



Perspectives on Justice

Reintegrating Former ISIS Affiliates in Northeast Syria

Syria Justice and
Accountability Centre



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Introduction

In the aftermath of ISIS's territorial defeat, over 56,000 alleged affiliates were detained in Northeast Syria, including 14,500 women and 30,000 children held in Al-Hol and Roj camps, as well as 11,500 men held in the formal prison system.¹ As of June 2024, over five years later, more than 53,000 of these individuals are still detained.* While there is increasing consensus that this situation is not sustainable and that Al-Hol and Roj camps must be closed, how this will be achieved remains unclear. Moreover, policy discussions too often take place outside of Syria, ignoring the preferences and concerns of local communities who were directly victimized by ISIS's violence and will be responsible for reintegrating former ISIS affiliates when and if they are released.

As Northeast Syria navigates the intricate process of post-ISIS reconciliation, it is crucial to center the voices of those most affected by ISIS's crimes. This report explores these local perspectives, offering critical insights into how justice and reintegration might be achieved in a way that respects the experiences and needs of the communities involved. It concludes by offering concrete recommendations.

In June 2024, SJAC held a series of focus group discussions with residents of Northeast Syria to discuss their perceptions of detained former ISIS affiliates and their views on how, or whether, to reintegrate Syrians currently detained in prisons and camps. Overall, participants were knowledgeable of the situation in the camps and prisons and agreed that the current situation is not sustainable. However, participants expressed a range of preferences on how best to pursue justice, accountability, and reintegration for former ISIS affiliates. Opinions differed on key questions such as the balance between criminal trials and tribal reconciliation processes as well as the effectiveness of programs intended to deradicalize and reintegrate returnees. Participants shared concerns regarding current trials

* While there is no single source citing this number, this estimate is based on the populations of the various detention centers cited in the opening paragraph of the 'Background' section of this paper.

and accompanying releases, particularly regarding the lack of transparency as to who is being released and why, and expressed skepticism in the ability of the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (AANES) to oversee expanded trials, releases, and reintegration efforts.

Despite disagreement, some clear themes emerged that can guide future justice efforts. First, there are differences of opinion along geographic lines, reflecting the different ways ISIS ruled and targeted civilian populations in different areas. Reintegration and justice processes will need to be designed accordingly. Second, participants in Deir Ezzor and Raqqa often trust tribally-led reconciliation processes over AANES-led accountability processes. If releases are to increase, further support will be needed to ensure that tribal leaders are integrated into the release process. Third, participants noted that current reintegration programs rarely reflect the needs of returnees. Financial and other humanitarian support needs to come before programs focused on community dialogue or personal empowerment. Finally, there is widespread interest in international support to improve AANES-led trials and releases processes, with a focus on increasing transparency.

Taken together, the views offered by focus group participants offer a valuable perspective on how the AANES and the international community can work in tandem with local communities to design meaningful justice processes for Northeast Syria.

Background

Post-ISIS Detention in Northeast Syria

In the aftermath of ISIS's territorial defeat, the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) imprisoned alleged ISIS fighters and detained women and children accused of ISIS affiliation in Al-Hol and Roj camps. As of June 2024, Al-Hol camp is home to 41,071² residents, primarily women and children displaced during the campaign against ISIS. An additional 2,661³ people are held at Roj, while 9,800⁴ men and boys are held in SDF and Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (AANES) prison facilities.

While coverage of this issue often focuses on foreign detainees, tens of thousands of those detained are Syrian, including 37.7% of Al-Hol residents.⁵ In prisons, around 6,300⁶ Syrians have been detained, for five years and counting. While the vast majority of those detained are accused of ISIS affiliation, and many of more serious crimes, the majority have not faced trial.

Detainees across these facilities suffer from poor humanitarian [conditions](#), including unsanitary living spaces and limited access to medical care. Additionally, residents in Al-Hol camp suffer from rampant [violence](#), and men and boys in prisons have been subjected to torture. The majority are not able to contact their families outside. Detention conditions imposed by the SDF and AANES may amount to unlawful deprivation of liberty, cruel or inhuman treatment, the war crime of committing outrages upon personal dignity, and violations of respect for the family life of the detainees.⁷

This situation represents not only a massive humanitarian and human rights crisis but also a serious barrier to post-ISIS recovery for AANES-controlled Syria. Victims of ISIS violence wait for justice in the absence of trials or other justice processes, and ISIS extremists spread propaganda and commit acts of violence within detention facilities. Civilians across Northeast Syria live in fear of an ISIS resurgence.

