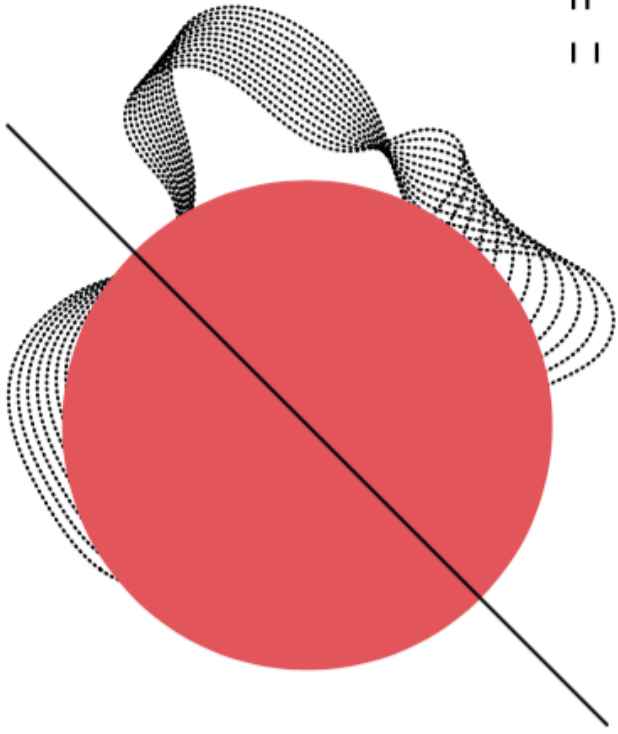


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Survivors of Detention

A Study on the Violation of Housing, Land, and Property Rights and Its Impact on Social Relationships



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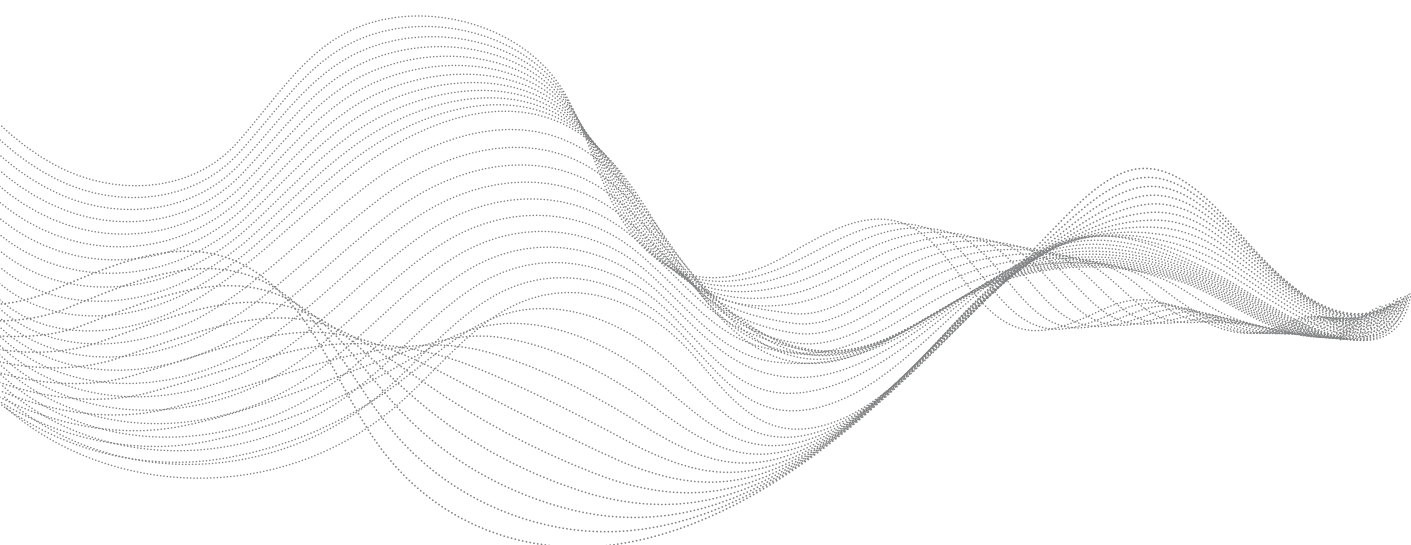
Executive Summary:

This research aims to understand the impact of detention experiences on the violation of property rights and its repercussions on the social relationships of male and female survivors of detention. For this purpose, information was collected from detained survivors quantitatively and qualitatively using survey tools, case studies, and focus group discussions. The study sample consisted of 359 individuals, and a theoretical framework was developed consisting of three main axes:

1. The first axis: The overall situation of male and female detainees in Syria.
2. The second axis: Property, land, and housing rights.
3. The third axis: Property violations and their impact on social relationships.

The subsequent analysis of the data extracted from the mentioned sample covered five related aspects:

1. Comparing the situation of the sample participants before and after detention in terms of property and possessions, and the differences between males and females regarding property ownership and its impact on detention.
2. Social relationships in the original places of residence and the reasons for their relocation as observed.
3. The transition to new housing regarding the reasons and its connection to detention, as well as its impact on property loss.
4. The impact of all of the above on the construction of social relationships with the surrounding community, the depth of those relationships, and the influencing factors.

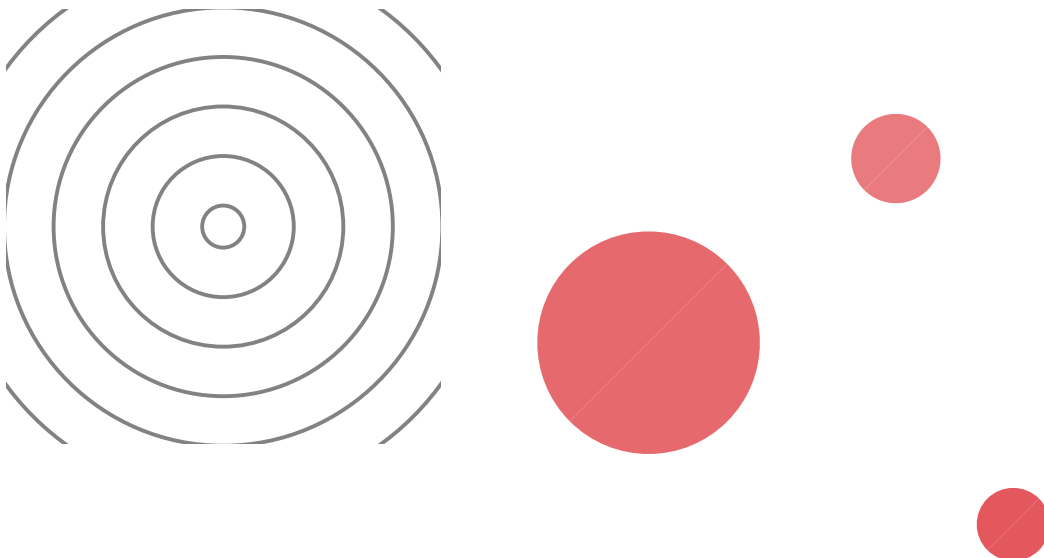


5. Identifying the types of violations suffered by the detainees regarding property and possessions and how these violations were addressed.

The research results, in general, showed that there is no direct relationship between detention and property violation since all forcibly displaced individuals who did not experience detention face the same property violations.

Regarding housing, the study concluded that there is a difference in the level of services between the original and current places of residence, with the current locations having lower service levels. The majority of participants left their original residences and moved to other places for various reasons, including fear of re-detention for both genders.

As for the most significant problems faced by participants in their current places of residence, they revolved around economic issues such as high rental costs and lack of job opportunities. Social problems with the surrounding community also emerged due to differences in customs and traditions, as well as constant movement from one place to another, which affected the building of social relationships. It was also evident from the discussions that the problems faced by detainees outside of Syria differ somewhat from those inside Syria, specifically in northern Syria, where language proficiency and the ability to adapt to the surrounding environment were highlighted challenges.



Regarding the sense of security in new residences, all participants expressed a lack of security, attributed to several factors such as repeated indiscriminate shelling in northern Syria, which is a volatile area constantly exposed to shelling by the Syrian government and Russian forces. This is followed by frequent

detentions in the region due to clashes between factions, as well as high prices, particularly with the deteriorating living conditions resulting from leaving their original jobs and moving to a new environment.

In terms of social relationships, it was observed that some participants were able to establish new social networks, albeit superficial ones, primarily based on work relationships. Others, however, were unable to establish new social relationships due to fear on one hand and the surrounding community's fear of them as survivors of detention on the other hand, in addition to the changes in customs and traditions.

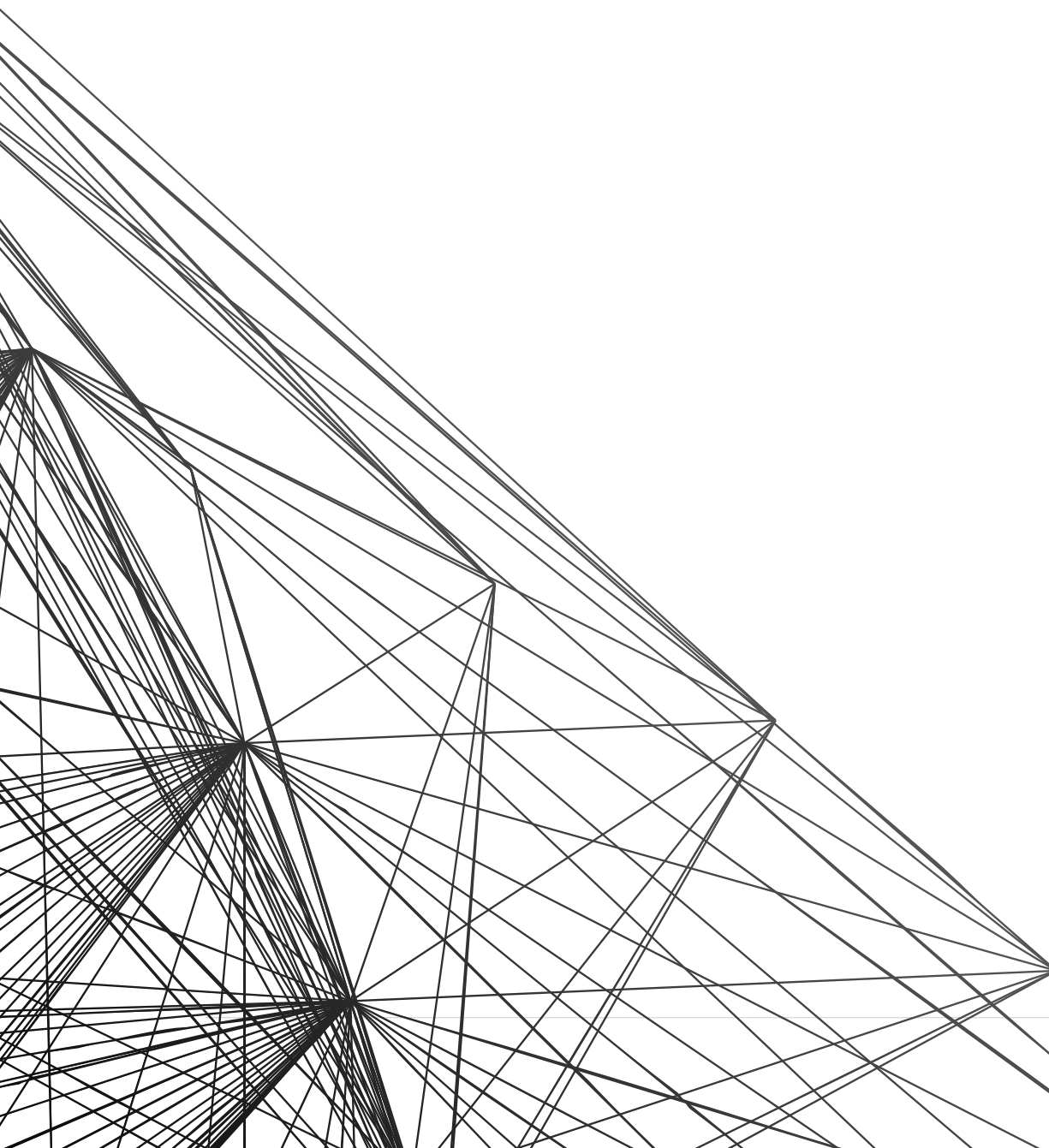
The research findings also revealed that all participants experienced violations of property and possession rights for themselves and their families. These violations included the inability to dispose of their properties, lack of access to properties, extortion, and confiscation. Furthermore, the majority of these properties did not remain intact before detention due to the Syrian government's seizure, in addition to their transformation into destroyed, burned, or looted properties, as well as the displacement and the properties falling under the control of the Syrian regime.

In terms of gender, the vast majority of female participants had the right to ownership and inheritance in general. However, 15% of them did not have ownership rights due to societal customs, traditions, and social and religious norms. They were also unable to claim their rights, not to mention the inferior view of women that denies them ownership rights. Additionally, 13% of women were deprived of their inheritance and ownership rights after surviving detention primarily due to family reasons, followed by the state's seizure of all their properties and their inability to communicate with their families after their release from detention. Moreover, 70% of female survivors of detention were deprived of access to their private properties due to the regime's seizure of their properties after forced displacement, and the fear of re-detention prevented them from taking any steps to reclaim their properties.

Overall, the majority of participants were affected by violations related to the loss of their original housing and possessions. Detention experiences had various ramifications, including a sense of fear for the future, impacts on identity and belonging, loss of communication with neighbors and neighborhood children due to detention and property loss, and the inability to engage in previous customs.

Detention experiences were found to be the primary factor leading to the loss of social relationships, resulting in isolation and social solitude due to the harsh experiences of detention, spatial instability, and property loss."

Chapter 1: Research Problem



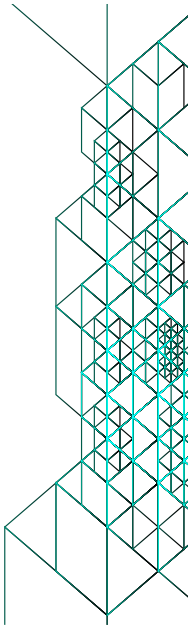
First: Research Problem and its Importance

The Syrian conflict since 2011 has caused continuous suffering for civilians. When discussing the various contexts related to the armed conflict, siege, displacement, increased poverty, and reliance on harmful adaptation mechanisms, civilians face multiple interconnected protection risks that affect their current and future lives in terms of stability and social interaction.

Displacement, forced migration, and the associated systematic loss of property, as well as detention and enforced disappearances, have been experienced by Syrians in general. According to the Syrian Network for Human Rights, 154,398 cases of "arbitrary" detention by conflict parties in Syria have been documented from March 2011 to August 2022. However, there are no official numbers available for survivors of detention to date. The reasons for detention generally vary and are influenced by different political opinions, backgrounds, and affiliations, as well as civil, humanitarian work, and political participation in coordinating protests, and in some cases, taking up arms. The consequences of detention include the deprivation of fundamental rights, including property rights. This is particularly significant as most people have lost official documents proving their ownership due to the circumstances of conflict and war, making it increasingly difficult to prove ownership in the face of powerful political forces that impose their authority through force rather than justice, without regard for international laws and human rights.

Subsequently, there is a loss of social relationships that have been established with neighbors and the surrounding community for many years. This has impacted current and future social relationships.

Hence, the importance of this research lies in its focus on the violation of property from a social perspective. It specifically examines the role of detention in the loss of property, housing, and violations of individuals' ownership rights. Moreover, it explores the impact of these experiences on social relationships and their formation of individuals who have undergone this experience, as well as their acceptance of the new reality. The concept of adequate housing goes beyond mere ownership; it encompasses the social and cultural environment that achieves social and psychological balance for individuals. Thus, the concept of adequate housing includes all types of properties, real estate, assets, and possessions."



Second: Research Objectives

The research objectives were formulated through identifying the violations of property rights, land rights, and housing rights that affect the survivors of detention in Syria. The aim is to understand the social implications of these violations and how individuals who have experienced such violations deal with them.

The research objectives focused on the following:

Identifying the reality of violations of property and housing rights for the survivors of detention and families of forcibly disappeared individuals, including:

- a. Understanding the role of detention or forced disappearance in violating property and housing rights.
- b. Understanding the social implications of violations of property and housing rights on the affected individuals.
- c. Examining how the affected individuals cope with these violations.

Based on the research objectives, the following questions will be addressed:

1. What is the reality of the violation of property and housing rights for the survivors of detention or the families of forcibly disappeared individuals?
2. What are the factors leading to the violation of property and housing rights for detainees and forcibly disappeared individuals?
3. What are the social consequences of violations of property and housing rights on the affected individuals?
4. What measures have the affected individuals taken to mitigate the violations of property and housing rights?

Third: Research Concepts and Terminology

This research is based on several fundamental concepts that will be defined, including:

- The right to adequate housing
- Survivor of detention
- Detention and forced disappearance

1. The right to adequate housing:

The concept of the right to adequate housing is part of property and housing rights. It was recognized as an element of the right to an adequate standard of living in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights in 1966. Since then, other international treaties on human rights have acknowledged or referred to the right to adequate housing or some of its elements, such as the protection of one's home and privacy¹.

In this research, the concept of the right to adequate housing entails ensuring property or land ownership, access to housing, safety, and security in living conditions, availability of essential services, and consideration of social and cultural privacy. It also involves avoiding forced eviction or displacement, whether it involves houses, shops, or land, whether owned or rented.

2. Detention and forced disappearance:

The term "detention" refers to the imprisonment or restriction of freedom². "Forced disappearance," according to the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, includes the arrest, detention, abduction, or any other form of deprivation of liberty by state officials, individuals, or groups acting with the authorization, support, or acquiescence of the state, followed by a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of liberty or to disclose the fate or whereabouts of the disappeared person, which deprives them of the protection of the law³.

¹ See: Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment No. 4 on the right to adequate housing.

² Al-Gohari, Abu Nasr, Al-Sihah Taj al-Lughah wa al-Ariyah al-Ariyah, vol. 5, pg. 1772

³ <http://www.ohchr.org/AR/HRBodies/CED/Pages/ConventionCED.aspx>

In this research, the concept of detention or forced disappearance encompasses all individuals, whether men or women, who have experienced restrictions on their freedom, lack of communication with the outside world, or non-disclosure of their presence by the detaining party, regardless of the conflicting parties in the Syrian context.

3. Social relationships:

Social relationships depict the social interaction between two or more parties, where each party forms a perception of the other that may influence their judgment, whether positively or negatively. Examples of such relationships include friendship, family ties and kinship, work colleagues and acquaintances. Social relationships that develop among individuals within a society based on their interactions with each other, regardless of whether they are positive or negative, are essential aspects of life⁴.

In this research, the concept of social relationships refers to the relationships that emerge between individuals or groups within the social environment, irrespective of whether they are positive or negative relationships.

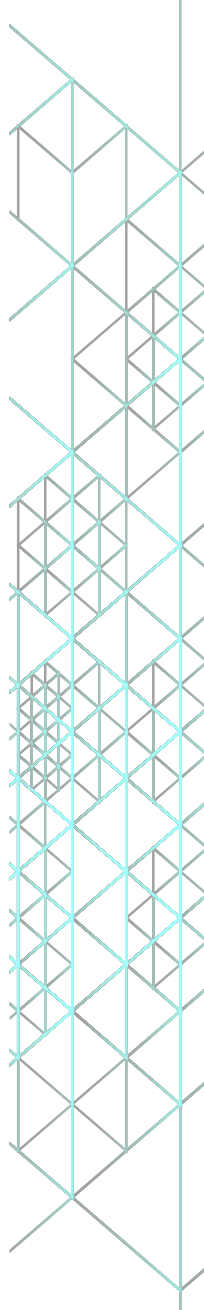
Fourth: Research Areas

Spatial Area: The spatial area of the research has not been specified to a specific geographical location, but the general scope is the Syrian territory. Information was collected from individuals who have experienced detention across various regions in Syria. Online interviews were also conducted as needed, including focus groups.

Temporal Area: The temporal area of the research covers the period from August 2022 to the end of December of the same year.

Human Area: The research includes both men and women, specifically the survivors of detention who have been affected by violations of property and housing rights.

⁴ Othman, Ibrahim, An Introduction to Sociology, Dar Al-Shorouk for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, Jordan, 2004, p. 47.



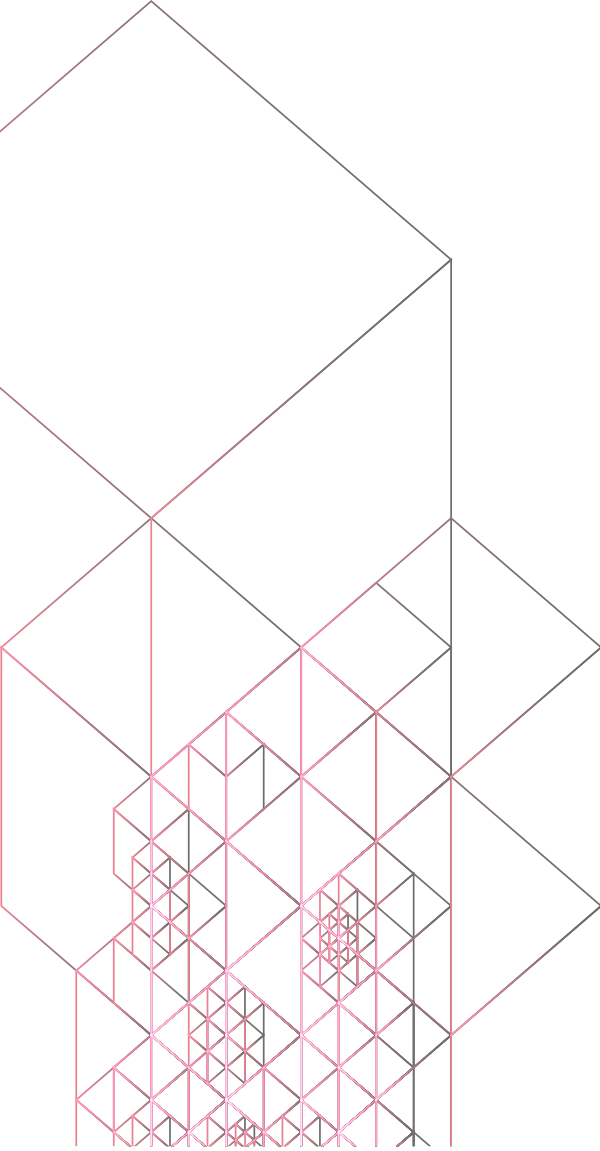
Fifth: Research Methodology

The research adopts a descriptive-analytical methodology to describe the phenomenon, delve into its details, and analyze the contributing factors. The total sample size of the study is 359 research subjects, distributed across three research tools: questionnaires, case studies, and focus groups. These tools aim to gather both quantitative and qualitative information to enrich the studied topic.

The questionnaire tool was used to collect information about the research topic. Simple random sampling was employed, considering the conditions that serve the research topic. The sample included survivors of detention, with an attempt to address gender sensitivity in the questionnaire design and question formulation. Women and men were targeted, with an effort to represent women by 50% of the sample. However, due to the difficulty of accessing female survivors of detention, as the number of male detainees was higher than females, and considering the challenging environment, the study sample consisted of individuals located in multiple geographic areas within and outside of Syria. The quantitative questionnaire sample comprised 305 respondents, including 143 women and 162 men, representing 47% and 53% respectively.

Data collectors, consisting of 11 male and female interviewers, were trained by psychological and gender specialists. They were trained in data collection techniques, gender sensitivity, and how to handle the respondents considering their psychological state. The data collectors themselves were former detainees, and their experiences and insights were utilized during data collection. The data collection process began in early October and lasted for approximately three weeks.

Gender	Count
Female	143
Male	162
Total	305



Regarding the case studies, we had a total of 22 cases. Most of them were located in northwestern Syria, except for four cases residing outside Syria (Turkey, the Netherlands). Gender sensitivity was taken into consideration during data collection, resulting in 11 cases for women and 11 cases for men.

As for the focus groups, the total number of participants was 32 individuals, including both men and women. They were distributed among three focus groups, located within Syria (northwestern Syria) and outside Syria (Turkey, France, Germany, and the Netherlands). Additionally, there was an advisory group consisting of young individuals interested in the topic of detainees, as well as those working in this field with the Recovery Project team. They were from families of detainees and had personal experience with the subject matter.

It is worth noting that the questionnaire used standardized questions, both in quantitative and qualitative aspects, in order to delve into the details of each research subject's experience and the factors that provide a common understanding. The research

questionnaire included four main axes, in addition to a section for general information about each participant in the study. These axes were as follows:

The first axis addressed the concept of adequate housing, focusing on the health and service conditions available in the original and current places of residence, as well as comparing past and current social relationships. The aim was to identify violations related to adequate housing.

