

# FROM ARROGANT MODEL TO LAZY MODEL

— DEVELOPMENTAL AID PROJECT DESIGN :  
THE BANGKOK SLUM EMPLOYMENT PROMOTION PROJECT<sup>1)</sup>—

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Japanese social welfare research has shown little interest in either the field of work/labour or in the study of project design that falls between policy and practice. This paper records the designing of a work/labour-related project and constructs a general model for project design. The project was designed and implemented by the author, Development Specialist, ILO Expert, during 1992-1994. All substantial matters of the project such as current situation of Bangkok slums, the present status of the project and policy and other implications are discussed in other paper. (Akimoto: 34-40, 8-22, 2-7)

The Bangkok Slum Employment Promotion Project is a two year employment promotion/income generation project aimed at poverty alleviation under Strategic Approaches Towards Employment Promotion (SATEP, later renamed PEP). PEP is an ILO/JAPAN multi-bi project which has also been implemented in the Philippines since 1989.

The first half of the paper describes the outline of the project and then the brief summary of pilot projects (=micro subprojects) proposed by and implemented in slum communities. The second half extracts some salient characteristics from the experience and a generalization will be attempted.

## I. INITIAL PROJECT DESIGN & MICRO SUB PROJECTS

### 1. Outline of the Initial Design

#### (1) Project Background: Urban Projects in PEP

For the past four years, "PEP in Thailand and Philippines has been almost exclusively focused on rural areas." (ILO:11) In Thailand, three poor rural areas, Si Saket, Pattani and Chiang Rai were the main project sites.

An urban pilot project, small in scale as it is, has been added at the very last stage of the PEP Thai chapter programme<sup>2)</sup> in order to make it more holistic as an anti-poverty employment promotion programme and hopefully to derive some lessons for future programme design, poli-

cy formulation and organization building. The construction of a design model for future projects is a hidden agenda.

(The original project proposal includes details, (i) prodoc's requirement, (ii) informal sector studies done in the past and (iii) Thonburi project which was implemented and failed in 1990-91, but are omitted here.)

## (2) Objectives

### (i) Development Objective:

1. To demonstrate the possibility of a self-sustainable employment programme through pilot projects.

2. (1) To promote interest in "employment" among slum leaders.

(2) To strengthen administrative institutions' capability to promote employment among the urban poor.

(3) To provide data and experience for policy formulation in this field.

### (ii) Immediate Objective:

1. To create 60 jobs (wage- or self-employment) which would bring about a sustainable increase in household income of 25 per cent within the duration of the project.

2. To lead the pilot projects, which will be undertaken by governments, NGOs, etc., to sustainable and replicable projects at the end of the programme period.

## (3) Target Group/Intended Beneficiaries

The target population consists of slum workers in the Bangkok Metropolitan area. See (4) Project Strategies (vi)-(viii) below.

## (4) Project Strategies

There were eight main project strategies:

### (i) Learn from and follow the rural PEP

The Thai Chapter Project having been implemented over four years, the Bangkok urban project should pay special attention in its design and operation to its consistency with existing rural pilot projects and other activities. Also lessons from past practice should be drawn as much as possible.

### (ii) Larger role of counterpart

At this very last stage of the Thai Chapter project and with four years of work experience, the Thai Government counterpart (Department of Labour, DOL) should play a larger role, being more independent of ILO and taking more initiative in the whole process of the project—design, implementation, evaluation and future strategy.<sup>9)</sup>

### (iii) Employment-oriented, not training-oriented

The project should not be training-oriented but employment-oriented. Difficulty now exists not in finding employment at the end of training, but in guaranteeing employment in the case of wage employment and in finding and maintaining markets for products and services, or securing distribution channel, in case of self-employment.

Another difficulty may exist if participants become a self-managing group at the end of the project in which case it must maintain its cohesion as a group for collective work.

(iv) Local initiative<sup>9</sup>

“Local initiative” does not stop at the level of decentralization of government administration, even though some international organizations’ projects define it as such, but goes down to the level of people’s initiative. The programme demands as much involvement of target and related groups as possible in each process of the project—design, implementation, monitoring and feedback.

(v) Pilot project

The project must be a micro intervention, not a macro study. “Being a pilot project<sup>9</sup>” has two meanings: (1) Projects should be, hopefully, experimental, creative and replicable, and (2) the budget is small. Only seed money is provided.

(vi) Communities with good leadership

Communities with well-established leadership are selected as project sites, simply because of the time constraint. Establishing leadership and nursing the community’s cohesiveness are certainly the most important and difficult aspects of this type of community work, but the project skips this process.

(vii) A poorest slum to be included

At least one of the poorest slums should be hope-

fully included as a project site, to avoid “creaming”, a phenomenon that selects only the top layer of the target group<sup>9</sup>.

(viii) Supplemental income project acceptable

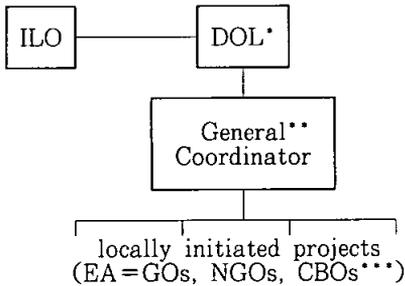
The project does not necessarily have to aim at providing full-time jobs or the major income source for households. Part-time jobs which provide supplemental income would also be acceptable<sup>9</sup>. If successful, the project could provide full-time jobs and major family income to some participants in future. Even “employment” which may include some types of community work, could be acceptable. Of course primary income generation projects are preferred.

(5) Organizational Framework

(i) Structure

The organizational structure of the project is shown in Figure 1. Daily operations and supervision of pilot projects are to be carried out by each executing agency (EA), while monitoring and evaluation are the main responsibility of the General Coordinator (GC) who also functions as facilitator, technical adviser and troubleshooter. The overall responsibility for the project resides in ILO/Thai Government Counterpart (DOL). ILO’s working with and through the DOL was a prerequisite of PEP given by the donor (Japanese Ministry of Labour). The project office is located in DOL.

