

# Perceived fairness in tropical forest-agriculture frontiers: Comparative perspectives from Cameroon, Laos, and Sabah



Wai Phyoe Maung<sup>1\*</sup>, Veronique Mbole<sup>2</sup>, Aristide Chacgom<sup>2</sup>, Sithong Thongmanivong<sup>3</sup>, Nasiri Sabiah<sup>4</sup>, Doris Lasimbang<sup>4</sup>, Andi Patiware Metaragakusuma<sup>1</sup>, Alimata Sidibe<sup>1</sup>, Grace Yee Wong<sup>1,5</sup> <sup>1</sup> Research Institute for Humanity and Nature (RIHN), Kyoto, Japan/ <sup>2</sup> Green Development Advocate (GDA), Cameroon/ <sup>3</sup> Faculty of Forest Science, National University of Laos (NUOL), Vientiane, Lao PDR <sup>4</sup> PACOS Trust, Sabah, Malaysia/ <sup>5</sup> Stockholm Resilience Centre, Stockholm University, Stockholm 10691, Sweden

#### Introduction

• What we call as tropical forest-agriculture frontiers are areas where forests are being territorialized, conserved or converted into commercial agriculture,. These processes raise issues of social and environmental justice, as the benefits of these changes are frequently not equally distributed, with elites and external investors often benefiting more than locals. In that, understanding local perceptions about changing frontiers helps foster dialogue among diverse actors for more equitable, and sustainable policies.



Mosaic patterns of swidden agriculture being transformed into rubber as seen in the background

#### **Research Questions & Objectives**

- Regarding socio-environmental changes around them, how do locals interpret fairness and how does perceived fairness differ across regions?
- What are the underlying factors affecting their perceptions?
- To understand (measure) fairness via social & environmental justice (Pascual et al. 2014; McDermott et al. 2012)
- To contribute to global debates amid rising inequality (UNDP 2019)

#### No universal definition of "Perceived fairness"

• Here we understand it as the individual's subjective judgment about the equity of a process or outcome. A psychological construct influenced by both objective factors and personal perceptions (experiences, emotions, cultural norms, and social context).

### Study areas

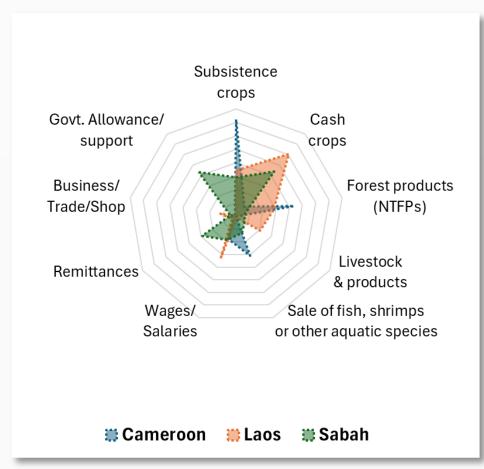
## Cameroon (Campo Ma'an National Park):

- State-led conservation affects Bantu farmers & Bagyeli hunter-gatherers
- Resource restrictions push shift to sedentary farming Laos (Luang Namtha and Oudomxay provinces)
  - Land & Forest Allocation (LFA) reshapes livelihoods
  - Belt & Road projects expand rubber & sugarcane
- Ethnic groups adapt from swidden to commercial crops Sabah (Malaysia):
  - Conservation tied to industrial timber & pulp plantations
  - SAFODA & private firms lead afforestation Rungus, Tombonuo & Kadazan shift to oil palm & rubber

#### Methods

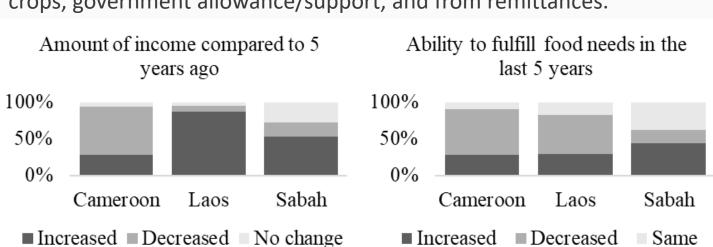
- Common framework: participatory methods (290 participants) ethics, and protocols
- Thematic, descriptive & inferential analysis