The second axis explored the relationship between detention and property violations, including an individual examination of each subject's detention experience, the reasons that led to their arrest, and how it affected their property ownership and their methods of dealing with violations.

The third axis focused specifically on women, aiming to identify violations related to inheritance and ownership after surviving detention as a female.

The fourth axis focused on the social relationships of male and female survivors, aiming to assess the impact of detention and property violations on their social relationships.

Six: Previous Studies

Recently, there has been a growing interest in this type of studies and research related to the violation of property rights, land rights, and housing rights. However, most of the studies have focused solely on the legal aspect by researchers and organizations. The majority of the studies we will discuss here have revolved around human rights laws and their relationship to the violation of property rights, land, and housing. They also touched upon Syrian law and the new laws that have affected the forced loss of some properties. However, these studies did not focus on the impact of property loss on social cohesion or mental health, especially for individuals who have experienced detention and its connection to the loss of personal property. The scarcity of relevant references and the lack of previous studies pose challenges in conducting such studies.

In a study conducted by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation on property restitution (The struggle for socially just housing, land, and property rights in Syria, Iraq, and Libya), violations of housing, land, and property rights committed in Afrin since the start of Operation Olive Branch were highlighted. The study interviewed 28 individuals and collected information on those who lost their homes, land, and properties. The study's key findings indicated legal complexities in attributing international responsibility to states for violations committed by groups operating under the authority of these states, such as Turkey, with Turkish-backed Syrian factions being the most involved in violating property and housing rights since the end of Operation Olive Branch. The study also confirmed the clear similarities between housing and property rights violations in Afrin and the suppression and persecution exercised by Turkey against the Kurds, including eviction operations and demographic change. The mass displacement policies, prevention of refugees and internally displaced persons from returning, and shelling operations created a conducive environment for property, land, and housing rights violations. These interviews also revealed that ongoing violations in looting, confiscation of properties, and occupation of homes pose serious challenges to social cohesion and future reconciliation in Afrin.

In another study by The Day After Organization on the Reality of Housing, Land, and Property Rights in Syria, the study explored the experiences of real estate registry administrations in ten different regions of Syria, reflecting the varied experiences they have undergone during the years of conflict. The results showed that all alternative administrations that emerged in areas outside the control of the government adhered to Syrian property law and operated with the

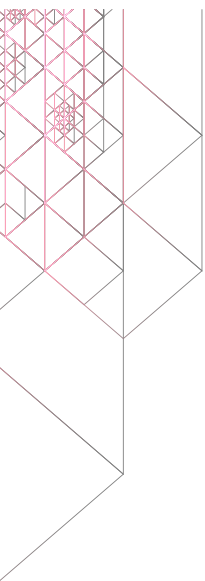
same administrative structure and procedures prescribed by the law, with some exceptions that varied from one region to another. Additionally, most areas faced problems of a shortage or absence of real estate records, and they adopted different methods to fill the gaps in their databases.

In the areas where the government regained control, such as Daraa and Douma, a problem arose where the authorities ignored all the procedures and transactions organized by alternative directorates, leading to the migration and dispersal of most of their staff. However, these staff members adopted different methods to preserve the results of their work by creating electronic archives for records before they fell into the hands of the government. Meanwhile, the alternative administrations continue to operate relatively independently in areas outside the government's control, such as Idlib and rural Aleppo, within their local frameworks without a central administration or any organizational body connecting the subordinate administrations, as the interim government has not been able to play this role.

In another study by the same organization on demographic identity variables and their impact on social fabric, property rights, and the return of refugees in October 2021, the study examined the factors and reasons that led to the decline of several vital indicators and the low levels of human development in Syria. It also found that refugees and displaced persons experienced a complex type of suffering in their displacement and refuge, and the loss of their place and the social environment in which they lived affected their sense of geographical dispersion and instability, in addition to the harsh living conditions in the areas they fled to or sought refuge in. The samples also indicated changes in family roles, division in family and clan references, and the difficulties faced by refugee families, along with the emergence of a social and cultural breakdown due to differences in laws, culture, and values of the host communities compared to the customs and traditions they carried from their original environments.

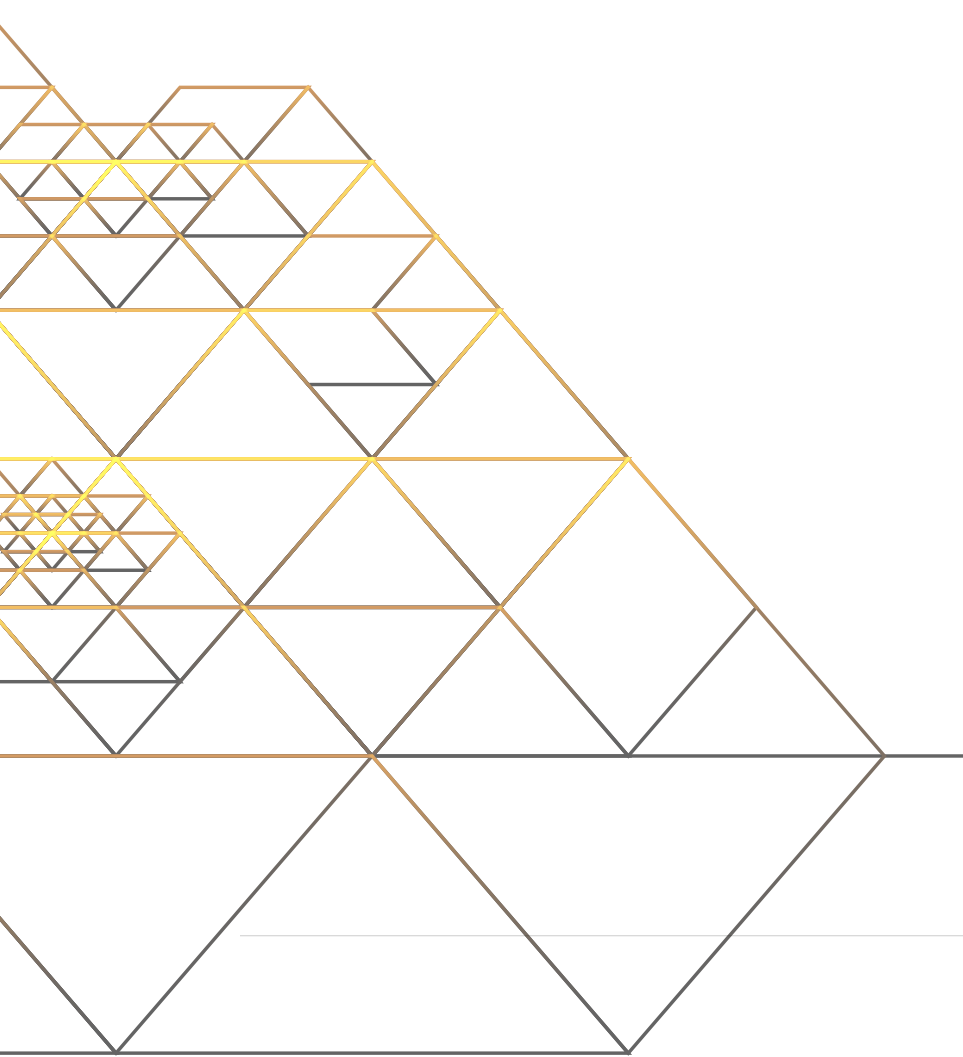
In the same year, in December, The Day After Organization conducted a study on property rights in Syria from a gender perspective, aiming to monitor the situation of women's enjoyment of property and housing rights, the obstacles they face in obtaining inheritance shares, women's attitudes towards obtaining these shares, the magnitude of these rights, and the impact of legal amendments on enabling women to enjoy property and housing rights. The study's sample included 250 women.

The study revealed that housing and property rights issues concerning women in Syria are complex due to a combination of factors, including discriminatory laws, traditional customs and traditions, and the undemocratic political reality, which

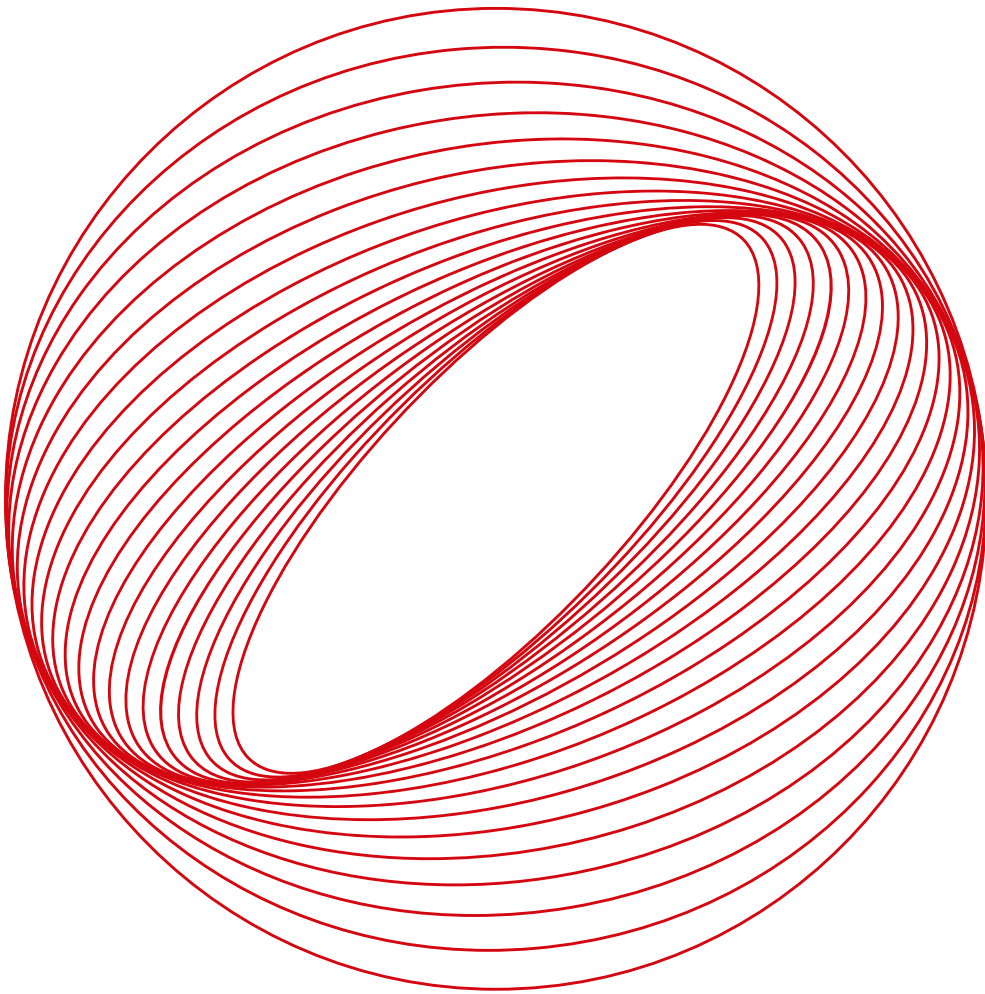


hinders Syrian women from enjoying these rights. It also showed that depriving women of guaranteeing their rights to property and housing reflects their economic empowerment levels, and it is also one of the reasons for the weakness of this economic empowerment. The study also demonstrated a noticeable development in the attitudes of participating women regarding guaranteeing women's rights to inheritance and sharing family properties.

After presenting the previous studies that addressed property rights, it is evident that what distinguishes the current study from its predecessors is its concise coverage of the legal aspect in line with previous studies. Additionally, it focuses on the violation of property among survivors of detention, with a particular emphasis on social relationships before and after detention and their connection to property loss and different forms of ownership. This is a new topic that has not been previously studied. Furthermore, the study employs an integrated methodology of quantitative information through a survey and qualitative information that complements the quantitative aspect. Thus, the information becomes more comprehensive by relying on case studies and focal groups. The research community focused on survivors of detention and their experiences of property rights violations.



Chapter 2: The Theoretical Framework



First: The Situation of Detainees in Syria

Detention, in its various forms, has been one of the most important methods used by the Syrian government forces, as well as by various factions and forces in Syria. It has been used as a tool to control and exert influence, and to restrict freedoms in general. The arrests began with attempts to control the protests that emerged against the Syrian regime in various parts of the country since March 2011 and continued with the arrests carried out by other factions, starting with the Army of Islam, then the Free Syrian Army, Jabhat al-Nusra, and extending to the Islamic State (ISIS) and the Syrian Democratic Forces. Additionally, the current forces, whether international (Iran, Russia, Hezbollah) or the forces controlling opposition-held areas, have also been involved in violations of property and housing rights.

Arrests have been one of the most commonly employed methods by all-controlling forces to intimidate people and keep them under their authority, without regard for international law, human rights, or even Syrian domestic law. Detention was never based on legal grounds or actual crimes committed; instead, it was carried out arbitrarily to maintain dominance and infringe upon liberties and rights.

Under international law, there is no clear and defined definition of arbitrary detention. However, the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention defined it as detention that violates the provisions of human rights set forth in major international human rights documents. The Working Group identified three patterns of arbitrary detention:

- The first pattern is when there is no legal basis for deprivation of liberty (such as someone remaining in detention after serving their prison sentence).
- The second pattern is when someone is deprived of their freedom as a result of exercising their rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

- The third pattern is when someone is deprived of their freedom due to a trial that contradicts the established standards of fair trial in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or other specific international instruments⁵.

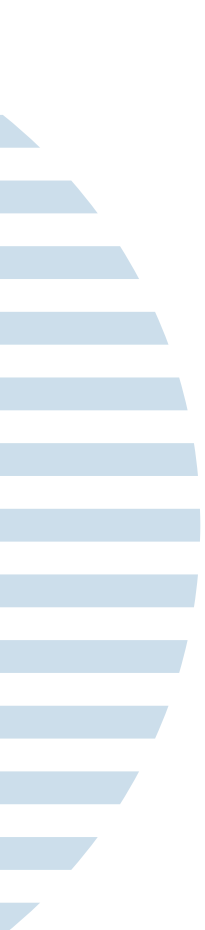
As previously mentioned, many individuals who participated in protests demanding their rights were arrested in the early days of the Syrian protests, and they filled the prisons controlled by the Syrian regime. This action violates international law, as discussed earlier. These individuals took part in expressing their opinions and demanding their natural rights. Similarly, arrests were carried out by "ISIS," as many individuals remain missing to this day simply because they violated the decisions of ISIS fighters or wanted to express their opinions without fear. The same applies to all other forces opposing the Syrian regime. Therefore, human rights violations in terms of freedom and the right to life exist among all warring parties in Syria.

The Syrian Network for Human Rights documented 154,398 cases of "arbitrary" detention by conflict parties in Syria from March 2011 to August 2022. The network stated that 87.60% of detainees were arrested by the Syrian regime, including 8,469 women and 3,684 children. About 5.62% of detainees were held by ISIS, including 255 women and 319 children. Additionally, 2.74% of detainees were held by the Syrian Democratic Forces, including 523 women and 751 children. Meanwhile, 2.50% of detainees were distributed among all armed opposition factions (National Army), including 868 women and 361 children. Finally, 1.54% of detainees were held by Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham, including 44 women and 46 children⁶.

The vast majority of detainees faced their fate at the hands of the Syrian regime forces. Even displaced or forcibly displaced individuals who decided to return to their homes and visit their families were not exempt from detention. According to the attached image released by the Syrian Network for Human Rights, between early 2014 and March 2022, the Syrian regime detained approximately 2,346 returning refugees from asylum countries to their places of residence in Syria.

⁵ <http://www.ohchr.org/AR/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/DetentionOrImprisonment.aspx>

⁶ [SNHR Website](#)



Later, 1,483 individuals were released, while the others remained detained. Around 687 cases turned into enforced disappearances, with no information available on whether they are alive or dead. Additionally, the Syrian regime arrested around 907 internally displaced individuals who returned to regime-controlled areas after the issuance of amnesty decrees and the restoration of security and stability. These individuals were surprised by their arrest and subsequently released in 218 cases, while the rest remained in detention. Furthermore, 426 cases turned into enforced disappearances.

Second: property rights and land/housing issues

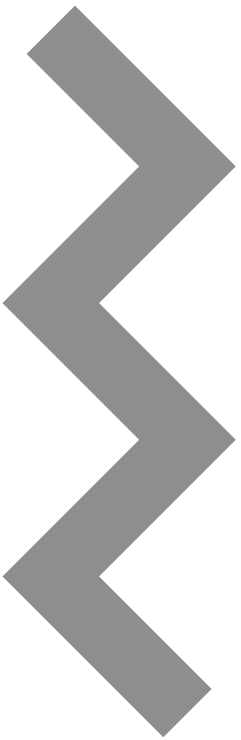
Property rights and land/housing issues are closely related to the issue of detainees and enforced disappearances because the disappearance or arrest of an individual means they are unable to assert their rights or prove ownership of anything. Especially since the state's laws do not guarantee the rights of citizens, even if they are detained for their opinions or political beliefs. In regime-controlled areas, property rights for individuals began to diminish as a result of the regime's imposition of Law No. 10 in 2018. Despite subsequent amendments to some of its clauses, the law still allows the Syrian government to exploit the absence of Syrians and the loss of their ownership documents to seize their properties through what it considers legal means.

One of the controversial provisions of this law is the requirement for property owners to provide proof of ownership within just 30 days; otherwise, they will lose ownership of their properties, which will be confiscated by the state. The deadline was later extended by the People's Council for one year. Under this law, every resident in the mentioned areas is required to leave, and local authorities will provide compensation equal to two years' rent for ineligible tenants to obtain alternative housing. Eligible tenants will be accommodated within four years, and in the meantime, they will receive annual rent allowances. The law does not specify who is eligible for alternative housing or how this determination will be made⁷. Therefore, thousands of families who have been detained during the conflict will be unable to claim the properties of the detainees. These individuals will not be able to submit ownership claims themselves or appoint a legally

⁷ [Human Rights Watch](#)

recognized agent, resulting in the loss of their legal ownership. Additionally, relatives of the detainees who are still in custody may not possess the necessary documents to prove the person's death. Since the property is still owned by the missing person, they will be unable to file a request for ownership proof. The Syrian regime benefits from all these circumstances in its ability to prevent its opponents from acquiring property in general.

According to Human Rights Watch⁸, not only does Law No. 10 strip individuals of their property rights, but the Syrian authorities previously used the pretext of urban planning to carry out extensive demolition operations, evict residents, seize properties, and displace the population through Decree No. 66 of 2012. The regime used this decree to seize properties and displace their inhabitants, officially declaring its aim to rebuild areas with informal housing and unauthorized constructions in two areas of Damascus province. However, it was covertly used to expel residents from areas controlled by opposition groups and destroy properties. Legislative Decree No. 63 of 2013 also enabled the Ministry of Finance to seize the assets and properties of individuals subject to the Anti-Terrorism Law of 2012 and transfer their ownership to the Syrian government.



The Anti-Terrorism Law No. 19 of 2012 is considered one of the most dangerous laws that provide legal cover for confiscation and seizure operations. The law defines seizure as "the permanent deprivation of movable and immovable funds, transferring their ownership to the state, by judicial ruling." This definition encompasses all movable and immovable funds, whether used to commit a crime or not, which means that the punishment affects the person rather than the crime itself. Precautionary seizure is defined as "placing the debtor's funds under the control of the judiciary to prevent them from engaging in any legal or financial action that could result in their exclusion or the exclusion of their proceeds from the general guarantee of the seizing creditor⁹."

This contradicts the Arab Charter on Human Rights, which guarantees the right to property and states that "seizure (of funds) as a whole or in part arbitrarily or unlawfully is not permissible." International courts have also found that the right to property and possessions protects traditional ownership rights, except for those that are undocumented, such as homes and land, and those documented through official land ownership and

⁸ [Law No. 10](#)

⁹ Salih Malas, Zainab Masri - A legal weapon for collective punishment... Syrian laws violate the property of the disappeared - Enab Baladi 03/31/2021 A legal weapon for collective punishment... Syrian laws violate the property of the disappeared - [Enab Baladi](#)

registration¹⁰.

Despite all of this, the Syrian regime disregards all these international laws, condemnations, and even economic sanctions imposed against it. Detainees and survivors of detention suffer from the consequences of these laws, which are enacted every day. These laws not only affect them as individuals but also impact their entire families and their ability to manage their properties or inheritance, leading to a restriction on people's lives, making them focus solely on their livelihoods and stay away from politics.

As for areas outside the regime's control, the situation does not seem much better than the regime's practices. Each area has its own dynamics due to the presence of various factions and governing forces. People in these areas often lose most of their documents, including proof of ownership, due to bombardment, destruction, and repeated displacement. In these areas, people are forcefully displaced from their homes and properties, which are then seized by other parties affiliated with these factions or their allies.

From all of this, we can conclude that most conflicts are accompanied by severe violations, and the intensity of these violations increases with the expansion and prolongation of the conflict. In the absence of the rule of law, the perpetrators of these violations escape punishment. During this period, laws and regulations are used to expel opponents or prevent the return of displaced individuals. This issue is crucial to consider for the sake of peacebuilding and the trust required in the post-conflict period.

Third: Property Violation and Its Impact on Social Relations

Social relations are important aspects of every individual's life, and they are linked to the right to adequate housing, which encompasses the preservation of the individual's cultural and social environment, ensuring social security, solidarity, and social cohesion. Humans, by nature, are social beings who seek to form connections with their social environment through a set of relationships called social relations. These relationships are influenced by economic, social, and cultural contexts, and they are characterized by their strength and their focus on non-material benefits such as satisfying the individual's desire for interaction

¹⁰ Haider Adham Abd al-Hadi (Dr. T.N.), Reading in the legal formulations of the Arab Charter for Human Rights, Faculty of Law, Al-Nahrain University, Iraq.

with others and forming their own circle of individuals they can rely on when needed.

From here, the concept of social identity emerges among members of a particular community, as it is linked to the social self that arises from social relationships between individuals. According to the social perspective, the concept of social identity stems from the conscious perception of the individual's uniqueness and solidarity with the values and representations of the community¹¹. It encompasses a set of processes that exist within the individual's personality and their social and cultural context. Identity is linked to social factors and varies according to intellectual trends within society. It intertwines and intersects in every complex structure as a result of societal changes and the interplay of its dimensions and functions.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) suggest that social identity is the product of an individual's perception of being a member of a particular group and the emotions they express as a result of their affiliation with that group. This affiliation is not determined by personal relationships or direct social interactions between group members, but rather by the common fate that binds the members belonging to that group¹². Thus, social identity varies depending on distinguishing factors between individuals, such as ethnicity, religion, profession, political affiliations, personal relationships, and stereotypical patterns, etc. Consequently, it is influenced by societal changes that occur within society, especially during crises and wars.

¹¹ . Abdel Kafi, Ismail Abdel Fattah (2001): "Education and Identity in the Contemporary World," Strategic Studies Series, No. 66, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, p. 13.

¹² . Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. (1979) : An Integrative Theory of inter group conflict , in W.G. & S. The social psychology of inter group Relations, California : Books/cole publishing company, p403

Wars and conflicts are one of the main causes of changes in affiliations, whether they are political, social, national, ethnic, or religious. Some individuals are forced to leave their homes and social and economic relationships in their original places of residence and move to safer areas. There may be a form of forced displacement from their places of residence to bring about a change in the demographic composition of the areas and disrupt the social fabric. Additionally, there is an increase in the number of deaths during times of war, especially among the youth, resulting in a disruption of the population structure. However, according to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, the displacement or forced transfer of populations, when committed within the context of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, constitutes a crime against humanity¹³.

Based on this provision, we can say that armed conflicts, such as those resulting from political persecution, economic crises, or humanitarian problems, are factors that directly affect migration in a country. Consequently, displaced individuals search for new locations to settle in an attempt to escape crises in their original countries or neighborhoods, leaving behind their possessions, lands, businesses, and household furniture to be controlled by other individuals or forces.

The demographic dimension plays a role in many political conflicts and problems, as well as in many local issues, as was the case in Syria. Many factions that control the reality on the ground carry out demographic changes in their areas of presence to ensure their influence in the region by settling people who serve their interests. This was seen in the regime's actions in the Daraya area in Damascus, where it resettled individuals from the Shia community or of Iranian nationality under the pretext of the existence of a religious shrine belonging to the same community. This also occurred in areas controlled by the SDF, where many Arab tribal members were displaced and Kurds were settled in their place. It also happened in the areas of Operation Euphrates Shield and Olive Branch, where people affiliated with Turkey were settled to protect Turkish influence in the region¹⁴. The demographic dimension manifests itself in political tension from

¹³ International Committee of the Red Cross, [Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court](#) adopted in Rome on July 17, 1998, Treaties, Article VII

¹⁴ See: Fayez Sarah, Details on the [Crime of Demographic Change](#), Asharq Al-Awsat Newspaper, Issue 15744, January 5, 2022

time to time due to the mismatch between the preferred basic national identity in terms of religious and sectarian affiliation and the demographic reality. Some population groups have become larger than they were in the past and larger than perceived, leading to increased tension and conflict over political influence in the region.

