

From law school to the field: Community lawyers in Cameroon

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Summary

The Community Legal Field Worker initiative (CLFW), run by the Centre for Environment and Development (CED) in Cameroon, was designed to deal with major gaps in capacity to safeguard indigenous rights to land and forests. This capacity gap included weak knowledge amongst urban trained lawyers of the rural context and indigenous rights. A two-year field placement for lawyers committed to operating as advocates for the communities and trying to obtain the best for them in accordance with the law, has resulted in some important outcomes and lessons for building future programmes of this type. The improved understanding of communities of their rights and procedures for protecting them was demonstrated by the indigenous Baka's abstention in local elections, improved recognition of indigenous chiefs and customary law, stronger representation in local councils and legal proceedings against Bantu farmers resulting in the return of previously confiscated lands. This paper presents the key steps taken to implement the CLFW tool, the outcomes and lessons learned.

About CED

The Centre for Environment and Development (CED) was set up in 1994 in response to Cameroon's forest management problems that began in the early 1990s. CED works on issues relating to recognition and protection of forest communities' rights (www.cedcameroun.org).

About the author

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Translated from the French by Jean Lubbock MIL MITI

1. Introduction

A relatively prosperous country, Cameroon was hit by a severe economic crisis in the early 1990s, obliging it to accept an International Monetary Fund/World Bank structural adjustment programme. Implementing the new economic policies resulted in a rollback of the previously omnipresent State and ever greater pressure on natural resources exploited primarily for export (tropical hardwood and oil, as well as industrial plantations). Privatisation of land and resources was speeded up, to the detriment of community rights.

Although they depend on the forest for subsistence, indigenous (Pygmy) and Bantu communities play a marginal role in land-use and resource management, despite the Government's efforts in the 1994 Forest Law, which provides for local involvement, community forestry and allocation of a proportion of forestry revenue (annual forestry royalties) to fund local development. Since 1994, legal measures have been adopted which directly impact the rights of forest communities: the size and duration of forestry concessions have been increased considerably, to 200,000 hectares and 30 years respectively, while more protected areas have been designated and it is planned to extend them to 30% of the national territory.

Indigenous communities suffer many injustices perpetrated by their Bantu neighbours, government services and certain local authorities. Their marginalisation is increased by the tendency of national law to ignore them, causing frustration within these communities, who are unable to assert their difference within the national culture. Their access to resources, land and the whole set of citizenship rights is severely restricted. They have been obliged to move, as the State allocates more and more land to forestry and mining concessions, major infrastructural projects or protected areas. This situation has led to a scarcity of land and resources which seriously threatens the ability of indigenous people to maintain their hunter-gatherer culture and pushes them towards a more sedentary lifestyle and the cash economy. Bantu farmers are not much better off, as their customary ownership rights over land and resources are considered in law as no more than rights of use.

Having supported forest communities in Cameroon for more than a decade, the Rainforest Foundation and the Centre for Environment and Development (CED) set up the Community Legal Field Workers (CLFW) project to improve access to civil rights and use of forest law by forest communities, with financial support from a British donor, the Community Fund. The aim of the three-year project (January 2005-December 2007) was to support the (indigenous and Bantu) forest communities in seeking acknowledgement and protection of their rights to land, forests and related resources, particularly through acquiring community forests and the share of forest revenue intended for funding local development. It also sought to support indigenous communities in gaining recognition for their civil rights in the wider sense. In particular it sought to address a lack of information at the local level concerning rights

to land and forest resources and a lack of expertise amongst the legal profession of rural contexts and laws safeguarding indigenous people's rights to resources.

The positive outcomes generated by the programme and challenges faced provide some useful lessons. The first section of this paper provides the history behind the development of the CLFW tool, and the following sections describe the steps employed and the lessons learned along each of these stages. This, along with the key factors of success that enabled the key outcomes described in the latter part of the paper, should help interested organisations to understand how such an initiative might be replicated, and how to avoid potential pitfalls.

2. Background to the CLFW project

The CED has been working on issues relating to recognition and protection of forest communities' rights for over 10 years and, due to the presence of lawyers within the organisation, has received many requests for legal assistance since its establishment. Dealing with questions about community rights with respect to forests or land-use or the establishment of major infrastructure projects enhanced CED's legal expertise. However, the frequency with which such requests came in from all parts of Cameroon quickly exceeded the Centre's capabilities, whilst revealing the existence of a professional niche for young graduates from law faculties who often end up unemployed.

