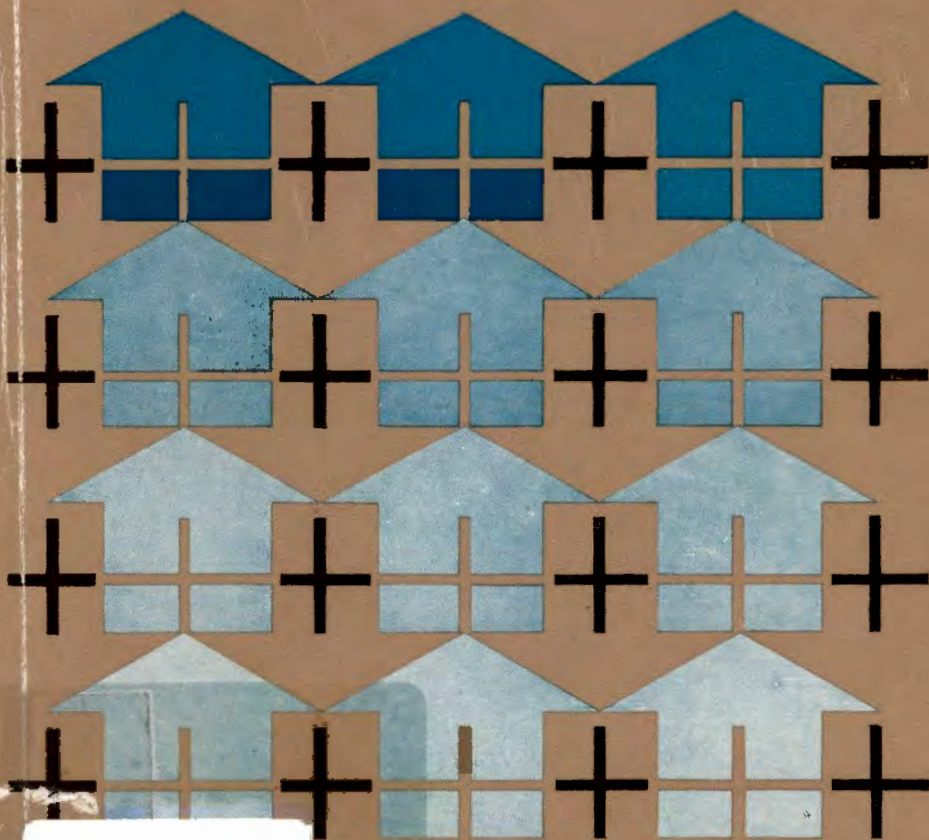


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RESETTLEMENT IN THAILAND



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CHIRAPANDA
TAMRONGTANYALAK

PREFACE

The book Resettlement in Thailand is the end result of a research project on "Resettlement and Transmigration in Thailand". The research had originally been coordinated and directed by Professor Chaityong Chuchart who at the outset was serving as Deputy Director-General of the Department of Land Development. Later, he was appointed to the rank of the Secretary-General of Agricultural Land Reform Office, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, and the research work was carried along with him. During his terms of the office, he suddenly passed away because of acute illness. The project was then handed over to Suthiporn Chirapanda as the principal coordinator, with Worwate Tamrongtanyalak as the senior researcher.

This book consists of three volumes. Part A is an overview of land settlement schemes which are broken into four broad categories : Self-Help Land Settlements, Land Cooperatives, Agricultural Land Reform Programme and, lastly, Miscellaneous Settlement Schemes. Part B provides an empirical study of selected land settlements. There are nineteen settlements covered in the analysis. Policy issues and recommendations are discussed in detail in Part C.

The authors would like to emphasise that the views as expressed in the study do not necessarily reflect the official opinions on resettlement, not the current standing of the government agency to which they belong. The authors are indebted to Tip Ruangchotvit of the Department of Land Development for his valuable comments and criticisms. Somsak Kosookwatana, Manoch Kuvarakul and Phornthep Phimolsathien served as research assistants who played a large part in making the study complete. Damrongsak Tasanasun and Chalermkiat Sanviset were responsible in conducting field interviews, while Porn Tanvanich and Pinai Lertpaiboon carried out the awesome task of analysing and tabulating the data obtained. Dr T.W. Flegel of Mahidol University patiently edited the earlier manuscript. The typing of the whole report was superbly done by Prapararat Sinsiritrakul. Most of all, the authors wish to express deep appreciation to Professor Chaiyong Chuchart for his guidance and inspiration which were the main drive of the research project. The remaining errors in the study are, however, the authors' own.

Financial assistance from the International Development Research Centre is gratefully acknowledged. Without it, the study would not have been possible.

May, 1980.

Suthiporn Chirapanda
Worwate Tamrongtanyalak

General Country Data

Area 514,000 square kilometres

Population 46 million (1979)

Rate of growth 2.1% per annum.

Administrative units

No. of provinces	:	72
Central	:	25
Northeast	:	16
South	:	14
North	:	17
No. of districts	:	570
No. of <i>Tambon</i>	:	5,000
No. of villages	:	70,000

(*Tambon* is a group of villages)

Total farm households 4.4 million (1976)

Total tenanted farm households 0.9 million (1976)

Total farmland 18.1 million hectares

Total tenanted farmland 2.2 million hectares

Measurement Conversions

US\$ 1.00 = Baht 20.00

1 hectare = 6.25 rais

1 acre = 2.50 rais

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PART A : AN OVERVIEW

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Mass poverty has generally been recognised as widespread in the rural sector of Thailand. People have long regarded farming as a lowly occupation, a stigma which is common in many developing countries, and where the opportunities exist, they search for other kinds of employment. Unfortunately, alternative employment opportunities are very limited and usually require skills incompatible with farming. Even today, over 60% of the Thai population lives in the rural economy, deriving income mainly from agriculture.

Agriculture has always played an important role in Thai history which frequently records exploitation of farmers in many parts of the country. The agents of this exploitation were the middlemen, the grain traders, the moneylenders and the land-owners, and the type of exploitation is similar to that in other developing countries; it varies only in magnitude. Although the farmers have been faced with problems of multi-dimensional natures - political, natural, economic, social and institutional - their voices of complaint have not often been heard. Not surprisingly, as the farming issue was sensitive and coupled with other political factors, the government tended to hesitate to alter the *status quo*.

Land allocation started back in 1935 when the first cooperative was established in order to help farmers buy land which originally belonged to the government on a hire-purchase basis. Three years later, the Cooperative Land Settlement Act was passed. It marked a pioneering attempt to distribute vacant public land to farmers. Another Act, the Land Allocation Act, was passed in 1942. Its purpose was to achieve land distribution through cooperative land settlements or self-help land settlements. Owing to the lack of financial support from the commercial sector, the government established an agricultural bank in 1946 to provide funds for these cooperative land settlements. The bank later grew into the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives. Tenancy problems, centered around excessive rents, led to promulgation of the Land Rent Control Act in 1950. The Act applied to eighteen provinces in the Central Region, but it proved to be ineffective and was later revised in 1974. In 1968, the revised Land Settlement Act was passed and provided that land settlements could be established only when proclaimed by Royal Decree with Cabinet approval. Farmer unrest did not, however, subside. In fact, it became quite nationwide in 1974 when farmers converged on Bangkok in truckloads to launch protests and eventually to submit an ultimatum. Many farm leaders were reportedly assassinated. The situation became so critical that in

1975 an Agricultural Land Reform Act was put into effect. Land reform to help poor or landless farmers then emerged as a national policy of top priority.

Resettlement programmes have been carried out by many government agencies such as the Department of Public Welfare (Ministry of Interior), the Department of Lands (Ministry of Interior), the Department of Cooperatives (Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives) and the Agricultural Land Reform Office (Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives). Not surprisingly, these various agencies have many general objectives in common, particularly improvements in income and living standard among farmers. However, when these objectives are spelt out in detail, differences appear. In practice, implementation on resettlement has taken many forms and has succeeded to varying degrees. For instance, the Department of Public Welfare was first involved with emigration of city dwellers (mainly low-income families) into new vacant areas. Later it became engaged with resettling farmers whose farmland had been flooded after the construction of dams and reservoirs. Considerable financial support was given. By comparison, the Department of Lands was concerned mainly with identifying landholders and issuing title deeds.

The fact that resettlement is the responsibility of many government departments with profound differences among them provides a serious challenge to successful resettlement policy in Thailand. These differences may be divided into four broad policy aspects.^{1/} The first aspect is the size of land allocated to each farm family; there is no single set of criteria to be applied to all types of land settlement. As a result, the size of land allocated varies from place to place and from department to department. Especially in the fifties, when population pressure was not so great, the size of allotment was generally 4 hectares, but at present, it is considerably less. How much less still depends on the decisions of individual responsible government departments. The second aspect revolves around the form of ownership after a given period of time. In some types of land settlements (usually located on state land), certificates of land utilisation are issued to farmers. After ten years, they can be replaced by full title deeds. In land reform projects where the land was formerly forest reserves, the settlers become tenants to the state. The period of tenure is long, though it is not yet specified quantitatively. There are arguments for and against

^{1/} Part C discusses these aspects in greater detail, especially in Chapters VI and VII.

full land ownership for settlers, arguments which could have importance for future land utilisation. On the one hand, it is argued that land ownership is the most valuable asset to a farmer, since it implies both wealth and security to him, and that he would not part with it, unless he were forced to. Furthermore, it can be argued that he would be much more receptive to investment on owned land than on rented land. On the other hand, it is argued that with full land ownership, farmers would sell land for cash and then begin to venture into new virgin land, where illegal squatting would again take place. Since Thailand has adopted a national policy of preserving 40% of the entire kingdom as forest areas (a policy which has never become effective so far), land is allocated to settlers on a rental basis in order to discourage migration. In the final analysis, state-owned land has been placed into two broad classes: as suitable for cultivation and as forest reserve. In the former, title deeds may be issued to settlers; but in the latter case, when farmers squat forest reserve, land titles cannot be given to them, in spite of the fact that the land can no longer be restored to its original state.

The third aspect is focussed upon the provision of supporting services apart from land allocation. Financial

restraints remain one of the factors responsible for differences in the availability and quantity of supporting services in land settlements, but some government departments pay little attention to certain types of services. In land cooperatives, social services are almost non-existent, while self-help land settlements have become interested in multi-purpose cooperatives only recently. The fourth aspect is equally important; it stems from the fact that different types of land settlements have different target groups in the selection of settlers. This arises from the specific objectives behind the various settlement projects. It is most unfortunate that the people who are usually excluded from, or assigned lesser weights in, the selection process, are the growing numbers of landless farmers. Settlement authorities are often too preoccupied with squatters or farmers who live inside the settlement area. Therefore, the landless are likely to remain landless and there is no single central agency responsible for providing job opportunities to them. In addition, at the national level, there is no definite, clear-cut measure designed to assist them either in the short-run or in the long run.

In order to develop policy recommendations on resettlement in Thailand, research effort was required to provide an integrated overview of the programmes currently underway in the

Kingdom. A subsequent comparison of the similarities, dissimilarities, consistencies and inconsistencies of these programmes provided insights enabling us to formulate a set of recommendations which could contribute to improvements in existing resettlement programmes and in resettlement policy in general.

The study on Resettlement in Thailand had the following specific set of objectives. Firstly, it aimed to provide a general overview of the existing situation by collection and analysis of available materials on resettlement in Thailand. Secondly, it aimed to evaluate the social and economic impact of resettlement on settlers affected by the settlement programmes. This was accomplished by a review of project administrations, activities, procedures and policies. Achievements, institutional services, and assistance needed to facilitate settlement programmes were also assessed. Thirdly, it aimed to provide, as its major contribution, a set of policy guidelines and recommendations regarding resettlement in Thailand. This was accomplished by integrating the first two objectives with empirical studies of selected settlement projects; such studies including economic and social aspects such as settler income, resource availability and use, settler attitudes towards development, and the impact of resettlement on the settlers themselves and the

community as a whole.

This report consists of three main parts. Part A is an introduction to resettlement with a review of the literature. Brief details on major settlement programmes currently underway are provided. These programmes are divided into four categories - - self-help land settlement programme, land cooperatives, agricultural land reform programme and miscellaneous settlement schemes - - and dealt with in separate sections. Each section covers mainly with programme objectives, implementation and extent of work.

Part B deals with the field survey of selected settlement schemes and the methodology adopted in sampling and interviewing. The findings are the results of the survey after the data obtained were analysed and assembled in tabular form. In all, there are nineteen settlement projects covered in the analysis. A synthesis is given in order to capture the highlights of the findings. Effort was made to find differences and similarities among the land settlements under study. Part B concludes with a summary of the empirical findings.

In Part C, attention is paid mostly to the policy issues regarding resettlement in Thailand. Present policies are provided as a background. With this, key policy issues are identified and

critically examined. Policy recommendations are made at the end. A bibliography on resettlement in Thailand is also provided.

Review of the Literature

In Thailand, written reports and books related to resettlement are lacking. Those which are available are concerned with specific land settlement schemes. They are usually reports on the socio-economic conditions of farmers and little attention is paid to land settlements on a nation-wide basis. Therefore, it is rather difficult to get a complete picture of resettlement in the whole kingdom. Although the National Economic and Social Development Plan is preoccupied with the settlement schemes, no concrete effort is made to put the whole picture in perspective. Migration studies are focussed on movements of population -- most frequently between rural and urban areas -- without much reference to farmers settling in new areas. This review of the literature ^{2/} cites only a few of the reports studied, but these were specifically chosen as typical of the many others. They effectively represent the stage at which resettlement studies presently are.

2/ The literature cited is taken from part of the books in the Bibliography.

General

1) Leoprapai, Boonlert "Population changes in Central Thailand", a paper presented at the Seminar on Population and Human Settlement, organised by the Office of the National Environment Board and the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, held at Pattaya, Chonburi, on December 18 - 20, 1975.

The paper provided the statistical data for population changes between the years 1919 and 1970. It showed that the rate of population growth for Central Thailand did not significantly differ from the national rate. However, when Bangkok Metropolis was considered separately from the rest of Central Thailand, its rate of population growth was decidedly higher. The main factors determined as contributing to this phenomenon were the natural rate of growth which tended to be high and the death rate which appeared to be declining over time. Migration played a significant role also, but was regarded as secondary to the natural causes. Since the expansion of cultivable land faced limits and since the industrial absorption rate for labour was stagnating, population pressure, especially in urban areas, was considered unavoidable.

2) Piampiti, Suwalli "Migration and its related policies", a paper presented at the Seminar on Population and Human Settlement,

organised by the Office of the National Environment Board and the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, held at Pattaya, Chonburi, on December 18 - 20, 1975.

In her paper, S. Piampiti concentrated on factors which were responsible for stimulating migration. In the past twenty years, population migration has occurred not only between rural areas and Bangkok Metropolis, but also within rural areas. Economic factors seem to have been predominant in all cases. These included differences in income among provinces and unequal employment opportunities. Transportation and communication systems also facilitated population movements. Policies such as deliberate and well-planned industrialisation, reduction of income gaps, development of regional growth centres, and birth control were recommended as remedial measures for these migration problems.

Self-Help Land Settlement Schemes

3) Chirapanda, Suthiporn, Tamrongtanyalak, Worwate; and Janprasert, Jongjate Progress and Evaluation Report on Lamtakhong Land Settlement, 1975 Division of Research and Planning, Agricultural Land Reform Office, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, Bangkok, June 1976.

The book covers a series of social and economic studies on farmers over the 1972-1975 period. An effort is made to

highlight the successes achieved after the establishment of the Thai-German Agricultural Development Project. The analysis deals with various groups of farmers, identified by the institutions with which they were associated. Project evaluation is given in the latter part of the book. The Project results were deemed favourable both by the Project administration and the farmers themselves. Perhaps the main weakness is that the findings were supported by statistical evidence which covered only a limited period.

4) Pawijit, Chamriang; and Thammabut, Chalerm Sri A Study on Immigrants in Toong Poh Talay Self-Help Land Settlement, Kampanget Province Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Thammasart University, Bangkok, 1973 (in Thai).

The report deals with population structure and characteristics in the Toong Poh Talay Self-Help Land Settlement. Attention is paid mostly to the farmers who migrated to the Land Settlement from elsewhere. It discusses the migration pattern as well as the causes of migration. The social relationships between the immigrants and the resident settlers are analysed.

5) Department of Public Welfare Self-Help Land Settlement in Thailand Ministry of Interior, Bangkok, 1971.

The book provides a general history of the self-help land settlement programme in Thailand. Laws and regulations governing the procedure of allocating land is explained, together with the planning aspects of the land settlements. Type of self-help land settlements are discussed. The scope of the programme is given and data are valid for the period ending in May, 1971.

6) Department of Public Welfare Human Settlement in the Form of Self-Help Land Settlement Ministry of Interior, Bangkok (in Thai).

The book identifies the problems which have resulted in low farm income among the rural population. These are population growth which implies smaller land holdings over time, underemployment and unemployment among farmers, the decrease in agricultural productivity and the lack of capital and credit. Another source of problems was fluctuations in farm prices. The book also discusses the role of self-help land settlements in environmental management.

7) Suchinda, Pipat Report on Socio-Economic Conditions among Farmers in Prasat Self-Help Land Settlement, Surin Province, 1974 Department of Public Welfare, Ministry of Interior, and Faculty of Economics and Business Administration, Kasetsart

University, Bangkok, 1975 (in Thai).

This is an example of the many reports on self-help land settlements which present statistical evidence in support of establishing a cooperative society for farmers. It deals with the socio-economic aspects of farmers, e.g. age distribution, level of education, use of farm inputs, pattern of land use, etc. It recommends the formation of cooperatives in land settlements.

Land Cooperative Schemes

8) Department of Cooperatives Land Allocation Under the Land Cooperative Scheme Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, Bangkok, 1976 (in Thai).

