Research article

Trends of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) Acts of Terrorism Targeting the Shia Community

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Abstract. The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) has consistently attacked Shia communities, and buildings belonging to these communities, both in the Middle East and outside the region. This paper tries to explain the logic and justification used by ISIS in making the Shia community a target of terrorism. To answer this question, this paper uses the concept of religious terrorism and framing through the phenomenon of terrorism. By analyzing various ISIS documents related to Shia issues, this paper describes the framing developed by ISIS for attacking Shia groups. This paper finds that ISIS creates anti-Shia framing by combining theological problems, Middle East socio-political conditions, and end-time eschatological beliefs. From a theological point of view, ISIS believes that the Shia are an 'apostate' group that deserves to be fought. In the socio-political context, ISIS considers that Shia groups work with foreign countries to fight Islam. In terms of eschatological beliefs, ISIS considers Shiites to support the Dajjal in the end times that must be fought. On the other hand, ISIS claims that its group is a legitimate caliphate and defender of Islamic teachings. These things shape ISIS' hostile attitude towards Shia groups.

Keywords: Shia, ISIS, terrorism, framing

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1. Introduction

Before the commemoration of Eid al-Adha 2021, ISIS carried out a suicide bombing attack in Sadr City, east of Baghdad, Iraq. In its claims circulating on the internet, ISIS explained that the attack aimed at the "Shia Rafidhah." ISIS also said that the perpetrator, Abu Hamzah Iraqi, detonated a jacket equipped with a bomb amid the "Shia Rafidhah" group. In an update on the attack, the ISIS media, Amaq Agency, claimed that the death toll had reached 35 people, and 65 others were injured. ISIS also claims hope that the death toll will increase because there are still victims in critical condition. In addition, ISIS media is equipped with a photo of the suicide bomber whose face has been disguised. Earlier, on January 21, 2021, a suicide bombing took place at the Bab al-Sharqi market in Baghdad, Iraq. The terrorist acts killed about 30 people and injured

100 people. According to residents' testimonies, the blasting event began when an assailant pretended to be sick and went down to the ground to invite people to gather. After that, the terrorist detonated his detonator. During the panic, the second culprit followed up by blowing himself up. Iraqi security forces indicated that ISIS personnel were perpetrators of terrorist acts. Because the mode of operation by suicide bombings is similar to attacks often carried out by ISIS.

The group's claim confirmed the suspicion. Through the Amaq media, ISIS claimed to have carried out a suicide bombing in Bab al-Sharqi. In its media, ISIS claims to have killed dozens of people and injured hundreds more. In addition, ISIS said the perpetrators of the attack were Muhammad Aref al-Muhajir and Abu Yusuf al-Ansari. ISIS claims that the attacks targeted the Shia community and their security forces.

This ISIS claim was later confirmed by another ISIS media, namely the edition of An Naba 271, published in late January 2021. According to an ISIS media editorial, the Iraqi attack was part of a wider war against the Shia community [1].

The trend of ISIS hostility towards the Shia community can be seen in the history of the Middle East. In 2014, ISIS massacred more than 1,000 cadets of Shia and non-Muslim identity in Iraq's Speicher camp. In the Speicher incident, the massacre was after ISIS separated and grouped cadets based on religious affiliation. That same year, ISIS executed hundreds of detainees at Badush prisons in Iraq of Shia Muslim backgrounds. In 2015, ISIS also claimed responsibility for the attack on the Al-Imam as Sadiq Mosque, the mosque of the Shia community in Kuwait. ISIS also attacked the mosque of the Shia community in the city of Dammam, Saudi Arabia. One year later, ISIS claimed responsibility for a series of suicide bombings near Syria's Sayyidah Zaynab Mosque compound. In 2017-2019, ISIS attacked mosques of Shi'ite communities in Pakistan and Afghanistan, killing dozens of people. In 2021, ISIS kidnapped and killed ten coal miners from the minority Shia community in Balochistan, Pakistan.

Meanwhile, in 2017, ISIS launched attacks on several targets in the Islamic Republic of Iran. ISIS carried out attacks on the parliament building and Imam Khomeini's mausoleum in Iran. As a reaction, Iran retaliated against ISIS terrorism in Operation Laylatul Qadr. It was carried out in May 2017. In that operation, ISIS launched a medium-range ballistic missile at the ISIS base area in Deir Ez Zor, Syria [2]. In 2018, ISIS also claimed an attack on an Iran-backed military parade in Ahaz. Although there are other claims that the attack was by an Arab separatist group in Iran, ISIS asserts that the terrorist attack in Iran was carried out by a group that claims to be the "caliphate." The attack killed dozens of Iranian soldiers. In 2018, Iran launched another medium-range ballistic missile attack

on ISIS bases in Syria. Iran claims the retaliatory attacks have killed dozens of people and ISIS leaders in Syria [3].

