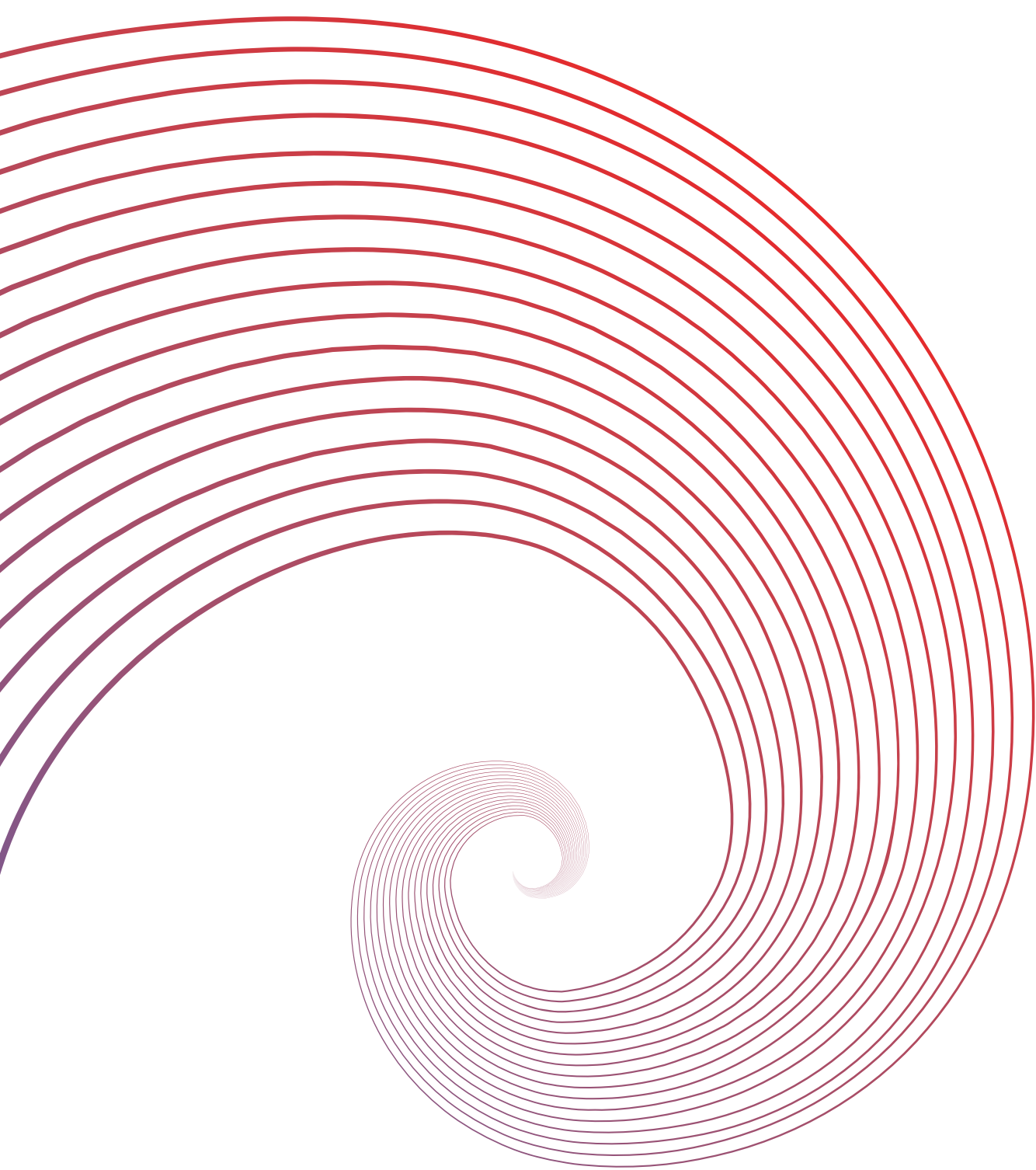


COST BENEFIT ANALYSIS

Of provision of the three existing
free legal aid and services in
REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA



For the publisher:

Jasminka Friscik,
Executive Director of ESE



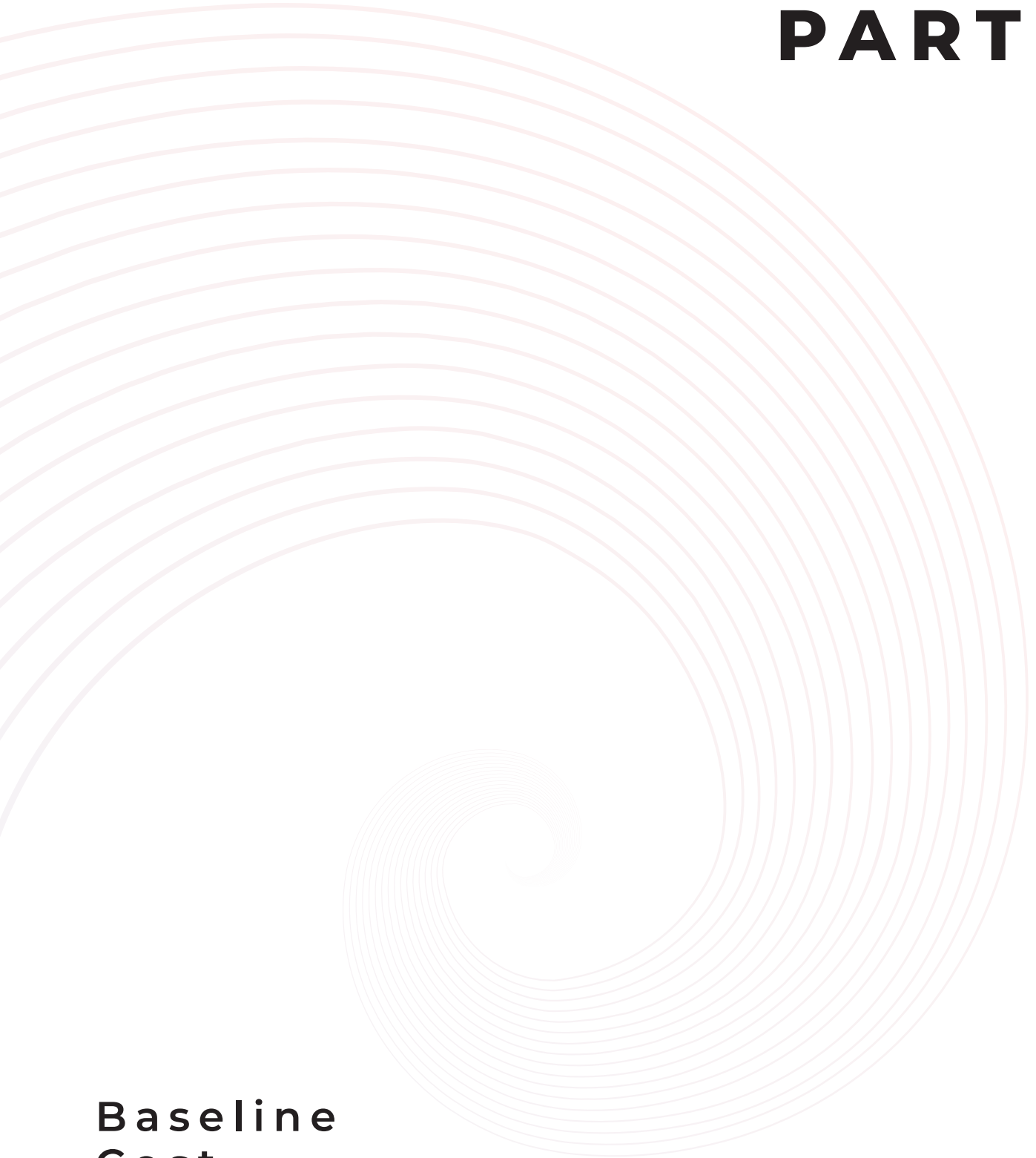
ЗДРУЖЕНИЕ ЗА ЕМАНЦИПАЦИЈА,
СОЛИДАРНОСТ И ЕДНАКВОСТ НА ЖЕНИТЕ
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PART I

**Baseline
Cost
benefit
analysis**





PART I

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Acronyms

CAO	Community advice office
CDRIM	Center for Democratic Development and Initiative
CSO	Civil society organization
EHO	Educational and Humanitarian Organization
FOSM	Open Society Foundation Macedonia
LFLA	Law on Free Legal Aid
MKD	Macedonian denar
MYLA	Macedonian Young Lawyers Association
NRC	National Roma Centrum
OSF	Open Society Foundation
USD	US dollar
YCC	Youth Cultural Centre

Introduction

Access to justice is a broad concept that refers to the methods by which citizens are able to get legal information and legal services and have their disputes resolved. It includes access to court procedures, to legal aid and to extra-legal mechanisms to resolve conflicts. Effective access to justice does not refer only to reductions in costs, access to lawyers and access to courts; instead, it is a broad term that refers more generally to the effectiveness of a justice system in meeting the dispute resolution needs of its citizens.

For citizens to be able to seek and access justice, they must be legally empowered. Legal empowerment is the ability of people to understand and use the law for themselves. This enables poor and other marginalized groups to achieve justice and meet their basic needs. In other words access to justice and legal empowerment can help translate legal guarantees – de jure equality – into reality in the everyday day life of the citizens, what is better known as de facto equality.

Limited access to justice and legally disempowered communities result in numerous restrictions and violations of legally guaranteed rights and freedoms. Moreover it leads to lower productivity, income, possibilities for employment etc. Recently the member states of the United Nations have agreed on the Sustainable Development Goal 16.3: “Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all” and have committed to integrating access to justice and legal empowerment initiatives into their economic growth, development and poverty reduction strategies.

On the global level data show that 4 billion people around the world live outside the protection of the law, mostly because they are poor or marginalized.¹ There are numerous deficiencies that need to be set right, both on the supply (providers) and demand (users) side. Some of the deficiencies are already well known: geography; social relations of place; costs; shortages in delivery of services; and the digital divide.

The Republic of Macedonia is no exception. The Republic of Macedonia is classified as an upper middle income country. In 2015 according to the State Statistical Office (based on the Survey on Income and Living Conditions) the poverty rate was 21.5%. Limited access to justice for poor, Roma and other marginalized communities has provoked the establishment of different forms of legal aid modalities. Currently there are three modalities of provision of free legal aid and services in Macedonia, namely provision of preliminary free legal aid, community-based paralegals, and lawyering for the marginalized.

The first of these modalities provides legal aid and services in accordance with a legally prescribed mandate (given under the Law on Free Legal Aid (LFLA)), while others provide specialized legal aid and services in certain areas and for certain marginalized groups of people. Only the first modality is financially supported by the state. The others are entirely supported by donor agencies' foreign aid.

Building the case for institutionalizing and implementing policy frameworks that respond to the unmet justice needs of the poor and marginalized, the Open Society Foundations (OSFs) have initiated a shared framework on legal empowerment. Shared frameworks are initiatives with high-priority goals and a limited time frame to which multiple OSF units (programs, foundations and advocacy offices) contribute their own programming. The Republic of Macedonia was chosen to participate in this initiative.

In accordance with the overarching goal of the whole initiative, Foundation Open Society Macedonia's (FOSM) overall goal for the 2016-2020 Shared Framework is to create and institutionalize a sustainable community-based legal empowerment framework implemented through scaling diverse modalities of access to justice that meet the legal needs of the Roma, poor, sex workers, people who use drugs and other marginalized groups on national/local level.

¹ Statistic cited at the event “Leveraging the SDGs for Inclusive Growth : Delivering Access to Justice for All” organized by the Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation and Open Society Foundation in September 2016.

As part of the 2016 FOSM action plan under the Shared Framework, Association ESE in collaboration with Debbie Budlender, conducted cost-benefit analysis of provision of the three existing legal aid and services modality in the country. As explained further below, the study attempts to cost three different forms of legal aid for the poor. The aim is not to show that one form of legal aid is better than another. Instead, the aim is to estimate the current costs of providing the services, to highlight who is covering the current costs, and to estimate what costs government would need to cover to provide effective free legal aid. Furthermore this study attempts to define the benefits across all modalities of free legal aid. It is worth noting that this is the first such attempt in Macedonia. Accordingly, all obstacles faced and recommendations offered by the drafters of this analysis will be carefully noted and taken into consideration in the next year's follow up activities.

Methodology

The methodology for the study included reading of international literature on costing of legal services; reading of relevant Macedonian reports produced by the Ministry of Justice, FOSM-funded organizations and researchers; completion of questionnaires by FOSM-funded organizations; collation of data from the paralegal monitoring system; and calculations based on data obtained through the other methods.

The first questionnaire was completed by 11 FOSM-funded organizations. The questionnaire asked about their services and operations. The organisations responded to questions on the following topics:

- Service type (or model)
- Other services
- Target group
- Service location
- Paid staff
- Contractees
- Volunteers
- Hours services are available
- Types of legal assistance
- Criteria
- Charges
- Number assisted 2015
- Case types
- Descriptions of typical cases: 2 relatively simple and 1 complicated

For the sake of simplicity, the organizations were divided into three categories according to the main type of service provided. The three categories were authorized free legal aid under the LFLA (4 organizations), unauthorized (but nevertheless legal!) free legal aid (3 organizations), and paralegal work (4 organizations). This report attempts to cost each of these three categories of services. In reality, however, the picture is more complicated as some of the organizations deliver more than one type of service. Helsinki Committee is especially complicated as it provides both free legal aid and preliminary legal aid as an LFLA-authorized association. The other authorized organizations do not provide other free legal aid.

The responses to the questionnaires were tabulated, and the tables are included as an appendix to this report.

The second questionnaire was directed only to LFLA-authorized organizations and to those providing legal aid. It asked for detail about revenue and expenditure, staffing, staff and other costs, and the time

and costs involved in the three typical cases described in the previous questionnaire. Three authorized organizations and two other organizations attempted to complete this questionnaire. However, they were usually not able to complete all questions.

Throughout the research and analysis process, ESE provided assistance through answering questions, securing information, and providing relevant documents.

Structure of the report

The rest of the report is divided into seven sections:

- The first section presents a brief review of literature relating to costing exercises of legal aid in other countries;
- The next section presents available evidence on the need for legal aid in Macedonia, and then – more specifically – the need for free legal aid;
- The third section describes free legal aid as provided for by the LFLA. It describes the law, its current operation and the state budget to fund it, and then estimates the costs associated with this model;
- The fourth section describes and costs free legal aid as provided by the organizations that are not authorized to provide preliminary free legal aid under the LFLA.
- The fifth section describes and costs paralegal services provided by CSOs;
- The cost and benefits section that follows draws on approaches suggested by the international literature for going beyond direct monetary costs;
- The conclusion notes the study as having taken first steps towards costing a reformed free legal aid system for Macedonia.

Literature review

This section of the report highlights aspects of costing exercises in related to legal aid in other countries. The section does not describe each of the studies and their findings in full. Instead, it highlights aspects that were of assistance in thinking through a costing approach for this study.

South African study of community advice offices

A recent South African study attempts to estimate the costs for a “stylised” community advice office (CAO) (Human Sciences Research Council, 2014). The study comes up with a total cost, and division of that cost into salaries; volunteer stipends and workshops; rent; transport; ICT, promotional and related cost; and training and capacity building. Unfortunately, it seems that the data for the study was gathered through focus group discussions with representatives of ten CAOs rather than through a standardized questionnaire or tightly framed questions to each organization. This probably makes the estimates less reliable than they might have been.

An interesting aspect of the study is that the cost estimate is – especially in respect of the salaries – not based on the current situation, but instead on responses to a question on “salary expectations”. “Expectation” is not a reliable measure. However, this approach implicitly raises the useful question as to whether current salaries paid for workers in civil society organizations (CSOs) are undesirably low, and also whether volunteers should be paid. The question might be relevant in Macedonia in respect of paralegals.