The CLFW project was set up in 2005 by CED and the Rainforest Foundation, with eight non-governmental organisation (NGO) partners in Cameroon. Its objective was to 'help forest communities in Cameroon to assert their civil rights and rights to access and use the forest and its resources and inform them of the procedures available to secure recognition and protection of those rights on an independent, long-term basis'.

The expected outcomes of the project were as follows:

- communities able to explain their rights and aware of the procedures to ensure respect of those rights
- communities with legal title over community forests actively managed in the community's interest
- communities receiving forestry royalties and other benefits to which they are entitled
- brochures published and distributed by the project to communities, NGOs and administrative authorities on laws applicable to forest communities and available procedures for safeguarding their rights.

The project beneficiaries were around a dozen indigenous (Baka and Bagyeli) communities and some 20 Bantu communities in Lomié, Abong Mbang, Yokadouma, Akom II and Djoum regions and Keperé, Deng-Deng and Pol cantons (to the East).

A series of problems had to be tackled:

1. Amendments to national legislation organising land-use and resource management (particularly the forest law and land-use statute) meant that communities were not always informed about the current status of the law and, in particular, the extent of the rights of the new stakeholders with whom they had nevertheless to deal (i.e. logging companies, industrial plantations and sports hunting operators).

2. Widespread corruption in Cameroon at the end of the 1990s made it difficult for the local administrative authorities to protect communities against violations of their rights by logging companies. There were also reports of authorities conspiring with those companies against the local people.
3. The indifference of the media and urban communities to anything that happened in rural areas, increased the likelihood of impunity.
4. The weak knowledge of rural law by Cameroonian lawyers is the result of a paradox: whereas Cameroon is essentially a rural country heavily dependent on agriculture and the exploitation of natural resources (forests, oil, gas and minerals), law faculties ignore these issues in their curricula and lawyers trained in Cameroon have difficulty finding solutions to the problems faced by rural communities.
5. The various social actors tend to have little knowledge of the problems of marginalised indigenous communities in Cameroon who lack protection from the law.

3. The CLFW tool explained

The proposed tool consisted in recruiting young recent graduates from law faculties and seconding them for around 30 months to NGOs working in forest areas. They were asked to provide assistance to communities seeking recognition and protection of their rights. The tool was based on the experience of the Environmental Law Alliance Worldwide (ELAW),¹ which has a secretariat based in Eugene (Oregon, USA) and draws together several hundred lawyers who work on a voluntary basis to protect the environment through law around the world, helping each other in their endeavours.

This was an unusual idea for Cameroon, where lawyers are trained with a view to bureaucratic jobs in town, but CED planned to send them to rural areas to help local communities or NGOs with which it had already been working.

In the mid-1990s, CED launched a training programme for paralegals (a total of 120 in part of the forested area of southern Cameroon). It focused on legal provisions affecting forests and coincided with the substantial development of industrial logging operations following the entry into force of the 1994 Forest Law. Realising that local communities had little knowledge of the new law and many logging companies were taking advantage of this to violate their rights, CED had started raising awareness and quickly saw the need to train paralegals. While the programme worked well, it was nevertheless not able to deal with all the problems facing the communities. While very effective in disseminating legal information, the paralegals ran into difficulty when the problems became a little more complex. Their efforts helped to identify many breaches of rural communities' rights, increasing the workload of CED's legal team.

Moreover, the fact that the paralegals were members of the beneficiary communities had both advantages and disadvantages:

- They had better knowledge of their communities, the context, language, problems, etc. and could therefore be more effective.
- However, they were unable to prevent the local authorities and logging companies from continuing to see them simply as peasant farmers, despite their new legal knowledge.

This was part of the reason for thinking about a different tool, which would involve bringing in young legal professionals to work within the communities. CED could then use one tool to achieve two objectives: helping communities more effectively and providing young law graduates with new experiences and skills that they could not have acquired otherwise. Studies in Cameroonian law faculties tend to skate over any issues related to community rights, natural resources and rural law in general.

1. See www.elaw.org. The Director of CED has been a member of ELAW since 1997 and since then has personally benefited from the assistance of dozens of lawyers from the organisation.

Based on these lessons, the CLFW tool was designed with the following key steps:

- recruiting the legal field workers
- the training programme
- the final selection process
- posting the field workers
- supervision and support
- sharing experiences.