The attacks by ISIS illustrate how ISIS has consistently attacked Shia groups in various countries. These attacks have been carried out since the ISIS group claimed the "Caliphate" in 2014, continuing until ISIS experienced its peak in 2015-2017, and when ISIS no longer controlled territory in Iraq and Syria. Moreover, ISIS has also attacked Shia communities outside the Middle East. Therefore, it is interesting to examine why ISIS encourages terrorist groups to attack Shia groups continuously.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Religious Terrorism Phenomenon

Religious terrorism is a type of terrorism motivated by religious beliefs. The perpetrators of this terrorism believe that their actions are part of God's orders. Perpetrators of terrorism with religious motives believe that spiritual teachings can justify acts of violence against those considered enemies. David C. Rapoport describes the phenomenon of terror in several cases as a form of the "messianic" movement or "rescue" effort, which is also associated with the revolution or liberation movement. In this case, the messianic movement carried out by certain religious groups is fundamental in nature, which wants to restore something to its origin - purification. The perpetrators of terror use the concept of theology to justify the terror movement or "holy terror." In the purification process, the messianic movement carried out the destruction, which became a symbol for the collapse of the old order and the formation of a new, better, and safer world. The Messianic, in this case, identifies himself as a righteous remnant. In addition, messianic feel that they get help from God through phenomena around them, in the form of natural disasters or other problems [4].

Jessica Stern explains why extremist or militant groups from several religious groups (Islam, Christian, and Judaism) carry out acts of terror or holy war. Stern identified five factors that drive individuals to carry out acts of terrorism: alienation, humiliation, demographics, history, and territory. Based on Stern, the leader of a militant or extremist group exploits feelings of alienation and humiliation to create holy warriors, and

the demographic shifts, history, and territorial disputes are used to justify holy war. For example, after someone decides to join a militant group, the leader will try to alienate them by stripping them of their identity and limiting them from the outside world (including family), which is considered full of propaganda. Leaders also use humiliation

feelings to trigger an uncontrollable rage. These humiliation feelings are influenced by demographic shifts that occur along with the migration process. Demographic shifts are considered a form of threat or domination by groups that are considered enemies. This condition is further exacerbated by territorial disputes between groups and the history of relations in the past, thus triggering uncontrollable rage in the form of acts of terrorism [5].

Mark Juergensmeyer describes acts of terrorism in the name of religion. At the beginning of his explanation, Juergensmeyer emphasized that violent ideas and images are not the monopolies of any single religion. Historically, violence associated with religion has occurred in various religions, such as Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, and Buddhist, known for their teachings on love of peace. Juergensmeyer further explained that religion could not stand alone in triggering the terror movement. Other factors then become a combination, such as cultural, social, political, and ideological factors. Juergensmeyer sees that religion is often used as motivation, justification, organization, and the world view. Acts of terror by the perpetrators were carried out with dramatic violence as a theatrical form of a planned strategy. In this case, strategy implies a rational calculation of an act of terror. Strategy is used not only to achieve its political goals but also has a symbolic statement. Terrorists plan their strategy carefully, both in terms of location, time, and target. The WTC bombing, for example, is a violent performance that has a symbol that the perpetrators have succeeded in subduing the government and economic forces behind the building, which are considered as enemy or satan forces –demonization of the enemy. WTC was chosen for various symbolic reasons. Victims of terrorism are targeted not only because they threaten the perpetrators but also because they are symbols, tools, animals, or evil creatures. Perpetrators choose special days or holidays that have significant meaning to attract public attention. So, in this case, the terror acts carried out have two messages, not only for the targets but also messages for the wider community (global), with the motivation of silent terror. Terrorists use religion, which calls on their followers to fight crime to justify and regulate their actions. In this case, war is seen as an effort to maintain the group's dignity from evil enemies [6]. This is considered a form of sacrifice (the act of sacrifice) that must be done to act as purification

The phenomenon of religious terrorism is a continuation of religious fundamentalism. Religious fundamentalism provides the absolute interpretation of truth and strict doctrines and norms. Religious fundamentalism offers a strong identity dichotomy between "us" and "them." Often, religion is also used as a source of inspiration to justify acts of violence. Interpretations of language, symbols, and terms in religion are used as

a source of narrative justification for violence. The religious view of good and evil is defined as carrying out a "cosmic war" against other groups [7].

