

The Diffusion of the Provisional Cultivation Rights System in the Forest Village Project in Thailand¹

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Abstract

The government's nationalization of forest has faced policy implementers with land tenure issues that reflect the conflict with traditional land use. Policy makers tacitly agreed that local people should be settled in fixed villages or moved out of the national forests. One solution to this problem was the Forest Villages Project that was promoted by the Royal Forest Department of Thailand (RFD) from 1975 until the early 1990's. The main aims of the project were: 1) to supply the labor force required for reforestation of degraded national forest reserves, 2) to develop self-supporting forest village communities by providing infrastructure as incentives, and 3) to fix land use by assigning provisional cultivation rights, known as the *Sor Tor Kor* (*STK*).

The kind of agrarian conditions of the Forest Village is provided by the characteristics of the *STK*, which is the most important capital resource for farmers. According to the *STK* certificate, the land referred to cannot be sold and can only be transferred by inheritance. Cultivation rights for up to 2.24 ha were assigned. These characteristics of *STK*-certified land make it clear that the RFD visualized so-called "self-sufficient" family farms as forming the root of the project. Since there is no way to acquire additional land or obtain a mortgage on their land, farmers cannot expand their farms. This prevents stratification of farmers from occurring. Initially, the families living in forest villages were the main labor pool for reforestation work. Furthermore, these families would be responsible for the future management of community forestry, especially in governing the buffer zones around reserved forests.

The fieldwork data shows that the agricultural land has widely transferred and rural differentiation has occurred under the agrarian base provided by the RFD. The economic movement is occurred among forest villages that may undermine the policy basis of forest village projects. Thus, I examined the effect of communication channels on land use with regard to the collective diffusion of the provisional cultivation rights system. Of the various groups found inside forest villages, reforestation labor groups provide effective communication channels. It is important to make the distinction that these labor groups are not social groups but economic groups formulated under the RFD's projects.

A comparison of these communication channels was made in three forest villages and forest offices. It was revealed that some villages collectively adopt the provisional cultivation rights system when found to be suitable for that village's situation. It is worth noting that some villages modified or re-invented these innovations and also alters the organizational structure of villages themselves within the legal limit provided by RFD. It shows the possibility of spontaneity for constructing the alternative tenure system in a local context, as against the standardized tenure system under the modern law. Further discussion is needed on ways to collectively adopt land tenure system innovations, aiming at proposing a revised framework for social forestry by identifying problems and possible countermeasures.

1. Introduction: Collective Adoption of Innovation

Community forestry has been defined for the purpose of this study as any situation which intimately involves local people in a forestry activity. It embraces a spectrum of situations ranging from woodlots in areas which are short of wood and other forest products for local needs, through the growing of trees at the farm level to provide cash crops and the processing of forest products at the household, artisan or small industry level to generate income, to the activities of forest dwelling communities. It excludes large-scale industrial forestry and any other form of forestry which contributes to community development solely through employment and wages, but it does include activities of forest industry enterprises and public forest services which encourage and assist forestry activities at the community level. The activities so encompassed are potentially compatible with all types of land ownership. While it thus provides only a partial view of the impact of forestry on rural development, it does embrace most of the ways in which forestry and the goods and services of forestry directly affect the lives of rural people. (FAO, 1978:1).

This FAO's definition of "community forestry" is the *Merkmal* of top-down way of community forestry in the 1970s. The technique of rural development through community forestry program has been gradually shifted to participatory approach with which villagers' intention is reflected directly, from the top-down way with which villagers were alienated from the process of agreement formation of a project plan.

In top-down way of community forestry, the government makes the development plan and diffuses it indiscriminately over the project site. Rogers *et.al.* (1988) define as

"Diffusion is the process through which (1) an innovation (2) is communicated through certain channels (3) over time (4) among the members of a society. An innovation is an idea, practice, or object perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption. Communication is the process through which information is exchanged between two or more participants". (Rogers et.al.:305-306)

Based on the definition of this, I will discuss the argument hereafter.

For villagers, they perceive the development project as a new idea, or new object; thus that is an innovation for villagers. For effective diffusion of innovation, the important point is how to systematize local community, and how a communication-channel is secured. And for the government, the villagers, who are the target of diffusion, are recognized uniformly as not individual but a group.

