

Agricultural Industrialization, TVEs Development and Poverty Alleviation in Rural China (draft)

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1. Introduction

Owing to the three decades of reform and opening-up policies being executed, China's economy has been growing at about 9.5 percent annually, the rapid growth has been brought a successful poverty alleviation and a significant improvement of rural development. However, there are still 148 million rural people led a life below the poverty line made by the Chinese government in 1985 (per capital net income below 785 Yuan) ¹, we still face a challenge on the national poverty alleviation career.

Lv and Sun (2005) analyzed the factors affecting the divergence in provincial economic growth using the provincial cross-section data from 1985 to 2002, and found that SMEs significantly affected provincial economic growth though the foundation of assisting a comparative and effective markets. Also Lv and Cai(2005) found that the small and medium enterprises (SMEs), especially the small enterprises, are the key sources of the disparity in industrial growth among the whole country, and on average they contributed more than 40 percent of total disparities in gross industrial output value.² Overall, these evidences shows that regional poverty in China is coherent with the prosperity of the local SMEs, the regional differences of the development of SMEs in China determines the regional economic development levels.

National strength has always played a leading role in the process of poverty alleviation in China. In recent years, under the state-led industrialization poverty alleviation relief, the government efforts on the development of township and village enterprises (TVEs) played a significant role in actively promoting industrialized operation of agriculture, which is also an evidence that Chinese government admitted that the development of TVEs could directly improve farmers' income and rural economy.

The rest of this paper can be divided into four sections: Section two is mainly devoted to analyze on the role of TVEs in poverty eradication. The third part

¹Liu Jian, Li Xiaoyun, Liu Fuhe edited, Research on China's rural poverty alleviation, China Financial and Economic Publishing House, May 2009, P39

² Minquan Liu, Jiantuo Yu. Financial Structure, Development of Small and Medium Enterprises, and Income、Distribution in the People's Republic of China. Asian Development Review, 25th Anniversary Edition,2008.

focus on the experiences in the state-led poverty alleviation projects from the nation's perspective, and also focus on examining the roles of TVEs in promoting the household income under the national policies supporting; In the fourth part, we will look at some of the major enterprises' role in the process of poverty alleviation; In the last, we will focus on defining problems existing in this process.

2. Development of TVEs: Extensive Impacts on Poor

Since 1980s, China's TVEs have been into its prosperity time. The rapid development of TVEs accelerated the urbanization process in rural areas, and also has a positive role on rural development and farmers' income, mainly in the following three aspects:

Firstly, based on the agricultural sector, it is difficult to achieve the goal of increasing farmers' incomes, so the farmers must transfer to non-agricultural industries for employment salaries. However, China's hukou system and welfare system restrict the rural labor force off-site transferring, while TVEs can be better achieved the goals in the existing systems. Secondly, TVEs can better absorb the rural surplus labor from traditional agriculture areas, and facilitate the emergence of the services industry for the industrial production, which could benefit the economic development of the entire county. At present, approximately 90% of TVEs are SMEs, because it has a low industry access, and can provide more employment opportunities at the same level of capital. From this perspective, the TVEs will benefit household incomes improving and rural economy prospering. Thirdly, most of TVEs were rooted in the countryside, its business covering all the ranges of agriculture, so they can bridge the farmers to the markets, providing simple or deep processing to improve the added-value of agricultural product, which is another channel for farmers incomes increasing.

Figure 1 shows that, from 1986 to 2006, the number of TVEs in China is increasing, albeit not significant, from 15.15 million in 1986 to 23.14 million in 2006, with an increase of only 52.7%. However, the total output value of TVEs is greatly increased, from 371.7 billion Yuan in 1986 to 24.9808 trillion Yuan in 2006, with an increase of 66.207 times. Meanwhile, the employment in TVEs also increased significantly, from 79.37 million people in 1986 to 146.8 million in 2006, with an increase of 84.96%.³ These data shows that the development of TVEs and its economics strength were markedly increased, which have been brought more farmers' employment opportunities and more prosperous rural economics.