This religion-based terrorism has several characteristics, including unlimited choice of weapons, the indiscriminate use of violence, and the goal of reorganizing social order [8]. First, the common feature of religion-based terrorism is that the first religion-based terrorism resulted in more victims than nationalism- based terrorism and secular terrorism. Second, faith-based terrorists identify people of other faiths, even different sects within the same religion, as justifiably attacked. Third, religion-based terrorist groups claim that other parties are attacking their religious community. Therefore, violence is carried out in self-defense. Fourth, religious-based terrorist groups believe that their acts of violence are in line with God's will. They believe that violence is a form of defense of God's teachings. The cosmological conception of this group is a total war between the believer and the guilty. Fifth, religion-based terrorists don't care about influencing outside audiences. Sixth, religious-based terrorist groups have an "unlimited" agenda in fighting groups considered "infidel" [9].

2.2. Framing in Terrorism Movement

The explanation of the factors of political structure and political opportunity, resource mobilization, and framing are the things that are often mentioned in the discussion of social movements. For example, the structural approach explains why a social movement emerges as a reaction to structural conditions that are unfavorable to some. The structural approach explains that structural tension will produce discomfort. It will ultimately result in collective action to change the structure. At the same time, the explanation of the resource mobilization approach emphasizes that social movements rely on an explanation of organizational dynamics as the driving force of social movements.

In addition to these two approaches, framing in social movements emphasizes the social construction of an idea. The norms, ideas, and thoughts used by a social movement form the idea of the movement's construction of the issues as the focus. Discussions about framing are common in discussions of social movements. Every social movement needs framing to popularize its ideology. As well as give an echo to its target audience. Social movements replicate the framing in various publications. Generally, framing is defined as a general vision or picture that directs a social movement towards idealism. The media are often the main instrument for social movements. The study of framing is crucial because it explains the beliefs that underlie the actions of social movements.

Analysis of structural conditions and mobilization of resources in social movements can borrow from the study of terrorism. The structure of relative deprivation and alienation can form conditions supporting the formation of terrorist groups. In the study of terrorism, unstable conditions are usually an opportunity factor for terrorist groups to develop their organizations, carry out propaganda, and establish safe-havens. In the study of terrorism, discussions in social movements such as structure, organizational methods, opportunities, barriers, and framing in social movements can be borrowed as analytical tools for extremist and terrorist movements. The repressive conditions of the authorities can also be a momentum of opportunity for terrorist groups to start armed actions against the authorities. Discussions on material sources can also be used to explain the construction of terrorist groups' networks. This approach is significant to see how the group can maximize material resources and movement methods for the group's survival [10].

The study of framing can also be used to explain the phenomenon of terrorism. Although the term framing is closer to the study of social movements, it can also discuss terrorism. In the discussion of framing, for example, framing is used to form justifications and explain the actions taken by terrorist groups, to build public support and popularity. Terrorist movements also use this in various ways, such as in publications, announcements, statements, and the publication of ideological manifestos. For example, Hamas, which is classified as a terrorist organization by the US, European Union, and Israel, uses five frames in its struggle. First, Palestine is land waqf. Hamas wants to claim that Palestine belongs to Muslims and cannot be handed over to the Israeli entity with this frame. Second, Islam is the solution, this framing, HAMAS ensures that an independent Palestine can only be achieved when it returns to Islam. Third, the Jewish conspiracy, which HAMAS believes that the Jewish community is trying various ways to dominate the world. Fourth, patience is the main thing. It means that HAMAS is struggling to ensure that the method of struggle by promoting the peace process will fail by itself. HAMAS refuses to compromise. Fifth, authentic nationalism. That is, HAMAS claims that the ideology of secular nationalism is a failure. Nationalism based on Islam is needed to liberate Palestine. Furthermore, this framing is related to the mobilization of HAMAS as a growing social movement in Palestine [11].

As is done by Al Qaeda leaders Usama bin Laden and Ayman Zawahiri, after September 11, 2001, often issued statements to explain the terrorist acts that their group carried out. Al Qaeda uses the four framings to mobilize its followers. Namely first ending the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories, stopping Western support, especially the United States, for authoritarian regimes in the Middle East, reducing

hegemony and the military of the US in the Middle East region, and ending the liberal capitalism of the Middle East region. These were realized to recruit, develop strategies, and justify attacks against Western objects [12]. This discussion on framing is also needed in understanding how ISIS consistently attacks the Shia community.

3. Methods

This paper is descriptive qualitative. Qualitative descriptive research aims to explain a phenomenon with a deep understanding. While the method in this research uses document study. The source of the documents from this research is the documents published by the ISIS group on the internet. The new pattern of terrorist groups is to rely on the internet to spread propaganda media, report on the actions and thoughts of the terrorist group. This trend has been going on since the 2000s with the advancement of the internet. ISIS uses digital libraries and cloud storage media on the internet to disseminate documents related to the group. Among those analyzed in this study are An Naba, Dabiq online magazine, Rumiyah online magazine, Amaq media, and several sources and videos published by the media wing. ISIS spread in digital libraries and cloud storage media on the internet. In addition, Al Qaeda documents relevant to this issue were also analyzed. These documents were analyzed to map the anti-Shia framing adopted by ISIS.

