



Workshop on Reparation Mechanisms for the Marota City Project – Damascus

From Forced Displacement to Restitution:
Decree 66, Transitional Justice,
and the Future of Basateen al-Mazzeah ,
Kafr Souse, and Other Affected Areas

Narrative Report and Workshop Outputs



Introduction

The Syrian Legal Development Program (SLDP), through its Human Rights and Business Unit (HRBU), in cooperation with the International Law Support Unit (ILSU) and in partnership with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Foundation (FES), convened a two-day workshop in Damascus on 1–2 December titled "Reparation Mechanisms in the Marota City Project." The event examined violations arising from Legislative Decree No. 66 of 2012, including forced displacement, expropriation of housing, land and property rights, and changes to the social and demographic fabric of the areas of al-Mazzeah, Kafr Souse, Al-Assali, Nahr Aisha, Al-Dahadil and other areas covered by the decree.

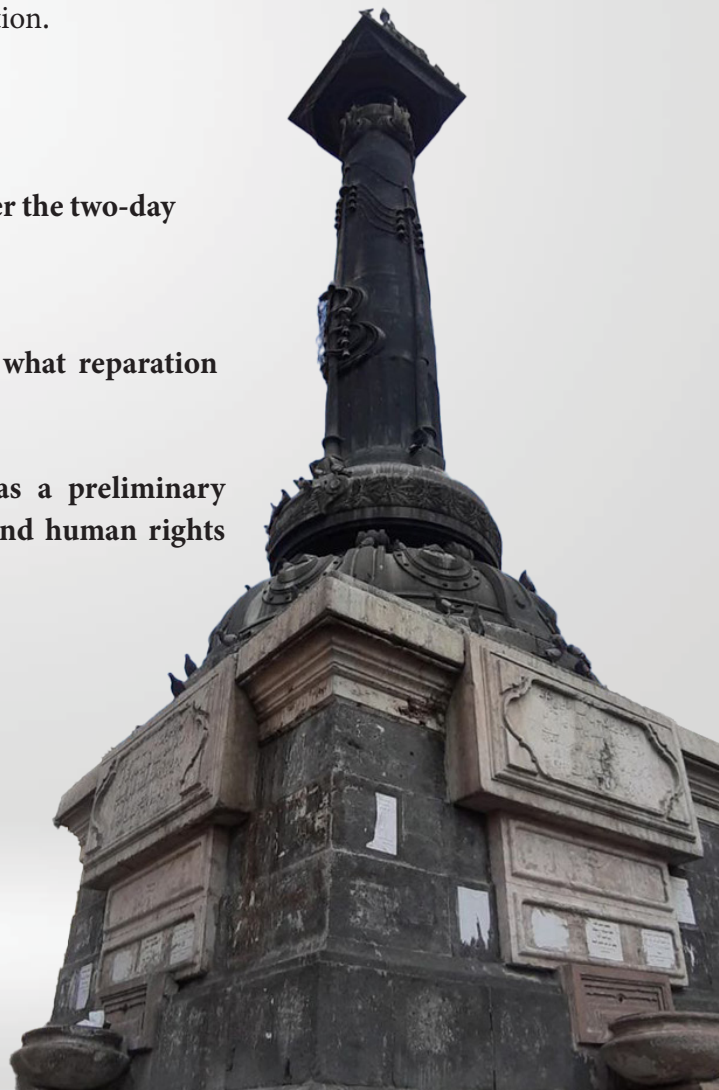
On its first day, the workshop brought together members of the directly affected communities, acknowledging the diversity of their needs and demands. It aimed to provide a safe space for them to share their experiences, analyse the legal and human rights realities created by Decree 66, and develop an initial shared vision of the forms of justice and reparation that could be proposed to the relevant authorities.

The second day was dedicated to an in-depth dialogue with relevant authorities, including the Transitional Justice Commission, members of the People's Assembly, and representatives of the affected communities. The aim was to move from diagnosis to identifying a practical approach to reparation and linking the victims' demands to transitional justice processes and future legislative and administrative action.