# **Results & Discussions**

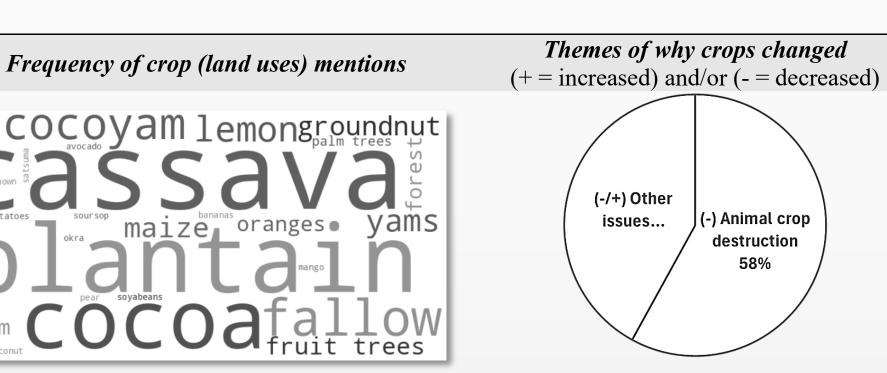


Crop farming (incl. subsistence and cash crops) is the predominant income-generating activity in all three regions, with Laos exhibiting the highest dependency.

Cameroon's focus on subsistence crops, forest products (NTFPs), and sale of aquatic animals. Laos's income sources are mainly from cash crops and wages related to farming, while Sabah's mainly from cash crops, government allowance/support, and from remittances.

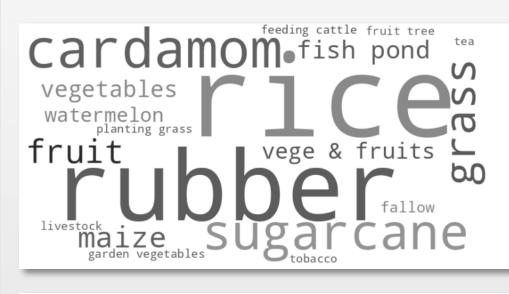


(b) Income sources

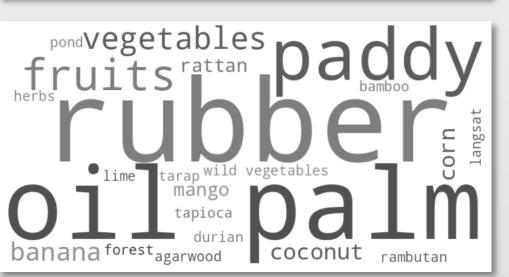


Crop raiding, caused by such as elephants, monkeys, other rodents, herbivores, widely is reported as the leading driver of crop losses.

