Justice Needs of Syrian refugees: Legal problems in daily life
2018
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Executive Summary

As part of a strategic partnership between HiiL and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, HiiL conducted nationwide Justice Needs and Satisfaction (JNS) surveys in Lebanon and Jordan. As part of the sample, we collected data on the justice needs of 1800 Syrian refugees in early 2017. In this report, we first aim to highlight the demands for justice of Syrian refugees in their host communities and point out the bright spots and bottlenecks of their justice journeys. Our second goal is to shed light on the prospective justice needs of refugees upon returning to post-conflict Syria. An effective justice system is critical for the transition to security, stability and economic development. This report gives Syrian decision makers and the international community a guide to targeting the most urgent justice needs of the Syrian people.

We follow the journeys to justice that people follow in real life.

- We map the prevalence of legal problems of Syrian refugees living in Lebanon and Jordan: What type of problems are they? How many people do they concern?
- We identify the consequences of these legal problems.
- We learn what people do about the legal problems they face, both informally and in the formal justice system:
  - Do they seek legal information and advice? If so, where?
  - Do they engage in dispute resolution? If so, where?
  - How satisfied are they with the procedures they follow? Do they get the outcomes they hoped for? What do they say about the tangible and intangible costs that they incur?

This report has the following objectives:

- Enhance the understanding of the justice needs of Syrian refugees in Lebanon and Jordan.
- Support the governments of Lebanon and Jordan in providing adequate (legal) infrastructure so that Syrian refugees have access to basic justice care
- Provide data on the future justice needs of refugees upon returning to post-conflict Syria, to support international efforts directed at the preparations for rebuilding the justice system of Syria.

What are the most pressing justice needs that refugees in Lebanon and Jordan currently face?

65% of the adult Syrian refugee population in Lebanon and 38% of the adult Syrian refugee population in Jordan1 have experienced one or more legal problems in the previous four years. This means that almost 900,0002 Syrian refugees have encountered a situation that requires legal protection and access to solutions in an affordable and fair manner.

- The most pressing justice needs of refugees living in Lebanon revolve around the most basic human needs: housing and money.
  - Non-payment of wages and housing eviction threats are the most serious legal problems.
  - In addition, the refugees face substantial amounts of harassment and violence, both at the workplace and from neighbours. Violent crimes occur frequently as well.
- The most pressing justice needs of refugees in Jordan also revolve around having sufficient means to survive, although financial troubles more often come from problems with receiving cash assistance from UNHCR. Violence is prevalent among these refugees as well, especially among neighbours and directed towards children.

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1 Living outside of formal refugee camps
2 Our survey studied only individuals who are above 18 years of age. Here we assume that younger refugees will encounter legal problems at similar rate.
Dispute resolution predominantly takes place outside of institutions
• The vast majority of Syrian refugees mostly seek legal information and advice from their social network, such as friends, family members and neighbours. It is not common to consult institutions for advice.
  • Many refugees perceive their situation as hopeless. They refrain from seeking information and advice because they believe their problem is not serious enough, that advice will not help, and that nothing can be done anyway.
  Syrian refugees in Lebanon often express that they don’t know where to look for advice or try but don’t manage to obtain advice.
• Dispute resolution also predominantly takes place outside of formal institutions. Self-actions are the most frequent and most helpful dispute resolution mechanism, followed by engaging one’s social network.
  • Refugees in Jordan are more likely to take action than refugees in Lebanon. This might be a consequence of the refugees in Jordan having a wider social network and benefitting from a better infrastructure. In contrast to Jordan, where we only sampled refugees living in urban communities, our sample in Lebanon also includes refugees living in both formal camps and informal settlements. Those refugees engage less with the rest of Lebanese society and are hence unable to establish a social network that could benefit them in dispute resolution. In addition, Lebanon requires Syrian nationals to possess a valid residence permit that has to be renewed every six months. This puts additional barriers to access to formal institutions on Syrian refugees and isolates them from the protection of the rule of law.
  • Refugees in both countries often do not engage in dispute resolution because they do not believe that they could achieve a positive result (>40%). At the same time, one in five (22%) refugees in Lebanon just does not know what to do. This percentage is substantially lower among the refugees in Jordan (6%).
• Only 136,000 out of 527,000 refugees who take some form of action to resolve their problem manage to solve it. Problem resolution is more successful in Jordan than in Lebanon. Compared to citizens, Syrian refugees in Lebanon and Jordan experience considerably more stress during the procedures.