The workshop took place within the context of a political transition, in which Syrians are seeking to rebuild their relationship with the land, the city, and collective memory, and to address the legacy of decades of real estate and regulatory policies that were utilised not merely for urban planning or reconstruction, but as instruments of collective punishment and social marginalisation.

This report aims to:

- Summarise the main discussions and interventions over the two-day workshop.**
- Highlight the narratives of affected individuals and what reparation means to them.**
- Document the practical outputs of the workshop as a preliminary foundation for dialogue with legislative, executive, and human rights bodies in the coming period.**



Day One Closed Sessions with Affected Communities



Opening Remarks and Introduction to the Workshop

The first day opened with welcoming remarks from the Syrian Legal Development Program (SLDP) team, during which **Eyad Hamid and Veronica Bellintani** introduced the program and the Human Rights and Business Unit, and outlined the objectives and key themes of the workshop.

In her introduction to the first session, **Alaa Younis** explained that the day was dedicated to listening to rights holders from the affected communities and to developing preliminary proposals to be carried forward into the following day's discussions with the relevant authorities, including the Transitional Justice Commission, the People's Assembly, and the Governorate. She emphasised that the Program's primary focus in this area is to address and redress the harm resulting from Decree No. 66 and the Marota City project, rather than merely documenting the violations.



Session 1: Decree No. 66 as a Framework for Violations Experiences of Affected Communities and Analysis of the Human Rights Situation

Alaa delivered a presentation entitled **The Legal and Human Rights Challenges Posed by Decree No. 66**, which addressed the following:

A general explanation of Decree 66 and its implementation mechanisms

Demonstrating the decree's conflict with housing and property rights as recognised by international law and human rights

Clarification of the consequences of its implementation:

- Threat to social relations in Basateen al-Mazzeah area and its transformation from a cohesive environment to a displaced and fragmented community.
- Problems with alternative housing in terms of delays, cost, distance from the original area, and lack of suitability.
- Waves of displacement and forced eviction, including cases of demolition carried out in the presence of the rights holders, who were not even allowed to remove their belongings.
- Discrimination in the handling of files, with farmers and landowners bearing the brunt of the burden while shareholders and companies reap the benefits.
- Complete loss of livelihoods (farms, workshops, shops, etc.).

Following the presentation, the floor was opened for discussion among participants, and their interventions together formed a vivid narrative of what Decree No. 66 has meant for rights holders:

Participants emphasised that Basateen al-Mazzeah constituted a unified social and cultural environment that nurtured the revolution, and that Legislative Decree No. 66 was issued as an instrument of demographic change and collective punishment, rather than as a genuine urban planning project.

Many participants linked the decree to forced displacement and politically motivated crimes, with some explicitly describing it as a "war crime" targeting a revolutionary neighbourhood.

Participants stressed that moral reparation is essential to redressing the harm, as the decree not only destroyed homes but also targeted identity, collective memory, and family and social relationships.

It was noted that requiring residents to pay 10 per cent of the value of replacement housing imposed a heavy financial burden, particularly given that adequate alternative housing was not provided—an aspect often overlooked in discussions of the decree.

Participants repeatedly called for those affected to be treated as partners in the project, rather than merely as evictees, arguing that the project cannot proceed without their land.

Painful personal experiences were shared, including accounts in which participants attributed the deaths of their parents to the shock and stress caused by displacement under the decree.

Participants emphasised that the businesses involved in the Marota City project, together with the former regime, should be regarded as partners in the violations, rather than as neutral actors.

A number of participants also raised concerns about "what would follow the workshop", expressing fears that the discussions might remain purely theoretical and fail to lead to tangible outcomes. In response, the organising team clarified SLDP's role as a civil society organisation rather than a governmental body and outlined its efforts to pursue business actors involved in housing, land, and property rights violations outside Syria, as well as its work in supporting victims through international advocacy initiatives.

Participants also discussed the significance of the area's name, "Basateen al-Mazzeah" versus "Basateen al-Razi", viewing the change as part of an attempt to erase the area's original identity. Attendees linked this renaming to the decree's broader objective of reshaping both the place itself and its collective memory.



