PROVISION
OF
LEGAL SERVICES
IN
JORDAN

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Legal Aid
Jordan
## Contents

Acknowledgements........................................................................................................3
Summary..........................................................................................................................4
Recommendations..........................................................................................................6
Introduction.....................................................................................................................7
Obstacles to ensuring access to justice for all.................................................................10

**Provision of legal services in Jordan**........................................................................13

- Consorzio Italiano di Solidarietà..................................................................................
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung............................................................................................
- International Committee of the Red Cross..............................................................
- International Medical Corps....................................................................................
- Iraqi Refugee Assistance Project..............................................................................
- Jordanian Hashemite Fund for Human Development............................................
- Jordanian National Forum for Women.................................................................
- Jordanian Society for Human Rights....................................................................
- Jordanian Women’s Union.......................................................................................  
- Justice Centre for Legal Aid...................................................................................
- Legal Aid...................................................................................................................
- Masaq Rule of Law Project......................................................................................
- Mizan.........................................................................................................................
- National Centre for Human Rights........................................................................
- Sisterhood Is Global Institute...............................................................................  
- Tamkeen...................................................................................................................
- The Jordanian National Commission for Women...................................................
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.................................................

**Conclusion**................................................................................................................17
Acknowledgements

This report is the result of numerous interviews with NGOs, UN organizations and different stakeholders in the Jordanian legal sphere and civil society. However, the organizations that focus on advocacy or lobbying alone rather than providing legal services have not been included. This, coupled to the sheer number of organizations in Jordan working on legal issues has meant that some information has not been included.

I had the pleasure of meeting with dozens of organizations and for the purpose of this report, specifically about legal aid in Jordan, only the comments of those whose work includes the provision of legal aid are included below.

The report is an overview of my observations – which result from discussions from people from the following organizations:

Summary

This report was written in order to map the provision of legal aid in Jordan. There does not seem to be any comprehensive study on existing legal services in Jordan. We believe that such a study is crucial if the situation of disadvantaged communities in Jordan is to improve and they are to have their rights protected and enforced. The purpose of this paper is therefore to fill the information gap on legal aid which currently exists amongst legal professionals in Jordan. It also aims to develop greater awareness amongst lay people of the availability of legal services. Finally, it aims to ensure greater awareness of activity within the various organizations providing legal aid, in order to improve communication, coordination and cooperation between organizations that have similar missions. The more information is available the more effective legal aid will be.

This paper’s major findings are summarized below:

1. The supply of legal aid in Jordan is insufficient.
2. Demand for legal aid is high: for both legal advice and representation.
3. There is a lack of awareness amongst lay people about their legal, constitutional and human rights.
4. Awareness is low of the right to seek remedies and of how to access legal services.
5. Training is too often focused on the ‘elite’ – on people and institutions who are already aware of the law and their rights rather than focusing on lay people.
6. Many organizations and particularly NGOs overlap in regard to the groups of people they are serving – the focus on one or two particular groups comes at the expense of the general population.
7. NGOs are responding to the demands of the donor community, which generally focus on particular sectors of society at the expense of wider Jordanian society.
8. More legal services need to respond to the needs of marginalized communities: most notably, legal services need to be aligned with the most common violations affecting specific communities.
9. There are a number of organizations providing legal aid as part of their overall mandate, whereby the provision of legal services is subsumed within other projects.
A number of organizations provide legal consultations and a much smaller number provide legal representation.

The paper will examine the obstacles to the availability of legal aid. It will then provide a brief overview of the organizations providing legal aid in Jordan. First, however, recommendations have been made based upon the meetings with NGOs, UN organizations and different stakeholders in the Jordanian legal sphere and civil society.
Recommendations

1. Ensure greater understanding amongst key actors about the need for state funded legal aid, the successful models employed by other countries including the United Kingdom, Australia and South Africa and the strong link that exists between access to justice and reduction in poverty.

2. Raise public awareness about the rule of law and how to utilize it, access to justice and the availability of legal aid.