Environment matters
Refugees in Lebanon have slightly different legal needs than refugees in Jordan. This can be a reflection of the fact that some of the refugees that we interviewed in Lebanon live in informal settlements or formal camps, whereas all refugees in Jordan live in urban communities and might therefore be more integrated into society. If social networks are the main path towards conflict resolution, refugees living in (in)formal camps constitute a particularly vulnerable group.

Justice - opportunities
The report identifies exclusion from society and remote living conditions as barriers to access to justice for refugees in Lebanon and Jordan. Innovations such as mobile-based applications could provide better and more user-friendly connections to the informal justice system that most Syrian refugees currently lack. In addition, it is necessary to improve the provisions that enable refugees to access institutions. Fast mechanisms to grant proof of identity and residence permits to refugees could substantially reduce the current justice needs of Syrian refugees. A vast number of refugees will eventually return to Syria. Justice mechanisms that deliver inclusive and effective procedures are needed, and Syrian experts should undoubtedly be at the forefront of the design and implementation of such procedures.

Future justice needs in post-conflict Syria
The vast majority of the Syrian refugees desperately wants justice mechanisms that allow them to pick up their lives. Restoring properties, securing housing and ensuring a functioning system of public services are the justice needs most pressing for them. This translates into a demand for basic justice care that delivers what the people most urgently need - mundane justice.

The way forward
• 840,000 refugees in Lebanon and Jordan want to return to Syria once the security situation is stable, and another 560,000 will follow when there is security and public services resume.
• For approximately half of the refugees the security situation is the main consideration for return. 53% of the 991,000 Syrian refugees living in Lebanon 48% of the 662,000 Syrian refugees living in Jordan intend to return provided the security situation is stable. Combined, this is around 840,000 people.
• If both the security situation improves and public services are resumed, around 85% of the refugees (an additional 560,000 people) say they will return.
• When these proportions are extrapolated to the whole population of Syrian refugees, (estimated at 5,641,704) then 2.9 million will return to Syria when there is sufficient security.

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3 Mundane justice refers to the everyday justice needs of citizens, such as housing, property rights, access to public services, and official documents.
The most serious justice needs of refugees living in Lebanon and Jordan revolve around sufficient means to survive:

- Housing
- Employment
- Social Welfare

Syrian refugees mostly seek legal information and advice from their social network, rather than institutions.

- Housing disputes and around 220,000 disputes concerning the renewal and issuance of ID documents will take place. The survey reveals a staggering number of justice needs once the Syrian refugees residing in Lebanon and Jordan return. Based on peoples’ expectations we anticipate 635,000 housing disputes and around 220,000 disputes concerning the renewal and issuance of ID documents will take place.4

These numbers exclude the 6.5 million5 internally displaced Syrians of whose expected justice problem we have limited knowledge.

- The Syrian justice system in its current state is unable to deal with these justice challenges in a fair and efficient manner.

We need

- Data collection from inside Syria for accurate estimation of the dimension and scale of the justice problems that await Syrians. Special focus should be given to internally displaced Syrians. Do they want to return to where they resided before the war? Do they still possess ID documents, titles to properties, etc.? What other justice needs do they expect?

- Data on the capacity of the justice system. How much physical and personnel infrastructure is left? How do current procedures work?

- A coalition of Syrian experts who are capable of designing procedures that can deal with upcoming claims in a quick but fair manner.

4 In Jordan 68% and in Lebanon 30% of the interviewed refugees expect to deal with a housing problem upon their return. Assuming that 85% of them will return to Syria in the near future we can anticipate 635,000 housing problems. ID documents are anticipated by 17% of refugees in Lebanon and 55% in Jordan. In absolute numbers and again assuming that 85% will return we estimate around 220,000 problems with ID documents.

5 Estimate from UNHRC in 2016
Introduction to Justice Needs & Satisfaction study of Syrian Refugees

1

Introduction
How we measure access to justice
Specifics about the sample
Demographics
Introduction

The international community estimates that more than 250,000 Syrians have lost their lives and more than 11 million people are displaced. **Almost 4 million people have been made refugees and most of them have sought refuge in Lebanon and Jordan.** Roughly 17% of the people living in Lebanon and 8% of the people living in Jordan are Syrian refugees1. Granting Syrians, those living in Syria and those who have fled, access to justice for their most pressing justice needs is a huge challenge and critically important. Rebuilding lives, social structures, and livelihoods depends on meeting this challenge.

