Industrial Tree Plantations and the Land Rush in China

This book analyses the political and economic causes, mechanisms and impacts of the industrial tree plantation boom in China.

In the past two decades, the industrial tree plantation sector has been expanding rapidly in China, especially in Guangxi Province. Based on extensive primary data, this book concentrates on the political economy of the sector's expansion with a focus on the recent and dramatic agrarian transformation involving the land-labour nexus, the impact on villagers' livelihoods, the role of the state, and political reactions from below. The book questions the stereotypical portrayal of local communities as the excluded villager. Instead, it demonstrates that this is a much more complex issue with varying levels of passive and active forms of inclusion and exclusion within local communities. While most literature focuses on crop booms for food and biofuel production the industrial plantation sector has largely been overlooked, despite it being one of the biggest sectors in the current rush for land. Filling this lacuna, this book also reveals that while China has traditionally been painted as a major land grabber and consumer of crop booms it is also a destination of foreign investment. In doing so the book highlights how large-scale foreign land deals can also take place in traditional 'grabber' countries like China which feeds into the wider debates about global land politics and resource grabbing.

This book will be of great interest to students and scholars of land grabbing, rural development and agrarian transformations, as well as Chinese development.

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Industrial Tree Plantations and the Land Rush in China

Implications for Global Land Grabbing

Yunan Xu

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To my dear parents and Fengfeng
此书献给我亲爱的父母和风风

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Acronyms and abbreviations

ABD	Accumulation by Dispossession
AWD	Accumulation without Dispossession
HRS	Household Responsibility System
ITP	Industrial Tree Plantation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PA	Primitive Accumulation
TNC	Transnational Company

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1 Rethinking the industrial tree plantation sector in Southern China

Introduction

In recent years, crop booms have occurred worldwide under the convergence of food, fuel, financial, and environmental crises (Hall 2011). As Hall (2011) points out, when a crop boom takes place, there is a rapid increase in the changes in land-use for the cultivation of that particular crop in a given area. This is not only a process of extensive land-use change, but is often followed by land acquisitions/land grabs in varying ways and at various levels. These large-scale land acquisitions, popularly called ‘land grabs’, are highly visible worldwide in the current literature and political debates (Margulis, McKeon, and Borras Jr 2013). These land acquisitions include a dynamic change in land control: when someone gains access to land, those who were previously using it lose part of or full control of it. This aligns with the definition of land grabbing put forward by Borras Jr et al. (2012), that land grabbing is essentially a form of ‘*control grabbing*’: “grabbing the power to control land and other associated resources such as water in order to derive benefit from such control of resources” (Borras Jr et al. 2012, 850). These changes in land control and land-use have significantly affected the livelihoods of local villagers and, in some cases, even resulted in the dispossession of various social groups, normally the marginalized, and have provoked widespread conflicts (Scoones et al. 2013; White et al. 2012).

These crop booms have attracted a pyramid of academic studies, especially concerning land politics. In this book, land politics includes issues around who controls the land under what channel and for what land-use, who gets what from the land, and the implications of these land-based changes.¹

Among the current crop booms, there is an expanding industrial tree plantation (ITP) sector in Southern China, currently large scale (in terms of total land area covered and capital involved). The rise of the sector there involves changes in both land-use and land control, at varying scales and dominated by foreign corporations (including Finnish and Indonesian ones) and a variety of domestic actors (including the state actors, domestic corporations, individual entrepreneurs, and local villagers). The commodities produced are mainly for industrial use. During this crop boom, the villagers in question are not fully expelled, because of the specific rural land system.² Meanwhile, they have distinct livelihood changes and

are affected differently due to their different positions in the sector (which include passive inclusion, active inclusion, passive exclusion, and active exclusion).³ In some places, the villagers embrace the land deals, while in others these land deals have provoked conflicts. These dynamics of the ITP sector in China are the focus of this book. By analysing these, this book intends to contribute to the current booming discussions on land politics – both *empirically* and *theoretically*.