Figure 1 : Organizational Structure



\* DOL=Department of Labour, Ministry of Interior ; The project was later transferred to the Department of Skill Development, Ministry of Interior, and again to the Department of Employment, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, due to the reorganization of the Thai Government.

\*\* Conferring with ILO and DOL, the General Coordinator executes all matters necessary for designing, implementing, monitoring, evaluating and running the programme smoothly and successfully. He/ She makes reports to ILO and DOL regularly and at their request. The General Coordinator is also expected to work closely on a specific pilot project.

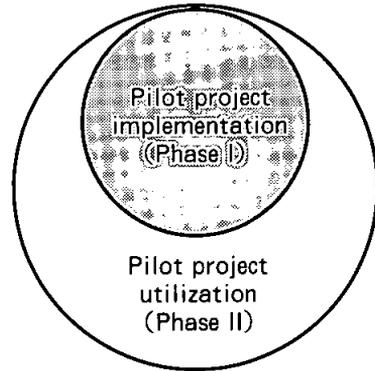
\*\*\* EA =Executing Agencies ; CBO=Community-Based Organization

(ii) Reorganization

ILO, DOL and the General Coordinator were supposed to work as a team, which was the original idea of the project. The team concept was, however, abandoned when the project was transferred to DSD and then DOE. The working relationship was redesigned as in Figure 2.

In the modified scheme, the General Coordinator is in charge of pilot project implementation and DSD/DOE of its utilization, e. g. awareness raising, networking, programme replication/expansion and reflection to policy formulation and institution building.

Figure 2 : Division of Work



The overall responsibility of the Bangkok Project (including Phase I): DSD/DOE

Pilot project implementation: EA-GC

Pilot project utilization: DSD/DOE

(6) Monitoring and Evaluation

(i) The central operational mechanism is tripartite monthly meetings held at 2:00 p.m. on the third Monday of every month between ILO, DOL and GC. Information exchange, progress reports, strategy building and various other discussions and decisions take place.

(ii) Executing Agencies send 1-2 page monthly reports in Thai to GC, progress reports every 6 months and the final evaluation report at the end of the project. The latter two are written in English and sent to ILO through GC. DOL sends monthly reports after their field visits to ILO<sup>9</sup>. GC makes monthly progress reports orally and the baseline research report, 6 month interim reports and the final evaluation report in written form to ILO.

(7) Schedule

The original timetable given in the project pro-

posal was as follows:

– 31 Dec. 1992

Call for proposals and the selection of candidate organizations and programme sites.

Jan. 1993

Refine the proposals adopted and make the official project proposals to ILO

Feb.–March

Preparatory stage

April

Implementation

Oct.

Monitoring evaluation

Mar. 1994

1st annual evaluation

Dec.

The termination of the project (The programme must become self-sustainable by this time).

## (8) Budget

Coordinator (2 years)	US\$	10,000
Direct project expenses		40,000
Common Expenses		10,000
<hr/>		
Total		60,000

The total project budget is US\$ 60,000. At least two thirds of it should be used for direct intervention. The total amount is secured as a block grant.

## 2. Summary of Micro intervention Subprojects

The Bangkok Slum Project consists of two major parts: (1) the implementation of pilot projects (=micro subprojects)<sup>9</sup> and (2) the reflection of the experience gained from these

projects onto future programme design, policy formulation and administrative structure. The micro subprojects are briefly described in this section. A meeting on "The Future of Slums and Their Employment Prospects" was held in Bangkok on 3-4 March 1994 for the second purpose, but is described elsewhere. (Akimoto : 39-40)

### (1) Project sites

Four pilot projects by three executing agencies—a NGO, a university and a GO—have been selected and implemented in the pilot project component. Figure 3 shows the project sites as well as the district where a new network project will be implemented.

Two communities, Klong Toey and Bung Phra Ram Khao Pattana, are typical central city slums and the other two, Petch Siam and Suwan Prasit, are communities of ex-slum people who were evicted from central city slums.

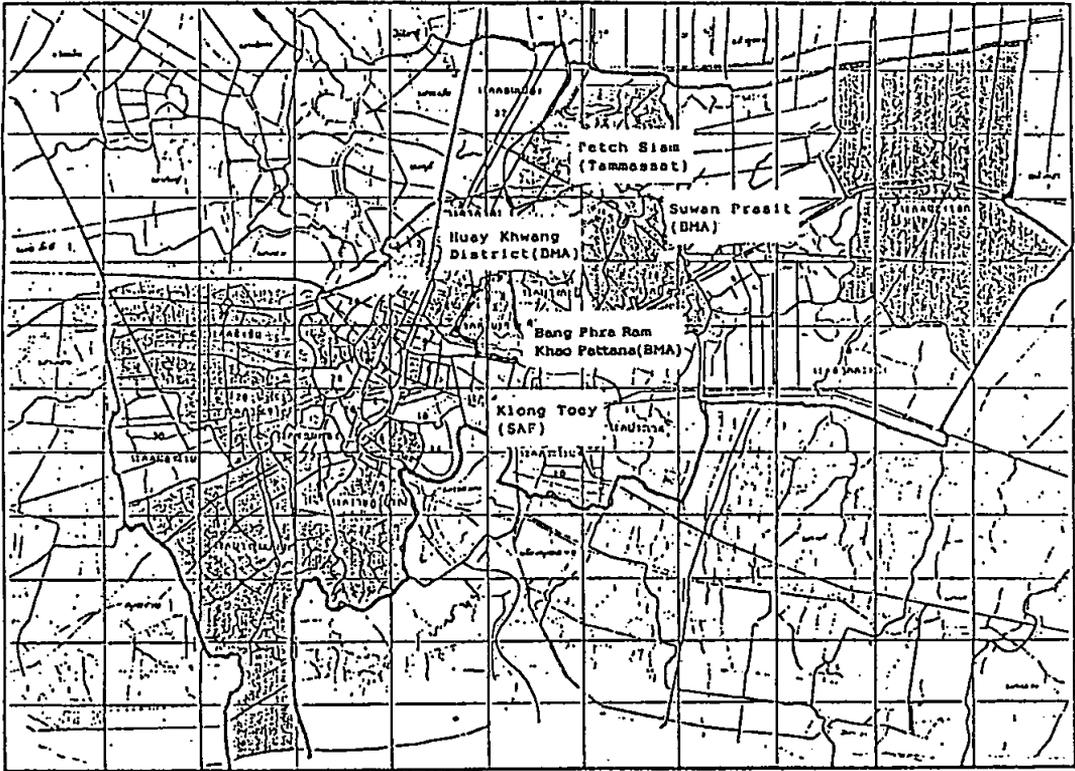
### (2) Projects at the glance

Table 1 summarizes the four projects. The names of the executing agencies and their communities, goals and major activities as agreed and planned at the beginning are:

1 Sikkha Asia Foundation (SAF), Klong Toey  
[Sewing (Northern hilltribe craft work and garment products)]

Thirty (30) people will be trained for three months to select ten (10) workers, who will be organized into a "slum"/community company or producer cooperative and become independent of the NGO. The product market will be Japan and Thailand.

Figure 3 : Project Sites



2 Thammasat University Faculty of Social Administration, Petch Siam Area, Ram-Intra Soi 5, Ram-Intra Rd., Bangkhen District

[Self-employment, small enterprise promotion]  
Need and resource assessment research will be conducted to identify appropriate kinds of employment (eg. barber, carpenter) for residents. Training and credit scheme may be introduced. Forty (40) people will participate.

3 Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA)

3-1 Suwan Prasit 1, 2 and 3, Bung Kum District, Minburi

[Mushroom and chicken raising]

The community is suburban and the activity rural. Thirty (30) people will be in the project. There is a leader who has experience in mush-

room raising and assistance from the Ministry of Agriculture will be available.

3-2 Bung Phra Ram Khao Pattana, Huay Khwang District  
[Industrial sewing]

Thirty five (35) people will be trained for six (3+3) months by Department of Cottage Industry trainers. Subcontract work from garment firms will be secured by trainers, CD (Community Development) workers and participants themselves. They will work as a group.

The Bung Phra Ram Khao Pattana project above produced a new idea in the early 1994, several months after its implementation. The proposal was an original idea hit upon and vol-

untarily presented by a BMA social worker in charge of the Bung Phra Ram Khao Pattana project.

3-3 Networking, Huay Khwang District  
[Sewing groups in various communities]

The objectives are to promote informational and technical cooperation so as to get orders, purchase materials and sell products jointly. The groups' negotiation power would be heightened. The project has started with three communities (Bung Phra Ram Khao Pattana, Lard Prao 42 and Rong Poon), where success-

ful BMA sewing groups exist.

(3) What Have Been Experimented?

The minimum goal of the project is the success of the micro subprojects themselves. The ideas discussed in this section, however, concern broader issues of macro policy that have arisen from the early stages of implementation of the micro subprojects. These ideas may go beyond the implementers' intentions and purpose. This is not an exhaustive list of such ideas as further study would undoubtedly raise further issues.

Table 1 : Bangkok Congested Slum Employment Promotion Project

TA, 18 August 1993 Rev.

Excuting Agency	SIKKHA ASIA FOUNDATION(NGO)	THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY (UNIVERSITY) FACULTY SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION	BMA (BANGKOK METROPOLITAN ADMINISTRATION) (GO) COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT
Persons in charge	Tatsuya Hata Secretary General Nareeraat Tangcharoenbamroongsook  Supanee Thepawong	Chob Kemglud Associale Professor ParichartValaisathien, Associale Professor Somluk Kanom, Field Officer	Prathuang Thavisin, Director General Wina Chantaphet, Director of Community Development Division PiyakamonPoomnarm, CD Worker Chalermchai Rojanakarin, Social Worker Pichit Chanakoon, CD Worker Tiamjan Vora-sngavilai, CD Worker
Address	100/14-20 Keha Klongtoey 4 Klongtoey, Bangkok 10110	Faculty of Social Administration ThammasatUniversity Prachan Rd., Bangkok	Community Development Department, BMA Mitrmatri Road, Dindaeng, Bangkok 10400
Tel.	249-7567-8	221-6111-20 Ext. 2511, 224-9418	246-0359. 246-0301-2 Ext. 2521
Fax.	249-0055	224-9417	
Com-munity	Klongtoey	Petch Siam Area, Ram Intra Soi 5(Ex-sl)	Suwan Prasit 1, 2 & 3 (Ex-sl)  Bung Phra Ram Khao Pattana Huay Khwang District
Nickname	Slum Company	Carte Blanche	Rural in Urban  Exploitative PieceRate
Major Activities	Sewing (North tribe craft work + clothing products) Training, Producer co-operative/Community company	Barber, carpenter, sewing, etc. Need/resource assessment research, Individualized training, Credit, Self-employment	Mushroom & chicken raising  Sewing (as a group)  Training, Subcontracting work
Market	Overseas & local (NGO)	Community	Local  (Order) Local (participants, CD workers & DOCI trainers)

Ex-sl : Ex-slim

## 1 SAF

### (i) A "Slum" Company

The weakness of NGOs is the narrow coverage of their activities because of their limited resources. If an NGO initiates a project, sets it on its way and makes project participants independent of them, the NGO could organize another similar project or different activities. Their activities could be expanded twice or three times as broad and/or deep as at present. Establishing a "slum" company is a new idea while organizing a co-operative is a rather conventional one. A company with 5-10 employees is never very small and exceptional in any society. Being a company employee would be easier in a sense not only for a slum worker but also for a non-slum worker than being a self-employed worker or an employer. Being so may often be his/her choice.

## 2 Thammasat

### (i) Applicability of Community Organization Approach

"Organize and strengthen communities," "Empower community people" and "Help them help themselves" are well-accepted and beloved approaches among both academicians and practitioners, particularly in NGOs and international agencies. The community approach has proved to be effective in some rural settings. Is it then applicable for urban settings?

