Question 6)

Variable	Baseline			Follow-Up		
	Treatment (1)	Comparison (2)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (3) = (1)-(2)	Treatment (4)	Comparison (5)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (6) = (4)-(5)
Worker experienced a WRV but is not aware of it						
Mean	0.333	0.491	-0.158***	0.446	0.562	-0.116***
Number of obs.	288	285	573	352	258	610
Worker experienced a WRV and is aware of it but does not know how to obtain help						
Mean	0.167	0.283	-0.116**	0.123	0.204	-0.080*
Number of obs.	192	145	337	195	113	308
Worker experienced a WRV and is aware of it but decided not to seek help						
Mean	0.474	0.579	-0.105*	0.308	0.522	-0.214***
Number of obs.	192	145	337	195	113	308

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: For each variable, means and number of observations are presented in columns 1, 2, 4, and 5, and the differences between the treatment and comparison groups in columns 3 and 6.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

Exhibit 41: Types of No-Shows, DID Estimates (Research Question 6)

Variable	DID Results
Worker experienced a WRV but is not aware of it	
DID coefficient estimate	0.062
SE	(0.066)
Number of obs.	1,100
Worker experienced a WRV and is aware of it but does not know how to obtain help	
DID coefficient estimate	0.090
SE	(0.079)
Number of obs.	603
Worker experienced a WRV and is aware of it but decided not to seek help	

Variable	DID Results
DID coefficient estimate	-0.159*
SE	(0.096)
Number of obs.	603

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively. Robust standard errors shown in parentheses.

4.5 Indirect Hiring

As described in Section 2.4, there is evidence of ongoing indirect hiring of workers through workers' cooperatives and simplified stock companies (SAS) even though workers are engaged in the "normal and permanent activities" of the company. Companies use these indirect hiring mechanisms to avoid complying with labor rights laws. The CALs have no activities planned to reduce illegal hiring. However, there may still be some indirect effect on these illegal practices. As companies and workers learn more about workers' labor rights, there may be incentives to reduce illegal hiring. The following exhibits show the prevalence of indirect hiring in the treatment region relative to the comparison region.

The unadjusted differences in means are displayed in Exhibit 42, and Exhibit 43 presents the regression adjusted results. The unadjusted differences in means indicate that the prevalence of indirect hiring decreased over time in both the treatment group (from 38.4 percent to 26.6 percent, columns 1 and 4) and the comparison group (from 49.5 percent to 45 percent, columns 2 and 5), although at a faster rate in the treatment group. The regression adjusted results are consistent with the unadjusted differences in means and show a 14.3 percentage point decline over time in the probability of indirect hiring in the treatment group relative to the comparison group.

These results, however, should be interpreted with caution given the difficulty of linking this outcome to the CALs' implementation activities and should be viewed as just suggestive and descriptive evidence.

Exhibit 42: Indirect Hiring (Research Question 7)

Variable	Baseline			Follow-Up		
	Treatment (1)	Comparison (2)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (3) = (1)-(2)	Treatment (4)	Comparison (5)	Difference Treatment-Comparison (6) = (4)-(5)
Worker hired indirectly						
Mean	0.384	0.494	-0.110***	0.266	0.450	-0.185***
Number of obs.	401	330	731	425	373	798

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: For each variable, means and number of observations are presented in columns 1, 2, 4, and 5, and differences between the treatment and comparison groups in columns 3 and 6. The number of observations may not be equal to the total number of units surveyed because of missing information in the variable analyzed. ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

Exhibit 43: Indirect Hiring, DID Estimates (Research Question 7)

Variable	DID Results
Worker hired indirectly	
Post-coefficient	-0.143***
SE	(0.046)
Number of obs.	1,423

Source: General Population Survey, 2014-2015

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively. Robust standard errors shown in parentheses.

4.6 Summary of the General Population Analysis

This evaluation estimated the impact of CAL services on a general population of workers living in a region close to a new CAL (treatment group), compared to workers living in a region with similar characteristics, but with no nearby CAL (comparison group). The evaluation used a DID methodology. Workers included in this evaluation may or may not have experienced a workers’ rights violation.

The main research questions addressed by this evaluation are whether workers learned about the existence of CAL services, improved their knowledge of their labor rights, were more likely to take action when experiencing a WRV, and whether the likelihood of no-shows (those who took no action) decreased. The study’s primary focus was on palm oil workers because this is one of the priority sectors targeted by the new Bucaramanga CAL. The majority of workers in the treatment group came from the municipalities relatively close to the Bucaramanga CAL. The majority of workers in the comparison group came from municipalities near the city of Villavicencio, in the Meta department.