West (1983) examines the problem involved in systematization of a community required for efficient rural development, and practical use of the existing organization about collective adaptation of the natural resource practices in developing countries. And the possibility is indicated that the development of collective organization capability is not forced externally, but an organization should be realized inner through adaptation on an

experimental innovation, and the design of its innovation by itself (*ibid.*:52).

Namura (1991) has some doubts about the concept of the word "*participation*" in community forestry. Since the actual condition of *participation* shows various forms, from a social concept to an economical concept. And he presents a question that "I have question that is it possible to call as *participation*, thinking about the case of afforestation by employment of villagers" (*ibid.*:137).

These indications draw our attentions to the ideal method of diffusion on the top-down way of community forestry, especially to the reconsideration about the scheme of systematization. And the examination based on the survey is needed. Then, in this paper, in order to extract the problem of top-down ways of community forestry, it aims at clarifying about the function of the diffusion in the rural development by undertaking the example of the forest village project that is a top-down way of community forestry project in Thailand.

Although it goes across the various contents of the diffusion of development projects in a forest village project, this paper analyzes about the provisional cultivation rights system, paying attention to the farmland, which is the most important means of production for a farmer, and how does those provisional cultivation rights show the form of land use through the process of diffusion.

"The Prachinburi Hillside Development King's Project" was selected as the target for investigation. Those areas are inland of eastern part of Thailand. The comparative analyses of the reserved forest offices are conducted. Those offices have jurisdiction over three forest villages, which are adjoined and located in the national reserved forest in a project area.

2. The Provisional Cultivation Rights System in the Forest Village Project

2.1 The Background of Forest Village Project

The forest village project was promoted by Royal Forest Department of Thailand. That project mainly has two objects as 1) forest management, which incorporated villagers closely in employment, and 2) rural development project. From starting of the project in 1975 to the closing of it in the early 1990s, a little less than 200 projects were promoted. In the background of the project, there were 1) problem of deforestation by commercial logging and expansion of farm crops, and 2) political problem of the necessity for local promotion in a communist influence incubation area.

The purpose of a forest village project is 1) to keep stable employment labor force required for reforestation, and 2) in realization of self-supporting development of the rural society, by preparation of infrastructures, such as rights of cultivation, irrigation systems. The right of cultivation is distributed to people who are landless or who live scattered in reserved forest. Thus, land use is fixed and farmers settle down permanently by constructing the administrative village. So, it was decided upon the special land system of the right of cultivation as shown in the following clause by the Royal Forest Department, and the observance of that system by the villagers of a forest village was needed for project

execution.²

2.2 Characteristics of the Provisional Cultivation Rights

The provisional cultivation rights bases its legal basis on section 16th of “National Reserved Forest Act B.E. 2507 (A.D.1964)”.

SECTION 16.3 The Director-General is empowered, with the approval of the Minister, to grant permission to any person in the National Reserved Forests in the following cases:

(1) the exploitation or inhabitation in the National Reserved Forests for a period of a term not less than five years but shall not exceed thirty years. In the event of permission to government agencies, or a public body under the Budget Procedure Code, the royalty shall be waived or may be paid in some part thereof, if he thinks fit.

SECTION 16. (bis), In cases where any National Reserved Forest, in whole or in part, is so deteriorated that its old shifting cultivation land or grassland or valuable timber has become scanty or otherwise with fewer standing trees and cannot naturally be rehabilitated, all of these, with the conditions, procedures, rules as specified by the Minister, with the approval of the Cabinet, will be regarded as such as deteriorated forest.

(1) when any person has requested the Director-General or the assigned officer, if he deems it appropriate, such person needs to sustain land for living on, the Director-General or the assigned officer is empowered to grant permission in writing for the said person to exploit and inhabit such land therein, but it shall not exceed twenty rai for each household and within a period of an interval not less than five years but shall not exceed thirty years, the fees shall be waived during the first term but it shall be paid for in the next period thereof;

Based on these regulations, Royal Forest Department promotes land related projects in the reserved forest. It is a right of cultivation provisionally given in a government land, and is not a land ownership but a right of possession of land. Moreover, the maximum scale of possession is set for 2.24ha as a total of both residential lots and farmland. Also, sale of land, transfer, and a setup of mortgage are forbidden, and only inheritance is permitted. Both renting land and renting out of land, it is recognized as being an act contrary to a project scheme at the reserved forest office.

