THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ISIS ON CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST SUNNI MUSLIMS: IRAQ CASE STUDY

[1]Dahham Zainab Waheed., [2]Abror Abror

[1]School of law and Political Science and Management, Soran University, Iraq; [2]Universitas Negeri Padang, Indonesia
Correspondence: Email: abror094@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Oftentimes, the mainstream media and scholars present the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) as a Sunni militant group formed in reaction to the excesses of 'Christian West' and 'Shia rulers' of Iraq and Syria. However, to what extent does ISIS represent Sunni Muslims? This unanswered question and the implications of ISIS ideology, as well as the consequences of their actions, definitely merit in-depth scrutiny. Relying on a qualitative study design involving 30 Iraqis of diverse religious backgrounds, this paper investigated the question and offered a glimpse of ISIS's ideology and the impact of their actions on Sunni Muslims. The results obtained indicated that Sunni-Shia or Sunni Muslim-West binaries are not only an inaccurate description of ISIS's ideology, but a concomitant legitimatization of ISIS's actions, while tending to cover up ISIS crimes against populations, including the Sunni/Shia Muslims, Yezidis and Christians. In fact, Sunni Muslims have suffered the most in terms of violence and socio-economic down-turn in the hands of ISIS, and are routinely compelled to follow ISIS's ideology in the areas controlled by them, while being threatened also with death and more violence if they refuse to comply.

Keywords: Christians, Islamic State, Militancy, Shia, Sunni, Terrorism, Yezidi

INTRODUCTION

The activities of ISIS and the manner by which the international community have dealt with their actions remains a course for concern, particularly in determining the responsibility of ISIS for the numerous crimes they have committed against the Sunnis. This academic effort interrogates the claim of ISIS as a representative of Sunni Muslims in terms of ideology and actions. It probes the ISIS's extremist ideology based on the tenets of takfir (apostatizing and violence against all those Muslims who do not agree with them) and jihadist violence (against all non-Muslims). It also interrogates the extent to which ISIS's ideology is influenced by takfiri ideologies of Ibn Taymiyyah and Muhammad Ibn abd al-Wahhab - two clerics whose ideologies are generally rejected by majority of Sunni Muslims, not only in Iraq and Syria, but also on a global scale. Unfortunately, ISIS seems to have hijacked mainstream Sunni identity in order to promote its own violent ideology and in turn, tarnish the image of Sunni sect, and the Islamic religion in general, rather than its alleged support for Sunni Muslims.

On the other hand, members of ISIS claim that they are practising Muslims and that the purpose of their

organization is to support Sunni Muslims, especially in Iraq, because of their alleged suffering at the hands of the Shia rulers of Iraq. This research therefore, examines the extent to which these claims are true, judging by the crimes of ISIS against Muslims of all sect and/or ethnic backgrounds.

Expectedly, the outcome of this research would substantially contribute to the literature on faith-based violence and terrorism, which in this case, focuses attention on the legitimacy (or lack thereof) of ISIS as a Sunni militant group. It would also provide an opportunity to re-evaluate our understanding of ISIS as regards its ideology and objectives, while determining their responsibility for crimes against Sunni Muslims during internal armed conflicts.

WHAT IS ISIS?

ISIS is English acronym for Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, and in Arabic, they are known as Daesh (Irshaid, 2015), which is the short form of the Arabic words "al-Dawla al-Islamiyafil Iraq wa al-Sham". Although, this term is currently and widely used by politicians and the global media, the 'evil death cult' is neither a true

representation of Islam, or state (Irshaid, 2015). While sometimes called ISIL (the abbreviation of Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant), ISIS is the name by which the group is most commonly known around the world (Irshaid, 2015).

Due to its activities, ISIS has been labelled 'a terrorist group' and has occupied major areas in eastern Syria and Iraq. The group has stated that its main aim is to create a state of Islamic laws that will be led by a religious leader called 'Caliph'. Although they are currently limited to Iraq and Syria, the group plans to extend its boundaries to Jordan and Lebanon. This group is made up of Sunnis - mostly Salafi, Wahhabi and Deobandi Muslims from different parts of the world (Khan, 2016).