An aspect of the South African study that might differ from the Macedonian situation is that the CAOs

were modelled as stand-alone organizations that provide only community paralegal services. Accurate cost estimations will be more difficult for Macedonian organizations where the free legal aid services are part of a larger set of services. In particular, there will be a question of what costs to cover for overheads such as management time and financial management.

In the completed Macedonian questionnaires, there was usually a difference between the total budget of the organization and the revenue and expenditure on free legal aid. The calculations below are based on the free legal aid amounts. This might hide an element of cross-subsidization from the general budget of the CSOs and thus result in cost estimates lower than the real costs.

On the benefit site, the South African study uses a “willingness to accept” approach. The questions asked were:

? *If you were asked to pay for the services you received today, and if not paying meant you didn't get any help today, what would be the most that you would be willing to pay?*

[with five answer options given]

? *If you were asked to make one payment at the beginning of the year which meant you could use all the CAO services available here for the whole year, what would be the most that you would be willing to pay?*

[five answer options given]

A practical reason for not using this question in Macedonia is that it would require a survey of beneficiaries. However, even if a survey were feasible, the approach has weaknesses. Firstly, hypothetical questions (“what would you do?”) are known to give unreliable responses that often do not match fact (“what do/did you do?”). Secondly, the questions do not take account of poverty. Some people will say that they would not be willing to pay anything, or would be willing to pay only a small amount, because they simply do not have the money to pay. Yet it is the people with little or no money who are the main target of free legal aid. It is precisely because they cannot afford payment that free legal aid is needed. We cannot give the service a low value because they are poor as the willingness-to-pay approach would do. The willingness-to-pay approach also does not capture the benefits to other actors – including government. For example, provision of early legal information and advice can avoid the greater costs that would arise if the case had to go through the formal legal system.

Modelling sustainable, scalable basic legal service models

The aim of this study (Law & Development Partnership Ltd, 2015) was to develop a methodology for estimating unit costs and then to estimate whether basic legal services are affordable for poor countries. The unit cost estimates are of direct interest for the current study as they can be used, together with estimates of need, to extrapolate the total needed funds.

The term “financially sustainable” is understood in the study as referring to a situation where service providers are not reliant on donor funds but instead get the revenue necessary to run the services from other actors (government, citizens, for-profit investors, etc). In the case of free legal aid in Macedonia, it is difficult to see which sources other than government (and indirectly taxpayers) could provide funding given that the intended beneficiaries are poor.

The study looks at five broad models – paralegals (in Myanmar, Sierra Leone and Liberia), microfinancing, community law centers, hybrid models, and justice hubs. None of these models neatly matches free legal aid in Macedonia. The study defines basic legal services to include legal advice services, public legal education, legal awareness, mediation, alternative dispute resolution and/or paralegals backed up by litigation, policy advocacy and state actions which increase accessibility of dispute resolution. It classifies these as primary justice services. Formal litigation and court-based representation are classified as secondary services.

The study notes that the differences between primary services in health and education and in the legal area include possible disincentives for elites to support legal primary services because they can place

constraints on state power (and perhaps also the power of other powerful actors). Government might thus be less willing to subsidize legal aid than to subsidize health and education services.

Although none of the models neatly matches free legal aid in Macedonia, there is a match with the focus on legal assistance to solve civil and administrative, not criminal, problems. The study notes that issues addressed in the countries studied are typically related to family law, property rights, labor law, access to services (including education and health), and legal identity. As seen below, this is similar to the legal aid offered by FOSM-funded organizations.

The study notes that one needs to understand the benefits of services, but the study itself focuses on the costs. It notes that there are three categories of costs – monetary, opportunity, and intangible, but focuses on the monetary ones.

The cost estimates are quite crudely done. For example, the study uses the annual operating budget of an organization, and then divides this by the number of beneficiaries to derive the unit cost. It does not disaggregate into the different component costs. It notes that simple division by the number of “clients” gives a misleading picture because a far larger number of people may be reached through legal education efforts than for other services. For the Liberian organization, the unit cost per case is USD 351. This drops to USD 1.85 per person if the number of people sensitized or trained is included. The extremely large difference in the two cost estimates makes them less useful than they would be if there was less variation.

A benefit-cost model for social services

The paper by Schalock & Butterworth (2000) describes an approach in which one looks at the costs and benefits to three groups of actors – the direct beneficiaries, the “tax-payers” (other non-beneficiary people in the society), and society as a whole. The paper uses the example of a program that gives support for employment to people with disabilities. It suggests that the questions asked by the three groups for such a program might be as shown in *Table 1*.

Analytical perspective	Concerns	Example
Participant / beneficiary	Equity issues	Does my net income increase?
Taxpayer	Efficiency issues	Does the person cost me more if they work or not?
Societal	Efficiency issues	Is there a net economic gain if the person joins the labor force?

Table 1. Example of cost and benefit concerns and questions for categories of actors.

The approach highlights that what might be a cost to one of the three groups could be a benefit to another. This is elaborated in *Table 2*. The paper develops the approach further to assign values to the monetized costs and benefits.

Analysis variable	Participant	Taxpayer	Society
Monetized costs & benefits			
Operating costs		Cost	Cost
Savings in alternative programs		Benefit	Benefit
Gross wages	Benefit		Benefit
Foregone wages	Cost		Cost
Fringe benefits	Benefit		Benefit
Etc			
Non-monetized benefits			
Increased self-sufficiency	Benefit		Benefit
Increased independent living	Benefit		Benefit
Increased quality of life	Benefit		Benefit

Table 2. Elaborated example of cost and benefits to different categories of actors

In the Macedonian case, the different categories could include (potential) beneficiaries, CSOs that deliver services, attorneys-at-law, government (taxpayer), and society.

Valuing legal aid in family law matters in Australia

This study (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2009) for the Australian Commonwealth government focuses on the “economic” value of legal aid. However, it also lists non-economic benefits, as follows:

- Provision of a human right;
- Promotion of the rule of law;
- Increased confidence in the fairness and accessibility of the justice system;
- Better outcomes in the fairness and accessibility of the justice system;
- Better outcomes for individuals accessing legal information and the justice system;
- Avoidance of costs to the community as a result of better justice outcomes;
- Information and direction to ensure the most appropriate pathway through or away from the justice system;
- Lower cost alternatives to court for resolution of matters;
- Increased efficiency of the justice system and the court.

These benefits would generally also apply to free legal aid in Macedonia if it was well designed and implemented. Unfortunately, most of these non-economic benefits cannot be easily monetized.

The study compares the costs of providing free legal aid to the costs that would be incurred by government if legal aid was not provided. It uses examples from family law, which are relevant for the Macedonia case to the extent that the LFLA provides for assistance in family matters (e.g. in relation to children). Cases for which “indicative” benefits are calculated are:

- *Indicative benefits* - avoided costs due to behavioral change of a family violence offender;
- Indicative benefits - avoided costs of out of home care (through formalizing arrangement of child living with his grandmother);
- Indicative benefits – avoided costs of housing and children living in poverty (where the family defaulted on mortgage payments).

The current study will not include similar detailed calculations like this, but the Australian cases are nevertheless interesting in highlighting the types of costs that can be avoided.

In the Macedonian case, the different categories could include (potential) beneficiaries, CSOs that deliver services, attorneys-at-law, government (taxpayer), and society.

The Australian study focuses on legal aid in respect of the court system and thus does not include advice or information and education services such as those provided by paralegals in Macedonia. It notes that one can assume that “these services would have significant net benefits to the justice system, particularly because they provide early intervention and prevent matters from being escalated unnecessarily through the system.” The focus on the courts might also mean that the Australian study does not cover access to health, social assistance and similar services in the same way that Macedonia’s legal aid does.

The need for legal aid

Experience of legal problems in Macedonia

A recent national survey in Macedonia explored respondents’ experience of legal (“justiciable”) problems over the past three years (Srbjanko et al, 2013). The study explored the nature of the problems experienced, what respondents had tried to do about them, and what the results of their actions were.

The survey reveals that almost half (49%) of respondents had experienced at least one legal problem over the past three years, and many of those who had experienced problems had experienced more than one in this period. Housing and property-related problems were the most common, accounting for about a quarter of all reported problems. Employment, consumer, and money-related problems were also frequent.

The survey explored the needs of all Macedonians. However, the report on the survey notes that, because it was administered by cellphone, it is likely to have excluded poorer and more marginalized people. Analysis of the survey results suggested that poorer people who were part of the survey were less likely than the better-off to report that they had had a justiciable problem over the last three years. However, the report suggests that this probably reflects lack of awareness of rights on the part of poorer people.

Younger people, the more educated, those economically active, men, and urban residents were more likely than their counterparts to report problems. As suggested above, these patterns could reflect greater knowledge of rights among these groups rather than the fact that they have more problems. There were also some problems – such as those relating to access to government assistance and services, payment for work done, and discrimination – which people with lower educational levels were more likely to report. The authors also suggest that people from disadvantaged communities may have been less likely to report problems that affect the whole group, such as poor living conditions, because they perceived this as a collective rather than individual problem.

Government-related problems, including problems in respect of financial transfers, taxes, and access to information and services, accounted for 7,6% of reported problems. It is likely that the percentage would have been higher if the survey had included more poor respondents as this category of problem was

most common amongst those with low levels of education, who are also likely to be poorer. The government-related category did not cover all problems involving government. For example, a further 3% of respondents reported problems with police, including unfair treatment, harassment, and improper search and seizure.

Two-thirds of those who reported problems said that they had taken steps to resolve them. One third of these sought legal advice on how to tackle the problem. Most sought this advice from family, friends, colleagues and partners. One-fifth were not satisfied with the information and advice that they received.

Two thirds of respondents who sought advice had to pay for the advice. Further, one-fifth of those who had a problem did not do anything about it because they did not have the money to do so. Poorer people, younger ones, the unemployed, and Albanians were least likely to take action. More than half of those who did not take action gave as their reason lack of confidence that help would be available.

Survey respondents were asked whether their problem was resolved. Problems where the other party was government or an employer were less likely to be resolved than those with private organizations, family members, partners or non-relatives. This suggests that people are more likely to need assistance when there is a clear relationship of uneven power between them and the other party. Less than 10% of those with problems were involved in any court proceedings related to the problem. The authors suggest that this reveals “hidden” potential demand for the civil justice system.

Types of problems for which legal aid is needed

The majority of the LFLA applications for free legal aid which were approved during 2014 related to property ownership issues, with cases related to social assistance, pension, social, and health insurance and employment less frequent. This is similar to earlier period 2010-12, when more than 60% of approved cases of legal aid related to property tenure issues.

The types of cases for which LFLA applications are made do not give a full picture of the types of legal problems faced by poor Macedonians. The reason for the mismatch is that – as discussed in more detail below – the LFLA provides for assistance only in specified types of cases. People are unlikely to apply for legal aid for cases which do not fall within the specified categories.

Nevertheless, the preponderance of property problems to some extent mirrors the findings of the national survey (Srbjanko et al, 2013) on legal needs, which found that property issues were the most common problems experienced by respondents over the past three years. However, property issues accounted for only about a quarter of all problems in the survey, rather than the 60% recorded for free legal aid. This suggests that free legal aid is not being made available for many other key problems.

Table 3, based on data provided for the current study, provides the distribution of cases for five FOSM-supported organizations across different categories of legal assistance. In doing this classification, organizations X and Y classified each case into a single category, while organizations A, B and C allowed for more than one category of assistance to a single client. The total for organizations A, B and C therefore sum to more than 100%.

The categories that may be covered under the LFLA are shown in italics. The three organizations authorized under the LFLA to provide preliminary free legal aid show more clustering in the categories covered by free legal aid. However, even these organizations have large numbers of cases in other categories, and particularly in social insurance.

Organizations X and Y are not authorized associations under the LFLA. For these organizations the majority of cases are in the “other” category. Organization X records 41% of its cases as relating to criminal law, 17% to administrative law, 16% to civil law, and 10% to offences. Organization Y records 52% of its cases as relating to social protection.

Categories	Legal aid		Free legal aid		
	X	Y	A	B	C
Social insurance			82%	20%	50%
Property and housing issues			11%	25%	17%
Family relations	8%		3%	20%	10%
Health insurance		35%		15%	10%
Domestic violence				35%	4%
Labor relations				5%	2%
Pension and disability insurance			2%	15%	
Protection of children & minors				10%	8%
Right to asylum					
Protection of victims of crime					1%
Discrimination	2%				1%
Personal identity documents		4%	10%		3%
Health protection		2%		2%	10%
Other	90%	59%		30%	

Table 3. Categories of assistance provided by organizations

Estimating the need for free legal aid

The report of the Macedonian Young Lawyers Association (MYLA) on implementation of the LFLA in 2013 identifies the categories of people who require free legal aid, and estimates the number of people in each category. MYLA's estimates go beyond the categories who currently receive free legal aid under the LFLA. MYLA's categories and estimates are as follows:

- Persons living in poverty and substandard conditions who cannot themselves cover the legal costs associated with challenges in accessing their rights, and who also tend to have poor access to information on rights: **One third of the population.**
- Homeless people who need legal aid to resolve problems that cause homelessness or to access shelter: **108**
- Persons without citizenship who face challenges such as lack of personal identification documents: **Around 800**
- Users of the right to social protection who need assistance in engaging with centers for social protection and the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy: **50.000 plus.**
- The elderly on small pensions who are often victims of legal property disputes: **80.000**
- Victims of domestic violence who need legal assistance in proceedings for divorce, criminal proceedings for (severe) bodily harm, temporary measures for protection, custody of minors, resolving legal property relations: **4.000 annually**
- Victims of human trafficking who need legal protection from perpetrators: **Less than 20 annually**
- Asylum seekers, refugees and migrants for whom the state is obliged to provide free legal aid under international agreements that it has ratified: **2.637 persons.**

If we use the 2013 population of 2,107 million, and the official poverty estimate of 2011 of 30,4%, the first category alone amounts to more than 640.000 people. Many – but not all – of the individuals in the other categories will also fall in the category of the poor. We therefore use the number of poor people as a conservative estimate of the total number of people who need to be covered by free legal aid. We make the estimate even more conservative by excluding the 17,7% of the population that is under 15 years of age.² We make this adjustment on the basis that the problems of this age group are likely to be taken up by adults on behalf of the children. The first category then consists of 527.155 people.

Not all poor people will need legal aid every year. Conversely, some people will need assistance more than once during the year. The national survey suggested that 49% of the population experience at least one justiciable problem in a three-year period. This is higher than the 3-12% of the population estimated to have a “very important” legal need in OECD countries (Legal Development Partnership, 2015). This difference is explained by the fact that the Macedonian survey was not restricted to “very important” legal needs.

Among those who had a problem in Macedonia, the mean number of problems was around 1,4. If we apply this to the conservative estimate of 527.155 people who need to be covered by free legal aid, we get 361.628 cases in a three-year period, or 120.543 cases in a year.

The calculations are summarized in *Table 4*. Note that in this and further tables replication of the calculations using the numbers shown in the tables may not give exactly the same results as the table rounds the numbers and thus hides the decimals, the more exact numbers including decimals were used to produce the results shown rounded in the table.

Reference	Indicator	Formula	Estimate
A	Population 2013		2.107.000
B	Poverty rate		30.4
C	Poor population	$A * B$	640.528
D	Population share 0-14		17.7 %
E	Poor people 15+	$C - (C * D)$	527.155
F	% problem last 3 years		49 %
G	# with problem last 3 years	$E * F$	258.306
H	# of problems/person		1.4
I	# problems in 3 years	$G * H$	361.628
J	# problems in 1 year	$I / 3$	120.543

Table 4. Estimating the annual need for free legal aid

² http://www.indexmundi.com/macedonia/age_structure.html, downloaded 4 September 2016.