It explains the procedure for establishing a land cooperative system - the acquisition of land, planning, land improvement, selection of farmers and land ownership. Advantages of joining land cooperatives are also summarised. The book gives an insight into how a land cooperative is set up and operates.

Agricultural Land Reform Programme

9) Kuvarakul, Manoch Socio-economic Report for Land Reform Planning in Ban Sang District, Prachinburi Province Research Report No. 12, Division of Research and Planning, Agricultural Land Reform Office, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, Bangkok, December 1976 (in Thai).

This is one of a series of socio-economic reports for land reform planning on privately-owned land. These reports are used mainly for two purposes. Firstly, they provide background information at the district level. Secondly, the information obtained is used as a basis for selecting land reform project sites. The reports contain sections on general characteristics of farm households, land tenure, land utilisation, farm assets and debts, and farm and non-farm income. Summaries and proposed recommendations are given also. They are useful in that the extent of landlessness (including tenants) is quantified and known. Furthermore, the data they contain enable us to determine how land reform implementation can be carried out.

10) Attanatho, Chamlong; and Chirapanda, Suthiporn
Current Land Reform in Thailand - 1977 Land Reform Bulletin No.45,
Division of Research and Planning, Agricultural Land Reform Office,
Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, Bangkok, December 1977.

The article gives a brief outline of the land reform programme in Thailand. It singles out four main factors which have led to farmer unrest and which have resulted in the launching of the land reform programme - the emergence of the landless proletariat, the tenancy problem, the question over the issuing of title deeds, and lastly, low farm income. The essential features

of the 1975 Agricultural Land Reform Law are discussed and various stages of implementation are described. The progress made so far is delimited together with problems which have inhibited land reform. Some of the problems cited are the lack of departmental coordination, ill-defined land policy, the sale of public land, the reduction of rent and farm size, the absence of a competent financial institution to support land reform financing and related activities, and finally, the identification of farmers' needs. The latter would form a basis of determining which supporting services would be provided within the land reform framework.

Miscellaneous Settlement Schemes

11). Division of Agricultural Settlements Introduction to Klong Nam Sai War Veterans' Land Settlement War Veterans' Organisation, Bangkok (In Thai, mimeographed).

Although this mimeographed report provides mainly the details of a particular land settlement scheme, it does include general concepts about resettling war veterans in rural areas. In many ways, it contributes to a better understanding of war veterans' land settlements. It includes background information, objectives of the war veterans' settlement, and description of supporting services, settlement administration, settlement problems and settlement obstacles.

12) Department of Land Development Land Development Project in Huahin District of Prachuabkhirikhan Province and Cha-am and Ta Yang Districts of Petchburi Province Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, Bangkok, 1974 (in Thai).

The book provides an insight into a settlement project under royal patronage. It contains information on the establishment of the land development project, on the project objectives, on the methods of project operation, and on the activities of various agencies involved. It also includes an analysis of project evaluation, and a set of conclusions.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTLEMENT PROGRAMMES IN THAILAND

The Self-Help Land Settlement Programme

The self-help land settlement programme was established by the Department of Public Welfare, Ministry of Interior. The main objective was to permanently settle landless farmers or farmers with insufficient land holdings by providing government assistance in land clearing, land development and public services. The aim was to make the farmers eventually self-supporting. When a self-help land settlement became sufficiently developed on economic, social and cultural bases, the status of the self-help land settlement would be dissolved and the settlement would be turned over to local (provincial) authorities. Land title deeds would eventually be issued to the land holders.

Objectives of the self-help land settlement programme

Economic objectives

- 1) To increase agricultural production, with the view of raising income levels among farmers,
- 2) To better utilise land resources which otherwise would be left idle,
- 3) To reduce or even eliminate tenancy problems which are widespread throughout the country.

4) To help conserve natural resources, specifically, water and forests,

5) To bring new, suitable land under cultivation, and

6) To promote rural communities with commercial and agro-industrial centres.

Social objectives

1) To provide the poor with land, in line with the main agricultural policy of the country,

2) To raise sustainable standards of living among the people,

3) To create harmony between the settlement and the rural community as a whole,

4) To relieve population pressures in urban areas,

5) To promote better farming conditions,

6) To eliminate crimes and quarrels relating to land rights, and

7) To improve social welfare of the rural population.

Political objectives

1) To regulate the community system within the self-help land settlements in accordance with community planning and development principles, and

2) To demonstrate the determination of the government in assisting the poor.

The first two self-help land settlements were established in 1940 by the Department of Public Welfare. They were Saraburi and Lopburi land settlements. They were located adjacent to one another and covered 200,000 hectares. In the beginning, there were only 200 applicants. These included tenant farmers, dispossessed farmers, trishaw drivers, and factory workers. Financial and material assistance was provided directly by the Department of Public Welfare. By 1978, the number of farm families residing in the settlements had reached 18,000 (Table 1).

Ordinarily, self-help land settlements were to be established in line with the Land Settlement Act of 1968 or its predecessors. At times, however, they came into operation as a result of a cabinet approval motivated by special needs, interests or objectives. It may be worthwhile to exemplify self-help land settlements as follows.

General settlements Most land settlements under the supervision of the Department of Public Welfare were set up in this category, that is, in accordance with the government policy as expressed in the Land Settlement Act. The overall aim was to allocate public land to the landless.

Southern development settlements Settlements of this kind were located in the southern provinces in furtherance of the government's aim to settle vacant land along the Thai-Malaysian borders with Thai citizens.

Dairy settlement Members of the Thai-Danish Dairy Project were settled in Nakhon Rachasima province in the form of a dairy-farming land settlement.

Relocation Construction of multi-purpose dams inevitably forced permanent flooding in certain areas. The dams could be used for hydro-electricity, irrigation and flood control. Farms had to be evacuated and resettled in another planned settlement.

Settlement for evacuees from sensitive areas This was designed to grant protection to farmers in politically sensitive areas exposed to communist subversion. These farmers were removed and resettled in relatively secure areas.

Border settlements The farmers along the borders often find it difficult to utilise their own land, owing to the fragile relationships between Thailand and certain neighbouring countries. Border settlement evidently needs special attention and care. Some of its activities include volunteer self-defence and armed surveillance.

Implementation

Land selected as a land settlement should cover at least 800 hectares. It may be vacant public land or deteriorated forest reserve which cannot be restored and is suitable for farming. A routine cadastral survey is conducted which yields information on land re-allocation after the land settlement is established. The formalisation of the settlement itself follows a royal decree after the approval of the cabinet.

After soil survey, land use planning is formulated, along with physical planning on infrastructure. The land may be categorised into three parts: farm lots, home lots and service centres. Land settlement planning may adopt either the village system or the line system. The former favours an organised community where home lots are separated from farm lots and are located in the same vicinity. The cost of infrastructure and other services is lower and services are more readily available to members of the land settlement. By contrast, the line system takes into consideration the fact that crops need constant care and protection. Since farmers derive most of their income from cropping, it would be in their vested interests that crops be safeguarded from diseases, and possible thefts. Self-help land settlements are however, heavily in favour of the village system,

especially from the administrative point of view. The size of land per family may not by law exceed 8 hectares, and for practical purposes, farmers are allotted about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 hectares each.

Selection of farmers for land allocation follows the Land Settlement Act of 1968 which requires that farmers fulfil the following conditions.

- 1) The applicant must be of Thai citizenship;
- 2) He/she must have reached a mature age (20 years old) and be the head of a household;
- 3) He/she must be well-behaved and willing to observe the regulations set by the Department of Public Welfare;
- 4) He/she must be healthy and able to farm;
- 5) He/she must not be insane;
- 6) He/she must be landless or, have insufficient land for reasonable living standards; and
- 7) He/she must have no other job from which sufficient income can be derived.

Screening of the applicants is carried out by representatives of the provincial authorities, chaired by the provincial governor. In cases where the number of applicants is greater than the number of lots available, random selection is made.

Table 1 : Extent of Self-Help Land Settlement Schemes, at the end
of 1978.

Province	No. of Schemes	Total Acreage(ha)	Acreage Allotted(ha)	No. of Families
<u>Central Region</u>				
1. Chacherng Sao	1	3,361	2,196	526
2. Nakhon Nayok	1	704	567	277
3. Petchburi	1	6,400	1,061	450
4. Prachuabkhirikhan	1	16,000	9,820	2,025
5. Prachinburi	1	26,000	6,801	1,684
6. Rayong	1	43,300	15,415	3,991
7. Saraburi (including Lopburi)	3	200,260	78,568	18,630
8. Supanburi	1	2,988	1,002	150
<u>Northern Region</u>				
9. Chiang Mai	1	17,920	2,029	2,363
10. Kampanget	1	9,600	4,385	1,334
11. Lam Pang	1	3,217	2,263	943
12. Nakhon Sawan	2	58,016	17,275	4,442
13. Pisanuloke	2	60,478	11,890	3,343
14. Petchaboon	1	302	109	30
15. Uttaradit	2	20,965	10,155	4,136
<u>Northeastern Region</u>				
16. Buriram	1	33,850	13,020	3,255
17. Kalasin	2	23,680	6,337	2,351
18. Khon Kaen	1	59,824	4,855	2,023

Province	No. of Schemes	Total Acreage(ha)	Acreage Allotted(ha)	No. of Families
19. Nakhon Panom	1	19,832	5,600	1,740
20. Korat	2	54,020	13,411	3,952
21. Nong Khai	1	26,500	7,536	2,548
22. Sakon Nakhon	1	17,837	2,257	1,034
23. Si Saket	2	5,824	3,694	868
24. Surin	2	44,320	25,810	2,853
25. Ubon Raja Tani	2	11,790	4,925	2,105
26. Udon Tani	3	46,750	13,399	2,949
<u>Southern Region</u>				
27. Nakhon Si Thammarat	3	6,383	3,037	718
28. Narativat	2	84,352	12,179	3,834
29. Pattani	1	3,200	828	251
30. Pattaloong	1	3,696	1,536	500
31. Puket	1	432	432	30
32. Ranong	1	2,900	800	200
33. Satoon	2	49,600	17,996	5,794
34. Songkla	2	7,920	5,734	1,467
35. Surat Tani	1	5,995	4,869	1,157
36. Yala	2	132,000	55,279	9,136
37. Phangnga	1	3,360	876	219
Whole Kingdom	56	1,108,836	364,955	92,682

Source : Division of Self-Help Land Settlement, Department of Public Welfare, Ministry of Interior, Bangkok, 1979.

Government assistance is based on the principle of self-help. The members of the land settlement are provided with only essential services. Direct assistance includes an allotment of land (not exceeding 8 hectares per family) and a loan of ฿ 3,000 upwards per family. The loan may be used to finance production, home construction or rehabilitation. It is to be repaid with interest. Indirect assistance takes the form of infrastructure and public services such as roads, water supply, schools, markets and extension services.

After allotment, the farmers are to fully utilise the land within five years. Issuance of a title deed is based on the extent of utilisation. In addition, the farmers are required to pay an investment cost of ฿ 100 per rai (equivalent to about US\$ 31 per hectare). For five years, the title deeds are non-transferrable, except by inheritance.

At the stage of development where living standards are sufficiently high and the majority of the land settlement members have been granted title deeds, the land settlement will be transferred to the local (or provincial) authorities for control and supervision. Table 1 indicates the extent of self-help land settlement schemes in Thailand up to 1978. Altogether, there were fifty-six self-help land settlements and more than 92,000 families.

had been allocated land. This is the largest settlement programme of all, in terms of size and the amount of public investment made. Up to 1979, however, only a few settlements have been transferred to local authorities.

The Land Cooperatives

Objectives of the Land Cooperatives

The primary objective of land cooperatives is to allocate land to farmers so that income can be sufficiently derived from it. The land is generally government-owned, but in some cases it is previously privately-owned and later purchased by the government for the purpose of redistribution. The land is developed and allocated to joining members who either were landless or had small holdings. Each member has the right to utilise the land and in some cases, will later claim a title deed. Other objectives include growth of national wealth through the development of new virgin land and the establishment of new communities.

In order to achieve the objectives, the following functions have been specified:

Allocation of land. Each land cooperative will provide land to members according to family size and other criteria. The pattern of land utilisation follows the operational plan of the settlement. Each member must pay an amount of money to cover the

public investment in setting up the cooperative. A small fee is also collected and will be used for land development.

Credit service. Credit service is essential because most of the members are poor and do not have access to capital. It is the single most important activity of the land cooperative.

Marketing service. This service includes the sale of agricultural materials and consumer goods to farmers and also provides a channel for selling farm produce.

Agricultural know-how. This assistance is provided mostly by the government. It embraces advice on new development in agricultural technology and on crop and livestock production. The purpose is to provide additional knowledge to members so as to increase agricultural productivity.

The first land cooperative was established in San Sai District, Chiangmai Province in 1938. The San Sai Land Cooperative started with about 1,300 hectares of land which was at first divided into lots of 4.8 hectares. They were allocated to the students of Mae Joe Agricultural College which was situated in the vicinity of the project area. Later, the lots were reduced to 2.4 hectares and allocated to farmers. Another land cooperative was started three years later in Sawankaloke District, Sukhothai Province with an area of about 30,000 hectares. It was allotted

for cotton production at 4.8 hectares per lot. The growth of the land cooperatives was slowed down temporarily by the Second World War. After the War, the number and size of land cooperatives scattered in different regions of the country.

There are different types of land which a cooperative may acquire. There are public and private land, deteriorated forest reserves, expropriated land and land donated by the King. The source of the land determines the type of land cooperative to be set up, and they may be categorised as follows:

1) Land Settlement Cooperatives. Vacant land which is classified by the National Land Allocation Executive Committee as agricultural land will be acquired for allotment. Farmers who have fulfilled the conditions of the cooperative will later be given the right of ownership.

2) Hire-purchase Land Cooperatives. Land may be purchased in line with provisions under the Land Code. When the farmers have paid all the installments and fulfilled all the requirements, they will be granted the right of ownership.

3) Land Rent Cooperatives. This type of land will be rented out to farmers at a low rental rate. Land ownership will not be transferred to them, but the right of land utilisation can

be inherited. The land provided for this purpose is acquired from three sources, namely, deteriorated forest reserves, expropriated land under the provision of the Agricultural Land Reform Act and land donated by the King.

Implementation

Land acquisition. The Department of Cooperatives can acquire land through purchase from private landowners and through approval of the National Land Allocation Executive Committee in the case of public land. Acquisition of private land is not common and most of the land cooperatives are based on public land. The area of land is usually large so as to justify the volume of investment and the overhead costs. Forest reserves can be used for allocation purposes, when they are extensively squatted by farmers and cannot be restored to their original condition.

Physical planning and land development. Data such as soil survey, rainfall intensity and water resources, etc. are collected and analysed. The information is used for both physical and land use planning. A cadastral survey is also conducted. In due course, basic infrastructure can be developed.

Selection of farmers for land allocation. A screening committee, chaired by the head of the district office, is appointed by the Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives to select qualified

applicants. The conditions are specified as follows:

- 1) The applicant must be of Thai citizenship;
- 2) He/she is well-behaved and willing to observe the regulations set by the Department of Cooperative Promotion;
- 3) He/she is diligent, healthy and able to farm;
- 4) He/she is not insane;
- 5) He/she is landless or has insufficient land for reasonable living standards; and
- 6) His/her qualifications are in accordance with the Cooperative Act.

The Department of Cooperatives will provide the selected farmers with training on the rules and regulations of the cooperative, the principle behind it and the procedure for establishing it, including the rights and duties of the members. When the training is completed, the farmers can then work on the land assigned by the cooperative authority. In distributing land to the farmers, priorities are given to:

- 1) Those persons with legal documents for land within the project area, who transfer the land to the Government without requesting any compensation;

- 2) Those who have occupied and utilised land in the project area, but without any legal document;
- 3) Those residing in the sub-district, district or province where the project area is located; and
- 4) Other persons.

Establishing a cooperative. After the members have been permitted to occupy and utilise the land, the Department of Cooperatives will help them set up a cooperative. It is the government policy that the cooperative will have its own office, fund and personnel. Government officials will serve only as advisers to the cooperative.

Granting right of ownership. As mentioned earlier, only members of a hire-purchase cooperative or a land settlement cooperative will be given the right of ownership when they have fulfilled the conditions set up by the cooperative. One of the obligations is that membership must continue for at least five years. The land distributed to the settlers must be utilised for farming purposes. Other obligations are that the investment recovery cost and the installments on the land must all be paid for, and any debt with the cooperative as well as any long-term loan must be settled. In addition, the settler must gain from the cooperative, to which he or she belongs, an approval for the

Table 2 : Extent of Land Cooperatives, at the end of 1978.

Province	No. of Land Coops.	Total Acreage(ha)	Acreage Arable(ha)	Acreage Allotted(ha)	No. of Families
<u>Central Region</u>					
1. Ayudhaya	1	679	679	679	413
2. Jantaburi	1	14,400	8,640	5,284	1,447
3. Lopburi	1	66,400	48,000	27,949	4,624
4. Nakhon Nayok	1	4,297	4,297	4,297	975
5. Nakhon Patom	1	161	161	161	34
6. Patum Tani	3	22,167	22,167	21,717	3,546
7. Prachinburi	4	73,628	56,220	20,272	4,490
8. Prachuabkhirikhan	1	32,000	19,200	5,843	1,024
9. Petchburi	2	10,880	9,792	5,988	2,249
10. Rayong	1	37,968	30,374	3,840	581
11. Samut Sakhon	1	32,000	23,296	8,540	1,313
12. Samut Prakarn	1	109	109	109	21
13. Supanburi	1	37,699	30,160	7,520	805
<u>Northern Region</u>					
14. Chiang Mai	3	191,204	16,047	10,203	5,270
15. Kampanget	3	25,252	18,452	12,086	2,526
16. Lam Pang	1	6,630	6,630	995	622
17. Pisanuloke	1	54,400	38,400	16,641	2,714
18. Sukhothai	5	30,336	25,925	16,549	5,108
<u>Northern Region</u>					
19. Tak	1	9,424	6,592	2,896	724
20. Uttaradit	2	14,412	13,155	5,733	1,687
<u>Northeastern Region</u>					
21. Burirum	1	6,080	4,864	3,309	882
22. Chayapoom	1	4,499	4,499	4,499	1,479
<u>Northeastern Region</u>					
23. Nakhon Panom	2	32,421	25,938	3,684	971
24. Korat	1	20,953	16,000	5,684	1,178
<u>Southern Region</u>					
25. Choomporn	3	44,518	31,936	17,565	2,775
26. Krabi	1	51,520	32,640	4,954	1,190
27. Nakhon Si Thammarat	1	6,969	5,559	2,847	599
28. Pattaloong	1	613	613	613	219
29. Surat Tani	2	66,680	46,284	2,266	596
Whole Kingdom	48	898,419	546,629	222,723	50,062

Source : Department of Cooperatives, Ministry of Agriculture and
Cooperatives, Bangkok, 1979.

issuance of the title deed or certificate of land utilization. The legal document issued for this purpose cannot be transferred to other persons for five years, except by inheritance, although it may be transferred back to the cooperative.