### (ii) Responding to Individual Needs

Generally speaking, government entities are not good at responding to individual needs while they are good at providing large scale, uniform services. But suppose that each person in a slum of 100 workers has a different need, e. g. job placement in a factory, a restaurant, a retail shop or domestic or white collar work; vocational training for a welder, an electrician, a beautician, a nurse or a computer operator; protection from exploitative or hazardous labour conditions, the guarantee of job security or credit for a micro business; the home employment opportunity for a housewife or the security of an order and market for products; how then to respond? A voucher system program or an Employment Promotion Officer (Specialist or Adviser) Programme are two possibilities. These have been tried in other countries.

### (iii) Concentrated Target Approach

Many GO, NGO and international agency programmes select several communities in which to implement a common project (e.g. sewing, craftwork or mushroom culture) or a different sub-project for each. Participants are often community executive board members, their spouses and housewives who can afford to be at home and relatively well-to-do community members. A typical "creaming" phenomenon is observed in most social programmes and projects. The "Concentrated Target Approach" is as follows: 1) Select a

geographically defined community; 2) implement a main intervention<sup>10</sup> (e.g. the invitation of a large plant or the implementation of a self-employment project focusing on a specific product based on a indigenous skill); 3) do not go to another community but stick to the same one to implement the second project targeting different constituencies within the community with similar or different approaches; and 4) repeat the process, i.e. organize a third and fourth project to reach all layers and subgroups of the community. The "creaming" and the consequent polarization, an evil of "development", would be avoided. The Si-Saket Care International project under PEP could be interpreted as an unconscious example of this model.

## 2 Thammasat and 3-1 BMA Suwan Prasit

### (i) Eviction and Employment

Two out of four of our project sites are communities where ex-slum dwellers live. Evictions have been made and will be repeated, particularly when land prices go up. Congested communities are formed near places where employment opportunities exist. Given substitute land, which is not necessarily common, most evicted workers still have to move to communities nearby whose conditions are similar to the previous ones because of lack of the reasonable public transport and no increase in income. What kinds of people were able to move to substitute land? What kinds of problem do they have? What kinds of programme are necessary<sup>11</sup> ?

## 3-1 BMA Suwan Prasit

### (i) The Behavioural, Personal and Organizational Factor

We are usually busy deliberately and elaborately designing the content of a project. However, the behavioural, personal and organizational factor, such as cheating, conflict, morale, and membership and leadership change may be more crucial to the success or failure of a project than the project content itself. The *otoshiami* project in PEP Philippine Chapter and the Chen Rai mushroom project in the Thai Chapter are good examples.

## 3-2 BMA Bhun Praram Khao and 3-3 BMA Networking

### (i) The Avoidance of Exploitative Piece Rate

"No employment promotion/income generation micro-projects in slums have been really successful except for craftwork-type projects with markets abroad in developed countries," says a European NGO practitioner in a Bangkok slum. Sewing projects have particularly been implemented all over the world but usually unsuccessfully. The activity has become well-known for involving cheap labour and poor working conditions. The BMA proposal to network sewing groups in various slums is an opportunity to change this story.

## 3-3 BMA Networking

### (i) Sheltered Market

With a larger membership and special arrangements with BMA schools and hospitals, it may be possible to secure a minimum level of orders. The idea is a "sheltered market", which is an idea similar to the provision of shops or markets along major roads to sell project products.

#### (ii) Networking by Occupation

This trial may be the first step for the future expansion of the network beyond the jurisdiction of one district, for the future establishment of networks among various other occupational groups, and even for the development of a homework administration in governments. Similar projects exist in rural areas (e.g. weaving), but not in urban areas. The networking of credit unions in Bangkok suggested the creation of this project.

### 3 BMA

#### (i) Efficiency and Effectiveness in Government Organizations

A NGO, an educational institution and a GO were selected as executing agencies for comparison's sake. The former two are usually small scale and quick in decision and response. The latter is part of a huge bureaucratic organization with many layers and naturally slow in motion. The personnel of the first two work usually with eagerness and interest. Those in the latter work for the salary, though there are many exceptions. The ordinary government organization has not been designed to conduct a pilot/experimental project which is by nature exceptional and

small. However, the direct impact and the coverage of projects of the former two is rather limited whereas those of the latter can be enormous, once successful. Having a field worker in each community is one of the BMA's strengths. However his/her limited time is one of their weaknesses. The project must find how to maximize its strengths and minimize the weaknesses.

## II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROJECT AND GENERALIZATION

The purpose of this section is to generalize the results of the project so far. This is achieved by describing several preconditions faced by the project, as well as five of its chief characteristics. From this basis an alternative project model is proposed.

### 1. Three Pre-conditions

Three conditions were given when the project started: (1) No time, (2) no money and (3) micro-intervention.

#### (1) No time

At the beginning of September, 1992, the writer was instructed by ILO/ROAP to design and implement a two year employment promotion/income generation project. The project should be completed by the end of December 1994. Projects similar to this usually require two or three years for preparation. This project had only half a year before implementation. This condition entailed many restrictions on the project at every stage. Most detrimental was that it contradicted the local initiative requirement (I.1.(4) pp. 66-67), the key concept of this pro-

ject. Compromise had to be repeatedly made.

Even considering only the project proposal recruitment process, many examples of constraints can be cited. For instance, community organization, the most difficult process, was omitted from our experiment from the very beginning. Only communities with well-established leadership (I. 1. (4) p. 67) were allowed to be candidates. The idea to include one of the poorest slums (I. 1. (4) p. 67) had to be abandoned, even after exploring the possibility of working with a few NGOs, including a France-based International Movement ATD Fourth World. There was not enough time to disseminate project information to all of Bangkok's slums as well as the general public to stimulate interest. Hence a rather limited number of communities and organizations were contacted. There was no time, either, to convey to them ILO's past experience acquired from other parts of the world<sup>39</sup>. Even though "Wait," or "Don't hurry," is a fundamental principle for this type of community work<sup>40</sup>, the project was unable to wait for some creative, imaginative proposals..... Some violation of this rule had to be accepted.

The time constraint, however, worked positively, too. It triggered the birth of Lazy Model, Riders Approach and Action Project concept, which will be described below.

## (2) No money

Given a rough figure of US \$ 60,000 as total budget, the writer was instructed to design a project. This way of instruction is strange to some people but is a common practice in most

organizations.