3. Raise public awareness about human rights and Jordanian law through awareness raising campaigns, lectures and interactive workshops. People must first be aware of their rights before they can ensure they are upheld.

4. Exert pressure for state funded legal aid – pressure will need to be put on the government and Jordan Bar Association (JBA) to develop a legal infrastructure that would allow for a functioning legal aid system. This will require greater engagement with key actors in Jordan, notably the Judiciary, Ministry of Justice, JBA, civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations. Alternatively to support existing organizations providing legal aid.

5. Legal aid must address the needs of disadvantaged sectors of society; it must therefore be closely aligned with their needs.

6. Develop the capacity of existing legal aid services by providing training and support for organizations already providing legal aid. Ensure that legal aid services include both representation and advice/counseling, and cover both civil and criminal cases, based upon the needs identified in assessments.

7. Greater coordination is required between all organizations providing legal aid services and those working towards similar goals such as poverty alleviation and development more generally.

8. Organizations providing legal aid should not be confined to particular sectors in society but should provide legal aid for a broader scope of beneficiaries.

9. There is a need to activate a steering committee of committed organizations specialized in the provision of legal services to ensure that all the urgent and emerging needs are met and addressed.

10. Work must be done to instill greater trust in the rule of law. This will require the dissemination of the results of court cases in order to encourage people to seek legal remedies and show that legal remedies are available and effective.
Introduction

Jordan ranks 90th out of 179 countries on the Human Development Index and 105th in terms of GDP per capita, at US$ 4,654. In 2002 14.2% of the population was living in extreme poverty.1 This, combined with high levels of unemployment, has left sections of Jordanian society in a cycle of deprivation from which there appears to be no escape - especially as the region has ‘scant or non-existent social safety’.2 This cycle is perpetuated by lack of access to justice and the inability for disadvantaged people to seek remedies when their rights have been violated.

Impoverished people are unable to access fee-based legal services, which leads to impunity of rights-abuse: poverty makes people vulnerable to abuse, yet without the financial means to seek legal assistance these abuses remain unresolved. Significant sections of Jordanian society desperately need legal assistance, including the refugee populations (Palestinian and Iraqi), women, juveniles, migrant workers and those with disabilities. Women and refugees are however hardest hit by the lack of sufficient legal aid.

The socio-economic problems facing women are numerous. Whilst 18 out of 21 Arab countries have ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), these ratifications have been accompanied by serious reservations that serve to contradict the purpose of the Convention. Jordan, for example, made reservations on articles concerning women’s nationality and housing rights. The Arab Council for Judicial and Legal Studies explained:

Among the disadvantaged segments of the Arab world, women appear especially hard hit on all levels, including political participation, economic empowerment, education, poverty reduction, and other issues related to personal status and family issues....Politically, both “convention and legal restrictions” have stifled women’s ability to improve their situation, most notably, in the legal arena.3

The situation for refugees is similarly precarious. Jordan is neither a signatory to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention (which outlines refugees’ rights) nor to the 1967 Protocol (which removed the geographical and time limitations of the original Convention). Jordan does not have national legislation concerning refugees and there is no legal framework through which to deal with refugee issues. Consequently, the

Jordanian authorities regard the Iraqi refugees as ‘guests’, ‘temporary visitors’ or ‘illegal aliens’ who once they have overstayed their visas then face deportation and often large fines.

This issue is exacerbated by the sheer number of refugees in Jordan. Jordan hosts the largest number of refugees per capita of any country. Refugee data is constantly changing and it is difficult to obtain accurate numbers, however UNHCR currently estimates that Jordan hosts 500,000 to 600,000 Iraqis and three million Palestinians.

The link between access to justice and poverty

Access to justice serves to empower the poor and is therefore a crucial element in the reduction of poverty. This notion has been emphasized by UNDP, stating that ‘access to justice is a vital part of the UNDP mandate to reduce poverty.’ Similarly HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal has stated that ‘legal empowerment of the poor could help bolster the world’s commitments to the UN Millennium Development Goals’. The provision of legal services is therefore not independent of development work in Jordan, but is intertwined with other elements of development and poverty alleviation. All rights are interrelated and the right to justice is crucial for the realization of all other rights, including the right to a fair trial and the right to freedom from oppression.