According to Khan (2016), ISIS was established in 2002 by the late Abu Musabul-Zarqawi. The group later on, formed an alliance with AL-Qaeda in Iraq, which was then the major insurgency group. In 2006, after the death of Zarqawi, Al-Qaeda in Iraq merged with the Islamic State in Iraq (ISI), and up until 2009, ISI was considered a weak insurgent group. Baghdadi became the leader of the group in 2010 (Khan, 2016), and by 2014, ISIS had occupied a large portions of Iraq including the cities of Fallujah and Mosul.

Presently, ISIS control hundreds of square kilometres in Iraq and Syria (Khan, 2016) and has assumed a global jihadist status with a global command and leadership. Records show that its operations in Iraq and Syria peaked between 2013 and 2014, and they tried sweeping the whole Sunni triangle. The aim was to control the entire Sunni area from Central Iraq to the North and West of Bagdad, where the majority of Sunnis live. ISIS took credit for most of the terrorist attacks occurring in Iraq and Syria till the end of the 2014. The activities of ISIS terrorists spread later to Lebanon, Libya, Egypt, Afghanistan and Africa. The terrorist attacks of ISIS were not limited to the Middle East and North Africa, but extended to some European countries and the USA. Available evidence shows that two world powers are at the centre of the battle against ISIS -Russia and the U.S.A. but these two powers are in competition as to who takes the lead role (Gerges, 2014).

Furthermore, ISIS has a large number of fighters, and according to U.S. Intelligence, the total fighting force of ISIS is between 9,000 to 18,000 fighters (Gartenstein-Ross, 2015). Other reports however, suggest a much larger

fighting force. According to the CIA, by 2014 in Iraq and Syria, the number of fighters reached 20,000 and 31,500 respectively (Gartenstein-Ross, 2015). Other sources have also confirmed a much larger number of fighters with some indicating that the fighters in Syria alone are estimated to be around 50,000 (Gartenstein-Ross, 2015). Figures from the Russian General Staff estimated the number of ISIS fighters is around 70,000 and drawn from various nationalities, while the Iraq and Kurdistan governments assert that these reports are far from the real figures of ISIS fighters and that the number is much higher (Gartenstein-Ross, 2015).

Regardless of the meaning of the ISIS, their main targets are not the Jews or non-Muslims, but rather Muslims who hold doctrines and beliefs different from the Sunni sect (the Shia Muslims). Gerges (2014) had confirmed ISIS established determination to fight non-Muslims from the onset.

The Arab uprisings in February, 2011, began as a result of the oppression of the Arabs under their dictator rulers. This conflict spread to the Middle East and North Africa, playing a significant role in the weakening of the Arab area, mainly Iraq, Syria, Iran and Yemen, and creating the enabling environment for the birth of the terrorist group ISIS (Gerges, 2014).

As the fighting was between the Arab Sunni leaders and the Shia Arab leaders, Gerges (2014) tried to explain the events in the Middle East and the North Africa as a religious conflict. He believed that the ideology of ISIS is Salafi–Jihadism. However, the conflict in the Middle East and North Africa was political in nature with the aim of appropriating more power or to build a new empire, whether it is by Iran or by Saudi Arabia, using religion as a cover.

In the context of this paper therefore, ISIS can be defined as a global religious militant group characterised by the adherence to takfiri and jihadist-like violence, with shades of literal and intolerant Salafi and Wahhabi ideologies, whose organized level of command is simply designed to overrun and take control of the Muslim areas. ISIS does not necessarily represent Islam or Sunni Islam, as its victims include both Muslims and non–Muslims. The group attempts to mislead people by hijacking Islam and Sunni Islam, with the intent of turning sect against sect, thereby destroying the unity in the Middle East, and gaining the opportunity to remap the Middle East region.

