Social Rehabilitation as Legal Policy Protection for Women Victims of Terrorist Cyber Indoctrination

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Abstract

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Keywords:

Social Rehabilitation; Women;Victims; Terrorism; Cyber Indoctrination. Introduction: It is noted that 513 women with Indonesian citizenship traveled to Iraq and Syria after being impacted by cyber indoctrination. Among these women, there are those with a manus minustra (victim) status. Some are trapped in Iraq and Syria overseas as they were brought there by their families when they were still young or were babies. Methods: This research employed the classical dogmatic juridical method with a literary approach. This research was conducted to find the best solution for women as victims of terrorists' indoctrination who have not committed terror acts or women who migrated to Iraq and Syria when they were still young or were babies. **Results and Discussion**: Social rehabilitation is only given to indoctrination victims who have not committed terror, as well as women who were trapped in Iraq and Syria because they were brought over by their families when they were still young/babies, thus requiring identification. Social rehabilitation is crucial to prevent equal punishments between victims and offenders. Some countries apply social rehabilitation with various methods and requirements, such as Uzbekistan, Germany, and the United States. *Conclusion*: Rehabilitation is possible as the providing institutions are experienced in giving social rehabilitation to children of terrorism perpetrators. Social rehabilitation in these three countries was successful with various degrees of success. It is deemed as more successful than punishments as the former prevents victims from obtaining further indoctrination in jails.

I. Introduction

Terrorism is an intimidation technique with a systematic target for a particular interest. Omeje defines terrorism as an act of violence by organized groups that target civilians (Omeje, 2021). Terrorists have various motives, including obtaining social status (glory), forcing ideology, exploiting religion, culture, hegemony, power, cultural domination, or forcing upon the philosophical concept of terrorism (Garner & Alarid-Hughes, 2021). Terrorism creates an atmosphere of terror or fear in society by killing, looting, and imprisoning people. They also destroy vital installations, such as public facilities (Salleh et al., 2021). This study offers social values as terrorism is an action that affects the lives of many people. It has caused destruction and induced terror in people.

Almost all of these terror attacks were executed by men. Today, women may also become executors of terrorism due to the influence of cyber indoctrination. They become tempted by ideas of heaven or heroism promoted by terrorists via cyber interaction or indoctrination (Erikha, Putra, & Sarwono, 2019). In some terror actions, women became the dominating executors. In the past, these women terrorists were usually wives of male terrorists (Spaalj, 2010). This study offers scientific value as there has not been much research that studies the role of women in terrorism, although their roles have a great impact on society.

Victims of cyber indoctrination in Indonesia are hardly known because such indoctrination is massive and online. Official data showed that at least 1067 men and 513 women became indoctrination victims in Indonesia (The Habibie Center, 2019). This number only shows victims who emigrated to foreign countries. In such cases, the Indonesian government banned their repatriation and revoked their citizenship (Soliev, 2018).

This research was conducted in Indonesia, where its citizens suffered massive indoctrination. A thousand citizens from Indonesia had emigrated to foreign states, but both countries have very diametral policies. Indonesia banned the repatriation of all of its citizens who emigrated to foreign countries. Indonesia processes the captured ones with an anti-terrorism criminal law. The Indonesian government does not categorize them and treat them all the same, even though some of them were actually deceived while the rest were truly motivated to commit terror.

Research conducted by Johnston, Iqbal, and True found that Indonesian women were indoctrinated to commit terrorism. Terror groups purposely target women. The

indoctrination that specifically targets women causes hundreds of women to move to locations controlled by terror groups (Johnston, Muhammad, & True, 2023). A phenomenon which happens is that hundreds of women emigrated and joined the ranks of the Islamic State (Nejad, 2019) in Iraq and Syria as the epicentrum of the ISIS terror group (Kadir & Nurhaliza, 2023).

Research from Kurnia et al. found that Indonesia took the route of penalizing women caught doing terror actions. All women perpetrators are penalized with the Anti-Terror Law without giving them a chance to undergo deradicalization. So far, all deradicalization participants are men. Considering this, it means that all women terror perpetrators who have not emigrated overseas will be punished with the Anti-Terror Law. This happens even though in the legal formal perspectives, both women and men have the right to participate in the deradicalization process.