What is legal aid?

Legal assistance, when provided by the state to people who have insufficient financial means to represent themselves legally, is termed ‘legal aid’. It includes the provision of legal advice and representation for both civil and criminal cases. It ensures that people are not denied access to justice and is consequently extremely important to a country’s development and the protection of its people. In essence, legal aid is fundamental to guaranteeing equal access to justice for all.

Access to justice is a fundamental human right. It allows for remedies to be obtained and ensures the protection of victims of violations.

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Given this importance, what legal and constitutional provisions exist to provide legal aid in Jordan? What governmental and non-governmental actors exist to implement these provisions and lobby for further legal aid?

**Legal aid in Jordan**

The Jordan Bar Association Law guarantees legal aid by stipulating that the president of the JBA has the right to assign a lawyer to those who cannot afford attorney fees and to assign a lawyer to represent a defendant free of charge once a year (Article 100).

A judge may also assign a lawyer to a criminal defendant accused of serious crimes - those that would result in the death penalty or a life sentence of hard labor. The defendant must prove that they cannot afford attorney fees and, if proof is provided, the public treasury will cover the fees (as long as they do not exceed five pounds per day). However, ‘while this provision is sufficient to ensure legal aid, adjustment to the fees, both in amount and in currency type, is clearly needed’.

Legal aid is provided for military personnel, who are exempt from all judicial fees and expenses (under the Military Criminal Procedure Code). Access to the courts for poorer individuals is, however, restricted by the High Justice Court Law, which requires all claims be filed by a licensed lawyer who has practiced law for at least five years.

The Jordanian Ombudsman’s Office receives complaints concerning the performance of public administration and initiates investigations of potential violations. These services are provided to any person claiming abuse by an administrative or executive authority.

Despite these legal aid provisions, in practice very few people in Jordan benefit from legal aid and, furthermore, there is no explicit right to defence or guaranteed access to court and counsel granted by Jordan’s Constitution.

The gap in the provision of legal aid is therefore being filled by non-government and quasi-governmental organizations, most of which focus on providing legal advice as opposed to legal representation.

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10 Jordan’s Criminal Procedures Law


Obstacles to Ensuring Access to Justice for All

1. A clear theme throughout all the discussions was that insufficient legal aid is being provided in Jordan. Without state funded legal aid there is an even greater obligation for other actors to contribute to legal aid. Currently the key actors are failing to meet the demand and NGOs alone cannot provide all the support. Private actors, including law firms, should devote more of their resources to providing pro bono legal services. Most importantly, however, governmental institutions need to become more actively involved in ensuring that legal aid is state funded and readily available for all. Whilst in theory comprehensive legal aid should be provided (as discussed on pages 7-8), in practice lay people are not being provided with equal access to justice.

2. The demand for legal aid is outstripping supply. There is insufficient legal aid for the sectors of Jordanian society that are currently without access to justice. There is an enormous need for legal aid to cover both civil and criminal cases. Marginalized communities lack the funding to pay for legal services and without this access their rights are being violated.

3. There is a lack of awareness amongst the Jordanian population of their legal and constitutional rights. Without knowledge about their rights, people lack the voice through which to have their rights upheld and violations redressed. Knowledge of rights is a very powerful tool, which marginalized communities generally lack; to support and develop those communities, people must understand their rights and responsibilities. Raising awareness increases trust in the rule of law and ensures that people can both abide by the law and be protected by it.

4. Not only are people unaware of their basic rights under Jordanian law and international treaties, they are also unaware of ways in which to seek remedies for violations of those rights. Lay people are often unaware that legal aid is provided – that without money they can still seek redress of violations. Where individuals are aware that legal aid is provided, it is not always obvious how to access it – whether they are eligible and who to contact.