The size of the budget necessarily determines the size of the project. Important here, however, is not the amount itself but the form of allocation, that is in a lump sum, which was allowed partly because the amount was small. The lump sum amount within which the game had to be played, made a new form of experiment possible. Riders Approach was introduced. See II. 2. (2) p. 76 below.

## (3) Micro-intervention

The restriction that the Bangkok project must be a pilot project, or a micro-intervention project, led to a conclusion of the barren argument on the "three prong strategy" within the then PEP team. The conclusion was a conversion away from the competing trichotomy of policy formulation, organization strengthening and micro-intervention towards a complementary relationship between them, that is, "policy formulation/organization strengthening through micro intervention." Execute a micro intervention project, and during the process problems related to policies and institutions will be found. A new approach to the policy formulation/institution building can then be tried out and established. (II. 2. (4) pp. 77-78)

## 2. Five Characteristics

### (1) From Arrogant Model to Lazy Model

Usually in UN projects as well as others, professionals design "good" projects and sell the idea to community people. In this project, however, ILO did not produce a design, but let the people design. All ILO did was to give only

a broad general framework (I.1. (4) Project Strategy pp. 66-67), within which community people/organizations were expected to design, propose and implement their own projects, and to wait<sup>15</sup>. In this approach, given the proposals and implementation, ILO's role is to draw lessons from them for future use in that or other countries. ILO is thus tested not on its capability to design an excellent project, but on its capacity to learn from given projects. Our role is advisor, coordinator and learner. This approach was taken partly because there was no time and partly because of the emphasis on local initiative. An expert in charge may not necessarily be an expert on the present subject. It would thus be "arrogant" for the UN or whoever he/she is to study a subject in a few days or half a year and then force a "good" idea on local people. Better that they should have their own ideas. Hence the progression from "arrogant" model to "lazy" model, or more modestly from "professional" model to "amateur" model. However one ILO official was kind enough to reverse the progression — from "amateur" to "professional". For the basic steps in "Lazy Model", see II.3. (pp. 78-79) below.

#### (2) Riders approach<sup>16</sup>

A rider means a supplementary article added to the original article, as in legislation.

Projects are usually designed in elaborate detail from the outset. It is recommended to do so. In this project, however, only core pilot projects were designed at the beginning while various additional activities were identified that might be added later depending on the development of the project. These possibly included additional

pilot projects, gatherings/meetings/seminars of participants in various segments of the project, workshops on urban employment policy, events for awareness enhancement through the mass media, organization of a network among NGOs interested in employment promotion and income generation, and research and publication, etc. Such additional activities are expected to be initiated from within the project which then becomes self-developmental. A considerable amount of funding was kept back for this purpose.

The conventional pre-design approach is not necessarily justifiable. Conditions surrounding a project can constantly change: The situation may change, unexpected obstacles or developments may occur, and some urgent need could be found. Subjective conditions might also change, which might even be an objective of some projects. As a result of such changes, the project must be modified and supplemental segments added.

Hence the minimum achievement of such a project would be to lead a core activity (pilot projects in our case) to a successful conclusion. Maximum achievement would be to lead the project to self-development and self-proliferation, able to generate its own resources and results.

The allocation of a lump sum of money and the lack of time made this approach possible.

#### (3) Action Project

The name "Action Project" was taken from "Action Research" to express simultaneous feed

back between the two phases of a pilot project. These are its implementation and the utilization of the result (e.g. awareness raising, networking, project/programme replication/expansion, and reflection to policy formulation and institution building). The two phases are usually sequential as in the PEP rural project. However the Bangkok urban project had to achieve both phases at once or achieve a double mission simultaneously again because of the time constraint. Harvest during cultivation. (Figure 4)

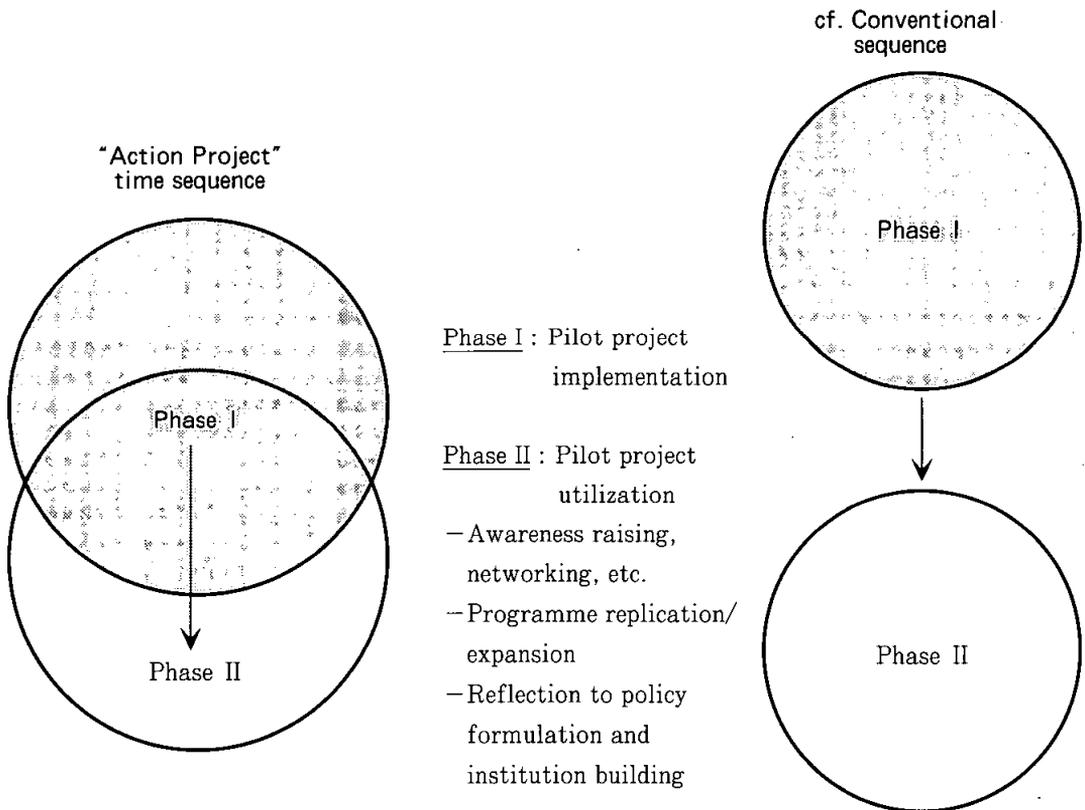
In past rural projects, a series of discussion papers were published before the implementation started, but in the Bangkok Project a similar

paper, maybe an evaluation paper by the General Coordinator, MOL (&SW) or ILO, will be the final fruit, if any.