³The three decades of the township and village enterprises in China, China Agriculture Press, P326

In 2006, the added value of China's TVEs is 5.7955 trillion Yuan, accounting for 1 / 4 of the total economy added values; Currently there are 480 million of China's rural labor force in total, while the TVEs have moved more than 140 million farmers from the agriculture sector, accounting for 30%; Farmers' per capita wage annually received from the TVEs has been over 1,200 Yuan and accounting for 1 / 3 of the total farmers incomes. ⁴ The proportions points out the TVEs contributed more to farmers income increasing. In 2006, the eastern, central and western TVEs account for the proportions of added value respectively were 66.6: 27.5: 5.9. The revenue from the TVEs exceeded one trillion Yuan in the following 6 provinces: Zhejiang, Shandong, Jiangsu, Guangdong, Hebei and Liaoning provinces. ⁵ From the added value proportions of the TVEs in three regions, we can see that the degree of TVEs' development has a positive correlation with the regional economic development level, also this is another evidence to prove that the TVEs played an effective roles in the promotion of rural economic and regional development.

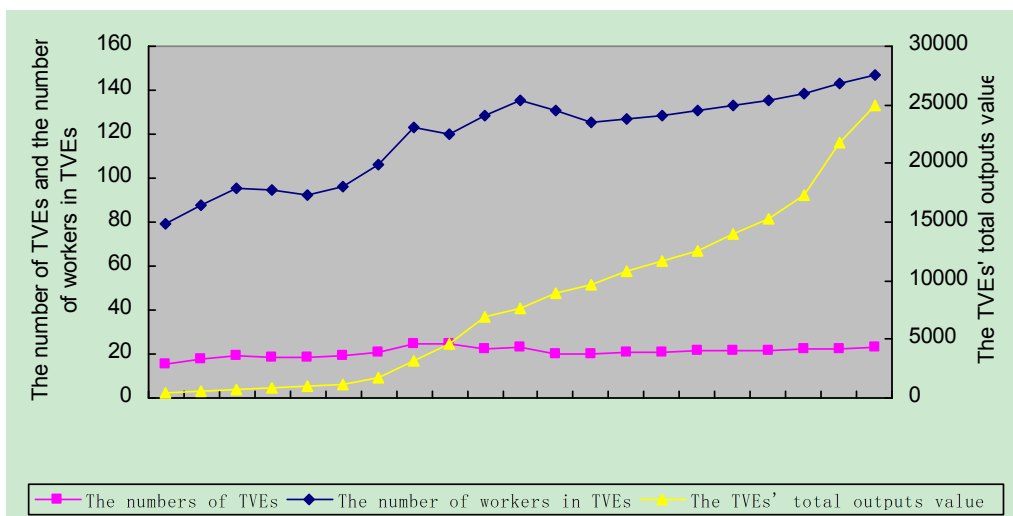


Figure1: The relative data of TVEs in China⁶

(unit: million、million、trillion Yuan)

⁴Zhang Bujiang, where did the TVEs go in the “Eleventh five – year plan”? http://www.cpad.gov.cn/data/2007/0129/article_332594.htm

⁵Zhang Bujiang, where did the TVEs go in the “Eleventh five – year plan”? http://www.cpad.gov.cn/data/2007/0129/article_332594.htm

⁶ Data resource: The three decades of the township and village enterprises in China, China Agriculture Press, P326

3. Pro-Poor Agricultural Industrialization: Specific Instrument for Poor

3.1 Pro-Poor Agricultural Industrialization Project (PPAIP)

The content of PPAIP includes: the identification and cultivation of leading industries; the setting up of production bases; providing preferential policies and funds to support leading enterprises; exploring the operational mechanism, and achieving a win-win situation for farmers and enterprises.

PPIAP aims to improve farmers' income, increase the enterprises profits and government taxes. Supporting leading enterprises are most important part of this policy, including national and provincial levels. The central government launched the credit funds for leading enterprises, which is also the most important supporting policies in industrialization poverty alleviation policy.

In 2005, under the standards from State Council's "Notice on declaration of the national poverty alleviation leading enterprises" (2003), 260 state-level poverty alleviation leading enterprises were selected. Besides the subsidized loans support, the central government also require local governments to provide a good external environment for the development of leading enterprises. According to statistics, between the year of 2003 to 2007, the central government invested 14.11 billion Yuan in agriculture industrialization, and constructed efficient agricultural planting base of 312.01 mu, supported about 5 758 agriculture industrialization projects, and also cultivated a large number of good driving ability, cost-effective agricultural industrialization leading enterprises, annually directly brought 2 200 million farmers benefited from the implementation of this project with an income increase of more than 510 Yuan. By 2010, there will be more than 1,000 leading enterprises included in the industrialization poverty alleviation project, and will achieve the object of "each county has a 1-2 leading enterprises in the 592 poor counties ". ⁷ The leading enterprises was selected from private enterprises, mainly from the small and medium enterprises, especially those who have the ability to bring local farmers into the agriculture industrialization process, those who made the poverty-stricken areas as its raw material-base, and those who cooperated with poor farmers, and those who absorbed more labor and provided more employment opportunities for poverty alleviation work.⁸