The results of the analysis indicate that workers in the treatment group, compared to those in the comparison group, were more likely to know about the existence of the CALs approximately one and a half years after the opening of the Bucaramanga CAL. There was also an increase in the likelihood that workers would file a legal claim using CAL services. We find no statistically significant changes in workers’ knowledge of labor rights. This is not surprising given that, although the CAL campaign targeted workers, its initial scope was limited: it focused primarily on increasing demand for CAL services, not necessarily on teaching workers about their labor rights. As such, it is likely that only workers who received CAL services would have directly benefited from the outreach campaign in terms of an increase in their knowledge of labor rights.

We also find no statistically significant effects for no-shows, except for a marginally statistically significant decrease over time in the third type of no-show (i.e., those who are aware of WRVs

but decide not to seek help). This provides some suggestive evidence that the availability of CAL services might remove some barriers related to lack of access to available legal services for workers experiencing a WRV.

There is still potential for CAL services to reach a wider population of workers in the surrounding regions. However, this ability to expand is contingent on two factors: (1) the resources of the Bucaramanga CAL and (2) the overall project strategy to effect long-term change. According to the implementation evaluation findings, the Bucaramanga CAL seems to be already operating at full capacity in terms of the number of individual workers it can effectively assist. In addition, the ENS project leaders do not believe that individual legal assistance is the best strategy to effect long-term change. According to the program logic, lasting impact would best be achieved through emblematic (strategic) cases that have the potential to benefit a greater number of workers.

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This report presents the end-of-project impact evaluation for the project *Strengthening Protections of Internationally Recognized Labor Rights in Colombia*. The project is designed to address Colombian workers' lack of access to safe mechanisms through which they can address workers' rights violations. The main purpose of this evaluation was to estimate the impact of CAL services on workers' labor-related complaints and their resolution and on CAL clients' knowledge of their labor rights. Although the specificity of the population targeted by the program and by the evaluation means that the results of this study may not be readily applicable to other contexts, the issues raised are potentially relevant in many contexts.

The evaluation team designed two separate evaluations. The first, the *Evaluation of the Effect of CAL Services on CAL Clients*, aimed to measure the effect of the CALs on complaints-related outcomes among CAL clients, using a PPP methodology. The second, the *Evaluation of Workers' Use of Labor Rights Protection Mechanisms*, measured the effect of the CALs and their outreach efforts on a general population of workers using a twin region/city comparison group and a DID approach. This study described the potential benefits of CAL services among both direct CAL clients and a more general population of workers.

The evaluation of the effect of CAL services on CAL clients covered two cohorts of workers interviewed at two different points in time, both composed of workers who had actionable workers' rights violations and visited the CAL for the first time. The results of the PPP analysis, using first cohort data, show that, while few clients had taken legal action before coming to the CAL, the probability of filing a legal claim after receiving CAL services in Bogotá increased by 16.6 percentage points (a 286 percent effect with respect to the baseline mean of 5.8 percent). After receiving CAL services in Medellín, the probability of filing a legal claim increased by 11.7 percentage points (an increase of 118 percent with respect to the baseline mean of 9.9 percent). Results for the second cohort are also positive and have an even larger magnitude.

Even though the data show an increase in the prevalence of filing legal claims after visiting a CAL, still a large fraction of clients do not file a claim after their first visit. The main reasons for this seem to fall outside of CALs' control. Since CALs were designed to primarily help clients with the *preparation* needed for filing claims, they cannot directly file legal claims for workers. It is up to the workers to physically submit their claim to the corresponding authority. Thus, whether a claim is filed or not depends, partially, on factors outside the control of the CALs. At the same time, initial data suggest that CALs do help reduce some of the barriers that workers face to filing legal claims.

The data seem also to indicate that the main reasons for not filing a legal claim were not related to lack of assistance (which was the primary barrier CAL services were intended to remove), but rather to workers' idiosyncratic circumstances and the effort required to pursue legal claims. Qualitative evidence collected during the final implementation evaluation site visit seems to corroborate this explanation.