(4) Policy Formulation/Institution Building Through Micro-intervention

When our project was in the design stage, there was an argument within the PEP team on the basic "Three Prong Strategy" of PEP. The prongs are (i) macro level policy formulation, (ii) institution building/strengthening and (iii) micro level pilot projects.<sup>17</sup> The various positions were "Forthcoming projects under PEP must be pilot projects." "Such projects are like a drop in the ocean. Numerous similar micro projects

Figure 4 : Phase I and Phase II



have been repeatedly carried out. Projects must be macro level policy formulation projects." "Policy studies have also been done repeatedly, without bearing any fruit." Neither camp is immature. The only productive compromise would be "policy formulation/organization building through micro intervention." The insistence on pilot projects is meaningful only in that it questions the relationship, not the choice, among the three prongs, and leads to a new channel for policy formulation/organization building. While the previous approach was top-down or deductive, the new one is bottom-up or inductive.

#### (5) Experimental Project, Not Pilot Project

The instruction given by ILO/ROAP and written into the original project proposal was that the Bangkok Project must be a pilot project. (See I. 1.(4)(v) p. 67) However, the projects proposed by communities under our local initiative scheme were closer in nature to experimental projects rather than pilot projects.

In discussions within the PEP team and in the original programme proposal, the distinction between pilot and experimental projects was not necessarily made. According to UNDP, a pilot project tests basic conditions to develop itself into a larger project, being based on the result of an experimental project. An experimental project leads to a conclusion on a hypothesis based on information obtained from an experimental trial and experience. (Hirai: 64) Future replication or expansion is a key concept for the former while the term "experiment (a)" defines the latter. The Bangkok Project lacked the experimental stage. However, it is an experimental project, but experimental in a more

primitive sense. There is no statement of firm hypotheses.

### 3. An Alternative Experimental/Pilot Project Model: The Lazy Model

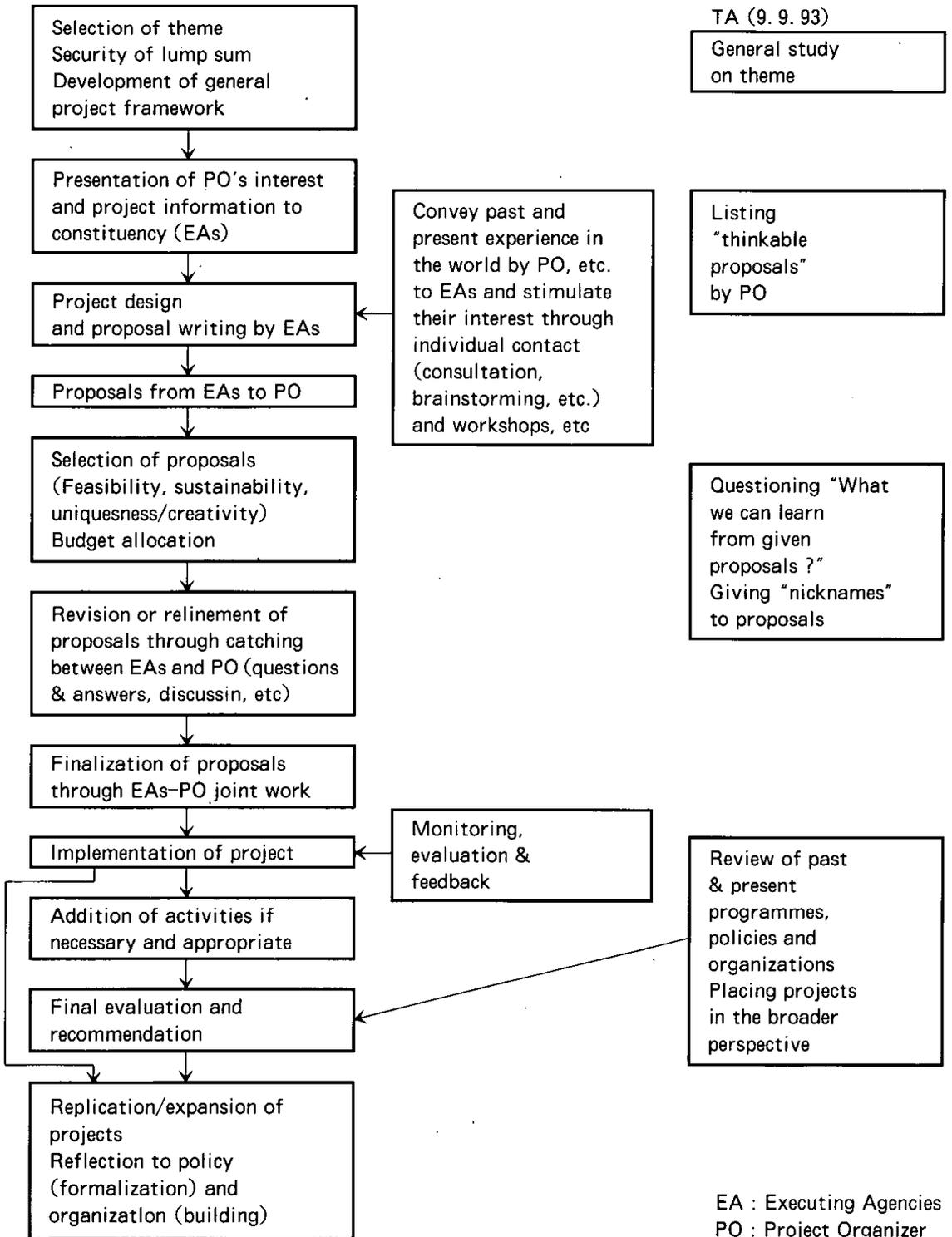
The chart on the next page summarizes our "Lazy Model" for generalization. The column at left shows the main flow of the project (design, implementation, evaluation and feedback). The middle column shows the project organizer's (ILO/MOL in our project) supplemental activities to the flow, and the right column the project organizer's activities behind the scene.