Session 2: Understanding Reparations From Full Response to Compensation and Recognition

Veronica opened the second session by explaining the concepts of forced displacement and reparation in international law, emphasising that Decree 66 represents a typical case of forced displacement linked to a regulatory decision, and not only to military operations.

Youssef Razzouk and Veronica Bellintani gave a presentation on the right to redress and reparation in the context of Marota City and the associated violations, addressing:

State obligations in cases of violations of human rights and international law.

Types of violations associated with the decree:

- Violation of the right to housing.
- Violation of the right to property.
- Violation of the right to life, in certain cases.
- Violation of the right to redress and access to justice.

Possible forms of reparation (full restitution, return, compensation, satisfaction, apology, and guarantees of non-recurrence).

Prerequisites for remedies: recognition of harm, cessation of the violation, and guarantees of non-recurrence.

The link between reparation and transitional justice; recognising reparation as a fundamental pillar of transitional justice processes.

The discussion that followed the presentation revealed differences in priorities among the participants:



One group emphasised that waiting means losing rights, and that the process must be swift, with pressure to secure fair rent allowances and adequate alternative housing, in parallel with efforts to annule the decree.



On the other hand, some participants cautioned that pursuing hasty action without adequate safeguards could lead to unfair settlements, further entrenching the loss of rights. They called for transitional compensation mechanisms that would address immediate needs without replacing the fundamental demand for the repeal of the decree.



A heated debate arose over the feasibility of focusing on repealing the decree entirely versus amending specific articles. Participants were divided between those who argued that the decree is fundamentally null and void in principle and cannot be reformed, and those who suggested that preserving the already-built towers, while amending the legal framework and implementing fair compensation mechanisms, might be less harmful than demolishing all existing constructions.

State obligations in cases of violations of human rights and international law.

The discussion should not be confined to the binary of annulment versus amendment, but should instead focus on acknowledging the violations, halting implementation, establishing clear mechanisms for redress, and ensuring guarantees of non-recurrence.

The al-Mazzeah Committee plays a pivotal role in representing affected residents before the governorate. However, the committee itself has faced pressures, including rental pressure and forced sale of shares, highlighting the imbalance of power between residents and other actors.

Participants also noted that Decree No. 66 is not limited to Basateen al-Mazzeah, but also affects other neighbourhoods such as Al-Assali, Nahr Aisha, and Al-Dahadil, where residents were displaced following the bombings and prevented from returning under the pretext of urban planning.



Session 3: Future Scenarios Exercise Towards a Realistic Vision of Justice

The first day concluded with a group exercise in which participants were divided into three groups, each of which was asked to draw up future scenarios for justice in the context of Decree 66 from a specific angle:



Group 1

Suspension of implementation and non-recurrence



Group 2

Compensation and reparation



Group 3

Recognition and narrative related to Decree 66



01 Group 1

Suspension of implementation and non-recurrence

This group focused on the link between suspending the implementation of the decree and ensuring that the violation is not repeated, considering that one cannot be achieved without the other. Among the most important points this group concluded were:

- The need to replace Legislative Decree No. 66 with a new, fair decree that guarantees and protects the rights of property owners and residents.
- The real estate legal framework as a whole must be reviewed and re-examined, as it is a legacy of a corrupt era and fails to provide genuine protection for human rights.
- All activities of Damascus Cham Holding Company should be fully suspended, with a view to redistributing shares and stocks in favour of individuals who have been displaced, forcibly disappeared, or had their rights unlawfully confiscated.
- Special attention should be given to Articles 21, 22, 45, and 62 of the decree, which were identified as unjust provisions that have deprived residents of their rights to alternative housing and property, emphasising that the text itself refers to the right of residents to alternative housing within the first regulatory zone without this being implemented.
- Participants noted that repealing Decree No. 66 would, in practice, entail the repeal of Law No. 10 of 2018, which expanded the application of the decree.
- Participants stressed that a stay of execution is an indispensable prerequisite before any discussion of repeal or replacement, as the continued implementation of the decree amounts to the continuation of violations.