encourages



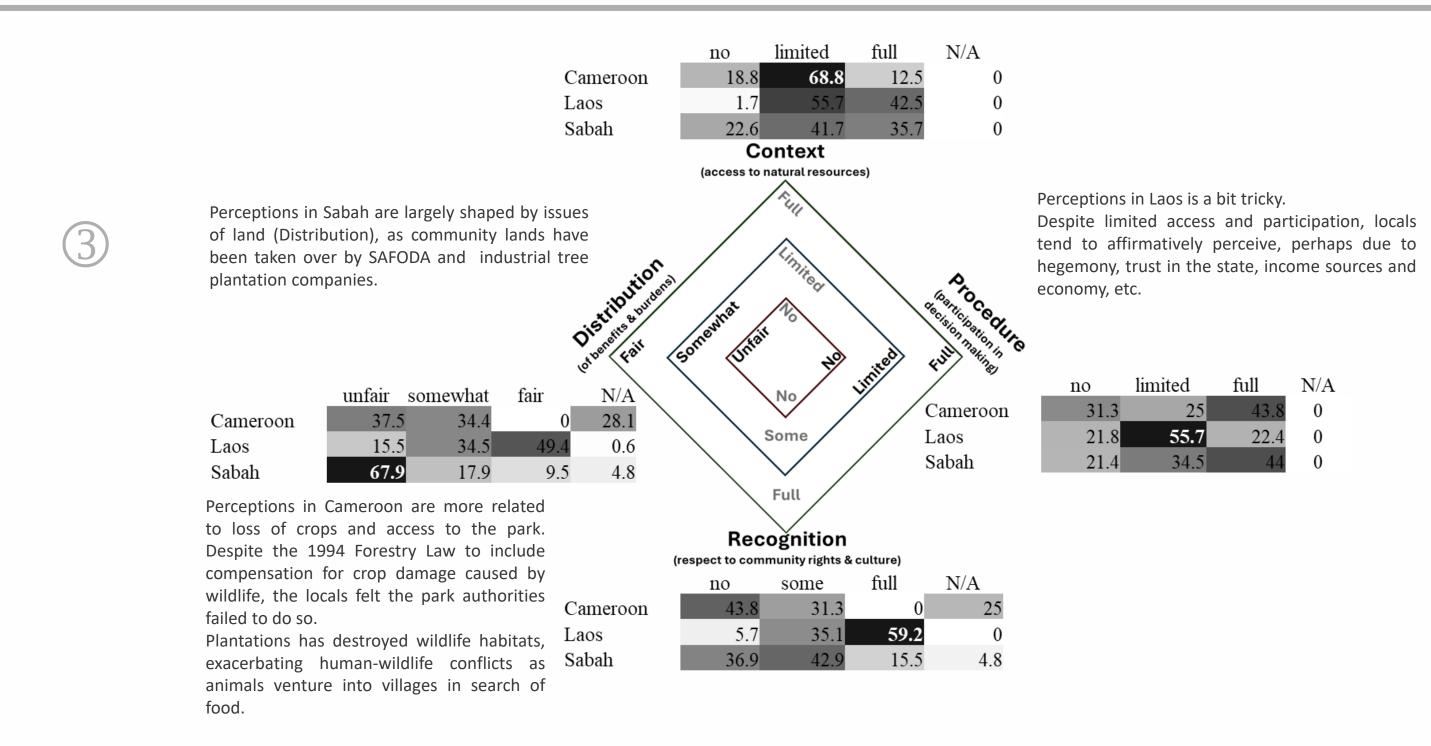
Lao government actively 50% (+) Fertilizer or agrotechnology agricultural intensification, and many (-/ +) State land allocation farmers (50% or the total) (-) Weather conditions report benefits from using 13% (+) Land purchase or expansion fertilizers and modern agrotechnology.