The Indonesian government has declared a verdict to completely revoke the citizenship of all women who moved to Iraq and Syria and are still stuck there (as they cannot go back home) or who actually live there for good. This revocation without exemption certainly violates human rights. This policy is certainly suitable for women terror perpetrators who fought with ISIS. But it is inhumane for the women who migrated to Iraq and Syria when they were still young or were babies as they had no power to reject the migration. It is not fair to have their citizenship revoked.

There is a legal choice for the government in handling women terror perpetrators, especially those who became indoctrination victims of terror groups and have not committed terror at all. The women who were indoctrination victims of terror groups and have not committed terror or those who migrated to Iraq and Syria when they were still young or were babies should obtain protection from the state. Such protection may be in the form of deradicalization programs (to neutralize indoctrination) or social rehabilitation (for a more comprehensive handling) (Sumedi, 2021).

Social rehabilitation is a social program which does not only provide deradicalization. Social rehabilitation is an effort to reintegrate women who were victims of terror group's indoctrination who have not committed terror and those who were trapped in Iraq and Syria as they were brought over by their families when they were still young or were babies to society (Hoffman, 2002). This integration may be in the forms of work training and social adaptation rather than punishing them with the Anti-Terror Law or having their citizenship revoked. This is because, in essence, they are actually victims. Based on the issue above, the problem formulation of this research is: What is the urgency of social rehabilitation for women who were victims of terror groups' indoctrination?

2. Research Method

This research used the classical dogmatic-juridical method (Achmadi, Hangabei, Dimyati, & Absori, 2021) The classical dogmatic juridical method was a research method which used library data as the main data. This research was conducted to find the best solution for women who were victims of terror groups' indoctrination and who have not committed terror, as well as women who migrated to Iraq and Syria when they were still young or were babies. To obtain samples or data, the authors strategized by searching data about social rehabilitation as a choice as opposed to punishing them with collective punishments using the Anti-Terror Law or citizenship revocation.

Then, the authors searched for information on other countries which have applied social rehabilitation as a solution and its positive outcomes. The authors intended to have several samples with the inclusion criteria of women who were involved with terrorism but were truly *Manus Ministra* or victims, who were tricked (with indoctrination or fake information) or did not have the power to object to being taken to Iraq and Syria by their parents.

The researcher obtained data from both Indonesian and foreign journals and books that discuss terrorism, the *manus ministra* status, and how these countries handle the *manus ministra*. The writer also used interview results that were published in media or newspapers with several women terrorist perpetrators as secondary data. These data were then profoundly analysed (Badollahi, Ubay, & Amrullah, 2023).

From the data analysis, it was found that the indoctrination method was carried out by sharing posts concerning the relationship between the oppression of the *ummah* (Islamic community) by the disbelievers and jihad as a method to eradicate such oppression. This was called the pseudo-religism type of cyber indoctrination. Apart from that, the writer also consulted with some experts concerning this issue.

3. Results and Discussion

Women's involvement in terrorism happens because they are exposed to the indoctrination by the terrorist groups. The terrorist groups convinced these women to leave their families and follow terrorist groups, commit suicide bombings, become combatants and guerrillas, give shelter to terrorist perpetrators, etc. The bottom line of the pseudo-religism doctrine is the battle of minds between terrorist groups in indoctrinating women.

The pseudo-religism doctrine is one of the terrorist groups' crucial assets in indoctrinating women. An example of the said indoctrination can be found in an online paper released by Daesh to recruit women. Daesh attempted to indoctrinate women by citing the order of *hijra* (travel) and *jihad*. The orders to undergo *hijra* and *jihad* are indeed instructed by Allah, but the Daesh terror group turned it into an indoctrination by involving pseudo-religism elements in interpreting and citing propositions. This resulted in numerous women becoming determined to go for a *hijra* to a Daesh region or '*jihad*' according to Daesh's wish. Such actions are not necessarily under the actual interpretation of the Qur'anic verse (Al-Ibrahim, 2015).

One of the subjects in the said indoctrination literature includes:

He who constructed the idea of Sharia does not distinguish women and men regarding *hijra* yet He obliged upon both, despite the difficulties, trials, and peril alongside the process. Those who revise the *Sirah* (chronological history) of the Prophet may see it on their own. There is no single Sharia text which prohibits a woman without a *mahram* (a guardian from the family) from going *hijra* or even the risk of being captured, murdered, or tortured (Sahrasadi, Maksum, Chaidar, & Ansari, 2020).