The results for both the first and second cohorts also show that workers reported that they felt more confident in their knowledge of their labor rights and about how to file labor-related complaints after visiting the CALs. Again, this seems to be broadly consistent with the qualitative evidence obtained during the site visits. Although the evaluation team did not ask specifically about participants' level of knowledge during the focus groups with CAL clients, one of the main reasons workers expressed satisfaction with the assistance received at the CALs was that they felt significantly better informed about their labor situation and legal options, even in the cases with which the CAL law student interns could no longer help them.

Overall, the results of the PPP analysis suggest that some positive changes occurred among CAL clients after visiting CAL offices. A general limitation of any pre-post analysis is that, in the absence of a comparison group, it is more difficult to attribute observed changes in outcomes to the intervention because some of these changes could have occurred even in the absence of the intervention.

Moreover, this study could capture only relatively short-term effects among CAL clients, and workers could continue pursuing legal claims on their own after the time of follow-up. This suggests that it is important for CALs to set up a robust system to track workers consistently over time, even after they have visited the offices, to capture both short-term and long-term effects.

While the first evaluation looked at the direct effect of established CALs on CAL clients, the *Evaluation of Workers' Use of Labor Rights Protection Mechanisms* used a DID analysis to assess the impact of the opening of the new Bucaramanga CAL on a specific group of workers (palm oil workers) to assess whether the CALs also had community-level effects in specific municipalities near the CALs. Specifically, the second evaluation assessed the impact of the opening of the new Bucaramanga CAL on workers' knowledge and take-up rate of CAL services.

The results of the DID analysis show that, after the opening of the Bucaramanga CAL, workers living in its area of influence increased their knowledge of CALs as an organization offering free assistance in case of WRVs by 19.8 percentage points, with respect to workers living in the comparison region without access to a nearby CAL. This represents a 194 percent effect with respect to the treatment group baseline mean of 10.2 percent. This finding shows that the Bucaramanga CAL was able to promote the services it provides among workers living nearby.

In addition, there was an increase in the likelihood that workers would file a legal claim using CAL services, although the use of CAL services was still limited in this population. Specifically, after the Bucaramanga CAL opened, the probability of filing a legal claim using CAL services, among those experiencing a WRV and being aware of it, increased by 13.5 percentage points, with respect to the comparison group (a 135 percent effect with respect to the treatment group baseline mean of 1 percent). However, the use of CAL services to file a legal claim was still relatively low in this population. Only 7 percent of workers in the area of influence of the Bucaramanga CAL had filed a legal claim using CAL services. This is not surprising given the

geographic coverage of mobile CALs and the fact that palm workers may find it difficult to travel to the city (Bucaramanga) to get direct assistance at the local CAL office.

Despite these positive changes, there was still a large proportion of workers who did not know about or use CAL services to file a legal claim, which suggests that there is still potential to reach more workers, if that was one of the objectives of the Bucaramanga CAL. This finding is also in line with the findings of the implementation evaluation, which suggest that the project appears to have been more effective at reaching the urban population than the rural population. The potential to reach more workers has to be considered in combination with the implementation evaluation finding showing that most CALs do not have the physical capacity to assist a larger number of workers than they are currently helping, given their current office sizes.

This was ILAB's first impact evaluation of a technical assistance project that focuses on worker rights; as such, this was a good start. Overall, the results of this evaluation look promising. Indeed, the main results from the CAL client analyses indicate that the established CALs in Bogotá and Medellín seem to have benefited the workers using the services: workers are more likely to take legal actions to defend their labor rights and appear to be more self-confident about their knowledge of labor rights and their understanding of the process for filing labor-related complaints. The data collected for the second evaluation suggest the potential for the Bucaramanga CAL to reach a wider population of workers in the surrounding regions in one of the key priority sectors, palm oil, although more aggressive outreach strategies will probably be needed to observe large impacts in the general population.

Nonetheless, the findings support the qualitative findings from the implementation evaluation, which found that this project is a valuable project that has contributed to the immediate goal of assisting workers in their ability to defend their labor rights by providing them with basic legal assistance. Given the Colombian context (e.g., history of anti-union violence) and the high demand from workers in general for assistance of this kind from workers' rights centers, these are important and valuable takeaways of this evaluation.