4. Result

4.1. ISIS Framing in Shia Issues

ISIS develops various frames to mobilize resistance against the Shia community. In the documents obtained from ISIS sources, there are three framing classifications of why Shias are considered enemies of ISIS.

The first point is a question of doctrine. In terms of doctrine, ISIS theology is classified in the view of Salafi-jihadism. In the thought of Salafi-jihadism there are five core points: namely *tauhid, hakimiya, al walaa wal baraa, takfir,* and *jihad*. *Tauhid* and *Hakimiya* explained what the legal order of authority should look like and whom it should serve. While *al walaa wal baraa* describes loyalty and devotion. The doctrine of *al walaa wal baraa* is identical to the rejection of the polytheists, their followers, and their allies. Takfir is in this context describing and protecting Islam from all internal things that are

considered to deviate from religious teachings. While jihad is a method to realize this idealism. Jihad in the world view of salafy- jihadism is related to the battlefield [13].

The world view of salafi-jihadism is applied by ISIS in viewing the Shia community as a deviant and apostate religious community so that it falls into disbelief. In a publication entitled "This Is Our Aqeedah, and This is Our Methodology," ISIS stated, "We consider the Rafidi Shia to be a faction of shirk, apostasy, and hirabah (armed offenses) [14]." That is, ISIS views the Shia group as a group that deviates from Islam and causes chaos. ISIS also publishes a digital magazine, An Naba, one of its editions that specifically discusses Shia. In Dabiq edition 13, ISIS explains three reasons why they fight Shia [15]. First, ISIS considers the existence of Shia today as a continuation of the group's differences from the Muslim community in the past. Second, ISIS notes that Shia groups believe in strange religious doctrines and heretical practices. In addition, ISIS identifies Shia groups as those who like to insult the companions and wives of the Prophet Muhammad. The Shia also rejected the Caliphate of Abu Bakr, Umar ibn Khattab, and Uthman ibn Affan. Finally, ISIS believes that Shiites are apostate Muslims. So, ISIS believes that fighting Shias is a religious obligation.

In another publication entitled "Hukmu Shari'a fii Thawaaif Asyiati" (Shari'a Law on Shia sects), ISIS explains why it attacks Shiites. In a publication published by the research division of the ISIS group, ISIS stated that the Shia sect (Shia Twelver Imam, Ismaili Shia, Alawiyah Nusairi Shia, Druze) is a group that deviates from Islam [16]. According to ISIS, the status of Shiites is not "genuine infidels" but "apostates."

According to ISIS, there is a difference between the status of "genuine infidel" and "apostate." This difference in status will have an impact on the treatment of the Shia group.

In ISIS's view, peace and agreement with "genuine infidel" groups are possible if it is not against Islam. Thus, if the Shia are categorized as "genuine infidels," then there is still the possibility of entering into peace and agreement with the Shiites. In contrast, ISIS considers Shiites to be an "apostate" group. Meanwhile, if the status is "apostate" or out of Islam, apostasy cannot be forgiven and cannot enter into a peace agreement. Then there was the justification for going against Shia. The reason, according to ISIS, was that Shia was initially affiliated with Islam with essential doctrines such as the oneness of God, performing prayers, zakat, and hajj. However, in its development, the Shia group made many deviations that invalidated the creed.

ISIS considers Shiites to have deviant beliefs, including believing that there has been a change in the Koran and believing in the existence of a holy priest after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. ISIS considers that Shia has characterized imams with a

pious character. ISIS assumes that Shiites perform perverted rituals such as worshiping graves. The Shia also condemn the companions of the Prophet and the wife of the Prophet. Because of this deviation, according to ISIS, the Shia sect is "apostate." As a result, ISIS, which claims to be a caliphate, is fighting Shias.

The issue of doctrinal differences is also explained in a video that ISIS spreads through the internet. In one of the ISIS videos released by Al Battar, ISIS explains several motives why it attacks the Shia community. The video opens with a criticism of some Islamic figures who have a tolerant attitude towards Shia. In this video, ISIS denounces Al Qaeda leader Ayman Zawahiri, the Taliban, and global jihadist Abu Mushab Zawahiri for being too tolerant of Shiites. In addition, ISIS criticized Zawahiri for not prioritizing Shias as targets for attacks.