Not only that, but in conflict areas, we may find grave human rights violations, such as attacks on properties through burning, breaking, and looting. The controlling forces may seize the properties of individuals who pose a threat to their continued existence due to their revolutionary, social, intellectual, and political activism. These forces work to restrict them in their places of residence, target their families, and threaten them through various means, including arrest. As a result, many families prefer migration, even if it is forced, to preserve the lives of their children. This has occurred in various areas of Syria, such as Daraya, Douma, Tadamun, Hama countryside, Homs, and others. This displacement, along with arrests and property loss, has a significant impact on the social belonging of these individuals, thereby affecting the social relationships they carry from their communities. It can even lead to a crisis in social identity and loss of trust in others.

Social relations are classified based on the nature of the situation. Some occur within groups that impose the necessity of belonging and strong loyalty and attachment, while others are governed by official contractual relationships regulated by social laws. These types of relationships can be found in various institutions depending on the nature of their activities, where individuals governed by strong and cohesive social relationships are connected through a range of interactions and social communications that serve their collective interests. In return, individuals comply with the governing laws. These relationships are considered official, as confirmed by Charles Cooley.

In light of this logic, the status granted to an individual depends on the extent to which their characteristics and behavior align with the members of the group. Therefore, status becomes an active variable in the relationships between individuals or groups because the basis of status is the process of comparison between individuals. Through repeated comparisons with others, individuals

develop a clear idea of their status, regardless of whether the basis of comparison is income, skills, possessions, or attributes¹⁵.

Consequently, belonging to a specific community, neighborhood, city, or rural area grants the individual a social identity that represents this group. It gives the individual self-esteem, which contributes to social cohesion among the members of the group they belong to. If this individual is severed from this group, they will suffer from a loss of social relationships, leading to a lack of self-esteem and satisfaction.

The first step in determining our social relationships is to understand our social identity. We classify ourselves and others to comprehend the social environment to which we belong. We use the concept of "social categories" to understand this. When we refer to certain categories such as "students," "workers," or "residents of a specific region," we classify someone based on a specific social category. This can inform us about the common traits and characteristics shared between the individual and the members of that category. Similarly, we discover things about ourselves by knowing the categories to which we belong. We determine appropriate behavior by referring to the standards governing the groups we belong to. For example, when we say that someone belongs to the "Homs" community, it gives a general impression of the characteristics that may be found among the residents of this area or others.

It is important to determine our motives for building social relationships with the social environment. Are they merely work relationships, friendships, or support networks? Social relationships are based on a set of motives inherent to these relationships themselves. The most important motives include:

1. Psychological motive: Social relationships satisfy important psychological needs, such as the need for love and belonging.
2. Economic motives: Individuals in society cannot meet their economic needs except through work, which necessarily leads to social relationships among people.
3. Common interests: The existence of social relationships between individuals and groups confirms the presence of shared interests and general goals that everyone collaborates to achieve.

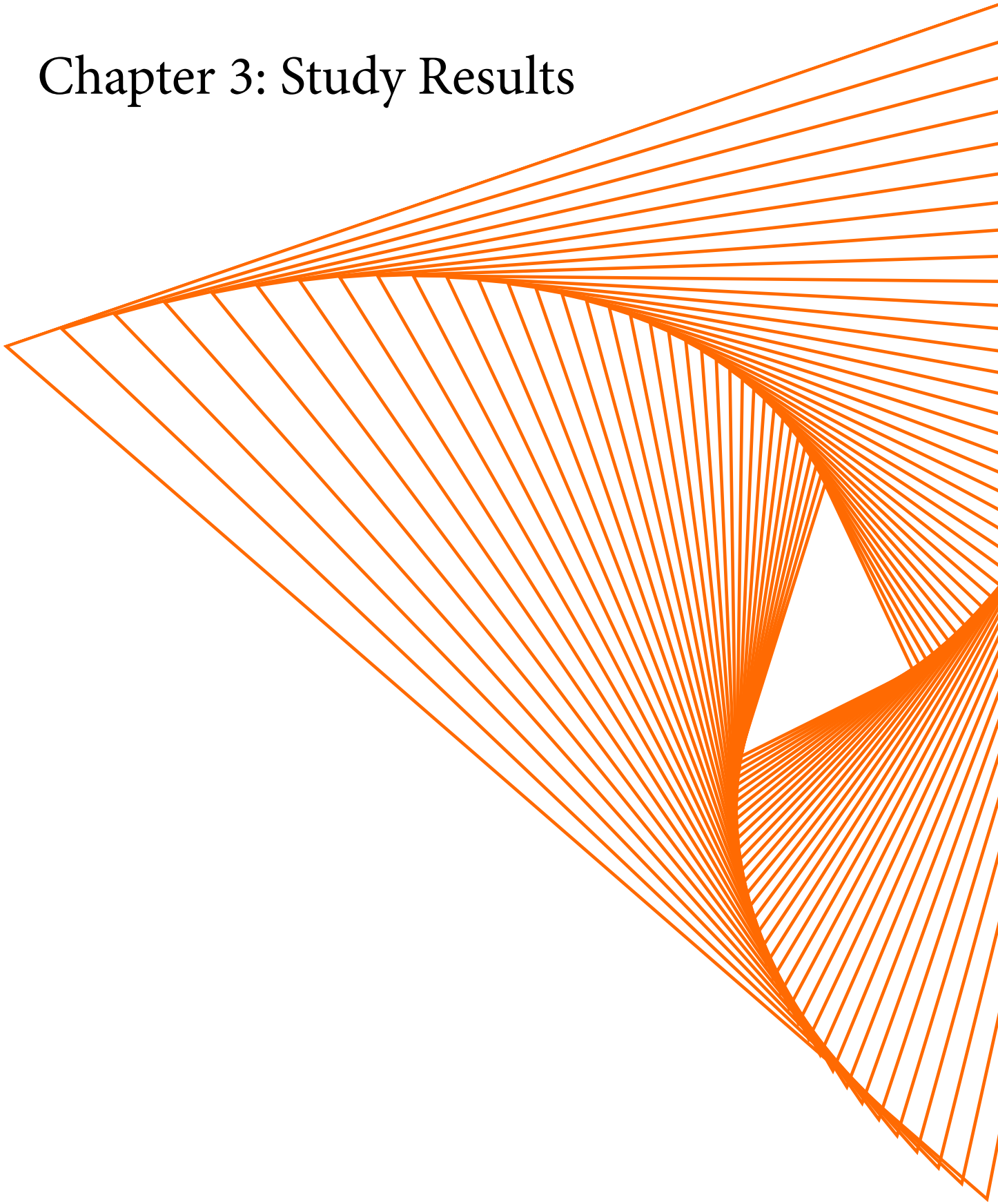
¹⁵ Secord, P.f & Backman, C.M. (1974) : Social Psychology , MC Graw- Hill, INC,P272.

4. Mutual dependence: Modern societies cannot achieve self-sufficiency by relying solely on their own resources. Mutual dependence between societies is essential for the emergence of relationships between them¹⁶.

Social relationships are not static but rather subject to change based on place and time. Interconnected and strong relationships require sufficient time and a set of shared experiences that individuals within a community must live through. It is impossible to deal with individuals who have experienced arbitrary detention, isolation from their communities, and subsequently forced deportation from their areas of belonging, leaving their properties and money in the hands of the authorities to unfamiliar areas where they have no social relationships or prior connections other than sharing a common opposition to the ruling power. Such violations are among the most dangerous types of violations that can be inflicted on individuals. The survivors of arbitrary detention find themselves alone without social support from their previous social environment, which provided them with a sense of social stability. Moreover, they also suffer from inadequate shelter as a result of displacement and forced deportation. They live in a state of psychological alienation that can make them psychologically fragile and socially isolated when facing life's challenges.

¹⁶ Abdel Aziz Fikra, [Social Relations from a Sociological Perspective](#), Journal of Social and Human Sciences, No. 13, Algeria

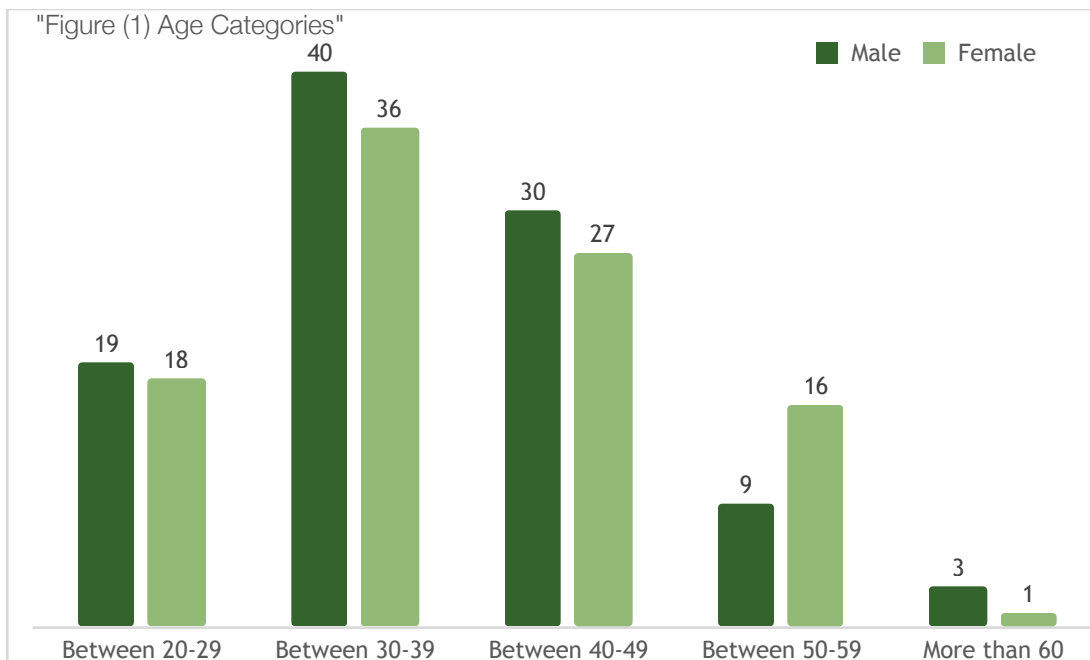
Chapter 3: Study Results



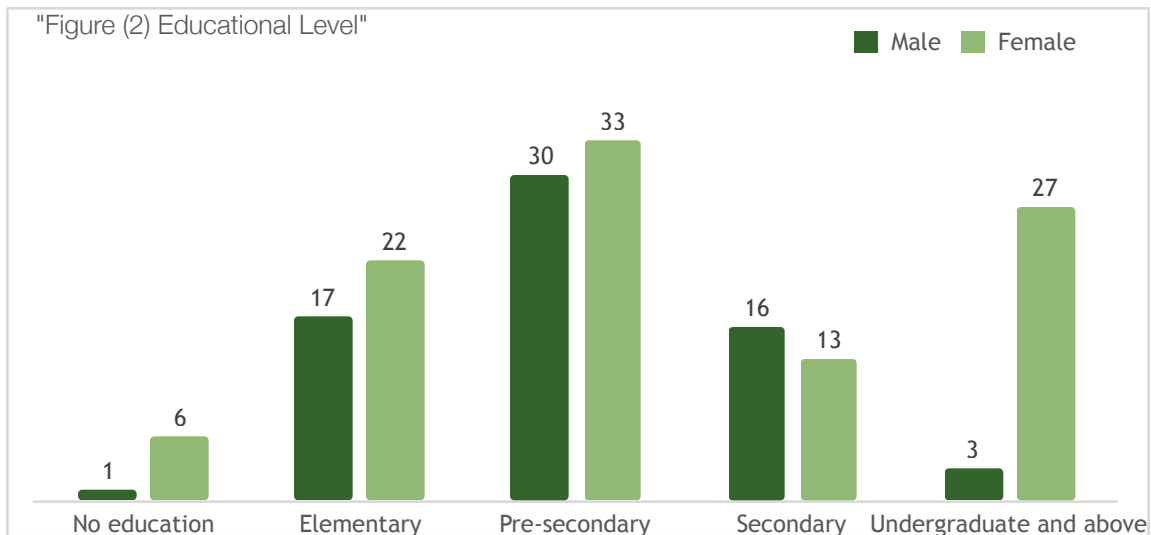
First: General Characteristics of the Study Sample

The results of the overall study from the quantitative questionnaire indicate that the participants, both male, and female, who were survivors of the arrests, were within the age group of 20-60 and above. The attached figure shows that the highest percentage of male participants was in the age group of 30-39 years, with 40%. It was followed by the age group of 40-49 years with 30%. Meanwhile, 18% were concentrated in the age group of 20-29 years. The remaining percentage was for individuals over the age of fifty.

As for female survivors of the arrests, their distribution by age groups was as follows: 36% between 30-39 years, 27% between 40-49 years, and 19% between 20-29 years. The remaining percentage represented individuals over the age of fifty. This indicates that the arrests targeted both men and women in the younger age groups, who were generally capable of working and politically active.



In terms of educational attainment, there was a slight variation between male and female survivors of the arrests. Among the male survivors, 36% had a university degree compared to 27% of the female survivors. On the other hand, 16% of males had a high school diploma compared to 13% of females, and 30% of males had a preparatory certificate compared to 33% of females.

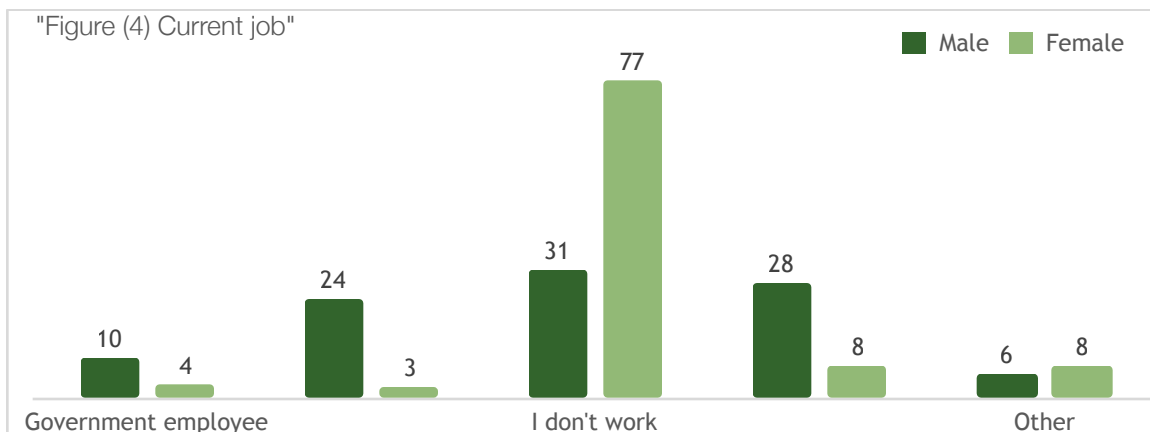
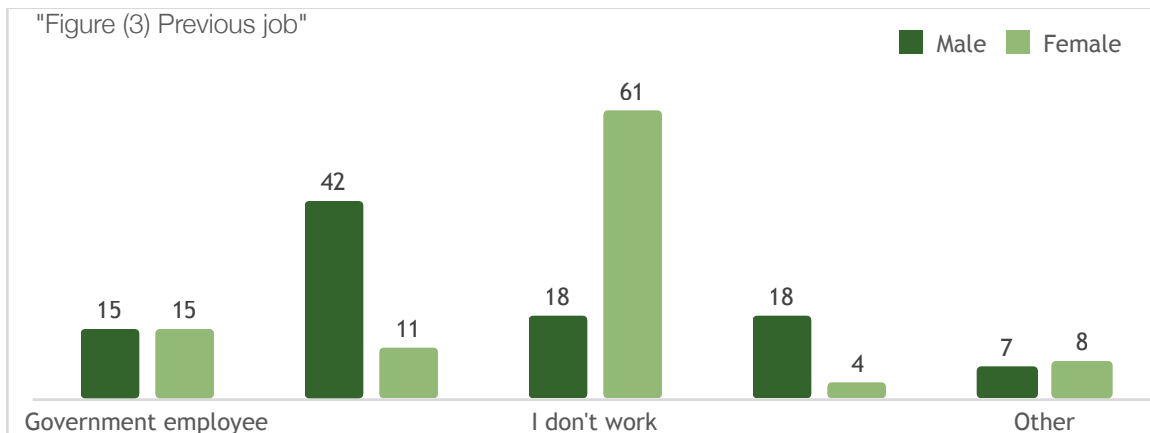


Looking at the marital status, the vast majority of participants were married. Among men, the percentage was 87% compared to 60% among women. However, the percentage of widows among women was 26%, which can be attributed to the conditions of the war in Syria. Some women lost their husbands in the conflict, while others lost them to imprisonment. Additionally, 2% of the sample consisted of wives of missing persons and detainees, 6% were divorced, and 6% were unmarried, compared to 11% of men.

Social situation	Gender		Total number
	Male	Female	
Widow/widower		37 (26%)	37
Engaged	2 (1%)		2
Missing or detained spouse		3 (2%)	3
Single (female) / Single (male)	18 (11%)	8 (6%)	26
Married	141 (87%)	86 (60%)	227
Divorced	1 (1%)	9 (6%)	10
Total	162	143	305

Table (1): Marital Status of Sample Participants

When examining the occupational status before detention, we find that women were mostly engaged in relatively typical occupations. The majority, 61%, of women did not work prior to detention, compared to 18% of men. However, 15% of both women and men were employed in government positions before detention. Additionally, 11% of women had their own businesses, while 42% of men fell within the same category.



In comparison to the post-detention stage, we observe that the percentage of unemployed women increased to 77%, while 23% remained employed. The women's occupations varied between working for others without pay, having a job, and having their own business. Moreover, there was an increase in the percentage of unemployed men, reaching 31%. This can be attributed to the circumstances of displacement and the poor economic conditions characterized by limited job opportunities. On the other hand, 69% of men who survived detention were employed, with the highest percentage working for others without pay, followed by those who owned their own businesses, and then individuals with regular jobs.

Regarding the qualitative study, according to the case study, the characteristics of the sample of survivors of detention who were interviewed were evenly distributed between males and females. We had 11 cases of male survivors of detention, with one being unmarried and the rest being married, compared to 11 cases of female survivors of detention, with two being unmarried, one being a widow, and the rest being married.

Table (2) illustrates the marital status:

Marital Status	Quantity	
	Male	Female
Single	1	2
Married	10	8
Widow		1
Total	11	11

In terms of education, the majority of participants have a good educational background, except for one woman who is completely illiterate and cannot read or write. On the other hand, there are 5 women with university degrees and two with secondary school certificates. As for men, there are 4 with university degrees and one with a secondary school certificate. Even though most participants come from somewhat rural backgrounds (8 individuals from the Syrian countryside), they have an interest in education. Therefore, the vast majority of survivors from detention have at least an intermediate level of education or higher.

Educational Status	Quantity	
	Male	Female
Illiterate	0	1
Elementary education	5	2
Pre-secondary	1	1
Secondary education	1	2
Undergraduate	4	5
Total	11	11

Table (3) illustrates the distribution of cases according to educational status. The table below indicates that the majority of participants are from the middle age group, which is the influential age group capable of working and participating in community activities in general. The ages of the participants were concentrated between 20-50 years old, while there were 4 participants above the age of fifty. Therefore, we can say that those who experienced detention are from the age groups that are most active in society in general.

Table (4) illustrates the distribution of the sample individuals according to age groups.

Age groups	Quantity	
	Male	Female
Between 20-30	1	3
Between 31-40	4	4
Between 41-50	4	2
Between 51-60	1	1
Above 61	1	1
Total	11	11

Regarding the occupational aspect, male participants had diverse occupations before detention. There were 3 university students, 3 self-employed individuals, 2 working in agriculture, and 1 mosque imam. As for the female participants, 5 of them were housewives who did not work outside, 3 were university students, and there was one teacher and one sports trainer. After surviving detention, the participants' occupations changed for all of them, and they did not work in the fields they previously worked in due to changes in locations and the loss of their previous jobs. Three participants are currently unemployed due to a lack of job opportunities and high demand for work among the unemployed. The percentage of individuals engaged in self-employment increased to 5 people, and these jobs involve simple business activities in addition to daily work and sand transportation. Two participants are working in local community organizations, and they were previously students before detention. As for the female survivors of detention, four of them became housewives, two are university students, one

is employed in a civil society organization, one is a teacher, and one is currently unemployed and searching for work.

Previous occupational status	Quantity		Current occupational status	Quantity	
	Male	Female		Male	Female
Student	3	3	Student	0	2
Homemaker		5	Homemaker	0	4
Self-employed	3		Self-employed	5	1
Agricultural work	2	0	Unemployed	3	1
Driver	1	0	Employee	0	1
Engineer	1	0	Blacksmith	1	0
Sports coach	0	1	The employee in an organization	2	1
Teacher	0	2	Teacher	0	1
Mosque imam	1	0	Mosque imam	0	0
Total	11	11	Total	11	11

Table (5) illustrates the distribution of cases according to occupational status.

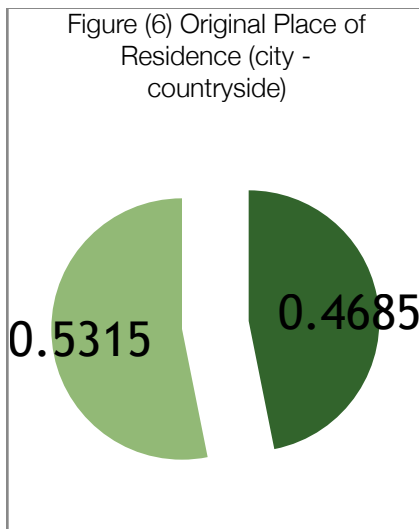
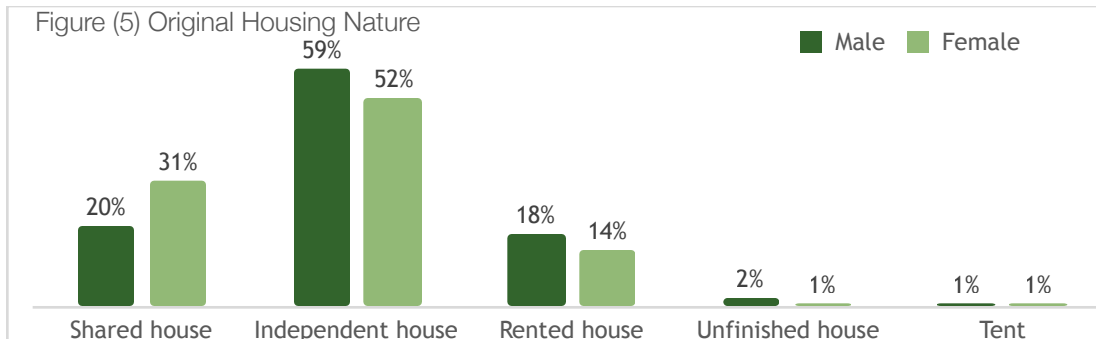
In the focal groups, the characteristics of the sample were as follows: 32 participants who share the same attribute, namely being survivors of detention. Due to forced displacement and fear of being re-arrested, they left their primary places of residence. They are dispersed as groups in northern Syria and in countries outside Syria such as Turkey, France, Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands. The advisory group, consisting of supporters of the victims and survivors of detention, is also distributed in countries outside Syria, within the age range of 20-55 years.

Execution location	Represented areas	Number of group members	Date	Session management
Online	Inside Syria	12 participants 8 males / 4 females	10/10/2022	Eva Wahid Atfa Reporter: Ismail
Online	Victims' families	9 participants 6 males / 3 females	11/10/2022	Eva Wahid Atfa Reporter: Ismail
Online	Outside Syria	11 participants 8 males / 3 females	27/10/2022	Eva Wahid Atfa Reporter: Ismail

Table (6) illustrates the distribution of focal groups.

Second: Adequate Housing Axis:

According to the quantitative data from the questionnaire, it appears that the original place of residence, i.e., before the detention, was predominantly urban. 64% of males resided in urban areas, compared to 53% of females. On the other hand, 36% of males resided in rural areas, compared to 47% of females.