APPENDIX 1: CAL FIRST COHORT ADDITIONAL RESULTS

Exhibit 44: Probability of Filing a Legal Claim, by Type of WRV, PPP Regression Results, First Cohort

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Nonpayment of wages, wage adjustments, or other job-related benefits		
Post-coefficient	0.168***	0.112**
SE	(0.035)	(0.045)
Number of obs.	1,286	971
Wrongful dismissal		
Post-coefficient	0.226***	0.128**
SE	(0.052)	(0.053)
Number of obs.	1,286	971
Harassment		
Post-coefficient	0.125	0.040
SE	(0.076)	(0.065)
Number of obs.	1,286	971
Other		
Post-coefficient	0.096	0.125
SE	(0.063)	(0.085)
Number of obs.	1,286	971

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

Robust cluster standard errors shown in parentheses.

Exhibit 45: Types of Legal Claims Filed, PPP Regression Results, First Cohort (Research Question 2)

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Tutela		
Post-coefficient	0.046	0.050
SE	(0.171)	(0.062)
Number of obs.	191	171
Right to Petition		
Post-coefficient	-0.119	-0.364***
SE	(0.168)	(0.131)
Number of obs.	191	171
Labor Demand		
Post-coefficient	-0.003	0.313**
SE	(0.176)	(0.150)
Number of obs.	191	171
Other		
Post-coefficient	0.076	0.001
SE	(0.162)	(0.111)
Number of obs.	191	171

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively. Robust cluster standard errors shown in parentheses.

Exhibit 46: Outcome of Legal Claims and Addressing WRV Directly with Employer, PPP Regression Results, First Cohort (Research Questions 3 and 4)

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Worker obtained a favorable resolution		
Post-coefficient	0.009	0.096
SE	(0.020)	(0.061)
Number of obs.	191	171
Worker is satisfied with the resolution		
Post-coefficient	0.009	0.024
SE	(0.020)	(0.137)
Number of obs.	191	171
Problem was resolved satisfactorily with the employer		
Post-coefficient	0.174***	0.090*
SE	(0.030)	(0.051)
Number of obs.	847	634

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively. Robust cluster standard errors shown in parentheses.

Exhibit 47: Workers' Knowledge of Labor Rights and Use of Mechanisms to File Labor-Related Complaints, PPP Regression Results, First Cohort (Research Question 5)

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Self-reported knowledge of labor rights		
<i>Knows all or some of his/her labor rights</i>		
Post-coefficient	0.225***	0.299***
SE	(0.031)	(0.031)
Number of obs.	702	698
Worker knows how to file a labor complaint		
Post-coefficient	0.541***	0.609***
SE	(0.029)	(0.029)
Number of obs.	702	698

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2014-2015.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

Robust cluster standard errors shown in parentheses.

APPENDIX 2: CAL SECOND COHORT ADDITIONAL RESULTS

Exhibit 48: Workers' Sociodemographic Characteristics, Second Cohort

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Women		
Mean	0.468	0.475
Number of obs.	357	278
Age (years)		
Mean	39.249	38.579
Number of obs.	357	278
Belongs to a union		
Mean	0.011	0.029
Number of obs.	357	278
Lives in an urban area		
Mean	0.978	0.928
Number of obs.	357	278
Socioeconomic stratification (stratum 3 or lower)		
Mean	0.965	0.964
Number of obs.	346	275
Belongs to a subsidized health plan		
Mean	0.232	0.209
Number of obs.	357	278
Black, mulato, or indigenous		
Mean	0.042	0.112
Number of obs.	357	278
Married or living with partner for two years or more		
Mean	0.496	0.468
Number of obs.	357	278
Highest level of schooling achieved		
<i>Primary or less</i>		
Mean	0.179	0.216
Number of obs.	357	278
<i>High school or less (but more than primary)</i>		
Mean	0.487	0.493
Number of obs.	357	278
<i>More than high school</i>		
Mean	0.333	0.291
Number of obs.	357	278
Displaced by violence		
Mean	0.106	0.255
Number of obs.	357	278

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016.

Note: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

Exhibit 49: How Workers Learned about CAL Services, Second Cohort

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
How worker came to know about the CAL		
Union		
Mean	0.011	0.022
Number of obs.	357	278
Ministry of Labor		
Mean	0.580	0.475
Number of obs.	357	278
Family/Friends/Coworkers		
Mean	0.283	0.392
Number of obs.	357	278
Internet		
Mean	0.031	0.036
Number of obs.	357	278
TV/newspaper/radio/volante/campaign		
Mean	0.008	0.011
Number of obs.	357	278
Other means		
Mean	0.165	0.112
Number of obs.	357	278
Whether worker returned to CAL after first visit		
Mean	0.283	0.332
Number of obs.	357	277

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016.