Meanwhile, ISIS criticized the Taliban for accepting Shiites as part of Islam. And for cooperating in establishing Afghanistan. Meanwhile, ISIS criticized Abu Mushab as-Suri for still classifying Shia in the Islamic world even though it is a heretic maker. On the other hand, ISIS can put forward ten reasons why Shiites can be justified as attack targets. Some of the reasons mentioned are that Shia is polytheist and apostates. First, the Shia reject the "caliphate" not held by the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. In addition, Shia is also considered to violate the belief in worshiping Allah. In addition, Shiites are considered to have excessive worship of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, including ISIS accusations that Shiites worship the graves of Shia Imams. In addition, ISIS believes that the Shia have said that the Koran has changed. Another thing is the Shia belief that opposes the honor of Aisha, the wife of the Prophet Muhammad. Still related to this, ISIS believes that the Shia have considered many of the Prophet's companions apostates.

The second reason why ISIS attacks Shiites is related to the socio-political dynamics in the Middle East history in the Islamic world. In addition to theological issues, ISIS denies the political stance of Shia groups in Islamic history. Citing the opinions of Ibn Taimiyah and Abu Musab Zarqawi, ISIS claims that Shi'ites have committed treason throughout Islamic history. ISIS says that Shia is a group that seems to show unity, but in practice, are enemies. Finally, ISIS claims some evidence to support historical arguments against Shiites. First, ISIS alludes to the anti-Sunni policies of the 19th century Safavid dynasty in Iran. Second, ISIS claims that the Shia were with the Mongol forces conquering major Islamic cities during the Abbasid caliphate. Third, ISIS accuses Shiites of cooperating with the Crusaders in the occupation of Palestine and Syria. ISIS claims that Shiites have formed a coalition with the US to attack Afghanistan and Iraq in its current state. This historical argument is one of the foundations for ISIS to fight against Shia groups.

The collective memory of historical conflicts in the Middle East in the Middle Ages was constructed by ISIS to show how the Shia community was a real threat to the Islamic world.

In another media edition of An Naba 271, ISIS said that the political dynamics of the Middle East -in Syria, Yemen, and Iraq- favored the Shia [17]. ISIS has also identified those sympathizing with Shia groups such as Hezbollah with "religious traitors" and "American and Jewish agents." In Iraq and Syria, ISIS often takes advantage of different sectarian identities to fight against the existing regime. For example, ISIS is fighting the government of Bashar al Assad in Syria and the Iraqi government by attaching the identity of "Nusairiyah" to the Syrian regime and "Shia" to the Iraqi regime. ISIS has also often identified political dynamics in Syria and Iraq as evidence of Shia oppression of Sunnis. The involvement of the Hezbollah group and Iranian militias in supporting the government of Bashar al Assad in Syria and Iran's support for the Iraqi government was described by ISIS in the media as evidence of the existence of a threat to the regional Shia alliance.

In al Battar's video, ISIS also reveals that one of the reasons it fights Shia is because the community is collaborating with foreign powers to attack Islam. ISIS explains that this happened both during the Crusades and in modern conflicts, as demonstrated in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria. ISIS concludes that Shias have become a blanket enemy in the Islamic world. To this point, ISIS accuses the Shia community of distancing themselves from Islamic law by enforcing the rule of an unjust tyrant. ISIS believes that the Shia hate monotheism and have been cruel to the followers of monotheism.

In the 11th issue of Dabiq magazine, ISIS believes that Shia Iran is forming a "Shia crescent" in the Middle East region [18]. That means Iran is building a regional Shia coalition by strengthening its influence in Yemen, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon. ISIS views that Iran is uniting sects within Shia, such as the Twelve Imams, Ismailis, and Zaidis, to fight Islam. However, in the publication, ISIS stated that it was preparing to carry out acts of terror against the regional alliance of the Shia group. ISIS even made threats against Shia entities in an attack on a Revolutionary Guard military parade in the Iranian city of Ahvaz in 2018. ISIS's claim for an attack on Iran was even explained directly by ISIS spokesman Abul Hasan al-Muhajir. In his speech, Abu Hasan al-Muhajir claimed that ISIS successfully carried out attack operations in the Iranian "Palace" and became a threat to those hostile to ISIS [19].

In contrast, ISIS claims that the caliphate they founded in 2014 is a manifestation of the power of the Sunni group. ISIS claims that its caliphate has a legitimate power, which emerged at the end of time by imitating prophetic methods. ISIS believes that

its declaration of a caliphate is based on political doctrine in Sunni Islam. This is what distinguishes the Shia who believe in the political theory of Imamate. With the declaration, ISIS claims to be a protective force for Sunni groups from marginalization by Shia groups. ISIS mobilizes support for Sunni tribes in Iraq to join ISIS. ISIS also got support from former Saddam Hussain loyalists. ISIS took advantage of the political turmoil in Iraq in 2014. ISIS mobilized Sunni groups who were disillusioned with political developments in Iraq after the withdrawal of several US troops from Iraq [20].