The pro-poor agricultural industrialization poverty policy in provincial level included credit for leading enterprise, tax incentives, financial funds, land-use

⁷Liu Fuhe, China will support 1000 "national poverty alleviation leading enterprises" in the next five years, The Forum of Industrial Development in poverty-stricken areas in China, 2006

⁸Aid-the-Poor Development Office of the State Council, Notice on declaration of the national poverty alleviation leading enterprises" (2003).

policy, and social aid policy. According to the questionnaire survey conducted in 11 provinces, which did by Rural Development Institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the results showed that: in 2004, the total amounts of financial funds invested in these industrialization poverty alleviation project reached to 17 billion, of which credit funds accounted for 61.7%, the finance poverty alleviation and social relief funds respectively accounted for 18.7% and 12.5%, tax incentives and financial interest subsidies accounted for 3.7% and 3.4% respectively. The survey also found that different provinces use different support policies, as Gansu, Guangxi, Hubei, Hebei, Hunan, Shandong, Jiangxi and Xinjiang, these eight provinces and autonomous regions mainly use the policy of credit funds, Heilongjiang, mainly on the tax preferential policy, while Liaoning, mainly use financial funds and social relief funds, and Shanxi mainly use financial funds.⁹

Table 1: Financial support under pro-poor agricultural industrialization projects in different provinces in 2004

(unit: million Yuan)

	Gansu	Shandong	Jiangxi	Heilongjiang	Hebei	Guangxi	Shanxi	Xinjiang	Hunan	Hubei	Liaoning
Total	30.6	263	307	3.6	56.25	147.46	25	64.43	204.3	188	405.9
Tax reduced			15	3.6				16.72	22	6	
Credit loan	30	200	230		50	138.8		30	170	168	30
Financial interest subsidies	0.6	10	7			4.16	4	17.71	5.1	6	2.4
Finance poverty alleviation fund		42	30		6.25	4.5	21		7.2	8	197.5
Social relief funds		11	25								176

Data resource: Li Zhou, Cao Jianhua, The mid-term evaluation report of the rural industrialization anti-poverty policy in China (2001-2010)

The financial interest subsidies for leading enterprises mainly distributed through China Agriculture Bank system. For instance, at the end of 2005, the Jiangxi Agriculture Bank provided 2.31 billion Yuan in total, of which 1.5 billion of them spent on the industrialization poverty alleviation, accounting for 65%. In addition, there are 5.5 billion of other credit, supporting 71 leading enterprises above the provincial level, accounting for 65% of the total number of province's leading enterprises. And Hubei Province put about 70% of the credit funds on the industrialization poverty alleviation projects, totally over 8 billion anti-poverty loans. In 2002, the Agricultural Bank of Yunnan Province supported 590 poverty alleviation projects, totally 1.526 billion Yuan, of which there were 347 planting and breeding projects, accounting for 58.81%, and the

⁹Data resource: Li Zhou, Cao Jianhua, The mid-term evaluation report of the rural industrialization anti-poverty policy in China (2001-2010)

total loans were 608 million, accounting for 39.81%.¹⁰

Other provincial anti-poverty policies aimed at leading enterprises be concluded in table 2. Through financial and policy support, the central and provincial government attempt to enhance the economic strength of leading enterprises, promote regional industrialization process and local economic development through leading enterprises' the radiation function and driving effect, improve the income of the local poor farmers, so as to adjust and upgrade the region's industrial structure, and finally achieve regional scale production and intensive management.