As part of a strategic partnership between HiiL and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, HiiL conducted nationwide Justice Needs and Satisfaction (JNS) surveys in Lebanon and Jordan. As part of the sample, we collected data on the justice needs of 1800 Syrian refugees in early 2017.

Data about the most pressing justice needs forms the foundation on which to rebuild and innovate justice mechanisms. The data provides a benchmark and an insight into bottlenecks and highlights bright spots that could be developed further.

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1 According to current UN statistics.

How we measure access to justice

To understand access to justice in everyday life, we collected survey data from 1800 Syrian refugees through face-to-face interviews.

We asked the Syrian refugees about two broad areas:
- Their situation as refugees in the host country: whether they have experienced a legal problem, their most commonly consulted sources of information and advice, their most helpful dispute resolution strategies and the costs and quality of the procedures.
- The expectations they have about what will happen once they return to Syria: the kind of legal problems that they expect to encounter, whether they want the government to provide any form of services and/or material goods as compensation, and which state interventions they deem necessary for rebuilding the country.

In addition, we conducted qualitative interviews with 31 refugees, in which we talked in more detail about their experiences.
In order to capture the subjective assessment of the justice procedures that are in place, we asked specific questions about the cost of justice, the quality of the procedure and the quality of the outcome. Some example questions:

To what extent (scale 1-5)
- Did the process make you feel frustrated?
- Were you able to express your views and feelings during the dispute resolution process?
- Were the same rules equally applied to you and to the other party/parties?
- Did the adjudicator explain your rights and options during the process thoroughly and make sure you understood them?
- How much time in days did you spend resolving the problem?

We display the results in a spider-web graph, where lines more to the outside indicate more positive values:

The story of Ahmad

Ahmad is a Syrian refugee living in Jordan. He is married and has a baby daughter. Ahmed has worked for the same employer for the past two years, under sponsorship. He has repeatedly asked his employer to apply for a work permit for him, but without success. Just as he finally received his work permit, he got a better job offer from another company that included a substantial salary increase. However, under Jordanian labour law, foreign workers who work under sponsorship need the permission of their employers to change jobs. Ahmad’s employer not only refused to accept his resignation but was also unwilling to match the salary of the other offer. Ahmad decided to confront his employer about this. “I felt I was in a strong position, especially after I visited the labour office, where they were fair to me. But then the case proceeded, and they abandoned me. This is when I started sensing that my employer was in a much more powerful position than me.” With the help of a legal aid organisation, Ahmad was able to reach a settlement outside of court but had to give up some of his rights. He believes that his situation is just a sign of a much larger problem; employers exploit their employees’ situations, circumstances and their need to provide for their families. Ahmed saw this happen to a lot of his friends in- and outside of Jordan.
Specifics about the sample

As of April 2018, UNHCR\(^2\) had registered approximately 990,000 refugees in Lebanon. We interviewed a random sample of 1200 adult Syrian refugees. To reduce complexity and to account for the fact that the underage refugees will also have to deal with legal problems at some point in time we make inferences about the whole population of refugees. This generalisation aims to show the general directions in which the justice needs of the Syrian refugees will develop.

Of the 1200 refugees, 906 were living in residential neighbourhoods, 47 were living in a formal camp and 247 were living in informal settlements. All provinces were covered.

In Jordan, we interviewed 600 adult refugees from the four provinces that accommodate the highest number of Syrian refugees: Amman, Irbid, Zarqa and Mafraq. Sampling only took place in residential areas, not camps. The data is representative of approximately 662,000 Syrian Refugees in Jordan.

These numbers, however, only include refugees that are officially registered with UNHCR. The Lebanese government instructed UNHCR to temporarily stop registering Syrian refugees in May 2015. Estimates from the government in 2016 suggest that up to 1.5 million Syrian refugees are residing in Lebanon. Similarly, a Jordanian census performed in November 2016 estimated the true number of refugees residing in Jordan to be 1.4 million people.

We conducted background research on the Lebanese and Jordanian judicial systems and the local contexts in which they operate. Moreover, the questionnaire and interview protocols were adapted to the local contexts and languages through pilot testing and input from Lebanese and Jordanian experts.

Quantitative data was collected by Statistics Lebanon and Ipsos Jordan. They interviewed 1800 randomly selected Syrian Refugees in Lebanon and Jordan between February and May 2017. Additionally, qualitative data was collected in the form of 31 in-depth interviews.