3.1 Recruiting the legal field workers

The main challenge was to choose young, recent law graduates with no professional experience (the opposite of what recruiters usually look for!). Previous experience in the local or central administration, or in the private sector, could have had a negative influence on the way candidates saw rural life.² As far as possible, candidates needed to be free of any marital commitments (to facilitate their mobility, although this was not an essential requirement).

Job offers were circulated amongst (national and international) partner NGOs and at the university, clearly stating that the work would be done in difficult conditions in rural areas, so candidates knew what to expect. Around 100 applications were received and 30 people were shortlisted for interview on the basis of their age, motivation, writing skills, etc. Following interviews to assess candidates' knowledge of the rural environment and test their ability to handle life away from the city for many months, 15 were selected for the training programme.

Lessons learned:

- Choose young people, because they are more available, with fewer financial demands and greater willingness to learn.
- Ensure that recruits understand the cultural context of the communities in which they will be working, so that they can become operational immediately and not lose too much time familiarising themselves with the environment.
- Give preference to young people who want to learn rather than those who feel that university training has given them sufficient knowledge to carry out the task: a substantial part of the work will involve coming up with solutions in unusual situations and this requires sufficient intellectual humility to call oneself constantly into question.

2. Some administrations and companies have trouble seeing communities as victims of land-use and natural resource management policies and practices.

3.2 The training programme

Training was organised by members of the CED team, with the ad hoc assistance of some external experts. An intensive programme was designed, providing for classroom sessions and individual study of material selected by the team, followed by discussion. The four main objectives were to:

- Give candidates an overview of the context and situation of communities living in the areas identified to host the young lawyers.
- Provide supplementary training in relation to what candidates had been taught at the law faculties, particularly on aspects of international and domestic forest, land-use and mining law and legal provisions affecting indigenous communities. In addition, the programme covered practical elements of environmental law relevant to the communities affected by the project.
- Help the candidates to understand the world of associations and other non-profit organisations. There is little tradition of volunteering and helping the poor in Cameroon and other francophone African countries. Using examples, trainees were shown how a small investment in time by a qualified person could bring about lasting changes in people's lives. They were invited to commit themselves to the voluntary sector, not the usual option for law graduates in Cameroon.
- Enable the candidates to get to know each other and the organisation. During the training period, whenever colleagues from local NGOs were passing through Yaoundé, they were invited to meet the candidates to familiarise them with the fieldwork done by groups involved in the project.

The initial training lasted six weeks, with intensive, interactive sessions by day and individual study in the evening.

Apart from improving the candidates' skills, the training was designed to facilitate the final selection of legal field workers. Each trainer had a scoring grid to assess the candidates' performance and personality. Throughout the training, the main programme supervisors were present and also filled in assessment sheets.

Lessons learned:

- An initial assessment needs to be made of the training received by candidates during their university studies. It is advisable not to rely on the title of the course, but to analyse its content before putting together the content of candidates' additional training.
- Training can be both theoretical and practical, focusing on solving problems faced by village communities. Candidates can be given practical exercises to do every evening or every two days, based on real cases brought to CED by local NGOs.

3.3 The final selection process

At the end of the training period, candidates were invited to reiterate their interest in working with the programme if they were selected. The various supervisors and trainers then drew up the final list for the project. A gender balance was also sought to ensure that all sensitivities would be taken into account in identifying and solving the problems faced by the target communities.

After the selection, the young lawyers underwent an induction period of around three months at the CED office, to familiarise themselves with the organisation's culture and programmes and get ready for their posting. During that time, our partners from the Rainforest Foundation conducted a mission to Cameroon to meet them for the first time.

Lessons learned:

- During training, supervisors engaged in frequent discussion with candidates, particularly to assess their motivation. Rural living conditions were constantly explained so that candidates could take a fully informed decision.
- CED chose to train more young community lawyers than it needed, in order to have a pool available in case one or other of the selected candidates withdrew. Law graduates who were not selected could also use their new skills in seeking work with projects or NGOs working on similar issues.

3.4 Posting the field workers

Seven of the selected candidates were posted to the field to work with partner NGOs for two and a half years, in locations where the lawyers could have greatest impact. Drawing on its knowledge of local organisations working on forest management and community rights issues and based on requests for legal assistance received in recent years, CED was able to identify potential host organisations prior to commencing the project. These were small organisations of relatively recent creation, working in difficult political circumstances. None could afford to recruit and pay a lawyer.