Land allocation is the main objective of the land cooperative programme, but it is not an end in itself. The success cooperatives relies mainly on its operational organization, but it must also be borne in mind that it also crucially depends on the spirit of the members. Thus far, all land cooperatives are still assisted by government advisers. Financial assistance is mostly provided by the regular government budget, although credit is also made available by the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives. The extent of land cooperatives is shown in Table 2 where they are listed by province. The size of the area and membership is also given. It is widely accepted that the cooperative movement in Thailand is not successful.

The Agricultural Land Reform Programme

The Agricultural Land Reform Office was established by law in late 1975 so as to execute the land reform programme. Changes in government have not altered the essential elements of land reform. In fact, they have even helped in placing increasing emphasis on land reform as one of the top-priority national

policies. This was particularly stimulated as a result of nationwide unrest among farmers, which surfaced on the political scene in 1974 during the Sanya government.

A number of factors were responsible for the unrest.

The first was, that over the preceding decade, Thailand had seen the emergence of the landless proletariat. The size of land was physically limited, while the population was always increasing. Consequently, the pressure on land forced the rural youth to search for new virgin lands. Illegal squatting on national reserve forests was common and it was estimated that no less than 5 million hectares of public land had been brought under cultivation. Thus far, from experience and various scattered sources of evidence, it could be taken as granted that arable land had all been used up. The new additions to the already existing population were then forced to become landless. There was no reliable figure on the size of the landless rural population, or the extent of unemployment, but studies in some selected areas indicated that the landless accounted for some 10% of the total rural population.

The second factor which led to farmer unrest was increasing rents; the farmers repeatedly launched complaints to the government that rents were astronomical. The land-owners often required tenant farmers to pay much more than they could afford.

The government promptly reacted by setting up a drafting committee on rent control law and, by December 1974, the Land Rent Control Act was promulgated.

Under the Act, ceilings were placed on the amount of rent; the rate was made dependent on the type of crop cultivated and the productivity of the land itself. In each of the 570 districts around Thailand, a public notice on the maximum rent payment (normally a third of total produce) was declared in accordance with the law. However, this rent control was for many reasons ineffective.

The law was made inapplicable in cases where the landlord and the tenant agreed on the amount of rent charged. The maximum ceilings set in many districts were higher than the average level already being paid. In addition, because of the sheer size of the population in agriculture, farmers were left with no other alternative than to become tenants, even if rent was high.

A third factor which influenced the farmers' unrest was low income. In general, farm income was low, although it should be borne in mind that this was not so for all parts of the country. Where productivities were low, they were so for two reasons. Either the land had low fertility, especially when it was used over and over without soil improvement measures, or farm water was

lacking, particularly in Northeastern Thailand.

The fourth factor leading to unrest revolved around the issuing of title deeds. ^{3/} Farmers who squatted illegally on public land found it difficult to obtain institutionalized credit to finance farming operations. They also wanted to secure their land through government recognition of ownership rights. The government responded by launching an accelerated programme to issue certificates of land utilisation, but this applied only for some types of public land. The large part of public land, e.g. deteriorated forest reserves, was still excluded.

Associated with the question of issuing title deeds was farm indebtedness which occurred almost invariably throughout the country. Loans from institutional sources were made at a comparatively low interest rate (12% per annum), but non-institutional sources could charge well over 100% interest per year. On this point, the outcry from farmers was clearly

3/ There are three main types of land titles: reserve licenses, certificates of land utilisation, and title deeds. The first represents the right to cultivate land. If the land is not cultivated within a time limit, it has to be returned to the state. The certificates of land utilisation ensure the landholders that within a reasonable period of time, title deeds will be issued. Full ownership is recognised with the title deed.

justifiable.

All the preceding factors were responsible for the farmer unrest movement, and eventually they paved the way for creation of the land reform programme in Thailand.

Objectives of agricultural land reform

Land reform in Thailand is taken to mean " Improvements made in connection with rights and holdings in agricultural land, including housing arrangements, by allocating state land or land purchased or expropriated from land-owners who do not themselves cultivate it or who own land in excess of their rights in accordance with the Agricultural Land Reform Act of 1975, to farmers who are landless or do not have sufficient land for cultivation, and to farmers' institutions on the bases of hire-purchase, renting or rent-free utilisation. In so doing, the State will provide assistance in farming activities, improvements in resources, and productive inputs as well as marketing facilities" (Section 4 in (D 6)).

With the above definition in mind, land reform has the following objectives:

- 1) To enable farmers to have their own land for cultivation,
- 2) To increase the agricultural production and improve

credit and marketing facilities to ensure better economic and social conditions for farmers,

3) To promote farmers' organisations in order to foster growth of the agricultural economy,

4) To promote education, public health, public utilities, and public facilities for the improvement of the rural environment,

5) To reduce the income gap between the rural and urban population.

Some important features of the Agricultural Land Reform Act of 1975^{4/} may be summarised as follows:

1) An Agricultural Land Reform Executive Committee is to be set up, consisting of a number of top-ranking government officials, farmer representatives and experts, with the Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives as the Chairman. The Executive Committee is in charge of establishing policies, measures, bylaws or regulations concerning the implementation of land reform as well as supervision of the so-called Agricultural Land Reform Office.

2) An Agricultural Land Reform Office is to be established under the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives.

^{4/} The complete English version of the Act can be found in (D 6).

The function of this office is to implement the land reform programme.

3) The land reform programme shall be launched immediately. Priorities will be given to areas regarded as trouble spots: areas plagued with landlessness, widespread tenancy and low productivity. A Royal Decree will be issued on areas to be designated as *Land Reform Areas*.

4) Under the Act, tenant farmers or landless farmers are entitled to receive not more than 8 hectares of cropland for agricultural use. Payment is to be made under a long-term amortisation basis. Each family is not allowed to own more than 16 hectares of land for raising of large animals.

5) For lands purchased from private owners by the Government, the Government will pay a part of the total value in cash, and the remaining in Government bonds with a redemption period of 10 years. The rate of interest is 6% per annum.

6) Those who have less than three hectares of land will not be affected by the land reform programme, but any piece of land that is in excess of 3 hectares and not used for agricultural purposes by the owner, the Government shall have the power to purchase or expropriate.

7) Farmers who need to retain more than eight hectares of land for agricultural purposes are allowed to make a petition if they can prove that they have cultivated that piece of land at least one year prior to the enactment of the Act. In addition, they must be able to show the Government that they have all the necessary implements for cultivation on the requested amount of land, and will cultivate the land themselves. However, the amount of land requested shall not exceed 160 hectares, and the Government is empowered to purchase or expropriate the land at a later date if the petitioners fail to comply with the conditions stipulated by the Agricultural Land Reform Executive Committee.

8) Land-owners who have more than 160 hectares of land and have been engaged in agricultural activities for more than one year will be entitled to retain their properties only upon the approval of the Agricultural Land Reform Executive Committee, provided that their business falls under Government's promotion, i.e., properties which are run under modern farming methods and well-endowed in projects to assist farmers in increasing production, to assist in agricultural development, and to promote agricultural production and industry. After fifteen years, a farmers' institution has the right to take up to 60% of the shares in such

enterprises.

9) With regard to assessment of agricultural land value, the Government will base its value on the following factors: acquisition of land, soil fertility, location and output of the main crop.

Land reform implementation

There are three main stages to implementation of the land reform programme.^{5/} The details of each stage are provided below.

Preparation Pre-feasibility studies on potential land reform areas are carried out, taking into consideration social, economic and engineering aspects. Areas selected for the land reform programme should have high tenancy rates, low productivity and low potential for development. With the approval of the Agricultural Land Reform Executive Committee, they are declared as *Land Reform Areas* by a Royal Decree. Automatically a Provincial Land Reform Office is established to be directly in charge of the *Land Reform Area*. Within ninety days, land-owners within the *Land Reform Area* must register their land with the Provincial Land Reform Office, giving full account of the land, including identification of land title, land use, etc. A handbook of land

^{5/} For further details and discussion of land reform issues, see Chirapanda (D 3).

value appraisal is also prepared for each *Land Reform Area*.

For public land where land-ownership is illegal, legal investigations are made on the extent of squatting. A list of squatters with details of the size of the squatted land is made.

Land allocation For private land, absentee land-owners are approached about voluntary land sales. If agreed upon, compensation is then made. Otherwise, expropriation measures are carried out. After acquisition, land is sold to tenants and landless farmers. For public land, land is allocated to landless farmers and squatters. They are required to pay a nominal rent to the government in return for recognition as legal holders of land.

Development There are three activities which are carried out by the Agricultural Land Reform Office: provision of water supplies for household consumption, provision of access roads, and provision of small irrigation schemes. Other activities remain the responsibility of other government agencies. The Agricultural Land Reform Office plays a coordinating role in this only.

By the end of the fiscal year 1979, there were seventy-nine *Land Reform Areas* in thirty-two provinces. The total area brought under land reform was roughly one million hectares, two-thirds of which were public land and one third tenanted private land. Table 3 indicates the provinces with *Land Reform Areas* and

Table 3 : Extent of Agricultural Land Reform Programme, 1979

Province	Land (hectares)		
	Private ^{a/}	Public	Total
<u>Central Region</u>			
1. Ayudhaya	72,751	-	72,751
2. Chacherng Sao	71,354	37,459	108,813
3. Chainat	-	752	752
4. Kanchanaburi	-	89,120	89,120
5. Lopburi	31,549	33,055	64,604
6. Nakhon Nayok	56,845	-	56,845
7. Nakhon Patom	31,853	-	31,853
8. Patum Tani	47,383	-	47,383
9. Prachinburi	12,716	8,774	21,490
10. Rachaburi	-	6,207	6,207
11. Saraburi	-	30,896	30,896
12. Supanburi	-	3,749	3,749
<u>Northern Region</u>			
13. Chiang Mai	-	1,304	1,304
14. Chiang Rai	-	4,843	4,843
15. Kampanget	-	4,029	4,029
16. Nakhon Sawan	16,000	25,171	41,171
17. Nan	-	4,000	4,000
18. Pa Yao	-	4,730	4,730
19. Petchaboon	-	11,905	11,905
20. Pichit	-	45,375	45,375
21. Sukhothai	-	5,402	5,402
22. Uthai Tani	-	12,124	12,124
<u>Northeastern Region</u>			
23. Buriram	-	3,330	3,330
24. Kalasin	-	13,106	13,106
25. Khon Kaen	-	5,200	5,200
26. Korat	-	67,141	67,141
27. Nakhon Panom	-	844	844
28. Nong Khai	-	10,012	10,012
29. Roi Et	-	131,776	131,776
30. Si Saket	-	40,445	40,445
31. Surin	-	94,301	94,301
32. Udon Tani	-	960	960
Whole Kingdom	340,451	696,010	1,036,461

Source : Agricultural Land Reform Office, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, Bangkok, 1979.

^{a/} Private land refers to the total tenanted land in the *Land Reform Areas* where reform of privately-owned land was in operation.

the total acreage covered. A cadastral survey of about 481,490 hectares was completed. The amount of land purchased from private land-owners was approximately 15,791 hectares. Of the land acquired, only 6,043 hectares were distributed to 1,965 families by the end of the 1979 fiscal year. There was also limited infrastructural development in the *Land Reform Areas*. It is apparent that the land reform programme has not yet been implemented on a major scale.

Miscellaneous Settlement Schemes

The Land Allocation Programme

Following a series of farmers' protests in Bangkok and outlying provinces, the government finally negotiated with the farmer leaders and an agreement was reached in November, 1974. As a part of the agreement, the government promised to allocate land to the landless farmers as quickly as possible. Since then, the land allocation programme henceforth came into existence. In brief, it involved allocation of land to farmers and issuance of land documents.

Objectives of the land allocation programme

There are two types of the land allocation programme carried out by the Department of Lands. The first type deals with allocation of land whose size does not exceed 1,600 hectares in

total. The second, of course, is concerned with land of sizes larger than 1,600 hectares in total. Under the first, land is subdivided and simply allocated to the farmers. No supporting services are provided. However, when land exceeds 1,600 hectares in size, limited supporting services may be provided. Associated with the second type of land allocation, the objectives are as follows.

- 1) To allocate land to the landless and to small farmers and to assist them through provision of land clearing, water supplies and roads,
- 2) To increase agricultural productivity and subsequently raise living standards among farmers,
- 3) To reduce illegal squatting on state land and landlessness among farmers, and
- 4) To develop land according to optimal land use.

Implementation

In carrying out the land allocation programme, a reconnaissance survey on arable land is first made by the district office. Selection of particular areas for allocation is done by a provincial committee. Then a public notice is issued to farmers requesting them to submit in written form an application for land allotment. There are two selection committees to screen applicants.

Table 4 : Extent of Land Allocation Programme, at the end of 1978.

Province	Acreage Allotted (ha)	No. of Families
<u>Central Region</u>		
1. Kanchanaburi	5,378	4,216
2. Petchburi	2,114	444
3. Rachaburi	3,751	2,275
4. Rayong	292	68
<u>Northern Region</u>		
5. Chiang Mai	1,280	2,697
6. Chiang Rai	6,699	3,509
7. Lam Pang	2,257	3,098
8. Lam Poon	2,448	1,758
9. Mae Hong Sorn	426	808
10. Nan	4,452	3,416
11. Petchaboon	1,897	1,228
12. Pisanuloke	1,075	336
13. Prae	1,274	1,207
14. Sukhothai	307	77
15. Tak	2,770	1,477
<u>Northeastern Region</u>		
16. Buriram	352	110
17. Chayapoom	1,280	617
18. Khon Kaen	1,621	556
19. Korat	646	182
20. Loei	14,702	5,305
21. Nakhon Panom	3,837	6,094
22. Nong Khai	1,820	848
23. Sakon Nakhon	2,434	672
24. Surin	1,137	440
25. Ubon Raja Tani	14,347	10,192
26. Udon Tani	1,534	1,003
<u>Southern Region</u>		
27. Choomporn	1,091	341
28. Narativat	1,152	317
29. Pang Nga	653	453
30. Pattani	1,112	1,218
31. Ranong	171	102
32. Satoon	1,807	811
33. Yala	1,005	202
Whole Kingdom	87,123	56,077

Source : Department of Lands, Ministry of Interior, Bangkok, 1979.

One is responsible for small-size land allocation. It is chaired by the head of the district office. The other committee, chaired by the provincial governor, is responsible for large-size land allocation. The usual procedure for investigation of present land use is carried out, along with a cadastral survey. Full land ownership is possible, but a series of conditions have to be satisfied. These conditions include utilisation of the land within six months after a legal permit is issued, and utilisation of three-fourths of the land allotted within three years.

Supporting services are, to a limited extent, possible only for the large-size land allocation programme. They include provision of water supplies for domestic use, land clearing of about one hectare for farming and housing purposes, and road-building.

By the end of 1978, approximately 56,077 families had been allocated land. Table 4 gives the amount of land allotted to them. It should be pointed out that the land allocation programme has a major weakness in that it does not provide adequate supporting services to the farmers. After a specified period of occupancy of the land, the farmers themselves are entitled to receive the land title deeds.

The War Veterans' Land Settlement Projects

As one of its measures to assist the war veterans and their families, the War Veterans' Organisation established a land settlement programme. It was primarily designed to help those who were landless or unemployed after completion of armed services for the country. The war veterans' settlement programme mostly followed the example of the self-help land settlement programme, initiated by the Department of Public Welfare. In fact, some war veterans' settlements were set up because of recommendations by the Department of Public Welfare itself. Rules and regulations hence are very similar to those of the self-help land settlement programme.

Objectives of the war veterans' settlement programme

- 1) To provide land to war veterans and their families who are landless or have insufficient land holding for farming purposes,
- 2) To raise living standards of war veterans and their families, and
- 3) To develop and expand public utilities so that they become readily available to war veterans and their families.

Implementation

Land brought under the war veterans' settlement programme falls into two categories: private land which the War Veterans' Organisation acquires through purchases, and public land which is granted by the government for settlement purposes.

Apart from land allocation, the War Veterans' Organisation also aims to provide irrigation and domestic water supplies, access and main roads, health facilities, marketing facilities, schools, agricultural extension, housing and internal security. In short, it covers all types of services to the farmers so that they may overcome the harsh conditions at the initial stages of settlement.

The selection criteria adopted are as follows:

- 1) The applicant must be a war veteran, a member of a war veteran family, or a retired soldier;
- 2) The applicant must be a Thai citizen;
- 3) The applicant must be at least 20 years of age or head of a family;
- 4) The applicant must be healthy, sane and not crippled (Exceptions for cripples can be allowed by the settlement authorities);

5) The applicant must be landless or have insufficient land; and

6) The applicant must not be a member of any other government land settlement scheme.