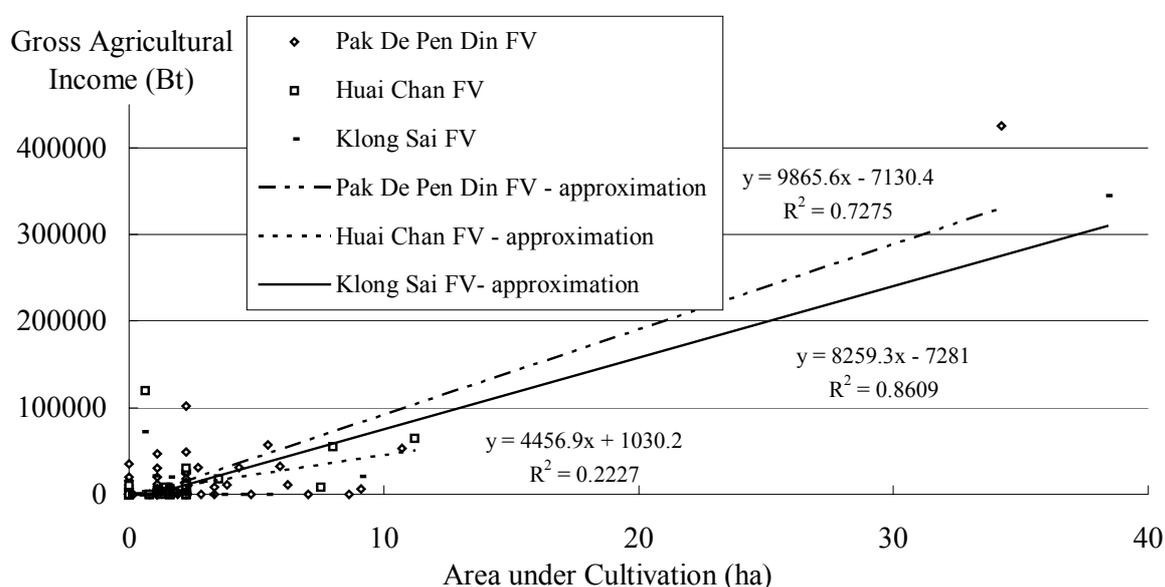
The restriction matter of the provisional cultivation rights, mentioned above, prevents the accumulation of farmland aiming at land speculation with the capitalist from outside of forest village. But it also prevents farmers to expand the area of cultivation, and to

² The provisional cultivation rights were provided totally for 90,000ha to 57,000 households through forest village projects (includes residential lots). Also, by the provisional cultivation rights allocation project, 1,480,000ha provided to 710,000 households before the year of 1990.

prepare enough agricultural fund.

Royal Forest Department assumed the candidate for granting of the right of cultivation: the self-sustenance household who does not expand area of cultivation and does not accumulate land. And it supposed those candidates will be shifted those economic characters from employed laborers engaged in the reforestation public works of Royal Forest Department (*category of laborer*) to the self-sustenance farmer who own the provisional cultivation rights given as an incentive (*category of small scale farmer*).

In precedence research (Sasaki and Mochida, 1999), the stratification of farmers is clearly accepted from analysis of gross agricultural income and area under cultivation (*Figure.1*).³



Note: 1) Area under cultivation includes the area out of *STK*.

Note: 2) "FV" means "Forest Village".

Figure. 1 - Scattergram of Area under Cultivation and Gross Agricultural Income

Using the index of “*the 1993 Agricultural Census of Thailand*”, households were classified into three strata as follows.

1) *Non-Farm Households* (NFH): Area under cultivation is under 0.32ha and gross agricultural income is under 6,500Bt.

³ The findings are based on studies of three villages, conducted from 1996 to 2001. Principal methodologies were household surveys, key informant interviews and the decipherment of government documents. Surveys were conducted in every household currently stay in three villages, but not in every landowner (especially excludes households currently living outside of forest village).

2) *Self-sustenance Households* (SSH): Area under cultivation is over 0.32ha and gross agricultural income is under 6,500Bt.