There were some one-off requests for legal assistance that were relatively easy to deal with and not requiring the presence of a community lawyer for two and a half years. For this, CED decided to keep a mobile team of four in its Yaoundé office, to be deployed as necessary in areas where their colleagues seconded to local NGOs were not present.

Annex 1 describes the issues the lawyers tackled, and Annex 2 shows the locations to which they were posted.

Administrative arrangements

Although they were recruited in a process conducted from start to finish by CED, the young graduates seconded to local NGOs are employees of the host organisation as per a three-way agreement between CED, the host organisation and the community lawyer. CED insisted that the line management relationship should be between the local NGO and the legal field workers, its own role being simply to provide technical support to help the young lawyers with their work.

The community lawyers' task

Community lawyers have a simple brief: they must act as advocates for the communities, trying to obtain the best for them in accordance with the law. They must conduct themselves as lawyers, i.e. with the greatest possible respect for their clients. The community must have the same rights as a paying client. The basic principle is that the lawyer must find a solution to any problems raised by his or her client, while trying to be as creative as possible.

Lessons learned:

- It is important to ensure that the line management relationship is between the lawyer and the local NGO or beneficiary community. They are the 'clients' who must have the ability to instruct their 'lawyer'. The legal field workers could be tempted to give priority to requests from their technical supervisors rather than the local communities and NGOs.
- The choice of local partner NGOs is crucial, because they are responsible for establishing priorities when multiple requests are received from communities. The prior experience of the NGO and its commitment to the cause of community rights are important selection criteria.
- The lawyers' assurance grows with their initial successes and they gain increasing respect within the community and from the host NGO, local administration and logging companies.

3.5 Supervision and support

CED had organised the supervision of the young graduates so that they could get support from senior lawyers at the Yaoundé office. Every month, each community lawyer received a one-day visit from a senior lawyer and could, between visits, contact one of the office lawyers to seek assistance. Contact was by mobile telephone (although not all host areas had network coverage) or by letters sent through people travelling from the community to the capital.

Similarly, at the office, CED had set up a legal monitoring system to capture all new legislation governing the young lawyers' areas of work. The field workers were informed of the material collected, together with any other relevant developments.

Publication of legal texts is a far from perfect process in Cameroon: the Government Gazette does not always appear regularly or cover all legislation coming into force over the period. Finally, it is not distributed in rural areas, where very few people – and that includes certain government services – can get their hands on copies of current legislation. It happened several times during the project that the community lawyer had to inform local authorities of new legislation and supply a copy.

Lessons learned:

- The community lawyer was sometimes the first or even the only one who had a copy of new legislation and this reinforced credibility with the communities and authorities.

3.6 Sharing experience

Every three months, the community lawyers got together for a week with the supervisory team to take stock of lessons learned. This meeting was the only opportunity for them to exchange experience with each other and had three main aims:

- Enabling the lawyers to upgrade their skills: the supervisory team took advantage of the occasion to provide everyone with new information based on issues raised by one or other of the lawyers. New opportunities or risks identified between meetings were also discussed.
- Carrying out self-assessment of the work.
- Helping each community lawyer to understand the nature of the problems on which the others were working and the type of solutions they had found (approach and final outcome).

4. Key outcomes

The tool's main feature is that it obliges the legal field worker to consider him or herself as a lawyer working for a client (the community) who must try under all circumstances to get the best out of the law for the client's benefit. The local community or NGO instructs the lawyer and tells him/her what it wants. With the support of their technical supervisors, the young lawyers try, using their knowledge of the law and procedures, to achieve the result expected by their 'clients'. The diversity of requests from communities during the project explains the wide variety in results obtained, which also reflects the range of issues covered.

The main result was to demonstrate that, with the introduction of a rights-based approach, law can become a development tool useful to local communities and NGOs. This can be seen from the different results obtained in the field which coincide with the project's expected results.

4.1 Publication of guides

The project published two guides during the project and three others immediately afterwards, covering the following questions:

- How can respect for community rights be ensured during the forest gazettement process?
- How can the beneficiary communities get involved in the process of managing the annual forestry royalty?
- Traditional hunting by indigenous communities is allowed: what is it and how does it operate?
- How to prepare a project proposal and raise funds from local donors.
- The legal framework of compensation schemes.