The screening is carried out by the respective provincial governor, the provincial land officer, the provincial forestry officer, the head of the district and the head of the land settlement. Selected applicants are subject to testing and training for at least two months before official registration of membership. The size of land allocated to each member cannot exceed 4 hectares. The actual allotment depends on the productivity of land and the value of the main product.

Settlement members are entitled to receive land titles, provided that certain conditions are fulfilled. In the case of private land, they must oblige the purchase agreement and have paid for the entire piece of land. In the case of state land, at least three-fifths of the land must be utilised and all debts incurred by the land holder must be paid. However, in the case of state land, issuance of title deeds is usually slow because of bureaucratic delays. Table 5 demonstrates the extent of war veterans' land settlement projects in Thailand at the end of 1976.

Table 5: Extent of War Veterans' Land Settlement Projects, at the end of 1978.

Province	No. of Projects	Total Acreage(ha)	Acreage Allotted(ha)	No. of Families
1. Chiang Rai	1	3,426	668	167
2. Korat	2	408	408	102
3. Patum Tani	1	88	88	11
4. Prachinburi	1	960	604	151
5. Saraburi	1	848	422	66
6. Ubon Raja Tani	1	4,800	1,416	354
7. Udon Tani	1	960	780	195
Whole Kingdom	8	11,490	4,386	1,046

Source: War Veterans' Organisation, Ministry of Defence, Bangkok, 1979.

The Forest Villages

Objectives of Forest Villages

The Forest Products' Organisation adopted the forest village system in 1967, when it realised that a reafforestation programme was needed to save the nation's forest reserves. The main objectives of a forest village may be summarised as follows:

- 1) To eradicate shifting cultivation by settling the farmers in pre-specified areas,

- 2) To provide land to the farmers for farming purposes,
- 3) To provide income and employment opportunities to the farmers through the reafforestation programme, and
- 4) To organise the farmers into groups so as to provide public utilities and supporting services.

Implementation

By the end of 1978, thirty-five forest villages had been established and were in operation throughout the Kingdom (see Table 6). Each forest village is supposed to be initiated with a reafforestation programme of 160 hectares of land per unit. The reafforestation unit consists of a hundred families whose labour is to be employed in replanting and crop care. The payment for labour is made according to the acreage worked: for the first year of replanting, the maximum is \$50.00 per hectare, and for the second year and thereafter, it is \$25.00 per hectare per year. An allotment of 1.6 hectares is provided to each farmer for reafforestation. The land itself may be used for crop farming while the trees are still small. Thus they can derive extra income from cropping as well. Moreover, the farmers are also entitled to receive an additional reward in cash when they have exceeded the ceilings required. Each family has about one hectare of land for residential and gardening purposes. With this piece of land, the

Table 6 : Extent of Forest Villages, at the end of 1978.

Province	No. of Projects	Acreage reafforested (ha)	No. of Families
<u>Central Region</u>			
1. Prachinburi	2	1,048	66
2. Kanchanaburi	1	86	-
<u>Northern Region</u>			
3. Chiang Mai	2	1,604	96
4. Lam Pang	5	8,904	299
5. Lam Poon	1	1,449	35
6. Nakhon Sawan	1	221	64
7. Pisanuloke	1	1,750	63
8. Prae	3	2,413	85
9. Sukhothai	2	1,862	118
10. Tak	1	464	14
11. Uttaradit	1	196	13
<u>Northeastern Region</u>			
12. Chayapoom	3	299	70
13. Kalasin	1	818	100
14. Roi Et	1	400	-
15. Nong Khai	1	150	10
16. Si Saket	1	334	39
17. Ubon Raja Tani	1	280	65
18. Udon Tani	1	318	20
<u>Southern Region</u>			
19. Choomporn	1	249	-
20. Krabi	1	660	27
21. Surat Tani	3	1,561	74
22. Trang	1	821	22
Whole Kingdom	35	25,887	1,280

Source : Forest Products' Organisation, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, Bangkok, 1979.

farmers can grow vegetables or even field crops on a regular basis to ensure a reasonable level of income. As Table 6 shows, the forest village system is still small. Only 1,280 families have joined with forest villages so far. The programme has encountered a number of problems which are mostly similar to those in other settlement schemes. A special feature is that the farmers tend to care for their own field crops much more than for the replanted trees. Although the main bulk of their income is derived as hired labour, they always look for a larger piece of land which they can own and cultivate.

The Land Development Projects

The Department of Land Development is also one of the agencies which are directly responsible for land settlement schemes. It emphasises the methods by which land can be developed and improved for greater efficiency. This would increase crop yields and also the level of farm income. Despite the fact that there are only a limited number of land development projects in Thailand, they do serve to demonstrate land development techniques. Perhaps, a key factor in this is that the land development project in the district of Hua Hin, Prachuabkhirikhan Province was established by His Majesty the King. It is much publicised and is deemed a

pilot project which should set precedents for other land settlement schemes.

Objectives of land development projects

- 1) To obtain maximum productive efficiency on resource use,
- 2) To provide land to farmers for farming and residential purposes, and
- 3) To promote self-help and mutual cooperation among farmers in a way that will contribute to social and economic betterment of the farming population.

Implementation

Planning A soil survey is carried out in order to identify soil series and produce a soil capability map. Land use planning is then sketched, incorporating soil and water conservation within it. The zoning of the land determines the size and location of the residential area, farmland, community centre etc. Infrastructural development activities such as road construction and administrative offices are also planned. At the farm level, farm management techniques are selected and recommended to the farmers.

Operations Farmers are selected according to the criteria imposed. They are organised in groups so as to facilitate administration by the land settlement authorities. Land development is carried out, including land clearing and conservation. Supporting services are provided for the farmers. This is done through establishment of water supplies, electric facilities, health centres, schools, etc. In the end, land is distributed to the farmers in line with recommended sizes. The farmers themselves are encouraged to form cooperatives to obtain farm advice, credit, farm inputs and markets for farm produce.

Table 7 : Extent of Land Development Projects, at the end of 1978.

Province	No. of Projects	Total Acreage(ha)	Acreage Allotted(ha)	No. of Families
1. Kampanget	1	11,625	10,664	3,581
2. Lampang/Nan/Prae	1	19,068	6,636	5,260
3. Prachuabkhirikhan/ Petchburi	1	8,800	2,200	609
4. Chayapoom	1	3,232	1,800	750
Whole Kingdom	4	42,725	21,300	10,200

Source : Department of Land Development, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, Bangkok, 1979.

Up to 1979, four land development projects were in operation, as indicated in Table 7. They provided land to 11,696 farmers. The limited scope of the Department of Land Development projects implies that they are intended to be pilot in character. They demonstrate how land can be developed and utilised efficiently. In spite of this, many other land settlement schemes fail to follow these successful land development techniques, and their relatively weak performances are probably due to this factor.

The Forest Community Development Villages

In order to protect natural environments from illegal squatting and also to venture into the reafforestation programme, the Department of Forestry initiated a development programme in which so-called forest community development villages were to be set up. The programme was approved by the cabinet in April, 1975. In 1976, an ambitious plan was launched, covering nineteen separate areas. However, there were several shortcomings, e.g. financial difficulties, implementation problems and lack of government support. These constituted the main stumbling blocks against meaningful progress. By the end of the year 1978, very few of the forest community development villages that were originally projected by the overall programme are well underway.

Objectives of forest community development villages

Two objectives are outstanding with regard to forest community development villages. The first objective is to re-settle land outside watershed conservation areas, offering plots of at most 2.4 hectares per family. Full ownership of land is not granted but tenancy is inheritable. The second objective is to re-plant the watershed conservation area with trees.

Reafforestation is done by hiring the farmers. In this way, extra income is created for them.

Implementation

As a first step, legal investigations are made on the land rights and the sizes of holdings among the farmers. This forms the basis for land allocation. Land-use planning is also carried out to identify how and to what extent land can be utilised. Plots of about 2.4 hectares each are then allocated to selected farmers. The Department of Forestry, like many other departments, foresaw the importance and, indeed, necessity of having supporting services provided to the villagers. These include water supplies, roads, farm credit and marketing facilities.

Until 1977, the Department of Forestry has made little progress in organising forest community development villages.

Table 8 : Extent of Forest Community Development Villages, at the end of 1978.

Province	No. of Villages	Acreage reafforested(ha)	No. of Families
<u>Central Region</u>			
1. Prachinburi	2	976	866
2. Saraburi	1	400	88
<u>Northern Region</u>			
3. Lam Poon	1	563	220
<u>Northeastern Region</u>			
4. Korat	1	592	150
5. Si Saket	2	1,056	209
6. Ubon Raja Tani	2	624	218
7. Udon Tani	1	624	150
<u>Southern Region</u>			
8. Nakhon Si Thammarat	1	752	254
Whole Kingdom	10	5,174	2,243

Source : Department of Forestry, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, Bangkok, 1979.

Apart from budgetary and personnel constraints, the very concept of the forest community development village poses a number of questions to the public, especially the farmers themselves. For example, the size of land distributed to each farmer is set at a maximum of 2.4 hectares, which in many parts of the country is insufficient to derive a reasonable level of income. Consequently, resistance from the farmers is inevitable. As indicated in Table 8, there were ten villages established by the end of 1978. The size of the land reafforested was only 5,174 hectares. About 2,243 farmers joined in these forest community development villages.

PART B :

AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF SELECTED SETTLEMENTS

CHAPTER III

THE RESEARCH

Migration has been for years a critical factor in the rural economy of Thailand. The evidence from the 1970 Population Census indicates that during 1960 - 1970, out of the 1,770,000 migrants, all over Thailand only about 35% (about 620,000) were from urban areas. In addition, the movements occurred mostly within regions and between the nearby provinces. Migration, however, had not received much attention from the government, until its effects on shifting cultivation and illegal squatting were realised. Migration was generally influenced by certain "push" and "pull" factors. Economic factors were, in most cases, the major consideration. Nevertheless, it should be recognised that social and political variables such as housing facilities, public services and government policies certainly had a strong influence on migration as well. For the Thai rural sector, poverty, employment opportunities and landlessness have frequently been identified as constituting the major causes of migration. Due to lack of experience with non-farm work, many farmers were forced to search for untapped virgin land and, consequently, squatting on reserve forests was a common practice among them. With increasing pressure from population growth, and improving transportation and

communication facilities, it can be expected that rural-rural migration will be proceeding more sharply.

Experience from industrialised countries has shown that the agricultural sector has contributed to overall development by releasing farm workers for employment in industry. But in Thailand as well as other developing countries, migration from the rural to urban areas is advancing much more rapidly than can be absorbed by the growth in urban services and employment opportunities. As a result, population density, inadequate public services and urban unemployment are becoming more and more serious problems. Although the government does not as yet have any specific policy and programme of action on migration, it has at times used land allocation as an indirect measure to alleviate the problems related to unwanted migration. In addition, some government departments which are involved with the construction of dams and reservoirs must somehow persuade or even force farmers in flooded areas to resettle in other areas. In the end, they often find themselves engaging in land settlement programmes without clearly specified policies and the resettlement practice among them is very inconsistent. Some programmes have been implemented independently, whereas others have been implemented in cooperation with other agencies. In other words, the scope and extent of the programmes

are not well-defined and clear-cut.

It is inevitable then that the settlers receive varying services and benefits, depending on the type of land settlement. This leads to differing degrees of success (or failure) among land settlements. It should be emphasised here, however, that the settlers initially expect better living standards, both economically and socially, and income is obviously the major consideration. An analysis of the differing successes or failures of these resettlement programmes was attempted so that further remedial action might be recommended.

Part B gives the results of an empirical study of selected land settlements. The selection was based on the results of discussions with officials of respective government agencies. An attempt was made to obtain a true representation of the general picture on the resettlement programme in Thailand. It was also partly based on the distance among the land settlements, because if the location had been too scattered, it would have placed an unnecessary burden on the survey workers. Research methodology is discussed below, along with the sampling framework. The selected settlements, totalling nineteen, were analysed using the primary and secondary data collected.

Research Methodology

The research methodology consisted of two procedures. The first procedure dealt with collection of secondary data which were either published or available as unpublished records at various government agencies involved in settlement schemes. The data were descriptive with few reliable statistics. In cases where statistical figures were available, they were often outdated and scattered. The complete collection of related writings required considerable time and effort, and this study on Resettlement in Thailand represents a major step in development by combining the works on settlement programmes in Thailand for the first time. It thus provides an opportunity to compare and contrast existing settlement programmes in order to derive solid basic conclusions about settlement policies and to determine the implications of future courses of action.

The second research procedure concerned surveying the farmers in selected settlement projects through field interviews. The survey provided an excellent chance to obtain first-hand information which otherwise would not have been available. In addition, casual observation was possible and revealed interesting facts. The settlement programmes in Thailand may be divided arbitrarily into four categories. They are as follows:

- A. Self - Help Land Settlement Schemes
- B. Land Cooperatives
- C. The Agricultural Land Reform Programme
- D. Miscellaneous Settlement Schemes

- (1) The Land Allocation Programme by the Department of Lands,
- (2) War Veterans' Land Settlement Projects by the War Veterans' Organisation,
- (3) Forest Villages by the Forest Products' Organisation,
- (4) Land Development Projects by the Department of Land Development,
- (5) Forest Community Development Villages by the Department of Forestry.

As a matter of fact, under category D, there were more than five types of schemes listed here but, because of the relative insignificance of the other types (such as those by the Department of Corrections or the Office of Accelerated Rural Development) they were not considered in this study. The study attempted to explore the work done on the various land settlement programmes in Thailand, as well as to compare and contrast them in order to make recommendations on policy formulation and its implications. In

order to distinguish the migrants from the resident farmers, the sample was divided into three groups. Group I consisted of those who lived in the district where the settlement was situated, Group II consisted of migrants from other districts but within the province where the settlement was located, and Group III consisted of farmers from other provinces. Such division enabled us to compare and contrast farmers in relation to their migratory status.

Resettlement affects economic and social conditions in the place of origin and also the place of destination of the settlers. Keeping this in mind, the study aimed to compare the achievements of the four classes of land settlement programmes as well as the three groups of settlers. In general, farm and non-farm income was considered as a major indicator of the success of a programme. The analysis was, therefore, focussed on the factors that constitute sources of income such as the use of land and the type of crop. Information on assets and indebtedness was also collected in order to assess the level of wealth among the settlers. The assets were grouped into five categories: land, buildings, equipment, animals and others. On social conditions, the success of assimilation was evaluated on the basis of the number of contacts among resident and migrant settlers, as well as government officials. The settlers' opinions on services and

problems were also analysed in order to determine whether they were satisfied with the settlement conditions. Through the analysis of the data as mentioned above, it was possible then to evaluate the effectiveness of the settlement programmes with regard to the allocation of resources and, more generally, the economic development of the country. In addition, the results of the study allowed us to assess policy implications and, in so doing, paved the way to policy recommendations on resettlement.

Sampling Framework

In this part of the study, attention concentrated upon the three main classes of settlement programmes, namely: self-help land settlement schemes, land cooperatives and miscellaneous settlement schemes. The war veterans' land settlement projects and forest villages are the only two types of settlements included in the miscellaneous class because of the limited scope of operation and the recent introduction of schemes by other government departments. Examples of the limited schemes not included in this survey are the land allocation programme (under the Department of Lands), land development projects (under the Department of Land Development) and forest community development villages (under the Department of Forestry). The agricultural land reform programme has been excluded because it is still in its infancy. The exclusion

of these programmes does not mean that they are insignificant. It was simply felt that they were as yet too new to provide useful and comprehensive data.

The survey was conducted from November 1976 to February 1977. The size of the sample was set in advance at about eighty households per settlement. However, in some cases, particularly for the war veterans' land settlements and the forest villages where the size of membership was small, the sample size had to be reduced accordingly. In total, nineteen settlements scattered in four regions were selected. The location of the settlements in terms of the district and province is provided in Table 9 below.