(i) Given a theme, a broad general framework of a project is developed within which a game will be played. Budget is secured as a lump sum.

(ii) Disseminate the project organizer's interest and basic information on the project to constituencies as widely as possible using government, non-government and personal networks. Organizing seminars, workshops and meetings on the theme<sup>18)</sup> may be effective. Brainstorming is held. At this point and (v) below, the project organizer's past experience and knowledge is conveyed to constituencies, avoiding direction but giving hints to stimulate their ideas.

(iii) Wait for response and proposals from prospective executing agencies. Meanwhile, develop a list of "Some Easily Thinkable Projects" (cf. II. 4 pp. 81-82), to prepare for possible proposals to come and to anticipate unexpected creative proposals. Do not reveal the list to constituencies to avoid contaminating their originality and creativity. Also develop the proposal selection

Figure 5 : An Alternative Experimental/Pilot Project: The Lazy Model



criteria (e.g. feasibility, sustainability and uniqueness/creativity) at this stage.

(iv) Receive proposals, select some for execution, and allocate rough budget figures.

(v) Refine and finalize the adopted proposals through catching, mainly through questions and answers, between proposers and the project organizer. Some comments and advice may be given by the project organizer, but do not be too dominant. The projects are theirs not the project organizer's. The process is cooperative. The final project proposal is a joint product. The design process itself is deemed an important part of project implementation. Spending more time than in regular projects at this stage is permissible.

(vi) Design and agree on the monitoring, reporting and evaluation scheme. e.g. baseline research, monthly reports, interim reports, the final evaluation research and report, field visits and regular meetings.

(vii) Implement the projects. The project organizer is coordinator, monitor, adviser, facilitator, trouble-shooter and learner during the whole implementation process.

(viii) Explore, develop and specify what can be learnable and attainable from the projects.<sup>19)</sup> Characterize them in short phrases and give these as nicknames to the projects.<sup>20)</sup> These are messages from the project organizer to executing agencies—what has the project organizer been interested in in their projects?

(ix) Encourage the projects to be successful and

the executing agencies and all other related parties to be “*sanuk*” (comfortable or enjoyable), and hopefully to be motivated for new proposals. It is ideal if the projects reach the “self-developmental” stage.<sup>21)</sup> New proposals should be financed, if made and reasonable, as quickly as possible.

(x) Evaluate the projects, disseminate the fruits and feedback to policies, organizations and programmes/projects. This should be done whenever possible throughout the whole project process without waiting for the termination of the projects. Sometimes the direct replication or expansion of projects to other locations may be tried with or without modification.

(xi) The project organizer's learning process on the theme, communities and projects starts from the very beginning of the project and continues until after its end.

#### 4. Some Easily Thinkable Projects

Under the Lazy Model, while waiting for proposals from constituencies, the project organizer develops a list of easily thinkable projects and is prepared for whatever proposals may come. (II. 3. (iii) p.84) At the end of the project, the list will be revised and completed.

The following list is for our Bangkok Slum Employment Promotion Project (written in November 1992). Not only (i) self-employment projects, but also (ii) wage-employment projects, (iii) unpaid employment projects, (iv) outreach projects, (v) campaign/networking projects, (vi) concentrated target projects and their variations were expected. The list is self-explanatory. An

explanatory note on "(vi) Concentrated Target Projects" can be found in I.2. (3) (iii) pp. 72-73.

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### Some Easily Thinkable Projects

30 November 1992

#### (1) Self-employment Projects

- (i) for full-timers: motorcycle repair, carpenter, etc.  
for part-timers: craftwork, garment sewing, etc.
- (ii) with or without training and/or credit (revolving fund) schemes
- (iii) on individual basis or collective basis (See (1') below)

#### (1') Employment Group Management Projects

- (i) as simple groups, producer's co-ops, community companies, etc.

#### (1'') Technical Assistance Projects

- (i) re: product development, design, marketing, productivity, quality, etc.
- (ii) the formation and operation of assistance/consultation/advice organizations

#### (1''') Sheltered Work Projects

- (1) the guarantee of market. e.g. procurement by governments and provision of market places

#### (2) Wage-employment Projects

- (i) the establishment of firms  
e.g. recycling plants at dumps and

printing firms

- (ii) job promotion, placement service
- (iii) affirmative action I: subsidies/incentives to companies which hire slum dwellers
- (iv) job opportunity redistribution among sub-groups  
affirmative action II: quota system for organizations which have business contracts with governments or for organizations in general
- (v) job redesign e.g. the introduction of shift, part-time work for women
- (vi) with supportive programmes  
e.g. day-care and transportation

#### (3) Unpaid Employment Projects

- (1) labour which bears use value only  
e.g. community work projects

#### (4) Outreach Projects

- (1) as part of other projects
- (2) the organization of outreach teams

#### (5) Campaign/Networking Projects

- (i) awareness enhancement  
e.g. the utilization of the mass media seminars for or by employers, unions, NGOs and governments
- (ii) fund raising/resource mobilization  
e.g. setting revolving funds and organizations/firms
- (iii) umbrella organizations of NGOs for

employment promotion

- (iv) networking of existing projects in operation \*

(6) Concentrated Target Projects

\* Added in April 1994.

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In our project, most proposals submitted were "very typical," "traditional," "well-known" or "common" self-employment projects such as craftwork, sewing and mushroom raising. They were all included in the list. Most of them came under "(1) self-employment projects," particularly under "(1)(i) for part-timers." Some of them had "(1)(ii) training and/or revolving fund" schemes, were "(1)(iii) on individual basis or on collective basis," and included "(1)" technical assistance" components. The SAF Project might be a hybrid between a "(1) self-employment project" and a "(2) wage-employment project." Part of the Thammasat Project could be interpreted as a "(6) concentrated target project." The BMA network project was a combination between a "(1) self-employment project" and a "(5) networking project," and a line was inserted in the list under "(5) Campaign/Networking Projects" as "(iv) networking of existing projects in operation." It also kept the idea of "(1'') sheltered work" to itself. Projects for typical "(2) wage-employment" attracted no interest. For example, no suggestions have so far been forthcoming on "(2)(iii) and (iv) affirmative action projects" for wage employees throughout the project process until today.