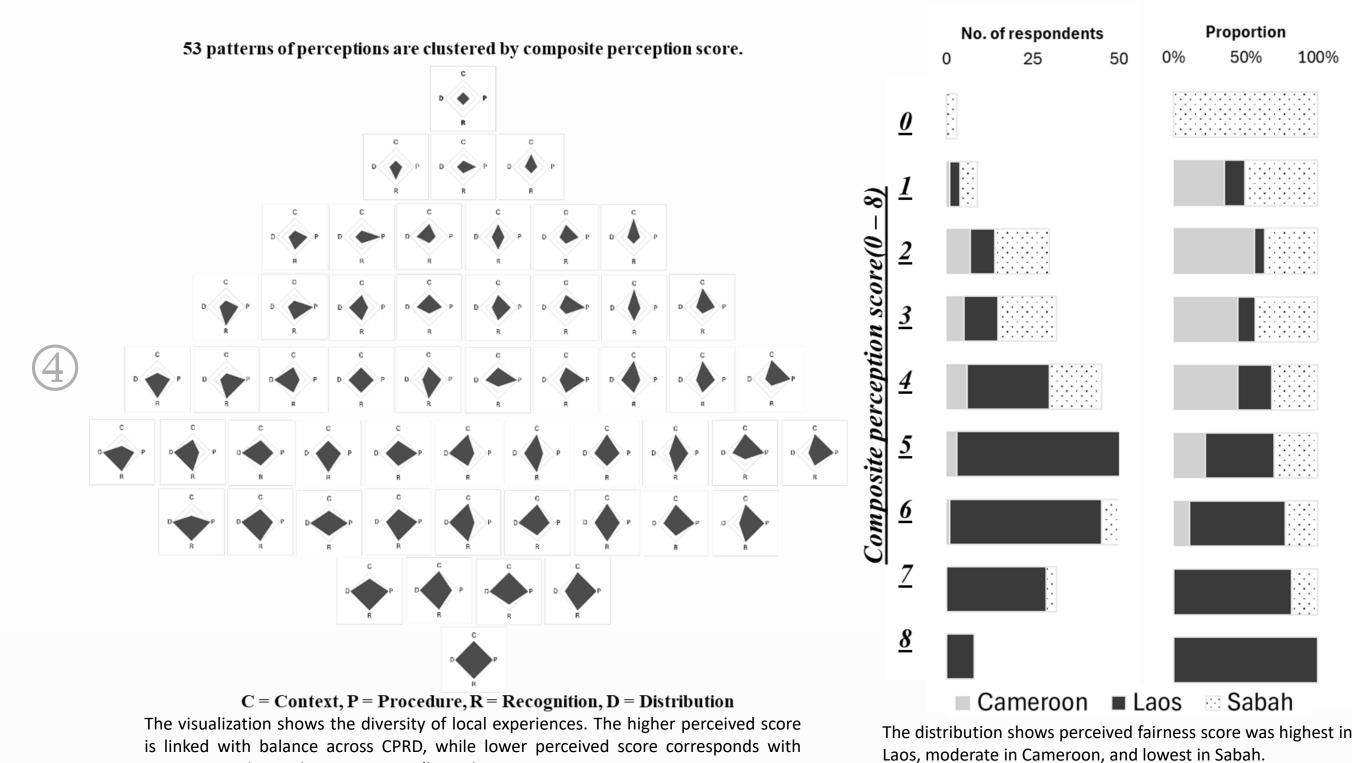


(+) Oil palm/ rubber maturity 40% Reported changes in crop (-) Weather conditions 19% production are attributed 10% to the maturation of oil (+/-) Infrastructure development 9% palm and rubber. (+/ -) Market/price for crops (+/-) Miscellaneous issues

Decline in access to land, and forests resources is the common pattern in all regions.

- In Cameroon, access restricted by stricter conservation policies. "We would at first have free access to the forest with guns and to kill any animal, but with the park, access is now difficult. Now, if you are caught with some kind of animal, it is considered poaching." "At first, we didn't have any problem hunting but nowadays it is prohibited, sometimes even killing a category c animal e.g., hare is considered poaching." (some quotes of Cameroonian respondents, 2022)
- In Laos, access declining mainly due to agricultural commercialization and population pressure. State policies also play, but not as strong as the population issues. "Due to the increase in population, forest resources are decreasing, and land use is limited." "Because the state has come to plan management, there are boundaries in management, so it is not possible to enter and use the forest area independently." (some quotes of Laotian respondents, 2024)
- Sabah is a story of enclosure where corporate/ government projects (SAFODA, acacia plantations) transformed open communal forests into restricted, managed landscapes. Villagers face loss of ancestral lands, reduced access, ecological decline, and economic dependence. A minority still access forest products, but overall, freedom, livelihood security, and ecological integrity have declined. "Before this, land belonged to the indigenous peoples. In the 1980s, land was gazette to SAFODA." "Opening of land by the developer company destroyed the habitat of existing forest such as medicine and fish." (some quotes of Sabah respondents, 2024)





		ii	iii	iv	V	vi	vii	viii	ix	X	xi	Composite
		Education	Income	-related	Food	Land	Life satisfaction	C	P	R	D	perception
	i) Age (Year)	.365*	-0.18	0.32	0.104	0.214	0.012	0.095	0.149	-0.153	-0.171	0.028
	ii) Education levels	1	.407*	0.345	0.131	-0.062	-0.012	-0.029	-0.285	-0.091	-0.288	-0.295
	iii) Annual income (USD)		1	0.283	-0.082	-0.078	-0.057	-0.271	-0.24	0.032	-0.381	-0.399
<b>=</b>	iv) Changes in income amount			1	-0.016	0.303	0.069	-0.081	0.089	-0.132	-0.164	0.054
Cameroon	v) Changes in food availability				1	-0.179	0.175	0.298	-0.278	-0.173	-0.023	-0.259
ner	vi) Land size (Hectare)					1	0.037	-0.005	0.347	-0.288	-0.089	-0.005
an	vii) Life satisfaction						1	0.021	-0.1	-0.193	-0.117	-0.254
	viii) Context							1	-0.045	-0.022	0.397	.557**
	ix) Procedure								1	-0.138	0.105	.584**
	x) Recognition									1	-0.054	0.325
	xi) Distribution										1	.635**
	i) Age (Year)	266**	0.058	0.008	-0.078	0.089	0.106	0.132	0.024	-0.068	-0.12	-0.028
(5)	ii) Education levels	1	.150*	-0.03	-0.056	0.053	-0.027	-0.142	.190*	0.009	0.053	0.076
	iii) Annual income (USD)		1	.215**	-0.041	.248**	.157*	0.009	0.126	0.004	0.111	0.119
	iv) Changes in income amount			1	.163*	0.101	-0.066	-0.072	-0.099	-0.065	-0.02	-0.117
Ø	v) Changes in food availability				1	-0.106	0.065	.162*	-0.066	-0.039	0.017	0.017
Laos	vi) Land size (Hectare)					1	0.096	-0.037	0.051	-0.044	0.049	0.015
	vii) Life satisfaction						1	0.028	.213**	.225**	.227**	.340**
	viii) Context							1	-0.068	177*	-0.115	.204**
	ix) Procedure								1	.382**	0.142	.663**
	x) Recognition									1	.411**	.690**
	xi) Distribution										1	.661**
	i) Age (Year)	575**	-0.177	-0.103	-0.011	0.108	-0.089	-0.082	-0.018	0.001	-0.012	-0.052
	ii) Education levels	1	.285*	0.054	0.099	0.04	0.139	-0.17	0.018	-0.183	-0.033	-0.169
	iii) Annual income (USD)		1	0.207	.272*	0.221	0.101	0.049	0.025	-0.002	-0.071	0.019
	iv) Changes in income amount			1	.511**	.492**	.259*	236*	0.176	0.196	0.01	0.086
q	v) Changes in food availability				1	.313**	0.133	-0.166	0.083	-0.017	-0.109	-0.062
Sabah	vi) Land size (Hectare)					1	-0.023	387**	.359**	-0.147	274*	-0.138
Š	vii) Life satisfaction						1	0.016	.256*	.238*	0.069	.254*
	viii) Context							1	-0.129	0.175	0.095	.519**
	ix) Procedure								1	0.087	0.081	.488**
	x) Recognition									1	.364**	.691**
	xi) Distribution										1	.608**