The current system of Free Legal Aid in Macedonia

The Law on Free Legal Aid

The LFLA was adopted in December 2009, and implementation commenced on 7 July 2010. The Republic of Macedonia was obliged to develop a free legal aid system as one of the preconditions for being considered for full membership of the European Union. The LFLA was thus part of the country's Judiciary Reform Strategy of 2004.

Who is covered?

Not all poor people in Macedonia are entitled to free legal aid. Instead, the benefit is available for permanent residents who:

- are beneficiaries of social aid;
- are beneficiaries of disability allowance who do not have other income in the form of profit or income from real estate;
- are beneficiaries of the lowest monthly pension with two or more dependant family members;
- have one or more under-age children benefiting from the child allowance.

The benefit is also available to those granted asylum, internally displaced person, and displaced or expelled person who live in the Republic of Macedonia.

The term "*social aid*" in the LFLA creates confusion because it does not correspond to the terms used in the Law on Social Protection. The latter law provides for 13 different forms of social allowance, and the eligibility requirements differ between them. The forms include social monetary assistance and permanent monetary assistance. In the period 2010-12, cases related to social assistance accounted for the largest share of approved applications for free legal aid, followed by cases related to permanent social assistance, and then lowest pension allowance. There were very few successful beneficiaries of child and disability allowances.

The term "*lowest pension allowance*" refers to persons who benefit from the lowest of the three groups of pension allowances. The lowest pension allowance differs according to age or retirement and duration of previous work. In 2014, 24.575 people were recorded as receiving the lowest pension allowance of 7.162 MKD.

Within the above categories of eligible people, the law restricts benefits to those:

- whose household income does not exceed 50% of the average monthly salary paid in the Republic of Macedonia in the month before the application was submitted. The cut-off was 11.094 MKD in July 2016; and
- who do not own property whose value exceeds five gross monthly salaries in the Republic; and
- who are beneficiaries of social allowances.

All three of these criteria must be met to benefit from the law.

The property criterion is the most common reason for rejection of applications for free legal aid. In Macedonia, property is usually inherited and is therefore not a good indicator of a person's ability to cover current legal costs. The survey on legal needs (Srbjanko et al, 2013) found that less than 5% of the population rents property. It also found that housing and property-related problems accounted for 26% of all legal problems experienced by survey respondents over the past three years. Adding to the restrictiveness of this criterion is the low cut-off; under the Law on Social Protection, the cut-off for immovable property is in most cases higher than the amount specified by the LFLA.

What issues are covered?

The LFLA provides for assistance in respect of the following issues:

- rights in the field of labor relations;
- child and juvenile protection;
- protection of victims of domestic violence;
- protection of victims of criminal acts;
- protection of victims of human trafficking; and
- property tenure issues.

As can be seen from the list above, the LFLA does not currently cover all types of cases. In particular, it does not cover social protection and consumer protection. The first of these is among the common problems dealt with by the FOSM-funded organizations. The second ranked second in the national survey when types of cases experienced were listed in order of magnitude.

The law also does not provide for assistance in cases relating to establishing paternity and child support for minor children. It does not provide for assistance with divorce procedures in cases where there was no domestic violence. Exercising the right to citizenship and civil status issues are also not included in the list of issues for which free legal aid can be given.

Even issues that are included in the LFLA may not be covered comprehensively. For example, although housing is covered, a legal challenge before the Administrative Court to a Ministry of Justice decision was needed before payment of damages was included in the scope of housing issues covered by free legal aid.

Areas such as social, health, pension or disability insurance, and labor relations are covered by the LFLA. However, in practice free legal aid is not effective because claiming these rights generally has a deadline of 8, 15 or 30 days and the Ministry of Justice takes much longer than this to approve free legal aid. By November 2014, the Minister of Justice reported that the mean time for decisions on applications was 80 days. Prior to this it was even longer. One reason for the long delays is that the regional offices that consider the applications must collect information from at least eight separate state institutions.

Changes in the law since 2009

In 2012, the Ministry of Justice initiated a process to amend the law, and established a working group in which MYLA was represented. The working group focused on: (1) making the eligibility criteria less restrictive; (2) clarifying the issues for which free legal aid can be approved; (3) improving the LFLA's alignment with other laws; (4) specifying the costs that can be reimbursed; and (5) clearly defining preliminary free legal aid and the role of associations in providing it. There was consensus in the working group on the needed amendments, but the Ministry of Justice did not take the amendments forward.

The Law on Justice for Children was adopted in the second half of 2013. The law states that compensation for lawyers representing at-risk children and child perpetrators of criminal acts and misdemeanors will be covered by the LFLA and its annual budget. Nevertheless, the budget for 2014 was the same as in 2013.

Other amendments since 2009 include extension of coverage to asylum seekers, and a requirement that the Ministry of Justice establish links with the Agency on Real Estate Cadastre so as to be able to check eligibility in respect of property.

Authorized organizations and preliminary legal aid

The LFLA provides for authorized organizations and authorized attorneys to provide the services that it specifies and to be compensated by the state for the work done. The authorized organizations are authorized – and compensated – only in respect of preliminary legal aid. Article 6(2) of the LFLA defines preliminary legal aid as:

- Initial legal advice on the right of using free legal aid;
- General legal information; and
- Legal assistance in completing an application for free legal aid.

Preliminary legal aid therefore primarily involves provision of information rather than legal advice. One of the conditions for authorized associations is to have on their staff a graduated lawyer who has passed the bar exam. However, the nature of preliminary legal aid does not require that it be provided by an attorney who has passed the bar exam.

It is only authorized attorneys who are allowed to provide, and be compensated for, representation of clients and preparation of writs in judicial and administrative procedures. The authorized associations thus serve as a filter or bridge to full legal aid. If a case is approved for free legal aid after preliminary aid has been provided, the Ministry of Justice assigns an authorized attorney to the case. The system thus encourages cases that proceed to a court, rather than solution of problems in other (often less expensive) way. The system is also inefficient as it requires that a new attorney become acquainted with the details of the case, rather than staff of the authorized association taking the case forward.

Current operation of the Law on Free Legal Aid

Submission of applications for free legal aid

Table 5 provides information on applications for free legal aid submitted to the Ministry of Justice since the LFLA came into effect in July 2010. The data are drawn from the annual reports of the Ministry of Justice. Analysis is complicated by the fact that only three of the periods span 12 months, while the other three periods span less than 12 months. What is clear, however, is that in every year but the most recent the number of requests denied is larger than the number approved. The ratio of rejected to approved applications fell from 2,3 to 1,2 between 2011 and 2014 (Stojanovski, 2015). It is not clear if this pattern results from a change in the nature of requests submitted, or a slightly more open attitude by the Ministry of Justice. However, the 2014 ratio is still very different from that in neighboring countries, where there tend to be nine approved applications for every one rejected i.e. a ratio of 0,11 (MYLA, 2013).

The table shows an unusually larger number of requests in 2014, but this increased number does not persist.

Period	Submitted	Decisions	Approved	Rejected	Pending	Withdrawn / stopped
07.JUL.2010 - 24.MAR.2011	118	71	29	42	47	3
25.MAR.2011 - 31.MAR.2012	154	172	64	91	29	17
01.APR.2012 - 31.MAR.2013	180	196	68	126	13	2
01.APR.2013 - 31.DEC.2013	162	162	75	81	13	8
01.JAN.2014 - 31.DEC.2014	270	254	114	140	29	11
01.JAN.2015 - 31.DEC.2015	199	192	113	79	36	7

Table 5. Applications for free legal aid, 2010-2015

The number of applications submitted might have been even higher if information about the availability of free legal aid was readily available. However, government does little to publicize the law, and the authorized associations are not permitted to advertise their services. Nevertheless, in 2014 131 of the total of 270 applications were submitted through the six authorized associations involved in the FOSM project. Without these organizations, the LFLA would be much less utilized.

Table 6 presents statistics for the FOSM-supported associations for a slightly extended period of 19 months. It shows that overall, for these associations, the number of approved applications outnumbers the number rejected. However, it also shows a large number of discontinued applications, primarily relating to asylum seekers.

Period	Submitted	Approved	Rejected	Discontinued	Pending
MYLA	74	9	11	42	10
NRC	25	9	11	1	4
EHO	30	18	10	1	1
8th Sept	1	0	0	0	1
Izbor	14	9	2	3	0
YCC	15	6	6	0	3
TOTAL	159	51	40	47	19

Table 6. Applications submitted by project associations, February 2014 - August 2015

These six FOSM-supported associations account for two-thirds of the nine associations authorized to provide preliminary free legal aid. The nine organizations are distributed in larger towns across the country (Skopje, Bitola, Prilep, Kumanovo, Stip, Strumica and Tetovo).

Regional offices of the Ministry of Justice can also act as providers of preliminary legal aid, provided they employ at least one lawyer with passed bar exam. In 2013, only 10 of the total of 33 regional offices had employed such lawyers to do this work. By the end of 2014, three regional offices (Sveti Nikole, Veles and Karpos) had not fulfilled this requirement. This was an improvement on the situation in 2014. However, the fact that there is no standard system for regional offices to record provision of preliminary legal aid means that there is very little information available on their performance.

During 2014, of the 33 regional units, nearly half (15) recorded no applications, ten recorded between 1 and 9 applications, and ten recorded ten or more applications. Table 7 reveals that most of the ten regions with many applications are served by authorized associations.

Regional Unit	Number of applications
Kratovo	10
Radovish	12
Ministry of Justice Skopje	14
Gazi Baba – Skopje	16
Kisela Voda – Skopje	16
Bitola	19
Shtip	20
Strumica	22
Tetovo	28
Kumanovo	35

Table 7. Regional units recording 10 or more applications for free legal aid

The authorized associations do not submit applications for free preliminary legal aid in respect of all those who approach them wanting this benefit. Table 8 shows all authorized associations in 2014/15 and, for the FOSM-supported ones, it shows the number of people approaching them for free legal aid. The table confirms that FOSM supports the majority of authorized associations. The very low rate of submission for 8th September is related to the fact that this organization was authorized for free legal aid only in 2014.

Organization	Year authorized	Place	Applications
National Roma Centrum	2011	Kumanovo	449
Macedonian Young Lawyers Association	2011	Skopje	472
Roma SOS	2011	Prilep	
Youth Cultural Centre	2011	Bitola	285
Multiculture	2012	Tetovo	
Educational & Humanitarian Organization	2013	Stip	302
Izbor	2013	Strumica	
Centre for Devt & Promotion Public Life	2013	Tetovo	193
8th September	2014	Skopje	127

Table 8. Applications to authorized associations for free legal aid, February 2014 - August 2015

Table 8 also shows that MYLA, for example, submitted only 74 applications compared to the 472 that it received, while National Roma Centrum (NRC) submitted 25 compared to the 449 that it received. The difference between the number of clients approaching the associations and the number that the associations assists to apply under the LFLA reflects the fact that many of those who approach them do not meet the eligibility criteria, have a problem not covered by the Act, or have their problem resolved through a non-court procedure. This issue is discussed further below.

Decisions on submissions for free legal aid

Of the 254 decisions issued by the Ministry of Justice in 2014, 140 were rejected as against 114 approved. The procedure was halted in 7 cases in which the parties withdrew, and in another four cases because of changes in circumstances. In 2014, 25 applications were submitted by asylum seekers, of which 24 were halted. This left only one asylum seeker who was granted free legal aid.

Clients whose applications are refused can institute an administrative dispute. By September 2013, only 35 people – about a tenth of those who had been refused free legal aid – had initiated an administrative dispute against the decision. The low appeal rate is explained in large part by the costs involved in instituting an appeal. Of the 35 appeals, there were 27 verdicts, 13 of which overturned the refusal of free legal aid.

Between January 2014 and March 2015, 22 people initiated administrative disputes against the decision to reject their applications for free legal aid. Of the 22, 16 cases involved strategic litigation launched by the FOSM-supported associations using FOSM funding. The fact that only six individuals themselves launched lawsuits is again explained primarily by the administrative and attorney fees involved. Further, the average time for rulings in administrative disputes exceeds 18 months.

Once an application is approved, the Ministry of Justice assigns an attorney to the case. By the end of 2014, the Registry of Attorneys recorded only 262 attorneys-at-law authorized to provide free legal aid out of more than 2,000 attorneys practicing law in the Republic of Macedonia. The low number of attorneys registering to provide free legal aid is not surprising as attorneys are reimbursed at only 70%

of the usual tariff, or only 50% if the case involves children. In addition, they may only apply for reimbursement once a case is concluded, even if the court case drags on for several years.

Budgeting for free legal aid

Ministry of Justice allocations and expenditure

Table 9 shows the amounts allocated by the Ministry of Justice for Free Legal Aid over the period 2010 to 2014. In the first two years much larger amounts were allocated. However, since 2012 the allocation has been set at MKD 3 million.

Year	Nominal value (MKD)
2010	12.000.000
2011	6.000.000
2012	3.000.000
2013	3.000.000
2014	3.000.000

Table 9. Ministry of Justice allocations for Free Legal Aid

Hadzi-Zafirov & Kocevski (2012) compare the budget allocation with that of other countries and find it lower than that of all others except Albania.

Table 10 indicates expenditure of the Ministry of Justice on free legal aid for the period. The information is sourced from annual reports of the Ministry of Justice. The total expenditure increases steadily and quite sharply over the period. However, by 2015 the amount spent is not even a quarter of the total allocation. Further, the amount paid to the authorized associations never amounts to more than 5% of total expenditure. In 2014, 37 attorneys were reimbursed under the LFLA. This gives a mean amount of 20.219 MKD per attorney. This is almost as much as the total paid to authorized associations.

Year	Attorney fees	Authorized associations	Total
07.JUL.2010 - 24.MAR.2011			
25.MAR.2011 - 31.MAR.2012	30.750		30.750
01.APR.2012 - 31.MAR.2013	212.354	5.800	218.154
01.APR.2013 - 31.DEC.2013	395.609	18.000	414.409
01.JAN.2014 - 31.DEC.2014	748.101	22.600	770.701
01.JAN.2015 - 31.DEC.2015	701.310	39.600	740.910

Table 10. Government expenditure on free legal aid, 2010-2014 (MKD)

Reimbursement of attorneys and associations

Reimbursement of attorneys is not restricted to cases where there is a successful outcome. However, authorized associations are reimbursed only for approved cases which will involve court or administrative procedures.

In practice, organizations often provide preliminary legal aid even in cases where the client clearly does not meet the eligibility criteria. They also assist clients in finding other ways – not through the court – of addressing their problems, and assist clients to draft statements and depositions, complete forms, and draft submissions related to various administrative procedures, including social protection, pension, and disability and health insurance. Further, even where the organization may feel that the client meets the LFLA criteria, the request for reimbursement is often refused. At that point, the organization has already provided the service and there is no other way of recovering the costs.

The three free legal aid organizations which provided information on their operations recorded receiving only MKD 3.300, 4.400 and 6.600 respectively as government reimbursement over the past year. They reported that there is a flat payment of MKD 1.100 per approved case, regardless of actual expenses incurred. These three organizations were therefore reimbursed for three, four and six cases respectively. The amounts reimbursed make an insignificant contribution to covering costs, and the organizations thus rely primarily on FOSM funding to be able to provide the service. Across the three organizations, the Ministry of Finance reimbursement accounted for 0,02%, 1,63% and 3,46% respectively of their revenue for the FOSM project. Across the three organizations the average monthly salary for the required attorney with passed bar exam is 30.707 MKD. The reimbursed costs from the Ministry of Finance thus covered, at most, two months of the attorney salary.

Costs not covered by the LFLA

The LFLA also does not cover other costs incurred by citizens, by the organizations that assist them, and by the attorneys who provide legal aid. It does not provide for reimbursement of a range of procedure-related costs, including court fees, remuneration for forensic experts, costs related to securing of evidence and remuneration for translators and interpreters. There are also no exemptions for beneficiaries of free legal aid from paying these fees.