Empirically, this work centres on one significant sector that has not received sufficient attention in the literature of land politics and highlights a more complicated role of China within the global land rush. To be specific, this study focuses on the rapidly expanding industrial tree plantation sector, which is linked to the increased demand for timber, pulp, and other biomass products (Kröger 2016). This has received much less attention compared to other sectors such as food, biofuels, and mining, despite its relative scale in terms of land area covered (Kröger 2014b). It deserves systematic research attention, if only because it is one of the biggest sectors in the current land rush in terms of land area involved. In addition, and perhaps even more importantly, this is also one sector that involves China in a more complicated way.

China is linked to the current global land rush as an investor in overseas production, a key player in the circulation/trade, and a key site of consumption, but rarely as an important destination of cross-border land investments within a crop boom. Where studies about land grabbing in China exist, the research is mainly about forced/illegal land transfers (*tudi liuzhuan*),⁴ or development-induced land expropriation (Siciliano 2013, 2014).⁵ So, this case can single out China as a distinct area of research in the global land politics literature.

Theoretically, analysing the dynamics of the ITP sector in China also offers insights to a better understanding of land grabbing (including its nature, mechanisms, and impacts) and contributes to the discussions around land accumulation and dispossession. More specifically, there is a general assumption in the current land grabbing literature that *the current corporate encroachment into rural areas tends to result in the expulsion of people from their land, and their transformation into landless labourers that mostly support the industrial development of urban areas*.

However, this case deviates from this popular assumption. With the rise of the ITP sector in Southern China, villagers do not necessarily get dispossessed and become more vulnerable. Instead, villagers show diverse adaptive livelihood responses based on their different access to resources under specific institutional and social structures. As a result, villagers do not always lose, but at times can benefit, from the boom process. In addition, this Chinese ITP case also shows a reverse labour and capital inflow from urban areas to rural areas, with a few villagers returning to rural areas and engaging in the ITP sector with the financial capital they gained in urban industrial sectors.

Therefore, the dynamics within the expansion of the ITP sector in Southern China demonstrate that capital accumulation is possible not only *with* but also *without* dispossession of villagers. Thus, an in-depth exploration of this case can open an agenda for discussions in the global scholarship on contemporary land politics and agrarian transformations.

Accumulation and dispossession in agrarian transformations – glances at the ITP sector in Southern China

Many scholars use Marx's "primitive accumulation" and David Harvey's "accumulation by dispossession" to understand land dynamics in terms of its drivers (for accumulation), mechanisms (dispossession, and mainly coercion), and implications (reproduction of capitalist relationships) (Hall 2013). In this book, instead of an attempt to unfold these loaded theories, I intend to position land politics, especially the dynamics of the land-labour nexus and livelihood change of the villagers, with the rise of the ITP sector in Southern China (in particular Guangxi), based on the classic discussions around "accumulation and dispossession". In this part, I particularly focus on the "land-labour nexus", which refers to the interconnected and interacted land and labour dynamics within the boom.

Accumulation with and without dispossession

Karl Marx was the first to give a critical analysis of the process of separating peasants from their means of production during capitalist development. In *Capital: Vol. 1, A Critique of Political Economy* (Marx 1992, orig. 1887), Marx analysed the sources, characteristics, and mechanisms of capital by studying the history of western countries – especially the birthplace of capitalism, namely, England. When analysing the point of departure of the capitalist mode of production, he touched on the relationship between capitalism and rural development, and coined the concept of primitive accumulation (PA) – "the historic process of divorcing the producer from the means of production" (Marx 1992, orig. 1887, 875). In so doing, he used the capitalist development process of European countries (such as England) to demonstrate how the expropriation of peasants through the forceful expulsion from their land supplied the capitalist labour market with "free and rightless proletarians" (Marx 1992, orig. 1887, 885).

According to Marx, the primitive accumulation involved bloody processes of proletarianization. During the process, peasants were expropriated and expelled from land via fraud, force, violence, and coercion. This, on the one hand, enabled capitalists to have their wealth and power significantly increased through the control over the means of production; while, on the other hand, it created a reserve army of labour serving as cheap wage labour in urban industrial sectors. (Marx 1992, orig. 1887, 908–913). In both ways, separating peasants from land facilitated the process of urban industry.