Another example of pseudo-religism doctrine is an indoctrination conducted by Solihin towards Dian to the point where Dian was convinced to commit a suicide bombing. Solihin also indoctrinated Dian regarding the validity of his marriage with Dian which was carried out with no guardian or witnesses. Marriage without a guardian and witnesses is a practice prohibited by the Islamic Sharia according to Ibn Majah (Achour, Binti Abdul Khalil, Binti Ahmad, Mohd Nor, & Zulkifli Bin Mohd Yusoff, 2017).

Seeing how similar yet ambiguous the said doctrines (especially cyber indoctrination) are from Daesh, Muslim women should again refer to the solid

propositions which are more valid rather than the narrative doctrine from terror groups. According to Islamic law, even when travelling for pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, a woman must obtain her husband's permission and be in the company of her guardian to guarantee her safety, let alone go for *hijra* and *jihad*. Moreover, the wisdom behind this permission is to maintain the safety of the women who travel, rather than oppressing them (Bachtin, 2021).

The women who read online doctrine ideas from terror groups without adequate understanding may have their mindsets contaminated. They will be willing to undergo terror actions without further consideration. All *sunnah* (Islamic habitual practice) provisions above are determined to protect women from all kinds of danger, including those which endanger their dignity (Willy, Karwur, & Karouw, 2021).

Perpetrators may even commit crimes of terror as they believe that they are fighting for the religion. Yet, they do not understand that they are only used. women and children who are involved in terrorism because they are exposed to these indoctrinations are only *manus ministra*. The *manus manistra* are not given punishments of imprisonment. However, they must be educated, counselled, rehabilitated, and given social accompaniment in the form of social rehabilitation (Prastiyo & Setiabudhi, 2021).

The organizations of terror that undergo indoctrination to women and motivate them to commit actions of terror carry out crimes against the conscience, by tricking women to do terror attacks (Willy et al., 2021). According to Muladi quoted by Billy, Karwur and Yoas, 'It cannot be argued that the crime of terrorism can be categorized as *malum in se* and not as *malum prohibitum*. This is because is a crime against conscience' (Purnamawati & Sunaryo, 2021).

Women who were involved in terrorism may be treated with deradicalization to eliminate their exposure to indoctrination from terror organizations. This is so that they realize what is going on and that they may cut off the impacts of the radicalization. Such actions prevent them from influencing their children and families. This is known as a soft approach, where ex-terrorists are involved in action campaigns against terrorism. They wisely and openly take action against terrorists (Mohammed, 2021).

Social rehabilitation is a more advanced effort compared to deradicalization, where the latter is an effort in the conscience realm to counter mind indoctrination in indoctrination victims. Meanwhile, social rehabilitation efforts aim to return indoctrination victims to society, which is carried out by developing the welfare of

indoctrination victims or women who migrated to Iraq and Syria when they were still babies or children with skill training, formal education, and nonformal education. Such actions aim to help them normally live in society.

Social rehabilitation is an advanced deradicalization effort to *manus ministra* of terror group indoctrination. This protection is crucial because the patterns of indoctrination cause women and the indoctrinated people to undergo illogical things that are impossible to carry out by normal people, such as blasting oneself, looting, vandalizing, travelling far away to dangerous places, committing anarchic actions, and other extreme activities. They easily trust others and are submissive; thus, they are more courageous in taking the risk to commit various terror acts. If perpetrators or suspects have not carried out or have not planned to commit terror acts, they should be treated as victims who need to be protected.

Realization, counter-indoctrination, as well as legal protection are the keys to preventing the terrorists' efforts in recruiting and indoctrinating women to commit terror acts. Women who are perpetrators of terrorism are – to some point – victims of the recruitment process with the cyber indoctrination pattern or they had no choice as babies or children. They are victims of the terror groups' indoctrination or are victims of their parents' irresponsibility who were previously brainwashed. Thus, they (women as *manus ministra*) become indoctrination victims of the terror organizations' concepts. The women are sometimes conditioned by indoctrinators through deceit, fake promises, and marriage. Yet, they do not commit any criminal activities as they are victims.