In contrast, other comparable laws in Macedonia cover procedure-related costs. For example, the Law on Litigation Procedure defines costs as expenses incurred as well as remuneration for attorneys and other persons. The Law on General and Administrative Procedure defines procedure-related costs as including travel costs of officers, expenses for witnesses, forensics, interpreters, insight, advertisements, attendance costs, waste of time, expenses for administrative fees, legal representation, and expert assistance.

The Law on Court Fees specifies the administrative fees to be paid in relation to court cases. The fee for instituting a lawsuit is 480 MKD while the fee for instituting an administrative-accounting dispute (involving a commercial contract with government) is 800 MKD. For appeals in the two types of cases, the fees are 800 MKD and 1.600 MKD respectively. The client must then pay a further 800 MKD or 1.600 MKD respectively for the judgment. If the client wants the case to be repeated, for example on the basis that new evidence is available or there was a problem in the process followed, the fee for this is 800 MKD. Adding the different fees together, an administrative-accounting dispute will cost 4.000 MKD and other types of lawsuit will cost 2.000 MKD. For repeating these cases, the costs would be 1.280 and 960 MKD respectively.

The evidence-related fees are incurred in respect of expert evidence related to a particular case. For example, there is a set fee of MKD 18.000 for psychiatric experts. The Law on Expertise specifies 20 different areas of expertise ranking from Material, financial and accounting operations, through Medicine, to a final area specified as “other expertise”. A by law specifies how the calculations of the award to cover expenses should be calculated for the different areas.

Requests for protection of freedoms and rights guaranteed by the Constitution are also classified as administrative disputes. For these cases, clients will also have to pay fees in the procedures which precede the administrative dispute, for example to obtain the various documents that are needed for administrative procedures. These costs range from 50 MKD to 500 MKD.

The amounts described above for administrative and evidence-related fees reveal that these other

costs are generally higher than the amount that authorized organizations receive as reimbursement for provision of preliminary free legal aid.

Costing services of the authorized associations

Three authorized associations provided information on their operations during 2014. As noted above, for all of these organizations, the Ministry of Justice reimbursements accounted for a tiny proportion of their funding. The remaining costs of operation were covered by FOSM. Although services provided by these organizations are provided for in a Macedonian law, without FOSM's support, the associations would not have been able to provide the services.

Only one of the organizations gave a full breakdown of the expenditure side of their budget. In this organization, the cost of the attorney with passed bar exam accounted for 84% of expenditure, with a further 8% allocated to office rent, 6% for transport to coordination meetings, and 1% to postage. This breakdown implicitly suggests that the association was covering management and some other overhead costs from other parts of its budget.

Given the relatively high cost of attorneys with passed bar exam, the associations did not necessarily employ or contract them on a full-time basis. The number of hours work paid for the attorneys was 84, 124 and 186 per month respectively. If we adjust all the salaries to cover a full 186 hours per month, the mean salary across the three organizations is 44 167 MKD per month, or 530 003 MKD per year.

If we divide the annual cost of the attorney for the actual hours worked by the number of services per year, the per-service costs are 1.371, 1.203 and 1.924 MKD respectively. If we adjust this cost upwards on the assumption that the attorney's salary accounts for 84% of costs, the per-service cost increases to 1.633, 1.432 and 2.291 MKD respectively. The mean cost across the three organizations is 1.785 MKD per service. The calculations are summarized in *Table 11*.

Reference	Item	Formula	A	B	C	Average
A	# of services		350	200	200	250
B	Monthly salary of attorney		40.000	20.047	32.074	30.707
C	# of hours per month		186	84	124	
D	Monthly salary for 186 hours	$B * 186 / C$	40.000	44.390	48.111	44.167
E	Annual salary for 186 hours	$D * 12$	480.000	532.677	577.332	530.003
F	Annual salary for actual hours worked	$B * 12$	480.000	240.564	384.888	
G	Average attorney cost per service	F / A	1.371	1.203	1.924	1.500
H	Attorney cost as % of full cost					
I	Average full cost per service	F / G	1.633	1.432	2.291	1.785

Table 11. Estimating the cost per service

If we multiply this cost per service by the 120.543 poor people's cases per year, the total cost is **215.169.255 MKD per year**.

The above calculations assume that organizations must have an attorney with passed bar exam. As argued above, this seems unnecessary if the organizations are authorized only for provision of preliminary legal aid. One of the CSOs that is not authorized for preliminary free legal aid employs two attorneys – one with passed bar exam and one without. The salary of the latter is 66,7% of the salary of

the former. If authorized organizations could employ attorneys without passed bar exam, the per-service cost would decrease to 1.286 MKD per service because the attorney cost per service would fall to 1.000 MKD. If the budget were to cover this cost for all poor people in Macedonia who needed legal advice and information in a year, the total required budget would be **154.998.523 MKD per year** (120.543*1.286 MKD).

Table 12 shows the detailed calculations.

Reference	Item	Formula	Estimate
A	Lawyer with passed bar exam cost per service		1.500
B	Total cost per service with lawyer with passed bar exam		1.786
C	Non-attorney cost per service	B - A	286
D	Attorney without exam salary as % of attorney with exam		66.7 %
E	Attorney without passed exam cost per service	A * D	1.000
F	Full cost per service if no passed exam	C + E	1.286
G	# of cases needing to be covered per year		120.543
H	Total cost for all poor people	F * G	154.998.523 ³

Table 12. Estimating the cost per service with lawyer without passed exam

However, as seen above, the Ministry of Justice allocates only 3.000.000 MKD per year for free legal aid. If we assume that half of this amount is used to reimburse authorized associations providing preliminary legal aid, then 1.500.000 MKD is available for this purpose. **The government allocation is only 0.07% of the amount needed if an attorney with passed bar exam is needed, and 0.10% of the amount needed if an attorney without passed bar exam is needed.**

As seen in Table 13, when asked about the type of assistance provided, two organizations noted that all (100%) of the cases involved provision of legal information and advice. These organizations allowed for each case to involve more than one type of assistance when completing the table. The other organization counted each case only once. It reported only 6% of the cases as involving legal information and advice, but had 91% recorded as preliminary legal aid, as against the 80% and 15% in this category for the other two organizations. Preliminary legal aid, in effect, almost always will involve provision of legal information and advice. Comparison of the statistics therefore suggests that the organizations used different approaches in categorizing the assistance provided. For the two organizations with a detailed breakdown, more than half of the cases involved drafting submissions to institutions. This indicates the extent to which clients with limited legal – or even ordinary – literacy need assistance with this task even if they do not need court-related legal assistance. It also indicates that these organizations provide assistance that need not necessarily result in a court-related procedure.

Type of assistance	A	B	C
Preliminary legal aid / assistance with application for legal aid	91 %	80 %	15 %
Legal information and advice	6 %	100 %	100 %
Assistance with applications for social and health protection		30 %	50 %
Drafting submissions to institutions		60 %	65 %
Referral to other organization, institution, service provider		15 %	10 %
Engagement of attorneys		6 %	

Table 12. Estimating the cost per service with lawyer without passed exam

³ Note that in this and further tables replication of the calculations using the numbers shown in the tables may not give exactly the same results as the table rounds the numbers and thus hides the decimals, the more exact numbers including decimals were used to produce the results shown rounded in the table.

The questionnaires completed by the CSOs in respect of 2015 confirmed that very few cases resulted in applications for preliminary free legal aid. Two of the organizations reported that between 94% and 97% did not involve an application for legal aid. One estimated that in 98% of these cases the reason was that the applicant was not eligible. The third organization estimated that non-eligibility was the reason in half of the cases, while for the other half the case could be better solved without a court case. This finding highlights that a reimbursement system that operates only in respect of cases that proceed to court is inappropriate.

Typical cases: Izbor

One of the organizations, Izbor (based in Strumica), provided more detailed information in respect of three typical cases. The estimate of time spent by the attorney on each case allows us to estimate the cost of the case. We do so using an hourly cost of 282.69 MKD obtained by calculating the hourly cost of an attorney ($237,46 = 44.167 \text{ MKD}/186 \text{ hours}$) and adjusting it upwards on the basis that the attorney cost is 84% of the full cost.

Case no. 1

Person XY was assisted to submit a complaint about police procedure to the Sector on Internal Control and Professional Standards with the necessary evidence secured, i.e. certificate issued by medical doctor and photographs of bodily injuries inflicted by police when performing their work and using excessive force to overcome resistance. Abuse of police procedure and torture on the part of authorized official was proved.

This case required two meetings, and one hour of the attorney's time. No application for preliminary legal aid was submitted. The estimated cost is 282,69 MKD.

Case no. 2

In compliance with provisions from the Law on Free Legal Aid, assistance was provided for free-of-charge court representation and procedure initiation by attorney assigned to the applicant concerning divorce and care for her four under-age children, led in front of the Basic Court in Strumica.

This case required two meetings with the client before legal aid was approved, and a further two meetings after it was approved. The attorney spent a total of four hours on the case. An amount of 1.100 was awarded as reimbursement. In addition to the attorney's time, a cost of 850 MKD was incurred in respect of court fees. The estimated cost is therefore 3080,75 MKD ($282.69*4 + 1100 + 850$).

Case no.3

Preparation and drafting of contract for temporary season work.

This case required one and a half hours of the attorney's time. No request for preliminary free legal aid was submitted. The estimated cost is therefore 424,03 MKD.

Across Izbor's three typical cases, the **average cost is 1.262,49 MKD**. This is similar to the average amounts estimated above on the basis of the organizations' budgets.

Typical cases: Youth Cultural Centre, Bitola

The Youth Cultural Centre (YCC) in Bitola provided information on the time spent on the three typical cases. We can again estimate the costs of each case.

Case no. 1

An applicant obtained child support for sustenance of underage child.

This case required one hour of the attorney's time, and 2-3 meetings with the client. The estimated cost is 282,69 MKD.

Case no. 2

An applicant was able to establish paternity.

This case required two meetings and one hour of the attorney's time. The estimated cost is 282,69 MKD.

Case no.3

An applicant who was not registered as a victim of domestic violence at the Social Work Center or the police, was not a beneficiary of social allowance, has no underage children, exercised the right to free legal aid in divorce procedure. (This example illustrates variable practices on the part of the Ministry of Justice in terms of approving applications for free legal aid.)

This case required one meeting, and half an hour of the attorney's time. The estimated cost is 141,34 MKD.

Across Youth Cultural Centre's three typical cases, the **average cost is 235,57 MKD.**

Costing free legal aid beyond the LFLA

Two organizations that provide free legal aid attempted to complete the second questionnaire. Both organizations receive funding from FOSM. In addition, one receives funding from the Global Fund, while the other receives a relatively small amount of funding from the municipality. The Global Fund amount accounts for 20% of the first organization's funding for free legal aid, while the municipality's contribution accounts for only 1% of the second organization's funding.

If we divide their legal aid budget for 2015 by the number of clients provided in the first questionnaires, we obtain per-client costs of 2.168 and 1.858 respectively, giving a mean of 2.013 MKD. This is higher than the amount calculated for authorized preliminary free legal aid above whether or not we use, for the latter, the salary of an attorney with passed bar exam or not. This may be due to the free legal aid organizations covering a broader range of types of cases and assistance. The cost is also biased upward by the fact that it is a per-client rather than per-service estimate. If we multiply the cost per client by the 120.543 cases of poor people needing attention each year, the total cost is 242.652.101 MKD (*table 14*).

Reference	Item	Formula	A	B	Average
A	Budget for legal aid		2.920.607	2.229.317	
B	Clients per year		1.347	1.200	
C	Cost per client	A / B	2.168	1.858	2.013
D	# of cases per year				120.543
E	Total cost per year	C * D			242.652.101 ⁴

Table 14. Estimating the cost per client

Table 15 gives the percentage of different types of assistance for the two organizations. The table suggests quite different profiles for the two. For organization X, more than 40% of cases involve criminal law, 16,8% related to administrative law, and 15,7% to civil law. For organization Y, the profile is more similar to that of the authorized organizations, with the majority of the cases involving social protection or health insurance. Similarly, when asked about type of assistance, organization Y reported that 83% of cases involved provision of information. It is organization X that has the higher per-client cost.

Categories of cases	X	Y
Family relations	7.9 %	
Human rights	5.9 %	
Criminal law	40.5 %	
Discrimination	2.1 %	
Administrative law	16.8 %	
Civil law	15.7 %	
Offences	10.2 %	
Probate law	0.4 %	
Social protection		52.4 %
Health insurance		34.6 %
Other		7.0 %
Personal identity documents		4.3 %
Health protection		1.6 %

Table 15. Categories of cases: Free legal aid organizations

Both of these free legal aid organizations use the services of attorneys with passed bar exam as well as attorneys without passed bar exam. One organization employs the legal staff, while the other contracts the services of attorneys.

One organization has salaries accounting for 66% of the budget. The rest of the budget consists of costs of agreements with partner organizations (to document cases of Roma facing obstacles in access to

⁴ Note that in this and further tables replication of the calculations using the numbers shown in the tables may not give exactly the same results as the table rounds the numbers and thus hides the decimals, the more exact numbers including decimals were used to produce the results shown rounded in the table.

rights and information) and law offices (to prepare legal opinions and advice and for court representation) (19% of the total); travel, conferences and seminars (7%); office supplies and maintenance (4%); communications, postage, printing and publishing (3%), and obtaining personal documentation (1%). The other organization has staff-related costs accounting for 57% of the budget, with further amounts for court fees (12%); postage (1%); and management (30%).

Typical cases: Roma SOS

Roma SOS provided three detailed case studies, including information on the time costs incurred. These detailed calculations, which relate only to salary costs, suggest that the mean costs calculated above for the legal aid organizations seriously understate the costs of many typical cases.

Case no 1

In October 2015, 3-year-old XX was admitted to the department of infectious diseases at the hospital in Prilep, with symptoms of vomiting and fever. After being examined, she was administered infusion therapy and was released to home care, with prescribed therapy. The next morning, her parents found her with no signs of life, and her death was confirmed by hospital doctors.

Ex officio, the Public Prosecution Office in Prilep initiated an investigation into the reasons behind her death and possible omissions in her medical treatment that might establish grounds for instituting criminal procedure. To date, i.e. six months after her death, the Public Prosecution Office in Prilep has not given any information about this case, and the family has not received information concerning autopsy results or the status of investigation activities. The only information which Roma SOS has managed to obtain is that documents have been gathered and have been submitted for forensic expertise by the judicial-medical board at the Faculty of Medicine – Skopje, in compliance with latest amendments to the Law on Criminal Procedure.

This case required a total of 120 hours of staff time, including attorney with passed bar exam (20 hours), attorney without passed bar exam (25 hours), legal field assistant (15 hours), coordinator (50 hours), and financial-administrative assistant. Roma SOS met with the client eight times. At the salaries specified in the questionnaire for a 168-hour month, this case would have cost 19.199 MKD.

Case no 2

In 2013, ROMA SOS identified and documented five persons who were not registered in the General Record of Births, three of whom were born in hospital and two at home. As a result, these people do not have access to health services and health protection. One of the persons born at home is 18 years old. In addition to legal and logistic support provided to persons to initiate procedure on enlistment in the General Record of Births, these cases were reported to the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy with an application for covering of DNA analysis costs, which are necessary to prove paternity and confirm their identity.

This case had required 100 hours of staff time – attorney with passed bar exam (30 hours), attorney without passed bar exam (30 hours), legal field assistant (10 hours), and coordinator (30 hours). There have been ten meetings with the client.

At the salaries specified in the questionnaire for a 168-hour month, this case would have cost 15.469 MKD.

Case no 3

A problem arises in cases of unregulated divorce procedures, where spouses are unable to individually exercise their right to health insurance from the Health Insurance Fund, due to lack of an enforceable

divorce judgement. This was the case for SV, who was unable to benefit from mandatory health protection for her and her two underage children because the divorce in respect of her marriage with a national from Germany had not been done in court. At the time she approached Roma SOS, SV was pregnant and needed legal assistance for initiation of divorce procedure and completion of documents required for submitting an application to the Health Insurance Fund for the purpose of exercising her right to health insurance before giving birth, which would allow her access to free-of-charge services related to in-patient treatment.