To put this into a broader picture, the locations are indicated on the following map of Thailand in which the provinces with the settlements studied are identified. With regard to the field survey, it should be noted that three out of the nineteen land settlements were not investigated by the present research group. The data for these settlements (the Ban Kruat, Lam Pao and Phon Phisai Self-Help Land Settlements) had already been gathered during a study completed in 1975 for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The project covered five Northeastern Self-Help Land Settlements, with the aim to review the policies and programmes relating to land settlement under the

Table 9 : Location of Settlements under survey

Settlements	District	Province
<u>Self-Help Land Settlements</u>		
1. Ban Kruat	Ban Kruat	Buriram
2. Lam Pao	Sahat Sakhan	Kalasin
3. Mukdaharn	Kam Soi	Nakhon Panom
4. Phon Phisai	Phon Phisai	Nong Khai
<u>Land Cooperatives</u>		
5. Ban Rai	Muang Muang Bang Koon Tian	Samut Sakhon Samut Prakarn Bangkok
6. Sa Kaew	Sa Kaew	Prachinburi
7. Hang Chat	Hang Chat	Lam Pang
8. Ta Yang	Ta Yang	Petchburi
9. Lang Suan	Lang Suan	Choomporn
10. Nakhon Choom	Muang	Kampangpet
11. San Sai	San Sai	Chiang Mai
12. Bang Sapan	Bang Sapan	Prachuabkhirikhan
13. Kham Talay Soh	Kham Talay Soh	Korat
14. Ban Sang	Ban Sang	Prachinburi
<u>Miscellaneous Settlements</u>		
15. Klong Nam Sai War Veterans' Settlement	Aran Ya Pratet	Prachinburi
16. Mae Chan War Veterans' Settlement	Mae Chan	Chiang Rai
17. Mae Moh Forest Village	Mae Moh	Lam Pang
18. Sa Kaew Forest Village	Sa Kaew	Prachinburi
19. Som Det Forest Village	Muang	Kalasin

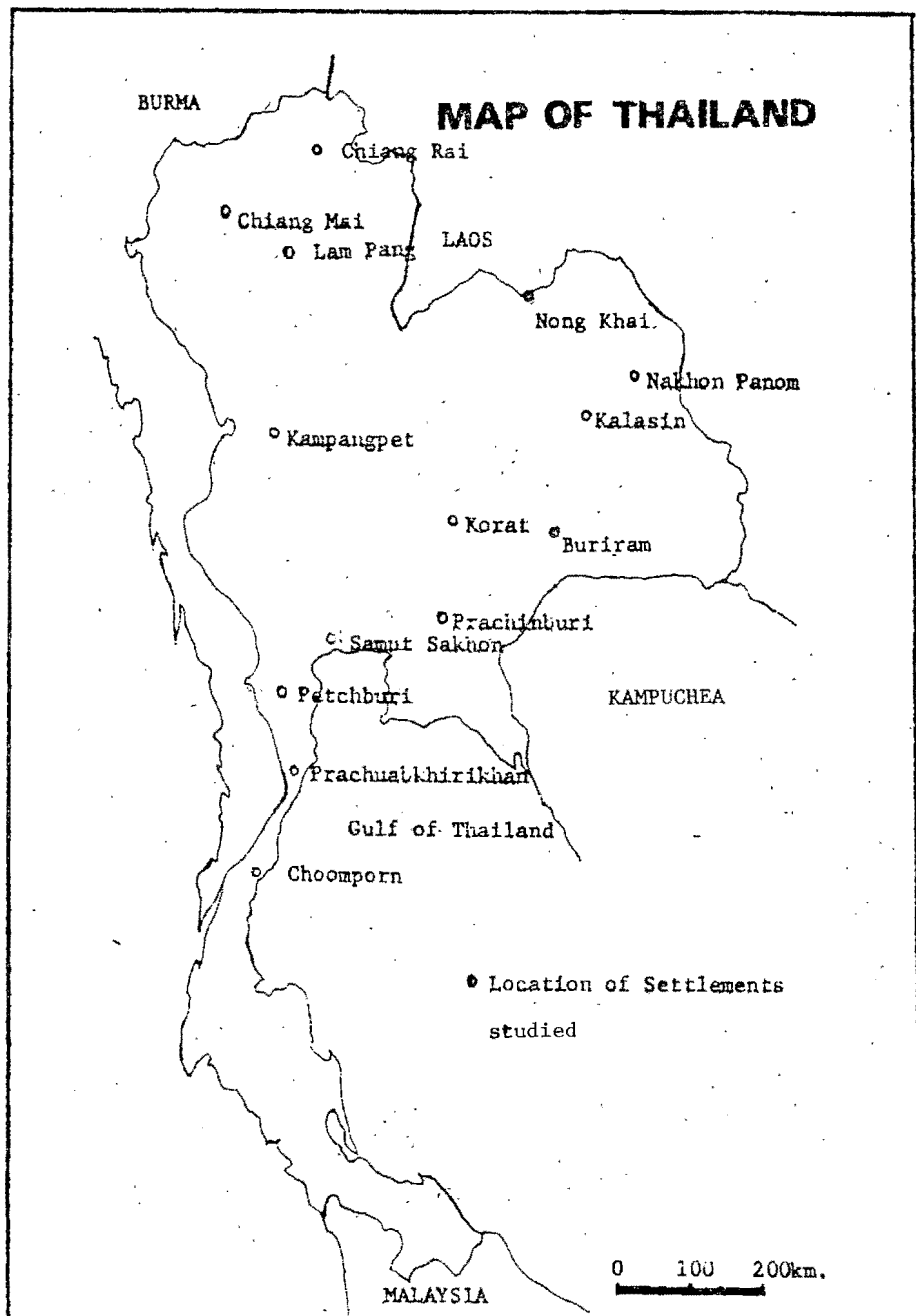


Table 10 : Sample size, by settlement and group, 1976

Name of Settlement	Group			
	I	II	III	All
<u>Self-Help Land Settlement</u>				
1. Ban Kruat	10	39	43	92
2. Lam Pao	60	9	4	73
3. Mukdaharn	3	9	65	77
4. Phon Phisai	31	-	49	80
<u>Land Cooperatives</u>				
5. Ban Rai	58	7	6	71
6. Sa Kaew (L.C.)	26	48	6	80
7. Hang Chat	23	38	1	62
8. Ta Yang	67	17	-	84
9. Leng Suan	26	1	24	51
10. Nakhon Choom	2	2	51	55
11. San Sai	49	9	5	63
12. Bang Sapan	20	9	41	70
13. Kham Talay Soh	54	20	4	78
14. Ban Sang	60	1	-	61
<u>Miscellaneous</u>				
15. Klong Nam Sai	-	5	30	35
16. Mae Chan	10	21	15	46
17. Mae Moh	1	8	9	18
18. Sa Kaew (F.V.)	-	1	12	13
19. Som Det	6	11	4	21
Total	506	255	369	1,130

Note : Group I = farmers who originally lived in the district where the land settlement is located.
 Group II = farmers who originally lived in the province but not the district where the land settlement is located.
 Group III = farmers who originally lived in provinces other than where the land settlement is located.

Table 11 : Some characteristics about settlements under survey, 1976

Name of Settlement	Year Started	Total Acreage (ha)	Acreage Arable (ha)	Acreage Allotted (ha)	No. of Families	Size Allotted (ha/lot)
<u>Self-Help Land Settlements</u>						
1. Ban Kruat	1959	33,850	27,130	13,020	3,255	4.0
2. Lam Pao	1965	18,880	14,523	4,181	1,742	2.4
3. Mukdaharn	1956	19,832	15,058	5,600	1,740	2.9
4. Phon Phisai	1955	26,500	19,496	6,134	2,074	4.0
<u>Land Cooperatives</u>						
5. Ban Rai	1940	32,000	23,296	8,469	1,312	4.8-14.4
6. Sa Kaew	1973	12,640	8,460	3,700	925	4.0
7. Hang Chat	1970	6,630	6,620	2,400	494	1.6 ^{a/}
8. Ta Yang	1950	5,600	5,040	2,692	1,460	0.8-8.0
9. Lang Suan	1963	11,200	9,600	5,974	1,020	4.8-6.4
10. Nakhon Choom	1954	5,424	3,548	1,490	319	4.8 ^{b/}
11. San Sai	1938	1,300	1,300	1,300	622	2.4-4.8 ^{a/}
12. Bang Sapan	1975	32,000	19,200	3,200	589	1.6-16.0
13. Kham Talay Soh	1975	20,953	16,000	5,232	1,129	4.0-8.0
14. Ban Sang	1964	1,201	1,201	1,201	212	4.0-6.4
<u>Miscellaneous</u>						
15. Klong Nam Sai War Veterans' Settlement	1968	960	960	604	151	4.0
16. Mae Chan War Veterans' Settlement	1969	3,426	3,426	668	167 ^{c/}	4.0
17. Mae Moh Forest Village	1968	1,804	-	-	96	2.56
18. Sa Kaew Forest Village	1975	17,887	-	-	22	2.56
19. Som Det Forest Village	1975	6,352	-	-	73	2.56

Note : ^{a/} Land allotments were made according to the original size of land holdings.

^{b/} Land was first allocated to student farmers at 4.8 hectares per lot, but later to farmers at 2.4 hectares per lot.

^{c/} There were altogether 167 farmers, but only 84 of them were allocated land of 4.0 hectares per lot.

Department of Public Welfare, and to formulate an agricultural development programme for selected pilot projects. The data obtained from the project report lacked information on social aspects of the settlers but otherwise were considered sufficient for the purposes of this study. It should be emphasised, however, that the data for these three self-help land settlements were taken in 1975, while those for the other settlements were taken in 1976.

In each of the settlements surveyed, a list of settlers was obtained from the settlement authority. It was then verified with the settlement officials in order to delete the households that were unoccupied at the time the survey was conducted. The selection of households was done by a simple random sampling procedure. The breakdown of the sample size into settlements and groups is shown in Table 10. In total, Group I contained 506 farms while Group II contained 255. The remaining 369 farms fell into Group III, making a grand total sample size of 1,130 farm household altogether. It can be noticed that the size of the sample by settlement varies from about 50 to 90 for the self-help land settlements and land cooperatives. In contrast, the sample sizes for the miscellaneous land settlement category are rather small, owing to the fact that the settlements themselves are small in terms of memberships. Some secondary data on certain characteristics of

the nineteen land settlements are indicated in Table 11. These include the total acreage, the extent of arable land and land allotted, the number of farm families accommodated up to 1976, and the size of the land lot.



Newly Exploited Land in Bang Sapan Land Cooperative



Paddy Fields in Mae Chan War Veterans Settlement



General View of Mae Chan War Veterans Settlement



Teak Nursery Beds in Mae Moh Forest Village



Market Centre in Lang Suan Land Cooperative



Community Shop in Mae Moh Forest Village



House of Better-Off Farm Family in Bang Sapan Land Cooperative



Houses of Low-Income Farm Families in Hang Chat Land Cooperative

CHAPTER IV

THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

With the review of the settlement programmes in Part A and the survey of the nineteen selected settlements, a comparative analysis was made on two major aspects. The first one deals with the settlements. Based on the details in Part A, certain characteristics may be identified which single out differences and similarities among them. However, no attempt was made to compare the performances among individual settlements, since certain fundamental differences such as geographical locations make comparisons virtually impossible. Coupled with some instances where political pressure or support was also exercised, the comparison may not, to some extent, be justified. Under the second aspect, comparison is made on the achievements among groups of settlers. The analysis is based mainly on the survey data.^{6/} It is intended to compare the performances among the three groups of farmers which have been already defined. Attention is paid on economic and social achievements, and only in limited circumstances would the differences among the types of settlement programmes be referred to

^{6/} Data in tabular form for individual land settlements are available at the Division of Research and Planning, Agricultural Land Reform Office, Bangkok.

Characteristics of the settlements

Generally speaking, there is one common objective among all of the settlements, namely, land allocation to the landless and small farmers. Under these circumstances, emphasis is placed on increases in income, productivity and, in the final analysis, living standards among farmers. In very few cases, are the main objectives focussed on other aspects, with land allocation used as a means to achieve them. For example, in the forest village programme, reafforestation remains the primary concern, while land distribution plays the role of a support service. At times, even in settlements which are primarily involved with land allocation, the main objective has become secondary because of the urgency and the nature of political problems. The self-help land settlement programme had frequently been used to resettle people displaced from dam construction areas, and from politically sensitive areas. Under the war veterans' projects, attention is focussed on the war veterans' families. Consequently, for each settlement, the target settlers vary according to the type of settlement and the objectives behind it. Nevertheless, unless settlements are set up for some specific reason like those mentioned above, the basis for selection generally favours farmers in the vicinity who already hold land. In this study, as is evident from Table 12, the data showed that, on

the average, Groups I and II (that is, those farmers who formerly lived within the vicinity of the settlements) accounted for about 70% of the settlers, and Group III accounted for the rest. Looking individually at the three types of settlements, the trend was the same in the case of land cooperatives where 79.4% belonged to Groups I and II. It was different in the self-help land settlements and other settlement types where Group III accounted for 51.2% and 56.2% of the settlers, respectively. This was due to the fact that the settlements were established for specific groups of settlers. The land cooperative programme aims to up-grade the standard of living among farmers in the area around a settlement site and thus selection of members for cooperatives has corresponding priorities for these farmers. The self-help land settlement programme, however, is intended to help unfortunate and displaced farm or non-farm families. For example, when trishaws were banned in Bangkok, the displaced drivers were encouraged to resettle on public land as farmers. In other instances, farmers were evacuated from dam construction areas and had to be provided with land elsewhere. Consequently, the degree of migration was higher in the cases of self-help and war veterans' settlements. In any case, it should be emphasised, that the most unfortunate landless people or farm labourers were consistently excluded from land allocation

because of the selection processes which, generally speaking, strongly favoured squatters and better-off farmers.

Table 12 : The breakdown of settlers, by group and type of settlement, 1976.

Unit : % of farm households

Type of Settlement	I	II	III	All
Self-help	31.1	17.8	51.2	100.00
Land cooperative	56.9	22.5	20.6	100.00
Others	11.6	32.2	56.2	100.00
All	44.8	22.6	32.7	100.00

The land acquired for allocation in settlement programmes has essentially been public land. Only in the case of a very few land cooperatives was private land acquired and sold to farmers. Under the agricultural land reform programme, privately-owned land is supposed to be acquired from large landowners with just compensation and later resold to farmers. By the end of 1979 only some 10,000 hectares had been bought under land reform (in addition to 6,000 hectares of crown land, which may also be regarded as privately owned). The size of the land allotment is different

PART A: AN OVERVIEW

according to the type of settlement. For self-help land settlements and land cooperatives, it cannot by law exceed eight hectares, but in practice, it is about 2.5 to 4 hectares per family. The ceiling on land holdings under the war veterans' programme is set at four hectares. The size of allotment is generally based on land productivity and the value of the farm produce grown, but little attempt has been made to derive the size of the allotments in a systematic manner. For the rest of the settlement types (e.g., forest villages, forest community development villages, etc.) the size of allotment is usually small. In the survey, the average land holding of land cooperatives was found to be highest at 5.88 hectares per farm and this was slightly higher than that of the self-help land settlements which amounted to 4.86 hectares per lot. For other settlements, the average was only 1.82 hectares (Table 13). In addition, the survey revealed that some farmers had land outside the settlements as well. The amount of land owned was, however, very small. It should be kept in mind that the concept of a farm here is used synonymously with household. Since a single household can comprise one or more families, the size of land held per family may be appreciably lower.

Under most of the older settlement programmes, right of ownership is generally granted after certain conditions are

Table 13 : Comparison of land owned before and after joining settlements by type of settlement, 1976.

Unit : hectares/farm

Type of Settlement	Before	After
Self-help	0.80	4.86
Land Cooperative	1.24	5.88
Others	0.59	1.82
All	1.04	5.11

satisfied. It is rather unfortunate that if forest land is used for allocation purposes, ownership rights cannot, by law, be issued. Such a regulation is widely regarded as outdated and vestigial. Despite this, more recent land settlements which are located in forest reserves have to oblige the law, literally making the settlers perpetual tenants to the state. However, in settlements based in non-forest reserves, the settlers can become full owners of the land. They must first fulfill the utilisation obligations specified by the settlement, and the title deeds are not usually transferrable for a certain period of time (5 - 10 years), except by inheritance.

Most of the settlements provide supporting services to the settlers. They are, however, vastly different in degree. Self-help land settlement, land cooperative, land reform and war veterans' settlement programmes tend to have a broad range of activities - development of infrastructure, credit provision, agricultural extension and other facilities. However, even these programmes do not offer the same kind of services and activities throughout. To make matters worse, even within the same settlement programme, individual settlement projects vary in terms of services provided. For land cooperatives, the implementation is, undoubtedly, dependent upon cooperation amongst the members. Recently, this cooperative principle has been adopted by other settlements as well, particularly by self-help land settlements, and its adoption has resulted in the establishment of multi-purpose cooperatives among the settlers. The land reform projects also aim to set up similar cooperatives within them.

Comparisons among settlers

Some basic characteristics. Most of the settlers were traditionally paddy farmers before they joined their settlements. Since paddy is regarded as the subsistence crop, most of them still grow paddy, in spite of the fact that the land might not be suitable for it. As determined from the survey, most of the

settlement land was highland which was more suited for upland crop cultivation. In accordance with this, the percentage of farmers involved in paddy farming had declined slightly after they had joined settlements from 50.9% to 46.2%. Those involved in upland crops had increased sharply from 18.1% to 49.5%. The three groups showed roughly the same trend (Table 14).

Table 14 : Occupation before and after joining the settlements, by group, 1976.

Unit : % of farms

Group		Paddy farming	Upland farming	Fruit & vegetable growing	Hired labourers	Others
I	Before	49.0	15.0	7.3	4.6	13.2
	After	48.0	34.8	9.1	1.8	20.6
II	Before	60.4	20.8	2.4	6.3	4.7
	After	52.2	63.1	4.3	5.5	5.1
III	Before	46.9	20.3	8.4	5.2	5.4
	After	39.6	60.2	7.1	8.7	6.5
All	Before	50.9	18.1	6.6	5.1	8.8
	After	46.2	49.5	7.4	4.9	12.5

The average family size was estimated at seven which was in line with the national average. Out of the seven, four were in

the working-age group. As may be seen from Table 15, the three groups of settlers had virtually the same family sizes, and age distributions.

Table 15 : Family size, by group, 1976.

Unit : persons per household

Group	Working-age group	Non-working-age group	All
I	3.91	2.63	6.54
II	4.08	2.73	6.81
III	3.73	2.83	6.60
All	3.89	2.73	6.62

In the Review of the Literature section, low income and employment opportunities were reported as major causes of migration and it was suggested that a closer look would show that the migrants were landless or were unable to exploit available land because it was ill-suited for cultivation. This was confirmed by the survey findings, as shown in Table 16. On the average, about 57.5% of the respondents said that their main motive for migration was landlessness and about 30.6% said that they migrated to the settlement because land previously owned was poor and unproductive. However, most of the settlers in Group I migrated because of poor

land and contrasted with most of those in Group II and III, who migrated because of landlessness.

Table 16 : Reasons for emigration, by group, 1976.

Unit : % of farms

Group	Landless	Poor land	Homeless	Better chance	Others
I	39.3	60.7	-	-	-
II	55.8	32.3	1.4	3.7	6.9
III	60.3	26.6	1.3	6.9	4.9
All	57.5	30.6	1.8	5.8	5.5

This evidence leads one to suspect that a number of the landless labourers in many villages were migrants from other localities. Of course, there were also original residents who had become landless because of various causes such as indebtedness, natural disasters, etc. Some of these migrants subsequently encroached forest reserves. Others, who were better-qualified, applied for land allotments by the government and became landed farmers. The more unfortunate migrants, however, remained as landless labourers, looking for other opportunities open to them.