Current Solutions

The current situation is unsustainable, however efforts to resolve it have been ad hoc and limited in scope. AANES has decreased the population of men and boys in prisons by granting amnesties, including as recently as July 2024.⁸ Some male detainees have undergone trials by the ‘People’s Defense Courts,’⁹ though these trials fail to meet basic human rights standards. They are held in secrecy and defendants often have no legal representation. Decisions about who is released and who remains in custody are opaque.

There are also efforts to release women and children from Al Hol camp to their communities of origin.

While such releases have increased in 2024, the rate of release is not yet at the scale needed to address the crisis.

One of the main return mechanisms for women and children in detention camps is tribal sponsorship, where local guarantors sponsor returnees through a process of coordination between AANES and tribal leaders.¹⁰ However, to date, the tribal sponsorship process generally occurs on an ad hoc basis.¹¹

AANES and the SDF have consistently [asked](#) the international community for further support in addressing this situation, including direct aid in managing Syrian detainees and assistance in repatriating foreigners to their countries of origin. However, repatriations remain slow, and other forms of support are still limited, leaving the already burdened local authorities to manage this crisis.

Report Scope

International discussions on the future of SDF detainees often lack the perspectives of communities on the ground, who are the victims of ISIS violence and whose lives will be directly affected by attempts at reintegration. This report aims to understand the views of local residents on post-ISIS reconciliation processes. The Findings section of the report details the main themes that emerged from focus group discussions conducted in Deir Ezzor, Al-Hasakah, and Al-Raqqa. Drawing from the preferences and experiences shared in those discussions, the report then lays out a series of concrete recommendations to address this crisis, rooted in the perspectives of communities on the ground. Through these recommendations, SJAC hopes to support a locally-driven solution that addresses communities’ needs for justice while recognizing limited resources and the urgent need for concrete solutions.

Methodology

Between June 10 and June 26, 2024, SJAC hosted six focus group discussions across Deir Ezzor, Raqqa, and Al-Hasakah to explore participants’

views on the detention of former ISIS affiliates and the possibility of reintegration. Where possible, participants gathered in a central location and were joined by an SJAC staff person remotely, to lead the discussion. When this was not possible due to security conditions, discussions were hosted online via Zoom.

The SJAC facilitator utilized a set list of discussion questions, based around the themes discussed in the following section. However, not every question was asked at each session, as the facilitator allowed participants to lead the conversation. Notes were taken during the sessions, and the collected data were analyzed thematically to identify key insights.

Discussion questions were inclusive of all Syrians being detained in the aftermath of ISIS's territorial defeat, including residents of Al Hol and Roj camps, as well as men and boys held in the formal prison system. Throughout the report the term "detainee" refers to those both in camps and the formal prison system. SJAC did not ask questions about foreign detainees.

SJAC relied on its documentation team's networks to recruit diverse participants, including men and women from Arab, Kurdish, and Christian backgrounds. Five sessions were held with residents and one was held specifically with tribal leaders. Focus groups did not include current or former detainees. Ultimately, 32 individuals participated. While these participants cannot be seen to represent the viewpoints of Syrians as a whole, their ideas provided a unique insight into the concerns and priorities of local communities.

Following the focus group discussion, SJAC identified a need to collect more information on existing tribal reintegration processes. As a result, SJAC conducted semi-structured interviews with key individuals between July 30 and August 16, including tribal leaders from Deir Ezzor and employees from NGOs working on reintegration programs for Al-Hol returnees.