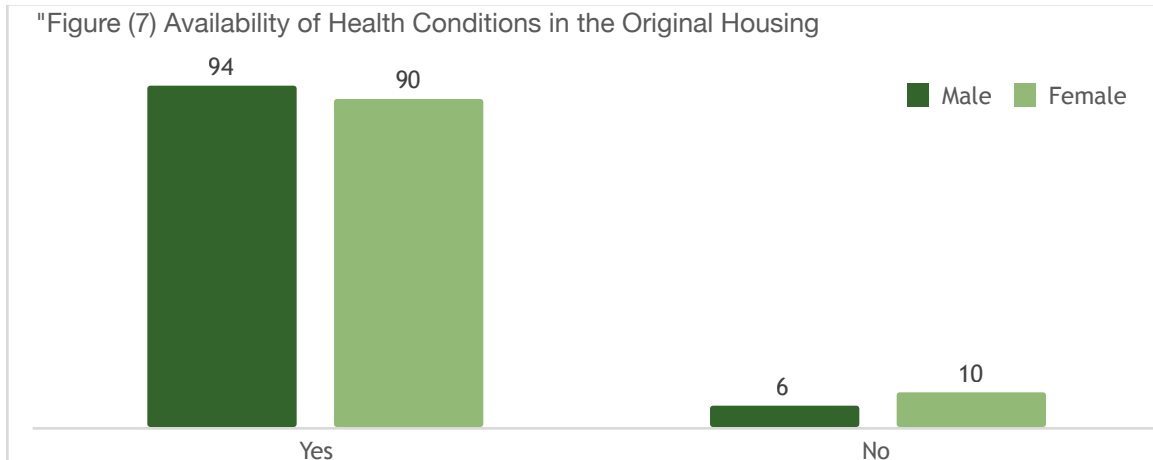


When asked about the nature of the house they were living in and whether it was independent or shared with other family members, the responses for males were as follows: 52% had an independent house, 31% had a house shared with the family, 14% lived in a rented house, and 2% lived in a tent or an unfinished building. As for females, 59% resided in an independent house, 20% in a house shared with the family, 18% in a rented house, and 3% in a tent or an unfinished building.

1. Availability of services in housing

Regarding the availability of services in housing, when we refer to the health conditions in housing, it means the availability of electricity, water, sunlight,

ventilation, and proximity to services. 94% of males reported the presence of health conditions in their original residences, meaning no moisture, sufficient sunlight, and availability of other household services. In comparison, 90% of females stated that health conditions were available in their previous residences due to the presence of all essential services and the location of the residence in relation to schools, clinics, and other necessities.



One of the participants in the case study reported:

“

My house was spacious and had a good number of rooms. It was well maintained, as my parents took great care in furnishing and setting it up. I lived some of the best days of my life in this house. Electricity and water were available in good supply, and it was equipped with proper sanitation and all the

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necessary amenities for comfortable living.

These findings were consistent with the in-depth study results, indicating that all participants, regardless of their place of residence (rural or urban), expressed great satisfaction with their homes. The houses were spacious, accommodating all family members, exposed to sunlight, and equipped with all basic services. *One of the participants in the focus groups said:*

“

I never knew what it meant to experience power outages or go through winter without secure access to fuel. Everything inside the house was abundant

”

and the house itself was quite spacious.

While 10% of females and 6% of males in the quantitative survey indicated that health conditions in their original places of residence were not available for the reasons mentioned by the participants, they cited the following: lack of continuous access to water and electricity, leading them to purchase water in tanks. Additionally, the houses suffered from humidity, especially those built hastily in unplanned areas without adhering to building standards. The last reason mentioned was the need for house repairs.

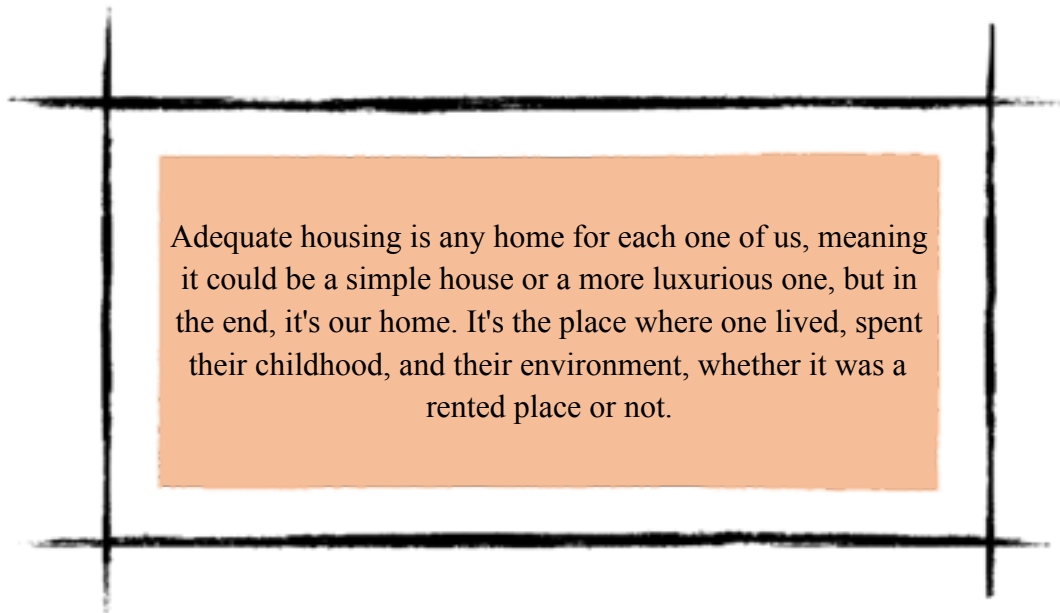
Table (7) illustrates the reasons for the lack of health conditions.

Reasons for the lack of health conditions:	Male	Female
Absence of water and electricity.	3%	4%
The house is old and suffers from dampness.	2%	3%
The house needs renovation	1%	3%
Rate: 10% of females represent 15 women Rate: 6% of males represent 10 men		

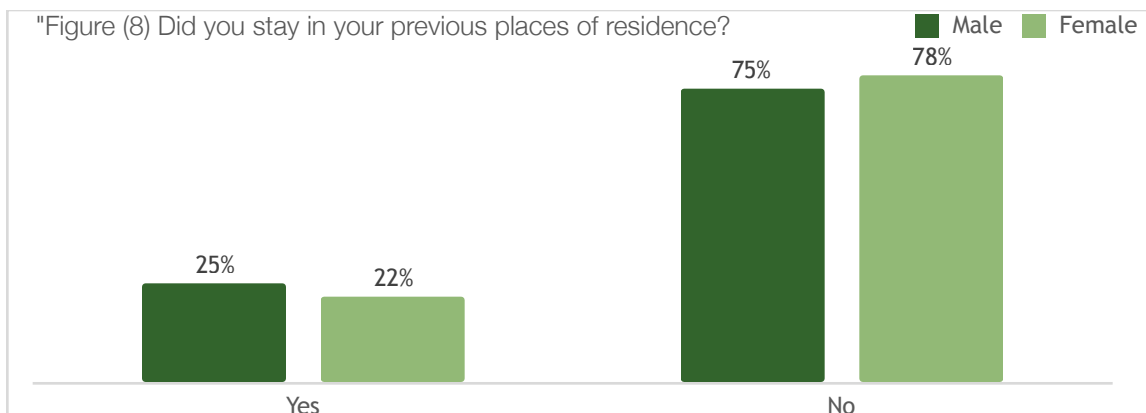
All these health conditions, services, and the ability to access them are essential elements of adequate housing for individuals. Regardless of any defects, a person's home can still be considered suitable if they feel stable, safe, and happy in it. One of the participants in the focal group summarized this sentiment, expressing the views of all participants.

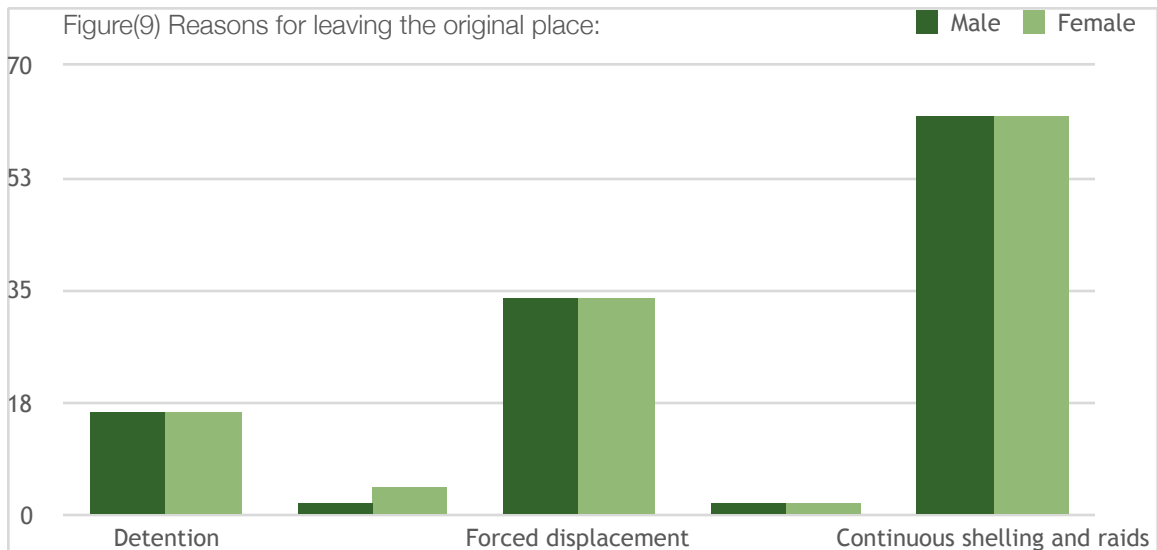
Participants were also asked about their ability to continue staying in their original places of residence and the reasons for leaving their homes if they responded with "no." This was done to determine whether the availability of services was a contributing factor or if other factors were at play. According to the attached

figure, the vast majority of participants left their original places of residence and moved to other locations. Around 75% of males and 78% of females reported leaving their homes, while those who remained in their original places of residence were forced to move to other houses.



When asked about the reasons for moving from their original places of residence to other locations, the quantitative data indicated the following: 53% of males and 60% of females mentioned that the main reason for the move was the experience of detention and the fear of being detained again. This indicates the bitterness of this experience and the fear of its recurrence, which led them to change their places of residence. The percentage was slightly higher among females, which can be attributed to social factors. Female survivors of detention face more social stigma than males, in addition to the fear of being detained again.





Forced displacement ranked second as a reason for moving, with 29% of males and 33% of females reporting it. Many people were forced to leave their homes due to specific pressures, as their areas were under bombardment or siege. They were faced with difficult choices: either staying in their homes and risking detention or death, or complying with the demands of the Syrian government forces and relocating to northern Syria. This meant being displaced from their communities and uprooted from their social environment.

Additionally, 14% of males and 16% of females had to leave their original homes due to ongoing airstrikes or artillery shelling and raids in their areas. This made their neighborhoods unsafe, prompting them to leave their homes. Another 2% from both genders left their homes either due to marriage or moving to separate households.

This was confirmed by participants in the qualitative side of the questionnaire. The main reason for leaving their original places of residence was the fear of being detained again and the frequent raids in their areas, which forced them to leave for either northern Syria or abroad.

Since participants were forced to change their original places of residence, it was essential to inquire about the services available in their current locations and the problems they might face. 62% of males and 40% of females reported that all services were available but were costly in their new places of residence. They

mentioned that the costs of these services were high compared to their monthly income and that some services were not available continuously. For example, electricity was usually subscribed based on amperes, and they had to purchase drinking water. As for sanitation, it was present in 33% of males' locations and 52% of females' locations, which aligns with what was expressed by participants in the case study and focus groups.

One of the participants in the case study:

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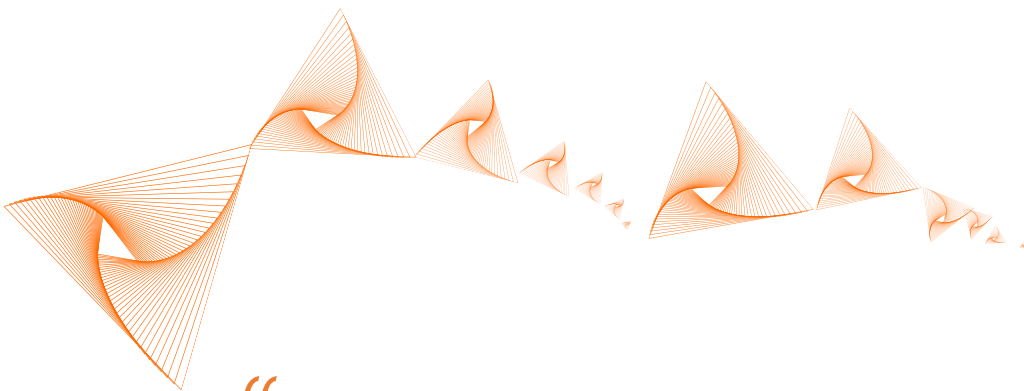
Water, electricity, and internet are available, but everything is rented and expensive.

There are three rooms in the accommodation, which are decent, but they are not sunny

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and are dark during the day with no ventilation. The rent is 70 dollars.

Not only that, but the qualitative findings from the focus groups also confirmed that participants in the northern regions of Syria are facing repeated displacement and instability in the rented homes they inhabit. They are compelled to do so due to several factors. Firstly, they experience discomfort related to health concerns, the small size of the accommodations, and the high level of humidity. Additionally, the buildings are affected and pose a risk due to ongoing airstrikes. Secondly, the increasing rent costs do not align with their salaries, forcing them to move to homes located farther away from urban centers.



“

Since I migrated here, I haven't lived in a house like the one I used to live in. The rents are very expensive, and they don't match the conditions of a healthy home where I can live. My entire monthly salary is only 150 dollars, how can I afford the rent? I

have no choice but to live in a house that is not mine, and it's not my life, and I can't settle down or afford to buy or rent a house.

For two years, I've moved to seven or eight different houses, and suddenly they raise the

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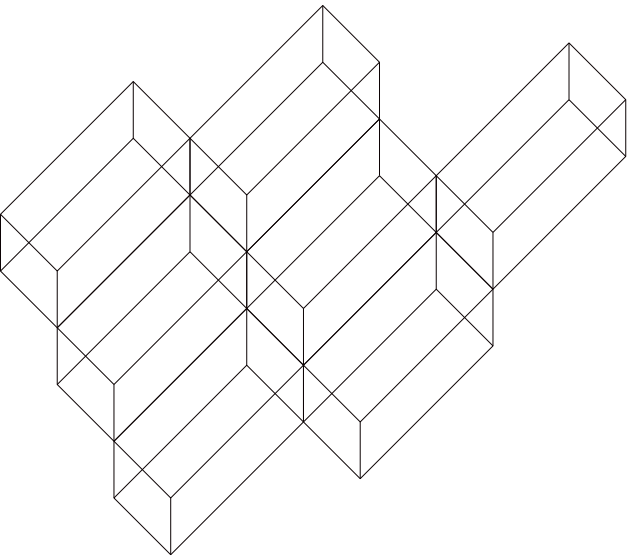
rent, and all the flaws of the summer and winter start to appear.

This indicates a decline in the level of services for the participants in their current places of residence compared to the previous ones, which constitutes a fundamental violation of the right to decent housing. The participants speak passionately and painfully about their original homes, as they have suffered both material and emotional losses, which have had repercussions on their current situation. Most of the study participants put great effort into building their original homes, and they express the sentiment of "a lifetime of misery, and everything disappeared in the blink of an eye." This leads to serious psychological and social setbacks in the lives of those who have gone through this experience.

Moreover, the challenges of human relocation under normal circumstances can be difficult, so one can only imagine the hardships faced under forced displacement and war-related conditions.

When asked about the problems they encounter in their new places of residence, the participants mentioned a multitude of interconnected issues. 83% of women and 77% of men primarily mentioned economic problems, followed by social problems at 42% for women and 32% for men. Health problems were reported at 53% for women and 31% for men.

The qualitative findings also confirmed that the majority of the sample members suffer primarily from economic problems, such as high rental costs and a lack of employment opportunities, which aligns with the quantitative findings. Additionally, there is a focus on social problems arising from the diverse cultures and social backgrounds and the prevalence of different dialects, considering that they come from various regions in Syria. This makes communication and interaction among them more challenging, as indicated by the study.



One of the participants:

“

There are no social relationships because we live in a society with diverse cultures, and people don't know each other due to the large population and the variety of

”

dialects.

The situation is no different for participants who have moved to live outside of Syria, as they also face challenges in forming new social relationships with the new environment, due to similar reasons such as differences in customs, traditions, and language.

“

For the past four years, we haven't been able to establish relationships with our neighbors due to language barriers, cultural differences, and our busy schedules with our children's education. It's not easy for me to replace the childhood and youth neighbors. Sometimes, I sit at home and cry, reminiscing about my homeland, family,

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and neighbors.

Fear and discomfort in dealing with the new society and its perception of Syrians, especially in Turkey, act as barriers to building positive relationships, except for work-related relationships, as the study indicates. All of this highlights the impact of the transition from the original social circle on individuals' lives in general.

One of the participants from outside Syria:

“

I suffered a lot and couldn't form social relationships. At first, I lived in a house that was basically a basement with only one room, filled with insects. I avoided interacting

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with neighbors due to my extreme fear of the surroundings.

Participants have lost jobs and social connections, which, in turn, affects their social life and relationships. Their presence in a social environment that does not reflect their customs, traditions, and culture forces them to start anew in different endeavors from what they used to do before. Moreover, the high demand for work and the prevalence of unemployment add to the challenges they face. Not to mention the health issues resulting from the torture they endured during their detention, which has taken a toll on their health.

Table (8) illustrates the problems present in the current housing:

Issues in the current housing:	Percentage of females	Percentage of male
Economic problems	83%	77%
Social problems	42%	32%
Health problems	53%	31%

All of these aspects are considered part of the violations of human rights in general and property rights specifically, with implications for individuals' social and economic lives.

2. Safety in Housing:

When participants were asked about the level of safety in their previous places of residence, 63% of female participants and 56% of male participants in the quantitative study confirmed that their places of residence were safe. This safety was attributed to their familiarity with the social environment, which allowed for a safe space for movement, children's play, and secure access to different areas.

Overall, social safety is achieved through people's ability to interact with each other regardless of religion, ethnicity, or sect, and beyond the ruling system. This was emphasized by participants in the qualitative study, where neighborly relations were stronger than other differences.

“

Before the revolution, there were no problems with anyone. I am Sunni, and the neighborhood I lived in had Alawites and people from different backgrounds, but we didn't differentiate between each other. However, after the revolution, there were many

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tensions and conflicts.

As for the ruling system, there were various forms of harassment as highlighted in the qualitative study. For example, before 2011, these security harassments involved encircling certain areas and preventing residents from passing through when a government delegation was present or passing through those areas themselves. Other practices were also mentioned, which caused distress to the inhabitants.

“

There were no direct violations, but since I grew up in an area near the presidential palace, there were some inconveniences, such as the nighttime relocation of cars from their usual parking spots to other locations due to the passage of some important figures at that time. There was also daily heavy security presence in the area, and suspicious looks directed at anyone entering the neighborhood. This created tension for

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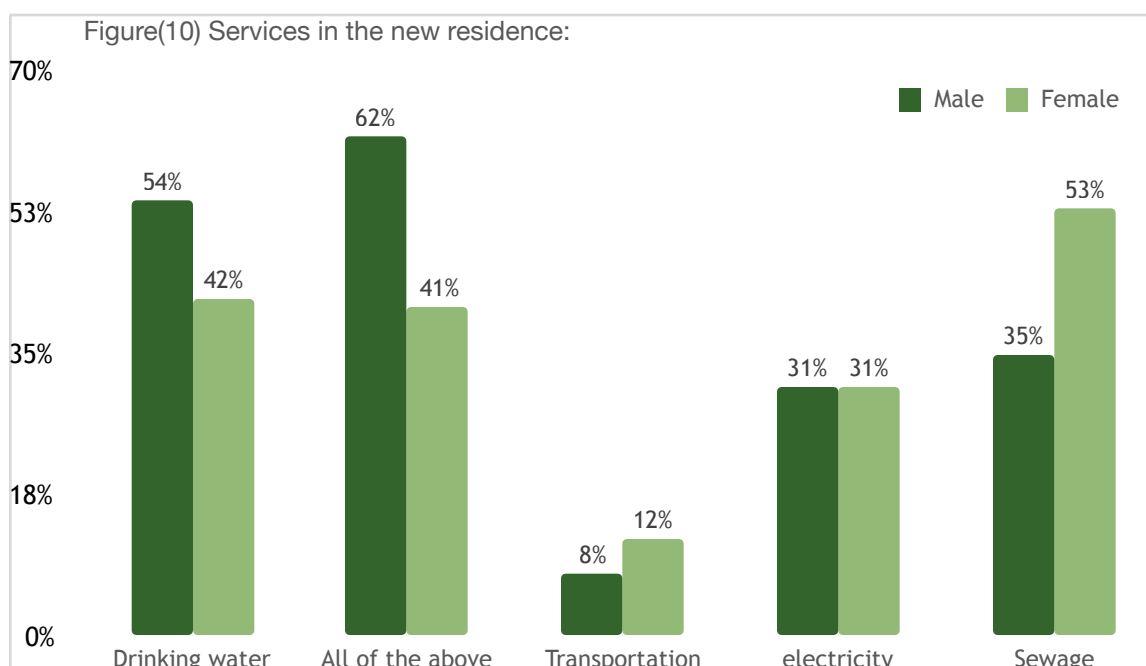
the residents and caused some psychological pressure.

Furthermore, 44% of males and 34% of females in the quantitative study reported that their places of residence were no longer safe after the start of the popular revolutionary movement in Syria in 2011, followed by subsequent acts of violence by conflicting parties. There was a general consensus among participants that safety was no longer available in their original places of residence. This was primarily due to security concerns, as the bombardment and arbitrary arrests of both women and men significantly impacted their sense of security in the region. This finding was also supported by participants in the qualitative study, who experienced raids and artillery bombardments targeting

residential areas. Many of the participants were forced to leave their homes and seek safer areas, as these raids often targeted activists, regardless of their level of involvement, to exert psychological pressure on them and their families.

Table (9) illustrates the reasons for the insecurity of the housing location:

Reason	Number of Males	Percentage of Males	Number of Females	Percentage of Females
Bombings and arrests	67	42%	48	34%
Conflicts between armed factions	2	1%	3	2%
Sectarian problems	2	1%	0	0%
ISIS infiltration	0	0%	1	1%



Given the intensity of bombardments on areas where opposition factions to the Syrian regime were located, the residents became targets of shells and airstrikes by the Syrian army. This was followed by existing disputes between Syrian opposition factions and armed clashes among them. Additionally, 1% of the participants mentioned sectarian issues, as most Syrian neighborhoods are characterized by diversity in sects and religions. However, differences in political

orientations reflected on religious affiliations, leading to perceiving certain minorities as pro-regime and certain sects, such as Sunnis, as against the Syrian regime. This created divisions in social relations during that period and eroded trust and security among the people.

“

With the beginning of the revolution, we faced many violations due to the raids that targeted peaceful protesters. My family and I were among those wanted by the authorities, and our house was raided multiple times. Security forces caused damage,

”

looted, and vandalized our home.

The case studies also confirmed this, as the majority of participants stated that they were subject to continuous inspection campaigns, confiscation of mobile phones, and verbal abuse—especially targeting women rather than men—to humiliate them and incite sectarian tension among residents, resulting in displacement from the area they lived in.