3) *Commercial Farm Households* (CFH): Gross agricultural income is over 6,500Bt.

From the second half of the 1980s, agricultural structure of forest villages in eastern Thailand has changed very rapidly, strongly in response to the fact that the influence of contract farming of sugarcane and tree plantation of *Eucalyptus*. By the framework of the existing system of the provisional cultivation rights, the correspondence to such a structural changes became impossible. It appeared to be the illegal act under the present land system, like renting out of land or selling out of land.

The actual condition of land dealing is different greatly from each reserved forest office of Royal Forest Department, which has jurisdiction over forest villages. Moreover, the contents cannot be clarified from the economical side. That is the reason that this paper asks sociology, especially the theory of diffusion of innovation.

2.3 Forest Village Residents' Systematization

On the occasion of construction of a forest village, the reserved forest office has systematized forest village residents for the purpose of the smooth diffusion of development projects.

2.3.1 The Village Development Committee and a Group (*Khum*)

The village development committee is the autonomous organization prepared for every village, according to the various committees of "*the administration of village volunteer defense and development act of 1979*". The organization consists of 8 divisions as management, protection, occupation opportunity development, agriculture, public health, education and culture, livestock grazing, and welfare.

Apart from the village development committee, about 10 households were constituted as one group (*khum*) on the basis of the alley (*soi*) in the village, and group head (*huana*) and the subhead are appointed on each. A branch organization of a development project was made in the form corresponding to each section of the village development committee, and the head of each household becomes the person in charge of each division within a group, aiming to make function as spread activities in the village.

However, those organizations are hard to be referred to as functioning effectively so that Akaha (1994) point out. Because, "the committee itself is still weak and it does not have functionality", and "a village head is strong authority in a village" (*ibid.*:199). This village development committee and group (*khum*) are the organization inside the forest village, which receives the development project, but the relation with the reserved forest office, which spreads the development project, lacks them institutionally.

2.3.2 The Labor Organization of the Reforestation Project

At least six persons of forest official are required for smooth management of the forest village project by the reserved forest (Komon, 1991:81). They are consists of one head officer, one secretary, two specialists of the sociology that bears rural planning, and two specialists of the biophysics that bears reforestation. However, there is the reserved forest office that only one government official should manage all types of projects. Since the forest official had chance of education mainly subjects relates on afforestation specialty, it is completely ignorant in many cases about fields such as rural planning and farm extension.

The only communication-channel, which connects the reserved forest office and forest village residents directly, is the labor organization of the reforestation works. A labor organization consists of a head of forest office, some government officials, several regular employees, and many Day laborers. As for these labor organizations, constitution of organization changes with each reserved forest office. Moreover, the function of organization completely changes with differences of characteristics of person in charge of administration.

After the completion of planned reforestation, the object of forest village project is changing to realization of stable forest management. Conditions required for forestry management are realization of self-supporting development of the local residents who are engaged in reforestation project, and who shows understanding of fixed land use. And it is realized through the spread of incentives called the provisional cultivation rights. That is, rural development and forest management have a one and indivisible relation.

3. State of Farmland and Labor Organization

In this section, we analyze how each village adopts the innovation, called the provisional cultivation rights system, using a forestry labor organization as a communication channel. Here, we grasp the village as the group in actual condition.

3.1 Huai Chan Forest Village

As for this village, land is severely managed by the head of reserved forest office. There are cases of land dealing only for renting out land, but there are no cases of selling out land at all. About the cases of renting out, the head of reserved forest office plays a key action. Paying attention on the state of increasing fallowed land inside forest village, he decides to permit renting out land, thinking that the land rent will serve as an important source of cash earnings for poor farmer.