These guides, prepared by or with the participation of the young lawyers, were widely distributed amongst local communities and NGOs. In some cases, the administration asked for copies for its awareness-raising campaigns. This made use of opportunities for a longer-term learning process amongst the lawyers, wider civil society and government.

4.2 Communities' understanding of their rights and procedures for protecting them

This was undoubtedly the most successful project component, with the widest variety of measures taken by the community lawyers. Examples include the mass abstention by the indigenous Baka in the elections in Yokadouma, in protest against the ignorance towards them shown by political parties; the legal action by members of the same communities to obtain the return of their fields and other property illegally confiscated by Bantu farmers; the election of a Baka to the town council; the appointment of a Baka translator by the chief judge at Yokadouma Court; the increasing numbers of civil registration documents (birth and marriage certificates and national identity cards) issued to indigenous people and the establishment of independent mechanisms for monitoring applications for official documents; recognition of Bagyeli indigenous chiefs and application of customary Bagyeli law in certain disputes between them and Bantu; establishment of two indigenous Baka and Bagyeli associations; and legal proceedings against Bantu farmers in respect of many abuses, followed by favourable decisions.

4.3 Contribution to the enforcement of legislation favourable to indigenous communities

The young lawyers helped to publicise legislation and procedures particularly favourable to communities in the host areas, such as:

- The circular from the Chief of Police authorising holders of civil registration documents to use them instead of the nationality certificate to obtain national identity cards. This measure speeds up the procedure and reduces costs, particularly for indigenous people.
- Court proceedings to establish the affiliation of legal successors who do not have a birth certificate, so that they may sue to obtain fair compensation in the event of accidental death of the head of the family. Indigenous people often do not have official registration documents, but insurers demand proof of identity, so the absence of a marriage or birth certificate can prevent surviving spouses and children from receiving payouts.
- Raising authorities' awareness of legislation concerning legal aid,³ which is now accepted in both criminal and civil matters.

These measures are important in that they have simplified procedures for all communities, not just those receiving the young lawyers' support. Their effect will continue to be felt long after the end of the project.

3. Legal aid, a mechanism set up by the administration that provides free assistance from a lawyer to people lacking financial resources, only applied in criminal matters. As all indigenous people can be classed as poor, the project wanted them to be able to receive assistance from a lawyer made available by the administration in civil cases as well.

4.4 Support in managing community forests for community benefit

In Cameroon, the 1994 Forest Law gives organised communities the opportunity to apply to the administration for rights to an area of forest of no more than 5,000 ha. The State transfers ownership of the resources to the community, whilst retaining ownership of the land. The community manages the forest for a 25-year period that can be renewed. As part of the project, four of our partner NGOs supported a total of 10 community forests, of which four had begun operation by the end of the project. They all employed local labour and were getting ready to deliver their first orders of timber. In the other communities, the legal field workers assisted with the administrative phase of putting the application together and made sure it reached the relevant departments.

The legal field workers were also particularly active as resource persons for their host organisations in the process of reviewing the procedural manual for community forests. In this connection, mention should also be made of the process of gazetting the forestry concession of the Transformation Reef Cameroun (TRC) Company. The company's goodwill and support from the legal field worker resulted in around one third of the concession being handed back for community use in Ndohbassaben.

4.5 Community access to the forestry royalty and other forestry benefits

A 50% share of the area tax on forestry concessions is paid back to the local level (including 40% for the municipality and 10% for the communities) to fund local development. Due to governance problems, the management system which is supposed to involve community representatives does not always work. Given the scale of the sums in question and their potential to promote development, all the project's partner organisations have been following up on the issue. A survey was conducted into the status of management and access to the annual forestry royalty of the indigenous Baka communities in Mindourou. The survey results led to the preparation of a project exclusively for those communities. Management committees were set up and community representatives were trained. Brochures on managing the royalty were distributed to the authorities and communities in the project area.

As a result, in one region, a Bantu community decided to allocate 10% of its share of the royalty to projects put forward by the indigenous Bagyeli people who are usually excluded from management of the royalty.

The project represented a genuine revolution for the young law graduates. Their contact with hitherto unknown problems made them humbler and more open to learning. Similarly, their creativity was particularly stimulated as they needed to come up with effective solutions to the problems facing communities on a daily basis. The fact that their presence aroused particularly high expectations within the communities seeking their assistance had a positive effect on their self-confidence

and encouraged them to continue their personal training. The experience they gained has subsequently been put to use in various ways: some have continued to work in supporting development and protecting the environment, whereas others have gone on to the private sector, national public administration or international organisations, or taken up their studies again. The constant feature is that their perspective on development, the use and function of law and community rights has been fundamentally altered.