Therefore, there needs to be a system that regulates or handles social rehabilitation and deradicalization, so that the women who were formerly indoctrinated with radical thoughts from various sources including their families can be reaccepted in society and obtain their rights. Such rights include their right to work. Punishments in the form of imprisonment for women perpetrators of terror criminal acts can be said as inadequate in resolving issues. This is because not all indoctrination victims have committed terror. Apart from that, not all of these women migrated overseas based on their own willingness (as they were merely children or babies).

Penal punishments without exemption may escalate the events of the vendetta cycle. In the criminal act of terrorism, there is a cycle called the vendetta cycle, where an indoctrination victim truly becomes a terrorist after being punished in special jails for terrorists. This is because before, they were affected by cyber indoctrination. But then, in the prison, they obtained direct indoctrination from terrorist inmates. Therefore, there needs to be other actions apart from imprisonment punishments, which may include social rehabilitation. It is deemed crucial to prevent such vendetta cycles (Firmansyah, 2019).

Great accuracy is crucial in establishing social rehabilitation. Here, accuracy means thoroughness in undergoing identification and assessment. The social rehabilitation program was established after undergoing assessment towards women who were involved in terrorist criminal acts. It is crucial to know the status of the suspect, whether they are indoctrination victims, indoctrination perpetrators, or perpetrators of the terrorism criminal act.

Identification must also be carried out by assessing documents, such as the ID available in the state archive. It must be identified when they left for Iraq and Syria. Were they adults or did they leave as children/babies? Social rehabilitation is limitedly carried out for *manus ministra* (victims) who were indoctrinated and have not committed terror acts. It is also given to those who migrated to Iraq and Syria when they were still children or babies. Social rehabilitation does not apply to women who have committed terrorist criminal acts or those who migrated to Iraq and Syria and Syria when they were adults (even though they were indoctrinated, they are factual perpetrators). Thus, they are imposed with the legal sanctions in the Anti-Terrorism Law. Apart from that, these people who are still abroad will have their citizenship revoked.

The government may also undergo identification to detect how far the thoughts or indoctrination from the indoctrinators influence the victim. This is crucial to determine further actions that need to be taken so that they can effectively and optimally be applied to the perpetrators of terrorist criminal acts. If these women have not committed criminal acts of terrorism or if they migrated to other countries when they were still children or toddlers, it is surely unwise to prosecute them with the Anti-Terror Law or have their citizenship revoked.

Social rehabilitation is a rehabilitation stage which means returning the condition to how it originally was before. In the case of social rehabilitation, it can be combined with deradicalization which means guiding the women who were terrorism indoctrination *manus ministra*. The guiding in question may mean that they will be given an understanding of the radicalization paradigm they embraced to help them build a normal mindset.

Apart from that, rehabilitation in the case of deradicalization may also mean social guidance so that women with the *manus ministra* status may have the skills needed to return to living normally in society. They should be equipped with the skills needed to survive. Social rehabilitation is also carried out through an education

process. The education stage in the social rehabilitation program is a stage which is filled with giving education that not only shows that the teachings of the terror groups that have so far been embraced by the terror perpetrators are deviant and wrong teachings, but also education on skills and labor. They also receive the capital needed to strive for things that are crucial according to the government's analysis.

The social rehabilitation process has a "reintegration" vision, which means "returning" or "recompleting". This means integrating women that were *manus ministra* of indoctrination or women who came back from Iraq and Syria (because when they left for Iraq and Syria they were still children or babies, thus their citizenships are not revoked) with society. It is hoped that they may regain the trust of society or have a better social situation after the social rehabilitation process.

In Indonesia, there is a newly established social rehabilitation program for children whose parents are involved in becoming a suspect or have obtained a verdict to commit a criminal act of terrorism. Juridically, children are not terrorism perpetrators. But they are only terrorism victims who need to legally be protected. They must obtain special guidance so that they may exit the complicated realm of terrorism. Special guidance for children as terrorism perpetrators may be in the form of rehabilitation and deradicalization (Yosevin & Anwar, 2022). The consideration for establishing social rehabilitation for children of these terrorist perpetrators and suspects is that it is part of child protection as stipulated in the law on child protection. It is among the things carried out to guarantee that children obtain their rights.

Children have the right to live, grow, and participate according to human rights. Child protection also aims to guarantee that children obtain protection from violence and discrimination. Therefore, the state decided to establish social rehabilitation and deradicalization. This stipulation should also be applied to women who were trapped in Iraq and Syria and had their citizenship revoked, even though when they were taken to these countries, they were still children or babies.