02 Group 2

Compensation and reparation

The second group proceeded from the premise that the affected individuals are victims of crimes amounting to war crimes, that Legislative Decree No. 66 is null and void in principle from their perspective, and that their land remains legally theirs. On this basis, the group formulated a set of demands, most notably:

- Provision of free alternative housing in the same area, with size and specifications comparable to the original housing.
- Effective partnership in Marota City project and its revenues.
- Re-evaluation of shares and cancellation of the current shareholding to reflect the true value of the land.
- Compensation for loss and damage to sources of livelihood, including factories, land, farms, and other income-generating assets.
- Payment of rent retroactively from the start of the damage, in line with the exchange rate and the current situation.
- Full compensation for material, moral and psychological damage, both past and future.
- Suspension of the sale of shares and freezing of the decree pending resolution of the issue.
- Holding brokers and traders responsible for exploiting the needs of the people to account and buying their shares at low prices.
- Annulment of Legislative Decree No. 66 and adoption of a new law that guarantees the rights of all landowners.



03 Group 3

Recognition and narrative related to Decree 66

This group focused on the symbolic and legal dimensions of the narrative, considering that:

- Decree 66 is an exceptional decree issued during the revolution, and under the constitutional declaration that abolished exceptional decrees, this decree is considered null and void in principle, but this has not been translated into practice.
- Displacement was carried out by force and coercion, and private property was seized without fair compensation.
- None of the provisions of the decree were implemented for the benefit of the affected citizens; rather, it was used for the benefit of administrative bodies, companies, and businessmen.
- The appointment of Damascus Cham Holding as the legal guardian of the landowners is unacceptable and constitutes a form of deprivation of the will of the rightful owners.
- Many detainees and forcibly disappeared persons were forced to sign away their property under threat to the benefit of officers or security agencies.
- Agree to adopt the term 'repeal of the decree' as a comprehensive formula, considering the terms 'revocation' and 'amendment' to be problematic, as they carry different political or technical connotations.
- Refer the entire file to the Transitional Justice Commission and the next People's Assembly, while retaining the possibility of resorting to international law if national solution cannot be reached.

Day Two Extended Sessions with Relevant Parties



Opening Remarks and Review of the First Day's Outcomes

The second day began with an introduction by **Eyad**, who provided a concise summary of the discussions from the first day, highlighting three main themes:

Decree No. 66 as a framework for violations and the experiences of affected individuals.

Understanding reparations and their various forms.

Future scenarios related to the suspension of implementation, compensation, and recognition.

The purpose of the introduction was to give stakeholders a comprehensive overview of areas of agreement and disagreement among victims, before moving on to a discussion of shared responsibilities and prospects for redress.



Session 1: Open Dialogue on Shared Responsibilities and Prospects for Redress

This session was attended by members of the Transitional Justice Commission, a representative of the People's Assembly, and affected individuals.

a) Intervention by the Transitional Justice Commission

Ahmed Hazrouma, a member of the Transitional Justice Commission, explained that the Commission views issues of housing, property, and reparations as a legacy extending back to the 1970s, rather than being limited to the post-2011 period.

He noted that the regime used urban organisation and reconstruction laws as a cover for collective punitive policies and the systematic deprivation of rights.

He further explained that the Commission is developing a comprehensive strategy to address housing and property rights issues across Syria, from Hama in the 1980s to Deir ez-Zor, Damascus, and other regions, based on the following principles:

■ The centrality of the victims' role.

■ Inclusive justice, that is not limited to a single file or geographic area.

■ Non-discrimination and coordinated engagement with all stakeholders.

Ahmed Hazrouma also referred to a draft transitional justice law, which is planned to be presented first to civil society organisations, then to affected individuals, before being submitted to the People's Assembly for approval. He highlighted a special program to develop a strategy regarding Decree No. 66, in which representatives of affected communities will actively participate, with the aim of repealing the decree and restoring rights to the greatest extent possible.