STUDIES ON ISIS

Several scholars have studied ISIS control and their activities/crimes from different perspectives - economic, legal, political and otherwise.

In an article entitled 'Two Arab countries fall apart: The Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria', and published in the Economist of June 14th2014, ISIS gains control of an area and the benefits they derive by virtue of being in control (such as oil and financial benefits). The article explained that the emergence of ISIS in Iraq was as a result of the encouraged extremism and sectarianism between the Sunnis and Shias in Iraq and Syria, by their governments. Their growth in Iraq was also as a result of the unsuccessful American attempt to manage post-invasion Iraq. As the Economist reported:

> *"The speed of ISIS's advance suggested that it was co-operating with a network of Sunni remnants from Saddam's underground resistance who opposed the Americans after 2003 and had continued to fight against the Shia-dominated regime of Nuri al-Maliki since the Americans left at the end of 2011".*

The Economist also stated that the Sunnis in Iraq were not willing partners but allowed an extremist group to take control as there was no other means of escaping the dictatorship government they were under. The magazine stated that ISIS supported the Sunnis side and the crimes the group committed were against the Shia and Christians. The magazine however, did not include the crime of ISIS against Yazidi and Sunni Muslims but focused solely on economic fall outs, with proof to support its statements,

In her paper 'Responsibility of Armed Groups for Sexual Violence against Women during Internal Armed Conflicts: The Case of Iraq', Dahham (2016) looked at the activities of ISIS from a legal perspective. Her paper examined the protection of women from sexual violence during armed conflicts under international law, with focus on the crimes of ISIS in 2014 against the Yazidis and Christian women in Iraq. Dahham (2016) also examined the international mechanism to protect women and found it inadequate, especially in the Middle East and North Africa, where there is gross lack of protection, and in the places where there is, but difficult to implement. There have been records of impunity in crimes of sexual violence during armed conflicts and perpetrators in so many instances, like

rape were not charged. Dahham's paper described in detail what Iraqi women go through, and explained that they are targeted because of their gender and beliefs. However, Dahham's paper did not conduct any interviews with the victims to gain a first-hand account of the problem so as to find the best mechanism to address the problem of sexual violence during armed conflicts. Rather, Dahham relied on interviews and statistics published by the Human Rights Watch. Dahham also focused on ISIS victims among non-Muslim women groups and showed the suffering of the Sunni Muslim women (Dahham, 2016)

Similarly, a paper by Patrick (2016) titled "Germany Joins the campaign against ISIS in Syria: a case of collective self-defence or rather the unlawful use of force", clearly critiqued the participation of the German authorities in fight against ISIS. Also, it critically analysed International Law and the United Nations Resolutions, while examining whether Germany's participation in the Western-led military campaign has any legitimacy. The paper found that the UN Security Council Resolution 2249 (2015) and article 51 of the UN Charter was the basis of Germany's justification for its participation in the war against ISIS; calling its actions self-defence. However, Patrick argued that the actions of Germany and its military lacked legitimacy as ISIS is not a State. It is this researcher's opinion that Patrick needed to have researched the legitimacy of ISIS and its actions as well, and provide alternatives to bringing the conflict triggered by ISIS in the Middle East and North Africa to an end.

Gunter (2015) evaluated the political aspect, while also examining the factors that had led to the emergence of ISIS in Iraq and Syria. The paper looked at the effect of ISIS in the political map of the Middle East and also examined the autonomy of Syrian Kurds in 2012 and its effect on Middle East. Gunter believes that ISIS is a threat, not only to the Arabs of the Middle East, but also to the Kurds. In addition, Gunter's paper looked at the reason behind the existence of ISIS and confirmed that the weakness of government and the divisions within the government facilitated the emergence of ISIS in Iraq. The paper challenged the ideology of ISIS by drawing attention to the fact that non-Sunnis and non-Muslims have also been recruited into the ranks of ISIS, though the key members are the Sunnis and members of Baath party in Iraq (Gunter, 2015)