Table 2: The preferential policies for the leading enterprises

Credit funds	Social aid policy	Tax incentives	Land-use policy	Credit Guarantee Policy	Other policies
-Financial funds reward system (technical innovation and brand cultivation) -Combination of funds and project	- Sector helping system (Poverty Alleviation Office, ABC and other agencies)	-3-year exemption from income tax -Agriculture, Forestry and specialty tax exemption -One-stop service tax	-Priority demand for land -Preferential price for land use	-Guarantee Corporation was established in support of credit loans	-The convenience of administrative examination and approval service -Marketing assistance - Investment

Information resource: Li Zhou, Cao Jianhua, The mid-term evaluation report of the rural industrialization anti-poverty policy in China (2001-2010)

3.2 Benefit coupling mechanism

The "bottleneck" for sustainable of the industrialization poverty alleviation policy is how the leading enterprises and farmers together into benefit-risk-sharing community. The patterns of benefit coupling mechanism including: contract farming model, professional farmers-driving mode, cooperative mode and the new mode of pooling of land, all these patterns are designed to help the poor farmers and the leading enterprises form a relatively stable relationship in purchasing and selling, and become a community of interests. Among all these models contract farming is the most popular one, with the exception of Gansu, Shandong and Jiangxi Province, the proportion of contract farming in other provinces account for more than 50%. Shandong are dominant by professional farmers-driving mode, and cooperatives mode is conducting quite well in Gansu, while Jiangxi is famous for the modes of contract farming and cooperative organizations. In addition, Gansu, Jiangxi and Shandong, the mode of pooling of land occupy the proportion between 3%-10 %.(see table 3) ¹¹

¹⁰ Li Zhou, Cao Jianhua, The mid-term evaluation report of the rural industrialization anti-poverty policy in China (2001-2010)

¹¹ Li Zhou, Cao Jianhua, The mid-term evaluation report of the rural industrialization anti-poverty policy in China

From the view of benefit coupling mechanism, every mode have their advantages and disadvantages. But the leading enterprises played an important role in all patterns. Until 2008, China has identified 650 state-level poverty alleviation leading enterprises. According to the investigation and analysis by Li Zhou et al (2006), the industrialization leading enterprises help the poor farmers increased their employment and improved their revenues. Among them, the survey data shows that the average household of each leading enterprises radiated is 3423, range from 1161 to 6198; among the benefit farmers the poor ones accounted for 45%, fluctuating in the range of 9.3% - 70%; and the average radiated radius of leading enterprises is 4300 kilometers, the band is 250 to 10,000 kilometers. (See Table 4) So it can be concluded that leading enterprises, to a certain extent, can help poor farmers out of poverty.

Table 3: the benefit coupling mechanism of farmers and industrialization poverty alleviation stakeholders (unit:%)

	Gan su	Shan dong	Jiangxi	Hei long jiang	Hebei	Guang xi	Shanxi	Xin jiang	Hunan	Hubei	Liao ning
Contract farming	35	30	40	70	80	100	100	90	70	60	55
Professional farmers-driving	25	50	40	10	13			10	17	30	45
Cooperative-driving	65	15	10	20	7				13		
Pooling of land	10	3	10								
Others		2								10	

Data resource: Li Zhou, Cao Jianhua, The mid-term evaluation report of the rural industrialization anti-poverty policy in China (2001-2010)

Table 4: The number of households and farmers in poverty that under radiation of the leading enterprises¹²

	Shandong	Jiangxi	Heilongjiang	Shanxi	Hubei	Average
Farmers under the radiation	3416	6198	1161	3009	3333	3423.4
Poor farmers under the radiation	2391	578	625	1879	1111	1316.8
The proportion of poor farmers (%)	70.0	9.3	53.8	62.4	33.3	45.76
Radius of maximum	10000	1000	10000		500	4300

(2001-2010)

¹² Data resource: Li Zhou, Cao Jianhua, The Assessment Report of the industrialization anti-poverty policy, chapter in the book of: The way achievements and challenges of development-oriented poverty alleviation in a new stage, 2006

radiation (kilometers)											
Per household income (Yuan)	3970.9	5.0	69.2					2000	1209		
Income of poor farmers (Yuan)	3403.6	21.4	45.0					2000	1094		

Data resource: Li Zhou, Cao Jianhua, The Assessment Report of the industrialization anti-poverty policy, chapter in the book of: The way achievements and challenges of development-oriented poverty alleviation in a new stage, 2006

3.3 The Effects of Pro-Poor Agricultural Industrialization Projects

The leading enterprises are the key stakeholders in poverty alleviation project; government financial anti-poverty funds tilt to leading enterprises to alleviate the shortage of funds pressure of the enterprises, and to some certain extent promoted the development of enterprises. From report of Li Zhou and Cai (2006), the survey results (See table 5) show that, from the fixed assets, added value and profits, taxes and other indicators, leading enterprises as a whole is profitable, and the poor farmers can benefit from providing more employment of the rural labors, and from accessing to the markets for poor farmers to enhance their incomes. For absence of further statistics, we can not make a comparative analysis according to these indicators on the policy influence.