Land holding and utilization. As expected, prior to migration to the settlement area, the settlers owned small farms averaging about 1.04 hectares each. After joining settlements, their holdings increased significantly to 5.61 hectares each. Comparing among the three groups, the degree of change in the size of land holding was greatest for Group I. The shift was from 0.64 to 5.96 hectares (Table 17). There was little difference in the degree of the change for the other two groups. As evident from the survey findings, most of the land was devoted to paddy cultivation, with upland cropping next in line. The three groups showed basically the same land use trends (Table 18).

Table 17 : Comparison of size of land holding before and after joining the settlements, by group 1976.

Unit : hectares/farm		
Group	Before	After
I	0.64	5.96
II	1.39	5.42
III	1.34	5.26
All	1.04	5.61

Note : Including land inside and outside settlements.

Table 18 : Land use, by group 1976.

Unit : hectares/farm

Group	Home	Paddy	Upland	Fruits & vegetables	Pasture	Idle	Total
I	0.28	3.43	1.48	0.33	0.04	0.40	5.96
II	0.24	2.50	1.85	0.18	0.14	0.51	5.42
III	0.29	1.78	1.68	0.55	0.05	0.91	5.26
All	0.27	2.68	1.63	0.37	0.07	0.59	5.61

With respect to agricultural productivity, three main crops were selected for comparisons. They were paddy, maize and cassava. Table 19 gives the average yields for these crops. In all cases, farm productivity was highest in Group I. Groups I and II, nevertheless, achieved higher average yields than Group III in paddy. One obvious reason for this was the fertility of their land. In several settlements, priorities in the selection of settlers were given to farmers previously resident in the settlement area (especially in areas that had long been squatted). These local settlers (Group I) and those from the same province (Group I) seemed to have received land of better quality than the settlers from other provinces (Group III), who had access to marginal land only. Vested with inferior resources, their lower crop yield is

not surprising.

Assets and liabilities. The average total value of assets was estimated at \$4,917.91 per farm. Land constituted a major part of these assets - nearly 60%. Assets in other categories were of much lower monetary value. From Table 20, it can be seen that the average total value of assets among the settlers in Group I was the highest, at about \$6,537.51 per farm. For Groups II and III, it was a little above \$4,000 and \$3,000 respectively. Land was mainly responsible for the differences. Since the variations in the sizes of land holdings and of land owned were not large, land quality must have been the main determinant. Better land would inevitably bring about higher land prices. This finding is in line with the earlier discussion about average crop yields for Groups I, II and III. The value of buildings for Groups I and II were higher than for Group III. This probably indicates that the settlers in these groups had already resided in the settlements for quite some time and had no intention of further migration to other places.

Regarding the debt situation, almost half of the settlers borrowed cash in the first season. The chance for second-season cropping was low and, as a result, credit was not needed. This can be seen from Table 21. Had double cropping been widely

Table 19 : Average yield, by crop and group, 1976.

Unit : Kgs/hectare

Group	Paddy	Maize	Cassava
I	1,818.54	1,428.02	11,946.48
II	1,768.96	1,106.06	10,780.38
III	1,300.53	1,168.07	10,328.69
All	1,670.01	1,208.19	11,288.78

Table 20 : Average value of assets among farmers, by group, 1976.

Unit : \$/farm

Group	Land	Buildings	Equipment	Animals	Others	Total
I	3,877.04	1,422.12	292.97	388.52	502.11	6,537.51
II	2,180.35	1,022.88	353.61	354.99	188.64	4,161.32
III	1,941.02	618.08	151.52	273.02	288.73	3,219.82
All	2,861.95	1,069.47	260.46	343.24	342.10	4,917.91

practised, given favourable farming conditions, the amount borrowed as well as the number of borrowers would have been larger. Cash loans were relatively high among settlers in Groups I and II. The average amount of cash loans received by farmer-borrowers was

Table 21 : Source and amount of cash loans among farmer-borrowers,
by group, 1976.

Unit : -

Group		% of farms	Source(% of farmer-borrowers)			Amount (\$/borrower)
			Cooperative	Merchants	Others	
I	First season	47.8	70.3	12.0	25.6	248.0
	Second season	0.4	100.0	-	-	250.0
II	First season	56.5	59.7	16.0	30.6	243.1
	Second season	0.4	100.0	-	-	100.0
III	First season	37.1	56.9	8.8	38.7	245.1
	Second season	1.4	80.0	-	20.0	90.0
All	First season	46.3	63.9	12.1	30.4	245.9
	Second season	0.7	87.5	-	12.5	131.3

about \$245.88 per farm in the first season and \$131.25 in the second. Among the three groups of settlers, the variation in the amount borrowed in the first season was small but for the second season was large. The cash credit was used mainly for production purposes, and in many cases, it was devoted to consumption as well. Some reported using cash credit for long-term investment and debt repayment. Apart from cash credit, settlers also obtained credit-in-kind. However, this was not widespread.

Income. As discussed earlier, in the majority of the cases, paddy was the principal crop, and it was mainly kept for home consumption. Only a small surplus was sold for cash. The other crops were mostly sold. Consequently, cash farm income might be a misleading income measure and for this reason, net income was employed instead. It took into account both cash and non-cash components of income.

In the settlements, the average net farm income from crops in 1976 reached about \$726.41. Due to larger farm sizes and better crop yields, it is not surprising to find from Table 22 that net farm income from crops was highest for Group I (about \$968.95 per farm). The lowest net farm income occurred in Group III (about \$450.10 per farm). The net farm income for Group II was about \$664.97 per farm. The average farm household in the settlements additionally received about \$85.01 of net income from raising animals and growing vegetables and fruits.

Apart from farming, settlers sought income from other sources as well. As indicated in Table 22, such income contributed significantly to the total net income. At an average of \$320.06 per farm, it was almost equal to half of the average net farm income from crops. At \$381.18 per farm, settlers in Group II ranked top among the three groups. Group I ranked second with

Table 22 : Total net income, by group, 1976.

Unit : \$/farm

Group	Net farm income from crops	Net income from animals, veg. & fruits	Off farm income	Total net income
I	968.95	99.02	343.24	1,411.21
II	644.97	38.08	381.18	1,064.23
III	450.10	98.22	246.03	794.35
All	726.41	85.01	320.06	1,131.47

\$343.24 per farm. Group III made only \$246.03 per farm. Taking all groups into consideration, the average total net income in 1976 was \$1,131.47. Group I achieved the highest level of income at \$1,411.21 per farm. Farmers in Group III earned the least in that year at just under \$800. The total net income among Group II farmers was intermediate at an average of \$1,064.23 per farm. Though in some settlements (particularly the forest villages) net annual income was low, it can be said that income among settlers was, on the average, higher than that prevailing in the rest of the agricultural sector.

From the above analysis, it is clear that the importance of off-farm income should not be underestimated, especially in

connection with Groups II and III. It could contribute in part to the success of the land settlement programmes. Rural development programmes implemented by various government agencies, if properly managed, could create more employment opportunities close to the settlements. With supplementary non-farm income, farmers would be better-equipped to deal with the income instabilities so characteristic of the traditional agricultural system. They would feel economically more secure and would tend to remain in the settlements. This would likely produce some effects on seasonal migration since many farmers in the past usually migrated into cities to work as unskilled labourers after harvesting. It might be expected that such a rural to urban exodus would eventually decrease. In this sense, resettlement programmes could become effective in reducing rural-urban migration.

Social contacts. The degree of contact between resident and migrant settlers was considerably high at about 74.1%. Among the migrants themselves, the contacts were even higher at about 89.9% and 90.1% in Groups II and III respectively. About a half of the migrant settlers in both groups said that they had met the resident settlers before they moved into the settlements. Most of the settlers also kept contact with the people in their original residence. Percentagewise, this was higher in Group II since they

originally lived near the settlement area. With respect to government officials, almost all the settlers in the three groups made contacts with them (Table 23); village and sub-district (*Tambon*) heads were more frequently visited than others.

Table 23 : Social contacts, by group, 1976.

Unit : % of farmers

Group	Contact with			
	Resident settlers (Group I)	Other settlers	Original residence	Government officials
I	-	74.1	-	95.1
II	50.7	89.9	74.4	95.7
III	50.9	90.1	67.0	96.0
All	50.8	82.7	70.2	95.5

Migration implies a change in living place and invariably imposes constraints upon a settler, particularly, in terms of surroundings. Inevitably, at the initial stage he feels alien. Later, he adapts himself to the local conditions and assimilates with fellow settlers and, more importantly, resident farmers. Otherwise, he may end up being a marginal member of the settlement. Social contacts, to some extent, may indicate the degree of

assimilation and the empirical evidence shows that social acceptance was widespread. In Thailand, there is not much difference in local dialects and in culture among the regions. The settlers, therefore, can learn to adapt rapidly to the environment and the society in which they are residing. Differences between majority and minority groups, consequently, are not significant and do not create any appreciable conflict.

Opinions about services. About a half of the settlers paid visits to the doctors. Group III, apparently, made more frequent visits than the other groups. This was mainly due to the distance. As evident from Table 24, most of the settlers in Group III lived closer to the health offices than settlers in the other two groups. Percentagewise, the number of settlers who had problems with medical care was highest in Group I, and lowest in Group III. In addition to the distance from the farm to the health office, the problems mentioned most frequently were the high cost of medical services, and the lack of care and medicine.

Some settlers complained that the extent of educational services offered was still too low. Primary schooling alone was insufficient. Secondary schools, though available, were far from home (Table 25). With respect to transport facilities, most of the settlers stated that they did not have many problems. Table 26

Table 24 : Opinion about health care, by group, 1976.

Unit : % of farmers

Group	Visit to doctors		Problems about health care					
	Yes	No	Too far	Partial care	Lack of medicine	Expensive	Others	No problem
I	45.2	48.6	45.2	19.5	18.5	26.9	0.7	45.7
II	46.9	37.7	34.3	16.4	14.5	23.2	1.9	51.2
III	60.8	38.1	29.3	11.4	13.6	19.8	1.1	55.7
All	50.4	42.8	37.7	16.3	16.1	23.8	1.1	50.1

Table 25 : Problems about education, by group, 1976.

Unit : % of farmers

Group	School offering only primary level	Primary school too far	Secondary school too far	Lack of teachers	Incompetent teachers	Others	No problem
I	13.6	5.7	12.4	8.4	0.7	3.2	67.9
II	15.0	6.3	7.7	5.3	1.5	1.9	68.6
III	9.9	8.8	8.8	4.8	1.1	5.1	69.6
All	12.8	6.8	10.2	6.6	1.0	3.5	68.6

indicates the general opinion of the farmers about transport and travel. Lack of good roads and buses was found to pose some difficulties.

In the settlements under study, agricultural extension services were able to reach about 62.5% of the settlers. Among the three groups, settlers in Group II had met extension agents more often than the others (Table 27). The difference was not, however, very great. The majority of the farmers who had contacts with these agents felt that the services provided were excellent. However, some of them were skeptical about possible implementation because of the shortage of credit.

Table 26 : Opinion about transport and travel, by group, 1976.

Unit : % of farmers

Group	Transport		Problems in travel			No problem
	Good	Bad	Bad road	Few buses	Others	
I	61.2	38.8	26.6	16.2	8.7	48.5
II	71.0	29.0	17.9	16.3	8.4	57.4
III	68.9	31.1	18.8	13.9	7.8	59.6
All	65.9	34.1	22.3	15.6	8.3	53.8

Table 27 : Opinion about extension agents, by group, 1976.

Unit : % of farmers

Group	Any ext. agent?	Opinion of Services			
	Yes	Excellent	Incompetent	Good advice but no credit	Others
I	58.5	64.3	3.7	29.1	2.9
II	72.0	79.9	1.3	18.1	0.7
III	61.2	66.7	1.2	30.4	1.8
All	62.5	69.2	2.3	26.5	2.0

Table 28 : Expected length of stay in the settlement, by group, 1976.

Unit : % of farms

Group	Permanent	Temporary	Undecided
I	97.0	-	3.0
II	92.2	-	7.8
III	85.4	1.8	12.8
All	92.3	0.6	7.2

Expected length of stay. From the preceding analysis, it was not surprising to find (Table 28) that almost all the

settlers (92.3%) expressed their intent to stay permanently in the settlements. Percentage-wise, the numbers were highest in Group I and lowest in Group III. Only about 1.8% of the settlers in Group III said that they would stay temporarily and about 12.8% said that they had not yet decided. The uncertainties might stem from the problems they were faced with at the initial stage of settlement. With greater and more deliberate government assistance, the settlers would likely remain within the settlement area. It should be noted that this would apply particularly to the forest village system in which the villagers were, in fact, farm workers. They had only a small plot of land to cultivate and, in many cases, the land was infertile and ill-suited for farming. The very nature of this system tended to cause uncertainties about the length of time the settlers intended to stay in the settlement.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. There were fundamental differences among the settlements in terms of geographical location, objectives and implementation procedures. Virtually in all cases, however, land allocation was the single major objective they had in common.

2. Generally, the basis for farmer selection placed high priorities on squatters and farmers in the vicinity of the settlement area. This was particularly true for the land cooperative programme. The self-help land settlements and the war veterans' land settlements, in contrast, had more settlers from other provinces than that in which the settlements were located. The landless and farm labourers were paid little or no attention in the land allocation programme.

3. In this study, the settlers were grouped into three categories according to their original place of residence. Group I denoted those farmers who lived in the settlement area before migration and resettlement took place. Group II included those who lived in the same province but outside the settlement area, and Group III accounted for the farmers who came originally from other provinces. The empirical evidence from the survey of farmers in nineteen land settlements showed that there were differences among

these groups, both economically and in terms of social services offered to them.

4. The size of land held by the average farm household increased many fold after they had joined a settlement. Among the three groups of farmers, the size of land holding was not significantly different and it was estimated that the average was about five hectares per farm.

5. Most of the settlers were formerly paddy farmers. After they had joined settlements, they shifted their attention to upland crops insofar as opportunities to do so were available. This was due to the general increase in importance of upland cropping, particularly in maize, cassava and sugar cane. Nevertheless, paddy was still the major crop in most land settlements.

6. The three groups had virtually the same family size which was estimated at seven per farm household.

7. The major reasons for emigration were landlessness and the poor quality of land in the place of origin.

8. Regarding agricultural performance, settlers in Group I ranked top among the three groups. Groups II and III, however, were not much different and did not show any definite trend in terms of agricultural productivity.

9. Due to the general topographical features of the land in most of the settlements, upland crops, when compared with other crops, seemed to be more favourable in terms of yields. Although irrigation was desirable in increasing crop yields, it was almost absent in most settlements. Moreover, irrigation could not be provided in many cases because of physical and budgetary constraints. It is recommended that crops which are less dependent on water be introduced.

10. In terms of the total value of assets, settlers in the three groups were significantly different. In comparison, Group I settlers had the highest, whereas Group III settlers had the lowest. The differences were substantially accounted for by the value of land.

11. There was a tendency for Groups II and III to borrow proportionately more money than Group I. But in terms of the amount of a loan, Group I settlers were able to secure more than the others. This was probably a direct result of more valuable holdings, especially in land.

12. The incomes earned in the three groups were significantly different. Group I incomes were evidently higher than those in the other two, and Group III incomes were the lowest. In general, the settlers had relatively high levels of income when

compared with other farmers in the nation.

13. There were frequent contacts between migrant and resident settlers and between the settlers and the government officials. This indicated that, to some extent, social assimilation was satisfactory.

14. As far as services were concerned, the migrant settlers were more satisfied than the resident settlers. However, the difference was only in degree. As a whole, it might be concluded that they were quite satisfied with the services provided by the settlements.

15. Most settlers expressed their intention to stay in the settlements permanently. There was indecisiveness among some settlers, particularly, in the forest village system.

16. Some general conclusions may be made from the results of the analysis summarised above. Economically, the farmers in Group I seem to be better off than the others. Since Group III consists of farmers from distant places, the adjustment process for them essentially takes a longer time to complete and, most likely, the opportunities available to them are fewer than those available to the other two groups. Thus it was found that the farmers in Group III are in the least favourable position. In contrast, the situation is the reverse with respect to social services. There

were relatively few complaints about settlement social services (schooling, transportation, medical care, etc.) among the Group III farmers. All the findings tend to confirm the notion that Group III is the most unfortunate of all and should be entitled to receive government assistance, wherever needed.

The settlers themselves generally seem to be more fortunate than other farmers in the rest of the country. There is no doubt that the settlers are better off now than they would have been, had they remained where they originally were or, had they lived in the settlement area without the settlement scheme. In a broader context, while the industrial sector cannot grow rapidly enough to absorb the influx of unemployed agricultural labourers, the resettlement programme can be directed toward correcting or preventing imbalances in the distribution of the population. Thus, it is appropriate to expand such programmes to enable them to play a more appropriate role in the development of the country.

PART C : POLICY ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER VI

AN ANALYSIS OF PRESENT POLICIES

Introduction

This analysis of present resettlement policies will deal with two main areas of interest. First, attention will be paid to the farm problems which have long been encountered in Thai agriculture. These will be traced and analysed in so far as they might have influenced the formulation of policies relating to resettlement problems. The second area of interest is the nature of the resettlement policies themselves. An examination of these two areas will almost certainly help facilitate understanding of the policies which Thai governments have been pursuing in recent years.