Marx conceptualized primitive accumulation as *a stage towards capitalism*, or a precondition for capitalist accumulation, which he assumed would end when capitalism emerged. Based on Marx, David Harvey argues that primitive accumulation is *not* a stage in a unilinear process towards capitalism, but an ongoing feature of capitalism. Extending Marx's concept, Harvey proposes "accumulation by dispossession" (ABD) (Harvey 2003, 1) to understand the reproduction of capitalist relationships and continuous accumulation under the crisis of over-accumulation.

In his explanation of ABD, Harvey argues that although a large part of features of PA that Marx outlined have remained, there are several nuances that exist in the current context (Harvey 2003, 145). On the one hand, “some of the mechanisms of primitive accumulation that Marx emphasized have been fine-tuned to play an even stronger role now than [in] the past” (Harvey 2003, 146–147). This was the case for the role of the “credit system and financial capital” in fuelling the process of speculation and predation in contemporary capitalism, and that of the state in guaranteeing “certain structures of law, private property, contract and security of money” to facilitate the market system during accumulation through its “police powers and a monopoly over the means of violence” (Harvey 2003, 89). On the other hand, there are some new mechanisms. The development of technology, the degradation of the environment, and the depletion of common resources have created new fields of accumulation – entailing the privatization and commodification of “cultural forms, histories, and intellectual creativity” (Harvey 2003, 148). Meanwhile, capital assets and labour power are devalued in response to global crises by international capital – sometimes backed by the investor state or superior state powers (Harvey 2003, 151).

Expanding the discussion above, and doing so within the context of China, Walker (2006) argues that the “alliance between money and power (...) has generated a particular form of primitive accumulation”, which she terms “gangster capitalism” (Walker 2006, 1). She identified three main mechanisms of “gangster capitalism” in rural China. First, the state’s “urban bias” strategy in the 1990s, which prioritized urban development while reducing agricultural investment, was actually a case of state-organized “exploitation and oppression of peasants” (Walker 2006, 2). Second, the “two tract pricing system” (between agricultural products and industrial commodities) enabled the state-owned enterprises to obtain cheap raw materials and extract resources in rural areas (Walker 2006, 3).⁶ Third, a few power-holders used the rural land reform (i.e. *Household Responsibility Reform*) of the 1980s–1990s as opportunities to illegally shift “state property and assets into their own hands” (Walker 2006, 3–5). These three mechanisms, according to Walker, facilitated the industrial development and the accumulation of a few certain actors at the expenses of rural development and thus are closely associated with how land, labour, and agrarian transformation can proceed.

Although the mechanisms and distinct socio-economic contexts of capital accumulation identified by these scholars differ across time and space, the processes all lead to dispossession and, in most cases, displacement of rural populations. In this sense, capital accumulation is featured *cum dispossession*, under which villagers lose control over the land they previously used and hardly get employed by the land investors.

Contrarily, Giovanni Arrighi argues that accumulation can occur without necessarily dispossessing villagers. When studying the success of Chinese economic development, he expands the notion of *accumulation without dispossession* (AWD) (Arrighi 2007). AWD, a term coined by Gillian Hart (2002) in her book *Disabling globalization: Places of power in post-apartheid South Africa*, is a distinctive

form of accumulation in China, which differs from the accumulation process in South Africa. Hart argues that the redistributive land reform in China reflects the specific context of Chinese industrial accumulation that took place without dispossessing rural populations from their land (Hart 2002, 199).⁷

Building on Hart's reformulation of PA and ABD, Arrighi further explained the mechanism of AWD by addressing two aspects. On the one hand, China's household registration system (the *Hukou* regime)⁸ prevented the spatial mobility of the rural population and "encouraged the rural to 'leave the land without leaving the village'" [离土不离乡] (Arrighi 2007, 361). The *Hukou* regime separates rural populations from the urban ones and is the basis for rural land distribution.⁹ Thus, it in fact ties the villagers to the land, averting the full expulsion of these villagers from their land. On the other hand, the rise of Township and Village Enterprises (TVEs, the market-oriented but collectively owned economic units) in rural China from the 1980s to the early 1990s also supported AWD. TVEs provided off-farm working opportunities for villagers to obtain additional wages, while maintaining subsistence farming as a way to redistribute and reinvest the industrial surplus to the rural community "within local circuits" (Arrighi 2007, 361–364).¹⁰ This means that companies could accumulate capital, not necessarily by separating the producers from their means of production (as in PA and ABD), but by employing low-cost rural labourers.