Zahra Barazi, deputy chair of the Commission, emphasised the importance of avoiding the creation of new victims while addressing the harm caused by Decree No. 66. She proposed the establishment of an independent commission specialising in housing and property rights, to operate alongside the Transitional Justice Commission. She stressed that this commission would be independent of any ministry and serve as an official partner with the governorates, ensuring that citizens' rights are properly represented in decision-making processes.

b) Intervention by a member of the People's Assembly

Hisham Al-Afyouni, an elected member of the People's Assembly, referred to the high expectations placed on the new Assembly, stressing that the first step on the road to transitional justice is to acknowledge the harm inflicted and then work on an approach that leads to redress. He also stressed the importance of transparency and mentioned that the Assembly faces the task of reviewing and amending hundreds of laws in the coming period, including laws that directly affect housing and property rights.

c) Interventions and questions from those affected.

The questions from the audience focused on:

- What principles will the mechanisms for reparation be based on?
- What are the powers of the transitional justice body, and are its decisions binding?
- Where will the reparation fund be financed from? Will those affected pay the price again, as was the case with the reconstruction fee?
- How will the huge sums in the sovereign fund be handled, and to what extent can part of it be allocated to compensate those affected by Decree 66?
- How can the implementation of the decree be effectively suspended, after repeated promises to freeze it have not been fulfilled?

On the other hand, some experts suggested that redressing the damage requires resources that may not be immediately available, calling for patience so that rights are not lost through haste, while maintaining transparency and clarity in addressing this issue.



Session 2: The Role of Damascus Governorate and Local Authorities in Developing a Practical Approach to Reparation

During this session, Engineer **Ibrahim Sheikh Al-Shabab**, a member of al-Mazzeah Committee, delivered a technical presentation outlining a practical approach to addressing the imbalance in the distribution of shares within the Marota City project. His presentation was based on approximate calculations of land areas and share ratios between the original landowners on the one hand, and the Governorate and Damascus Cham Holding Company on the other.

The most notable points of the presentation included:

- The share allocated to the original landowners does not exceed approximately 17.2% of the project area, compared to around 19.5% allocated to the Governorate and Damascus Cham Holding Company—a distribution that fails to reflect the fact that the land was originally owned by local residents.
- The remaining areas are designated for green spaces and public service facilities (including schools, parks, police stations, and similar infrastructure); however, this does not justify the imbalance in allocation in favour of administrative authorities.
- Law No. 9 of 1974 on the Organisation of Cities and Suburbs stipulates that, in cases of urban organisation, 60 per cent of the land should be allocated to owners and 40 per cent to the state—a principle that was not respected in the implementation of Decree No. 66.
- There is a need to compensate original landowners through additional land allocations or fair financial compensation, bearing in mind that random or ad hoc redistribution of land is not technically feasible. This necessitates the development of alternative compensation formulas, such as financial compensation, share adjustments, or revenue-sharing arrangements.
- The existence of rights held by other parties, including contractors, investors, endowments, and occupants, requires careful consideration, with particular emphasis on respecting occupants' rights to social housing through the provision of appropriate alternative accommodation.

The presentation also highlighted:

The informal relinquishment by the Damascus Governorate of its responsibilities for alternative housing to the Ministry of Housing before the fall of the regime, and the resulting loss of accountability.

Cases involving the exploitation of detainees and forcibly disappeared persons, including instances in which they were coerced into signing over their property.

The significant disparity between the market value of alternative housing at the time of its valuation and its current value following the deterioration of the Syrian pound's exchange rate has resulted in additional losses for affected individuals.

The discussion accompanying the presentation underscored the need to establish specialised judicial and legal committees, working in coordination with the Transitional Justice Commission, to examine the factors that led to the sale of alternative housing and to identify mechanisms for restoring rights to the greatest extent possible. Participants also stressed the importance of drawing on the expertise of international human rights organisations to develop a comprehensive pathway toward resolution.



