Abstract
The repatriation planning of ISIS combatants’ children become pros and cons in the community. The counter-parties are concerned about the potential for radicalism in the future. The President’s Staff Office suggests that the state accepts those who are under ten years old and orphaned, with consideration of state’s responsibility to protect and guarantee the rights of children’s survival. This paper studies various considerations related to the repatriation of ISIS combatant children, in order to be an input in arranging appropriate policies regarding these children. Children of former ISIS combatants must be considered as victims, not perpetrators and do not need to responsible for their parents’ choices. Therefore, House of Representatives of Commission I and Commission VIII should encourage the government to accept these children with the consequences of: (1) Properly identify the children who will be discharged; (2) preparation of rehabilitation and de-radicalization facilities; and (3) preparation for socialization to the public in order to receive orphans of former ISIS combatants.

Introduction
According to intelligence information submitted by the Ministry of Defense, there are around 31,500 foreign ISIS combatant (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) who joined in Syria and Iraq. Among these amount, 800 people came from Southeast Asia and around 700 people came from Indonesia (Detik.news.com, June 18, 2019). After ISIS collapsed in the hands of the Syrian Democratic Forces from the Kurds, these refugees were housed in 3 refugee camps in Al Roj, Al Hol and Ainisa, Syria (CNN Indonesia, 2020). After a long time in refugee camps, they wanted to return to Indonesia. However, Indonesia refused the return of 689 Indonesian people who had been affiliated with ISIS. This rejection was confirmed by President Joko Widodo at a press conference on Wednesday, February 12, 2020. The reason for the refusal was to maintain the safety of 260 million people of Indonesia (Sumbar. antaranews.com, February 12, 2020).

Even so, the Presidential Staff Office (KSP) said the
government would consider repatriation of ISIS combatant children under the age of 10 and orphaned (Detik.news.com, February 14, 2020). But until now, the government has acknowledged the lack of valid data regarding their number. Therefore, the government will send a team to verify how many children can be repatriated (Suara.com, February 13, 2020). This discourse of repatriation was supported by KPAI, Chairperson of the House of Representatives Commission III, and the National Commission of Human Rights because they consider these children are victims of the decisions of their parents. This is in line with the appeal of The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to countries to support safety, dignity, and voluntary repatriation and reintegration into their home countries (Fore, 2019).

However, terrorism observer Ridwan Habib prefers to reject the repatriation plan and states that at the age of 10 years children are exposed to radicalism that it is difficult to rehabilitate it (Tribunnews.com, February 13, 2020). In line with that, the Chairperson of the National Leadership Council of the Volunteer Struggle for Democracy in Foreign Relations, Ronas Pardianto, who consider children of former ISIS combatants as having the potential to grow into new organizations.

The Director of Impartial also agreed with the discourse of repatriation but the de-radicalization process should be given by National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT) (Kompas.com, February 14, 2020).

Pros and cons of the repatriation discourse of ISIS combatants’ children need to be examined. This paper studies several considerations related to the repatriation of ISIS combatant children, in order to be an input in making appropriate policies regarding these children.

Children Between Conflict and Violence

In accordance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child, "Children" are defined as any human being under the age of 18, except if according to the laws the children determined as adult age which is reached earlier. This definition was adopted in Law No. 17 of 2016 concerning the Second Amendment to Law No. 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection which states that "Child" is someone who is not yet 18 (eighteen) years old, including children who are still in the womb. In this regulation it is emphasized that the state guarantees children's rights to survival, growth and development, and protection from violence and discrimination.

The children's rights cannot be fulfilled when they are caught in a war. Physically, war causes children experiencing: (1) poor health, malnutrition and death; (2) loss of school opportunities; (3) forced to be child labour; (4) increased marriage and childbirth at an early age, especially for girls (Save the Children, 2019: 35-37).

Meanwhile, the psychological impact of war and terror trauma is increasingly being identified by practitioners. According to Save the Children, an international Non-Governmental
Organization, children rescued from war experienced psychological disturbances due to the events they saw, such as bombins, violence, and even death executions that they need psychological rehabilitation assistance (Alshahidwitnes.com, February 28, 2019). War or terrorist attacks are often associated with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Nevid and Greene, 2014: 173).