Many of the farm problems stem from population pressure. In 1978, the total population in the entire kingdom stood at 45 million, while the rate of population growth was estimated to be a little above 2% per annum. Although the exact proportion of the population remaining in agriculture is not known, it is generally regarded that 60-70% is not an overestimation. The National Economic and Social Development Board stated in its Fourth Five-year Plan (1977-1981) that there were 5.06 million agricultural households in 1975 and that by 1980 the figure would increase to

about 6.78 million ((A 3), p. 140). The population growth has adversely affected the man-land ratio, since the size of cultivable land is physically limited. Consequently, this has put heavy pressure on the society. The number of tenant farmers has expanded, thereby intensifying the tenurial problems and consequently the problems of low farm income. Moreover, a significant portion of the population has migrated into the national forest reserves for farming purposes. The 1974 satellite photographs revealed that forest areas covered only 37% of the total land in the entire kingdom. Compared with the results in 1961, it indicated that some 63 million rais or roughly 10 million hectares of forest land had been denuded in a period of 13 years. A survey conducted in 1974 by the Ministry of Interior, in cooperation with the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, showed that in 202 forest reserves covering 28.8 million rais or 4.6 million hectares, there were at least 200,000 farm families. Undoubtedly, had the survey been done nation-wide, the findings would have been alarming. Although official figures on the number of squatters and the amount of area they occupy are not known, conservative estimates within government circles have set the number of squatters at a million families and the occupied acreage at 4-5 million hectares.

Another problem which arises from population pressure is the increase in land conflicts. These conflicts are primarily of two types: conflicts between landlords and tenants, and conflicts among squatters in national forest reserves (or in more general terms, on public land). The first type is an obvious outcome of the fact that landlords and tenants had divergent interests in land. The Farm Rent Control Act of 1974 not only failed to keep the rent down, but increased the polarization between the two groups. The second type of conflicts was due to illegal squatting on public land. The squatters had no document whatever for land ownership. Farm boundaries were made quite arbitrarily and land transfer frequently occurred by verbal contracts. Even though many farmers paid taxes on the use of the land, government officials made no attempt to identify the physical characteristics of the land (e.g. the site, location and boundary). Thus conflicts often arose from disputes over boundary lines, and in many cases these resulted in tragedy.

With reference to the nature of the present policies related to resettlement, it is rather worthwhile mentioning certain elements found common in them. Thailand has seen six governments during 1974-1979. Although in many instances standing policies were unchanged from one government to the next, farm policies were

particularly selected by various governments as instruments to gain political leverage. Since the governments were only short-lived, the rapid shift in policies has done more harm than good to the nation as a whole. Farm policies, moreover, were ambiguous and ill-defined. When land reform was chosen as the first-priority policy, little effort was made to clarify the meaning and the extent of land reform. At times, the policies were vague, as they were designed to satisfy the critics and also not to be binding to the government. In addition, government policies were formulated in such a way that they would primarily meet short-term objectives. Under these circumstances, long-term policies were lacking.

The rapid changes in governments resulted in rapid policy changes and, consequently, many of the policies adopted were not implemented. As was often the case, one government would attempt policy implementation only to find itself toppled by another. In some instances, the national policy statement was so extensive that in practice it could never be carried out. Much more damaging was inconsistency in government policies which made reconciliation very difficult. For example, in 1975 the Kukrit government, ordered that the squatters in the forest reserves were legal and had to be fully recognised. The fact is that under other governments, these farmers had encroached public land illegally and had to be treated

accordingly. Perhaps, some scheme could be devised to accommodate the divergent policies, but the situation has never been clarified for the public.

Another point with respect to the nature of the present policies is that the government policies are not coupled with adequate measures to be carried out effectively. Land reform contains some restrictive measures such as expropriation in order to ensure that land will become available for distribution. But governments have been hesitant to use expropriation measures and have kept them as the last resort. Consequently, when moral persuasion failed in the land acquisition process, the land reform programme seemed to crumble.

The Present Policies

Common to all governments in the past five years was the policy to provide adequate land to the landless and small farmers. The bulk of the population remained in agriculture and was relatively poor. Unemployment and under-employment were extensive, while job opportunities within any specified area were limited. Invariably, the governments could not afford to disregard these facts and consequently, policies were carved out so as to assist the rural poor. Land reform policy was the most outstanding among the agricultural policies. It was designed to allocate land to

landless and small farmers. The land was to be acquired by the purchase of privately-owned land, on the one hand, and by the reclassification of public land (usually forest reserves), on the other. When first the Agricultural Land Reform Act was promulgated, the emphasis was laid on the acquisition of private land with just compensation for the owner. But the failure to secure private land (apart from the Crown land) for redistribution among the tenant farmers led to a shift in the emphasis to public land. Since Thailand already had past experience in settling farmers in public land (usually in encroached forest reserves), the new land reform programme was apparently not different from land settlement schemes already in existence. This led the governments into a dilemma. In any case, land allocation to small or landless farmers still remained superficially as the topmost priority in policy considerations.

In pursuit of this policy, it was often considered that land settlement schemes could be geared towards meeting this priority. The schemes were mainly self-help land settlements and land cooperatives. It was felt that what was lacking in land reform could be made up for by these schemes. Thus when land reform could not meet the objective of allocating 160,000 hectares of land to the farmers in 1977, the government quickly added the

results of settlements under these two schemes to the land reform programme. It should be pointed out that land reform by itself was politically more appealing and that other land settlement schemes did not receive as much attention as they should. The land allocation scheme by the Department of Lands was perhaps an exception, since full ownership of the land would be transferred to the settlers in due course.

The most troublesome policy regarding resettlement lay in the extensive denuded forest areas around the kingdom. Because of the sheer number of the farmers, squatting could not be got rid of and the tendency was towards legalization. From the policy standpoint, there were two possible solutions : firstly, resettlement of the squatters in arable land which in all likelihood would have to come from the forest reserves, and secondly, reafforestation by employing the squatters as field workers. Resettlement offered a more valid solution than reafforestation, because after all only a limited number of the farmers could be employed in replanting trees. Even for those employed, extra income would have to be made, as can be seen in the earlier part of this study. The government itself had had to find residential sites for them also. Most of the time, the policy was to settle the farmers in areas which could no longer be reafforested. The farmers

were assured of their land holdings and by such assurance, it was hoped that political stability would be created. However, in some instances, reafforestation received considerable attention, primarily because of the fear that logging had already caused extensive and permanent damage to the national forest reserves. Attempts to restore the forests could only be made, it was thought, by replanting trees. Given this objective, forest villages or forest community development villages would be the logical choice. But this clearly did not help straighten out the form the long-range policy on the desolate, squatted forest land should take. Firstly, reafforestation is undoubtedly a time-consuming process. Even with all-out effort, it is likely that the area covered would be small in relation of the size of the squatted forests. Secondly, the forest villages might be difficult to replicate and apply throughout the country. Not only the forest village schemes demand constant supervision and efficient management, but they also face difficulties in resettling squatters and inducing them to plant trees instead of merely growing field crops for themselves. In the final analysis, the farm problems would still remain very much intact. The settlers in national forests cannot be given title deeds. They merely have the right to utilise land they hold. Such right is transferrable, but sales are not legally binding since

land ownership still rests with the State.

One of the migration characteristics which did not receive much public attention was the fact that population migration occurred both from rural to rural areas, and from rural to urban areas. The tendency resulted from the inability to utilise land for dry-season cropping, especially in the areas around the upper part of Central Thailand and, to a much greater extent, in Northeastern Thailand. The farmers were forced to migrate in search of jobs in Bangkok and its neighbouring provinces. They also sought on-farm work which was available in other areas where second-season cropping was possible. The Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1977-1981) states that the policy on migration should encourage intra-regional migration and discourage inter-regional migration. Moreover, it states that migration to Bangkok should be discouraged in order to reduce the problem of overpopulation. Although such migration policy is contained in the National Plan, little attempt has so far been made to carry it out effectively.

CHAPTER VII.

POLICY ISSUES

The policy issues relating to resettlement in Thailand fall into three categories. They are population issues; land policy issues and settlement organisation issues. Each category contains several issues, some of which may be interrelated but are important by themselves. It is desirable that each policy issue is discussed at some length in its category. By so doing, it is hoped that the nature of the issues and the problems which they raise will be fully understood and will subsequently pave the way for policy recommendations.

Population

The second-generation problem The population problem has been and still is the root of all the problems for Thailand. The two main factors are the size of the population and the rate of growth. Even though the proportion of the population remaining in agriculture is unknown, some official estimates set the figure conservatively at 60%. It is more likely that the true figure is closer to 70% of the total population. This implies that Thailand is faced with a heavy burden imposed by the population. For example, underemployment is widespread especially in agriculture, but it presents no less a problem in the cities. Moreover,

off-season employment opportunities among the farmers seem limited, and this often causes alarm within government circles. As a result, there have been a series of special programmes designed primarily to create job opportunities and generate income in the dry season. An example is the government programme to allocate a lump-sum fund to each *Tambon* throughout the country. The fund was used at the discretion of the *Tambons* themselves in rural employment projects which generated off-farm income among the villagers. So far these programmes have not had permanent effects upon the economy and the government has often found it difficult to secure sufficient funds for them.

The rate of population growth in recent years was estimated to be about 2.1% per annum. Even with this level of growth, there is no doubt that the population is increasing at one million or so annually. Reduction in the rate of population growth by direct and indirect measures is a slow process. Additions to the labour force cannot be effectively reduced within a short span of time since it takes some fifteen years for new births to grow and enter the labour market. Given that the capacity of industry to absorb labour is limited, much of the increase in farm population has no choice but to remain in agriculture. Although the government is always pushing for industries which require relatively more

labour input, new industries are often not labour-intensive. Thus, urban migration adds to the already chronic problem of unemployment in the cities, particularly, Bangkok. It is clear then that the population pressure is most pronounced in the agricultural sector and in the urban areas through migration from the rural areas.

Growth in population can have a profound effect on the man-land ratio. Until recently, the relationship had not deteriorated to any marked extent. In fact, the average size of land holding did not appear to decline rapidly over time. This was due to the expansion in arable land. However, from all indications, the limit in the expansion is being reached and within the foreseeable future, the man-land ratio will tend to increase. Since agricultural production has over the years increased primarily through more extensive use of land, the increase should also gradually level off, unless agricultural productivity can be raised significantly. The evidence shows, however, that a rise in productivity takes time and, in addition, requires that many conditions be satisfied. Furthermore, the population growth can be taken to imply a rise in domestic demand for rice. Since agricultural production might stagnate, a larger part of the harvest would have to be devoted to meet domestic requirements. Less would then be left for export. The situation as such does not exist so

far but, given the present conditions, there is a trend that it will take place in future.

The second-generation problem also occurs to some extent within the established land settlements. From the survey, families who migrated from other provinces often said that they might send their children elsewhere. The main reason could be the difficulty in obtaining sufficient income from farming. In addition, if the families were newly settled, they might still feel insecure and, consequently, uncertain about the future. In general, the second-generation problem raises serious doubts among the settlers about what to do when their children reach the working age.

The growing landless farmers The exact extent of landlessness among farmers is not known. Government agencies are aware of the importance of landlessness but have not made serious efforts to find out the magnitude and the extent of it. Landless farmers may be defined as the part of the population who remain in agriculture as farm labourers and themselves have little or no land of their own. This classification could also include the tenant farmers who derive most of their income from rented land. As an insight into the extent of landlessness, it was found that the number of tenant farmers in 1976 was 900,000. About 40% of them

lived in Central Thailand, indicating that the tenancy problem is intensified in that area. The Agricultural Land Reform Office has surveyed many districts, mostly in Central Thailand, and found that the number of landless farm labourers varied from place to place and depended on many factors. However, it would not be too presumptuous to estimate that about 10% of the farm households fall under this category. In absolute terms, this was equivalent to about half a million in 1976.

To cope with the landless mass, the government has pursued the policy of promoting relatively labour-intensive industries in order to absorb the labour surplus. But creation of job opportunities has not expanded at a sufficient pace in relation to the extent of landlessness. The government therefore added settlement of state land and land reform as measures to provide employment and to increase income for the landless. In practice, however, the state land was already almost all squatted by farmers more or less utilising extensively the land they illegally occupied. If land were to be re-allocated so as to accommodate more landless farmers, disputes over land rights (official and unofficial) would have inevitably occurred. Other measures had to be instituted to solve the problem. However, land settlement authorities usually were unprepared to undertake the task and were satisfied with

merely legalising the squatters on land which they already occupied. As evident from various settlement programmes, the otherwise general criteria for settler selection included some detailed requirements which gave priorities to the resident settlers, that is, those already living and cultivating the public land. Therefore, it is obvious that the criteria for settler selection were not designed to take into account the landless farm labourers or the unemployed. Little effort was made to rank the applicants in order of importance or qualifications. A more systematic selection process is clearly called for.

With reference to allocation of land to the landless, it was thought that fixing farm size or a maximum limit on land ownership might lend itself to the release of land from large landowners. Often the wisdom of this was questioned. Experience in other countries indicated that such measure would be difficult to implement. To carry it out effectively, several supporting measures would have had to be designed and executed concurrently. These measures included legal enforcement, progressive land taxation, etc. Only with concerted action, would the landless benefit from the limitation or fixation of farm size.

Land Policy

Land use planning More than half of the country is classified as forest area. A nationwide survey in 1961 indicated that about 57% of the whole kingdom was covered with forests. This land is by law under state control. Its use -- primarily for logging and mining -- must be granted by the government. In the past, illegal practices were common because of the lure of the lucrative returns in the timber business. Often the hired workers stayed on and made use of the land for farming. This, coupled with population pressure and economic expansion, helped push farming into the forest areas. At first, it was only shifting cultivation but later it became farming of a permanent nature. At present, much of the forest reserve area is regularly used in farming and apparently there is no feasible way by which it can be reafforested. This is due to the sheer size of the population and the reallocation problems involved. It is more desirable that land be re-classified in such a way that it reflects the optimal pattern of land use. Arable land should be put into farming, whereas watershed areas must be under constant protection from illegal uses. In so doing, the extent of land available for farming would be known and could be used for planning purposes.

Production and export targets are specified in the 1977-1981 National Five-Year Economic and Social Development Plan. The tragedy is that there is little or no effort to meet the targets. No single government agency is responsible for fulfilling the plan and, even if it were, it is questionable whether it could be implemented. Over the past years, Thailand had been fortunate in her agricultural production and export performance. Rice had always been and still is in surplus with one to two million tons to be exported annually. Other commercial crops such as cassava, maize and sugar cane have played a major role in economic expansion. Nevertheless, there have been times when farm prices have fallen, inflicting some hardships upon the farmers. In addition, it must be realised that agriculture will remain the backbone of the economy for some time to come and that agricultural expansion should be carefully planned and directed. Within the foreseeable future, decisions must be made as to whether production should be geared toward domestic consumption demand or export requirements. This forecasts a situation of competitive land use. Thus arable land should be clearly identified, along with the types of crops to be grown. The acreage to be devoted to these crops should be determined. To ensure that a land use plan can be implemented,

supporting services must be carefully designed and provided to the farmers.

Determination of economic farm size In general, the question regarding economic farm size arises on two fronts : firstly, whether it is wise to introduce the idea into practice and, secondly, if it is introduced, how to carry it out. The imposition of a ceiling on the size of land owned may be taken to imply an interference to freedom. Land, after all, is only one of many forms of assets and a limit to ownership, if it is to be introduced at all, should extend to cover other assets as well. Even when no specific ceiling is set on land ownership, the question of equity still applies. For instance, if progressive taxation is imposed on land holdings as a measure to reduce absentee landlords, it is also valid to ask whether tax increases should not also be introduced on the industrial and commercial sectors. The idea of economic farm size originated from two major needs. The first arose from the fact that the rate of tenancy among farmers was extensive, especially in Central Thailand. Although the number of large absentee landlords was relatively small, most of the rented land belonged to medium-size landowners. Income among the tenant farmers was low because a third of the farm produce had to be paid as rent. It was also common to find that tenant farmers had

previously owned land but, due to failure to repay loans, had lost it to the moneylenders. The serious nature of the problem caused political uproar and, in fact, led to the enactment of the ill-fated law on the limit of land ownership in 1951. At present, the idea still survives and is favoured among some government circles. Even if it is not desirable to fix the size of land ownership at some level, the need for control and reduction of farm size is thought to be more appropriate. The second need was that of settlement authorities. In allocating land to the farmers, one of the central issues was the size of land per farm, i.e., how much land should be provided to each settler. Since there are many agencies responsible for land settlements, it is often felt that economic farm size be determined on a uniform basis.

Given that there is need for the determination of economic farm size, many issues must be addressed. The criteria upon which determination of economic farm size is based are numerous; some are based purely on value judgements, for the simple reason that basic information such as potential development capabilities are not known. Many scholars may favour the concept of 'economic' farm size because it appears practical but 'optimality' can be interpreted in many different ways. Others contend that if the economic value of land were to be fully assessed, it would have

been time-consuming. After all, the economic aspects would have to take into consideration the future or potential land use--something which could not be easily identified and evaluated. Furthermore, the determination of economic farm size has in itself dynamic elements which prohibit the possibility of obtaining a single, once-and-for-all farm size, irrespective of time. Even if the soil was of the same quality and the crops to be grown were the same, the farm size would most likely be different because other factors such as inputs, ecological conditions, etc. were not by any means constant. This is true for any specific land area, no matter how large or small. It is concluded here that the criteria should be practical in nature and that some degree of arbitrariness admittedly has to be accepted.

Income is presently used as one of the main criteria for the determination of economic farm size. If income were held constant, economic farm size would tend to differ when the crops were different. Ideally, farm size should be more or less equal within a pre-specified zone in which the same type of crop is grown. Therefore, from the administration viewpoint zoning is desirable. Some variants must, however, be allowed as the land may be used as pasture, fruit orchard, etc., which lie outside of the range of the crops concerned.