#Session	Location	#Participants	Gender	Ethnicity
1	Abu Hamam, Deir Ezzor	6	3 females, 3 males	Arab
2	Al Busayrah, Deir Ezzor	6	3 females, 3 males	Arab
3	Al Kasrah, Deir Ezzor	5	5 males (tribal leaders)	Arab
4	Raqqa City, Raqqa	6	2 females, 3 males	Arab
5	Al Shaddadi, Al-Hasakah	6	1 female, 5 males	Arab
6	Rimelan, and Qamishli, Al-Hasakah	3	1 female, 2 males	Christian and Kurdish

Findings

Local Impressions on Al-Hol and Prisoners

When asked for general impressions on the detention of alleged ISIS affiliates, participants proved to be knowledgeable about the current situation, sharing nuanced views on the challenges of trying and releasing detainees. Participants noted that Al-Hol and Roj host various populations, with different levels of previous or ongoing affiliation with ISIS. Similarly, they acknowledged that not all incarcerated affiliates are what they consider “perpetrators,” many having joined ISIS for financial gain or because of the de facto conditions in regions controlled by ISIS. These participants stressed that not everyone currently incarcerated deserves to be there.

However, participants also shared concerns that some detainees still follow an extremist ideology, which poses a direct threat to reintegration. Some residents noted their apprehension about current releases from Al Hol camp due to the lack of a proper protocol to assess eligibility for release.

There were varied opinions across the three regions, with participants in Deir Ezzor and Raqqa expressing a higher level of acceptance towards Al-Hol and Roj returnees, as they noted that many residents from their local communities have family in the camps. Tribal leaders from Deir Ezzor in particular emphasized the importance of continuous advocacy for the return of Syrian families to their local communities. In contrast, participants from Al-Hasakah expressed more concern about the return of Al-Hol residents. This disagreement reflects the various [experiences](#) of the three governates under ISIS rule.

ISIS’s relationships with specific communities differed substantially based on how the group entered the area and the communities’ ethnic and religious make up. In some areas of Northeast Syria, ISIS took control from prior fighting groups with little fanfare or violence, minimizing resentment from the local community. In such towns, membership in ISIS was often necessary to retain or gain employment in local services, such as trash collection. Many

individuals from these communities do not see ISIS affiliation as criminal in and of itself and may have deep family ties with former affiliates, even if they themselves never joined. While there are specific tribes and communities in Deir Ezzor and Raqqa that fought back violently against ISIS and where resentment is deep, residents of these two governates were generally more accepting of returnees during discussions. Deir Ezzor in particular, which was the site of ISIS’s last stronghold, is home to many of the women and children currently held in Al Hol and Roj, which may increase support for reintegration in those communities. On the other hand, in Al-Hasakah –home to more Kurds as well as Christians and other minority communities – the ISIS take over was often more violent, and Kurds and other minority communities were systematically targeted and displaced. The findings throughout this report show that there is much less openness to the reintegration of ISIS affiliates in Al-Hasakah. This may not pose a serious challenge, however, since a relatively small number of ISIS affiliates originate from these areas.

Participants across all three governates raised concerns about the consequences of prolonging the current status of Al-Hol. Not only do they believe that the current situation is unsustainable, but that prolonging residents’ isolation in the camps complicates reintegration. One male participant in Raqqa explained: “Al-Hol is a result of a certain phase of the conflict, but hatred against the outside is being perpetrated there, so the status of Al-Hol camp needs to be resolved as soon as possible” (male participant, Raqqa). A common opinion conveyed by participants, including tribal leaders, was that Al-Hol currently resembles a “city within a city,” meaning that the daily reality in the camp is separate from that of surrounding communities, which is allowing for the continuance of ISIS ideology that is not accepted outside of Al Hol.

Criminal Trials and Tribal Justice

Most participants were supportive of trials for alleged ISIS affiliates held in prisons, though they questioned the ability of the current governing authorities to oversee them. Only a minority of participants suggested trials for Al-Hol residents. Participants

argued that trials should consider the nature of the crimes committed, the duration of the perpetrator's affiliation with ISIS, and the perpetrator's decision-making authority within ISIS. Many expressed skepticism about the ability of the AANES and SDF to conduct credible and transparent trials. This view was widely shared across participants from all three regions. When asked about possible means to increase trust, the majority of the participants suggested international expertise and support for the trials, including support in collecting evidence, training local judges, and trial monitoring. This request consistently arose organically and was not suggested by the SJAC facilitator.