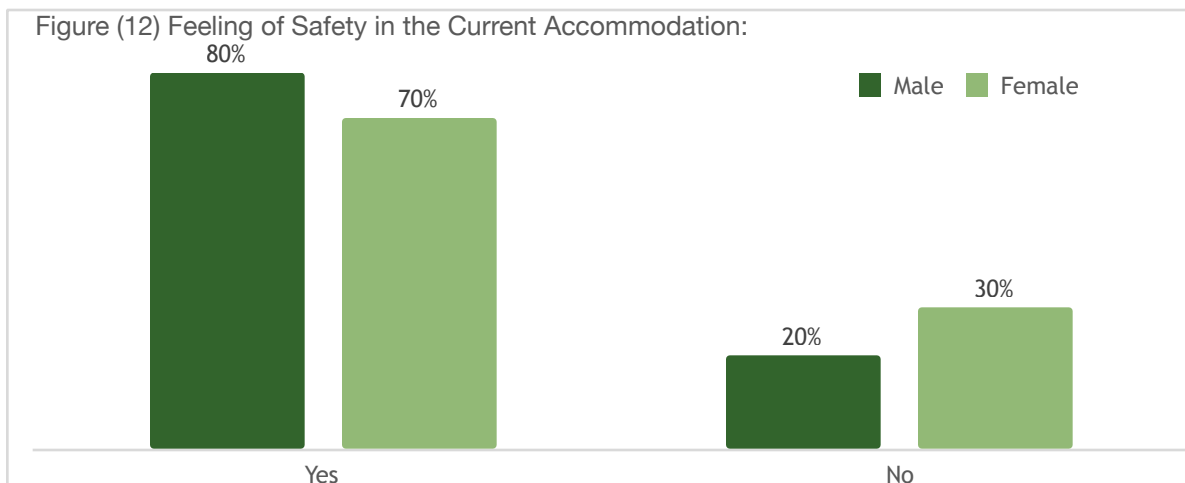
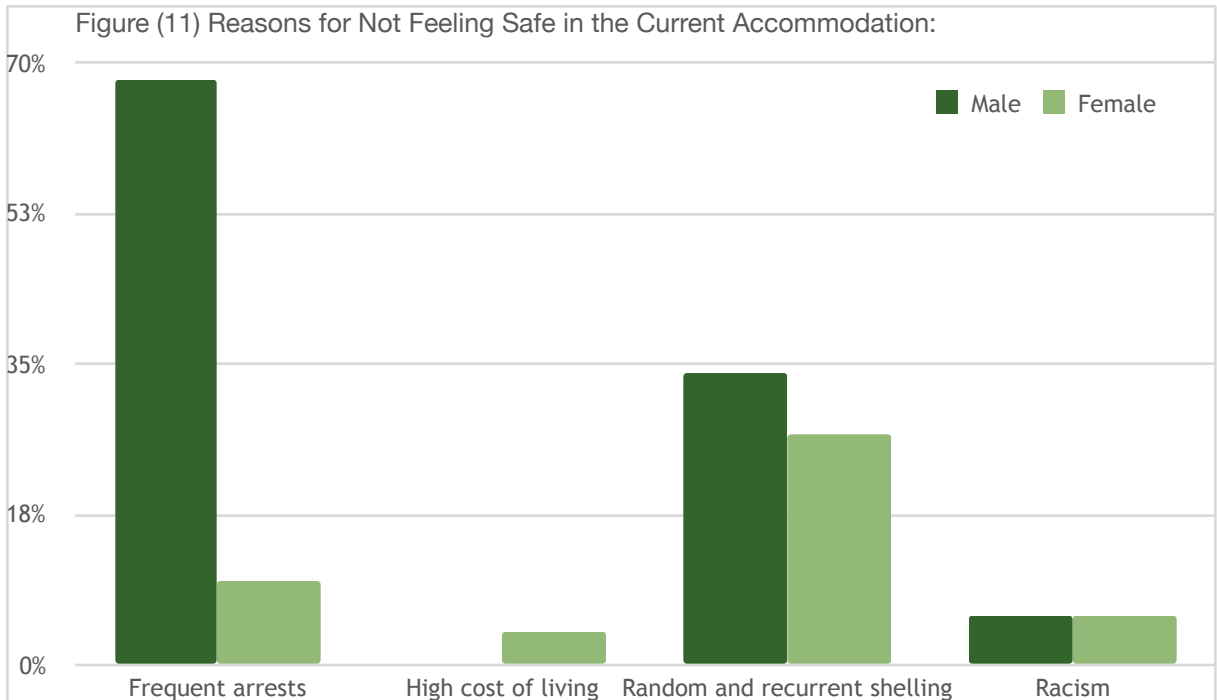
“

I faced harassment from people who lived in the neighborhood. Their political orientation was different from the political orientation of some others in the same neighborhood. They were supporters of a certain faction, while some others in the neighborhood were opposition members. They started insulting us and accusing us of

”

being traitors.

When asked about the current safety in their new residences after moving to new environments, mainly concentrated in northern and western Syria, the vast majority of both females and males felt insecure. This was attributed to the fact that these northern and western regions of Syria were hot zones and constantly subjected to bombardments by Syrian and Russian forces. Around 80% of females and 70% of males felt unsafe in their current locations, contrary to their sense of security in their original places of residence. Safety is one of the most essential human needs, and its absence disrupts individuals' psychological and social balance.



Regarding the reasons behind the feeling of safety or insecurity among the participants, there were similar factors of importance for both females and males. For the participants, the reasons, in order of importance, were as follows: frequent and indiscriminate bombardment of the area, given that northern Syria is a hot zone constantly exposed to shelling by Syrian and Russian forces; followed by numerous arrests in the area due to the internal fighting between factions; then, high cost of living, particularly with the deterioration of living conditions for all participants as a result of leaving their original work and transitioning to a new

environment; and finally, racism. 85 participants living abroad, out of 305 total, including 66 in Turkey and 19 in countries such as Canada, Germany, France, Egypt, Lebanon, the Netherlands, and Dubai, expressed an increase in racist rhetoric against Syrians. This rise in racism was due to various reasons, including the unstable political and economic situation and deportation decisions, especially in Turkey, which affected stability and the feeling of safety.

This is also confirmed by the qualitative study results. Some participants highlighted that their sense of safety came from the knowledge and familiarity they built in their previous environment. However, once they moved to a new environment, they lost this sense of safety and started feeling constant fear of others, especially in host communities that were completely different from the refugee's nature in the host countries. This feeling was intensified due to the lack of shared bonds between refugees and the host community.

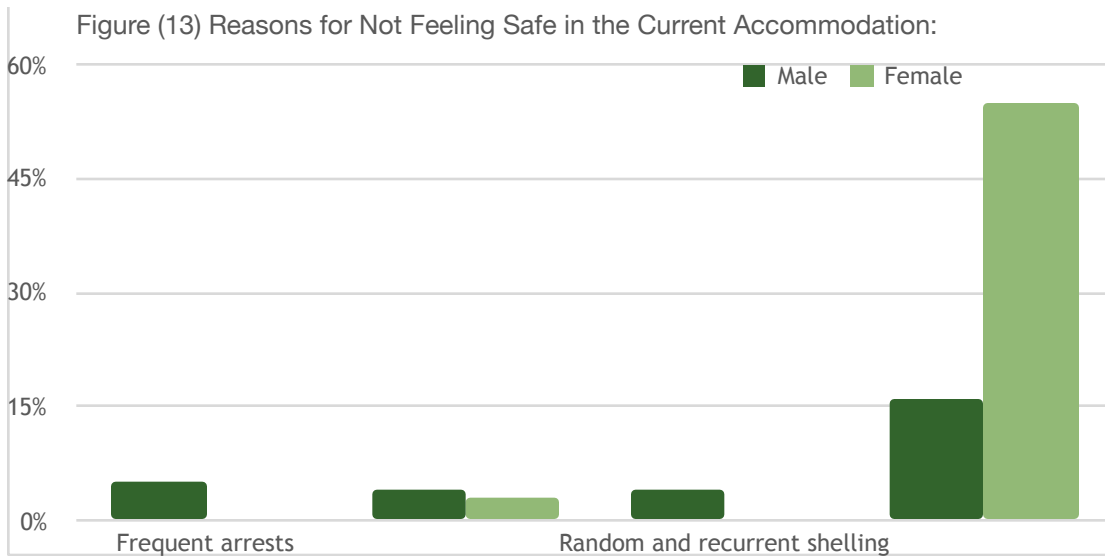
“

During the period when I settled in Turkey, I was afraid of everyone. Literally, anyone who knocked on my door, I imagined they wanted to harm me or poison me, I don't

”

know. But I was very, very scared. There was no sense of security.

As for the reasons behind the feeling of safety for the remaining participants, both males and females, the quantitative results were as follows: they felt safe because they were in villages and areas with more stability and security, away from the fronts and hot zones. Additionally, being in closed villages with guards provided them with a sense of psychological security.

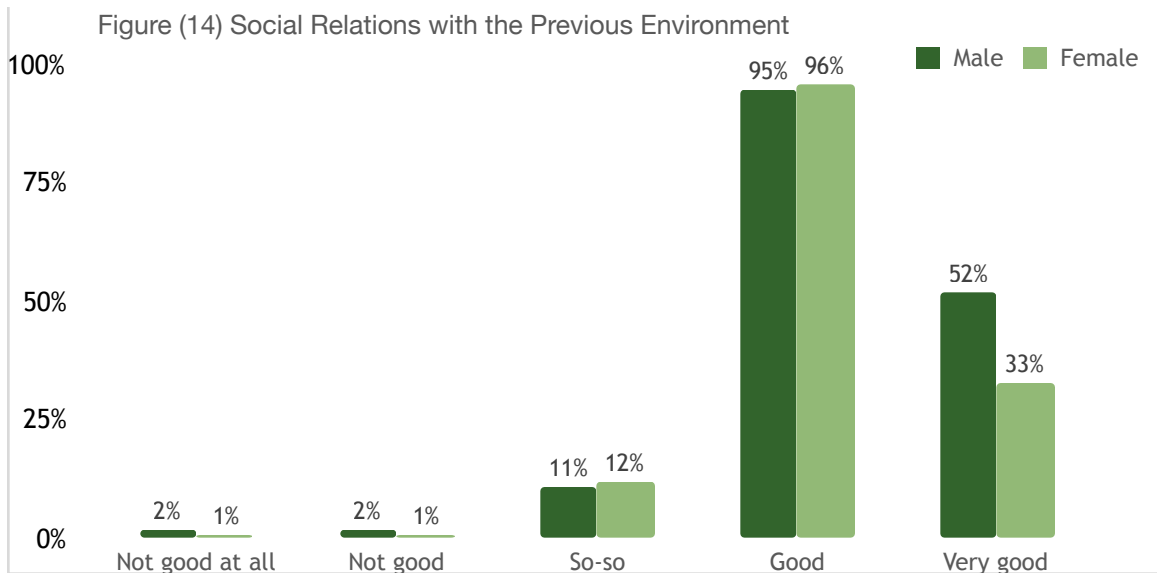


Moreover, the enforcement of binding laws for everyone and their presence in border areas, where bombardments are usually less frequent, contributed to a greater sense of security.

3. Social Relationships

Regarding social relationships in the original place of residence, including social life, interaction with neighbors, and existing social activities, the majority of participants described them as good or very good. 276 males and females stated that their social relationships were above average with the surrounding community, while 23 of them described it as average. This can be attributed to the long time they spent together, which led to the formation of close relationships. Some neighborly relationships even evolved into friendships.

However, 6 participants, both males, and females, described their social relationships as not good. This might be due to the nature of the place they settled in, as social relationships in large cities are usually somewhat formal among residents, especially when not all of them own their homes and are instead renters. This means that they might experience frequent changes in their living arrangements, in addition to the busyness of life and work commitments, which may limit their ability to socialize.



One of the study's findings is that participants in focus groups emphasized the intellectual and emotional value of a place, which forms the core of their social and psychological lives. This explains their attachment to the sense of place due to the added emotional value, including feelings and emotions, along with social relationships. The importance of a place is not limited to neighborly relations and friendships alone, but it also extends to the broader environment. It allows individuals the freedom to move and act, considering their overall knowledge of the surrounding environment. In case a person encounters any issues, they can resolve them with the help of those around them. This was also confirmed by participants in the city.

“

It's not just a real estate property; it's a collection of memories, emotions, and intricate

”

relationships that constituted our entire life.

This type of relationship gives the individual in their community internal strength and a sense of social support. It makes them feel never alone in the place they live, as they are capable of effective communication with everyone without any barriers between them. This, in turn, enhances the feeling of social belonging.

“

When I used to live in Daraya, every time I walked down the street, I knew everyone, or even if I didn't, I would raise my hand to greet them, and everyone would respond with

”

a greeting.

Similarly, in the case study results, most participants described the social relationships in their old social environment and especially with their neighbors as good to excellent.

One of the participants from the countryside mentioned:

“

I used to live surrounded by my family and relatives, and the environment around me was friendly and intimate. I felt a strong sense of belonging and harmony with most of the people around me. In my community, I had good relationships with many individuals,

”

whether through work or shared cultural and religious interests.

The relationships that connected them were longstanding, and they used to exchange visits between each other, supporting each other in times of joy and sorrow. There was no distinction between women and men, especially in rural areas, as the existing relationships were based on old acquaintances or relatives, and everyone knew each other.

In the city, where changes in its population may occur due to migration and the turnover of renters, social relationships become more complex. This applies to residents in popular areas of the city. In contrast, more affluent areas tend to have more stable relationships due to the stability of the residents and the continuity of neighbors in their homes. These affluent areas do not attract many immigrants due to the scarcity of rental properties and the generally high prices, resulting in people from these neighborhoods knowing each other and forming somewhat formal relationships.

One of the participants from the city mentioned:

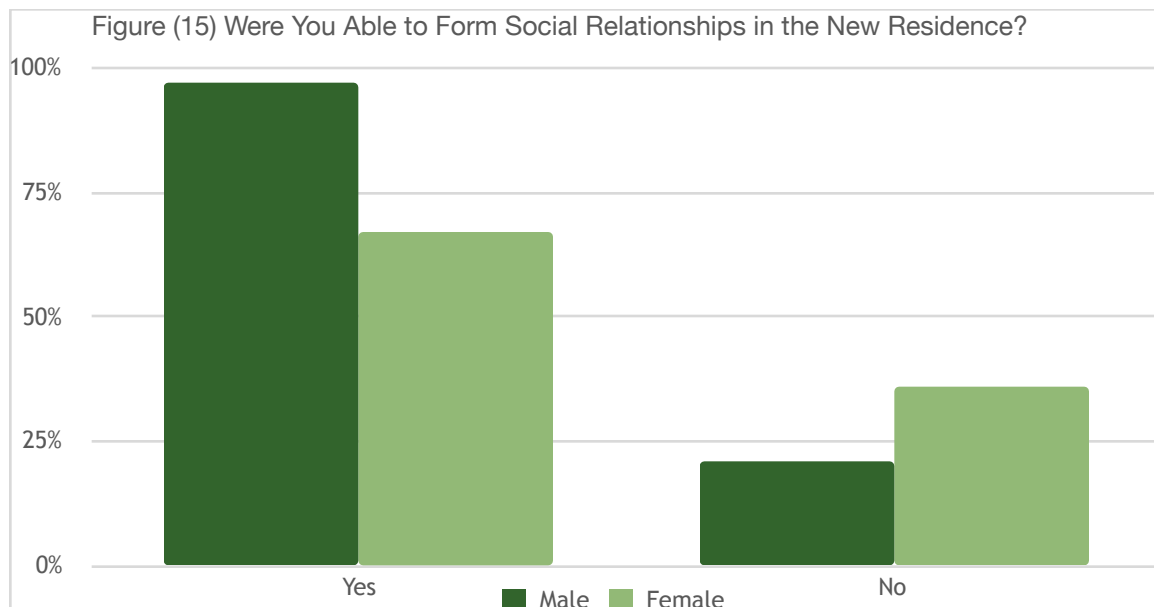
“

The relationship with some people is good, especially with the long-time residents in the building. However, since we live in a large city with millions of inhabitants, the

”

population can change frequently, with people being tenants or property owners.

Regarding the current residence, the quantitative survey results indicated that 164 participants were able to build new social relationships with their current surroundings. Among males (97 participants), they showed a higher ability to form social relationships with their surroundings compared to females (67 participants). This difference may be due to men working outside and needing to build more social connections compared to women, who may be content with close neighborly relationships.



The reasons aiding in building new social relationships with the surroundings, according to the participants, included 26% mentioning the convergence of customs, traditions, and religious norms. This was followed by 25% mentioning effective communication, 22% mentioning neighborhood and work-related reasons, and 2% stating that the relationships were restricted to family members and relatives, describing them as good.

Table (10) Formation of relationships with the environment

Reasons for the ability to form social relationships with the social environment:	Male	Female
Some were former friends.	0%	1%
Due to neighborhood and work.	22%	3%
Mass displacement.	0%	9%
Ability to communicate effectively.	25%	20%
Limited to family and relatives.	2%	7%
Need to adapt to the new environment.	7%	21%
Proximity of customs, traditions, and religious norms.	26%	5%
Number of interviewed participants: 164, including:	97	67

Table (11) Inability to build relationships with the environment

Reasons for the inability to form social relationships with the social environment:	Male	Female
Fear of establishing new relationships.	6%	30%
Changes in customs and traditions.	3%	2%
Change of place of residence.	3%	1%
Fear of rejection by the surrounding community.	4%	2%
Conflicts with other displaced individuals.	1%	0%
Number of interviewed participants: 152, equivalent to 52% including:	17%	35%

However, the proportions varied for female participants in terms of the reasons for building new social relationships with their surroundings. 21% mentioned the need to adapt to the new environment, 20% mentioned effective communication, 9% mentioned the shared struggles and hopes due to forced displacement, 7% stated that relationships were restricted to family members and relatives, and 5% mentioned the convergence of customs, traditions, and religious norms.

“

In four or five years, I moved five times, and with each move, I couldn't establish a strong friendship. Now, I've been in my current place for five months, and my neighbor still doesn't know me, and I don't know him. There is no stability in social

”

relationships.

“

The problem is not the absence of relationships in society; it's possible that it happened to us. We no longer have the patience for establishing relationships with

”

others. Our social sense has died.

On the other hand, 17% of male participants and 35% of female participants reported being unable to build new social relationships with the new social surroundings. This was attributed to the following reasons for male participants, in order: fear of establishing new social relationships, fear from the surrounding community, as they were survivors of detention, and changes in customs, traditions, and location of residence.

For female participants, the fear of establishing new relationships ranked first, followed by the other reasons.

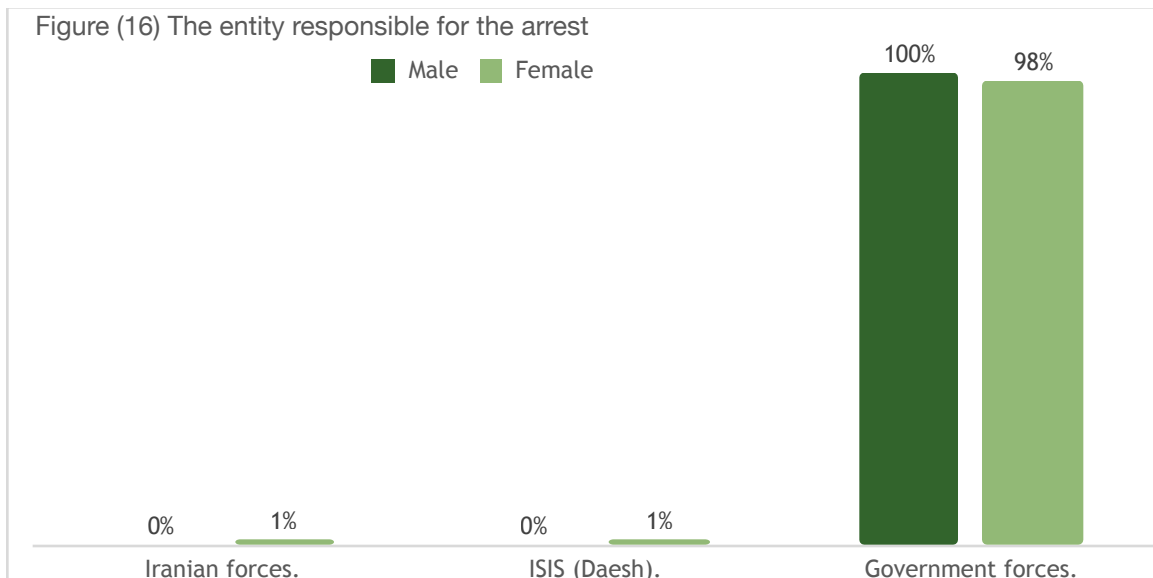
Regarding the qualitative results, participants in the case study and focus groups inside Syria described their social relationships with the surrounding community as weak, limited mostly to work and interests. This was due to the lack of stability in one place, frequent mobility, and the psychological inability to form new social relationships due to their experiences with detention, which led to losing their jobs and places of residence. Consequently, internal instability affected their ability to build good relationships with their surroundings. For participants residing outside Syria, they also explained that they have no relationships with the social surroundings due to similar reasons mentioned by participants inside Syria, in addition to language and cultural differences, as well as being occupied with learning the language of the new country and teaching their children.

Third: The Axis of Detention and Its Relationship to Property Rights Violations:

Both the quantitative and qualitative studies revealed that all participants, male and female, were subjected to arbitrary detention by the Syrian regime forces. All cases of detention occurred after the outbreak of the popular movement in Syria in 2011, which sought to change the existing regime and demand political reforms for citizens and society as a whole. In this axis, we aim to shed light on the experience of detention, the connection between property rights violations and detention, as well as the ability to access and dispose of properties.

1. The Experience of Detention:

The duration of detention varied between men and women. The vast majority of women (75%) spent a period ranging from one month to one year in detention. Additionally, 19% of them were detained for one to three years, and the remaining percentages were distributed among durations of three to five years and beyond. As for men, most of them (35%) were detained for a period ranging from one month to one year. Moreover, 28% of them were detained for one to three years, followed by 17% for durations of three to five years, and a comparable percentage of 16% were detained for more than five years.



The variation in the duration of detention between men and women could be attributed to the regime's greater fear of men's involvement in political activities.

Men might be more engaged in political work, participating in protests and even armed activities, while women may play a supportive role in preparing food and tending to the wounded during protests. Their political activities might revolve around coordinating and organizing demonstrations.



Testimony of one of the participants:

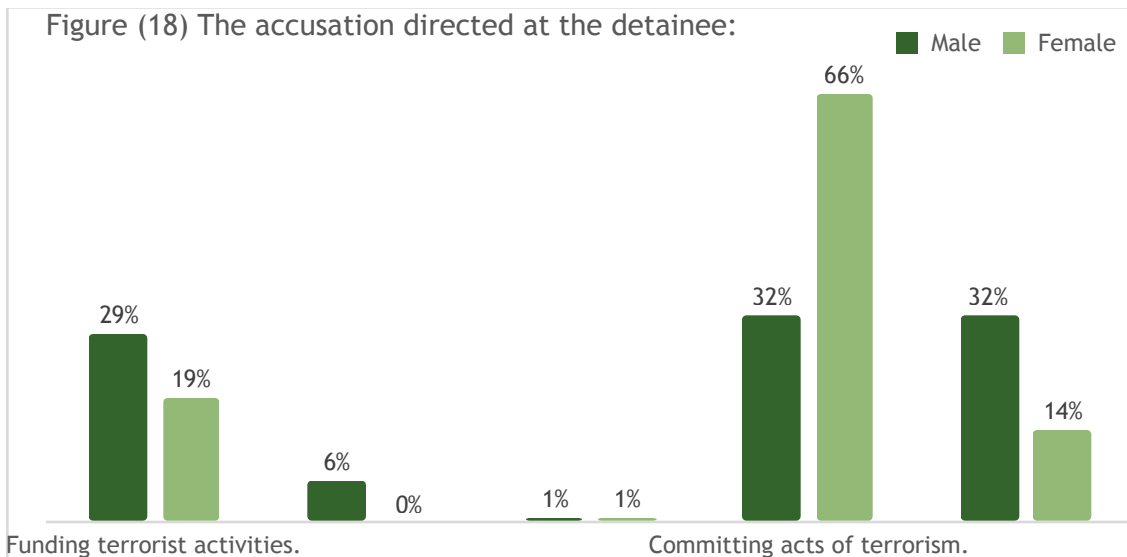
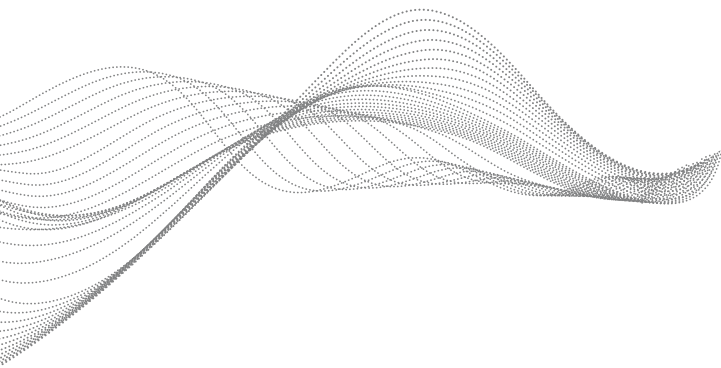
“

One of the things that affects me the most is the verbal abuse, which I consider to be harder than torture and even harder than death. The words stay with you forever, and you can never forget or ignore them. Their impact on me was very difficult to bear. Another thing is that we can't sleep at night without hearing the sounds of the detainees being tortured, and it breaks my heart to hear their pleas for help while we sit at night

”

praying and praying for them.

Regarding the charges brought against them by the Syrian government forces, the majority of participants (66%) stated that they were charged with committing terrorist acts. Following that, 19% were charged with financing terrorist activities, 14% with communicating with terrorist groups, and only 1% were charged with aiding the demonstrators.

