
UNDOCUMENTED, UNSEEN, AND AT RISK:

The Situation Of Syrian Refugees
Lacking Civil And Legal Documentation
In Jordan

Second Protection
Monitoring Report:
A Gender
Analysis



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Abstract

This report details the findings of the second protection monitoring activity conducted by ICMC, as part of a EU Humanitarian Aid funded project that seeks to support Syrian refugees in regularizing their civil and legal documentation status. The project, *“Leveraging protection monitoring and emergency cash to overcome the legal challenges of extremely vulnerable Syrian refugees in Jordan, and the challenges related to harsh weather conditions of extremely vulnerable Syrian and Jordanian households (HHs) in Jordan”*, is implemented through a consortium comprised of ICMC and INTERSOS as the lead partner.

I feel miserable not having these documents.

“

*I am a lost woman, with a lost child. We
have no identity. I feel ashamed.*

”

- Summaya, 23 years old -

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List of Acronyms

ASC	: Asylum Seeker Certificate
ECHO	: European Commission's Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection Department
FGD	: Focus Group Discussion
GBV	: Gender Based Violence
ICMC	: International Catholic Migration Commission
JD	: Jordanian Dinar
MO	: Ministry of Interior
UNHCR	: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Introduction

Syrian refugees in Jordan face many challenges to issuing key pieces of legal and civil documentation - UNHCR Asylum Seeker Certificates, MOI cards, birth certificates, death certificates, and marriage certificates.¹ This protection monitoring activity sought to identify the most significant gender dimensions of the problem. In doing so, ICMC has found that the lack of civil and legal documentation creates a multitude of gendered protection outcomes, with females experiencing a disproportionate amount of negative consequences. The marriage certificate was found to be the piece of documentation with most significant gendered impacts, and a particularly important piece of documentation for married women and girls to uphold their rights in both legal and social contexts. The majority of problems associated with marriage certificates arise from informal 'illegal' marriage practices (including child marriage), occurring at alarming rates within the Syrian community. Furthermore, the analysis found that documentation is implicated in various manifestations of Gender Based Violence (GBV), such as child marriage and domestic violence, where it is both a tool to inflict violence as well as a consequence of GBV.

Methodology

This analysis has been informed by a mixed methods approach using both qualitative and quantitative data. Quantitative data was extrapolated and analyzed from the database to identify trends in data, while qualitative data tools such as Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and semi structured interviews were used to triangulate quantitative data and shed light on the more sensitive issues surrounding women's private experiences. One FGD was held with a group of 10 female participants who were missing a range of the five documents, seven semi structured interviews were conducted with female beneficiaries in total - four with people experiencing some forms of documentation challenge linked with GBV, and three with family members of the person experiencing the documentation challenge. Three involved an illegal marriage where the female was a minor at the time of the marriage and one concerned a situation of domestic violence in which the issuing of multiple forms of documentation were being used as a form of control and manipulation. Furthermore, the legal adviser's in depth case notes of 49 cases were reviewed and analyzed.

¹ See ICMC's Protection Monitoring #1 for more general discussion of the barriers Syrian refugees face to issuing documentation.

Findings

Quantitative Analysis

Data shows no significant gender imbalance in the overall number of individuals reported to be missing documents: 52% reported missing documents by females, and 48% by males. As highlighted in the table below, this trend continues in each type of documentation, where no significant gender bias is found.

DOCUMENT MISSING	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL INDIVIDUALS
 Asylum Seeker Certificate (ASC)	1017	1078	2095
 Ministry of Interior (MOI) Card	1386	1523	2909
 Birth Certificate	103	137	240
 Marriage Certificate	391	391	782
 Death Certificate	23	9	32
Total	2920	3138	6058

Gender differences in the protective function of documentation

The five types of documentation appear to manifest uniquely in the lives of males and females. In some circumstances, males and females expressed different reasons as to why they believed the documentation to be important. Concerning MOI cards, both men and women reported that they are important and prioritize having them issued, but for significantly different reasons. For men who exit their houses daily, engage actively in public life and often have employment outside the homes, the MOI card provides a level of personal safety. Indeed, men are stopped regularly by police to present their MOI cards. *“Men care a lot about the MOI card, because they will be in trouble by the police and they won’t be able to move freely without it.”* (FGD Participant). Conversely, women spend most of their time inside the homes, and when they do travel, they are stopped by police much less frequently. Women reported that the MOI cards are important for the family, especially for their children, to have access to services. *“We don’t need the MOI card the same way that men do, but we want it because it gives the family important services.”* (FGD Participant). For men, the MOI card provides a sense of personal and legal legitimacy and safety, while for women the importance is more heavily placed on the family’s access to

essential services.