This case required a total of 150 staff hours – attorney with passed bar exam (50 hours), attorney without passed bar exam (30 hours), legal field assistant (40 hours), and coordinator (30 hours). There were five meetings with the client.

At the salaries specified in the questionnaire for a 168-hour month, this case would have cost 22.710 MKD.

The three typical cases described by Roma SOS thus have an **average cost of 19.126 MKD** per case. This is substantially higher than the average cost estimated on the basis of the organizations' budgets.

Table 16 shows the detailed calculations. For each case the number of hours for each employee is multiplied by the monthly salary divided by 168 hours per month.

Employees	Salary	Hours			Cost		
		Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3
Lawyer with passed bar exam	18.435	25	30	30	2.743	3.292	3.292
Lawyer without passed exam	27.646	20	30	50	3.291	4.937	8.228
Field assistant of lawyer	22.117	15	10	40	1.975	1.316	5.266
Coordinator	33.175	50	30	30	9.874	5.924	5.924
Financial-admin assistant	22.117	10			1.316		
				Total	19.199	15.469	22.710
Average					19.126		

Table 16. Estimating the costs of typical cases

Costing paralegal services

The LFLA does not cover the work of paralegals. OSF has, however, been providing support for paralegals. ESE provides training and support for community-based paralegal activities of three community-based organizations serving Roma communities that provide paralegal services in respect of health. The organizations are Centre for Democratic Development and Initiative (CDRIM) (operating in Shuto Orizari), IRIZ (in Shuto Orizari), and KHAM (in Delchevo, Pehcevo/Crnik and Vinica).

A manual developed by ESE on the basis of a Rwanda document provides “working principles” or guidelines in respect of the following:

- Receiving users
- Questioning / interviewing users
- Indication, referral and accompanying
- Provision of paralegal advice and preparation of written submissions
- Follow-up
- Documenting / case management.

The paralegal program design is an integrated model in which field visits to Roma families allow identification of Roma community members whose rights have been violated and who need assistance and support. Simultaneously, the visits provide information to the community of the services offered by the Roma partners. Fieldworkers themselves consult with the community members and, where necessary, refer them to the paralegal offices.

ESE provides initial and refresher training for the paralegals, as well as two one-day in-service training events per year. It also organizes workshops run by professionals that assist paralegals to deal with the stress and burnout they face in their work. ESE monitors the work of the organizations using data collected through a case management system, written monthly and quarterly reports, phone and email communication, and quarterly supervision visits.

The monitoring data provide information on the type of cases attended to and the success or otherwise in resolving problems. *Table 17* shows social protection accounting for nearly a third of all cases, followed by health protection at 18%. The fact that more than a third (36%) of cases are classified as “other” gives an indication of the wide range of different issues on which the paralegals provide assistance.

Issue	CDRIM	IRIZ	KHAM	Total	%
Health protection	2	3	19	24	18 %
Health insurance	1	1	3	5	4 %
Protection of patient rights	0	0	8	8	6 %
Social protection	5	21	17	43	32 %
Labor market	0	0	6	6	4 %
Education	0	0	0	0	0 %
Other	3	21	25	49	36 %
Total	11	46	78	135	100 %

Table 17. Paralegal cases March-May 2016 by issue

Table 18 shows the type of assistance provided. The total is larger than in the previous table because more than one tool of assistance is used in many cases. Education of the community emerges as the most common form of assistance, followed by legal information or advice and referral to a relevant institution. In many cases the paralegals also assist with written submissions. This is understandable given relatively low levels of education – and particularly legal knowledge – among Roma communities.

Assistance	CDRIM	IRIZ	KHAM	Total	%
Legal information/advice	8	45	63	116	23 %
Written submission	6	35	45	86	17 %
Referral to relevant institution	3	44	56	103	21 %
Representation at institution	0	2	5	7	1 %
Mediation	0	0	0	0	0 %
Organize collective action	0	0	0	0	0 %
Education of the community	0	0	183	183	37 %
Total	17	126	352	495	100 %

Table 18. Paralegal cases by type of assistance provided

Among the cases dealt with in this period, paralegals recorded concrete achievements in 82 cases, with a further 46 cases pending. The successes included nine people accessing social protection, seven accessing health insurance, four one-off financial aid, three health protection, and three refund of health costs incurred. Paralegals recorded all 135 clients served in this period as being satisfied with the service.

The partner organizations receive little, if any, funding from government for providing services. ESE assists the partner organizations in soliciting funds from the Units of Local Self-Government as well as in exploring other ways of securing sustainability.

Each of the three partner organizations employs a full-time coordinator and between two and four paralegals. One of the organizations also employs an assistant. The paralegals are employed on a 50%, 80% or full-time basis. The mean full-time equivalent annual pay for the coordinators is 235.460 MKD (USD 4.388)⁵, and for the paralegals 182.820 MKD. The 5 mean actual (rather than full-time equivalent) pay for the paralegals is 106.515 MKD.

Paralegals in the FOSM program are required to provide services to at least five clients per month. Calculations based on monitoring data for the period March to May 2016 puts the average number of clients that would be seen by a full-time paralegal at 11,9, 27,5 and 34,6 respectively for the three organizations. Across the three, this gives a mean of 24,7 clients per month. The monitoring form records clients on a daily basis and does not indicate whether the client represents a new case, or a follow-up meeting or action in respect of an existing case. If we assume that each case requires an average of two meetings, the mean reduces to 12,3 cases (or clients) per month. Multiplying by 12 months, and dividing into the full-time paralegal estimate of USD 3.407 per year gives a per-client cost of USD 23,0. If we add in the cost of a coordinator, and allow for three paralegals per coordinator, **the per-client cost increases to 1.765,58 MKD**. This is a conservative approach because it assumes that all paralegals work full-time, and that they work in groups of three. If paralegals work less than full-time and/or in smaller groups, the cost of coordination relative to paralegals would increase.

⁵ USD amounts have been translated into MKD using the rate of 1 USD = 53,66 MKD, the average rate for the 2015-16 FOSM grant period.

Table 19 shows the detailed calculations used in deriving this estimate.

Reference	Item	Formula	Average
A	Coordinator salary		235.460
B	Paralegal salary		182.820
C	Coordinator + 3 paralegals team	$A + B * 3$	783.919
D	Clients per paralegal per month		12,3
E	Clients per paralegal per year	$D * 12$	148
F	Paralegal cost per client	B / F	1.235
G	Clients per team per year	$E * 3$	444
H	Team cost per client	C / G	1.766

Table 19. Estimating the paralegal service cost per client

Paralegal services may not be necessary for all poor people if other forms of preliminary legal aid are readily available and are well advertised. Paralegal services are, however, necessary for more marginalized communities. FOSM currently funds the organizations to provide paralegal services to Roma communities. The Roma population in Macedonia is estimated at 53.000. A survey conducted among the Roma community in Kumanovo found that 57,2% of the population was adult (18 years and above). Applying this percentage to the total Roma population, we estimate the total adult Roma population at 30.317.

We then apply the legal needs survey estimates of 49% of the population having a problem in the last three years, with 1,4 problems on average per person, and arrive at an estimate of **20.797 cases per year**. Information provided by the four CSOs providing paralegal assistance funded by FOSM suggests that they provided assistance in respect of about 855 cases in 2015.

If we multiply 20.797 by the per-client cost, **the total amount needed per year for paralegal services is 36.719.495 MKD** (table 20 summarizes the detailed calculations that result in this estimate). We note that this services would not substitute for other forms of legal aid as the paralegals offer limited forms of support in respect of a limited range of issues.

Reference	Item	Formula	Estimate
A	Kumanovo survey total population		3.888
B	Kumanovo survey adults 18+		2.224
C	% of population adult	$B * 100 / A$	57,2 %
D	Roma population		53.000
E	Roma adult population	$D * C$	30.317
F	Problems per person in 3 years		1.4
G	% needing help in 3 years		49 %
H	# cases in 1 year	$E * F * G$	20.797
I	Cost per client		1.766
J	Total cost per year	$H * I$	36.719.495 ⁸

Table 20. Estimating the need for and cost of paralegal services for the Roma population

6 <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/roma-political-life-macedonia-pride-and-prejudice>, accessed 5 September 2016.

7 <https://www.errc.org/article/profile-of-one-community-a-personal-document-survey-among-the-romani-population-of-kumanovo-macedonia/1118>, accessed 5 September 2016

8 Note that in this and further tables replication of the calculations using the numbers shown in the tables may not give exactly the same results as the table rounds the numbers and thus hides the decimals, the more exact numbers including decimals were used to produce the results shown rounded in the table.

The above calculations exclude the costs of ESE’s support and quality control. *Table 21* shows ESE’s budget for the support it provides to the three organizations that provide paralegal services. The total budget is 3.344.038 MKD (USD 62.319).

Items	MKD
Salaries (3.5 persons)	3.182.145
Transport for trainings and supervision	35.255
Training lunch and refreshments	40.084
Accommodation and facility for training	27.796
Training materials	12.234
Communication (whole grant)	46.523
Total	3.344.038

Table 21. ESE budget for paralegal support

The budget above includes the salary and communication costs for all ESE’s OSF-funded activities. If we allocate only half of the salary and communications cost to paralegal support, the total reduces to 1.729.703 MKD.

Table 19 suggests that a paralegal team can deal with 444 clients per year. To calculate the amount for ESE support per case, we divide 1.729.703 MKD by 1.332 (3*444), the estimated number of clients that the three FOSM-supported paralegal organizations might cover in a year if paralegals worked full time. This puts ESE’s support costs at 1.299 MKD per case.

If we add together the per-case cost of the paralegal organizations of 1.766 MKD and the per-case cost of ESE’s support of 1.299 MKD, we get a total of **3.064 MKD per client**. If we multiply this by 20.797 cases per year, the total cost for paralegal services is **63.726.467 MKD per year** (table 22 shows the details of the above calculations).

Reference	Item	Formula	Estimate
A	Adjusted ESE budget for paralegal		1.729.703
B	Clients per year for 1 team		444
C	Clients per year for 3 teams	B * 3	1.332
D	ESE cost per client		1.299
E	Paralegal team cost per client	Table 20	1.766
F	Total cost per client	D + E	3.064
G	Total cases per year	Table 20	20.797
H	Total for all cases	F * G	63.726.467⁹

Table 22. Estimating the total cost of paralegal services

⁹ Note that in this and further tables replication of the calculations using the numbers shown in the tables may not give exactly the same results as the table rounds the numbers and thus hides the decimals,

Costs and benefits

“Providing legal aid is costly. So is not providing legal aid.”

Murray Gleeson (1938), former Chief Justice of High Court of Australia, cited in Kocovski & Danilovska (2013).

The Gleeson quote above does not explore who bears the costs of provision or non-provision of legal aid.

In this section we attempt to explore the costs and benefits accruing to different actors. First we explore the costs and benefits accruing to poor users of legal aid, government and providers within each of the three modalities explored above i.e. the free preliminary legal aid provided by authorized associations under the LFLA, free legal aid provided by other FOSM-supported organizations, and paralegal assistance. This exploration is provided in broad terms without any attempt to quantify the costs and benefits, and also without detailing what cost and benefit items would need to be calculated to arrive at a quantitative estimate.

The second sub-section lists, in more details, the different cost and benefit items that are relevant for each of the three modalities.

Broad costs and benefits by modality

Free legal aid under the LFLA

Discussion of costs and benefits of free legal aid as provided for under the LFLA is complicated by the fact that the LFLA, as discussed above, has a narrow scope of issues for which aid is provided, and also has a narrow definition of eligible beneficiaries. *Table 23* thus differentiates between poor people who are already covered by the LFLA and poor people who are not currently covered. Costs and benefits are also listed separately in respect of issues covered by the LFLA and issues that are not covered. Providers are differentiated between the authorized associations and the authorized lawyers.

	Poor people eligible under LFLA	Poor people not eligible under LFLA	Government	Authorized associations	Authorized lawyers
Issues covered by LFLA				Small subsidy for eligible clients	70% of tariff for eligible clients
Costs	Administrative & court fees	Legal advice, administrative & court fees OR Lack of access to justice (including monetary benefits)	Administrative costs of handling applications Small payments to associations & lawyers	Balance of costs for eligible clients Full cost for non-eligible clients	30% of tariff for eligible clients
Benefits	Free legal aid		Compliance with obligations	Improved understanding of issues facing poor people	
Issues not covered by LFLA					
Costs	Legal advice, administrative & court fees OR Lack of access to justice (including monetary benefits)	Legal advice, administrative & court fees OR Lack of access to justice (including monetary benefits)		Full cost for all clients	
Benefits			Compliance with obligations		

Table 23. Costs and benefits of free legal aid under the LFLA

Table 24 and 25 provide a broad listing of the costs and benefits of the other two modalities. For these modalities there are only three groups of actors, as with modality 2 the attorney services are provided by the NGOs, while for modality 3 the paralegals are largely providing the basic legal information and advice services that precede access to an attorney.

	Poor users	Government	Providers
Costs	Travel costs Administrative costs	Cost of providing rights (such as benefits) accessed by poor people	Costs of service delivery
Benefits	Access to legal information & advice Access to legal assistance	Savings on government personnel to deliver services	

Table 24. Costs and benefits of free legal aid provided by other FOSM-supported organizations

	Poor users	Government	Providers
Costs	Administrative costs	Cost of providing rights (such as benefits) accessed by poor people	Costs of service delivery
Benefits	Improved knowledge of rights. Access to simple legal assistance	Savings on community education costs	Paralegal jobs

Table 25. Costs and benefits of paralegal services

Detailed framework for costs and benefits across all free legal aid modalities

This section presents a framework for developing more quantified measures of the costs and benefits of all three modalities. This framework is intended for use in further research that will attempt to gather the data and do the necessary calculations for quantification of the average per-client costs and benefits for each modality. The further research will utilize both findings from the research described in this report, and additional data gathered through questionnaires, logging of cases, and other sources.

The framework focuses on provision of legal aid for poor people, and covers only those costs and benefits that relate to representation in the court of first instance, and all the administrative procedures and mechanisms that precede a case being dealt with in an administrative court. The framework differs from the broad description of costs and benefits provided in the previous sub-section in excluding the costs incurred by government in providing benefits to which clients gain access after receiving free legal aid, as well as excluding the savings to government of not having itself to fund provision of legal aid services.

The tables indicate with an “X” which category of actor is likely to incur each of the listed costs and benefits.