Two data triangulation workshops were organised, one in Beirut in September 2017 and one in Amman in June 2017, to validate the data with a wide range of experts. Those workshops were facilitated by our local partners, The Arab Centre for the Development of the Rule of Law and Integrity (ACRLI) in Lebanon and ARDD-Legal Aid in Jordan. Expert attendees of the triangulation workshops included judges, lawyers, representatives of civil society organisations, researchers and journalists. Their feedback and insights were incorporated into the report.

The final report was launched in February 2018. An update was done in April 2018.
Demographics

The samples of Syrian refugees in Lebanon and Jordan are quite similar in terms of demographic and socio-economic variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Lebanon</th>
<th>Jordan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Lebanon</th>
<th>Jordan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION

- None: 7% (Lebanon), 1% (Jordan)
- Primary Education: 28% (Lebanon), 12% (Jordan)
- Secondary Education: 59% (Lebanon), 52% (Jordan)
- Vocational Education/University: 2% (Lebanon), 0% (Jordan)
- Do not want to answer: 3% (Lebanon), 7% (Jordan)
Where did you live in Syria? | Lebanon | Jordan
--- | --- | ---
Big City (Aleppo, Damascus, Homs, Latakia, Hama) | 66% | 46%
Village | 34% | 54%

Do you have a paid job? | Lebanon | Jordan
--- | --- | ---
Yes | 51% | 18%
No | 48% | 82%

It is difficult to assess how easy it is for Syrian refugees to access the formal labour market. In Lebanon, Syrian nationals were allowed to work until 2015, when this right was revoked. However, it is still possible for Syrian refugees to work legally in Lebanon if they receive sponsorship and a (paid for) work permit. In Jordan, access to legal work is even more restricted. Work permits are more expensive and the sectors that refugees can work in are more limited. In both countries, Syrian refugees predominantly work in the informal sector. Our finding of a much lower employment share of Syrian refugees in Jordan than in Lebanon is consistent with previous research.

More than 60% do not have enough money to cover basic needs

Syrian refugees are very poor. Having been forced to leave most of their belongings behind, they are often left with nothing but their lives. The Syrian refugees in Lebanon face even more financial problems than those in Jordan.

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3 In Lebanon, 1% responded “Do not want to answer”.
Current Justice Needs of Syrian Refugees

Problem prevalence
Sources of legal information and advice
Dispute resolution mechanisms
Costs & quality of justice journey
Refugees in Lebanon more affected by legal disputes

Syrian refugees in Lebanon encounter substantially more legal problems than Syrian refugees in Jordan. We suspect this to be a consequence of country-specific differences, since also considerably more Lebanese citizens encounter legal problems than Jordanian citizens (69% compared to 33%).

HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED ONE OR MORE LEGAL PROBLEM?

In Lebanon, approximately 640,000 (65%) Syrian refugees have faced one or more serious legal problem in the past four years.

In Jordan, approximately 250,000 (38%) Syrian refugees have experienced one or more legal problems.
Employment, housing and neighbour problems are serious justice needs in Lebanon

### MOST SERIOUS LEGAL PROBLEMS AMONG SYRIAN REFUGEES IN LEBANON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtaining ID documents</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Related problems</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children related</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accidents/personal injury</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Welfare</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public services</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most serious justice needs of refugees living in Lebanon revolve around sufficient means to survive.

**Employment disputes**: The most common specific employment dispute is non-payment of wages. Almost 30% of all employment problems concern this issue. Termination of employment and an excessive number of working hours also occur frequently. Roughly 20% of all employment problems concern (sexual) harassment at work.

**Housing disputes**: More than 70% of all housing legal problems concern either eviction, threats of eviction or disputes around agreeing on the level of the rent.

**Neighbours**: 30% of these disputes concern threats, harassment or violence between neighbours. 15% of all neighbour problems are disputes over water.

**Crimes**: More than 45% of crimes are violent crimes (murder, rape, bodily injury).
The story of Youssef

Youssef is a sixty-year-old Syrian national who was displaced from Syria and currently resides in the Bekaa region of Lebanon. Married and a farmer, Yousef has reached a primary level of education. Youssef’s dispute goes back to the beginning of the summer of 2017 when he and his wife went to the market to buy some items for their house. When he wanted to pay for the products, Yousef could not find his wallet. He realised that he had been robbed and that all his money and ID documents were gone. This issue caused him a great amount of concern since, from that moment on, he became a target of suspicion.