No significant link between age, education, and perceptions (all regions).

uneven experiences in one or more dimensions

- Higher education generally means higher income strongest in Cameroon, weaker in Laos and Sabah (where income depends more on land size).
- Land size doesn't shape perceptions in Cameroon but does in Laos and Sabah.
- In Sabah, larger landowners feel more unfairness and limited access likely due to land losses to SAFODA and plantation companies.

		<b>Total mentions within</b>								
	Wellbeing themes	Can	neroon	Laos		Sabah				
		(N	<b>[=32)</b>	(N	<del>[=174)</del>	(N=84)				
	Income Security	*	8	$\Rightarrow$	178	*	26			
	Health & Healthcare Access	$\Rightarrow$	23	*	84	☆	14			
	Livelihoods & Agricultural Support	₩	11	*	85	$\stackrel{\wedge}{\mathcal{W}}$	14			
	Housing & Shelter	*	9	1	69	☆	7			
	Land Access & Land Rights	₩	3	$\stackrel{\wedge}{\sim}$	20	☆	54			
0)	Family & Children	₩	0	*	42	₩	4			
	Infrastructure & Transportation	*	8	\$	23	₩	14			
	Water Access & Quality	*	2	$\stackrel{\wedge}{\sim}$	3	*	27			
	Education & Skills Development	*	11	$\stackrel{\wedge}{\mathcal{A}}$	8	₩	9			
	Electricity & Energy Access	<b>☆</b>	13	₩	0	☆	11			





# Key takeaways

of mentions per wellbeing theme.

- Observed underlying factors include human-wildlife conflicts and land dispossession linked to conservation policies (Cameroon), land titling and inequalities from cash crop farming (Laos), land grabs by state-led agencies (Sabah). Across three regions, the common contextual factor we observed is access to the park, the land, and the forests.
- Perceived fairness is highly subjective, sensitive and shaped by individual differences. Despite subjectivity and individuality, it is also grounded in such objective conditions as income and land security.
- Perceived fairness impacts well-being, often more than objective measures. This study contributes to a methodological approach that allows for more flexible and nuanced understanding of fairness.

# Figures & Tables

- **1** = Relative importance of primary livelihoods and income sources/ **2** = Key insights into crop production and land uses/ 3 = Analytical lens to assess equity and perceptions of fairness /
- 4 = Patterns of perceptions and distribution of respondents based on the levels of perceived fairness/ 5 = Spearman's correlation matrix (Spearman's rho. \* Significance at 0.05 level (2-tailed); \*\* Significance at 0.01 level (2-tailed). All variables are ordinal except age, annual income and land size.) /  $\mathbf{6}$  = What is required to have a "good quality of life" in your village?