	Poor users	Government	NGOs	Attorneys
Costs				
I. Direct costs				
Salaries for the staff		X	X	X
Operational costs			X	
Travel costs for getting the legal advice / information	X			
Court fees for submission and initiation of the court procedure	X			
Costs for getting the court verdict	X			
Costs for experts opinion	X			
Administrative fees	X			
II. Indirect costs				
Travel costs for court hearings (attorney and users)	X			X
Travel costs to other institutions	X			
Opportunity costs – monetary (users)	X			
Opportunity costs – time (users)	X			
Child care costs (users)	X			
Benefits				
Access to preliminary legal advice	X			
Access to court representation	X			
Access to information about rights	X			
Enjoyment of rights	X			
Access to quality services	X			
Compliance with obligations		X		

Table 26. Framework for costs and benefits of free legal aid provided in terms of the LFLA

	Poor users	Government	NGOs
Costs			
I. Direct costs			
Salaries for the staff			X
Operational costs			X
Travel costs for getting the legal advice / information	X		
Court fees for submission and initiation of the court procedure	X		X
Costs for getting the court verdict	X		
Costs for experts opinion	X		X
Administrative fees	X		
II. Indirect costs			
Travel costs for court hearings (attorney and users)	X		X
Travel costs to other institutions	X		
Opportunity costs – monetary (users)	X		
Opportunity costs – time (users)	X		
Child care costs (users)	X		
Benefits			
Access to preliminary legal advice	X		
Access to court representation	X		
Access to information about rights	X		
Enjoyment of rights	X		
Access to quality services	X		
Compliance with rights			

Table 27. Framework for costs and benefits of free legal aid provided outside of the provisions of the LFLA

	Poor users	Government	NGOs
Costs			
I. Direct costs			
Salaries for the staff			X
Operational costs			X
Travel costs for getting the legal advice / information	X		
Court fees for submission and initiation of the court procedure	-	-	-
Costs for getting the court verdict	-	-	-
Costs for experts opinion	-	-	-
Administrative fees	X		
II. Indirect costs			
Travel costs for court hearings (attorney and users)	-	-	-
Travel costs to other institutions	X		
Opportunity costs – monetary (users)	X		
Opportunity costs – time (users)	X		
Child care costs (users)	X		
Benefits			
Access to preliminary legal advice	X		
Access to court representation			
Access to information about rights	X		
Enjoyment of rights	X		
Access to quality services	X		
Compliance with rights			

Table 28. Framework for costs and benefits of free legal aid provided by paralegals

Note: The above listed costs and benefits are referring only to the first instance court representation and exhausting of all administrative procedure mechanisms till the administrative court level.

Challenges

This section briefly discusses the challenges involved in undertaking this type of research.

Obtaining agreement from other organizations to assist in providing data

To obtain reliable estimates of costs and benefits, we wanted to have information from more than one organization for each modality. This was necessary because, even within a single modality, there are important differences. For example, one organization might focus on particular categories of clients or particular types of problems. Averaging across several organizations should give a more generalized picture of free legal aid.

Fortunately, the shared framework on legal empowerment of the Open Society Foundation provided an easily accessible network of NGOs providing different modalities of free legal aid. All the organizations that provided information for this research are participating in the shared framework.

Finding a standardized way of collecting data across different modalities of free legal aid

There are substantial differences between the three modalities of free legal aid, some of which imply different categories of costs. This presented a challenge in designing a questionnaire that would be relevant and meaningful – and work well – for all the organizations. In the second-round questionnaires, separate instruments were developed for organizations providing paralegal services because of the extent of difference between these services and the other two modalities.

Determining categories to use in collecting and analyzing data

Although organizations may provide similar services, each has developed its own system for recording information and case management. This poses problems in coming up with a standard set of categories – for example, for types of cases – for which organizations can provide data in respect of past services delivered. A similar problem arises when asking for information on organizations' budgets and expenditure, as the line items used often differ across organizations. The challenges in this respect were smaller for the paralegal organizations than for the other two modalities because ESE, which supports the paralegal organizations, has developed some standardized information systems for them.

Distinguishing budgets and expenditure specific to provision of free legal aid

All the organizations that provide free legal aid in Macedonia also provide other services. To calculate the costs of free legal aid, the costs specific to these services must be distinguished. In some cases a particular cost may relate partly to free legal aid, but partly to other services. For example, this would be the case in respect of overheads such as rental, management, and support services. For the purpose of this research, we used the budgets covered by FOSM under the shared legal aid framework as well as the minimal payments provided by government in respect of authorized preliminary free legal aid.

Distinguishing between clients and issues

In many cases, an individual may approach an organization with more than one legal problem, or may have a single problem that incorporates more than one issue. The information available from organizations and other sources sometimes counts individual clients, and in other cases counts issues. This difference is important when calculating the average cost per client or issue. A further complication arises from the fact that an organization may have multiple meetings with a single client about one or more issues. The calculations must thus also take into account whether the organization is counting clients or meetings.

Determining assumptions to be made or imputations to be done when there is missing data from different sources

There were some data items for which organizations could not provide information, or for which some organizations provided information but others did not, or did so in a different form. Where some organizations provided information, we often had to assume that the situation in other organizations was similar. When there was no information from organizations, we had to find information elsewhere

from which we could impute. The assumptions are explained in the report so that the reader can assess how these might bias findings.

Determining how to assign a monetary value to non-monetized costs and benefits

Most costs – but not all – have a monetary value attached to them. Many benefits do not have an explicit monetary value attached to them. This research focused on the items that are easily monetized. Further follow-up research will be necessary to be able to impute monetary values to benefits as well as to costs such as opportunity costs and emotional costs.

In addition to challenges, there are some limitations to the research. These include:

- No information is publicly available on the free legal aid provided by regional branches of the Ministry of Justice. This research thus focuses on free legal aid provided by organizations.
- Very limited information is publicly available on the free legal aid services provided by attorneys.
- The survey on legal needs had poor coverage of poorer members of the population, who are the main intended beneficiaries of free legal aid. A further survey is currently being implemented that attempts to target poorer sections of the population. One challenge in doing so is that some poorer people may not perceive that they have a legal need because of lack of knowledge of their legal rights.
- The inadequate provisions and implementation of the LFLA in Macedonia inevitably limits the extent and nature of free legal aid provided in the first modality. The costs and benefits of legislated free legal aid would be substantially increased if the law was more comprehensive and better implemented.
- The budget information that is publicly available on allocations and expenditure for implementation of the LFLA is inadequate, and gives only overall summary numbers.

Conclusion

The 2013 national survey of Macedonians' experience of legal ("justiciable") problems found that almost half of respondents had experienced at least one legal problem over the past three years. Poorer people were less likely than the better-off to report that they had had a justiciable problem. This probably reflects their relative lack of awareness of their rights.

Two-thirds of respondents who reported problems said that they had taken steps to resolve them. One third of these sought legal advice, and the majority of those who sought advice had to pay for the advice. In addition, one-fifth of those who had a problem did not do anything because they did not have the money to do so. Resolution of problems was less likely in cases involving government or an employer, suggesting that assistance is most important when there is a clear relationship of uneven power between the person and the other party.

All these findings point to the importance of free legal aid for those who are poor or vulnerable. The number of people who fulfil the criteria of the LFLA are likely to experience more than 120.000 justiciable cases each year. The number of people who receive free legal aid under the law is only a tiny fraction of this. Fortunately, there are some other sources of free legal aid available in some parts of Macedonia, although much less than the estimated need.

Information provided by three organizations that are authorized to provide free legal aid in terms of the LFLA yields an average cost per case of **1.785 MKD**. If we multiply this cost per service by the estimated 120.453 poor people's cases per year, the total cost is **215.192.041 MKD per year**. The Ministry of Justice's allocation of 3.000.000 MKD per year for free legal aid amounts to less than 0.1% of this cost.

Information from two organizations that provide free legal aid but are not authorized associations under the LFLA suggests a mean cost per client of **2.013 MKD**, or **242.652.101 MKD** if all those experiencing justiciable issues are assisted.

The LFLA does not cover the work of paralegals. The per-client cost of currently operating paralegal services in Macedonia, including training and support services for the paralegals, is **3.064 MKD**. For the Roma population alone, the estimated total cost per year is **63.726.467 MKD**. Some of these clients will also need other forms of legal aid as paralegals offer limited forms of support in respect of a limited range of issues.

The above estimates do not include:

- The costs of legal assistance for court procedures, which will have a higher per-client cost than for preliminary free legal aid;
- The administrative, expert evidence and other costs incurred by clients and organizations in court and administrative procedures.

Nevertheless, the research highlights the extensive need for free legal aid, and provides estimates of what different modalities of provision of basic services would cost. Further research will elaborate by exploring the other costs and benefits associated with the different modalities.

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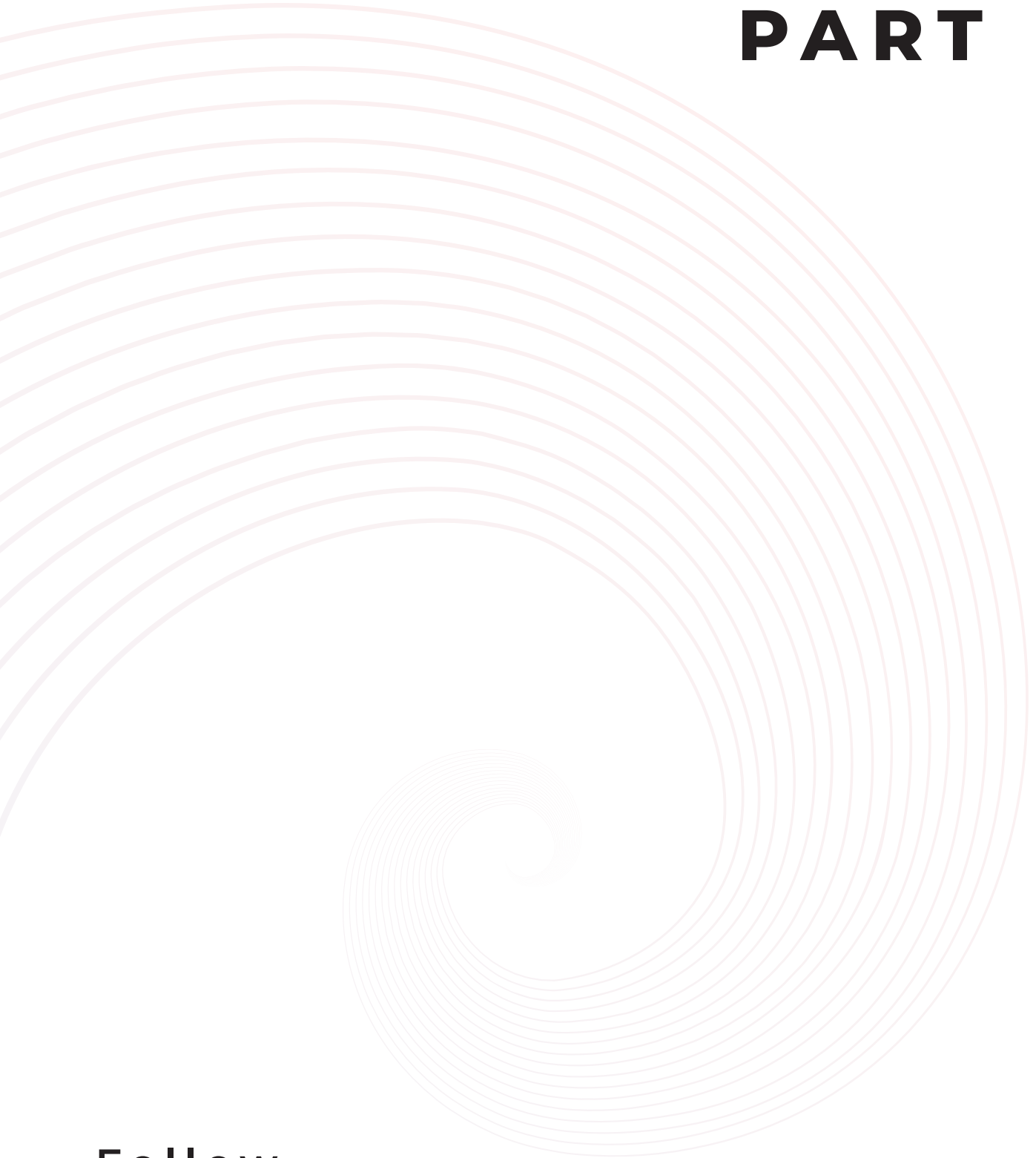
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PART II

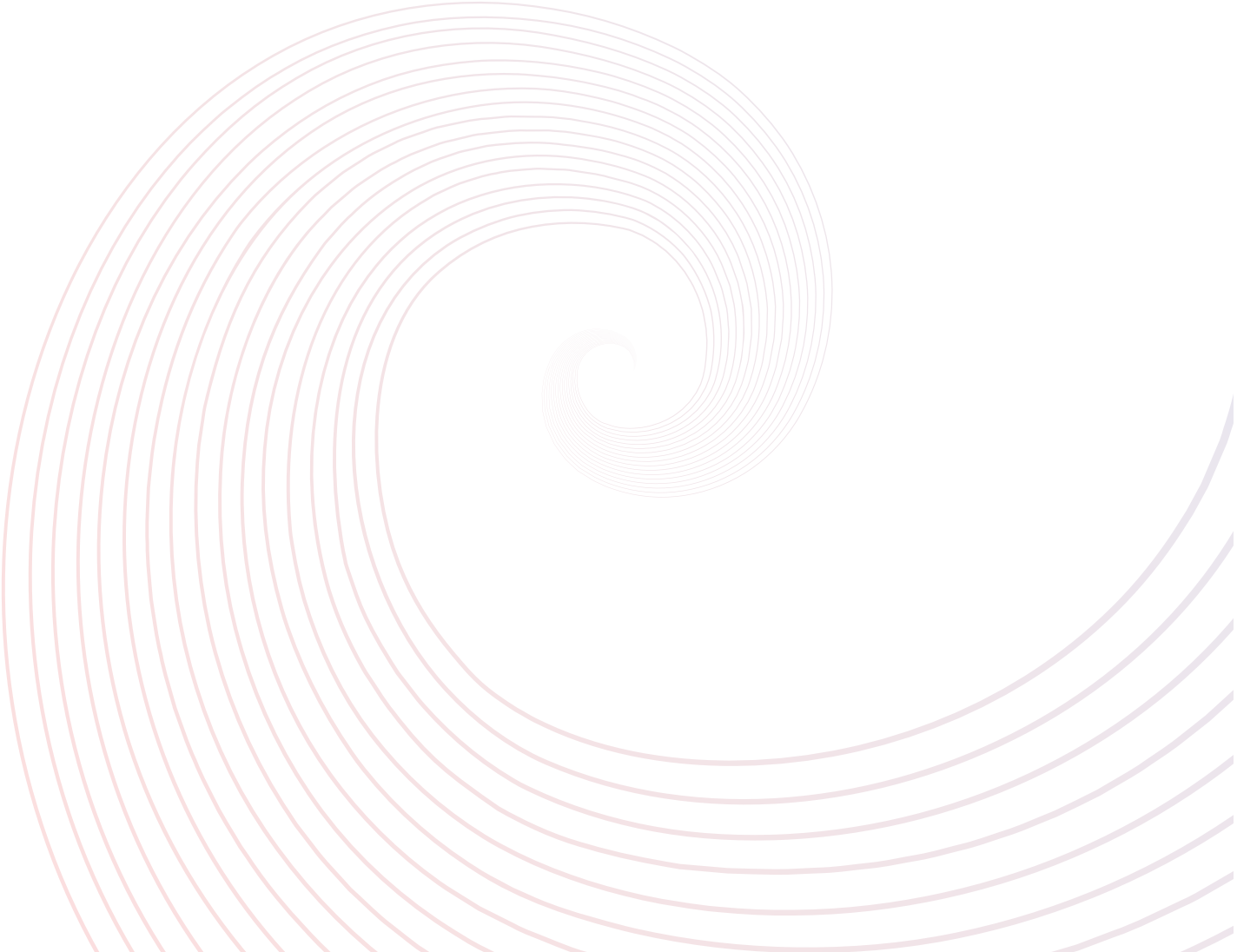
**Follow
up
analysis**



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Executive summary

In 2016, ESE partnered with other organizations providing primary legal aid to poor clients to calculate the cost to the organizations of providing these services. The analysis was done in respect of three modalities – preliminary free legal aid provided by organizations authorized under the Law on Free Legal Aid (LFLA); free legal aid provided by non-LFLA authorized organisations, and community-based paralegal services.

In 2017, ESE again partnered with other organizations in follow-up research that explored the other types of costs and benefits associated with the three modalities. Information on costs to clients was collected through case logs maintained by the organizations in respect of their clients over a six-month period. The pre-specified categories of costs were client travel costs (both to and from wherever they went), client lost work (income foregone) costs, client childcare costs, attorney travel costs (again in both directions), court initiation fees, court verdict fees, expert evidence cost, and administration and related fees. Information on benefits to clients was collected through structured questionnaires completed in respect of a sample for whom case logs were completed. Information on costs to government in respect of authorized organizations and attorneys was found in government's 2016 annual report on implementation of the LFLA.