The following day, Yousef filed a police report of robbery and loss of ID documents against an unknown perpetrator. Since then, he has been following up with the police without getting any positive result.
The most serious justice needs among Syrian refugees living in Jordan are similar to those of Syrian refugees living in Lebanon.

Housing: The legal problems in the category “housing” relate mainly to (threats of) eviction due to not being able to pay rent, or to the house owner increasing the rent.

Social welfare: Virtually all refugees who encounter a legal problem in this category report having problems with receiving cash assistance from UNHCR.

Disputes around children: 59% of these disputes concern violence against children (by teachers and other children). Virtually all other problems relate to having difficulties with children receiving appropriate education.

Neighbours disputes: Violence is again a prominent factor. Approximately 42% of all neighbour-related legal conflicts are associated with threats, harassment or violence between neighbours. Just 38% are complaints about regular and excessive noise.

Employment: Syrian refugees living in Jordan face substantially less employment-related legal problems than refugees living in Lebanon. This is not surprising, since only 18% of the refugees in Jordan have a paid job, compared to 51% of the refugees in Lebanon.

### Most serious legal problems among Syrian refugees in Jordan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social welfare</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children related</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtaining ID documents</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public services</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accidents/personal injury</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Related problems</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The story of Sawsan

Sawsan is a 35-year-old Syrian refugee who lives in Jordan. She has four children, one of them disabled. Her husband is in jail. Understandably, this makes it hard for her and her family to get by. Until recently, they rented a house where the landlord required them to sign a promissory note. Due to Sawsan’s lack of knowledge of financial practices and law, she did not cancel the note upon moving out of the house. The new tenants did not pay rent, and since the promissory note was not cancelled yet, the landlord demanded rent payments from Sawsan instead. He took her to court and Sawsan had to either pay 1200 Dinars to him or go to jail. “This was surely going to break my family apart, since I was going to be jailed, leaving my children to the streets.” Thanks to a lawyer who was provided by a local legal aid organisation, Sawsan was able to reach a settlement whereby she only had to pay 300 Dinars. “For me it was the lesser of two evils, I do not even want think about what would’ve happened if the lawyer had not helped me.”

Quotes from Syrian refugees in Jordan:

- My child was not admitted to school because he is Syrian
- I have not been given permission to take Iris Aid from the UNHCR
- I had difficulties with obtaining work permits
- I was victim of a theft
- The water has been cut off for a while and the water company has been contacted, but to no avail
Different consequences of experiencing a legal problem in Lebanon and Jordan

Among Syrian refugees in Lebanon, the most common consequence of encountering a legal problem is to experience problems with important relationships. This is presumably due to eviction threats, termination of employment, excessive working hours and harassment at work.

Loss of income is the second most common consequence, most likely caused by non-payment of wages or disputes around rent.

Violence and stress-related illness also frequently occur. These might be consequences of experiencing harassment at work or among neighbours, as well as being the victim of violent crime.

Syrian refugees in Jordan face different consequences.

- The consequences they report are more related to loss of time and income. Problems in receiving payments from UNHCR, evictions and landlords increasing rent are possible explanations for this.
- Refugees in Jordan also face substantially less violence and injuries than refugees in Lebanon.
- In addition, they experience fewer problems with relationships.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consequences of Legal Problems</th>
<th>Lebanon</th>
<th>Jordan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Problem with relationships</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of income</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence against you</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stress-related illness</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of job</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal injuries</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism against you</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of time</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not being able to register an ID document</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Legal information & advice

The first thing that people should do when they have what they think is a legal problem is seek information and advice. Based on that, they can decide how to move forward, if at all.

HAVE YOU SOUGHT INFORMATION OR ADVICE TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social network most popular source of information & advice

Syrian refugees in Jordan are more likely to seek information and advice than refugees in Lebanon. This can be attributed in part to the fact that Syrian refugees in Jordan are more likely to seek advice from their social network, such as friends and family members, than Syrian refugees in Lebanon (50% in Jordan, but only 36% in Lebanon).