This paper presented an alternative project design model against a conventional model prevailing in current GOs, NGOs and international

organizations. It is not outside aiding agencies but the community people themselves who "develop" communities—this is the starting line. Project design by aiding agencies is arrogant in the sense that outsiders design and provide readymade projects, however much it emphasizes "local initiative." It is premised on the assumption that agency experts are more knowledgeable and capable than local people. Project design as such increases the dependency of people.

"Help them help themselves" is a long lasting slogan beloved by social workers as is "Wait, don't hurry." Very often, however, communities are not well-organized without leadership. Voices of GOs and NGOs "representing" communities are not necessarily those of the communities. Can we wait long enough for the opinions of communities to develop and be articulated? Meanwhile, can we leave them as they are in the midst of rapid economic and social change of the outside world?

The question is then when, how and to what degree outside agencies should and can intervene. Our project only presented communities with a broad general framework of the project, waited for proposals back from communities and then let them implement them. ILO disseminated information, questioned and commented on proposals and undertook monitoring and evaluation. What aiding agencies can do is, at most, to encourage communities and stand ready to support them technically and financially when needed.

In this "alternative design model" the whole process of a project is kept flexible as much as possible. "Lump sum budgeting," "Carte blanche project," "Rider approach" and "Action project" are all for that purpose.

It may invite misunderstanding, but in these small scale micro projects, it does not matter for aiding agencies like ILO and a national government if individual projects succeed or fail although it matters very much for those particular local participants and executing agencies. The brilliant success of a project in one community out of thousands and millions may even result in inequality among a wider constituency. What is important for the aiding agencies is to accumulate know-how in micro projects, draw lessons for policy formulation and institution building, and help to make them a common asset of the country and of the world for future use.

Processes of community organization and self-development of a project was not and has not been experimented in our project. They are the next step to be tested and recorded.

1 This paper is the rearranged exertion, with some modification, from Tatsuru Akimoto, Bangkok Congested Community Employment Promotion Project, ILO/ROAP, PEP/THA /41, 1994. The term "congested community" was used in the original paper to avoid the stigma of the term "slum".

2 Thai Chapter programme will be terminated in 1994 while ILO/JPN PEP has been expanded to Bangladesh and Pakistan.

3 A General Coordinator of pilot projects, for example, was at first tried to be recruited from among Counterpart staff members in vain. The involvement of Thai Government Counterpart was later minimized because the project was transferred twice from one department to another.

4 An ADB Taskforce Report on Poverty argued that the design of past projects centred

primarily around concerns about the appropriateness of the technology to be used and the adequacy of the financial arrangements. Insufficient attention was paid to the concerns of those who were meant to benefit from the project or the promotion of their own self-help efforts. These local beneficiaries therefore need to be given a larger role in the design of projects rather than relying so much upon external consultants unfamiliar with the local areas. (JICA: 285-6)

5 The distinction between a pilot project and an experimental project is not made here. The term, pilot project, is used here to mean a micro-intervention. See II. 2.(5) p. 78.

6 This requirement contradicts (vi) above and may not be satisfied.

7 Primary income earners often work long hours to support their families (their "unemployment rate" is low). They cannot afford to be in training programmes unless these are offered at night or on holidays. If a project cannot offer secure, high wage alternative jobs, it must be a secondary-job creation project for primary income earners or a supplemental income generation project for non-primary income earners, that is, housewives or children. The most plausible project participants are housewives who tend to belong to the middle or upper classes in slums. They may have small children and prefer to work at or near their homes part-time.

8 This has never happened.

9 "Micro-subprojects" or "micro-intervention" would be the more appropriate terms and should replace "pilot projects" here. See II. 2.(5) p. 78.

10 Fish raising was also part of the original idea.

11 The major project tends to cover a small and wealthier proportion of the community popu-

lation. Coverage of the wealthier layer of the population, however, is not necessarily bad. It can even be recommended if it helps the whole project to be accepted by the community.

12 A research project, "Eviction and Employment," was conducted by Kamolthip Chaumkajand of Thammasat University under the auspices of JICA. It could have been conducted under PEP.

13 The technical assistance backdrop function of the ILO headquarter did not work, either.

14 This principle often contradicts contemporary Western values and management practices with which international organizations, including ILO, operate. Experts are often placed in a dilemma between these two requirements, one from the field and the other from the organization.

15 We are not arguing here which approach is better. The conventional approach may or may not be more effective and efficient.

16 "Flexible Implementation Approach (Process Approach): Past model projects had fixed activities and implementation schedules. Inputs were decided and projects were implemented. In this sense, they could be termed as an inflexible "blueprint approach" which suits industrial infrastructure projects for which the outside environment is relatively stable, but does not suit poverty alleviation projects such as rural development which tend to be influenced by changes in the government's agricultural policy and fluctuations of climate. In the project implementation process, many experiences are accumulated which are useful to the qualitative improvement of the project. In order to utilize such experiences effectively, a more flexible implementation approach should be adopted." (JICA: 286)

17 This argument was based on a misunderstanding of the "three prongs". They were (i) research, (ii) policy and projects and (iii) institution building, in the Prodoc of ILO/JPN PEP. The donor's dissatisfaction in the early stage of the project was due to the fact that too much time and resource were spent for (i) research that was remote from practice without creating actual employment.

18 These were not held for the Bangkok Project because of time constraint.

19 In spite of the emphasis on experimentation and creativity, typical commonplace proposals such as craftwork and sewing were predicted and were actually made. We have to live with them.

20 Nicknames can be renamed according as projects develop. (cf. Table 1 and I.2. (3) pp. 71-74)

21 The proposal of the BMA network project may be deemed as an example.

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