5. Many NGOs organize training for judges, the police, lawyers and legal professionals, in most cases with the support of the Jordanian government. The majority of training is aimed at educating about international treaties, for example a few workshops have recently been provided on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW). Whilst the importance of this training cannot be denied, it should also be noted that equivalent training is not so readily available for lay people. A major criticism is that training and information is accessible predominantly to the elite and not to the most marginalized.
6. Provision of legal aid by NGOs is often aimed at a specific community group. For example, NGOs commonly provide support for women and, whilst there is an abundant need for legal assistance for women, it is being provided at the expense of legal aid for the general population. The result is a lack of legal services for disadvantaged people in general. There is, therefore, a significant overlap in the provision of legal aid to specific narrow groups that is not seemingly being addressed at a sufficiently satisfactory rate. As aforementioned, there is insufficient legal aid in Jordan. The problem is however more acute for the following sections of society: migrant workers, the disabled, prisoners and juveniles (both Jordanian and non-Jordanian).

7. Similarly, the legal aid provided by NGOs is responsive to the demands of the donor community. However, the donor community is, it appears, predominantly funding organizations that are lobbying to get rights enshrined as law as opposed to those providing legal aid to allow individuals to go to court over violations of already existing laws. Violations of already existing laws have been sidelined: a legal apparatus already exists to protect individuals and work should be done to ensure adherence to these laws and not just on ensuring the development of new laws. NGO's and the various firms that deal with legal aid issues should assume the responsibility of raising awareness and providing information to donors on the major gaps in legal aid provision, to ensure that funds are channeled in a way that will meet the real needs of disadvantaged communities.

8. There should be a greater focus on the needs of marginalized communities which would require greater cooperation with those communities. Legal aid should not be provided in an abstract way, divorced from the needs on the ground.

9. Another flaw in existing legal services in Jordan is the lack of results they produce. It was frequently remarked that the existing legal system is not working efficiently enough – people are not seeing results from the pursuit of legal remedies. In many people’s eyes the ends do not justify the means: the effort required to pursue justice will often not be justified by the results obtained. The majority of cases take over a year to resolve and any compensation the claimant is entitled to is often negligible.

This way of thinking also explains why people are increasingly turning to unorthodox avenues of justice. AFSC called this the ‘tabloid culture’, where people are so disillusioned by the prevailing legal system that they turn to the media to have their injustices redressed. For example, people contact radio stations, such as Amman FM and Amen FM, instead of turning to a lawyer. These stations work predominantly on the notion of ‘naming and shaming’ the person or institutions responsible for the injustice.
The radios are surprisingly effective as a surrogate for the Jordanian legal system, as they ensure results by following up on the cases brought to their attention. There is seemingly no structure to what they do and yet they are being turned to by lay people clearly disillusioned with the Jordanian legal apparatus. The use of the media is a damning indictment of the existing legal services.

10. In many meetings the following criticism was voiced: most legal services are confined to legal counseling/advice alone and therefore exclude much-needed legal representation. In most cases organizations only give advice to the individuals rather than taking the cases to court. Also, most advice is not in line with human rights standards and international human rights treaties.

11. The final obstacle to ensuring access to justice is the lack of lawyers willing to do pro bono who are both committed and qualified. In order to provide adequate legal services experienced lawyers are required. However, the majority of experienced lawyers are reluctant to dedicate their time to public interest law, preferring to specialize in corporate law.
Provision of Legal Services in Jordan

Consorzio Italiano di Solidarietà (ICS)

This Italian NGO focuses primarily on women’s rights and Iraqi refugees.

With regards to women’s rights; ICS are coordinating a project in partnership with Mizan and together with them they are organizing training and workshops on CEDAW and its implementation in domestic courts.

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)

In collaboration with Phenix: economic and informatics studies the following website has been developed: http://www.labor-watch.net/.

This website allows for workers in Jordan to obtain information about Jordanian labour law and workers’ rights. It also allows workers to obtain legal advice by completing an online query form which is responded to by lawyers from Legal Aid.