Third framing construction, ISIS links the existence of Shia groups with the basis of the end-time eschatological war. According to ISIS' perception, Shiites will continue to fight Muslims by forming coalitions with the enemies of Islam. ISIS believes that the Shia's enmity against Islam will last until the appearance of the Dajjal at the end of time when the Shia will unite with the Jews under the banner of Dajjal's rule. ISIS relates that the Shia version of Imam Mahdi that is awaited at the end of time is the Dajjal who will fight Muslims. ISIS believes that fighting Shias is inevitable. ISIS displays a characteristic narrative between the Shia version of Dajjal and Imam Mahdi. Interestingly, to form this construction, ISIS compares the character of the Dajjal in the Sunni books with the Shia version of Imam Mahdi from the books belonging to the Shia community. In the 13th issue of Dabiq magazine, ISIS concludes that the Shia version of Imam Mahdi is identical to the Dajjal. ISIS explains

Thus, the Rāfidah are mushrik apostates who must be killed wherever they are to be found, until no Rāfidī walks on the face of earth, even if the jihād claimants

despise such and even if the jihād claimants defend the Rāfidah with their words day and night. The Rāfidah and their founder Ibn Saba' hated the khulafā' of the Muslims, spread strife amongst their ranks, encouraged dissent, and waged war against the historic khilāfah all in the name of "commanding the good and forbidding the evil," a trait the jihad claimants also share with the Rāfidah. It is therefore not surprising that the jihād claimants now wage war against the Islamic State while condemning the targeting of Rāfidī temples, markets, and neighborhoods

On the other hand, ISIS constructs itself that its group is a legitimate caliphate. Khilafah means global and single leadership for all Muslims. ISIS views that groups that do not approve of themselves are groups that are fighting against legitimate power. Therefore, it is legal to fight against these groups. In the Shia context, various Shia groups have fought against ISIS expansion in the Middle East, especially in Iraq and Syria. For example, the Syrian government, which is often identified as a manifestation of Alawite Shia, is carrying out an operation to eradicate ISIS in Syria.

In addition, Shia groups in Iraq, such as those mobilized by Ayatollah Sistani's fatwa, also fought against the ISIS group. The group, which later allied in al-Hashd as-Sa'bii, carried out a counter-attack against ISIS expansion in Iraq. The fatwa issued by Ayatollah Sistani was after ISIS experienced a vast expansion in Iraq by capturing the city of Mosul. ISIS also threatens major towns and cities holy to the Shia community in Iraq, such as Karbala. As a result, Ayatollah Sistani mobilized Shia militias with his fatwas to fight ISIS.

On the other hand, Iran is actively assisting the government of Bashar al Assad in Syria by sending the Iranian Revolutionary Guards and affiliated militias. Iran argues that this support is done to combat the presence of terrorist groups in Syria, including ISIS. In addition, Iran is also known to help Shia militias in Iraq to fight ISIS. The US assassination of General Qassem Solaemani and the Hashd Shaabi leader in Iraq by US drones in early 2020 indicated the closeness between Iran and Shia militias in Iraq.

This ISIS framing can be seen from the statement in an excerpt from the official speech of ISIS spokesman, Sheikh Abu Hasan al Muhajir dated March 2019 which was translated into English with the title "He Was True to Allah and Allah Was True to Him" [21]

O Sunni people of Iraq, the Islamic State is your lifeboat and your impenetrable fortress against the Iranian Safavids expansion, so repent before it is too late and learn a lesson from others. No matter how long it might take, the Islamic State is coming back to the areas it departed, by Allah's will. Today, you see how Allah's protection is surrounding the soldiers of the caliphate despite the flocks of airplanes and mobilization. They are still visible to their enemies, and are perfecting their ambushes to attack their rabble and crush their gatherings. They have taken an oath to make this land green and prosperous. Let the rafida know that the home of the caliphate, Baghdad, will not be a second Tehran or any Qum, and that battles that will turn the hair of children grey wait them.

O solders of the caliphate in Iraq, Syria, Khorasan, Yemen, East Asia, West Africa, Libya, Sinai, Somalia, and everywhere, prepare for the war and be diligent about it, grasp the opportunity, move the brigades, and make prolong the battle. Your enemy would not stand that. And do not be horrified by the noise made by the alliance of kufr and its cause to eliminate the caliphate and curb its influence, for Allah will preserve it by your unity and adherence around His tight rope. Nothing will harm it or make the life in it horrible, not even the tons and tons of what it has been through so far. This is only the beginning of

the road and the first step of the rebound and an approval for the coming conquest, by Allah's permission.