Partly in line with Arrighi's arguments, Huang, Gao, and Peng (2012) also claimed that the process of rural capitalism is not necessarily accompanied by "the spread of an agricultural proletariat" (139). Based on an empirical analysis of hired labour in the agricultural sector, they characterized agricultural development in China as "*capitalization without proletarianization*". They attributed this special form of capitalization to "the concatenation of the political-economic institutions (of equal distribution of land and a rural-urban divide in household registration) of China with its mode of farm organization under population pressure" (Huang, Gao, and Peng 2012, 165). In other words, on the one hand, villagers' landholdings compensate their low wages in urban areas, thus sustaining a substantial supply of cheap labour for urban industry. On the other hand, wages from off-farm work also alleviate villagers' livelihood pressures due to a low return of farming on fragmented and tiny land plots (under the particular land system which will be elaborated below).

Similarly, Chuang (2015), in her study of a village in the Sichuan Province, pointed out that although land expropriations – following the scheme of ABD – also exist in rural China, "[l]abor, however, is cheapest in rural regions where residents are not dispossessed, and continue to subsist through farming" (292). She identified and examined one of the key mechanisms of AWD in contemporary China as enterprises employing rural land holders on very low wages to pass on the "social cost of workforce maintenance to rural governments" (275).

Thus, in contrast to PA/ABD, in the process of AWD, capitalists are able to accumulate without dispossession. In this context, investors are able to use cheap labour and create a reserve labour army without separating villagers from their means of production.

Diverse trajectories in the rise of the ITP sector in Guangxi

A key issue in the discussion on PA, ABD, and AWD is what happens to the villagers in question. Linking these concepts to a crop boom, in the classic Marxist conception of PA, dispossessing villagers of land is a key element of the accumulation process. Similarly, Harvey also pointed out a renewed wave of land enclosure in new terrains (e.g. in China after its opening up) during ABD. Thus, as summarized in Figure 1.1, when *capital accumulation emerges with dispossession* (Type A), the villagers are dispossessed of land and not recruited by investors. As a consequence, these villagers are *bound to become more vulnerable* due to the loss of land (as a key livelihood source) and then *usually get excluded within a crop boom*.

In Arrighi's AWD, however, as mentioned above, villagers are not necessarily dispossessed of land during capital accumulation, especially in the case of China, because of the role of certain institutions – namely, the household registration system (*Hukou*), the land property regime, and natural endowment (in terms of high or low land density, which will be elaborated on later in this chapter) – in preventing the complete expulsion process and protecting family farms.¹¹ In this sense, there is a possible alternative direction of change in the process of capital accumulation (Type B): *the villagers do not lose land while being employed by land investors*. Thus, they are able to *get included in a crop boom and at times be better-off*, because, rather than lose their previous source of livelihood, the villagers might have their livelihoods expanded through employment in the booming sector.

<p>Type A <i>Accumulation cum dispossession</i> (PA/ABD) Case 1</p> <p>The land is needed, but the labour is not.</p> <p><i>Dispossessed of land, passively excluded from the crop boom</i></p>	<p>Type B <i>Accumulation without dispossession</i> (AWD) Case 2</p> <p>The land is not needed, but the labour is.</p> <p><i>Non-dispossessed of land, provision of cheap labour, (positively) included into the sector</i></p>
<p>Type C <i>Dual accumulation</i> Case 3</p> <p>The land is needed, so is the labour.</p> <p><i>Dispossessed of land, provision of cheap labour, passively included into the sector</i></p>	<p>Type D <i>Non-accumulation</i> Case 4,5,6</p> <p>The land is not needed, nor is the labour.</p> <p><i>Non-dispossessed of land, positively incorporated into/excluded from the crop boom</i></p>

Figure 1.1 Accumulation schemes within the rise of the ITP sector in Southern China.
Source: author's elaboration.