5. Conclusion

The first round of project implementation has led to some significant positive outcomes for indigenous forest peoples in Cameroon and has strengthened the approaches by which external actors may provide support to forest communities in realising their rights. This final section summarises the key factors which led to successful outcomes and some of the challenges faced in continuing the programme.

5.1 Factors of success

The main factors of success were:

- the existence of demand which, in the case of this project, had gone unmet for almost a decade; the beneficiaries already knew that a lawyer could help to resolve the problems they faced
- the coverage of the operating costs (travel, photocopies, etc.) of the community lawyers seconded to the partner NGOs
- clarification of the line management relationship between the host NGO and the community lawyer, the latter not being an employee of CED seconded to a partner NGO, but an employee of that NGO which pays his or her salary (even though, in the end, the project pays)
- the selection of young graduates who are more capable of calling themselves into question than hardened professionals
- the technical back-up provided by a team of lawyers and technicians, reassuring the legal field workers that they were not alone.

5.2 Challenges

Rural living conditions were hard for the community lawyers and not adequately offset by the low remuneration they received. However, there was only one case of withdrawal and the young legal field workers' motivation and prospect of acquiring new skills finally overcame that challenge. Finally, the programme's sustainability represents another challenge: it cannot operate without external funding to cover the community lawyers' remuneration, travel and other costs.

Acronyms

CED	Centre for Environment and Development
CLFW	Community Legal Field Worker
ELAW	Environmental Law Alliance Worldwide
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
TRC	Transformation Reef Cameroun (TRC) Company

Annex 1. Legal field workers posting and professional progression

Field worker	Posting during project	Main issues tackled	Current position
1	Yaoundé	Preparation and dissemination of information on rights of pre-emption; community forestry	PhD student in health law, Canada
2	Mbalmayo	Dissemination of information on community rights of pre-emption on short-term logging permit applications ('ventes de coupe')	Employee of the British NGO Resource Extractive Monitoring (REM), independent observer of the enforcement of the forest law in the Republic of Congo, after Cameroon
3	Yaoundé	Extractive industries and energy (dams)	Policy officer at the WWF Cameroon office
4		Rights of indigenous communities (creation of indigenous chieftaincies)	International Labour Office (in charge of indigenous peoples' issues in central Africa)
5	Akom 2	Rights of indigenous peoples (creation of indigenous chieftaincies); operation of tripartite committees	Technical advisor at the Cameroon office of SNV (Dutch Development Organisation)
6	Yaoundé and Lolodorf	Monitoring community rights along the oil pipeline between Chad and Cameroon	Coordinator of Joining Hands at the Presbyterian Hunger Program (USA)
7	Sangmélima then Abong Mbang	Annual Forestry Royalties, Forest certification	
8	Djoum	Rights of indigenous communities, operation of a tripartite committee	Expert with Brainforest, the leading NGO in Gabon
9	Akom II	Rights of indigenous peoples; community forestry	Student at Douala University (specialised Master's degree)
10	Yaoundé	Rights of indigenous peoples	Programme officer, United Nations Subregional Centre for Human Rights and Democracy in Central Africa
11	Lomié	Community forestry; community rights	Community Relations Officer at the forestry company FIPCAM
12	Yaoundé	Community rights around the Lom Pangar dam	Advisor at the Cameroon office of GIZ (German Technical Cooperation)

Annex 1 (continued)			
Field worker	Posting during project	Main issues tackled	Current position
13	Yaoundé	Monitoring forestry policies in the Congo basin	Environmental Sustainability Coordinator at CamIron, a mining company operating in Cameroon
14	Yaoundé	Environmental impact studies; community rights	Student in diplomacy at IRIC
15	Lomié	Community rights; illegal logging	Diplomat with MINREX
16	Yokadouma	Monitoring of illegal logging; monitoring court proceedings regarding abuses	Legal worker with CEFAID (Yokadouma)
17	Yokadouma	Monitoring court proceedings regarding abuses	Trainee lawyer in Yaoundé
18	Yaoundé (mobile team)	Community forestry	Forest Law Enforcement and Governance expert at the Economic Commission of Central African States, based in Libreville

Annex 2. Map of Cameroon showing the location of project sites