Seeking information from institutions is not common among refugees in either country (15% in Lebanon and 14% in Jordan). Citizens of Jordan (30%) and Lebanon (36%) are substantially more likely to consult institutions. This supports the conclusion that refugees in both countries are cut off from institutions.
The Syrian refugees were first asked which information sources they had used. We then asked them which one of these they considered to have been the most helpful. The table below shows the percentage of people answering that they found the source they used helpful.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top five(^1) most helpful sources of information and advice in Lebanon</th>
<th>Top five(^2) most helpful sources of information and advice in Jordan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employer (96%)</td>
<td>Police (70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer (93%)</td>
<td>Professional organisation (67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal authority (79%)</td>
<td>Neighbours (62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police (68%)</td>
<td>Relatives (55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community organisation (67%)</td>
<td>Friends (55%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Top five out of 16 categories  
\(^2\) Top five out of 12 categories

- Refugees mostly consult their social network for legal information and advice. However, they rate institutions as more helpful.
- We have observed this pattern in many countries that we have surveyed. It emphasises how crucial it is to grant Syrian refugees access to formal institutions.
Dispute Resolution

The next step after seeking information and advice is to actively engage in dispute resolution. We consider three different approaches: taking self-actions, engaging one's social network and engaging institutions.

TAKING ACTION TO RESOLVE THE DISPUTE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Took action</th>
<th>Did not take action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Refugees in Jordan are more active in dispute resolution

- Syrian refugees in Jordan are much more active in taking action towards dispute resolution than Syrian refugees in Lebanon. We observe the same pattern among Jordanian and Lebanese citizens, but to a much lesser extent (81% compared to 76%).
- The difference in the rate of taking action can be explained by the fact that the Syrian refugees in Jordan are much more likely to take self-actions to resolve their disputes than refugees in Lebanon. In addition, they more often consult family members and neighbours.

The refugees who do not take action feel a sense of hopelessness.

- Many refugees in Lebanon and Jordan have little faith in achieving a positive outcome (> 40%) and fear that the other party in the dispute is too powerful (< 17%).
- Among refugees in Lebanon, it is also common to not act because of a lack of knowledge of what to do (22%).
Dispute resolution occurs outside of institutions

- Dispute resolution among Syrian refugees predominantly takes place in the informal justice sector.
- This is especially prevalent in Lebanon. The refugees almost exclusively take self-actions (36%) or engage their social networks (27%) to resolve their disputes. Only 10% of the refugees who experience a problem engage institutions.
- The situation in Jordan is a bit different: the refugees also take self-actions (70%) and engage their social network (42%) frequently but are also more likely to engage institutions (23%). They prefer to engage professional organisations, such as guild organisations, trade unions and the police. Courts and lawyers are rarely engaged.

The most helpful mechanisms of dispute resolution among the Syrian refugees in both countries are:
- Independently contacting the other party
- Contacting the other party via friends/neighbours/colleagues
- Friends
- Family members

Resolution rates are much higher among Syrian refugees in Jordan than in Lebanon

HAS YOUR DISPUTE BEEN RESOLVED?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Housing</th>
<th>Neighbour</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Crime</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dispute resolution seems to work much better for Syrian refugees in Jordan than for those in Lebanon. One explanation could be the high prevalence of employment disputes and crime in Lebanon. Resolution rates are particularly low for those two types of problem.
The Syrian refugees experience higher stress levels than the citizens of Lebanon. This is not surprising, given the fact that their legal problems often affect existential matters such as housing or violence.

- Stress is a serious issue among refugees.
- The refugees feel less empowered to voice their opinions during the proceedings than citizens, understand the procedures less well and receive slightly worse damage restoration.
• Syrian refugees in Jordan also experience higher stress levels than citizens.
• However, they actually report better outcomes to the procedures than the Jordanian citizens.
3

Future
Justice Needs
of Syrians

Expected justice needs
Compensation
Expectations of Syrian refugees returning to Syria

Part two of this report presents data on the expectations of Syrian refugees about returning to Syria. We map out whether the refugees plan to return to Syria, what they expect their most urgent justice needs to be upon returning, and what kind of compensation the government should provide for them.

WHEN THE WAR IS OVER, WOULD YOU GO BACK TO SYRIA?