Session 3: Towards a Common Principles Paper Agreeing on a General Framework for Reparations in Decree 66 Cases

In the closing session of the second day, participants were divided into working groups tasked with formulating demands addressed to the Transitional Justice Commission, the People's Assembly, and the Damascus Governorate, as well as clarifying participants' expectations of the Syrian Legal Development Program (SLDP).

a) Demands Addressed to the People's Assembly

One of the working groups identified the following core demands:

- Holding regular meetings between affected individuals and members of the People's Assembly in the coming period.
- Establishing an official channel of communication, including, where possible, the use of social media platforms, with members of the Assembly or with the committee responsible for housing and property restitution.
- Expediting procedures for property restitution and for the recognition of harm related to Decree No. 66.
- Establishing a clear mechanism to connect affected individuals and their representatives directly with Parliament, bypassing administrative bodies that were themselves part of the problem.

b) Demands addressed to the Transitional Justice Commission

Another group outlined its demands from the Transitional Justice Commission, including:

- Holding Damascus Cham Holding Company, the valuation committees, the judicial committees involved in the implementation of Decree No. 66, and companies implicated in housing, land, and property rights violations accountable.
- Establishing a special investigation committee for the Al-Assali neighbourhood to address violations related to theft, looting, and expropriation.
- Recognition by the Truth-Disclosure Committee within the Commission of Decree No. 66 as an exceptional decree that was effectively annulled under the Constitutional Declaration, with documentation of the narrative surrounding its issuance and the procedures that accompanied it as part of the record of violations.
- Treating the violations resulting from the decree, including forced displacement, demolition of homes, and demographic change, as violations amounting to war crimes and addressing them accordingly.
- Demanding the Reparations Committee to work toward the full restoration of rights to the greatest extent possible, and, where full restoration is not feasible, to ensure compensation in accordance with decisions issued by an independent judicial body.
- Establishing full partnership in the project with landowners, ending the tutelage of the Damascus Governorate and Damascus Cham Holding, and concluding direct contractual arrangements between investors and landowners within the framework of a fair and rights-based law.
- Annulment of Decree No. 66 and dissolution of Damascus Cham Holding, and the regulation of land ownership under a new legal framework that guarantees the rights of owners without discrimination.
- Full compensation, including:
 - Material and moral losses since the decree was issued.
 - Rent allowance commensurate with current prices, from the date of the decree until alternative housing is secured free of charge.
 - Compensation for lost livelihoods.
- Suspension of trading in shares linked to alternative housing and Decree 66, and refund of amounts paid for alternative housing books.
- Establishment of a special chamber for Decree 66 within the Transitional Justice Commission and holding regular meetings with all affected neighbourhoods.
- Work to reform government institutions and relevant laws, with a commitment to transparency and respect for the constitutional declaration.

c) The Role of the Syrian Legal Development Programme (SLDP)

Participants asked the SLDP team what kind of support it could provide to those affected, and the team identified the key areas of potential work:

- Capacity-building and training, particularly on international conventions and legal frameworks related to housing, land, and property rights, as well as transitional justice.
- Organising regular consultative meetings with decision-makers, including the People's Assembly, the Transitional Justice Commission, and executive authorities.
- Promoting the use of international law and its mechanisms in support of victims' rights.
- Convening broad-based workshops to hear from affected individuals across all neighbourhoods covered by Decree No. 66.
- Clarifying rights and obligations through accessible legal language and explaining available legal options and alternatives.
- Supporting efforts to engage with representatives of the People's Assembly and other relevant authorities.

Workshop Outputs Towards a Preliminary Framework for Reparations in Decree 66 Cases

This section presents the workshop outputs as formulated by the participants over the two days, as a preliminary framework agreed upon to varying degrees, which can be built upon in future dialogues with partners and relevant parties.