Note: Responses may not add up to 100 percent because people could select multiple response options.

Exhibit 50: Workplace Characteristics of Job Where WRV Occurred, Second Cohort

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
WRV occurred in current job		
Mean	0.199	0.381
Number of obs.	357	278
Sector of employment where WRV occurred		
Service sector		
Mean	0.497	0.284
Number of obs.	356	278
Commerce		
Mean	0.110	0.133
Number of obs.	356	278
Construction		
Mean	0.048	0.140
Number of obs.	356	278
Manufacturing		
Mean	0.017	0.043
Number of obs.	356	278

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Transportation		
Mean	0.062	0.050
Number of obs.	356	278
Other		
Mean	0.267	0.349
Number of obs.	356	278
Years in job		
Mean	3.857	4.100
Number of obs.	356	278
Average number of hours worked per day		
Mean	9.798	9.547
Number of obs.	356	278
Average earnings per month (in US\$)		
Mean	474.8	296.5
Number of obs.	346	265
Ministry of Labor inspector visit to workplace		
Mean	0.011	0.045
Number of obs.	349	242

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016.

Notes: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

Number of observations may not add up to total because of missing values in a few variables.

Exhibit 51: Number and Types of Current WRVs Reported at the CAL, Second Cohort

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Number of current WRVs reported at the CAL		
Reported 1 WRV		
Mean	0.557	0.410
Number of obs.	357	278
Reported 2 WRV		
Mean	0.224	0.324
Number of obs.	357	278
Reported 3+ WRV		
Mean	0.218	0.266
Number of obs.	357	278
Type of current WRV		
Workplace harassment		
Mean	0.190	0.248
Number of obs.	357	278
Nonpayment of wages, wage adjustments or other job-related benefits		
Mean	0.829	0.701
Number of obs.	357	278
Nonrecognition of union rights		
Mean	0.011	0.018
Number of obs.	357	278
Workplace safety violations		
Mean	0.067	0.201
Number of obs.	357	278
Compensation for wrongful dismissal		
Mean	0.241	0.367
Number of obs.	357	278
Other		
Mean	0.022	0.032
Number of obs.	357	278

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016.

Note: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

Exhibit 52: Probability of Filing a Legal Claim, by WRV, PPP Regression Results, Second Cohort

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Nonpayment of wages		
Post-coefficient	0.276***	0.292***
SE	(0.050)	(0.077)
Number of obs.	1,275	1,167
Wrongful dismissal		
Post-coefficient	0.282***	0.420***
SE	(0.060)	(0.073)
Number of obs.	1,275	1,167
Harassment		
Post-coefficient	0.329***	0.304**

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
SE	(0.070)	(0.126)
Number of obs.	1,275	1,167
Other		
Post-coefficient	0.211***	0.255**
SE	(0.076)	(0.107)
Number of obs.	1,275	1,167

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

Robust cluster standard errors shown in parentheses.

Exhibit 53: Types of Legal Claims Filed, Second Cohort (Research Question 2)

Variable	Bogotá			Medellín		
	Baseline (1)	Follow-up (2)	Difference (3) = (2)-(1)	Baseline (4)	Follow-up (5)	Difference (6)=(5)-(4)
Tutela						
Mean	0.318	0.231	-0.087	0.256	0.576	0.320***
Number of obs.	22	147	169	43	172	215
Right to Petition						
Mean	0.318	0.211	-0.107	0.465	0.122	-0.343***
Number of obs.	22	147	169	43	172	215
Labor Demand						
Mean	0.182	0.429	0.247**	0.233	0.192	-0.041
Number of obs.	22	147	169	43	172	215
Other						
Mean	0.182	0.129	-0.053	0.047	0.110	0.064
Number of obs.	22	147	169	43	172	215

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016

Notes: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

Robust cluster standard errors shown in parentheses.

Exhibit 54: Types of Legal Claims Filed, PPP Regression Results, Second Cohort (Research Question 2)

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Tutela		
Post-coefficient	0.255	0.182
SE	(0.347)	(0.158)
Number of obs.	169	215
Right to Petition		
Post-coefficient	-0.237	-0.065
SE	(0.244)	(0.115)
Number of obs.	169	215
Labor Demand		
Post-coefficient	0.133	-0.234
SE	(0.249)	(0.181)

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Number of obs.	169	215
Other		
Post-coefficient	-0.151	0.117
SE	(0.198)	(0.136)
Number of obs.	169	215

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively. Robust cluster standard errors shown in parentheses.