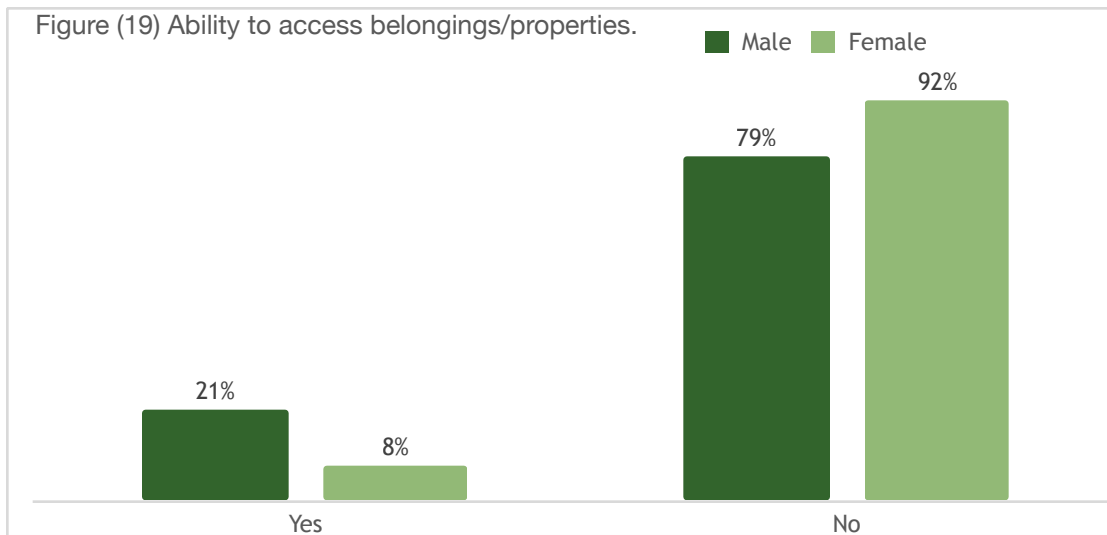


As for female participants, 31% shared charges related to communicating with terrorist groups and committing terrorist acts, while 29% were charged with financing terrorist activities. Additionally, 10% of female participants had relatives who were charged due to their affiliation with armed groups. Only 1% were charged with aiding the demonstrators.

Reason for the arrest	Female	Male
No reason.	36%	16%
Writing a sarcastic report.	36%	18%

Participating in protests and political activities.	20%	43%
Political affiliations.	8%	23%
Total.	100%	100%

These results align with the findings of the qualitative study in case studies and focus groups inside Syria, as all participants managed to survive the bitter experience of detention, with differences in the duration of detention from one person to another. The charges were similar, as all participants faced ready-made charges under the pretext of combating terrorism or assisting terrorists. All cases of detention were carried out by the Syrian regime forces, except for one case where detention was by the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) on charges of belonging to the Free Syrian Army.



There was a significant resemblance in the nature of violations and the systematic torture methods employed in regime prisons. Torture, both physical and psychological, started from the moment of arrest. Participants were blindfolded, brutally beaten with the butt of a rifle, and subjected to various forms of torture inside the prison. These included being denied access to the bathroom except at a specific time of day, cramming a large number of detainees into one room with no space to sit, using electric shocks, and applying mental pressure and verbal harassment to detainees, especially women, in order to extort information. The use of unethical insults and forcing female detainees to witness

male detainees being tortured led to a state of psychological trauma for both men and women alike.

When searching for the real reason for detention, according to the participants' opinions, the answers for male participants were ranked as follows:

- Participation in protests and political activities - 43%.
- Political affiliations - 23%.
- Someone wrote a false report against them - 18%.
- 16% claimed that there was no real reason for their detention.

As for the female participants, the reasons for their arrests were as follows: 36% were arrested without a genuine reason, but rather due to writing a critical report. Meanwhile, 20% reported being arrested for participating in protests and political activities, and only 8% were arrested solely based on their political beliefs. These findings align with the qualitative study results, as the participants confirmed that there were no legitimate reasons for their arrests but rather due to their political activities that were contrary to the Syrian regime's agenda and teachings.

2. The Impact of Detention on Properties and Possessions:

Participants were asked about the nature of the properties they owned before their detention to understand if they remained intact after the detention. The answers varied, indicating that they owned multiple properties and possessions. Some of these properties included:

- Officially registered houses.
- Furniture and household items.
- Pieces of land.
- Cars.
- Commercial properties.

Regarding the ability to access these properties, the vast majority (79% of males and 92% of females) reported that they were unable to access their properties after detention. Only a small percentage managed to access their properties either because they were in liberated areas in northern Syria or because they sold their properties immediately after release before any restrictions were imposed.

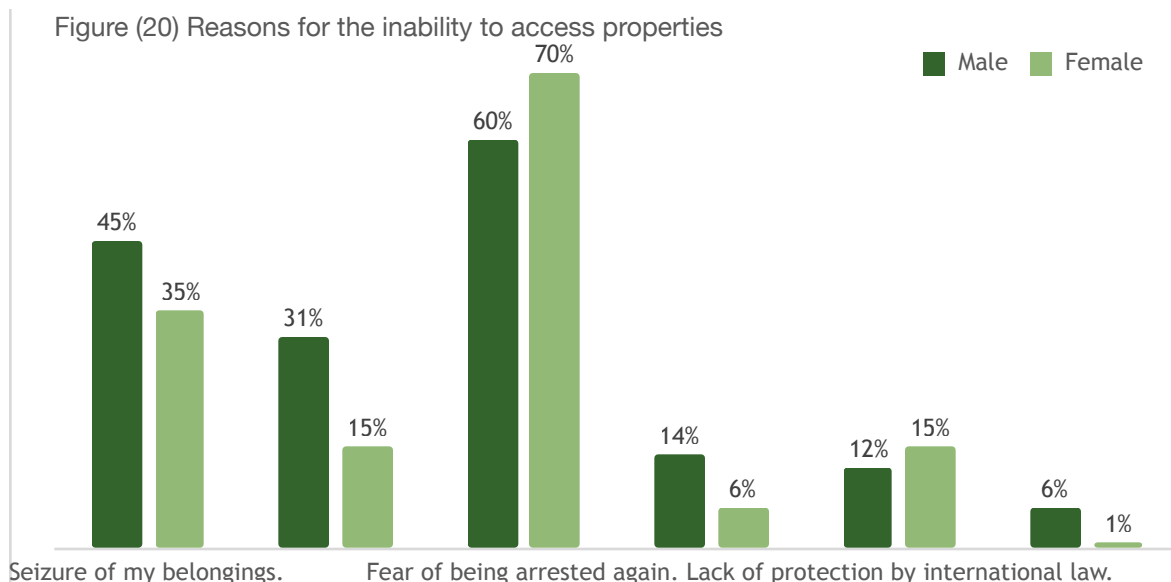
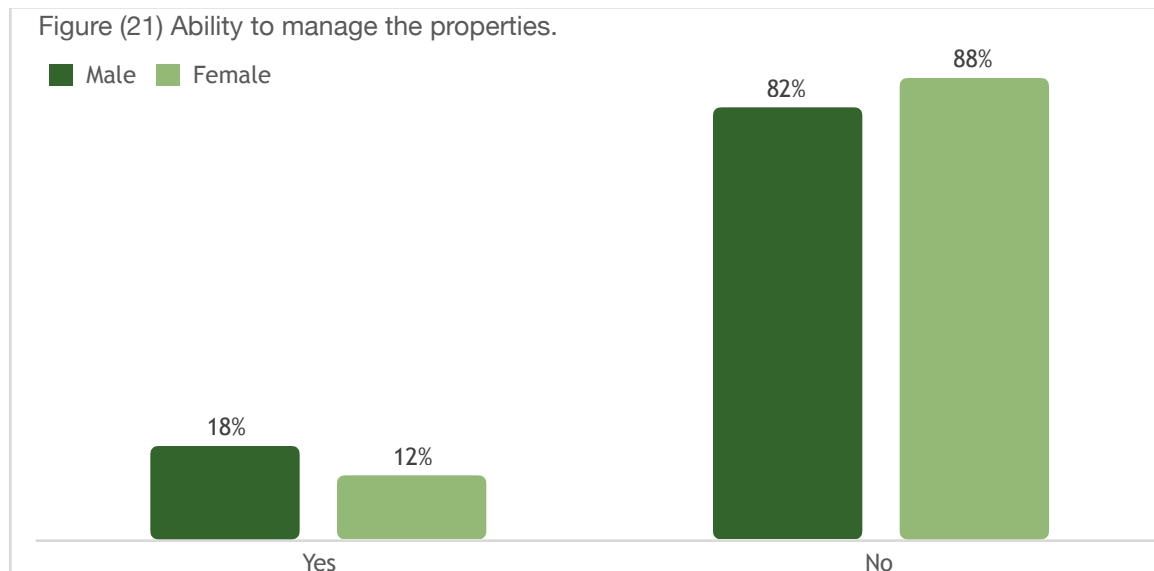


Table (13) Properties before the arrest:

Properties before the arrest	Number of female participants	% of female participants	Number of male participants	% of male participants
Furniture and household items.	82	57%	99	61%
Rented shop.	1	1%	6	4%
Owned commercial shop.	17	12%	33	20%
Car.	39	27%	59	36%
Piece of land.	38	27%	57	35%
Rented house.	10	7%	8	5%
House with agricultural deed	13	9%	12	7%
House with an official deed	91	64%	113	70%

These findings were also confirmed by the participants in the case studies and focus groups, who reported that after release from detention, they faced

violations related to their properties. They were no longer able to access or obtain official documents proving their ownership. Detainees were treated as traitors to their country and deprived of their civil rights, including the right to ownership, according to anti-terrorism laws and Law No. 10, which requires individuals to present documentary evidence to prove ownership of properties, cars, or savings. However, this was practically impossible, given that there were indications in government records identifying the names of those who survived detention, making it extremely difficult to obtain any official documents.



As for the reasons for the inability to access properties among the participants, a large percentage expressed fear of being re-arrested (70% of females and 60% of males). Additionally, 45% of males and 35% of females mentioned that their properties were taken over. Moreover, 31% of males and 15% of females cited being a former detainee as a reason, meaning they were not entitled to ownership. Other reasons included the lack of protection by international law, the absence of a law guaranteeing property rights, and not having documentary evidence of ownership.

One of the participants stated:

“

I am considered a terrorist in the eyes of the regime, and I cannot access anything related to my properties, nor can I dispose of them. If I sell them to a buyer, I must transfer ownership to them, and this is something I cannot do because I have been

imprisoned on charges of terrorism. Therefore, I cannot manage or access my own

”

properties.

When it came to the ability to dispose of their properties, 82% of males and 88% of females stated that they were unable to do so. The primary reasons for this were that the regime seized their properties, mentioned by 58% of males and 41% of females. Additionally, 37% of females and 23% of males expressed fear of being re-arrested, while 4% of females and 2% of males stated that their properties were destroyed and confiscated by the Syrian regime forces. The lack of ownership documents was a hindrance for 5% of females and 2% of males. Furthermore, 2% of both females and males mentioned that the area was turned into a military zone. Finally, 23% of the sample did not own properties themselves, but rather, the properties belonged to their families as a whole.

These results are not different from what the participants mentioned in the qualitative study. All of them confirmed the inability to dispose of their properties. Some had their properties seized, while others were forced to sell family belongings to find the whereabouts of their sons and daughters.

Table (14) Reasons for the inability to dispose of properties

Reasons for the inability to dispose of properties	Female	Male
Regime seizure of properties.	41%	58%
Lack of ownership documents.	5%	2%
Fear of re-arrest.	37%	23%
Properties are damaged, confiscated, or vandalized.	4%	2%
The area has been turned into a military zone.	2%	2%
They do not own any properties.	9%	13%

Some participants reported that their jewelry was confiscated, and even mobile phones, laptops, and bicycles were taken, with no possibility of reclaiming them or returning them to their families after release. Others mentioned that upon leaving their residential areas, the Syrian regime forces deliberately destroyed

their homes and vehicles. In some cases, their commercial establishments were also taken over and used.

One of the participants stated:

“

The property was confiscated, and the house was sold to fund the lawyer who was

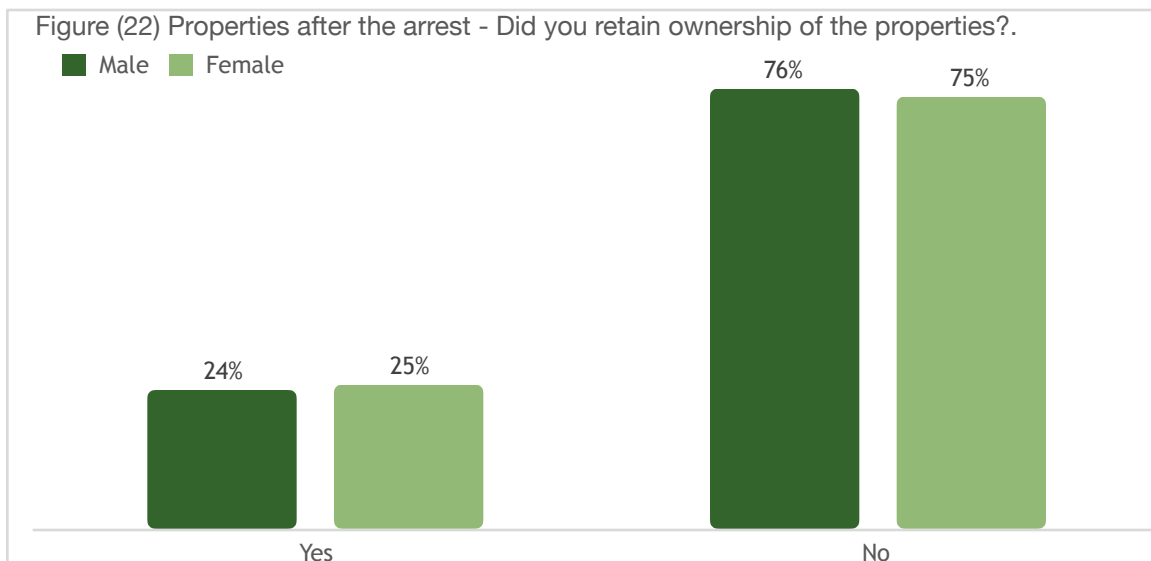
”

appointed to find out my whereabouts and secure my release.

It is evident that all the reasons hindering the ability to dispose of properties, both for males and females, are primarily due to the practices of the Syrian government towards the population in general, and the survivors of detention specifically. These practices include causing psychological and material harm to them and their families by seizing properties after leaving the area. The Syrian government issued laws that facilitated such actions and imposed impossible conditions for proving ownership of lands and properties, as previously mentioned in the theoretical study.

Did you retain ownership of the properties?	Female	Male
Properties were confiscated by the state.	69%	76%
They were sold due to deportation and displacement.	7%	0%
Located in areas under government control.	6%	4%
They were sold to secure the release of detainees.	1%	1%
No properties are in my name.	8%	18%
Properties are damaged, burned, and looted.	10%	2%
Taken over by relatives and family members.	1%	0%

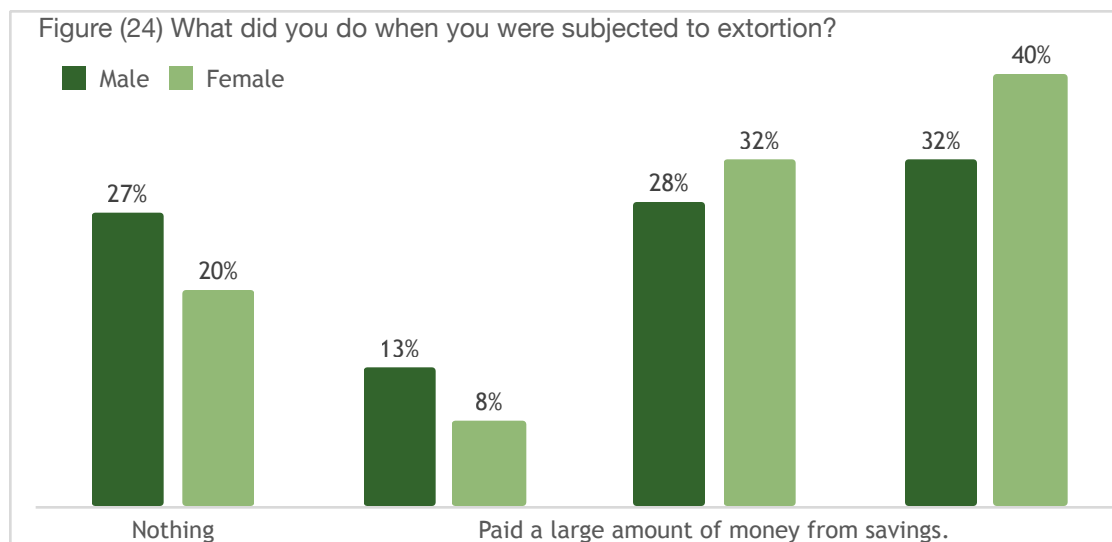
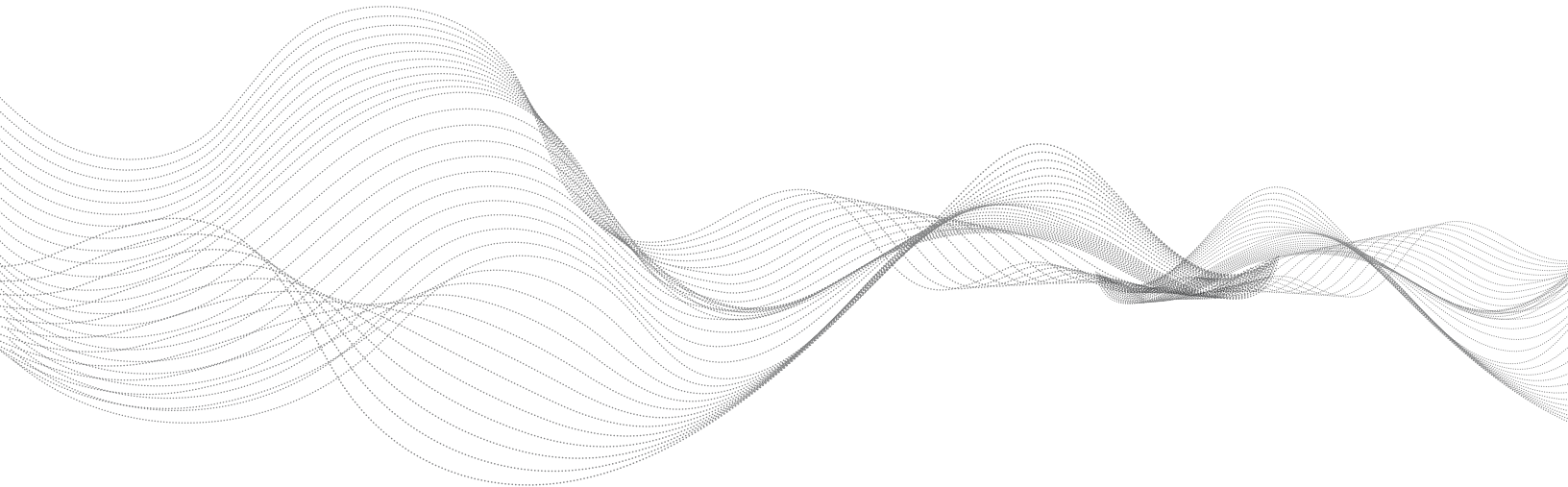
Regarding the properties that the participants owned before detention, most of them, both males and females, confirmed that their properties did not remain intact after the bitter detention experience. The percentages were 76% for males and 75% for females. The remaining percentage indicated that the properties remained the same, but they were sold immediately after release to avoid seizure or restricted access. This is also considered a violation of property rights and housing.



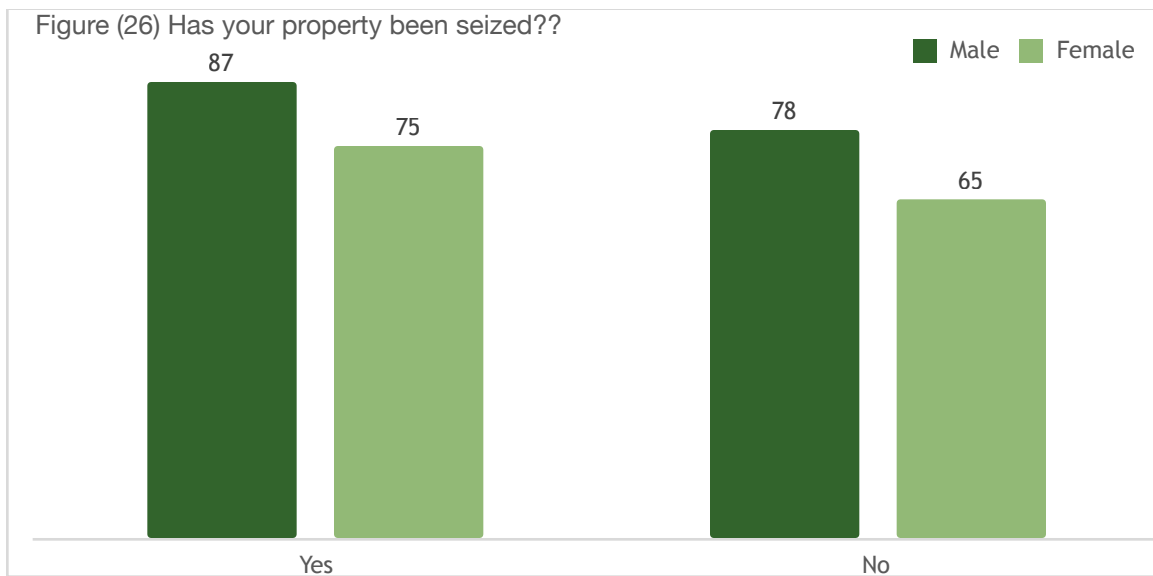
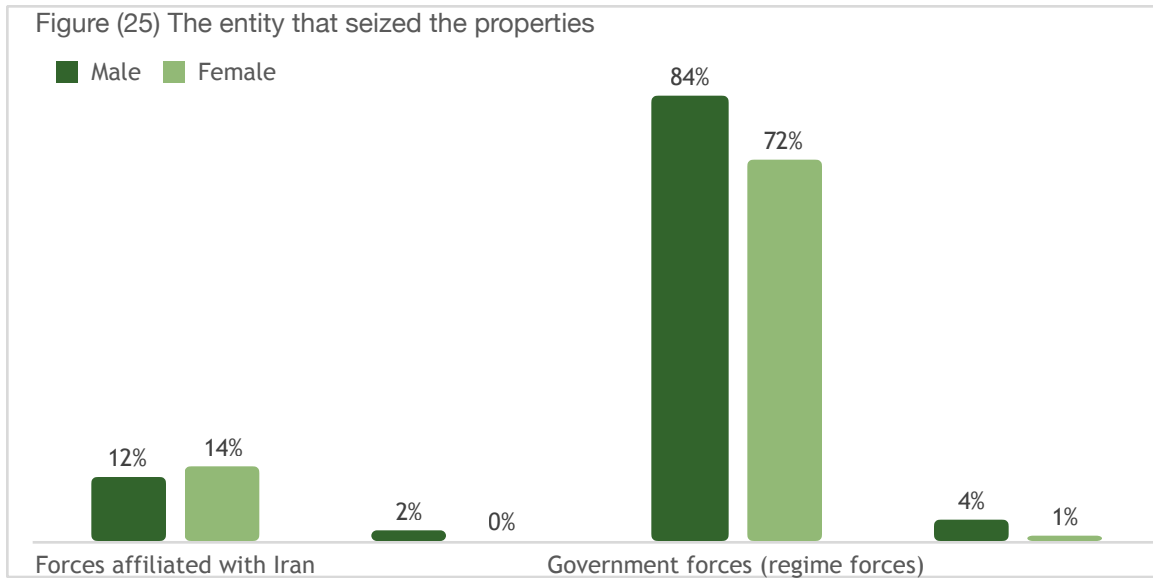
The reasons hindering the properties from remaining intact as they were before detention were as follows: 18% of males and 8% of females stated that the properties were not registered under their names but were owned collectively by the family. 69% of females and 76% of males reported that the Syrian state seized the properties. Additionally, 10% of females mentioned that the properties were destroyed, burned, and looted, compared to 2% of males. Furthermore, 7% of females sold their properties due to forced displacement, and 4% of males and 65% of females stated that their properties were in areas controlled by the Syrian regime. And 1% of males and females mentioned that they sold it to release detainees, and 1% of females stated that it was taken over by relatives and family members.

This was also confirmed later by the participants, as 42% of males and 17% of females reported experiencing extortion. The Syrian government and its affiliated individuals engaged in extorting families of detainees to secure their release or obtain information about them. This led families and relatives to resort to various actions, including selling properties to secure their release, giving substantial

sums of money in exchange for release or information, and attempting to communicate directly with security forces or through intermediaries or lawyers. However, some others were unable to take any action in this regard.



Regarding the parties responsible for seizing properties, 53% of males and 54% of females from the sample reported that their properties were taken over. The vast majority of both genders stated that the Syrian regime forces were responsible, while a negligible percentage (less than 4%) attributed it to forces affiliated with Iran. Some mentioned that their properties were sold by unknown individuals, leading to the loss of rights over them. Also, 1% of females reported that the Syrian Democratic Forces seized their properties. According to the participants' testimonies, they were subjected to property confiscation and later saw their properties being taken and controlled by the same entity.