Area under cultivation consists of 75.9% of its owned land, and 24.1% of land under rent. Although owned land is as high as 22.2%, similarly a fallowed land is as high as 18.4%, and renting and renting out of land is not so popular in this village. When we see the data of Non-Farm Households, this tendency is quite obvious. 35.5% of their owned land is fallowed. (*Table.1*)

Table.1 Area of STK by Tenure (Huai Chan Forest Village, 1996)

Type of household		N=		Total	Owned	Rented Out	Rented	Fallowed
Commercial Farm Households (CFH)	Owned	11	(ha)	20.3	16.5	2.2		1.6
			(%)	100.0	81.1	11.0		7.9
	Cultivated	10	(ha)	29.9	16.5		13.4	
			(%)	100.0	55.1		44.9	
Self-sustenance Households (SSH)	Owned	18	(ha)	31.0	25.8	0.8		4.5
			(%)	100.0	83.0	2.6		14.4
	Cultivated	18	(ha)	25.8	25.8		0.0	
			(%)	100.0	100.0		0.0	
Non-Farm Households (NFH)	Owned	22	(ha)	19.8	0.0	12.8		7.0
			(%)	100.0	0.0	64.5		35.5
	Cultivated	0	(ha)	0.0	0.0		0.0	
			(%)	0.0	0.0		0.0	
Total	Owned	51	(ha)	71.2	42.2	15.8		13.1
			(%)	100.0	59.3	22.2		18.4
	Cultivated	28	(ha)	55.7	42.2		13.4	
			(%)	100.0	75.9		24.1	

Note: 1. Areas of residential (building) lots are excluded.

2. Converted *rai* into *ha*. 1rai = 0.16ha.

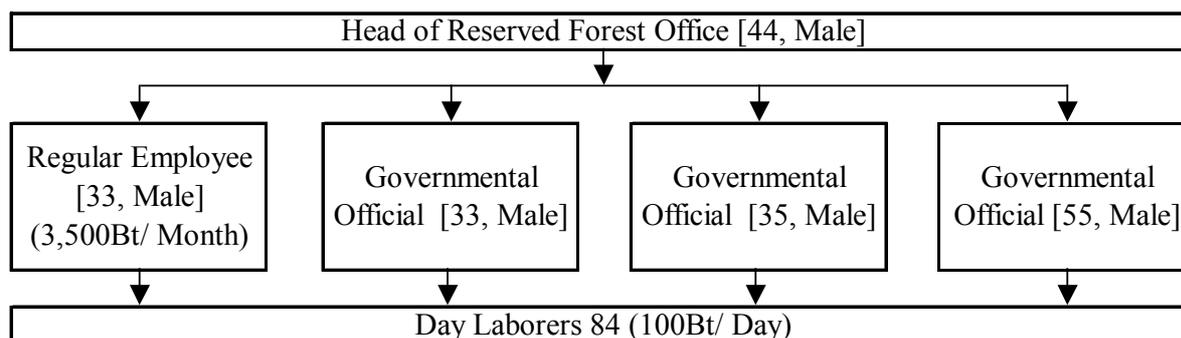
3. Data includes cases of renting and renting out without rent.

4. 3 SSH households don't own their land, but cultivate with their parents. (excluded.)

A labor organization consists of one head officer, three government officials, one regular employee, and eighty-four day laborers (*Fig.2*). Head of the reserved forest office generally stays at an office for four - five days per week. Three government officials who live in this village and around villages play the role of making contact with day laborers. A regular employee is one of the assemblymen of the Tambon local-government elected from the Huai Chan forest village. He is in the environment that can be daily discussed with head officer about various problems of a village.

Head officer attends the village development committee and is plays the important role for solving many problems in the village, such as preparing an opportunity arguing with a village head, assemblymen, etc. The both directions of communication-channel between villagers engaged in reforestation project and head of reserved forest is established through a labor organization. The labor organization in this village could be called as “*Primary group*” (Cooley: 1909).

In this village, the provisional cultivation rights system that Royal Forest Department specified is uniformly adopted collectively in the village as it is. There is no alteration of the system by the village itself.



Note: 1) Create from the listening from laborers and "the reforestation employment record book in the 1997 fiscal year".

Note: 2) A regular employee is one of the assemblymen of the Tambon local-government elected from the Huai Chan forest village.

Figure.2 Labor Organization of Reforestation Project (1997 fiscal year, Kok Sung-1 Reserved Forest Office)

However, if a problem arises in the provisional cultivation rights system, and it is out of step with the actual condition in the village, the provisional cultivation rights system can ask for an alteration from the contents of application. This is told to the reserved forest office side through two-way communication-channel, called a labor organization. And the provisional cultivation rights system is re-designed, and receives collective adaptation of the innovation by the village again.