The LFLA modality is the only one in which there are attorney costs. The size of this cost was found to be substantially higher than any other costs. The LFLA modality is also the only one with other government costs, but these are minimal. In terms of costs incurred by the (poor) clients, paralegal services are the most expensive, with a total cost of MKD 1.427 per client. However, this amount is biased upwards by a small number of clients with very high travel costs and one who incurred high court initiation fees. ESE hopes to continue with the research to establish whether such cases are exceptional. For NGO costs, the paralegal cost per client, at MKD 3.065, is again higher than for the other two modalities, but the cost for LFLA is only slightly lower (MKD 1.785) than for Free Legal Aid (MKD 2.103). However, Free Legal Aid organizations provide a fuller service, and a far higher level of benefits than the LFLA organizations.

The cost to the client is 14% of the cost to the NGO for LFLA-authorized organisations, 36% of the NGO cost for the other Free Legal Aid organizations, and 47% for paralegal services. Again, these findings are biased upwards by a few paralegal clients who incurred very high travel costs, and a single client whom incurred very high court initiation fees.

For benefits, Free Legal Aid organizations operating outside of the LFLA are scored 97%, paralegal services 93%, and LFLA services much lower, at 69%.

Elaboration of cost-benefit study

In the follow-up research we again explored the costs in respect of three different modalities – free legal aid under the LFLA; free legal aid outside of the LFLA; and paralegals.

The data for estimating the costs came from several sources:

- 1 The previous research, which provided estimates for NGO salary and operational costs. We do not adjust for inflation when adding these to the more recent cost estimates as the rate of inflation in Macedonia tends to be minimal. The rate of inflation for 2015 to 2016 was -0,2% while the rate from 2016 to 2017 was 1,3%. When these two are applied to the estimates, they more or less cancel each other out.
- 2 Government information in the 2016 annual report on the LFLA for the private attorney cost.
- 3 Case logs kept by all three categories of NGO on the costs incurred by clients and the organisation. These are discussed further below.
- 4 The administrative, expert evidence and other costs incurred by clients and organizations in court and administrative procedures.

Private attorney costs

Government's expenditure for remuneration of attorneys in the most recent year was MKD 813.253. In the same year, attorneys dealt with 65 cases. The average (mean) cost per case is therefore MKD 12.512. This is be the cost to government. We then calculated the attorney cost that is not covered by government as 30/70 of the average per-case cost to government. This yields an amount of MKD 5.362,11 for attorney cost not covered by government. Adding the two costs, we get MKD 17.873,69 as the total cost per case of attorneys.

Case logs

NGOs providing legal services were asked to start in April 2017 completing case logs for the first 25 clients who ask for their services. The case logs were to be filled in each time the client visited or any action was taken on the case. The information for the case log was obtained by asking questions of the client on the different types of costs they incurred, and also noting costs incurred by the NGO. Logging of each case continued until the case was finalised. If the case was not finalised by end September 2017, the incomplete log for that case was submitted. Of the total of 166 cases for which information was provided, 136 were incomplete (and ongoing) as at end September 2017.

NGOs were asked to provide ESE with a list of all cases that had been finalised or, after six months, had not yet been finalised. The list included contact details of the clients. It also, for NGOs authorised to provide free preliminary legal aid, asked whether the client's application for free legal aid was approved. ESE then contacted a sample of the clients and asked them to complete a client satisfaction questionnaire telephonically.

Seven organizations provided data for the research – one that provides free legal aid outside of the LFLA, three that provide legal aid in terms of the LFLA, and three organizations that employ paralegals. In the case of Helsinki, the organization did not make applications for free legal aid for any of the clients for whom they provided information as none of them would fulfilled the criteria. In the case of MKC, the organization submitted applications in respect of five of the 16 clients. Three were approved. However, for one the time period had already elapsed, for the second the court procedure had not yet been initiated by end September, and for the third the approval was received only in early November. For IZBOR, applications were made in respect of five clients, all of whom were granted free legal aid.

One of the three was, by early November, in the middle of court proceedings, two involved in administrative procedures, and two were negotiating around out-of-court settlements. We continue to treat all the clients of these three organizations as LFLA on the basis that the criteria are currently too restrictive.

Table 29 shows the distribution of the total 166 clients for whom cost information was provided across the different organizations and service types. The number of clients of paralegal services is substantially larger than for the other two service types. In particular, the numbers for the three organizations authorized to provide free legal aid under the LFLA are less than the 25 requested. Thus IZBOR provided information for seven clients, but in reality assisted 22 clients over the period 1 April to 30 September 2017, MKC provided information for 16 of the 42 clients whom they assisted, and Helsinki Committee provided information for the 11 out of the 50 clients assisted. One reason for the shortfall from the organizations is that some clients did not agree to participate in the research.

In the case of paralegal organizations, IRIZ provided information on 75 clients because they employed three paralegals and each provided 25. KHAM provided information on the 25 specified. The small number for CDRIM reflects a reality of a small number of clients.

Organization	Free Legal Aid	LFLA	Paralegal	Total
HOPS	25	0	0	25
Helsinki	0	11	0	11
IZBOR	0	7	0	7
MKC	0	16	0	16
IRIZ	0	0	75	75
KHAM	0	0	25	25
CDRIM	0	0	7	7
Total	25	34	107	166

Table 29. Number of cases by organisation and service type

For the purposes of analysis we treat all the clients for a particular service type together rather than disaggregating by organization. We do this for two reasons. Firstly, the organizations providing information do not match exactly with those providing information in the earlier phase of the research, and we would thus not be able to add both sets of costs for each organization separately. Secondly, the sample for some of the organizations would be too small on their own.

Costs were provided in eight pre-specified categories and a ninth “other” category for any other costs. The pre-specified categories were client travel costs (both to and from wherever they went), client lost work (income foregone) costs, client childcare costs, attorney travel costs (again in both directions), court initiation fees, court verdict fees, expert evidence cost, and administration and related fees.

Table 30 shows the number of clients incurring each of the different costs by service type. Client travel costs are the most common, and were incurred by 107 of the 166 clients. Only one of the Free Legal Aid clients did not incur these costs. Travel costs were less common for LFLA and paralegal clients. For the latter, this could be because the paralegal services are provided in the community. More generally, poor clients may be forced to walk because they simply do not have money to pay for other forms of travel.

Type	Free Legal Aid	LFLA	Paralegal	Total
Client travel	24	19	64	107
Client lost work	0	3	3	6
Client childcare	0	0	1	1
Attorney travel	0	1	0	1
Court initiation	2	0	2	4
Court verdict	0	0	7	7
Expert evidence	0	0	1	1
Admin fees	7	1	15	23
Other	5	2	3	10
Total number of cases	25	34	107	166

Table 30. Number of clients incurring different costs by service type

Client childcare costs, attorney travel costs and expert evidence costs were reported for only one client each – the first and third were reported for paralegal clients and the second for a LFLA client. Court initiation fees were incurred for only four clients – two free legal aid and two paralegal clients.

Figure 1 shows the mean costs per client by type of cost and type of service. The mean is calculated across all clients in a service type, whether or not that cost was incurred. This results in a reduction in the mean where there are many clients who did not incur a particular type of cost. The figure confirms that, as also seen in Table 30, only three types of cost occurred across all three service types.

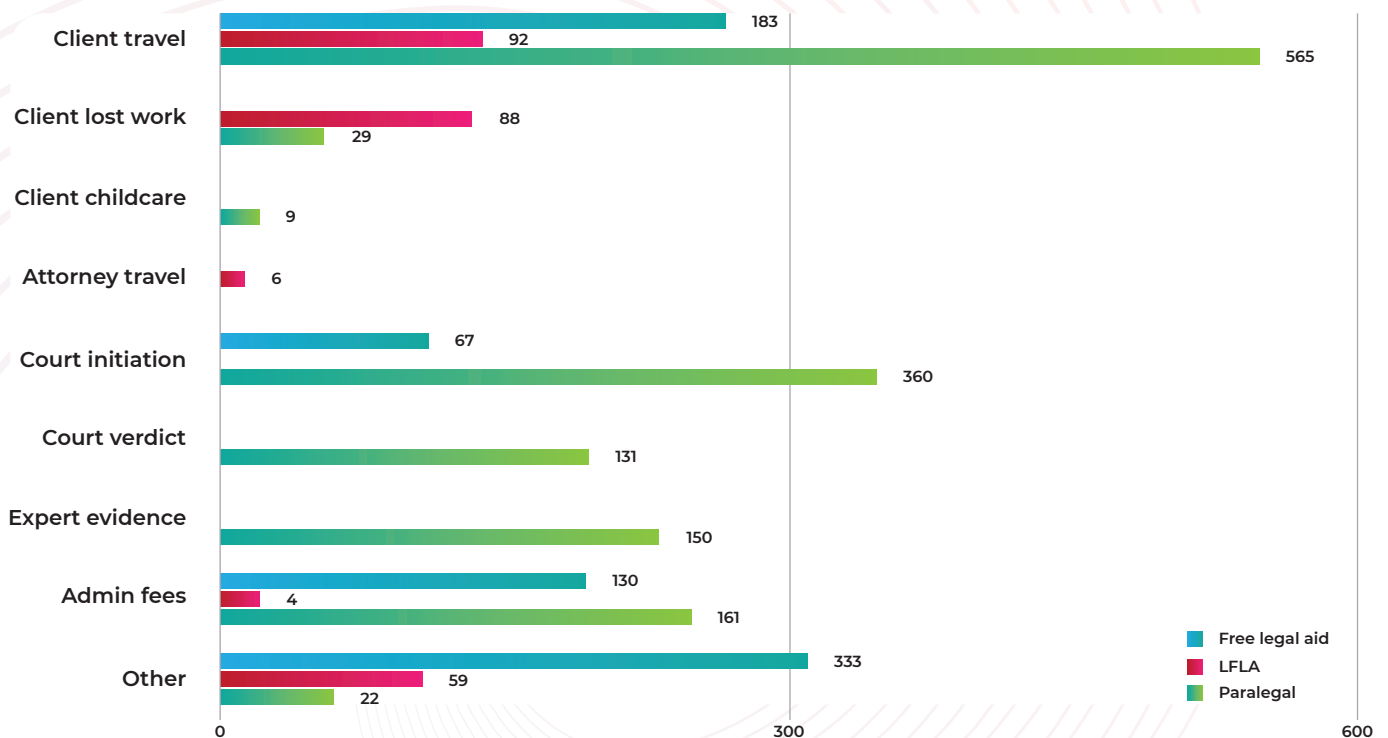


Figure 1. Mean costs per client by type of cost and type of service (MKD)

All the above costs except attorney travel costs are incurred by the clients. As can be seen, the attorney travel costs captured by the case logs were minimal and it is likely that these were under-recorded. The fact that the only attorney travel costs were reported by an organization operating under the LFLA system, and thus obliged to employ an attorney who has passed the bar examination, suggests that these costs may have been incurred by the organization.

Despite a relatively large number of paralegal clients not incurring any travel costs, the mean travel costs per paralegal client are much higher than the travel costs for the other service types. This is

because a few clients incurred exceptionally high travel costs. One, for example, had costs of MKD 10.150. This is explained by the inclusion of travel costs for the client and someone who accompanied them for three trips to Skopje. Another client, from IRIZ, had travel costs of MKD 8.700, which included MKD 7.400 for a return trip to Germany, plus further costs from the airport and to health insurance.

Mean court initiation fees were also much higher for the paralegal clients than for the free legal aid clients. This is the result of one of the clients incurring court initiation fees of MKD 38.000. In terms of “other” costs, however, the free legal aid clients had the highest mean.

For both paralegal and LFLA clients, client travel costs were higher on average than for any other category of costs. For the free legal aid costs, “other” costs was the most expensive category.

Table 31 shows the results after the total cost per client is calculated by adding all the different types of cost for each client. The table shows the total across the 166 clients, and the mean and median cost per client for each of the service types. The table shows a substantial difference in the mean and median, particularly for the paralegal clients. The fact that the mean is so much bigger than the median indicates that the mean is skewed upwards by one or two high outliers. The median – the “middle” value – may therefore be a better value to use. However, this would ignore the fact that in some cases there are, in fact, very high costs for particular items. We use the mean because the research shows that there are such exceptional cases, and the detail above shows that the high costs reported have reasonable explanation.

Type	No. of clients	Total MKD	Mean cost	Median cost
Free Legal Aid	25	17.820	713	300
LFLA	34	8.475	249	100
Paralegal	107	152.597	1.426	140
Total	166	178.892	1.078	140

Table 31. Total costs by service type (MKD)

The total costs included the attorney travel costs. As noted above, all other costs are incurred by the clients. If we exclude attorney travel costs so as to calculate the total costs incurred by the clients, the total falls slightly to MKD 8.275 for LFLA clients, and the mean falls to 243. For the sample as a whole, the total is MKD 178.692 and the mean cost to clients MKD 1.076.

Client satisfaction questionnaire

The initial version of the satisfaction questionnaire was made up as follows:

- Eight questions relating to the time spent on seeking assistance;
- Ten questions which asked the client to rate different aspects of the quality of the service provided by the NGO;
- Seven questions relating to emotional stress experienced;
- *Only for clients whose applications for free legal aid were approved:* Ten questions which asked the client to rate different aspects of the quality of the service provided by the authorised attorney. However, because there were no clients approved, these questions were never relevant.

The questions used were adapted from “A Handbook of Measuring the Cost and Quality of Paths to Justice”.¹⁰

After piloting the initial version of the questionnaire with five clients, modifications were made, as follows:

¹⁰ Tilburg Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies of Civil Law and Conflict Resolution Systems (ed). 2009. Maklu: Apeldoorn, Antwerpen, Portland.

After piloting the initial version of the questionnaire with five clients, modifications were made, as follows:

- The number of questions on time spent was reduced to four questions – three specified and one “other” – as clients could not easily distinguish the time spent on the other activities asked about.
- The questions in the third set were changed from a format which asked clients to rate the extent to which they experienced something on a scale from 1 to five, to a simple Yes / No response for each one.

Table 32 shows the profile of the sample of 52 for whom questionnaires were completed, by both individual organization and service type. For the analysis above in terms of costs per client, where a client brought more than one case to the organization, each case was recorded as a separate client. For the analysis of client satisfaction, each client is counted only once, regardless of the number of cases taken to the organization. The numbers completing the client satisfaction questionnaire are again two small for analysis by organization, but we do present analysis by service type.

Organization	Number	%	Category	%
HOPS	8	15 %	Free legal aid	15 %
Helsinki Committee	6	12 %	LFLA	29 %
IZBOR Strumica	4	8 %		
MKC Bitola	5	10 %		
CDRIM	2	4 %	Paralegal	56 %
IRIZ	22	42 %		
KHAM	5	10 %		
Total	52	100 %		100 %

Table 32. Client satisfaction sample by organization and service type

Table 33 shows the time that clients reported having spent on the case. Of the 52, more than half (28) had spent two weeks or less on the case. This was the case for nearly two-thirds of the paralegal clients, about half of the LFLA clients, but only a quarter of the Free Legal Aid clients. At the other end of the scale, three Free Legal Aid clients, four LFLA clients and one paralegal clients had spent more than six months on the case.

	Free Legal Aid	LFLA	Paralegal	Total
<= 2 weeks	2	7	19	28
<= 1 month	1	0	1	2
<= 2 months	2	2	5	9
<= 6 months	0	2	3	5
> 6 months	3	4	1	8
Total	8	15	29	52

Table 33. Time spent by client on case

For quality of service, respondents were asked to give each of nine aspects a rating between 1 and 5, using the following scale:

- 1 very small extent or not at all;
- 2 small extent
- 3 moderate extent
- 4 large extent
- 5 large extent

Figure 2 shows the mean rating across the 52 clients for each of the aspects. The mean is 4,8 or 4,9 for all aspects except satisfaction with the outcome, where it is 4,1. This is the aspect over which the organizations are likely to have least control.