Other forms of documentation, however, appear to have no significant gender implications. UNHCR registration, for example, reportedly holds the same amount of importance for men and women, who both indicated that it was essential for services, financial support, resettlement, and living legally in Jordan. The same was reported for the death certificate, where beneficiaries reported little gender difference surrounding the implications of the certificate. For the birth certificate, it appears that in general, men and women both believe it is an important piece of documentation to prove parentage, register children in school, as well *“to register the children in the family Asylum Seeker Certificate to get more assistance.”* (FGD Participant). However, ICMC has found that in practice this document is more often prioritized by women than men. In situations where a family is missing several pieces of documentation, the birth certificate of the children is most often the biggest concern for the mothers, who link it with the child’s future.

The marriage certificate is undoubtedly the piece of documentation with the most significant gender dimensions, and it can be understood as the foundation for women’s social and legal protection. Consequently, it is the prime focus of this report. As detailed in following analysis, informal and child marriage practices lead to the inability

to register the marriage officially in the court, and create a cascade of legal and social problems for women that do not exist to the same extent for men. As articulated by 14 year-old Ma'ale: ***"I am not feeling comfortable without a marriage certificate. I can't relax or feel safe, and can't move around freely. The marriage certificate is connected to all the other documents, it is the foundation for all of the legal aspects of the family. I know that without this document, any children that I have will not be registered and have an identity. They will not be able to go to school, or get proper health care. I know these documents are very important, but I didn't know I would have such a problem to get them when I got married."*** (Ma'ale, 14 years old).

Gendered behaviors / barriers in seeking documentation

A secondary yet significant gender finding concerns the different behaviors between males and females in attempting to regularize their legal status. While both males and females reported that they understood the importance of having the five documents issued, it was the females who were the driving force in resolving the documentation problems - engaging in behavior such as seeking legal advice, accessing services, going to the police station and the courts. Often due to fear and past traumatic expe-

riences involving the police, males were found more likely to avoid engaging with the authorities, in some cases jeopardizing the family's legal status. ICMC has thus found that it is largely the women who assume the lead role in securing legal and civil documentation. This is demonstrated by the case of Mohammad, who has an invalid marriage certificate due to his wife's age being misrepresented on the MOI card. In efforts to solve the issue, it is Mohammad's mother and his wife who have been attending courts and local services to seek assistance. When asked why he did not attend any of these meetings himself, Mohammed replied ***"I was afraid that I would get in trouble for the problem. I didn't really know what they would say or do to me. My mother and my wife were happy to go themselves and they knew they could call me if they needed anything."***

Conversely, some women reported that while they are the driving force to issue documentation in the families, they also face barriers to do so due to family responsibilities and restrictive social norms: ***"As a woman, I can't move freely to get this paper because of some social restrictions I face. I have to cook and clean and have many jobs in the house. My family does not want me to go outside alone, but no one cares about this issue enough to come with me to get it fixed."*** (FGD participant).

Unofficial Marriage

ICMC has found significant numbers of Syrian refugees engaging in informal Sheikh (Islamic leader) marriage, despite both parties being of legal age to authenticate the marriage in the courts. According to Jordanian Personal Status Law Article 36. B - C, if two people marry informally through a Sheikh marriage and fail to authenticate the marriage within one month at the Sharia court, they are subject to a 1000 JD penalty. This large penalty creates a barrier for many people who either knowingly or unknowingly entered into an informal marriage, but are unable to afford such a large sum of money. This marriage certificate, however, plays a unique role in maintaining a family's legal rights, and is inextricably linked with other certificates such as ASC Certificates, MOI cards, birth, and death certificates. Under Jordanian Civil Status Law Article 14 - 15, if a couple have no proof of their marriage they are unable to register the birth of any children. This has serious child protection implications, as birth certificate can be understood as a child's 'passport to protection'. Without a birth certificate, the child will not be able to register with MOI and access essential services. As Sumayya explains: *"Because I got married in a Sheikh wedding, the first document I was missing was the marriage certificate. When my son was born I was not able to get a birth certificate, and now I cannot get him an MOI card. Also, I haven't been able to put him on my UNHCR ASC as I am scared to tell UNHCR about this situation, maybe they won't believe me that he is mine."* (Sumayya, 23 years old).