“

We cannot do anything. The Syrian law is the law of the Assad regime. I am only concerned about the regime's entourage and the Assad family. If I were to seek justice through the law while being detained on terrorism charges, I would be afraid of being

”

arrested again.

These results were also confirmed in the qualitative study from the case studies. Participants in focus groups also reported that the violations did not stop with them alone but also affected their families and properties, to the point where no one could dispose of their belongings. Some others mentioned that their families' properties were subjected to burning and destruction by the Syrian regime forces and their affiliated groups. This indicates the extent of violations that targeted the detainees, their families, and their properties by the Syrian regime forces, including property confiscation, forced property sales, inability to prove ownership, as well as property burning, demolition, and furniture destruction in their homes and their families homes.

Regarding how to deal with such violations, all participants unanimously agreed that they were unable to do anything due to the absence of fair laws in the country. Instead, there were mechanisms and methods to control the people. Some participants attempted to transfer ownership from the father to his siblings, but the process proved to be costly, leading them to abandon the idea. Others considered disowning themselves before the law, allowing the Syrian government to permit them to deal with their properties as a family.

“

In a court ruling against me, all the inheritance operations for my family members are suspended, and they cannot act in any way. This means that there is a possibility that

”

my siblings may lose everything because of me.

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My family's house was completely burned and looted beyond repair.

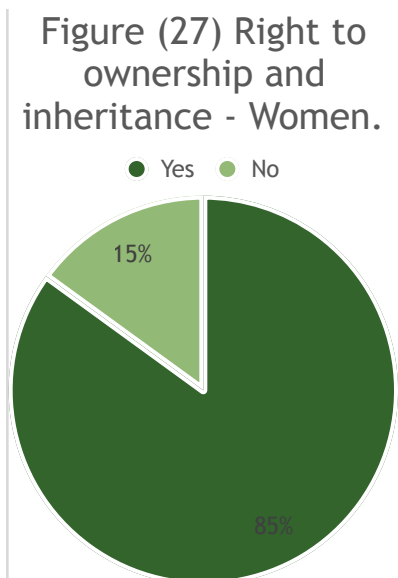
In the quantitative results, the overwhelming majority of participants (99% of females and 97% of males) stated that they were unable to take any action in response to the seizure of their properties.

Actions were taken to reclaim properties or part of them	Female	Male
Nothing, due to the absence of a law protecting properties.	80%	73%
Nothing, as the issued amnesty was fake and had no value.	12%	3%
Nothing, due to the loss of civil rights.	3%	7%
Nothing, out of fear of re-arrest.	5%	13%
Properties were sold at a low price.	1%	2%
Paid monetary amounts to lift the seizure on the properties.	0%	1%

The reasons given were the lack of laws protecting properties, the issuance of fraudulent and superficial amnesties, fear of being re-arrested, and the loss of civil rights affecting their ability to dispose of their properties. Some (1% of females and 2% of males) mentioned that they sold their properties at low prices, while 1% of males paid significant amounts to lift the seizure on their properties.

Fourth: Detention and its Impact on Women's Properties

To further understand the impact of detention on women and their properties, a series of questions were raised concerning women's rights to inheritance and ownership, and the extent to which their rights were affected after detention. The quantitative responses from the participants in the study are as follows: 85% of the participating women asserted that they had the natural right to ownership, just like men. They attributed this to several factors: 40% to customs and traditions, 20% to religious customs that allow women to own property, and 23% to their ability to claim their rights.



On the other hand, a small percentage of the participating women, 15%, stated that they did not have the right to ownership in the first place. The reasons for this align with those that support the right to ownership: 9% attributed it to societal customs and traditions, along with various social norms; 3% cited their inability to claim their rights; 2% were deprived of their right to ownership due to the demeaning view of women that denies them this right, and 1% attributed it to misconceptions about religious customs.

Table (17) Reason for the ability or inability to own

Reason	Able to own and inherit	Unable to own and inherit
Customs and traditions.	9%	40%
Religious customs.	1%	20%
My ability to claim my rights.	3%	25%
Condescending view of women.	2%	0%
Total.	15%	85%

These results are largely consistent with the findings of the qualitative study. Most participants affirmed that they had the natural right to inheritance before detention, as both religion and social customs allowed it. There were only two

cases in the case studies where they were denied inheritance due to some customs that asserted that girls do not inherit because their wealth would leave the family. Interestingly, this perspective was not upheld by the mother and father but rather by male siblings, to prevent the money from going to the girl's husband (son-in-law).

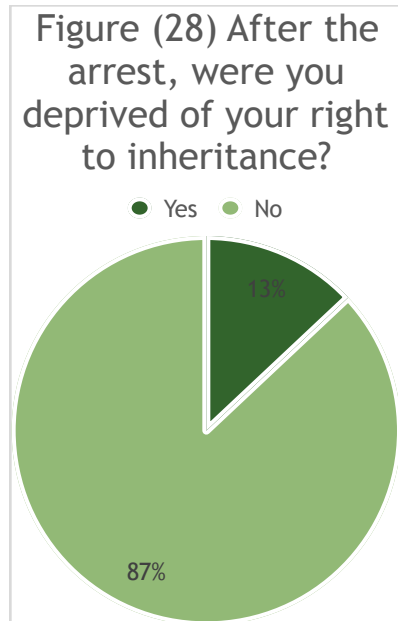
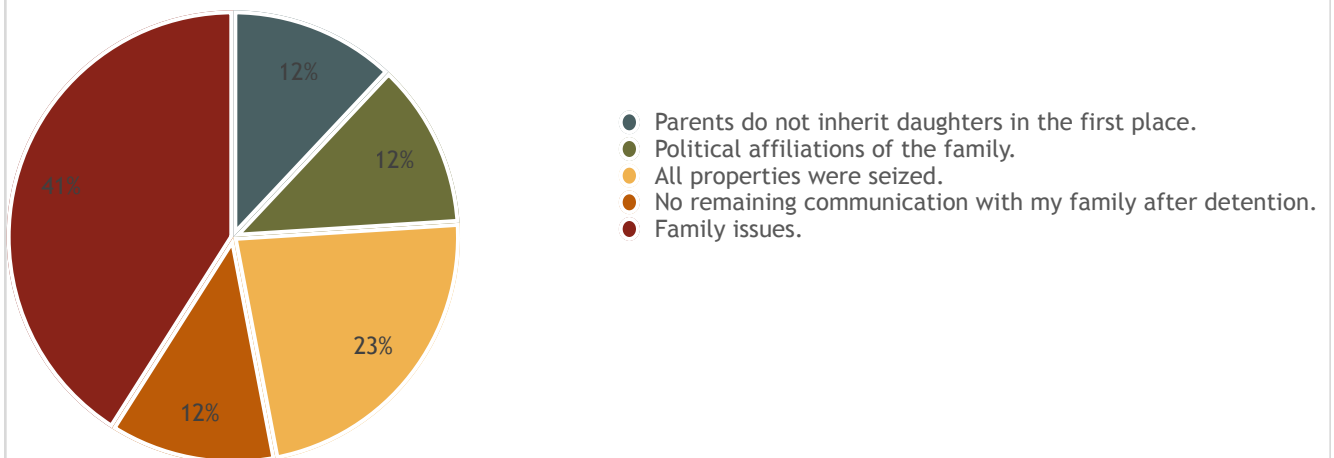


Figure (29) Reasons for being deprived of inheritance after surviving the detention:



Regarding the impact of detention on women's right to ownership and inheritance, a question was directed to whether they were deprived of this right after surviving detention. Thirteen percent (13%) of the women stated that they were denied their inheritance rights after surviving detention. This denial was attributed to the social stigma left by the community on individuals, as well as the societal pressures on families, leading them to abandon their daughters. Additionally, the women's post-detention life was significantly affected by security concerns, which had repercussions on their family relationships.

The reasons for the denial of inheritance and ownership rights, according to 13% of the women, are as follows, listed in order of significance: First and foremost, family conflicts played a crucial role. After their release from detention, problems with the family escalated to the point of depriving them of their inheritance due to the stigma of detention for women. Following that, the Syrian state seized all the women's properties. Furthermore, the political inclinations of the family contributed to their deprivation of ownership. Moreover, there was no longer any communication with their families after release from detention, as they were disowned, which represents one of the most significant violations a woman can face, as it is based solely on her gender.

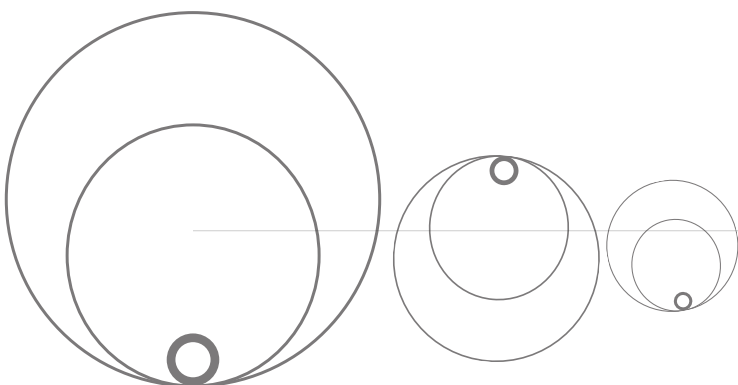
As for the qualitative study results, the majority of participants confirmed that they were not deprived of inheritance. On the contrary, they received support from their families to continue their lives normally.

“

One of the participants reported: The experience of detention did not affect my rights in inheritance or other rights. My family did not abandon me after this ordeal I went through. On the contrary, they stood up for me more and supported me even more. Now, I live with increased love and care within my family due to the bitter experience I

”

endured.



However, a few participants (three in the case study and two in focus groups) experienced rejection from their families, being abandoned and left to face societal judgment due to their detention. Consequently, these families deprived some of them of inheritance, while others were threatened with being denied inheritance. This psychological factor had a significant impact on women's cohesion in a society dominated by a male-oriented mindset.

“

One of the participants reported: Currently, I haven't been forced to give up my inheritance, but it's possible that I might be deprived of it later if my father passes away, based on what I hear and what is conveyed to me through him, as he is currently estranged from me.

Another participant said: My family abandoned me, and I was forced to give up my

”

properties in order to pay for my release.

In the quantitative survey, 70% of women reported being denied access to their private properties after detention. They explained the reasons for this as follows: 30% stated that the state had seized their properties because, in the eyes of the law, they were involved in terrorist activities. Additionally, 30% of them mentioned that displacement and forced migration prevented them from accessing their properties. Moreover, 21% were hindered by the fear of being re-arrested if they took any action regarding their properties, and 15% of them were unable to access their properties because they were under the control of the Syrian regime's forces. Lastly, 4% were deprived of their civil rights, which consequently denied them the right to ownership.

Figure (30) Reasons for being deprived of accessing properties after the arrest:

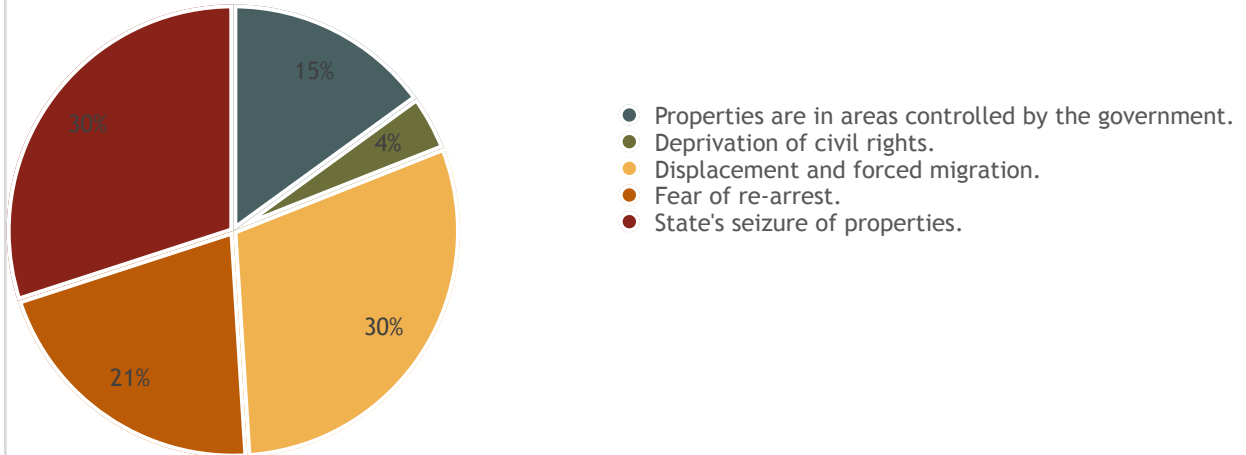
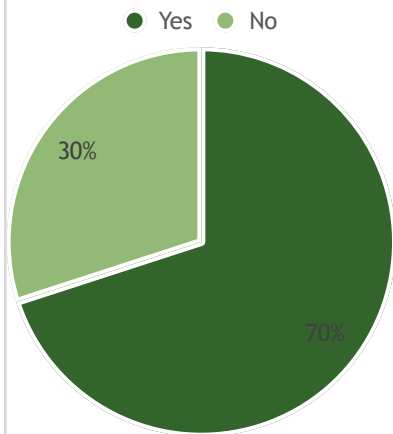
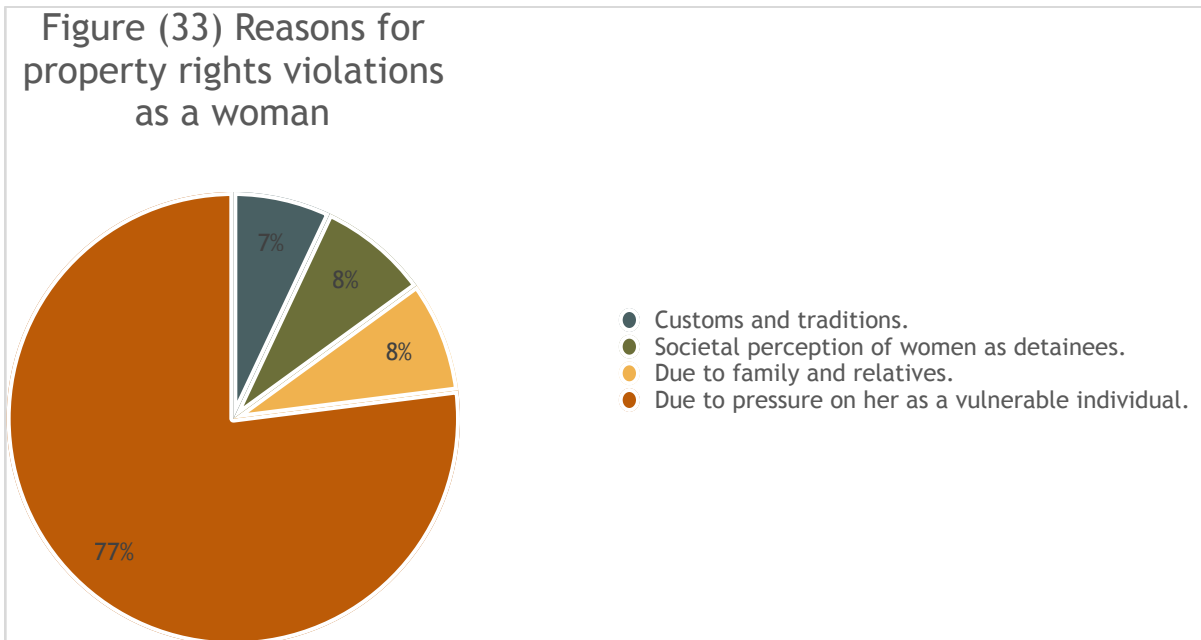
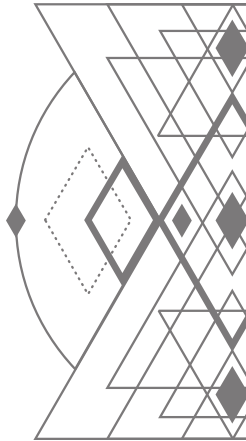
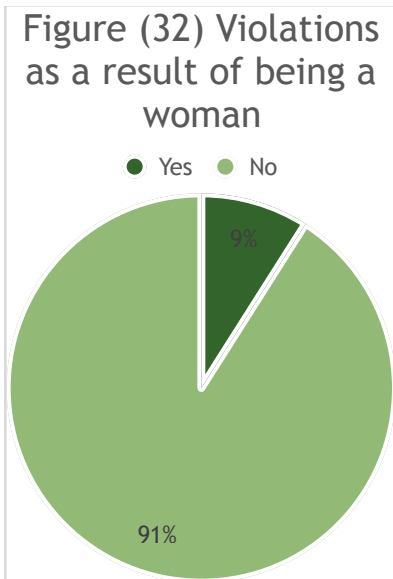


Figure (31) After the arrest, were you deprived of accessing your private properties?



As mentioned earlier, this is considered a violation of women's rights in general, regardless of the type of ownership. When asked if they experienced this violation because they were women, only 9% responded affirmatively. These respondents attributed this violation to several factors, with societal perception being at the forefront, impacting how families treat these women. Additionally, the role of parents and relatives in reinforcing this perception, along with prevailing

customs and traditions that exert pressure on women due to their perceived "minor" status. These factors highlight that, even though this percentage is small (only 9% of the sample), the stereotypical view of women still exists in society. These women are not forgiven for being detainees; instead, they are judged as if they have committed a crime that should be punished.



On the contrary, the remaining 91% of female participants did not believe that this violation of property rights was directed at them because they were women, but rather because they were detainees. They observed that there was no difference in treatment between men and women in this regard. The state approached the issue systematically by depriving everyone, regardless of gender, of their civil rights, including the right to ownership.

All qualitative study participants affirmed that if they were not women, they would not have faced such persecution, whether from the regime or from society after their release from detention. They emphasized the need for support channels to help them overcome the negative consequences of this experience, both psychologically and socially. The majority of them turned to their children and husbands, finding great support and understanding from them. Husbands, in particular, served as their first and primary supporters, followed by their children and close friends, as well as some humanitarian organizations like the Recovery Project. However, some single women, only two participants in the study, did not have genuine support. They lost trust in society and their families after surviving detention.

Fifth: The Impact of Violations on the Social Relationships of Detainees

To shed light on the axis of the impact of violations related to detention and forced displacement, along with the loss of the original place of residence, on the survivors' social relationships, a series of phrases were presented to the participants in the quantitative survey. They were asked to rank these phrases based on their importance and the most significant impact on them.

The results, according to males, were as follows: The phrase "I feel afraid for my identity and belonging" came in first place with 148 out of 162 participants. Next was the phrase "Loss of communication with my neighbors and the neighborhood I used to live in," with 134 participants. Then came the phrase "I can no longer practice my previous customs" with 132 participants. Following that were the phrases "I feel that things have become complicated in my new community," and "If I hadn't been detained, I wouldn't have lost my social relationships," followed by "I feel a sense of not belonging to any place after my belongings were confiscated," and "I feel a sense of social isolation and loneliness," and finally "The place I currently live in does not represent me."

Table number (18) Different impacts of violations on the social relationships of survivors:

Impact of violations:	Male		
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
I feel afraid of the future regarding my identity and belonging.	148	2	12
I have lost social contact with my neighbors and the people in the neighborhood where I used to live.	134	5	23
I am no longer able to practice my previous customs.	132	12	18
I feel that things have become significantly complicated in my new community, and I don't really understand what is happening there.	128	24	10
If I hadn't been arrested, I wouldn't have lost my social relationships with the environment.	110	17	35
I feel a lack of belonging to any place after my properties were confiscated.	106	12	44
I feel incapable of influencing the local community where I currently live.	105	18	39
I feel loneliness and social isolation.	102	19	41
The place where I live does not represent me.	102	29	31

On the other hand, females ranked the phrases in order of importance as follows: "I feel afraid for my future identity and belonging" with 124 out of 143 participants, followed by "I lost social communication with my neighbors and the neighborhood I used to live in" with 123 participants. Next was the phrase "I feel that things have become significantly complicated in my new community, to the point where I don't really understand what is happening," with 116 participants. After that were the phrases "I feel a sense of not belonging to any place after my belongings were confiscated," "If I hadn't been detained, I wouldn't have lost my social

relationships with people around me," and "I feel that the detention was the main reason for losing my belongings." Then, "The place I currently live in does not represent me," followed by "I feel a sense of social isolation and loneliness" in the last position of the ranking.

Table (19) Different impacts of violations on the social relationships of female survivors:

Impact of violations:	Female		
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
I feel afraid of the future regarding my identity and belonging.	124	12	7
I have lost social contact with my neighbors and the people in the neighborhood where I used to live.	123	7	13
I feel that things have become significantly complicated in my new community, and I don't really understand what is happening there.	116	21	57
I feel a lack of belonging to any place after my properties were confiscated.	107	10	26
If I hadn't been arrested, I wouldn't have lost my social relationships with the environment.	107	11	15
I feel that the arrest was the main reason for me losing my social relationships and property.	106	7	30
The place where I live does not represent me.	105	20	18
I feel loneliness and social isolation.	104	23	16

From the presentation of the two tables above, we find that detention and property violations have significantly and profoundly impacted the social lives of the survivors. Both males and females share similar social feelings, including fear for their core social identity and belonging to their community and neighborhood. The experience of detention has led to severed communication with old neighbors and friends due to differing political opinions and the regime's practice of exiling its opponents from their original neighborhoods. This has resulted in

feelings of social isolation and an inability to connect with the new community, as the survivors are not truly accepted.

One of the participants in the focus groups said:

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My family has become afraid of me. They no longer talk to me properly, and my

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friends have all blocked me because I talk about theft and other numbers.

Another testimony supported this:

“

My social relationships have been affected especially since I come from a supportive family, and I am the only one with a different political orientation. In the eyes of my family and my parents, I have become an outsider, someone who doesn't belong to us, and this has caused problems within the extended family and their relatives as well. So, there

”

has been social rejection.

The results of the participants in case studies and focus groups were consistent with the findings mentioned earlier. The experience of detention played a significant role in losing many friends, neighbors, and even some family members, especially due to differing political orientations.

The repercussions of the detention experience were harsher for females. Some of them faced rejection from their families after surviving the detention. This was because they deviated from the family and societal customs and traditions. The families resorted to methods like ostracism and fear of communicating with them, as their release from detention was seen as a disgrace that would reflect negatively on the family and society as a whole.

In some conservative and traditionally-minded societies, the view of women is limited to their role as child-bearers and confined to the household. In such communities, campaigns against women who deviate from these norms are

prevalent. They may face various forms of harassment and, at times, complete rejection by society for not conforming to its expectations. On the other hand, there are communities where women are granted a complementary role alongside men in political work, which brings them pride and acceptance.

Many of the participants reported that society's perception of them changed after their detention. They were ostracized and subjected to derogatory remarks. For some, the situation worsened to the point of not being accepted or recognized by

“ ”

their families, with hurtful remarks like *This girl is not our daughter.*

“

There are both supporters and opposers, and even social relationships were affected after detention. For instance, those who were supportive of the regime, whether they were neighbors or work colleagues, the warmth in their relationships changed after the detention. Their perception towards me shifted after the detention, and I became afraid of my surroundings. When I came to the north, even though I have roots here, I wasn't raised in this environment. So, I feel like a stranger, maybe just mentally. There was no harmony between me and the people here. You would find me isolated in my house and

”

that's it.

One of participants from the case studies reported:

“

The social stigma increased from the perspective of my family and the community because, in their eyes, anyone who gets out of detention must have experienced rape. My family disowned me, and they asked me not to come back to them (we don't have a

”

daughter with that. name)

One other participant also said:

“

The society shows no mercy; it equates the victim with the perpetrator. It's very unjust perception, and I suffer from it, just like many. Other survivors, whether they are single

”

or married.

One participant said:

“

I lost everything, even my family. I lost my wife, my home, and everything after my

”

detention. I have nothing left.

These issues have led some of them to feel regret about leaving the detention center due to society's perception of them, even after they headed toward northern Syria, according to the testimonies of some participants. When the new community learns that a woman is a survivor of detention, the first thing that comes to their minds is that she must have done something wrong or might have been subjected to rape. This leads everyone to distance themselves from her and avoid any interactions with her. As one of the participants stated, she is forced to stay alone at home without engaging in any social relationships with her surroundings simply because she was a detainee.

“

There are both supporters and opposers, and even social relationships were affected after detention. For instance, those who were supportive of the regime, whether they were neighbors or work colleagues, the warmth in their relationships changed after the detention. Their perception towards me shifted after the detention, and I became afraid of my surroundings. When I came to the north, even though I have roots here, I wasn't raised in this environment. So, I feel like a stranger, maybe just mentally. There was no

harmony between me and the people here. You would find me isolated in my house and

”

that's it.

As for men, some of them also suffered from social rejection from family and friends due to their prolonged detention. Many of their friends changed their lifestyles and replaced them with new friends. Some even faced abandonment by their own children and spouse because of their different political beliefs. In general, the survivors paid a high price for their detention, losing not only their social and family life but also their possessions and properties. It was a significant material and psychological loss combined.