Khan *et al*. (2016) also studied the effect of terrorism by ISIS on the economy. Their paper examined how poverty

facilitates the existence of terrorism and how this terrorist group has weakened the Iraqi and Syrian economies,

The ISIS ideology however, is not limited to Arabic countries, but also in some non-Arab Muslim areas. For example, Jones and Solahud (2015) had explained how the ISIS ideology came to Indonesia and the mechanism by which it spread, as well as how they get support, and how the activities have affected the policies of Indonesia. The opinion of this researcher is that the ideology of ISIS is vague, as confirmed by Gerges (2014), who described the content of ISIS and their aims in detail. Gerges explained that the short term goal of ISIS is to attack Muslims (Shia or Shiite ideology) and eliminate them. The book by Gerges is a good resource for those who want to understand the ideology of the ISIS; however, the book depended on secondary data and international reports. As earlier asserted in this paper, international reports can sometimes be inaccurate. Interviews with the victims are the best way to understand the facts. It is logical to assume that internal conflicts in many cases receive less international observation than international conflicts. That is why the reports cannot be the only source of data or information to determine the reality of what is happening. Gerges (2014) asserts that 'most of the reports are fragmentary and offer contradictory synopses of life under the caliphate'. He confirmed the hostility of ISIS towards the Shias, adding that ISIS does not have a good relationship with Sunnis in areas where they settled. Gerges agreed with other writers that the dictatorship of Arab leaders and the conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa is facilitating the emergence of ISIS in such areas. He was the first researcher to establish the link between events of the Arab spring and the activities of the ISIS terrorists.

This paper, however, criticizes Gerges for the inability to interview members of ISIS as justification for relying on secondary data. Hence the questions arising as an interview with ISIS would yield accurate and valid information about their ideology.

On the other hand, the title of the book -*"The History of ISIS"* can be said to paint an inaccurate picture of ISIS as the group has not been around for very long. So describing its 4 or 5 years of existence as 'history' could be misleading. Another criticism of Gerges book is the fact that it was written in a narrative style. It would have been better if some legal and political perspectives were added along with a critical analysis of the complex and unknown

ideology of ISIS and a discussion of the mechanism to control the terrorist group or any similar group that might arise in the future.

ISIS IN MOSUL: THE BACKGROUND

In June, 2014, ISIS controlled Mosul city, the second largest city in Iraq. The group has committed various crimes against Iraqi citizens, especially women and children, as well as military personnel and diplomats. These crimes include using children in war, kidnapping and trafficking of women, sectarian slaughter, and the use of chemical weapons, as well as the destruction of ancient cities and artefacts from ancient civilization, and the attacks on diplomats. The crimes were perpetrated on the basis of gender and religious beliefs (Dahham, 2016)

In the beginning, ISIS pretended as if it was not interested in political power or in controlling the city and had a good relationship with the people, albeit they always asked the people to believe in their objectives and support them. Their stated objective was to get rid of the Iraqi army (Muir, 2016). However, as this research will show, the situation changed later on. According to Gerges (2014), the Sunni communities accepted ISIS even though they were afraid of them because of the years of suffering violence, repression, and corruption. This research, however, would reveal that although the people initially welcomed ISIS as they were suffering from poverty and neglect under the government, most of them never accepted or agreed with the ISIS ideology and approach. This research answers the question as to why many of them then fought for ISIS and will show they were forced to or were otherwise subjected to inhumane treatment. They did not resist ISIS as they felt they did not have the support of their government because of their support for the previous government of Saddam Hussein.

THEORY OF THE RESEARCH

Scholars have applied social movement theory (SMT) to the study of religious groups in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Social Movement Theory (SMT) is the approach of most academic studies of religious groups. Most of scholars of Islamic State movements[i]and rarely Salafi-jihadi groups have applied this theory (Hansen, 2014).