Table 5: The key economic indicators of the poverty alleviation leading enterprises

(Unit: million Yuan、per people、million Yuan)

	Gansu	Shandong	Jiangxi	Heilongjiang	Hebei	Guangxi	Shanxi	Xinjiang	Hunan	Hubei	Liaoning
Fixed assets	650	2450	20	31000	181.48	387.18	183.78	366.01	183.8	1254	476.83
Labors	2600	24500	15000	2800	7734	65600	11000	3098	8000	12000	9400
Added value	265.6	457.29	280	9040	135.59	176.27	78.623	255	248	116.68	265.6
Income	15.6	146.7	100	2240	46.85	50.37	16.86	40	120	65.8	15.6
Profits	150	254.79	100	4500	62.74	125.9	55.677	123	60	38.44	150
Tax	100	55.80	80	2300	26		6.086	92	68	12.44	100

Data resource: Li Zhou, Cao Jianhua, The mid-term evaluation report of the rural industrialization anti-poverty policy in China (2001-2010)

Under supporting policy, the provincial governments provide funds, markets, technology, management and other methods of incentives to serve a good business environment for enterprises. At the same time, a good investment environment will attract the enterprises in well-developed areas to poor areas for investment. With the help of government poverty alleviation policies and the strong support of various types of anti-poverty funds, the poverty-stricken regions have fostered a number of well developed leading enterprises. As

Yunnan Province, state-owned mengxing farms, agricultural processing plants in Zhanyi County, the leading enterprises can accelerate the pace of agricultural development and poverty alleviation in poor areas.

The governments also provide technical training, free seedlings and marketing as supplemented services for farmers and TVEs, in order to reduce the risk. In addition, the government also provides the access for the poor farmers links with markets, including the supporting leading enterprises, the construction of wholesale markets and together with the brokers from the rural cooperative organizations, built an market networks which facilitate the timely transactions for poor farmers.

In addition to promoting the development of pillar industries and supporting the leading enterprises, the industrialization poverty alleviation policy also included the poor households involved in the pillar industries. Therefore, the credit loans for poor households are an important part of policy. The survey made by Li Zhou (2006) showed that, some poor farmers got the credit funds, despite the number is relatively small. (See table 6.)

Table 6: The credit for poor households in 11 provinces, 2004

(Unit: thousand households, thousand households, %, %, Yuan per household, Yuan per household)

	Gansu	Shandong	Jiangxi	Heilongjiang	Hebei	Guangxi	Shanxi	Xinjiang	Hunan	Average
Number of farmers who got the credit	150	120	18	60	87.2			132	14	83
Number of poor farmers who got the credit	80	84	9	21	53.7		10	26.4	5	36
Proportion of poor farmers of the credit client	52.0	69.2	50.9	70.0	66.2	0.1	66.7	33.3	70.0	53.2
Proportion of numbers of poor farmers who got the credit	53.3	70.0	50.0	35.0	61.6	—	20.0	35.7	70.0	49.5
The amount of credit for each farmers	1666.7	—	3055.6	233.3	—	1098.6	—	—	90.9	1024.2
The amount of credit for each poor farmers	1625.0	—	3111.1	466.7	—	1180.6	—	1.8	303.0	1337.6

Data resource: Li Zhou, Cao Jianhua, The mid-term evaluation report of the rural industrialization anti-poverty policy in China (2001-2010)

4. Enterprises' Pairing-off Support to Poor Area: Complementary Aids

With the growing power of Chinese enterprises, relatively large-sized entrepreneurs and business groups has been formed. In addition to promote the development of their own business, they also have some social responsibilities. The most important one is caring about the poor. Since the reform and opening policy being executed, the rural areas and farmers made

great contributions to the development for enterprises development by providing ample but cheap labor resources. Therefore, when the enterprises have the abilities to reward society, they are encouraged to participate in poverty alleviation to achieve its social responsibility.

At present, China's poverty alleviation and development program include the following types of enterprises: state-owned enterprises, foreign-funded enterprises and private enterprises. Among them, the natures of state-owned enterprises are similar with government authorities, so they need to contribute and sacrifice some of their profits to help the poverty-stricken counties. For example, Petro-China contributed 7.2 billion during 2003 – 2006, and invested 1 billion Yuan on the infrastructure construction in Tibet; The China-Grid invested heavily in primary and secondary schools since 2003, so far the number of Hope Primary School they donated are more than 500, which make more than 100,000 students benefited.