- **No, I prefer to stay in Lebanon/Jordan**: 11% in Lebanon, 14% in Jordan
- **Yes, when the security situation is stable**: 53% in Lebanon, 48% in Jordan
- **Yes, when the security situation is stable and public services resume**: 32% in Lebanon, 37% in Jordan
- **Don’t know**: 4% in Lebanon, 1% in Jordan

The vast majority of the refugees in Lebanon and Jordan wishes to return to Syria. The country will have to deal with 840,000 returning Syrians from Lebanon and Jordan alone as soon as the security situation allows for it. Another 560,000 Syrians are expected to follow once there is security and the delivery of public services resumes as well.
Securing housing is the most urgent justice need among refugees in Lebanon

We see that everyday justice needs are most on the refugees’ minds

• Securing housing is expected to be the most pressing justice need upon returning to Syria. Taking into consideration that 85% of the Syrian refugees residing in Lebanon plan to return to Syria, we estimate that the country will be faced with at least \( 250,000 \) housing disputes when the security situation is stable and the delivery of public services resumes.\(^1\)

• Fewer than one in five refugees reported to be most concerned with dealing with grave human rights violations committed during the civil war.

\(^1\) The estimation is based on the number of all Syrian refugees in Lebanon according to UNHCR as of April 2018. In Lebanon, at least 30% of the refugees expect to encounter legal problems with housing. Assuming that 85% of them will return to Syria when security and public services are not a concern, we expect at least 250,000 housing disputes to occur.\)
Securing housing is the most frequently reported expected justice need among Syrian refugees in Jordan. We estimate that more than 380,000 housing disputes will take place.

Other mundane justice needs, such as safeguarding property rights, issuing ID documents or gaining access to public services and social security, are also frequently mentioned.

2 Data on the expected justice needs in Jordan was collected via a multiple response question, as opposed to a single response question in Lebanon. Hence, we cannot infer which justice need is the most pressing. However, we can say which justice need is expected by the most respondents.
Return of property most frequently demanded measure

IF THERE WAS SOME FORM OF COMPENSATION, WHICH KIND OF SERVICES/MATERIAL GOODS SHOULD BE PROVIDED FOR THE VICTIMS?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service/Good</th>
<th>Lebanon</th>
<th>Jordan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Return of property such as houses and land</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of school education for children</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial compensation</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of social services</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-employment or employment in case of loss of positions</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specifically tailored support for child and female victims</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job related trainings</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, Syrians in Lebanon and Jordan have similar opinions about what kind of services and/or material goods they should be provided with upon their return to Syria. The return of properties again emerges as their top priority.

Common aspiration to move forward

The majority of Syrian refugees want to move forward. They do not perceive receiving an apology from the government, building memorials in order to remember those who have been killed or establishing a commission to investigate abuses as high priorities. Instead, they want the country to move forward and assist them in making a normal life possible again. They want their properties to be returned to them and their jobs to be reinstated.

TO WHAT EXTENT WOULD YOU WANT:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service/Action</th>
<th>Very small</th>
<th>Small</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>Large</th>
<th>Very large</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Return of property for those who unlawfully lost it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who were wrongly dismissed were reinstated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who were wrongly dismissed from employment to be given compensation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money for the harm caused to victims as a result of abuses suffered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The country to forget the past in order to move forward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A commission to understand the fate of the disappeared</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A commission to investigate which abuses occurred</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public officials who were connected with the past regime to be removed from their posts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A commission to understand why these abuses occurred</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memorials should be put in place to remember those who were killed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An apology from the government</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion

This report highlights the legal vulnerabilities of Syrian refugees. They often experience serious legal problems that affect their basic needs but have few options to resolve these conflicts. Formal and informal justice institutions in Jordan and Lebanon are inaccessible for most refugees. Often, the only possibility is to engage in informal dispute resolution via their social networks. However, building a social network can be difficult for refugees living in camps. In order to provide adequate legal support to the Syrian refugees in Lebanon and Jordan, it is necessary to implement innovative solutions that are affordable, user friendly and easily accessible. Technology, and particularly mobile-based solutions, constitute one such opportunity. Especially for housing, platforms that inform about the tenant’s rights and generate legal documents usable in court could make a huge difference. Solutions should also be based on better understanding the needs of the users of the justice system in order to design user-friendly justice procedures.

The vast majority of refugees in Jordan and Lebanon plan to return to Syria once the security situation is stable. They will have many legal problems that will need resolution as part of the process of rebuilding their lives. As we have seen, the data reveals that legal problems connected with housing are anticipated to be the most pressing justice need upon the refugees’ return to Syria. Our most conservative estimate suggests that around 2.35 million housing disputes will take place once the Syrians return from Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and the other countries where the sought shelter and asylum. In addition, there are indications that many of the returnees have lost birth, marriage and death certificates, property titles and other documents with legal relevance. If these expectations materialize we can expect additional 2 million disputes around renewing and issuing documents. Dealing with this number of justice problems would be a tall order for any country, let alone a country emerging from war with much of its infrastructure destroyed and with such a fragmented society.