*Note that Summayya is not pictured in this report

Photo: ICMC/Oriene Van den Broeck

In addition to the legal rights it affords, the marriage certificate also plays a significant role in social protection. Women indicated that strict religious and socio-cultural norms that forbid sexual or romantic relations outside of marriage mean that a marriage certificate is an extremely important document to legitimize relationships and any children born from the marriage. Women explained that in their communities, any extra marital relations are commonly blamed on the woman, and it is her who will receive punishment and social stigma. ***“If there is a scandal between two people, it is always seen as the woman’s fault, even if nothing happened. She will be shamed. And depending on the family, this could be a dangerous situation for the woman. So in terms of the dangers of our society, the safest thing for women is to get married officially, and stay married.”*** (FGD Participant). The legal and social protection that it affords women and her children, and the link with other documents, is well understood by the Syrian women. While there exists much confusion surrounding the process of marriage and marriage certificates, it is important to note that all of the women and girls consulted in this analyses displayed full understanding of the importance of this document. Summaya’s determination to solve her documentation problems also highlights the widespread understanding of the implications of the marriage certificate: ***“I will not give up, I will fight to fix***

my situation. I will contact a lawyer and fight for my marriage certificate and the birth certificate of my child.” (Summaya 23 years old).

The majority of respondents reported the reasons for engaging in unofficial marriages is lack of awareness of the process, noting the differences between the process in Jordan and Syria. In Jordan, a couple must authenticate the marriage in the court within one month of the Sheikh ceremony, while in Syria couples must register the marriage within 6 months - the penalty incurred for failure to do so is very low at 500 SL (5 -10 JD). Sumayya was 21 years old when she got married unofficially, and explains how she entered the marriage not understanding the process: ***“I was married two years ago. It was a Sheikh wedding and I thought that it was no problem to do this - like in Syria. I also thought that it was the responsibility of the man to get the certificate and do all the official business, so I didn’t follow up. But after a few months when UNHCR refused to put us on one UNHCR certificate as a family, I realized that it was important to do. But by that time we faced the 1000 JD fine, and my husband said he wouldn’t register the marriage because it was too expensive.”*** (Sumayya, 23 years old).

Sumayya’s lack of awareness is further highlighted by the fact that she thought

this rule only applied to her because she is a refugee, as she explains: ***“It is confusing for me to follow all these rules, because in Syria, you don’t need to go to the court immediately to make the marriage legal, that is only because we are refugees that they make us do this.”*** Sumayya’s situation also highlights a common scenario; the marriage takes place informally, and by the time the woman realizes that this is a problem for her, the hefty fine has already accrued. Given the different consequences of the marriage certificate for men and women, the man determines that the issuing of the marriage certificate is not worth the 1000 JD penalty. An FGD participant describes her similar situation: ***“I have asked some relatives to talk to my husband and try to convince him to make the marriage contract legal, and save the money we need to pay the fine. But he says it is too much money.”*** (FGD participant).¹ For women, however, this is a small price to pay for the legal and social protection which the marriage certificate affords.

Child Marriage

Child marriage is defined as a formal marriage or informal union before the age of 18 (UNHCR/UNICEF Child Marriage Task Force, Jordan 2017). Marriage under the age of 18 is not common among Jordanians, yet is common among the Syrian community. This project has identified 158

cases of child marriage, where either the bride or groom was under the age of 18 at the time of the marriage. 89% of these cases were girls (141 individuals), while 11% were boys (17 individuals). At the time of writing this report, ICMC is engaging directly with 15 married girls, and 1 married boy currently under the age of 18.

Child marriage has long been an accepted practice in rural areas of Syria, and the Syrian crisis has exacerbated the existing social pressures that encourage early marriage. While child marriage is rooted in gender inequality, high levels of poverty and lack of educational opportunities for girls also exacerbate the practice. As the protracted nature of the conflict contributes to the adoption of negative coping mechanisms, evidence suggests that families are increasingly resorting to child marriage in response to economic and social pressures, in attempt to provide protection and security for their daughters and families. Economic drivers are identified as a prime factor influencing families’ decisions to marry girls before reaching age of maturity. Among risk factors of early marriage identified by Save the Children, poverty and large household size (above 9) are among them (Presentation to UNHCR Child Marriage Task Force, June 2017). All of the child brides engaged in this protection monitoring activity were facing severe economic hardship, while one was indeed from a family of 10 siblings. An issue not raised by the participants during this

presearch was that of Dowry (transfer of gifts, or money at the marriage of a daughter), which is likely to also contribute to affect the decision making process of families living below the poverty line and struggling to meet their basic needs. High levels of trauma and unabated social pressures faced by the Syrian refugee community in Jordan have also increased the risk that child brides may end up in abusive or exploitative situations (UNICEF, 2014).