Regarding the General Framework for Reparations

1. Recognise Decree No. 66 as a framework for gross violations of housing and property rights, and as an exceptional decree that should be repealed under the Constitutional Declaration, with measures taken to ensure the effective implementation of this repeal.
2. Consider those affected by the decree as victims of forced displacement and politically motivated crimes, who are entitled to claim reparations within the framework of transitional justice.
3. Adopt the principle that the essence of reparation is to restore the situation to its original state to the greatest extent possible (full restitution); where full restitution is not feasible, provide proportionate and fair compensation, covering both material and moral harm.
4. Suspending the implementation of Decree 66 as an indispensable first step, followed by working to repeal it and replace it with a new legal framework that protects rights and does not reproduce violations.
5. Distinguish clearly between the Marota City project as an urban development initiative and Decree No. 66 as an unjust legal framework, enabling solutions that go beyond the binary of "demolishing the towers" or "retaining them", and instead focus on fair redistribution of benefits and rights.

At the Level of the Transitional Justice Body

1. Complete and adopt the transitional justice law, including a dedicated chapter on housing and property rights and mechanisms for redress in cases of forced displacement and eviction.
2. Establish a special chamber or unit within the commission to document violations, receive complaints from victims, and propose practical mechanisms for redress.
3. Officially recognise Decree No. 66 as part of the record of violations, which in some respects amount to war crimes (including forced displacement, demographic change, and forced expropriation), and incorporate this recognition into the Commission's reports and draft legislation.
4. Establish an independent victims' fund, financed through state resources, recovered assets, and, where possible, international contributions, to help cover compensation costs.
5. Involve representatives from all affected areas (Basateen al-Mazzeah, Al-Assali, Nahr Aisha, Al-Dahadil, etc.) in the formulation of strategies and implementation mechanisms related to the decree.

At the Level of the People's Assembly

1. Pass new or amended laws addressing gaps in real estate and property ownership regulations, aligning them more closely with the principles of Law No. 9/1974 regarding distribution ratios in favour of owners.
2. Establish a permanent parliamentary committee on housing and property rights to monitor Decree No. 66, Law No. 10, and related legislation.
3. Organise regular meetings between affected individuals and members of the Assembly and adopt transparent mechanisms for receiving complaints and proposals.
4. Expedite legislative measures that recognise the damage caused by Decree No. 66, with a clear timeline for restoring rights and providing compensation.

At the Level of the Damascus Governorate and Local Authorities

1. Effectively commit to suspending the implementation of Decree No. 66, freezing all construction and share transactions related to disputed land until a fair settlement is reached.
2. Publicly acknowledge the harm caused to residents and initiate a transparent, regular dialogue with the al-Mazzeah Committee and other resident-elected committees.
3. Review the distribution of shares in the Marota City project based on technical proposals from experts and community representatives, aiming to increase the share of original landowners.
4. Cooperate with the Transitional Justice Commission and judicial authorities to review property transfers conducted under duress, including in cases of detention and enforced disappearance.

At the Level of Victims and Civil Society

1. Continuing organisational work within representative associations and committees (e.g., the Association for the Repeal of Decree No. 66 and the al-Mazzeah Committee), while developing transparent internal mechanisms for decision-making and representation of all affected groups.
2. Document testimonies and evidence related to property, displacement, and damages, to strengthen the human rights narrative against official accounts.
3. Build alliances with Syrian and international human rights organisations to raise the issue of Decree No. 66 in regional and international forums, as part of the broader agenda on housing and property rights in Syria.

Role of Partners from Local and International Civil Society Organisations

This report, together with its narrative and findings, calls on Syrian and international partners to engage in:

- Supporting efforts to document violations related to Decree No. 66.
- Keeping pace with the process of developing transitional justice legislation, particularly regarding housing, property rights, and reparations.
- Providing comparative technical and legal expertise on international experiences with reparations for regulatory projects used for political or discriminatory purposes.
- Amplifying the voice of victims in international forums, without replacing their role or speaking on their behalf.

As such, the workshop "**Reparation Mechanisms in the Marota City Project**" constitutes a first step toward framing victims' demands within a clear political and rights-based framework, linking the narratives of daily forced displacement from Basateen al-Mazzeah, Kafr Souse, Al-Assali, Nahr Aisha, and Al-Dahadil with discussions of transitional justice and the drafting of laws for a new Syria. However, the biggest challenge remains translating this preliminary framework into concrete practical steps that restore trust and allow people to reclaim their lost relationship with their homes and lands, as well as their right to the city.



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