This study seeks to analyse the ISIS group's emergence, their ideology, crimes and the opportunity to face them in

the present internal armed conflict afflicting Iraq. Using theoretical and analytical pointers garnered from Social Movement Theory, the study will analyse material from and about the groups, and about the factors that helped the emergence of ISIS in Iraq. This study will rely on case analysis of Iraq by conducting interviews. The conduct of interview would provide a better understanding of ISIS and their ideology. This study is employing dependable SMT to validate its classical and structuralism concepts of political opportunity structure, collective action frames, mobilising structures and repertoires of contention (Beinin, 2009).

ISIS are very uncommunicative and have unknown ideology and aim. However, ISIS has been often studied as part of security and militant studies. This is because the group threat the security of the international community. The sensitivity of the subject of the study of the ISIS has made it difficult to search in this topic or interviews with people who have dealt with the Islamic state closely, and they know what they are.

The behaviour of the people or rebels is social movement aiming to re change their life or improve it. It is socially conflict between the components of society.(Jeff Goodwin, 2001)Social movement collective project aiming to build their own new life emerged from the feeling of deprivation because of unsatisfied and inequality might be reasons behind this movement. The individuals see others who have more power, economic resources, or status and looking to obtain same things for their self. This could justify the reason of people who join ISIS. People according to SMT seek for improving their actual material situation, especially, improving their economy. In the main time, it explains the motivation of ISIS to get more power and improve their economy.(Jeff Goodwin, 2001) Every movement work for clear issue and invoked for it.(Jeff Goodwin, 2001)However, ISIS has not clear ideology. Also, the movement from understanding of the real need of the group is not clear. However, this study reveals ISIS was not familiar with requirement of the Mosulians who were seek for social justice, in the same time the Mosulians were not familiar with the aim and ideology of ISIS. Also, this theory would not be able to explain how ISIS could wash brain of children and youth in short time while other movement could not. Why this movement emerge with Islamic cover rather Arabic national ideology. The politics situation in Iraq and the poverty along with lack social justice led to difficulty of facing ISIS. However, the emergence of the ISIS and the

attempts to eliminate them depend on the political situation in Iraq.

This study reveals that the ISIS combination is fragile. It can be eliminated through elimination of the factors that led to their emergence. This could also be achieved through meeting the expectations of the people and responding to their needs.

The Neural Theory of Ibn Khaldun is the theory that can explain the ideology of ISIS. It encapsulates variables defining the goals of the conflict between Sunni and Shia populations, particularly the goal to get power, control the regions, and establish own State. Such ambitions obviously emanated from Iraq and Syria, and subsequently expanded to other regions with attempts to spread same all over the world. This competition to get power has been described by Ibn-Khaldon as natural, and that neurologic concepts are stronger than others, with manifest evidence of the internal divisions in Iraq. Consequently, there exists a neurologically unified ideology in the face of fanaticism, while standing steadfast and struggling to gain power.

However, ISIS goes far by mixed Islamic and non-Islamic practice. It ignores the truth of Islam and the spirit of the heavenly message that renounce violence, terrorism and exterminations against Muslims and non-Muslims. These beliefs did not stem only from the ignorance of Neuro requirements, nature, and the thrill of reaching power for power by all methods that guarantee success. The conflicting parties from both sides realize the invocation that Islam is a religion of peace, love, and tolerance for all human beings as the creation of God.

This study unveils the fact that ISIS, if really Muslims, have to understand the real Text of the Quran and should understand the meaning of 'There is no compulsion in religion' (Al-Baqara 256)

METHODOLOGY

Study Design: This research is socially constructed and therefore adopted an interpretivist philosophy with a qualitative methodology that enables the integration of human interest into the study (Myers, 2008). With an interpretivist philosophy, the differences between people are taken into consideration, since the focus of the research is to establish meaning and the multiple methods that may be applied to reflect the different perspectives of the issue under study.