Inevitably, the concept of economic farm size raises one very important question - - the practicality aspect. In many instances where farmers were allotted land plots of equal size, the settlement authorities faced the impossible task of trying to convince the large farmers to reduce the size of their land holding. Understandably, they resisted because they had nothing to gain from the reduction. The authorities often allowed them to have two or more plots in return for their cooperation. Attempting imposition of economic farm size would therefore be futile. To be practical, the ceiling on land holdings should not be too low. As a rule of thumb, it should be about the average of the actual land holdings. The distributive pattern of land tenure is one of the key elements in the determination of the limit. Other measures may also be used in support of the land ceiling scheme. They are land taxation, legal enforcements and expropriation programmes (in cases where excess land is present). It should be noted that there is no need to institute all these measures, but some combination seems most appropriate. Much will depend on the degree and the extent of these measures and, above all, on the political climate.

Public land policy Public land may fall into one of two broad categories - that which is classified as arable, and that reserved as forest area. The first category encompasses land

suitable for farming, and after a specified period of time of occupancy, farmers may request title deeds. Full ownership rights are therefore granted. In contrast, the second category should theoretically remain forest land. But, as it has been mentioned before, at least a million farm households permanently live in so-called forest areas. The critical question is whether the land should be re-classified so as to reflect the true situation. As can be seen earlier, land cooperatives and other settlement schemes mostly allocate denuded forest reserves to farmers. The peculiar nature of this is that the land cannot be bought or sold. Land is available only on a rental or leasehold basis and the farmers become tenants to the state. The rent payment is extremely low and the term of tenure is long and inheritable. Land ownership is not granted to the landholders, despite common illegal transfers of it. This raises the fundamental question as to whether public land policy is really outdated. And if it is, what can be done to remedy the already critical situation?

The argument for granting land ownership to the squatters in forest areas is many-sided. Land ownership can prevent quarrels among landholders which may arise from failure to recognise boundary lines. In view that government revenues are always lagging behind government expenditures, resulting in persistent national

budget deficits over the years, the government may seek ways to broaden tax base and to increase tax rates. An increase in land taxation is likely because land taxes are very low and also because the government may find it difficult to raise tax from other sources. Of course, taxation increases are not popular, but it is felt here that resentment and even resistance would probably be minimised if the squatters were made legal owners of the land they till. Furthermore, when land ownership is fully granted, land can be easily used as a collateral for loans. It may be argued that the farmers can secure loans through group liability, even though they do not own any land. In practice, the financial institutions (specifically, the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives) prefer lending to landowners, and group loans for non-title holders are not common. As the most important asset, land offers some sort of security to farmers. The survey findings indicated that land accounts for at least a third of the value of all assets. This is the case, even if the farmers themselves do not legally own the land. Land transfers do occur regularly and farmers are quite willing to pay for them. It is quite absurd to overlook this fact and, under these circumstances, legalisation through full recognition of land ownership is thus called for.

Land ownership could reinforce political stability, especially in the communist-infested areas. In the past, government authorities gave settlers ultimatums to leave forest land. But the reasons for migrating there were mainly economic, and consequently resistance was widespread. At the same time, the communists declared the land off-limits to the government and, in a bid to win more sympathisers, promised to grant full ownership to the farmers. It is evident from this that land ownership can be used as an instrument to gain political leverage.

As previously mentioned, in some public lands farmers may achieve full ownership, while in some others they can have only holding rights. The drive against social injustice and inequity is something of a dilemma. Within the same locality, land ownership may be granted to some farmers but not to others. Under these circumstances, the settlement authorities find it exceedingly difficult to explain the reasons for this differential treatment to the farmers. From the evidence obtained in the survey, squatters have little or no land prior to joining land settlement schemes. After a lapse of time, they still find themselves unable to own land. The danger is that land ownership might be mistaken as being associated with the rich only, as the *prima facie* evidence seems to indicate. Income classes among the rural population are

not clear-cut, but with time they are widening.

Another advantage of ownership lies in the fact that land could be easily transferred with full legal recognition. If land ownership is absent, such transfers cannot occur with serious legal implications. Even though transfers are possible by inheritance, farmers at times may need extra cash from the sale of the land - and this is not legally permitted. If they should like to leave the farm to seek other employment opportunities, they could sell only their non-landed assets. Rightly or wrongly, it might be claimed that without the right to own land, the farmers are denied the right to change their occupation.

The government could manoeuvre the provision of land ownership rights to the farmers for revenue-raising purposes. A part of the revenue would stem from land transfers but a major part could be in a form of sales of public land. Given the amount of arable public land, the possibility could not be discarded.

As a last point, it was commonly claimed (without much evidence) that once ownership was granted to farmers, they would sell for cash and migrate to new forest land, starting the vicious circle all over again. The argument fails to identify other more important reasons for migration. Generally speaking, the evidence from the survey indicated that the migrants had little or no land

when they came into the land settlements. Thus, escape from poverty apparently constituted the prime motive for migration. In addition, the possibility of opening up new virgin land along the frontiers is at present limited, as most of the land has already been taken up. Another faulty notion is that the farmers would be prone to lose their land after ownership was granted. Such ill-founded claims disregard the factors influencing farming activities which eventually lead to land loss, and instead place the emphasis on land ownership *per se*. It is certainly ridiculous to withhold ownership rights as a simple preventive measure to land loss. In order to deal with the problem on hand, it would seem far more desirable and indeed reasonable to launch other measures instead.

Provision of supporting services From the findings in earlier chapters, it is apparent that different land settlement schemes offer different supporting services to the settlers. For example, the land allocation scheme under the Department of Lands does not provide any other services than land clearing for residential sites. The land cooperatives are economically-oriented institutions and pay little attention to social services. The land reform projects, insofar as they can be conceived of, tend to cover a wide range of activities. The concept of a comprehensive

programme has long been advocated, and under it is included an almost inexhaustible list of services to be provided to the farmers. However, the Agricultural Land Reform Office contends that it assumes most of the time only the role of coordination in the rendering of services to settlers. What this means in practice is still unclear, and the office itself is carrying out tasks which are under direct responsibilities of other government agencies. This has a serious and profound effect on the organisational structure which will be discussed in detail below.

At this point, two main observations should be stressed. First, settlement authorities tend to set their overall policy guidelines rather ambiguously. When the policy is translated into a plan of operations, it is often found that the range of supporting services implicitly or explicitly stated is extensive, and without proper timing and efforts, cannot be made available to the settlers by the respective settlement authorities themselves. Consequently, this leads to the differences in the kinds of supporting services provided among land settlements, which create not only a sense of confusion but a feeling of inequality among settlers also. In addition, the government sometimes takes it for granted (as it has repeatedly demonstrated in the past) that it can unilaterally prescribe the kinds of supporting services for

farmers without consulting them as to their needs. To put it differently, the representation of the farmers in the decision-making process seems to be inadequate and the inevitable end result is obviously that some public investment funds are misallocated. Secondly, although supporting services are provided for settlers, there has so far been no requirement on their part to repay even a part of the investment costs (except in very few cases). Even in the land settlements where repayment is required, settlement authorities find it extremely difficult to collect.

The farmers have often adopted the attitude that government services should be available free of charge for a number of reasons. Firstly, some projects were established for demonstration purposes. In the land development schemes, land clearing together with soil conservation measures were offered to the farmers at no cost. The aim was to demonstrate the benefits of land development in terms of greater acreage, better land use and a resulting increase in farm income. Because of the very pilot nature of the project cost recovery was viewed as a strong disincentive which would seriously impair project goals. This set a precedent over subsequent schemes where either settlers refused to pay or settlement authorities were reluctant to impose cost recovery charges. Secondly, there is the widespread feeling among

high-ranking government officials that the farmers in the past have indirectly contributed rather substantially to the government. The imposition of the premium tax on rice exports, which has forced low paddy prices at the farm level, is a clear example of this. Since the farmers indirectly pay by receiving low prices for their produce because of government export policy, it is quite inappropriate to ask further payment from them. Thirdly, in schemes where recipients are required to repay investment costs, the government has put little effort into collecting payments. This may be because the officials in charge wish to gain popularity from the local farmers by not burdening them with payments, or because the non-payment penalty is light and most of the time not enforced. To date, cost recovery is, to a large degree, imposed only on the farmers in projects funded by external sources, and the number of these projects is, however, still small. Fourthly, the question of cost recovery is two-fold: What items under the investment project should be repaid, and, once they are identified, what proportion of the cost should be brought under the repayment scheme? While roads might be provided free as a general public service, on-farm investment such as ditches and dikes might be regarded as beneficial exclusively to the farmers. It is evident that a decision has to be made on which items are to be repaid.

However, due to low income and, in many cases, income instability, the farmers cannot be expected to repay the entire project costs, and it is rather difficult at this point to determine the proportion which they should be required to repay. Fifthly, there are examples which indicate government willingness to assume the bulk of the investment project costs. When a dam was built in Kanchanaburi province, the farmers were forced out because of flooding. The resettlement costs were heavy, since the government had to offer strong inducement to migrate. Under these circumstances, the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand paid out full compensation for the loss of land and contributed almost entirely toward the development of a resettlement project in the vicinity of the construction site. The farmers were not required to pay for any investment item. This serves to emphasise the point : the relationship between public investment policy and aspects of cost recovery is still far from clear.

That on-farm investment for the entire economy is to be financed by the government and to be available without direct cost to the recipients is widely unacceptable. It is not only economically unfeasible, but also politically undesirable in the long run. It would help, perhaps, to identify in the first place the types of supporting services which would meet the farmers'

basic needs. Once identified, they should be made available to all land settlements (some variation might be allowed). The purpose would be to ensure that the farmers received more or less similar services apart from land allocation. Extra supporting services could also be offered to settlers, where necessary. A part of the costs incurred should somehow be recovered. These services should cover land improvements such as clearing land, increasing soil fertility, etc.

Settlement Organisation

Thailand has a number of government agencies involved in the resettlement of farmers, although there are only three main departments responsible directly for it. The importance of other agencies, even though they operate on a smaller scale, cannot be disregarded. The duplication of work has resulted in unnecessary waste of financial and manpower resources. The nature of any department is such that it strives to be as independent as possible of other departments. As mentioned earlier, the policy guidelines adopted by settlement authorities are in many aspects divergent from one another (concerning matters ranging from the basic concepts to the target groups). However, in practice, they have very much in common. Supporting services are fairly extensive but limited because of financial constraints. The superficial

differences in them among land settlement schemes cover the fact that all settlement authorities have tried to offer as many services as they could to the farmers. Furthermore, the target groups facing the settlement authorities are for all practical purposes the same : the squatters. Thus, despite superficial differences, all these settlement authorities in reality have the same project goals. However, because these authorities are fairly independent of one another, coordination among them is lacking. In view of the extensiveness of the resettlement programme in terms of the amount of land and the number of farmers involved now and within the foreseeable future, closer cooperation and coordination are needed. The farmers themselves seem to be calling for this when they raise questions about basic differences between settlement authorities. In one settlement scheme, title deeds can be issued to the farmers when all conditions have been satisfied. In another settlement nearby, the land cannot be transferred, except by inheritance. Undoubtedly, when the resettlement programme is enlarged, the need for coordination will be even greater than it is now.

CHAPTER VIII

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

In earlier chapters, the present policies on resettlement in Thailand have been analysed and certain policy issues have been examined in some detail. In this chapter, an attempt is made, on the basis the preceeding discussion together with the findings of the survey, to make recommendations concerning policies related to resettlement. Many of these recommendations apply specifically to the land reform programme, to which resettlement policy, both present and future, will inevitably be addressed.

1. There is a need for a long-term resettlement policy. The policy should be clear-cut and well-defined. Consideration must be given to activities of other economic sectors which can affect policy formulation. With growing landlessness among the rural population, the effects of industrial absorption of labour must be analysed and accommodated in the resettlement policy. Rural-urban migration in Thailand is important and warrants special attention as well. Ways must be provided by which farmers' felt and unfelt needs can be determined and carefully defined. This should be one of the major goals of such policy. Efforts must be made to spell out a short-term policy consistent with the long-term one. This would clarify the intermediate steps to be taken to

serve the policy goals. Policy breakdown is also necessary, particularly, in so far as it would form the basis for delineating the responsibilities of the various government departments in implementing the resettlement programme.

2. The resettlement policy, both long-term and short-term, must be accompanied by a series of measures. While they may be somewhat general, some degree of specificity is, in the light of the past experience, desirable. In line with what has been said earlier, in order to carry out the programme effectively, it is appropriate and indeed necessary to identify the government agencies which would be directly responsible for resettlement. Work assignment should be clearly specified to each agency and, in so doing, the extent of coverage and responsibilities should be known. Steps should be taken to ensure that sufficient budgetary support will be forthcoming. In addition, the effectiveness of these measures should be monitored and evaluated.

3. Population growth, which directly affects the extent of landlessness and tenancy, must receive constant attention. The problems posed should be viewed in proper perspective. There is no doubt that threats are real and potentially explosive. Under these circumstances, the criteria for settlers' selection should favour agricultural labourers and the unemployed, rather than

the squatters and tenant farmers, as was the traditional practice. Obviously, this would require a more systematic set of criteria which would strongly favour the landless class.

4. In order to accommodate population growth, the resettlement policy should include measures by which land would be reserved for future use and the size of land holding would be reduced. This would release land for the existing and future landless farmers.

5. Land use planning is recommended in so far as it is practicable. Under it, the optimal size of land per farm along with the crops to be grown should be specified. It is, however, realised that farm marketing will likely be the key to success. Given past experience and the existing agribusiness framework, the operational aspects of land use planning must be viewed with caution. Because it has extensive implications, it should be applied first on a regional basis and then extended to gradually cover the kingdom as a whole.

6. The amount of land allocated to settlers should be determined by the potential level of income derivable from farm and non-farm activities, and the actual size of land holding. Optimal land use planning would help indicate the potential income that could be generated therefrom, although admittedly this would be

difficult in practice. However, each land allotment should at least guarantee some minimum level of income determined by taking into account the basic requirements for an acceptable standard of living for an average farm household. In an effort to reduce the degree of inequity among settlers and farmers in general, some uniformity with regard to the size of land allocated is strongly advocated. The size might vary considerably from region to region, but within the same province or group of provinces it would be desirable to narrow the discrepancies. Owing to the fact that the determination of the size of land holding would be a time-consuming process because of the wide range of factors to consider, some degree of arbitrariness would have to be allowed. Nonetheless, the basis for the determination would have to be pre-specified, preferably in general terms.

7. Resettlement policy, and to a large extent, land policy should include provisions for improved, progressive land taxation. This is recommended primarily for three purposes : to reduce the number of absentee landlords, to eliminate or reduce speculative elements in land transfers, and lastly, to achieve a more equal distribution of wealth. The creation of more public revenue would likely be one of the direct consequences, although this is, of course, not the prime mover within the resettlement policy context.

8. There is an urgent need to determine the minimum requirements for supporting services to be provided to the settlers in the various land settlement schemes. The standardisation attempt would represent an effort to bring about better allocation of government appropriations. The intention would not be that all land settlements receive an identical set of supporting services. The pattern might differ from one group of settlements to another. However, the differences should preferably be small. The determination of minimum supporting services would probably be difficult and would have to be done in full consultation with the farmers. If the determination process could in some way be simplified greatly, policy formulation regarding resettlement would be swift. At any rate, resettlement policy should not preclude the possibility of developing major infrastructures such as irrigation facilities, dams and even rural housing. The contention here is that all land settlements should be sufficiently equipped with the minimum supporting services required to enable the settlers to attain at least a subsistence level of income. Additional services would be of secondary importance but, wherever deemed suitable, attempts should be made to include them in the settlement development programme. Furthermore, particular attention would have to be paid to the items whose costs would be

recovered through repayment by the recipients. Presumably, these items would not fall under the category of minimum supporting services, and might be identified on the basis of the direct beneficiaries and the amount of capital investment involved. Repayment should suffice to cover at least operational and maintenance costs. The rates might vary but would desirably retain some degree of uniformity.

9. Perhaps, one of the major considerations in the formulation of resettlement policy involves the settlement of farmers on public land, especially in desolate, squatted forest reserves. These areas cannot be reafforested, since they have been used for farming on a long-term rental basis. With population growth at an alarming rate, the pressure on land will inevitably lead to higher land values. The government has never engaged in the sale of public land, since land has in the past been distributed to farmers at virtually no charge. However, transfers of land are common, and this is essentially equivalent to selling because payment for the transfers is made at rates close to those for purchase of privately-owned land. Under these circumstances, the sale of public land should be of paramount concern in the formulation of resettlement policy. The importance of this issue is further enhanced by the fact that under the land reform

programme, private land is offered for sale. It is strongly recommended that the policy on public and private land be reconciled. It is desirable that public land be sold at prices lower than the market value, since this would involve fewer political implications. However, if the government is strongly determined to subsidise farmers (as implicitly shown by its handling of public land settlement), then resettlement policy should preferably be directed toward proper redistribution of benefits to all farmers and not just those of the target groups. Associated with this, it follows logically that settlers should be granted title deeds, although some conditions might be attached in order to prevent unnecessary or premature transfer. The issuance of the title deeds might signal the point of project completion in as far as the resettlement programme is concerned. Thereafter, government staff specifically assigned to the settlement project would be expensive and unnecessary from the government point of view, and they could be transferred to other settlement areas.

10. With respect to privately-owned land, resettlement policy should emphasise mainly land transfers, and there should be little or no effort to offer extra services, unless specifically deemed necessary. Agricultural development particularly in physical infrastructure is expensive and time-consuming, and with

privately-owned land, it is, in most instances, not necessary anyway. Thus, in the land reform programme, efforts should be devoted mainly to land purchases and sales. Past experience indicates that land valuation is one of the serious problems which impedes progress in land reform. In this respect, it is recommended that pricing have a much more important role than it has previously been assigned in the formulation of resettlement policy.

11. Better coordination among settlement authorities would certainly provide an effective way of pooling scarce resources so as to achieve more efficient utilisation. It should be exercised at all levels of the resettlement programme, including the planning stage.

APPENDIX

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