What might we expect?

In Lebanon, 30% of the interviewed Syrian refugees expect to deal with legal problems related to housing and 17% anticipate legal problems connected with ID documents. In Jordan, 68% of the refugees expect legal problems relating to housing and 55% expect legal problems connected with ID documents. Averaging this for the entire Syrian refugee population in both countries, 49% expect legal problems connected with housing and 36% expect legal problems connected with ID documents to be the most immediate legal concerns they will face.

What might this be telling us?

On pages 9 and 53 we indicated that based on our survey, around 85% of the currently exiled 5.6 million Syrian refugees will return if the security situation is stable and public services resume. That encompasses a total of 4.8 million refugees. Applying the indications we have for the anticipated prevalence of legal problems connected with housing and ID documents, it would mean that one might expect around 2.35 million housing disputes (49% of 4.8 million people) and 2 million legal problems related to ID documents (36% of 4.8 million people) in the first 1 or 2 years that these people return. No legal system in the world has the capacity to deal with this, using current processes and mechanisms.
Finding ways to restore the legal infrastructure in Syria is necessary to deal with these justice needs.

This process will require more than the business-as-usual approach. We know from data that the justice system of Syria already faced serious backlogs before the war. The conventional homogeneous approach will not be effective due to regional differences. In addition, there will be limited funding and time is not a friend. Every month that people do not have a house, access to a public service, an ID document, or are unable to restart their business is one too many. But post-conflict reconstruction also offers an opportunity for new developments. Syria can significantly improve its system by investing in innovations that deliver inclusive, effective and accessible justice mechanisms. However, this process has to be led by Syrians. Learning from international best practices can help, but they need to be adapted by qualified Syrian experts who possess the expertise and authority to put those procedures into place.

This report gives a good indication of which areas should be concentrated on: housing, ID documents, access to public services, employment, family matters & human rights violations. However, it only focuses on the expected justice needs of Syrians that return to the country after having lived as refugees outside of Syria. There is relatively little information about the Syrians who are internally displaced. It is absolutely necessary that we gather information on the problems that they encounter on an everyday basis as well as the problems that they expect to encounter should they return to their homes. Collecting data about those needs is rather difficult, but not impossible. Innovative methods such as sms-based data collection, chat bots among Facebook users or monitoring social media could shed light on the particular processes that are taking place. We encourage organisations in the country who have the necessary networks to conduct focus groups and/or expert interviews. HiiL is currently taking steps to collect more data and will be able to share it during the course of this year.
About HiiL

Our mission:
By 2030, 150 million people will be able to prevent or resolve their most pressing justice problems.

Our approach focuses on empowering innovation in the justice system. We collect data about the needs and satisfaction of the users of justice systems. We aim to understand how justice works in ordinary people’s lives and how they fulfil their justice needs. Our Justice Needs and Satisfaction Tool (JNST) tracks more than 40 elements of the justice experience.

We believe that justice is about justice providers in the broadest sense, not only about courts or other formal institutions. We therefore argue that change needs to happen where justice occurs and recognise that many of the factors that influence justice lie outside the realm of ‘traditional’ legal services.

To achieve this aim, we rely on international and local expertise to identify what works best in a specific context.

Furthermore, the JNST offers a cost-effective alternative to monitoring progress in the justice sector. This standardised and replicable approach leads to economies of scale, a reduction in operational costs, increased efficiency (time and resources saved), a reduction in operational risk and cross-country benchmarking. We also make the data available to policy-makers through clever interfaces so they can work with the findings. The responsible use of data leads to knowledge, creates empowerment and builds accountability.

The countries we have worked in since 2014 include: The Netherlands, Jordan, Lebanon, Mali, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukraine, Kenya and UAE. We are currently working in Bangladesh and Uganda. Our target countries for 2018 are: Nigeria, Rwanda and Mali.

For more information, visit www.hiil.org

About the authors

Sam Muller
Director/CEO
sam.muller@hiil.org

Martin Gramatikov
Head of Measuring Justice
martin.gramatikov@hiil.org

Nadja Kernchen
Research Assistant
nadja.kernchen@hiil.org

Eirin Sundby
Research Assistant
eirin.sundby@hiil.org

With the collaboration of:

Giedrius Astafjevas
Measuring Justice Intern