In regional conflicts, there are some crucial points from the trend of ISIS attacks against Shia groups. ISIS remains a threat to the stability of the Middle East region, especially Iraq and Syria. Although ISIS has lost total territorial power since 2019, ISIS sleeper cells can still carry out acts of terrorism. The spread of sectarian issues accompanied ISIS terrorist attacks in Syria and Iraq. Some analysts say the attack in Baghdad on January 21, 2021, was a significant ISIS operation in Iraq following the Iraqi government's declaration of victory over the terrorist group in 2017. Apart from the attacks in Baghdad, during 2021, there is a trend of increasing intensity of ISIS cell attacks against the Syrian Arab Army (SAA) and its affiliates in several locations in Syria. This terror attack is also an indication of the emergence of ISIS sleeper cells in the Middle East. ISIS terrorism in Syria and Iraq remains a significant threat to both countries still working on political reconstruction.

In addition to framing as a legitimate caliphate, ISIS also calls itself the guardian of monotheism and its followers. Meanwhile, the Shia community is considered a community that is not a "genuine" infidel but a community that apostates from the Islamic faith. According to ISIS, Shiites have committed many theological and ritual deviations that have caused all Shia sects to be apostates. The consequence of apostasy is to be fought. Meanwhile, ISIS, which describes itself as the guardian of monotheism, has the right to attack communities that are considered apostates.

In its media, Rumiah edition 09, ISIS said

O troops of the Khilafah, O defenders of honor and takers of revenge for their religion and ummah! We have not considered you less than men of might, men of courage, leaders in glory, dignified when defending, and perseverant when confronting. So accomplish the promise of your Lord, a promise of support, victory, and consolidation.... O men of the State in Baghdad, in its north and its south, in Karkuk, Salahuddin, Dayala, Fallujah, and Anbar, go further and give the enemies of Allah, of the filthy Rafidah and dirty murtaddin, who have turned from the Sunnah, their fill. Let them taste the cup of bitterness and deadly poison, for you are the people of war, strikers of enemies! And request right guidance from the Master, and put your confidence and reliance upon Him, for the matter is entirely in His hands.

While the Shia are categorized as apostate communities. The law of apostasy in the interpretation of Islam is the punishment to be fought. The consequence of developing these principles is ISIS's violence against the Shia community. Therefore, ISIS violence against Shias has a broad spectrum.

ISIS violence against the Shia community includes attacks on places of worship, armed attacks, and executions of Shia personnel. Shia groups, such as the working

class, convicts, religious and soldiers, have become targets for ISIS attacks. In the 13th issue of Dabiq magazine, ISIS stated that there is no difference between religious and civilians among the Shia community. Therefore, according to ISIS, religious civilians and Shia are legitimate targets. ISIS carries out indiscriminate attacks against the Shia community. Meanwhile, symbolic violence based on insults and Shia propaganda is a heretical group.

5. Discussion

From a theoretical study of the phenomenon of religious terrorism, ISIS almost fulfills most of these categorizations. In the war against Shia groups, ISIS believes that Shia - as one of the sects in the Islamic world - are sects with strange religious doctrines. This deviation has resulted in Shia, regardless of their type, to have left Islam or apostates. ISIS believes that the law for apostate communities is to be fought.

Therefore, for ISIS, fighting Shia is a religious obligation. In addition, because ISIS considers Shias "apostates," as a result, ISIS attacks Shiites.

The cosmological view developed by ISIS is a form of framing developed by ISIS and reproduced in various media, both in videos, ebooks, and other publications. The framing designed is that ISIS is a group that represents the purity of religious teachings, while Shia is considered guilty. But, on the other hand, ISIS constructs itself as a defender of the teachings of monotheism and defenders of the followers of monotheism and will attack every enemy of monotheism.

The construction of ISIS framing that legalizes attacks on the Shia community does not stand alone. The construction is a continuation of the trend of Abu Mushab Zarqawi, the leader of the jihadist Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) who also made Shiites an enemy group. The ideological continuation is inseparable from the historical context of ISIS. The group's forerunner was once part of the jihadist movement called Al Qaeda in Iraq, before the group, together with other jihadist factions, founded the Islamic State of Iraq. Abu Mushab Zarqawi, the leader of Al Qaeda in Iraq, became one of the prominent figures with anti-Shia thoughts as one of the references for ISIS in justifying attacks against the Shia community. Although Abu Mushab Zarqawi had joined Al Qaeda and founded Al Qaeda in Iraq, his actions drew criticism from central Al Qaeda. For example, Zawahiri - one of the leaders of Al Qaeda - once sent a letter of advice to Zarqawi to focus attacks on US groups. Because if he carried out too many attacks on the Shia community, it would distance sympathy for the Al Qaeda movement. Abu Mushab Zarqawi committed

acts of violence against civilians who were considered the opposing party. Abu Mushab Zarqawi made Shiites the target of attacks.