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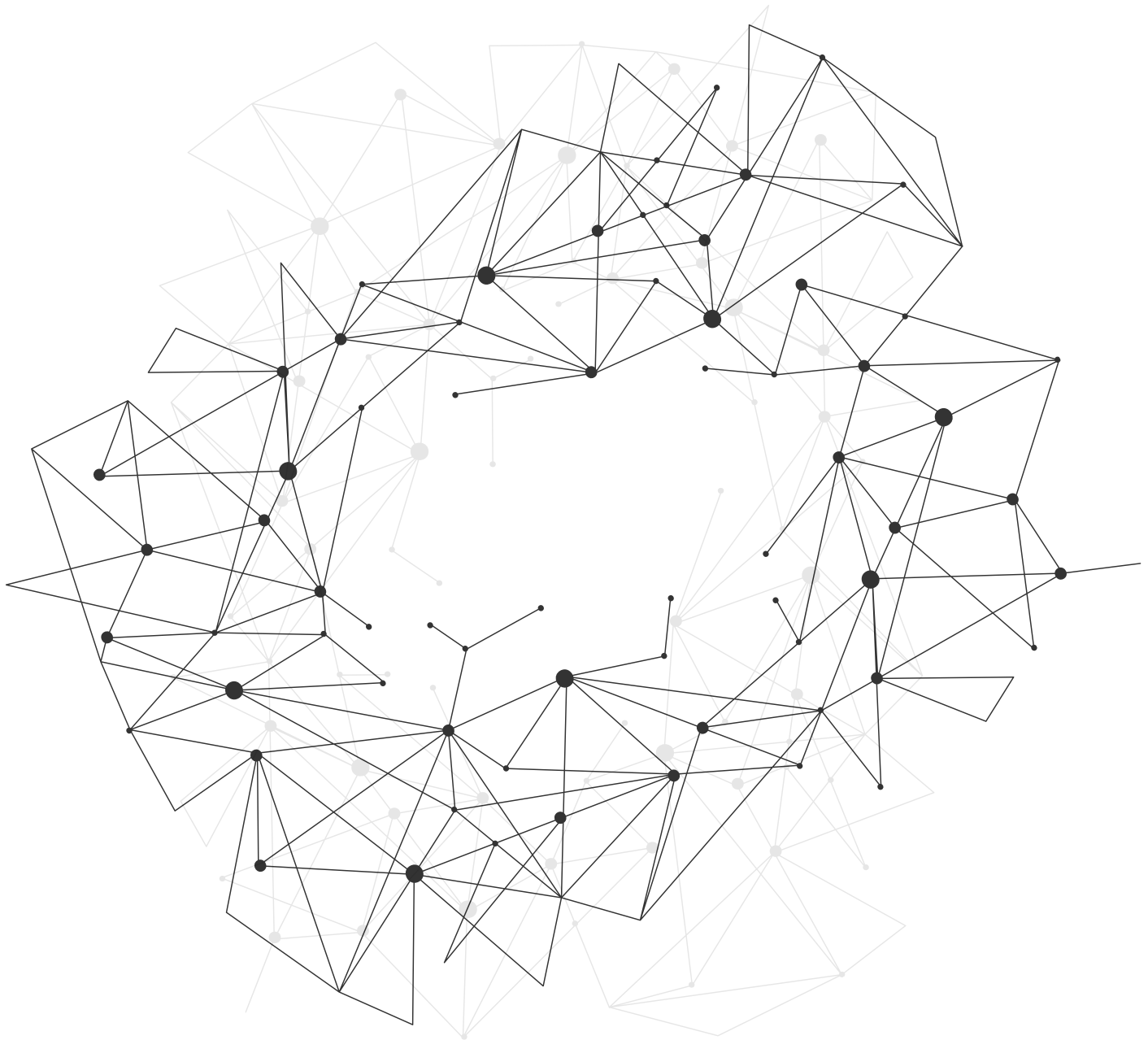
I honestly regret coming to the north because dealing with the survivors and the way

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people look at them made me regret leaving the detention center

As for the perception of society, we find that some participants have suffered twice. First, after their release from detention, they experienced non-acceptance from the surrounding community due to the differences in political affiliations between those who support the ruling regime and those who oppose it. This led to the fear of being arrested again. Secondly, after migrating to the north, they faced difficulties in adapting to the new environment due to differences in customs and ways of thinking.

General Findings of the Research



Axis of Adequate Housing:

1. The Level of Services in the Place of Residence:

- 94% of males and 90% of females indicated the availability of health conditions in their original housing, including no dampness and adequate sunlight entering the homes, along with other household services.
- 10% of females and 6% of males mentioned that health conditions in their original residences were not available. Reasons included the lack of continuous water and electricity supply, leading to the need to purchase water from tanks. Some houses suffered from dampness, especially those in hastily built areas without adhering to proper construction standards, and others needed renovations.
- The vast majority of participants (78% of males and 75% of females) had left their original places of residence and moved elsewhere.
- Reasons for moving from the original residence to new places were as follows: Arrest was the primary reason for both males (53%) and females (60%), followed by forced displacement (29% for males and 33% for females), and exposure to shelling or siege.

2. Main Problems Experienced in the New Housing:

- Participants in the northern regions of Syria experienced a lack of spatial stability, being forced to move frequently due to reasons such as unsuitability of housing conditions, small size, and excessive dampness (resulting from shelling or increased rents).
- Most participants faced economic problems primarily (83% of males and 77% of females), such as high rents and limited job opportunities. Social problems (42% for females and 32% for males) included difficulties in building social relations with the community and health issues (53% for females and 31% for males).

3. Security in the Place of Residence:

- The vast majority of participants did not feel safe in their current places of residence.
- Reasons for feeling unsafe in new housing, in order of significance, were random and repeated shelling due to the northern Syrian regions being conflict zones and frequent targets for Syrian and

Russian forces. Other reasons included high prices, especially given the participants' deteriorating living conditions due to leaving their original jobs and moving to new environments.

4. Social Relations with the Surrounding Community:

- The majority of participants had good or very good relationships due to the long period they spent together, which helped form close and neighborly relations that sometimes turned into friendships.
- About half of the participants confirmed their ability to build social relations with the new community, though they remained superficial and did not reach the level of friendship, with more males achieving this due to work relations.
- The other half of the participants could not build social relations with the new community due to fear of establishing new relationships, fear from the surrounding community, or the change in customs and traditions.

Axis of Detention and Its Relation to Property Violation:

- Almost all participants experienced detention by Syrian government forces, facing charges related to terrorism and assisting terrorists.
- Most violations faced during detention were physical torture, affecting the health of the survivors. Psychological torture, especially for females, was more prevalent, including verbal abuse and forcing them to witness others being tortured.
- All participants and their families experienced violations of their property rights, including confiscation of real estate, furniture, land, and cars, as well as businesses and rented properties.
- The vast majority of participants were unable to access their properties (79% of males and 92% of females).
- Reasons for the inability to access their properties were fear of re-arrest, followed by the authorities laying their hands on the properties, considering former detainees ineligible for ownership. This was exacerbated by the lack of protection under international law and the absence of a law guaranteeing property rights or the lack of ownership documentation.
- 76% of males and 75% of females reported that their properties did not remain intact after detention. The remaining properties were sold immediately upon release to prevent confiscation or denial of

access, which was also considered a violation of property and housing rights.

- Reasons behind the properties not remaining intact included the Syrian government seizing properties, destruction, looting, forced displacement, and the properties falling under government control.
- 42% of males and 17% of females reported experiencing extortion by Syrian government forces or affiliated parties, coercing families of detainees into paying large sums of money, selling properties, or providing information about detainees' whereabouts.
- 53% of males and 54% of females reported that their properties were confiscated by Syrian government forces, with a small percentage (less than 4%) mentioning forces affiliated with Iran.

Axis of Detention and its Impact on Women's Property:

- 85% of participating women had the natural right to ownership, just like men, and they attributed this to various factors, including customs, religious norms that allow women's ownership, and their ability to claim their rights.
- 15% of participants stated that they have no right to ownership at all, and they attributed it to the same reasons that facilitate ownership rights, such as societal customs, traditions, and social norms, along with the inability to claim their rights and the prevailing negative view of women's rights to ownership and religious customs.
- 13% of women mentioned that they were deprived of their inheritance and ownership rights after surviving detention. The primary reasons for this were family disputes, the state confiscating their properties, and the loss of contact with their families after their release from detention.
- 70% of women were denied access to their own properties after detention. The reasons for this were the state claiming their properties because they were considered to have participated in terrorist activities, forced displacement, fear of re-arrest preventing them from taking any action, and their properties being under the control of the Syrian government forces.
- 9% of the sample indicated that stereotypical views of women still exist in society. They are not forgiven for being former detainees; on the contrary, they are seen as having committed a sin that deserves punishment.

- 91% of the participants in the entire sample found that the violations of property rights were not directed at them solely because they were women but rather because they were detainees, and there was no distinction between women and men in this regard.

Axis of the Impact of Violations on the Social Relationships of Detainee Survivors:

- The majority of participants fear for their future identity and sense of belonging.
- Most of them feel a loss of communication with neighbors and members of their neighborhoods due to detention and property loss.
- They experience an inability to practice their previous customs and traditions.
- The majority of participants feel that their lives have become much more complicated in the new society.
- They believe that if they had not been detained, they would not have lost their social relationships.
- The majority of participants feel a sense of detachment from any place due to the violation of their property rights.
- They experience social isolation and a lack of representation in the community they live in.
- Most participants reported that society's perception of them has changed after detention, leading to rejection and verbal abuse.
- Some male participants also experienced social exclusion from family and friends due to prolonged detention.
- Detainee survivors who moved to live outside Syria struggle to form new social relationships with the new community due to differences in customs, traditions, language, fear, and discomfort in dealing with the new society.

Challenges and Recommendations:

The main challenges to achieving suitable housing for male and female detainees are:

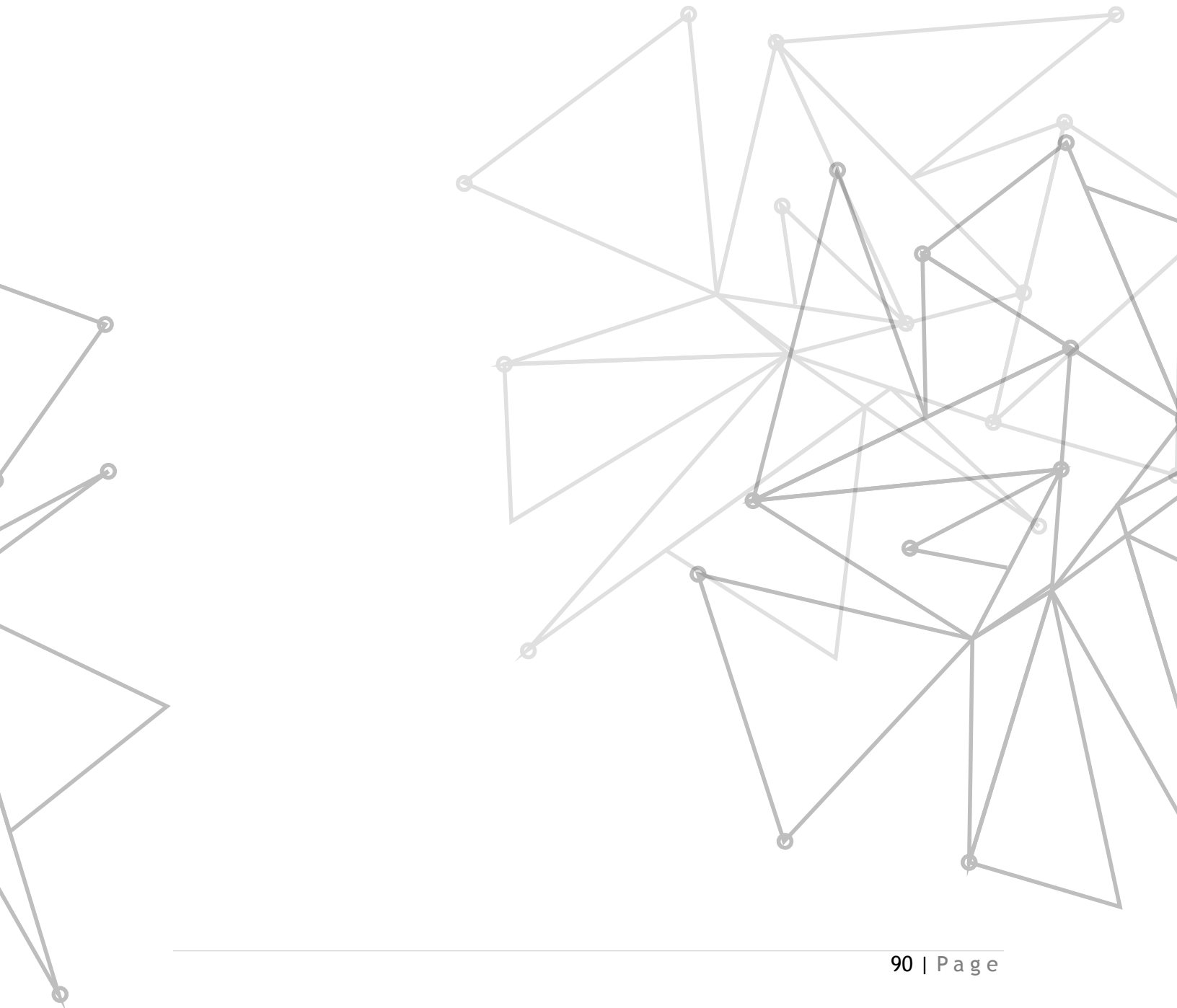
1. Poor economic conditions and lack of job opportunities.
2. Social stigmatization accompanying detainee survivors due to cultural norms and, particularly, negative views towards female survivors.
3. Loss of documentation and proof of ownership.
4. Loss of properties and possessions due to forced displacement policies in many areas of Syria.
5. Ongoing security harassment of detainees, hindering their return to their homes as internally displaced persons or refugees.
6. New laws introduced by the Syrian regime obstructing the return of properties to their rightful owners.
7. The absence of civil society organizations' role on the ground, especially in providing psychological and social support to detainee survivors and advocating for their right to suitable housing.
8. Failure to enforce international laws and human rights principles regarding the right to adequate housing and its associated cultural, social, and economic rights.
9. The continuation of armed conflict in northern Syria affecting overall living conditions.

To ensure property rights and safe return for detainee survivors to their original places, the study suggests the following recommendations:

1. Provide job opportunities or loans to initiate small projects for detainee survivors.
2. Train and empower detainees in areas that interest them to reintegrate them into society.
3. Provide financial compensations for properties damaged due to armed conflict and distribute them fairly.
4. Enhance social acceptance between detainee survivors and the host community through active communication and dialogue.
5. Offer psychological and social support sessions for detainees and survivors.
6. Incorporate women's issues into the plans of organizations operating in northern Syria, focusing on empowering and training women, especially detainee survivors.
7. Strengthen the issue of property rights for detainee survivors through policy papers supporting the cause and forming a stance before international bodies, including the issues of property rights and adequate

housing in international and internal negotiations to ensure the return of properties to their rightful owners.

8. Promote the role of civil society organizations in raising awareness and legal culture regarding all issues, especially property rights.



Research Follow-up Form

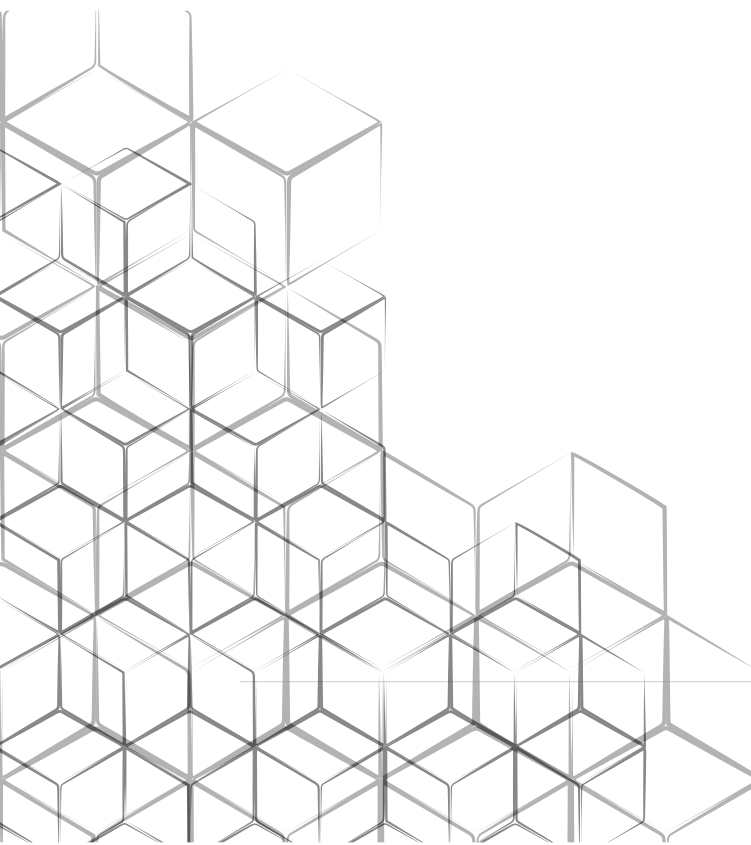
Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are conducting a study on the violation of housing, land, and property rights of detainees and their social identity. As you are one of the participating groups in this research, we kindly request your assistance in answering the questionnaire. This will help us gather information that may aid in addressing this issue by developing practical and legal plans to mitigate it.

Please rest assured that the information you share with us will remain confidential and will not be disclosed to anyone. It will be used solely for scientific research purposes. We hope for thorough answers to all the questions. The questionnaire will take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete.

We sincerely appreciate the time you dedicate to answering our questions. If you have any inquiries or need further information, feel free to contact the researchers. We will provide you with the contact number and email for any communication needs.

Research Preparation: Eva Wahid Atfa
Mobile: 05327400382
Email: eva-atfa1984@hotmail.com



Research questionnaire

General data		
Questions	Options	Notes
Name (Optional)		
Gender	Male Female	
Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Between 20-30 ▪ Between 30-40 ▪ Between 40-50 ▪ Between 50-60 ▪ 60 and above 	
Place of birth		
Current place of residence		
Education level: (Last completed educational level)	Elementary Secondary (High School) Intermediate Institute University and above	
Marital status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Single (female)/ Single (male) ▪ E n g a g e d (f e m a l e) / Engaged (male) ▪ Married (female)/ Married (male) ▪ S e p a r a t e d (f e m a l e) / Separated (male) ▪ Widow (female)/ Widower (male) ▪ Spouse Missing or D e t a i n e d (female)/ Spouse Missing o r Detained (male) 	If the spouse is missing or detained, we ask since when, and by whom (kidnapper/detaining authority), and the reasons for the arrest.

Number of household members (including the respondent)		
Previous occupation	I have my own business. I work for others as an employee. I am a government employee. Other	
Current occupation		

Right to Adequate Housing		
Place of original residence:	City Countryside	
Nature of the original housing:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Independent house 2. A shared house with family 3. Tent or unfinished house (under construction) 4. Rented house 5. Other 	We ask those who share the housing with them.
Are the health conditions in the housing adequate?	Yes, reasons: No, reasons:	
What services are available in the housing?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sanitary services (sewage system). 2. Drinking water. 3. Electricity. 4. Transportation. 5. All of the above. 6. Other 	
Is your current place of residence safe?	Yes, reasons: No, reasons:	

Did you have social relationships with the social environment in the neighborhood?	Yes No	
If yes, please explain the nature of the social relationships that existed between you.		
Are you still residing in the same mentioned place of residence?	Yes No	
These questions are only for those who answered "no," for those who answered "yes," please proceed to the next axis.		
Reason for leaving your original place of residence:		
Your current place of residence:		
Nature of the current housing you live in:		
Are the health conditions adequate in your current place of residence?		
What current services are available in your place of residence?	Sanitary services (sewage system). Drinking water. Electricity. Transportation. All of the above. Other...	
Do you feel safe in your current place of residence? Please mention the reason.	Yes, reasons: No, reasons:	

<p>Have you been able to form new social relationships with the new social environment? Please mention the reason.</p>	<p>Yes, reasons: No, reasons:</p>	
<p>Have you experienced any of the following problems or all of them in your new accommodation? Please explain each one.</p>	<p>Economic problems (could be due to rent, loss of job, or the breadwinner...) Social problems (lack of acceptance from others, feeling of loneliness and isolation...) Health problems (allergies, asthma, or other illnesses due to inadequate housing...) Other, please specify with an explanation.</p>	

<p>Axis of Arrest and Property Violation:</p>		
<p>Who was responsible for the arrest? Please specify exactly.</p>		
<p>What charge was brought against you?</p>		

<p>What do you think was the reason for your arrest?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Political affiliations. 2. My participation in protests and political activities. 3. Someone wrote a false report against me. 4. There is no specific reason for the arbitrary arrest. 5. Other, please specify. 	
<p>How long did you stay in detention?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Less than one month. 2. Between one month to one year. 3. Between one year to three years. 4. Between three years to five years. 5. More than five years. 	
<p>Your properties before the arrest.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. House with official land title. 2. House with agricultural land title. 3. Rented house. 4. Land plot. 5. Car. 6. Owned commercial shop. 7. Rented commercial shop. 8. Furniture and belongings. 9. All of the above. 10. Other, please specify 	

<p>Can you access your properties, no matter how simple they are?</p>	<p>Yes No</p>	
<p>If you answered "no," why can't you access your properties?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lack of ownership documents. 2. Lack of protection under international law. 3. Absence of a law that guarantees my property rights. 4. Fear of being arrested again. 5. Because I was previously detained, I am not allowed to own property. 6. Someone laid claim to my properties. 7. Other, please specify 	
<p>Can you dispose of your properties, whether by selling, transferring ownership, proving ownership, or similar actions? Please mention the reason.</p>	<p>Yes No Reason:</p>	
<p>Did you retain your properties after the arrest?</p>	<p>Yes No Reason:</p>	
<p>Please mention your current properties after the arrest.</p>		

<p>Have you been subjected to extortion to sell any of your properties for your freedom or to obtain information about a detainee or a missing person from your relatives? Please explain.</p>	<p>Yes No</p>	
<p>If you experienced extortion, what did you or your family members do?</p>		
<p>Has anyone laid claim to your properties?</p>	<p>Yes No</p>	
<p>If you answered "yes," which entity laid claim to your properties?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sold to multiple parties. 2. Seized by forces loyal to the regime. 3. Seized by Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF). 4. Given to forces loyal to Iran. 5. Given to forces allied with the Euphrates Shield. 6. Other, please specify. 	
<p>What actions did you take after your properties or a part of them were seized?</p>		<p>We ask him/her whether he/she resorted to the law or not and what the reason is and the importance of the decree related to amnesty.</p>

Axis dedicated to women		
Before your experience of detention, did you have the right to ownership regardless of its type?	Yes No	
What factors contributed to your ability or inability to own property?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Customs and traditions. 2. Religious customs. 3. My ability to claim my rights. 4. The condescending view towards women. 5. Other reasons (please specify). 	
Did you have the right to inheritance according to the prevailing customs and traditions in your region?	Yes No	
After the detention, were you deprived of your inheritance rights?	Yes No	
If you were deprived of your inheritance rights, please explain the reasons.		
After the detention, were you denied access to your personal belongings?		
If you answered yes, please explain the reasons.		

<p>Do you feel that if you were not a woman, you would not have been subjected to such types of violations? Please elaborate on that.</p>		
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Axis of the Impact of Detention and Property Loss on Social Identity.

Please select a number from 1 to 5 for each statement, where (1) strongly agree and (5) strongly disagree:

Clause	(1) Strongly Agree	(2) Agree	(3) Neutral	(4) Disagre e	(5) Strongly Disagre e
The arrest was the main reason for losing my possessions.					
I feel disconnected and do not belong anywhere after losing my properties.					
I lost social connections with my neighbors and people from the neighborhood I used to live in.					
If I hadn't been arrested, I wouldn't have lost my social relationships.					
I am no longer able to engage in my previous customs and habits.					
I feel fear for my identity and belonging in the future.					
I experience social isolation and loneliness.					
The place where I currently live does not represent me.					

I find it awkward to speak my language in the community I reside in.					
I feel uncomfortable practicing my religious and social rituals in the community I reside in.					
I feel powerless to influence the local community I live in.					
I often feel helpless in defending my rights.					
I feel that things have become significantly more complex in my new community, to the point where I don't really understand what's going on.					
I don't feel valued as a human being in my community.					
I don't feel I have a significant role in my community.					
I believe that systems and laws are meaningless in our lives.					
I am often treated as a second-class citizen in the community I live in.					
I avoid making new friendships out of fear of losing them again.					