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

The ICRC does not provide any direct legal services but monitor conditions in prisons and correctional centres. They inform prisoners of ways in which to seek legal services and in most cases direct individuals to Mizan and a few have also been referred to Legal Aid.

People most at risk and needing legal representation are the following: detained foreign nationals; women incarcerated on the grounds of ‘protection’; and administrative detainees.

IMC Worldwide

When IMC identify a protection case or a family in need of legal services they refer the case to the most relevant person or to an agency which can best direct the beneficiaries. Most have been referred to Mizan.

Iraqi Refugee Assistance Project (IRAP)

The IRAP are involved in creating links between students and local human rights organizations and law firms. Their aim is to encourage students of law to go into Public Interest Law rather than into corporate law.
This organization works on Iraqi refugee resettlement issues only – helping Iraqis who wish to settle in a 3rd country. At the moment no organization is advising the Iraqi refugees or supporting them during the process. IRAP advocate on the Iraqi’s behalf at UNHCR if a referral has been expedited; prepare refugees for their interview with IOM and write appeal letters if resettlement has been rejected.

**Jordanian Hashemite Fund for Human Development (JOHUD)**

They provide legal consultations for victims of domestic violence and refer cases requiring legal representation to The Jordanian National Commission for Women.

**Jordanian National Forum for Women (JNFW)**

JNFW has offices providing legal services in the following governorates: Mafraq, Ajloun, Balqa, Karak and Aqaba.

Their offices provide the following:
1) Awareness sessions for women regarding their rights
2) Visitation program (only in Mafraq)
3) Specific information for women catering for their particular issues
4) Legal counseling and advice provided by professional lawyers from JNFW
5) Legal representation for the poorest women
6) Referral service to other organizations for women to benefit from their services

JNFW is looking to expand its legal services in other governorates through the establishment of other legal and social offices in addition to building the capacity of existing ones. JNFW is a member of the complaint office established by the Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW).

**Jordanian Society for Human Rights**

They cover a wide range of human rights issues and work on monitoring human rights violations and assisting victims.

**Jordanian Women’s Union**

Focus on defending and protecting women’s rights. They provide legal and social counseling, and operate four 24-hour counseling hotlines. Since 1996 they have taken 3000 cases. The Union also raises awareness amongst women of their rights. They care for women, children and domestic workers and offer legal services to all of them.

The legal support takes place in 3 stages:
1) Consultation
2) Helping prepare legal documents for court
3) Free representation if the women cannot afford it
**Justice Centre for Legal Aid**

Justice Center for Legal Aid provides legal advice and representation on all cases for people living in Jabal al Natheef.

**Legal Aid**

Legal Aid was set up in 2008 to provide fee-based legal services for NGOs and private individuals. Its biggest programme however is the pro bono programme, providing free legal advice and representation for disadvantaged communities.

**Masaq Rule of Law Project**

They provide a grants programme to organizations providing legal aid.

**Mizan**

Mizan was established in 1998 and is widely known amongst the NGO community in Jordan. They currently provide legal advice and representation for women, Iraqi refugees, asylum seekers, prison detainees and juveniles.

Mizan also raise awareness amongst women about their rights.

**National Centre for Human Rights**

The National Centre will deal with cases of human rights violations which do not require judicial proceedings but can be dealt with through dialogue with the relevant parties: mostly with ministries. For cases requiring judicial proceedings the NCHR refers those individuals to other organizations: at this time their partners are Mizan.

**Sisterhood Is Global Institute**

In most cases SIGI provide legal consultations to women. However, when necessary they will also provide legal representation.

**Tamkeen**

Tamkeen was established in 2008. They train judges and lawyers in Jordan on international law and how to adhere to international conventions in their work.