The implementation of social rehabilitation in Indonesia is actually possible, considering that structurally, there is the Social Welfare Establishing Agency (*Lembaga Penyelenggaraan Kesejahteraan Sosial*/LPKS) that handles social rehabilitation for the children of terrorists. Thus, from this experience, it is hoped that women as *manus ministra* of terrorism indoctrination can obtain such rehabilitation. The social rehabilitation program for terrorists' children is established by LPKS. But children who committed acts of terror will be legally processed according to the Law on Juvenile Courts.

For children of terrorist actors, rehabilitation is part of the process of fixing children who faced or who are linked to terrorism (because the parents committed terrorism criminal acts). This is so that children can be reaccepted in society. The elements of rehabilitation are as follows:

- 1. Refunctionalization, namely returning the function of children in their environments, both in their families and in society.
- 2. Development, namely providing guidance for children in the form of training according to their interests and talents to develop their potential. it is hoped that they may develop the life skills needed for their future.

Social rehabilitation becomes a crucial choice as society has a negative perspective and may carry out negative treatment on women who were indoctrination victims of terrorists. This is due to the impacts or effects of the act of terrorism. Terrorism is an extraordinary crime, as it impacts society's socio-cultural context. It does not only cause observable losses such as causalities, but it also leads to the destruction of vital objects and public facilities. Even worse, it causes 'invisible' losses in the forms of trauma, disharmony, chaos, and other psycho-social effects.

The involvement of thousands of people (including hundreds of women) is rather surprising, as in the history of Indonesia, there have not been as many Indonesian citizens who are involved with foreign terror groups. In the pyramid of participation, the number of followers who participated in undergoing terror is certainly less than the total number of sympathizers with varying degrees of sympathy (Istiqomah & Efendi, 2022). Besides sympathizers, there are also cases of women victims of indoctrination with a sad ending. They were tricked by the advanced indoctrination methods and then punished with the Anti-Terror Law, even though they never committed acts of terror. It is also tragic for women who were brought by their parents abroad when they were still children or babies who then have their citizenship revoked (Nuraniyah, 2018).

Countries that provide social rehabilitation include Uzbekistan. The Uzbek authority decided to accept women who emigrated to Iraq and Syria. The not authority does not revoke their citizenship under the condition that they must undergo social rehabilitation. They must be deradicalized if they are victims. On the contrary, if they are convinced as terrorists, they would be processed with the Combating Terrorism Law.

Just like Indonesians, many Uzbeks suffered from massive indoctrination. Thousands of citizens from both countries had emigrated to foreign countries. But both countries have very diametral policies. Indonesia banned the repatriation of all

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its citizens who emigrated to foreign countries and processed the captured ones with the Anti-Terrorism Law. On the contrary, under the Combating Terrorism Law, the Uzbek authority decided to select those who must undergo social rehabilitation and those who must be imposed with the criminal law. The Uzbek authority wants to separate this because some of the victims were actually deceived or were children at the time they immigrated to Iraq and Syria. This policy is effective as since then, none of the people who obtained social rehabilitation from the Uzbek government had affairs with terrorists or terror acts (Budiono, Absori, Wardiono, Yuspin, & Gulyamov, 2024).

Another country which established the social rehabilitation program is the United States. In the US, in some situations, some women who were initially victims turned into perpetrators. They do so either to improve their situation or to gain personal relationships (Herliana, 2023). They may also turn into perpetrators after being indoctrinated with radical ideas. Thus, there is not a simple binary between victims and perpetrators. Women engage in extremist violence acts in complicated ways (Alexander, 2016).

Responses to women extremists tend to overlook this nuance, assuming instead that women have been coerced into extremist groups. This can lead to more lenient sentencing, i.e., rehabilitation programming. In the US, the legal system is ill-equipped to address returned females who joined terrorism, either as victims or criminals. The United States government chooses who has the right to obtain social rehabilitation and who must be imposed with legal sanctions. The legal process allows a chance for women to obtain the status of victims to participate in the social rehabilitation program (Holmer & Shtuni, 2017).