3.2 Pak De Pen Din Forest Village

The reserved forest office does not manage farmland at all; in addition this village does not have a main management organization. So, farmland is freely dealt in and out of a village, and there is accumulation of the large-scale farmland by the influential person who made contract cultivation of sugarcane.

Area under cultivation consists of 86.1% of its owned land, and 13.9% of land under rent. These data reflect the accumulation of the farmland by dealing. Moreover, about the ratio of owned land, land under rent out is as high as 31.4%, and the fallowed land is only 3.9%. (Table.2)

The labor organization consists of one head officer, one nephew of head, one government official, three regular employees, and nineteen of day laborers (Fig.3). The head hardly stays at the reserved forest office, but is making the nephew stay as a substitute. Neither the government official nor the regular employee has fully achieved the function as a

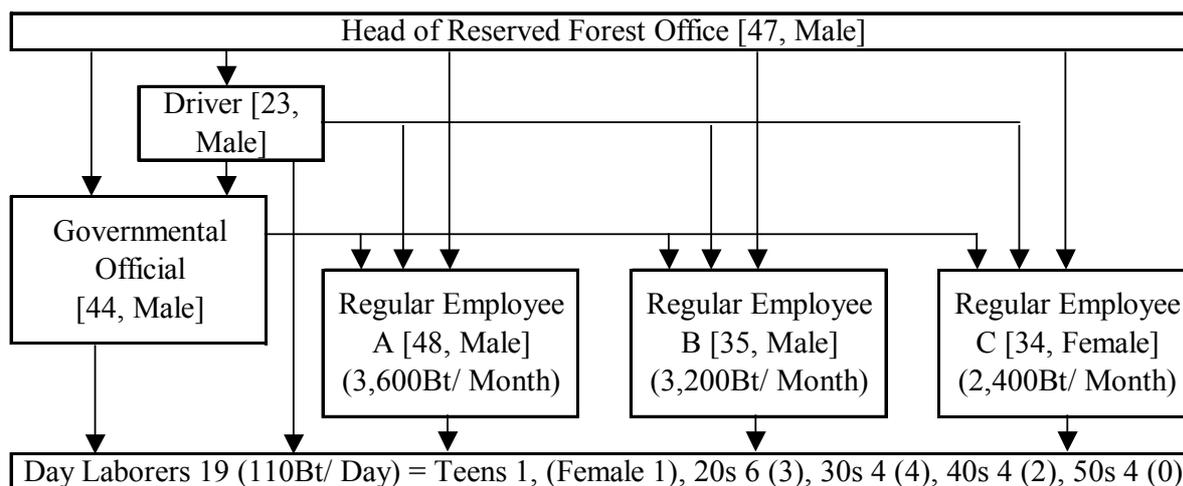
role of communicator with day laborers. The lack of administrator in the top-down way of community forestry pull down stonewalls of the communication-channel.

Thus, in this village, the individual holder of provisional cultivation rights makes use of the provisional cultivation rights system without principles, and the trend of collective adaptation of the provisional cultivation rights system in the village level cannot be found.

Table.2 Area of STK by Tenure (Pak De Pen Din Forest Village, 1997)

Type of household		N=		Total	Owned	Rented Out	Rented	Fallowed
Commercial Farm Households (CFH)	Owned	41	(ha)	79.5	66.1	12.3		1.1
			(%)	100.0	83.1	15.5		1.4
	Cultivated	35	(ha)	83.8	66.1		17.8	
			(%)	100.0	78.8		21.2	
Self-sustenance Households (SSH)	Owned	55	(ha)	110.9	78.6	26.7		5.6
			(%)	100.0	70.9	24.1		5.1
	Cultivated	55	(ha)	84.2	78.6		5.6	
			(%)	100.0	93.3		6.7	
Non-Farm Households (NFH)	Owned	35	(ha)	33.6	0.2	31.4		2.1
			(%)	100.0	0.5	93.3		6.2
	Cultivated	1	(ha)	0.2	0.2		0.0	
			(%)	100.0	100.0		0.0	
Total	Owned	131	(ha)	224.0	144.8	70.4		8.8
			(%)	100.0	64.6	31.4		3.9
	Cultivated	90	(ha)	168.2	144.8		23.4	
			(%)	100.0	86.1		13.9	

- Note: 1. Areas of residential (building) lots are excluded.
 2. Converted *rai* into *ha*. 1rai = 0.16ha.
 3. Data includes cases of renting and renting out without rent.
 4. Two cases shows the complicated system of renting STK without rent.
 a. A NFH rent 2.2ha, but it rent out them for planting sugarcane. (excluded.)
 b. A SSH rent 2.2ha and cultivate rice for 1.1ha, but fallowed the other. (included.)