Arab communities in Deir Ezzor and Raqqa emphasized that trials are not sufficient to deliver justice to victims and that they should be accompanied or followed by appropriate tribal customs. Participants shared that Sulh (tribal reconciliation), Diyya (financial compensation), or exile could serve as alternative means of justice. Villages in Deir Ezzor and parts of Raqqa each have tribal reconciliation committees, which have historically played a crucial role in mediating crimes such as murder, assault, and robbery. The process is guided by a unified tribal charter, signed by all tribes in the region, that outlines the procedures and expectations for reconciliation. This reconciliation process is already being applied to ISIS affiliates returning from camps and, in some cases, prisons. An interviewed tribal leader shared that the perpetrator's tribe typically pays Diyya to the victim's tribe, which helps in facilitating the perpetrator's acceptance back into the community. However, in instances where reconciliation efforts are not accepted, the tribes may agree to exile the perpetrator to an area outside of Deir Ezzor for a period ranging from three months to a year. The reconciliation process is centered on negotiations between the perpetrator's and victim's families, mediated by tribal and religious leaders.

Another interviewed tribal leader noted that reconciliation processes for returned ISIS members are often simpler than those for more traditional crimes because of the community's belief that responsibility for ISIS's crimes primarily falls on the group as a whole, with less emphasis on individual

criminal responsibility. This provides a path for reconciliation with the individual returnee.

Some participants indicated that ISIS affiliates who committed serious crimes such as murder, rape, and torture should serve their sentences and then complete tribal reconciliation. Some participants also indicated that reconciliation could be used as a replacement for trials and prison sentences for affiliates identified as perpetrators of crimes perceived to be less serious, with looting provided as an example. However, opinions differed as to when each approach was appropriate. Participants voiced a shared preference that AANES trials and pardons should not bypass tribal reconciliation processes, which could silence the preferences of victims and their communities. Participants drew a clear distinction between the retributive justice of trials and the rehabilitative focus of tribal customs. For example, a man from Deir Ezzor stated: "Imprisonment is the right of the state, and tribal reconciliation is the right of the community," (male participant, Deir Ezzor).

Participants also stressed that tribal reconciliation can be mutually beneficial, as it increases a sense of security for returnees and communities. Communities often treat returned males with suspicion, putting them at high risk of being falsely accused of additional crimes and re-arrested. Reconciliation processes are necessary to alleviate these fears and foster a safer environment for returnees.

However, many participants in Al-Hasakah rejected tribal customs as a means of justice, saying that they cannot substitute for the rule of law. These participants emphasized that ISIS's crimes victimized whole communities, whereas tribal reconciliation relies on the direct participation of a few individual victims. Some also noted that trials are more appropriate as they serve as a deterrent for current affiliates. These concerns could be alleviated by ensuring that reconciliation processes take place after a prison sentence is served, rather than as a replacement for trials. While tribes in Al-Hasakah have their own tradition of conflict resolution, the customs rejected by participants are generally practiced by Arab tribes in Deir Ezzor and Raqqa

and would likely not be appropriate for returnees to Al-Hasakah, which make up a small percentage of the overall detained population.

Camp Closure and Reintegration

When asked about the future of Al-Hol and Roj camps, most participants across regions agreed that the closure of the camps and return of the residents to local communities is necessary. However, participants voiced concerns that current return efforts overlook the need for justice and accountability and that local communities, especially in Al-Hasakah, are not ready to host returnee families. One man from Al-Hasakah illustrated the tension, stating: “Direct release of ISIS affiliates from Al-Hol is not acceptable justice-wise but is the pragmatic solution” (male participant, Al-Hasakah).

Participants shared a concern that Al Hol and Roj residents may be actively affiliated with ISIS and that an increase in returns could lead to a resurgence of ISIS activity. Across the three regions, participants stated that returnees need to be vetted for extremist ideology to ensure the safety of the receiving community. Many participants indicated that the current political instability, including clashes between SDF and tribes, uncertainty about the future of the Northeast region, and ongoing security challenges will further hinder communities' acceptance of returnees. Despite these concerns, participants also drew attention to the different levels of threats posed by different camp residents. For example, it was indicated that communities would treat a woman whose husband was a member of ISIS in a different manner than a woman who was herself a combatant.

Participants across the three regions emphasized that the difficult economic conditions in northeast Syria are also a barrier to reintegration. For instance, participants in Al Shaddadi region in Al-Hasakah expressed that due to poverty and unemployment the local community would not be able to accept the return of ISIS affiliates. As expressed by a woman in Al-Hasakah: “Justice must start from the ground up,” meaning that the economic needs of the community should be addressed before reintegration efforts.