Notes

- 1 In other words, land politics includes a bundle of policies/actions from above and a series of initiatives/reactions from below that are associated with land entitlement and the direction of changes in land control and land-use. These actions from above and from below are neither independent nor do they emerge in sequence, but dynamically (re)shape each other. They are around land-based change, but not always land-centric (e.g. about labour and ecology).
- 2 Under the current land system in China, rural land is owned by the collectives, while the contracting rights are entitled to villagers based on their rural identity (under the *Hukou* System), and the management rights belong to the actual users of the land. Thus, what can be transferred to investors is the user right of the land rather than full ownership. This will be elaborated on in Chapters 1 and 2.
- 3 In this study, the term 'villagers' is used on purpose to refer to socially differentiated rural residents. Villagers are not the same as the "peasants" who, as defined by Chayanov, only conduct subsistence farming. Many villagers do off-farm work. Meanwhile, they are not backward and low quality as discussed in contemporary narratives about Chinese peasants (see Schneider 2015). They have their specific advantages. Furthermore, some villagers are not purely 'smallholders'. Although villagers in China usually have small, even tiny, plots, some have acquired more land as an adaptive livelihood strategy. This will be analysed in the following sessions/chapters.
- 4 In China, due to the specific land system which will be introduced in the following parts, rural land cannot be sold, but (the user rights) can be contracted. Thus, in the context of China, land transfer is what has been commonly discussed by Chinese scholars (Z. Huang and Wang 2008).
- 5 These domestic land grabs have occurred not only in rural areas but also in urban areas, as commonly shown in current media and activism, such as: www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2011/12/china-must-end-land-grabs-amid-protests-over-death-custody/, accessed on 16 January 2018.
- 6 The two-track pricing system is the transitional pricing system implemented when China moved from a centrally planned economic system to a market-dominated economic system. Under such a system, part of the raw materials is sold to the state at the planned price, while the rest can be sold at market prices (<http://baike.baidu.com/view/538126.htm>, accessed on 11 January 2017). This means that government officials and managers in SOEs can buy at a cheap (state) price, stockpile, and then sell at a high (market) price to make huge profits. This process underlies the creation of the first 'cadre-capitalist class', see Hung (2015).
- 7 Also cited in Arrighi, Aschoff, and Scully (2010, 416).
- 8 A formal registration of the population by government, based on the household unit, and with a strict division between the rural and urban populations. The system was introduced in the early 1950s as a statistical/recording system and, from the late 1950s, became an institution to control geographical mobilization (Chan and Zhang 1999). Under this system, citizens are classified by socio-economic eligibility ("agricultural" and "non-agricultural") and residential location ("local" and "non-local"). The classification is related to citizens' entitlements to the resources and services provided by the state. Thus, without a local non-agricultural *Hukou*, it would be difficult for a citizen to permanently live in the city. The *Hukou* system, though it has gone through a variety of reforms, still "directly and indirectly, continues to be a major wall in preventing China's rural population from settling in the city and in maintaining the rural-urban 'apartheid'" (Chan and Buckingham 2008, 604).
- 9 Rural land rights in China are closely linked to *Hukou* status. Under the Household Reform System (HRS) reform, the land-user rights were allocated to rural dwellers with an agricultural *Hukou* in the village community they belong to. These rural dwellers would not lose their land rights unless they give up their local agricultural *Hukou* (Andreas and Zhan 2016). However, Andreas and Zhan (2016) have noticed a gradual shift in land rights from being *Hukou*-based to being more market-based under the current *Hukou* and land reforms.
- 10 Note that, after a short-lived period of prosperity in the 1990s, these TVEs have already declined (Buck 2007).