According to the Jordanian Personal Status Law, marriage is to be conducted between people over the age of 18, with marriage involving any party aged between 15-18 years of age permitted by Sharia court only in special situations in which it is deemed to be 'the best interest of the child' (*Personal Law. Article 10 a & b / Marriage regulations for aged 15 - 17*). What constitutes the best interests of the child is supposed to be determined after significant review of the situation by the presiding judge. ICMC's experience in Mafraq, however, shows that in fact these marriages are approved in the vast majority of cases. After witnessing this outcome in many cases, ICMC's legal adviser explains: ***"The judge knows that this is the culture of the Syrians, and this is what both families want, so they usually approve it without careful consideration about what is truly the best interest of the child."*** As such, when a child marriage takes place when one party is under the age of 15, it automatically renders the

marriage illegal under Jordanian law, thus is conducted informally and not registered in the court. However, when a child marriage takes place when one party is between the ages of 15-18, it can be officially registered in the court. While ICMC understands the term child marriage to pertain to anyone under the age of 18, given the application of the law in Jordan, the analysis of child marriage related specifically to the issue of legal documentation is largely concerned with anyone under the age of 15.

The link between child marriage (mostly of girls) and documentation problems is undeniable - the marriage of a girl under the age of 15 results in an 'informal' (illegal) marriage without legal authentication, and sets in motion a range of other documentation problems. Any children born out of the illegal marriage will be unable to receive birth certificates, or death certificates should any pass away, and the family is unable to register with MOI and access the associated services to which they are entitled. These legal/documentation problems serve to exacerbate the negative economic, social, physical and mental health consequences commonly associated with child marriage. 14 year old Ma'ale describes in her own words, how she entered into the marriage without fully understanding the legal consequences: ***"When we got married, the Sheikh came to the wedding and when he saw my documents he told my***

children. *Without the marriage certificate I cannot get their birth certificates, which will affect their schooling, education and health services for the rest of their lives.*" In 2014, Layla heard about the Jordanian Government's amnesty for people without marriage certificates and appealed to the court with her husband. However, she soon realized that the situation is further complicated by an outstanding deportation order on her husband since 2009. *Now he is afraid to go to renew his documentation in case they will send him back.* Due to the extreme fear of deportation suffered by Layla's husband, he rarely leaves the home. Layla is singlehandedly trying hard to solve the documentation issues faced by the family, as well as providing financially for the family.

Despite the obvious legal problems associated with child marriage, many women explained that the practice was normal for them and only became a problem once in Jordan. The continued existence of child marriage practices appears to be due to a combination of confusion over the differences in the law between Jordan and Syria, and a reluctance to leave behind the traditional practice of early marriage in Syria, despite knowing it is not legal in Jordan. As the mother of Ma'ale explains: *"We know that here no one is allowed to get married before the age of 15, but where we come from (Dera'a), it is normal for girls to get married anywhere above 13 years old. I was married at 14, and all my*

sisters were married between 13 and 16 years old, and we are fine! My life is fine..." She continues to explain: *"People like to get married early because then you have big families, and the older generations can see the family grow. Look at me, I have 15 children!"* (Um Ma'ale, 35 years old). Ma'ale's mother-in-law echoed this sentiment: *"Everyone is marrying their daughters when they are young. This is not a problem for us, this is normal, it is better for everyone."* (Um Hussein, 40 years old).

Ma'ale's aunt, however, had a very different opinion and cautioned the other women against the practice. Her view however, was the minority and was met with great disagreement among the women: *"I don't agree with this idea at all, I didn't want Ma'ale to get married. I don't think anyone should get married until they are at least 18 years old. Because they are still children before this time and their minds haven't stopped growing. After 18 years they are more mature and can approach marriage with a more open mind. There will be less problems in the family if people get married when they are adults."* (Khala Ma'ale, 49 years old).