Across the three regions, there was a consensus on the critical need for structured rehabilitation programs for those who do return from Al-Hol and Roj camps. Participants expressed that, due to the isolation experienced at Al-Hol, it is imperative that returnees undergo comprehensive rehabilitation before being reintegrated into their communities. Unorganized releases of returnees were identified as problematic and potentially harmful both for the returnees and the local communities. Participants were less interested in discussing rehabilitation programs for those released from prisons, deferring to the justice measures discussed above. Tribal leaders noted that because comparatively few people have been released from prisons, communities have less experience with these returnees.

Many participants used the terms 'rehabilitation programs' and 'de-radicalization programs' interchangeably. Participants who believed that the closure of camps would pose a security threat to the region emphasized the necessity of implementing de-radicalization programs before any reintegration. These same participants also stressed that such programs should be tailored for the individual, based on their personal level of radicalization.

Interviews with NGO staff in Deir Ezzor revealed well-intentioned yet inadequately targeted reintegration support efforts. Existing programs are predominantly centered around dialogue sessions, workshops, and informative sessions designed to foster social cohesion and address the broader concerns of the community. While some focus group participants did think positively about community dialogue programs, these sessions fell short of addressing the immediate and pressing needs of returnees, who face severe challenges in re-starting their lives outside the camp, including securing employment, shelter, and identity documents.

NGO personnel recommend that reintegration programs shift focus toward addressing the pressing needs of returnees, including the repair of war-damaged houses, the implementation of illiteracy eradication programs, and the development of economic empowerment initiatives centered on agriculture and livestock. These programs should be

accompanied by financial grants to help beneficiaries pursue sustainable livelihoods. Psychosocial support programs are also needed, however there is a shortage of qualified staff to implement such programs.

Tribal leaders also emphasized the importance of further collaboration among stakeholders supporting reintegration. They stated that the AANES, tribal leaders, and NGOs are all crucial to the reintegration process: the AANES manages releases from the camps and administrative needs, tribal leaders support and guide their communities through acceptance of returnees, and local NGOs support the returnees in their reintegration.

Interviewees also emphasized that the AANES can play a pivotal role by facilitating the issuance of identity documents for returnees, which is a critical step in legitimizing their reintegration. The inability of Syrians to [obtain](#) legal documentation has become a recurrent challenge since the start of the conflict, and can become a serious barrier to daily life, blocking individuals from tasks such as purchasing or reclaiming property or enrolling children in school. Currently, obtaining any sort of identity documentation from the AANES is so difficult for returnees that many are choosing to apply for documents from the Syrian government instead. The AANES should be issuing uniform documentation as part of the release process. Additionally, the AANES should issue official statements to keep the public informed about the return process, including the numbers and areas involved. This would enhance public trust and cooperation in the process.

Tribal leaders, on the other hand, can focus on continuing to provide sponsorships and leveraging their influence to ensure community acceptance of returnees. Their role in the reconciliation and sponsorship processes is indispensable for fostering social cohesion and reducing potential resistance within the community.

Local organizations should complement these efforts by offering psychological and financial assistance to returnees. They can also collaborate with tribal leaders in conducting needs assessments, ensuring that the support provided is tailored to the actual requirements of the returnees and the community.

There was also consensus among participants that humanitarian aid, especially financial assistance, should be directed to both returnees and the local community to support the overall reintegration process. Many participants also expressed a specific need for economic support and job training for female returnees.

While most participants expressed that rehabilitation programs can be effective tools for reintegration, some communities, especially in Al-Hasakah, questioned the effectiveness of existing rehabilitation programs in deradicalizing these individuals. It was suggested that rehabilitation efforts should begin while returnees are still in Al-Hol and Roj, focusing on improving the camp environment to support deradicalization. When asked about measures such as public apologies or pledges, participants viewed them as defamatory and counterproductive, potentially harming reintegration efforts rather than facilitating acceptance by the local community.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The findings in this report confirm the urgent need to address the ongoing detention of alleged former ISIS affiliates in Northeast Syria. The current situation simultaneously reflects a serious security threat, an active human rights crisis, and a lost opportunity for justice and reconciliation. The AANES and member states of the Coalition to Defeat ISIS should consider the closure of Al Hol and Roj camps as well as trials for ISIS affiliates held in prisons to be an urgent step in countering ISIS's local resurgence. SJAC formulated the below recommendations based on the concerns voiced in the focus groups and interviews. They are tailored for Syrian nationals held in detention; foreign nationals should be repatriated and tried in their home countries.