- 11 A few scholars have different opinions about the same institutions (e.g. TVEs). According to Arrighi (2007, 362–363), collectively owned TVEs emerged in rural China during the period of fiscal decentralization to promote local economic development and increase cadres' bonuses. The role of TVEs in redistributing surplus is expressed in two ways, namely: paying taxes and levies to rural communities, and employing rural surplus labour to raise villagers' incomes. However, Walker (2006) argues that TVEs are used as tools for extracting rural surplus. In other words, where Walker argues that TVEs, rather than being organizations that redistribute the surplus from urban to rural areas within the AWD scheme, simply fuel a new round of extraction in rural areas, Arrighi claims that TVEs enable capital to reflow from urban to rural areas with capitalist development. Both Arrighi's and Walker's explanations are supported by empirical evidence from contemporary rural China, but in different regions and during different time periods: Webber (2008) argues that the TVEs, under the protection of local states within the context of a non-competitive, centrally planned economic regime, did indeed improve villagers' welfare by subcontracting work from the urban industrial sector. Buck (2007), meanwhile, states that TVEs reformed the rural land-labour relationship, and changed the rural farmers into subordinated wage workers. According to R. Walker and Buck (2007, 43–44), when TVEs privatized or closed in the context of the market economic regime in the late 1990s, these rural workers were forced to become the industrial reserve army. This is a reminder to pay attention to differences across space and time when studying the rise of capitalism and its rural-urban linkage.
- 12 Findings from my fieldwork in 2016 show that 13 of the interviewed villagers were doing unskilled wage-labour jobs in the ITP sector (i.e. weeding and fertilizing). Their average annual income from these jobs was 3,342 yuan per capita, which is very little compared to the average annual wage income in China (67,569 yuan per capital in 2016). Data from the National Bureau of Statistics of China: <http://data.stats.gov.cn/easyquery.htm?cn=C01>.
- 13 In China, forestland is a type of land classified by the state. It is hilly land but not necessarily with natural forests on it.
- 14 Mu refers to a unit for the measurement of land – 15 mu equals 1 hectare.
- 15 Although, according to Q. F. Zhang (2012), Chinese contract farming might contain some distinct features.
- 16 His study is based on contemporary land grabs in the context of an Indonesian palm oil plantation. The notion of adverse incorporation, “as a fairly broad critique of neo-liberal accounts of poverty and development”, refers to “the risks and disadvantages of inclusion and participation in unregulated capitalist markets” (du Toit 2009, 2).
- 17 Yuan is the monetary unit of China. One euro equals 7.1 Yuan.
- 18 Beihai, Nanning, Qianzhou, Qinlian, Yunlin, and Wuzhou are all cities in Guangxi.
- 19 This might be different from maize production in the Northeast of China, which tends to encompass large-scale and highly industrialized production (Gale, Jewison, and Hansen 2014).
- 20 In this book, I mainly focus on the politics of land-use change rather than broader geographic and ecological measurements in land-use changes (including land cover, biomass, etc.).
- 21 1 hectare equals 15 mu.
- 22 See www.china.org.cn/china/CPC_90_anniversary/2011-04/19/content_22392494.htm, accessed on 11 September 2018.
- 23 The data comes from the Statistic Year Book of China 2013: www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2013/indexch.htm, accessed on 11 January 2017.
- 24 <http://baike.baidu.com/view/6054077.htm>, accessed on 11 January 2017.
- 25 www.gov.cn/zhengce/2018-09/26/content_5325534.htm, accessed on 29 October 2019.
- 26 Data source: www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/zxfb/201704/t20170428_1489334.html, accessed on 16 April 2018.