Note: 1) Create from the listening from laborers and "the reforestation employment record book in the 1998 fiscal year".

Note: 2) A driver is the nephew of office head. Instead of the head who stay at an office only 2 day per week, he is stationed to be superintended. He graduated vocational school in Bangkok, and is inexperienced in forestry.

Note: 3) Regular employees B and C are husband and wife, and establish a dwelling beside an office. A regular employee C bears management of an office, and boarding of the head and a driver, and the point of contact on business with daily-hire laborers does not have her directly.

Figure.3 Labor Organization of Reforestation Project (1998 fiscal year, Kok Sung-2 Reserved Forest Office)

3.3 Klong Sai Forest Village

The land management rule of an unwritten law is established uniquely, and it is well known to village people with the village head in this village. The contents of a management rule are as follows. First, dealing of farmland and conclusion of relationship about rent are limited among forest villages, in order to prevent the inflow to the village of external capital. Moreover, additional purchased land needs to be cultivated or rented out, and should not fallowed them, in order to prevent the farmland from purchasing for the speculation purpose.

First, the village authority manages the right of land tenure, and under the system of them, villagers deal land, so the duality exists in the right of land tenure.

96.9% of their land under cultivated are owned land, land under rent consist of 3.1. Overwhelmingly farmers cultivate their own land shows very high rate. Moreover, the inflow rate of commercial crop is low and land dealing aiming at rice crop management is the point. This tendency is the same also about an owned land. (Table.3)

Table.3 Area of STK by Tenure (Klong Sai Forest Village, 1999)

Type of household		N=		Total	Owned	Rented Out	Rented	Fallowed
Commercial Farm Households (CFH)	Owned	11	(ha)	26.6	21.8	2.2		2.6
			(%)	100.0	82.0	8.4		9.6
	Cultivated	11	(ha)	23.4	21.8		1.6	
			(%)	100.0	93.2		6.8	
Self-sustenance Households (SSH)	Owned	91	(ha)	139.2	125.8	7.1		6.2
			(%)	100.0	90.4	5.1		4.5
	Cultivated	91	(ha)	129.0	125.8		3.2	
			(%)	100.0	97.5		2.5	
Non-Farm Households (NFH)	Owned	38	(ha)	27.0	0.0	24.3		2.7
			(%)	100.0	0.0	89.9		10.1
	Cultivated	0	(ha)	0.0	0.0		0.0	
			(%)	0.0	0.0		0.0	
Total	Owned	140	(ha)	192.8	147.6	33.7		11.5
			(%)	100.0	76.6	17.5		6.0
	Cultivated	102	(ha)	152.4	147.6		4.8	
			(%)	100.0	96.9		3.1	

Note: 1. Areas of residential (building) lots are excluded.

2. Converted *rai* into *ha*. 1rai = 0.16ha.

3. Data includes cases of renting and renting out without rent.

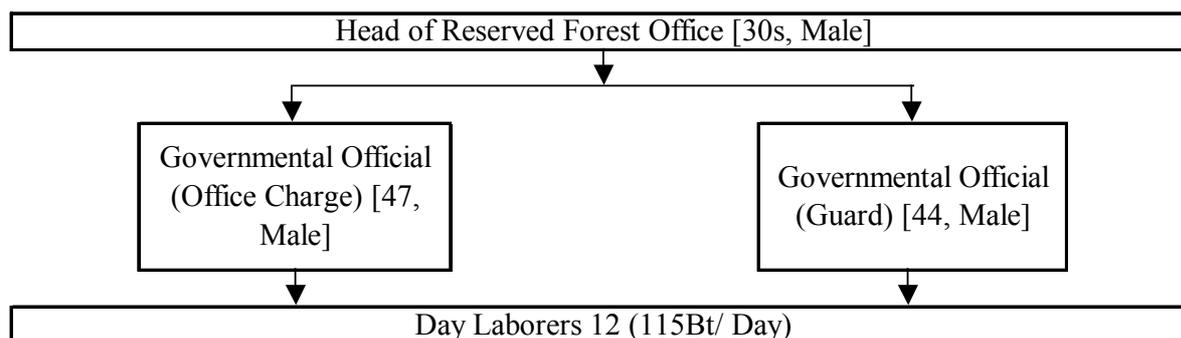
4. A case shown below shows the complicated system of renting STK.