Children in violent environments - including violence and neglect - often find it difficult to develop healthy relationships with other people. Nevid and Greene (2018) write that children victims of violence may act in ways that reflect the cruelty they have experienced, including losing the capacity to empathize or fail to raise awareness / pay attention to the welfare of others. Other psychological effects are also seen in the decreasing self-esteem, depression and immature behaviour such as bedwetting or thumb sucking, attempts and thoughts of suicide, poor performance at school, problematic behaviour and do not have desire to go outside of the house to explore the world. Furthermore, they also show signs of lack of trust and fear of people who want to help them.

The quality of their mental health worsened after the war ended when they were forced to become refugees. This gives rise to a variety of trauma and post-traumatic experiences which cause severe psychological disorders and symptoms but are often undetectable (Cherries, et al., 2016: 149). According to Miller-Perrin, et al (2009), the more pathetic thing is the behaviour and emotional consequences of violence on children often continuing into adulthood (Nevid & Greene, 2018: 165).

Pros and Cons of Repatriation of ISIS Combat Children

According to Abdul Mu'ti, there are 3 categories of Indonesian citizens who joined the ISIS group: (1) those who left for ideological reasons; (2) those who join for pragmatic reasons, which are tempted by large sum of incentives, usually do not have a strong ideology; and (3) those who come for being followers and even deceived by family members and friends (Detik.news.com, February 13, 2020). This third group was not involved as combatants, and even became victims of violence. Children are classified in this category. Thus there are no children being responsible for the transfer of their families to ISIS participants. They only follow their parents / family. There are also children born when their parents join ISIS.

It is estimated that 12% of 40,000 ISIS affiliates are children. There are even thousands of children born in Iraq or Syria during their parents participating ISIS. They are difficult to be quantified, valued, and given identities so that they require special focus (Athie, 2018). If in the end the Indonesian government decides to refuse the ISIS combatant orphans, the consequences may lead to conflicts with other countries which are forced to accommodate their refugees. In addition, children can be used by radical groups to be educated to become terrorists in the future. With the status of citizenship which is not recognized, the welfare
of children is certainly far from adequate. We need to remember that in accordance with Law No. 12 of 2006 and Government Regulation (PP) No. 2 of 2007, children born from both or one parent who is an Indonesian citizen are Indonesian citizens.

On the contrary, if they are accepted, the government must be prepared with some consequences. First, the government needs to identify and sort children who can be repatriated to Indonesia. This is a difficult task because of the spread and lack of their identity. Second, provide health care facilities with adequate mental health human resources for the psychological interventions of these children. Third, prepare a socialization and support program so that the society can receive orphans of ISIS combatants. Child victims of war feel social rejection from society (Ibrahim, et al., 2018). This may happen for orphans of ISIS combatant who are considered to receive radicalism lessons. They can be seen with prejudice and will be a time bomb in society.

Ideally, the government may accept and rehabilitate orphans of ISIS combatant as a fulfillment of the child protection obligations stipulated in Law No. 17 of 2016 concerning the Second Amendment to Law No. 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection. The government needs to see children as victims, not perpetrators. Do not let them bearing the sins of their parents, as happened to the children of former political prisoners.

**Closing**

Many children are displaced by the ISIS terrorism conflict. Some of them were brought by families to Syria and Iraq, and some were born there. After ISIS collapsed, their conditions were far from prosperous. They must bear the psychological impact of being in a conflict of war, with the poor environment of refuge. Therefore, they need adequate psychological treatment in order to continue living.

If the government decides to accept repatriation, further intervention is required. This is due to the propaganda and nature of terrorism carried out by ISIS causing these children to be seen as a potential threat because ideological penetration in childhood tends to be more attached than in adulthood. Thus, the government must prepare facilities and infrastructure, along with human resources to carry out the process of de-radicalization. In its supervisory function, Commission I and Commission VIII of the House of Representative must ensure the readiness of the government to accept or reject orphans of ISIS combatant along with the consequences.

**References**


"BNPT: Hundreds of Ex-ISIS Spread


"Observers Call the Children of Indonesian Citizens Ex-ISIS Above 10 Years Hard to Be Rehabilitated, Received


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