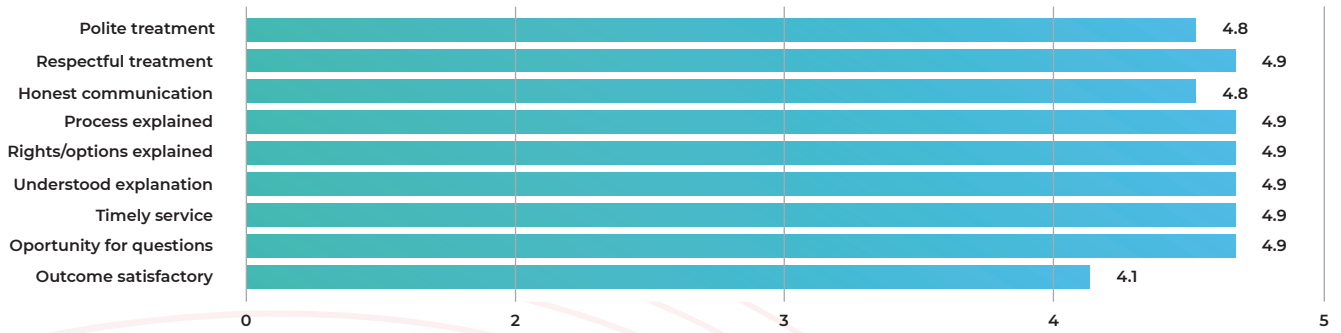


Figure 2. Mean rating of aspects of the quality of the service

Figure 3 shows the mean ratings of the different aspects by service type. The paralegal clients give a rating of five for all aspects except the outcome, where the rating is only 3,1. For LFLA, the ratings all average 4,9. For Free Legal Aid the ratings range between 4,1 for honest communication and 4,9 for understandable explanations.

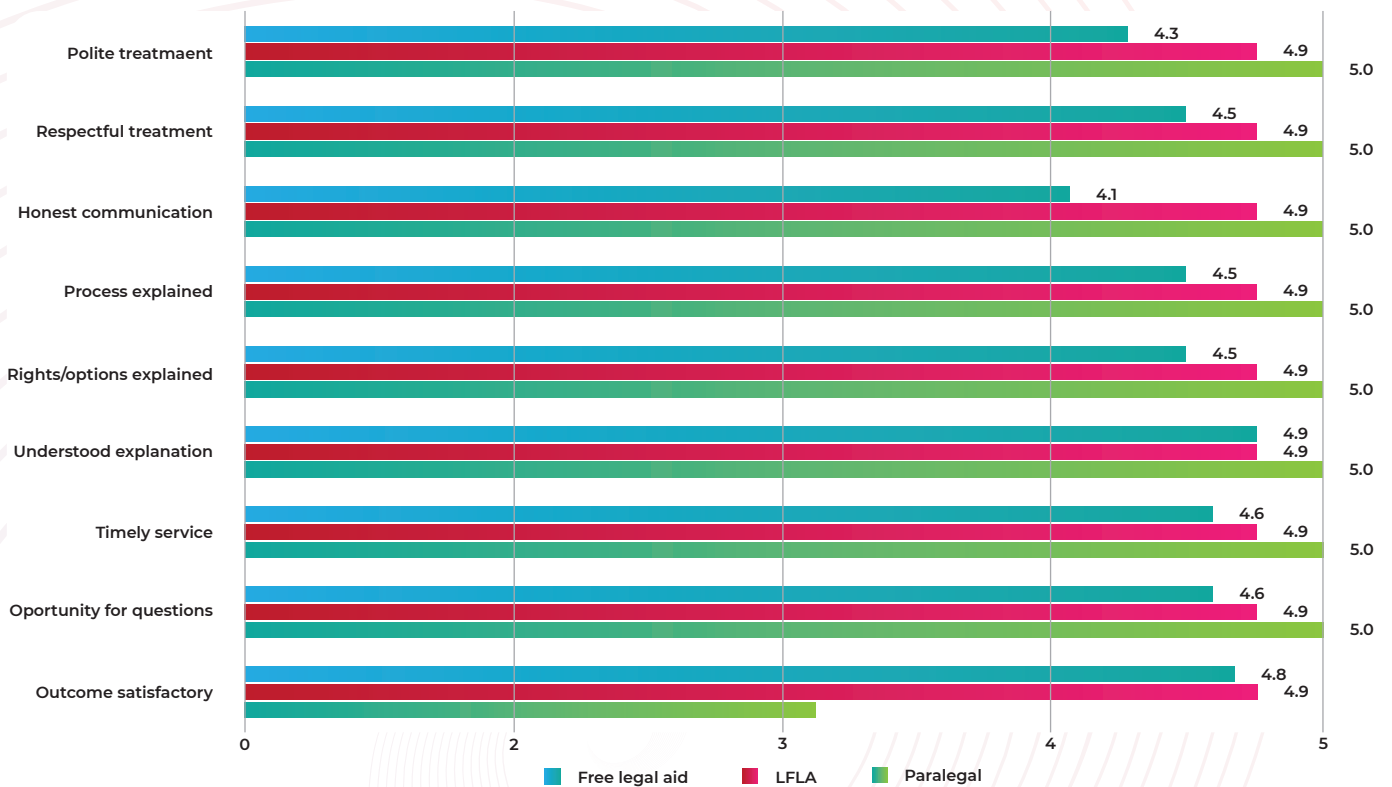


Figure 3. Mean rating of aspects of the quality of the service by service type

If we calculate the mean for the ratings for the first eight aspects, the mean for LFLA is 4,9, for Free Legal Aid 4,5, and for paralegal services 5. We use these values as a measure of the benefit of quality services in the final tables. We use the mean for the ninth outcome, satisfaction with the outcome, as the measure of enjoyment of rights. For the purposes of calculating overall benefits in the final tables, we convert the measures to percentages.

Figure 4 shows the number of clients reporting that they experienced each of a number of pre-specified forms of emotional stress. Disappointment was reported most often – by 41 of the 52 clients – and humiliation least often. Again this pattern suggests that the highest levels of emotional stress were experienced in respect of an aspect over which the organizations would have limited control, with the lowest level reported in respect of an aspect over which the organizations are likely to

have more control. Nevertheless, it is concerning that more than half of all clients reported each of the types of emotional stress, and 37 of the 52 reported feelings of hopelessness.

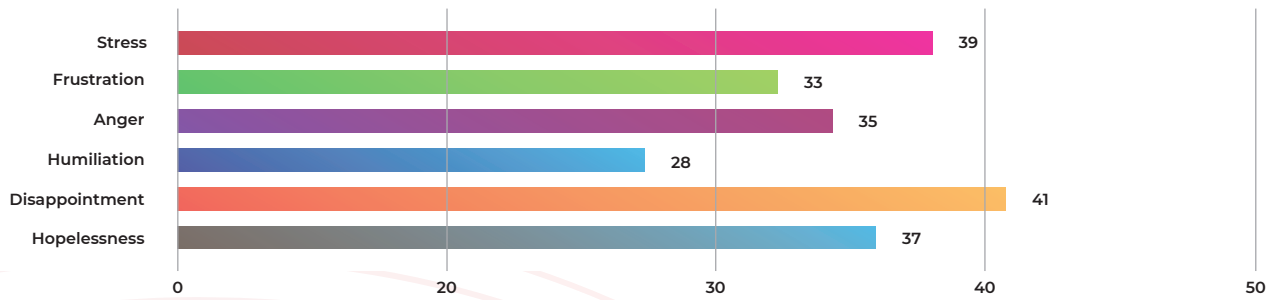


Figure 4. Clients experiencing different forms of emotional stress

Figure 5 shows the number of clients for each service type experiencing different types of emotional stress. The black bar for each service type shows the total number of questionnaires completed. The number experiencing the different types of stress must be compared with this for each service type. For Free Legal Aid, either five or six of the eight clients experience each type of stress. For LFLA clients, all 15 experience stress, frustration and disappointment, and all but one experience anger and hopelessness. The fact that all are disappointed is probably related to the fact that none were approved for free legal aid despite applications being done on their behalf. For paralegal clients, fewer clients experience humiliation and frustration than for LFLA clients despite almost double the number of clients. The highest level of unhappiness is recorded for disappointment, where 20 of the 29 are disappointed.

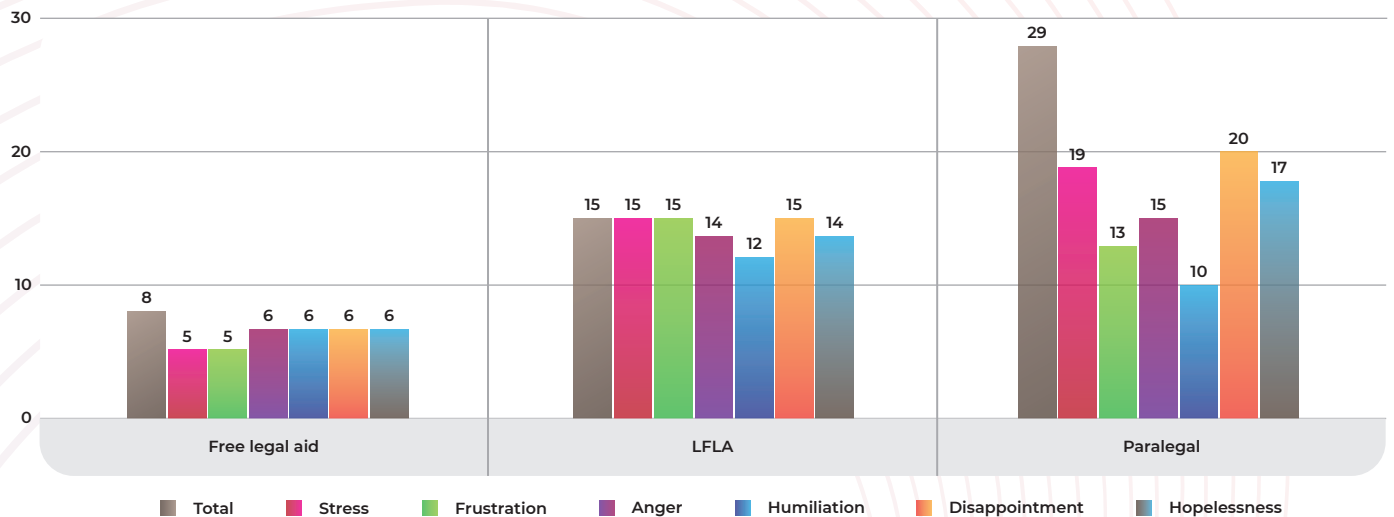


Figure 5. Clients experiencing different types of stress by service type

The final question in this section of the questionnaire asked whether the outcome solved the client's problem. An equal number – 13 in both cases – answered "Yes" and "No". For the remaining 26 clients the case was still ongoing.

Table 34 shows the disaggregation by service type. Paralegal clients have the highest share of their cases already resolved, although even for this category fewer than a third are resolved, with more ongoing than resolved. For LFLA, one fifth of the cases are resolved, and for Free Legal Aid only one of the eight.

Type	Yes	No	Ongoing	Total
Free Legal Aid	1	2	5	8
LFLA	3	2	10	15
Paralegal	9	9	11	29
Total	13	13	26	52

Table 34. Case resolved by service type

Table 35 puts together the information from the previous research and this follow-up research to show the costs and benefits for the three modalities. The appendix contains more detailed tables that show the breakdown of costs and benefits for each of the modalities.

The LFLA modality is the only one in which there are attorney costs. The size of this cost is substantially higher than any other costs. The LFLA modality is also the only one with other government costs, but these are minimal. In terms of costs incurred by the (poor) clients, paralegal services are the most expensive, with a total cost of MKD 1.427 per client. As discussed above, this amount is biased upwards by a small number of clients with very high travel costs and one case with high court initiation fees. For NGO costs, the paralegal cost per client is again higher than for the other two modalities, but the cost for LFLA is only slightly lower than for Free Legal Aid despite the fact that the Free Legal Aid organizations provide a fuller service, and a far higher level of benefits than the LFLA organizations.

The cost to the client is 14% of the cost to the NGO for LFLA-authorized organisations, 36% of the NGO cost for the other Free Legal Aid organizations, and 47% for paralegal services. Again, these findings are biased upwards by a few paralegal clients who incurred very high travel costs, and one who incurred very high court initiation fees.

For benefits, Free Legal Aid organizations operating outside of the LFLA are scored 97%, paralegal services 93%, and LFLA services much lower, at 69%

		Poor users	Government	NGOs	Attorneys
LFLA	Costs	243	13	1.785	5.368
	Direct costs	155	13	1.785	5.362
	Indirect costs	88	0	0	6
	Benefits	69 %			
Free Legal Aid	Costs	719	0	2.013	
	Direct costs	380	0	2.013	
	Indirect costs	339	0	0	
	Benefits	97 %			
Paralegal	Costs	1.427	0	3.065	
	Direct costs	1.367	0	3.065	
	Indirect costs	60	0	0	
	Benefits	93 %			

Table 35. Summary comparison of costs and benefits per client (Costs in MKD)

Appendix: Details cost-benefits for the three service modalities

LFLA legal aid (Costs in MKD)

	Poor users	Government	NGOs	Attorneys
Costs	243	13	1.785	5.368
I. Direct costs	155	13	1.785	5.362
Salaries for the staff		13	1.500	5.362
Operational costs			285	
Travel costs for getting the legal advice / information	92			
Court fees for submission and initiation of the court procedure				
Costs for getting the court verdict				
Costs for experts opinion				
Administrative fees	63			
II. Indirect costs	88	0	0	6
Travel costs for attorney				6
Opportunity costs – monetary (users)	88			
Child care costs (users)				
Other				
Benefits	69 %			
Access to preliminary legal advice	100 %			
Access to court representation	0 %			
Access to information about rights	100 %			
Enjoyment of rights	98 %			
Access to quality services	98 %			
Compliance with obligations		15 %		

Free legal aid not through the LFLA (costs in MKD)

	Poor users	Government	NGOs
Costs	719	0	2.013
I. Direct costs	380	0	2.013
Salaries for the staff			1.329
Operational costs			684
Travel costs for getting the legal advice / information	183		
Court fees for submission and initiation of the court procedure	67		
Costs for getting the court verdict			
Costs for experts opinion			
Administrative fees	130		
II. Indirect costs	339	0	0
Travel costs for court hearings (attorney and users)			
Travel costs to other institutions			
Opportunity costs – monetary (users)			
Opportunity costs – time (users)			
Child care costs (users)			
Other	339		
Benefits	97 %		
Access to preliminary legal advice	100 %		
Access to court representation			
Access to information about rights	100 %		
Enjoyment of rights	96 %		
Access to quality services	90 %		
Compliance with rights	100 %		

Paralegal services (costs in MKD)

	Poor users	Government	NGOs
Costs	1.427	0	3.065
I. Direct costs	1.367	0	3.065
Salaries for paralegal staff			1.766
Support costs (ESE)			1.299
Travel costs for getting the legal advice / information	565		
Court fees for submission and initiation of the court procedure	360	-	-
Costs for getting the court verdict	131	-	-
Costs for experts opinion	150	-	-
Administrative fees	161		
II. Indirect costs	60	0	0
Travel costs for court hearings (users)		-	-
Opportunity costs – monetary (users)	29		
Child care costs (users)	9		
Other	22		
Benefits	93 %		
Access to preliminary legal advice	100 %		
Access to court	Inapplicable		
Access to information about rights	100 %		
Enjoyment of rights	62 %		
Access to quality services	100 %		
Compliance with rights	100 %		



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