A SSH rent 2 plots of STK (0.8ha, 1.1ha) from their children without rent, but within that, it rent out 0.8ha to other household. (Data excluded.)

A labor organization consists of one head officer, two government officials, and twelve day laborers (*Fig.4*). Although the head officer generally doesn't stay office, two government officials, are in charge of office charge and defense charge, stay in the office very often. He receives directions of the forest management from the head, if needed.

On the other hand, a government official lives in a village and takes communication closely with a village head or villagers. This firm establishment of communication-channel and firm strength of a village head's initiative is the basic factor that made the land management rule established.

In this village, one stage is advanced from adaptation of the experimental system of provisional cultivation rights, and that system was re-designed suitable for the actual condition of a village. The provisional cultivation rights system of this village is not only targeted as the protection of private property, but also it aims at protection of right of land of whole village, which is a confrontation relation with capitalists from outside of village. That is, on the occasion of collective adaptation for the provisional cultivation rights system, greater importance is first attached to a local group called village than to the land use of the individual right holder of cultivation.



Note: 1) Create from the listening from laborers and "the reforestation employment record book in the 2000 fiscal year".

Note 2) The government official specializing in office work lives in Klong Sai forest village, and that in Guard lives in Takabak forest village.

**Figure.4 Labor Organization of Reforestation Project
(2000 fiscal year, Takabak-1Reserved Forest Office)**

4. Conclusion

This paper examined the problem of the development project in the top-down way of community forestry, taking the example of the innovation of the provisional cultivation rights system in the forest village project in Thailand. These case analyses have presented the whereabouts of some problems to collective adaptation of an innovation.

First, the communication-channel in the diffusion of the provisional cultivation rights system does not function in the autonomous organization founded administratively, but an economic organization (forestry labor organization). It made it possible that villagers are closely included in the reforestation project in the form of employment.

On the occasion of the diffusion of the provisional cultivation rights system, the process of diffusion is not necessarily completed with adaptation of the uniformed innovation that is typical for the top-down way of rural development project. That is, after the provisional cultivation rights system is taken in a tentative way, the right system of cultivation is re-designed equipped with the land management function according to the actual condition of each village, and an innovation receives collective adaptation again. Simultaneously, through the communication-channel, it serves as a place of realization of development of the systematization capability by the village itself. The process of adaptation and design of the innovation in a top-down way of development project specify the existence of the spontaneous motivation from inside of village. It is worth paying attention as a concrete phenomenon of the diffusion targeted for a specific group.

From now on, it is necessary to consider the function as a communication channel of a labor organization and an autonomous organization based on both the aspects of affairs of forest management and rural development. And then, it is needed to re-examine the concrete

policy of collective adaptation of the innovation in a rural development project. Through the follow-up survey of top-down way of community forestry carried out in the past, it should perform that the context about the citizens' participation in municipal affairs type farm village development technique rereads, and should have a discussion towards the whereabouts and solution in question.

Table.4 State of Land Dealing in STK granted area of National Reserved Forest

Forest Village (Forest Reserve Office)	Ways of Land Dealing			Communication-Channel
	Selling (out of village)	Selling (inside village)	Rent Out	
Huai Chan (Kok Sung -1)	-	-	#	Two way communication through Labor Organization
Pak De Pen Din (Kok Sung -2)	#	#	#	Lack of Official Head, Disfunction of Adjuster
Klong Sai (Takabak -1)	-	#	#	Storong initiative of Village Head

Note: 1) "#" = have cases, "-" = no cases.

Note: 2) Present state (March, 2001).

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