Foreign-funded enterprises have gradually become an important force in poverty alleviation, they can choose to donate directly to the poverty-stricken areas or submit the funds to the civil society organizations For example, Coca-Cola Company, since 1993, has been donated more than 50 million Yuan to China's anti-poverty charity.

Private companies can participate in poverty alleviation project though the platform of Glorious-work, According to statistics, until 2007, private entrepreneurs set up a total of 16244 projects, collect 133.776 billion Yuan, and create job opportunities for 4.9289 million people, finally help 7.8761 million people out of poverty.¹³

At local (county) level in poverty stricken area, middle sized enterprises are also encouraged to provided pairing-off support to poor village communities. They provided varies kinds of development support.

5. Conclusions and Suggestions

Under the state-led pro-poor agricultural industrialization, we obtained some useful experience summarized as follows:

- ✓ In the process of poverty alleviation, the actions are characteristic by the cooperation of central and local governments, the combination of policies and funds. The major problems faced by leading enterprises - funds shortage- are partly solved by the government, while the central and provincial government has given a policy support for the development of

¹³ The data and cases come from: Liu Jian, Li Xiaoyun, Liu Fuhe edited, Research on China's rural poverty alleviation, China Financial and Economic Publishing House, May 2009..

TVEs. In addition, the state-led industrialization poverty alleviation also solves the low quality of rural labor force and the weak marketing ability of the TVEs by farmers training and marketing assistant. And some local governments aimed to provide a multifaceted, comprehensive support for the leading enterprises to benefit local economic development.

- ✓ The policies and support being carried out with an expectation that using the market as a medium to improve the local farmers' income and realize rural economic development. In other words, with the leading function of TVEs in the local economy, the policy wants the local poor farmers revenue increased and poverty alleviation goals achieved. Without intervening in the production and operation of TVEs, government only need to optimize the external environment to support their development.
- ✓ Besides the state financial funds and subsidy, the authorities also encourage other market entities to participate in the poverty reduction, which highlighted the social responsibility of large and medium enterprises. So the state-owned enterprises, foreign-funded enterprises and private enterprises may donate for the poor people through civil charity or directly invest in the poor areas. These social forces have been mobilized as a whole to make the poverty alleviation career running more smoothly.
- ✓ The coexistence of the multiple benefits coupling mechanism and the mechanism innovation in benefits coupling, are the most important factors in protecting the interests and achieving a win-win situation among the enterprises and farmers. The emergence of land shares reflects that various factors of production in rural areas are in the re-allocation process, which will optimize the resource assignment. Multi-channels, multi-linkage approaches will ensure that the effectiveness of the industrialization poverty alleviation policies.

At the same time, there are many of the issues need be further discussed:

- ✓ At present, the policy support for leading enterprises still can not meet their development needs, we should magnified its support strength and scope, especially in some poor areas, the strength of leading enterprises is weak, which need for further support .
- ✓ Industrialization poverty alleviation policies can not clear up all the constraints in the development of TVEs, a good outside environment for TVEs' development is only a necessary condition but not sufficient ones. The development of need TVEs' own efforts and learn from their experience accumulated, so the elements of entrepreneurs need to attach great importance in The TVEs' development strategy.
- ✓ The current anti-poverty policies emphasis on the financial funds supporting for poverty-stricken areas for SMEs and poor households, but the poor targeting mechanism has been always an important issue. Although there exists some data showing that the income of peasants increased, but the rate of increase and the cost-benefits of this policy need

further studied. How to realize the industrialization of poverty alleviation policies more precise target the poor, how to expand the benefit degree of the poor from the policies implementation, and how to accomplish an effective poverty alleviation project. This kind issue deserves to be further explored.

- ✓ For the pro-poor agricultural industrialization policies/projects, the monitoring mechanism have not been institutionalized, and also the monitoring indicators has not been clear, with the weak evaluation capacity, we can't guarantee the policy implementation effectiveness and funds usage efficiency. Therefore, we should pay more attention to the establishment of monitoring and evaluation mechanism in the industrialization poverty alleviation policies, to ensure that poverty reduction objects has reached and anti-poverty funds usage are efficient with timely and appropriate evaluation mechanisms, which not just aim at the consequence but also at the implementing process.

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