Early marriage continues to be understood by many in the Syrian community as a form of protection for families. Indeed, issues surrounding marriage, social conduct (particularly that of women) are strongly linked to a family's social capital in



ICMC Staff checking documentation of a Syrian refugee family in Mafraq, Jordan.

Photo: ICMC/Oriene Van den Broeck

Jordan's socio-cultural context. One woman explained that the best chance of marrying a girl to an acceptable family was to do so when she was young and when she would be more desirable to potential suitors: *"The men in our community want to get married between 18 and 21 years old. And the men will always want a younger bride, so the girls will always be younger than they are. This is the way it works, if you wait too long you will miss out, and you never know what type of trouble you will invite into the family."* (Um Hussein, 40 years old). Um Hussein's view is mirrored by one of ICMC's beneficiaries Um Bilal, who recently approached ICMC seeking assistance. Um Bilal had made arrangements for her 14 year-old daughter, Alia to marry their neighbor's 17 year-old son, Ahmad, and invited the potential groom's family around for tea. Upon hearing that Um Bilal's daughter was only 14 years old, Ahmad's father refused to allow the marriage to continue due to Alia's young age (he was also an ICMC beneficiary, and

had recently attended ICMC's FGD sessions on gender, GBV, and early marriage). One week after the disagreement took place, Alia and Hussein went missing, with both families assuming that they have run away to be together. They were reported as missing and wanted by the police. At the time, the girl's mother claimed: *"If only he let the children marry, we wouldn't be in this mess! Now our family is shamed. Where is my daughter? What will happen to her now?"* The two children were located in Irbid after 4 days, and returned to the Mafraq courts where the family underwent mediation. The decision was that the children had not engaged in illicit sexual relations, and therefore the families agreed to allow them to marry when the girl turns 15.

Furthermore, this highlights the need to directly target adolescents as key agents in their own protection, empowering them as prime decision makers in their own lives. Adolescence represents a period of great change in which young people are faced with key choice points that have the potential to change the trajectory of their lives. Decisions about if, and when, to marry can propel young people into a cycle of positive or negative life outcomes, for them and their future families. As such, the agency and evolving maturity of young people must be recognized, and their capacities as key actors utilized in efforts to end child marriage.

Divorce / Absent Husband

The marriage certificate also has an important protective function for women concerning divorce. In Jordan, unlike many other countries in the region, men do not have unconditional rights to divorce women without resorting to legal proceedings. Both personal and penal law are restrictive on this issue in order to uphold the rights of women, including a penalty of one month imprisonment and a 1000 JD fine for the husbands who divorce women without registering the divorce at the Sharia court within a month of the divorce (**Article 281 Penal Law**). When informally/illegally married, however, women are not protected by this law. Without a marriage certificate, a woman has no legal proof that she has been married, and is therefore unable to get a civil divorce. This has serious social consequences for the woman, particularly if she has children. Without proof that she engaged in a legitimate marriage, she faces social stigma and risks being unable to marry again. As men are legally and socially able to marry up to four wives at any one time, under specific conditions and situations (Jordanian personal status law Article 21 & 28 - f), a man will not encounter problems to remarry should he wish, with or without a marriage or divorce certificate. As one beneficiary states:

“The woman is the most vulnerable person when a couple get married in a Sheikh ceremony. If she gets a divorce, she is in a very difficult situation. She has no proof that she was married. And if she has children, it will be even worse. They will not be seen as legitimate. The man can just marry again if he likes, no one will care about his past. But for the woman, many bad things will happen to her.” (Khala Ma’ale, 49 years old).

ICMC has found numerous cases where women have simply lost contact with their husbands, unsure of their whereabouts. In all these cases, the women believed that the husbands had remarried and purposefully remained uncontactable, leaving them in a perpetual state of limbo. One FGD participant explains this phenomenon: *“In the Syrian community here, something very bad is happening. The young guys are marrying girls with the Sheikh, and they are not getting the marriages registered at the court. After some time, they just leave them – gone! They have moved to Europe, or they moved to another part of Jordan to work. But they leave the wives with no proof that they were married, and sometimes there are children involved. The man doesn’t care, he has moved on to something better. But the woman’s life is completely changed. She can never have a normal life again. And everyone will talk badly about her.”*

(FGD participant).

The statements below are from women who have had such experiences:

"I need a divorce certificate but I can't get it because I don't have a marriage certificate. My husband left me and I don't have any contact for my husband, I don't know where he is. So now I'm stuck - not married, not divorced. It will be impossible to ever get married again, but maybe my husband has already married another woman." (FGD participant).