They also provide free legal services for migrant workers; both representation and consultation. At the time of this report being written Tamkeen were representing 10 cases in court. So far they have provided services for the following migrant communities: Egyptians, Sri Lankans, Philippines.
The Jordanian National Commission for Women

The Commission is the reference for all women. They refer cases to lawyers and partner organizations. They have established a complaint office which has developed a national database of evidence of violence against women. Women come to the complaint office and get directed from there to the relevant partners for legal support. The partners which provide legal representation are the following: Mizan, Sisterhood Is Global Institute, Jordanian Women’s Union, Tamkeen and Arab Women’s Legal Network.

UNHCR

UNHCR are currently experiencing a very high demand from Iraqi refugees for legal services.

Their protection unit has a training component; training civil society on refugee law whilst there legal unit provides assistance to refugees through a partner organization.

Others….

There are other organizations providing legal aid which are incredibly specific. These include The Center for Defending Freedom of Journalists which promotes freedom of expression and journalists’ rights. They operate a Media Legal Aid Unit that provides free legal advice and representation as well as a hotline.
Conclusion

In conclusion there is insufficient information available about the provision of legal services in Jordan both amongst the NGO community and amongst lay people who are the intended recipients of these services. This report is therefore a first step towards filling the informational gap about legal services in Jordan. It is intended as a tool for raising awareness about what services are available, the problems which exist and how they can best be addressed.

Very few organizations are aware of all the legal services on offer in Jordan. Whilst a number of NGOs have been referring legal cases to organizations which provide free legal services, the overall knowledge of which organizations are providing these services is limited. In general most know only of Mizan, the National Centre for Human Rights and the Jordanian Women’s Union. This lack of awareness amongst the NGO community is problematic for the following reasons:

1. People in need of legal assistance cannot be directed to the most appropriate and relevant organizations if knowledge about these organizations is not readily available.

2. Organizations providing legal aid overlap in their work because they are not aware that other organizations are already providing similar services on similar cases. This duplication is a problem because it is a drain on resources; in some cases resulting in the waste of donor money.

3. In a similar vain, the lack of coordination is resulting in some disadvantaged communities being entirely omitted from the provision of legal services. Numerous interviews have served to demonstrate that communities paying the price for this lack of coordination have been juveniles, refugees, those with disabilities and migrant workers.

Better legal services are provided if more information is available. This paper is therefore a timely addition to the current gap in information.

So what information was obtained?

- A lack of access to legal representation and legal advice denies an individual the right to obtain a remedy for a violation of their rights. If violations do not go through the judicial process, they will continue unchecked.

- There is a significant need for more legal aid in Jordan.
There is a need for dissemination of information amongst disadvantaged communities about their legal, constitutional and human rights. What has been made clear from discussions with NGOs working with and for lay people is that the latter are most often entirely unaware of their rights. Rights seem to exist as an ephemeral concept divorced from their lives and are seen as rhetoric used by politicians rather than as a tool that provides protection and which remedies violations of the law.

Information about legal services and how to access them must also be more widely disseminated. Lay people must not only be educated about their rights and the laws in Jordan which exist to protect them but also about available legal services. Without access to legal services access to justice is being denied.

Legal assistance should be available for all. It should not depend on access to resources. Poverty cannot stand in the way. It is this notion which is the basis behind why many countries worldwide provide state funded legal aid. Jordan does not. Much work needs therefore to be done for this to change. Amendments need to be made in Jordanian legislation so that the government is forced to provide legal services for people. Furthermore, more people should be aware of the work that is already being done so that greater pressure can be put on the relevant parties/bodies.

Organizations working to enhance legal aid in Jordan should work with civil society and donors to convince them that conditions must be met for a fair trial which will include the provision of legal aid.

Organizations providing legal assistance should be supported not only to protect human rights and set a precedent for their protection but also so that poverty can be overcome. The links between eradication of poverty and access to justice are very strong. Given these strong links, organizations working with the aim of combating poverty should therefore not ignore the work of organizations providing legal aid.

Finally, much interest has been shown by the Jordanian government in the need for legal aid. In recent years the government has been engaged in the issue of legal aid and shown a desire for reform in the existing legal system.