

Lisa Kelle

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Since the late 1980s, Sulawesi, Indonesia has been home to one of the most rapid smallholder cacao booms (and busts) in recent global economic history. In this context, diverse civil society, state and corporate actors have supported investments in the 'sustainable intensification' of smallholder cacao production. is talk situates these policies against four decades of land use, land cover and livelihood change in Southeast Sulawesi. Integrating across remotely sensed imagery and oral histories, I first illustrate how current policies emerge out of and respond to earlier histories of state engagement. Prior state-led development regimes, I show, not only enabled production crisis by encouraging monotypic, input-intensive production; they also shaped high rates of forest