The attack on the Shia group showed the "consistency" of ISIS in applying the orientation of the attack to target the "close enemy." This trend contrasts with other "jihadist" groups such as Al Qaeda, prioritizing attacks against "distant enemies", particularly the United States. Al Qaeda's various terror operations target more objects or symbols that symbolize US hegemony. The attacks on the US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, the US warship USS Cole near the Yemeni port, and the WTC and Pentagon attacks confirmed the "far enemy" orientation.

The Islamic State group, which prefers attacks against "close enemies," is focused on attacking local regimes. This orientation is confirmed in various regular publications published by ISIS. For example, in an infographic published by ISIS, the ISIS group shows attacks mainly aimed at local regimes in Syria, Iraq, West Africa, Sinai, and Khurasan. The Shia group, included in the classification of target attacks displayed by ISIS in the attack infographic. In this regard, ISIS has also criticized jihadist groups for not targeting Shiites.

For example, in Dabiq 13 magazine, which explicitly discusses Shia, ISIS presents a sub-chapter on Abu Mushab Zarqawi's thoughts on Shia. In this sub-chapter, ISIS cites Abu Mushab Zarqawi's statement against Usama bin Laden, one of which explains Abu Mushab Zarqawi's position on Shia. Among these quotes is the message of Abu Mushab Zarqawi stating that the jihad movement is fighting against two forces, namely the external enemy force, which is infidel and aggressive, and the enemy from within, namely from the Shia. The enemy from within look similar to Iraqis and speak Arabic, making it challenging to identify. In addition, Abu Mushab Zarqawi stated that Shia is a more dangerous enemy than the United States.

Furthermore, ISIS cites several theologically motivated statements from Abu Mushab Zarqawi as a reason to justify attacks on the Shia community. For example, Abu Mushab Zarqawi stated that Shia is known as a sect that insults the symbols of Sunni Islam. In addition, Zarqawi said that Shia is a sect that has apostatized from Islam, so it is legal to fight. Meanwhile, in the document on the Declaration of the Islamic State of Iraq, where Al Qaeda in Iraq and other jihadist groups joined in declaring the State as the forerunner

of ISIS, stated that the Shiites had controlled the southern region of Iraq and served the interests of European countries and Iran in the fight against Islam.

With framing construction, ISIS attacks Shia objects and communities. This anti-Shia framing has caused ISIS to criticize other Islamic groups that are considered tolerant of

Shiites. For example, in the 14th edition of Dabiq Magazine, ISIS attacked the opinion of Abu Mushab as-Suri, a global jihadist figure, who said that 12 Shia Imams were still categorized as madhabs accepted in Islam. The idea of Abu Mushab as-Suri that accommodates Shias cannot be separated from the orientation of Abu Mushab as-Suri, who wants to unite all denominations in the Islamic world to carry out global resistance against the United States and its allies. ISIS has also criticized Al Qaeda and the Taliban for being too tolerant of the Shia community. For example, in al Battar's video, ISIS criticizes the Taliban for appointing a Hazara Shia in Afghanistan as one of the regional leaders in the country of Afghanistan. In addition, in the same edition of Dabiq, ISIS criticized the Muslim Brotherhood for its efforts to take an inter-madhab approach to Islam. ISIS has criticized the stance of Hasan al Banna, who maintains that Sunnis and Shiites are united in the creed. ISIS has also criticized the opinion of the Muslim Brotherhood, which regards the 1979 Iranian Revolution as an Islamic Revolution. In ISIS' perception, Shia is a group that has historically fought Islam, so it is forbidden to declare unity with Shia [22]. The trend of ISIS attacks is based on Shia groups based on anti- Shia ideology. Anti-Shia ideology is one of the trends of religion-based terrorism that emerged in the 20th century.

6. Conclusion

In this case, ideology plays a vital role for ISIS to survive after the terrorist group suffered territorial losses, physical destruction, and the assassination of several leaders. ISIS continues to carry out acts of terrorism; one of its main targets is the Shia group. For ISIS, fighting Shia groups is not a war based on interests or territory but a religious obligation. The ISIS terrorism trend against Shia groups is a contemporary religious- motivated terrorism phenomenon. ISIS frames terrorist attacks against Shiites for theological and socio- political reasons. The growing anti-Shia ideology encourages direct and cultural violence against the Shia community. ISIS' anti-Shia ideology developed from theological beliefs, contemporary political events, and end-time eschatological beliefs. Instead, ISIS frames itself as a legitimate caliphate and defender of monotheism. The framing can be aimed at ISIS followers and sympathizers scattered in various regions. To cover the distribution of followers, ISIS Framing is circulated in digital form through cyber media. With this framing construction, ISIS says that acts of terrorism attacks against the Shia community are justifiable actions

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8. Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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