"My husband left me with nothing. I don't have proof for my marriage, or my divorce, and my son doesn't have a birth certificate. I can't add him to my UNHCR certificate or prove that he is my son. I don't know how to move forward from here." (FGD participant).

Domestic Violence

ICMC has observed a common form of financial abuse, stemming from the unequal control of financial resources. Many women reported that they would prioritize the documentation costs, particularly concerning the marriage certificate, however as they do not have the ability to influence the way resources are spent, they are unable to positively influence the situation. As eloquently described by a FGD participant: *"The financial cost is the biggest problem for me and many women face the same problem. It is always the men who control money and who decide how it is spent. If they don't think the documentation is important then we must try to convince them. We can't work outside our houses to earn money because we have children to take care of. So we don't have a lot of influence around how the money is spent"* (FGD participant).

Furthermore, ICMC has conducted in depth consultations with approximately nine women, where their husbands were withholding pieces of documentation/not attending the courts as a form of punishment to the women, either withholding a civil divorce or refusing to support the issuing of documentation. Such behavior can be understood as psychological violence, resulting in the inability of the woman to fulfil her desire to regularize her or her child's documentation status. Sumayya describes her husband's use of documentation as a tool of psychological abuse: *"The problems in our marriage started to get worse. I was living in his family's house and felt very lonely. He wouldn't let me leave the house to see my family and he would beat me. He was mean to me and he didn't care about me. After my son was born the violence got worse, and I ran away with my baby. My husband became so mad that he rang my mother and told her that I was divorced. I don't know if that counts as real divorce in Islam. So I actually don't know if I am married or divorced. I don't want to be divorced, I have a child! No woman wants this."* (Sumayya, 23 years old).

Sumayya's husband refuses to have any contact with her to clarify their marital status. Furthermore, he refuses to engage or attend the court to support the issuing of a birth certificate for their one year-old son, in order for him to get an MOI card. *"My husband refuses to pay the fine to get the marriage certificate. He has my child's birth notification and is refusing to give it to me so I can try to get the birth certificate issued."* (Sumayya, 23 years old). In such situations, men are using their positions as power holders to control resources and decision making concerning documentation, against the wishes of women, and to the detriment of her legal situation.



Photo: ICMC/Oriene Van den Broeck

Conclusion

This protection monitoring activity has identified that the lack of civil and legal documentation creates a multitude of gendered protection outcomes, with females experiencing a disproportionate amount of negative consequences, most commonly associated with the marriage certificate. The lack of marriage documents is exacerbated by alarmingly high rates of child marriage occurring in the Syrian community, as well as lack of awareness of the different marriage processes in Jordan and Syria that results in an informal, or illegal marriage. The consequences of these marriages are vast and compromise the rights of women, and whole families. ICMC therefore highlights the following recommendations and advocacy points to better address this critical issue faced by the Syrian women and families in Jordan.

Recommendations

1. Advocate with the Jordanian Government to release a new amnesty for informal marriage penalty fees.

2. Advocate for the elimination/review of the most restrictive elements of civil documentation processes, particularly large fines and time limits.

3. Advocate with the Sharia courts to refrain from granting widespread permission for 15-17 years old to marry, only in truly exceptional circumstances.

4. The donor community, particularly ECHO, assumes an advocacy role with the government on the issues outlined in these recommendations.

5. Raise awareness in the Syrian refugee community on the risks associated with child marriage, highlighting the economic, social, and health impact on the child, as well as the inevitable legal problems the family will face, and large penalty.

6. Raise awareness in the Syrian refugee community on the importance of civil and legal documentation in general, with increased information provision on complicated processes.

7. Raise awareness in the Syrian refugee community on the importance of registering marriages at the courts, and the problems with unofficial Sheikh marriages, highlighting the differences in the law in Jordan, the inevitable legal problems the family will face, and large penalty.

8. Target child marriage interventions to children and youth, to empower them as actors / decision makers in their own futures.

9. Engage Syrian refugee men with targeted messaging on the importance of issuing marriage certificates, highlighting the link with birth certificates.

10. Protect unregistered children by advocating to close the gaps that prevent birth registration and block recognition of Syrian children's nationality.

11. Create targeted child marriage interventions that holistically address the dimensions of the problem, including direct educational and psychosocial support to child marriage survivors.

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Funded by
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