Court transcripts showed that some judges-imposed imprisonment sentences to "jihadi brides" (women jihadi who wanted to undergo suicide bombing in the hope of becoming brides in heaven). This shows that women who have committed terror or who became attackers in terror groups will be penalized. Apart from that, some of them will be imposed with additional punishments due to their dishonesty. Some judges explain that women may deceive the process or give dishonest information to protect themselves from being penalized and join the social rehabilitation program with lighter consequences. Such actions encourage judges to give additional sanctions. Women who participate in social rehabilitation programs tend to not become recidivists in terrorism cases. Meanwhile, those who are legally processed have a greater tendency to become extreme. This is because they are placed in anti-terror prisons which imprison perpetrators and offenders of terrorism cases. Therefore, there is a greater chance for them to undergo indoctrination in prisons (Turkington & Christien, 2018).

Another country which applies social rehabilitation for women who are involved in acts of terrorism is Germany. In the case of treating their citizens, especially women who are involved in the terror network, Germany is different from the US, Indonesia and Uzbekistan. Germany does not revoke the citizenship of German women who were involved in or who became indoctrination victims of terror groups that have migrated to Iraq and Syria. All those who returned from Iraq and Syria were imposed with penal sanctions or criminal law. On the other hand, indoctrination victims of terror groups who have not migrated and have not committed terror acts will be enrolled into non-jail social rehabilitation programs.

The first stage for women who have migrated to Iraq and Syria is pretrial detention and investigative custody (Phase 1). The main objective of this phase is to provide psychosocial support to minimize further grievances, and ideally to slow down ongoing radicalization processes until dedicated rehabilitation work can begin after sentencing (Walkenhorst et al., 2021).

The next stage is the after-trial stage (Phase 2). The most important objectives in this phase are to ensure a smooth transition to life in prison, provide psychosocial support, and minimize grievances, so as to encourage openness to engage in the rehabilitation process. These women inmates of terrorism are detained in private cells to prevent them from obtaining indoctrination or from giving indoctrination. Private cells are encouraged to make them truly think that their actions are wrong (Williams, 2017).

The third stage is serving the sentence (Phase 3). In most cases, this phase is the longest. Consequently, in this period, all women inmates of terrorism must jointly make significant strides that serve as groundwork for rehabilitation. They are privately trained to work or to develop their skills so that after being freed from imprisonment, they are ready to work in society. The principal objectives are to motivate offenders to keep participating in all aspects of the rehabilitation process – supported by a joint effort from all relevant actors. At this stage, inmates of terrorism are guided by spiritual clergies according to their beliefs (if they believe in religion, while atheists are guided by psychologists) who give them insight that their actions are wrongful (Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN), 2019).

Tackling the inevitable: Preparation for release (Phase 4). This phase is one of the most critical transition periods. Close accompaniment is therefore crucial. The main objective is to design a post-release plan detailing the necessary steps for offenders, once released. This plan is based on a rigorous and realistic assessment of their

personal capacities and prospects of social and functional integration after release. The stages will come to a halt in the second phase if these women commit severelevel terror activities and are imposed with life sentences (which may reach hundreds of years).

From the examples above, it can be concluded that the models exemplified in Uzbekistan, the United States, and Germany have their own advantages and weaknesses. The experiences from these three countries show that it is highly probable, rather than impossible, to apply social rehabilitation, especially for women as indoctrination victims of terror groups who have not committed terror acts. Even so, there should be an identification process to differentiate between victims and criminals.

4. Conclusion

The implementation of social rehabilitation is a logical and possible choice as the establishing agency has already existed, namely the LPKS. This institution has been formed and has carried out the task of giving social rehabilitation to children of terrorists. Social rehabilitation is the most humane choice compared to penalizing all women - both perpetrators and victims - of indoctrination with the Anti-Terror Law and revoking the citizenship of all women who are trapped in Iraq and Syria, even though they may have migrated there when they were still children or babies. In implementing social rehabilitation, there are successful examples from Uzbekistan, the United States, and Germany. Each of these countries provides different models of rehabilitation which prevent victims from being reindoctrinated. Such programs also provide them with information on the errors in the ideologies and paradigms they embraced due to indoctrination with the help of spiritual guides and psychologists. Social rehabilitation also has the vision to make women as victims of indoctrination who returned from Iraq and Syria integrate into society and have adequate working skills. This may happen if the policy on citizenship revocation is exempted for women who migrated when they were still children or babies.

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