Supporting Criminal Trials

Local communities were adamant on the need for criminal trials of men and boys held in AANES and SDF prisons. However, current trials do not meet basic human rights standards and community members do not have trust in the outcomes.

The AANES and the Coalition should:

- » Provide the ICRC with access to all detention centers so that the ICRC can monitor conditions inside facilities and reconnect detained individuals with their families.
- » Immediately open current trial proceedings to the public. Coalition states should provide funding to civil society groups interested in monitoring trials, both to ensure that human rights standards are met and to meet transparency standards requested by the community.
- » Provide training to judges, prosecutors, and defense lawyers to bring trials in line with the fundamental fair trial requirements and judicial guarantees established in international law.
- » Work with tribal leaders and local communities to ensure that victims can provide relevant evidence for trial. Coalition states should make technical support, including training on evidence collection, available as needed.
- » Identify men and boys whose only charge would be membership in a terrorist organization and release them to their communities. Many have already served pre-trial detention that would exceed a prison term for their crimes. Releases should be phased upon the ability of communities to absorb new members. Releases should be pre-arranged with family members or community leaders able and ready to receive the individual. Prior amnesties have sometimes created confusion and chaos, as families rushed to learn whether their loved ones were among those released.
- » Identify residents of Al Hol and Roj camps who may have committed serious crimes and transfer them to formal prisons to await trial. While community participants prioritized trials for those already in formal prisons, a vetting process (discussed below) is still needed to ensure that those detained in camps who committed serious crimes are not released without facing trial.

- » Work with tribal leaders to ensure that detained men, whether they are tried or pardoned, enter a tribal led reconciliation process after their release, if that is appropriate for their community of origin. Such a system could be understood as akin to a parole process, in which detainees are released into the reconciliation process based on factors such as victim input, time served, and behavior. The current tribal sponsorship process is opaque and open to corruption. To combat this, encourage community buy-in, and protect the rights of those released into a reconciliation process, tribal leaders and the AANES should devise an appropriate plan to share the results of reconciliation processes publicly, possibly while protecting the identity of individual released individuals.

Community members largely agree that women and children from Al Hol need to be released, with appropriate support. However, the current release process leaves many residents worried that extremists may be returned to their communities.

AANES and the Coalition should:

- » Immediately ensure that the ICRC has access to Al Hol and Roj camps so that the ICRC can monitor conditions inside facilities and reconnect detained individuals with their families.
- » Develop a standard vetting process to identify individuals who should be transferred to prison to face trial. Information on the procedure should be published to ensure transparency and reintegration programs in communities receiving returnees should include education on vetting and release procedures to build local understanding and trust in the process.
- » Continue to publish information on the release process, including the number of releases and where they are returning to, while maintaining the confidentiality of individuals being released. Make efforts to circulate this information within local communities.

Reintegration support

Focus group participants acknowledged that returnees, whether they are being released from formal prisons or camps, will need support to reenter communities. While deradicalization programs can be part of that process, meeting immediate financial needs should be seen as the best and most urgent method of dis-incentivizing a return to ISIS membership. However, such programs will fail unless robust aid is also provided to host communities alongside returnees.

AANES and the Coalition should:

- » Develop a standard procedure for issuing identification documents to those released, many of whom currently struggle to obtain documentation necessary to reestablish life outside the camps.
- » Fund community-specific reintegration programs, with the input of tribal leaders when appropriate.
- » Prioritize financial and humanitarian support, including immediate provision of shelter as well as longer term job training. Ensure such support targets returnees alongside other vulnerable community members to reduce possible conflict and incentivize communities to welcome returnees. Such support could include both individual support to existing community members and community-level aid, such as the rebuilding of vital infrastructure.
- » Train local psychosocial support professionals to support returnees, including professionals ready to support returning children.
- » Implement community dialogue programs and other programs intended to support reconciliation after immediate needs have been met.

All of these processes will require close collaboration between the AANES, tribal leaders, local NGOs, and international donors. Justice and reconciliation processes designed from the outside will likely not provide a sense of justice for local communities, creating barriers for reintegration and long-term stability.



Endnotes

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