- 27 I said “villagers leave land”, because villagers are doing off-farm work and have physically left the land and farming activities. But this does not mean that villagers have been legally separated from land, either voluntarily or forced.
- 28 <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/134999/135000/8104098.html>, accessed on 11 January 2017.
- 29 There are different types of subsidies for different type of forests/plantations. Under the Returning Farmland to Forest Program, planters got 210 yuan per mu per year for five years (as commercial forests/plantations) or eight years (as ecological forests/plantations). In 2007, the central state prolonged the subsidies for another five or eight years at reduced rates of 125 yuan (Zinda et al. 2017). The subsidies and free seedlings increased the economic incentives for villagers in Guangxi to plant eucalyptus trees.
- 30 http://news.xinhuanet.com/theory/2008-12/18/content_10522035.htm, accessed on 11 January 2017.
- 31 Except for the regular agriculture tax, peasants still had to pay fees and charges called “five tongshou three tiliu”. These were: family planning, social special care, militia training, road construction, and education fees at the township level (five tongshou), and public accumulation funds, public welfare funds, and administration fees at the village level (three tiliu). There were also other charges, such as “self-raised funds” (jizi), and apportions (tanpian).
- 32 “辛辛苦苦三百天，洒尽汗水责任田；亩产千斤收成好，年终结算亏本钱” (http://news.ifeng.com/special/60nianjiaguoc/60biaozhirenwu/renwuziliao/200909/0910_7766_1342837.shtml, accessed on 11 January 2017). A new year couplet is a decoration pasted on the door and always expresses wishes for the new year.
- 33 “农民真苦，农村真穷，农业真危险” (<http://blog.sciencenet.cn/blog-518437-522104.html>, accessed on 11 January 2017).
- 34 <http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%86%9C%E6%9D%91%E7%A8%8E%E8%B4%B9%E6%94%B9%E9%9D%A9>, accessed on 11 January 2017.
- 35 www.gov.cn/test/2006-03/06/content_219801.htm, accessed on 11 January 2017.
- 36 However, similarly to soy and maize in Northeast China (Hairong, Yiyuan, and Hok Bun 2016, 381), the profitability of a crop is not simply affected by economic factors. As will be analysed in Chapter 3, it is also related to the state’s strategic control of the prices of certain crops (including sugarcane), but not other crops (e.g. eucalyptus trees).
- 37 During my preliminary fieldwork in 2014, employees of the Guangxi Forestry department told me of the plan to limit the scale of ITPs in Guangxi. Some counties in Guangxi and Guangdong have issued policies to stop the planting of eucalyptus trees and plan to completely remove the ITPs already planted, due to their negative environmental impacts and the resistance from below that they generate: <http://news.sohu.com/20060411/n242749631.shtml>, www.eeo.com.cn/2014/0815/264952.shtml, accessed on 11 January 2017.
- 38 The state-owned forest farms (e.g. Dongmen State-owned Forest Farm, Gaogeng State-owned Forest Farm) are also “Dragon Head Enterprises”. For a more detailed analysis of “Dragon Head Enterprises” and its role in the rural capitalization in China, see Schneider (2017).
- 39 This information comes from the interview with employees at Store Enso and from a state farm during my preliminary fieldwork in spring 2014.
- 40 I refer to the total scale of land leased by state forest farms rather than the scale of each case.
- 41 Although this is a special case, because the enclosure was done in order to create a non-agricultural, special economic zone – similar to what Levien studied in India (Levien 2012).
- 42 This is different from the findings by Deng and Yang (2013, 321), in that, in the face of real and serious pollution, villagers may seek to redress environmental grievances by piggybacking on politically favourable issues.
- 43 Of these interviews, 105 were conducted with questionnaires as guidelines.
- 44 Because my fieldwork is conducted in multiple sites. Although snowball sampling might show bias due to the selection of the first few participants, this is a method

that could help me quickly access key informants, especially those who were involved in the conflicts. During the process, I selected and visited varying sites with distinct dynamics of the crop boom and in each site tried to start by interviewing normal villagers rather than local elites (e.g. rich farmers and village leaders).

- 45 In this book, except a few cases (when the information came from newspapers and/or was already well known), most village names are pseudonyms (replaced by letters of the alphabet) to protect the informants.
- 46 <http://baike.baidu.com/subview/327591/7967028.htm>, accessed on 11 January 2017.
- 47 This number needs further examination as he is employed by Stora Enso to guard the plantation.
- 48 According to the data provided by officials in the county.
- 49 Some of the interviews did not follow the pattern in the questionnaires. Furthermore, a few interviews were interrupted for various reasons. These interviews are considered “incomplete” in this Table.
- 50 In some natural villages I visited, the farmland had already been leased out to entrepreneurs/companies for large-scale sugarcane cultivation.

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