The top panel of Exhibit 55 describes what happens to the legal claim once it is filed. In Medellín there was a positive and statistically significant result for the probability of obtaining a favorable resolution to the legal claim and being satisfied with the resolution (a 18.6 and 14.5 percentage point increase in the unadjusted difference that remains positive and statistically significant in the regression adjusted results, as shown in Exhibit 56). The second panel in Exhibit 55 indicates that, in both cities, there was an increase in the percentage of CAL clients who were able to satisfactorily address their WRV by engaging in direct negotiation with their employer (from almost 0 percent at baseline to about 16 percent at follow-up). The results remain positive and statistically significant also in the regression adjusted estimates (Exhibit 56), although smaller in absolute value for Medellín. This mirrors the pattern of results obtained for the first cohort.

Exhibit 55: Outcome of Legal Claims Filed and WRVs Addressed Directly with the Employer, Second Cohort (Research Questions 3 and 4)

Variable	Bogotá			Medellín		
	Baseline (1)	Follow-up (2)	Difference (3) = (2)-(1)	Baseline (4)	Follow-up (5)	Difference (6)=(5)-(4)
Workers who filed a legal claim						
<i>Worker obtained a favorable resolution</i>						
Mean	0.136	0.116	-0.021	0.023	0.209	0.186***
Number of obs.	22	147	169	43	172	215
<i>Worker is satisfied with the resolution</i>						
Mean	0.091	0.102	0.011	0.047	0.192	0.145**
Number of obs.	22	147	169	43	172	215
Workers who addressed the WRV directly with the employer						
<i>Employer solved the problem satisfactorily</i>						
Mean	0.007	0.165	0.158***	0.002	0.163	0.161***
Number of obs.	437	418	855	419	368	787

Notes: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted

***, **, and * indicate statistically significant differences at 1, 5 and 10 percent level, respectively

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016

Exhibit 56: Outcome of the Legal Claim Filed and WRVs Addressed Directly with the Employer, PPP Regression Results, Second Cohort (Research Questions 3 and 4)

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Worker obtained a favorable resolution		
Post-coefficient	0.188	0.259**
SE	(0.225)	(0.125)
Number of obs.	169	215
Worker is satisfied with the resolution		
Post-coefficient	0.205	0.195*
SE	(0.222)	(0.110)
Number of obs.	169	215
Employer solved the problem satisfactorily		
Post-coefficient	0.207***	0.084**
SE	(0.043)	(0.038)
Number of obs.	850	785

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016.

Notes: ***, **, and * indicate statistically significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively. Robust cluster standard errors shown in parentheses.

Exhibit 57: Workers' Knowledge of Labor Rights and Use of Mechanisms to Initiate/File Labor-Related Complaints, PPP Regression Results, Second Cohort (Research Question 5)

Variable	Bogotá			Medellín		
	Baseline (1)	Follow-up (2)	Difference (3)=(2)-(1)	Baseline (4)	Follow-up (5)	Difference (6)=(5)-(4)
Self-reported knowledge of labor rights						
Worker knows some or all of his/her labor rights						
Mean	0.367	0.563	0.196***	0.399	0.590	0.191***
Number of obs.	357	357	714	278	278	556
Worker knows how to file a labor complaint						
Mean	0.090	0.611	0.521***	0.061	0.698	0.637***
Number of obs.	357	357	714	278	278	556

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016.

Notes: Variables are expressed as indicators, unless otherwise noted.

***, **, and * indicate statistical significant differences at 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

Exhibit 58: Workers' Knowledge of Labor Rights and Use of Mechanisms to Initiate/File Labor-Related Complaints, PPP Regression Results, Second Cohort (Research Question 5)

Variable	Bogotá	Medellín
Self-reported knowledge of labor rights		
<i>Knows all or some of his/her labor rights</i>		
Post-coefficient	0.195***	0.191***
SE	(0.031)	(0.033)
Number of obs.	714	556
Worker knows how to file a labor complaint		
Post-coefficient	0.521***	0.635***
SE	(0.030)	(0.029)
Number of obs.	714	556

Source: CAL Clients Survey, 2015-2016.

***, **, and * indicate statistical significant results at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

Robust cluster standard errors shown in parentheses.