Also, a case study strategy was adopted in order to gain in depth insight, better clarification and holistic understanding of the research problem (Fade, 1984)

In-depth interviews were used to gain a detailed understanding of the ideology and actions of ISIS. The interviews serves as the data collection method because according to Littlejohn and Foss (Foss, 2009), interpretivism relies on a representational approach of data collection, examples of which are interviews and observations (Foss, 2009). This study relied on interviews as within interview, the researcher can easily explain the aims and problems of the research and the researcher also has more control over data collection. Interviewees too may feel more comfortable and relaxed to discuss with the interviewer on issue of the study (Neale, 2006). However, interviews can present some disadvantages. One of the major issues surrounding interviews is the fact that the time of procedure could be longer than other research methods and there could be some difficulty in managing suitable time with perception sample group (Neale, 2006)

This research will use semi-structured interviews to collect data. In this method, questions for respondents are prepared beforehand but the researcher could add additional questions, while conducting the interviews in order to receive more clarification or to explore other related issues.

Study Population: The researcher will conduct several personal interviews with a number of respondents to explore their perspectives on the activities of ISIS in their area (Neale, 2006). The researcher interviewed 30 people from Mousel city –Iraq. The interviewees comprised both genders -male and female, and from different religions including Muslim (Shiaa and Sunni), Christian, and Yazidis.

Data Collection: In-depth semi structured interviews were conducted on randomly selected sample population of Iraq. The final sample was made up of male and female Iraqi Sunni (16), Shia (6), Christian (5) and Yazidi (3) living in Mosul -the second largest city in Iraq controlled by ISIS (as of June 2014). The respondents were people who were able to observe the activities of ISIS in their area. The interviews were conducted via email and Facebook and were analysed thematically.

Demographic Interview questions: These included Gender, age, marital status, profession, employment, sect, religion, ethnicity, city of origin, current city etc.

Qualitative Interview questions (2): These questions included:
- In your opinion, to what extent does ISIS represent the Sunni sect?
- What are key features of ISIS that distinguish it from Sunni Muslims such as in terms of their beliefs, ideology, role models, clerics and actions?
- In your opinion, to what extent does the Sunni Muslims in Mosul city believe in or support the ISIS ideology?
- Are you aware of any crimes committed by ISIS against Sunni Muslims in your area? Please explain with examples if applicable.
- Have you noticed any crimes by ISIS against Sunni women? Explain.
- Have you noticed any crimes by ISIS against Sunni men? Explain.
- Have you noticed any crimes by ISIS against Sunni children – male or female? Explain.
- Have you noticed any crimes by ISIS against non-Sunni groups including Shia, Christian and Yezidi? Explain.
- Do you know of any specific rules and instructions forced on the Sunni by ISIS?
- Is there a special court to charge the Sunni who do not follow ISIS? What does the court do?
- Is there any punishment against those Sunni who support the Iraqi government?
- In your opinion what are the reasons leading to some Sunni to join or support ISIS?
- Are there any taxes imposed on the Sunni and collected by force?
- Does ISIS control the salary of Sunni employers? To what extent are zakat tax and other deductions imposed on Sunni employers and entrepreneurs?
- Is ISIS limited to the Sunni in your area?
- How do you think we can solve the problem of ISIS?
- What is the best form of justice and/or compensation for victims of ISIS?

Data Analysis: In order to analyse the qualitative data obtained from the interviews, the researcher used thematic analysis. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis is a 'useful and flexible method for qualitative research in and beyond psychology' and 'a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data'. Rich information and detailed description of data can be obtained along with interpretations and an

understanding of various perspectives around the focus of the study (Clarke, 2006). It is a foundational method for qualitative analysis used worldwide (Clarke, 2006) and a good method for obtaining greater detail and insight into the daily experiences of people, as well as the issues and phenomena that constructs their reality.

The Challenges Faced the Researcher

The interviewees were Iraqis who live in Mosul when it was under the control of ISIS and experienced first-hand, life under ISIS. Most of interviewees or their families were victims of ISIS. The interviews took longer than expected (Sometimes lasting an entire night or as much half a day), and this was because these people who had suffered at the hands of ISIS wanted someone to talk to about their stories. They felt very comfortable sharing their stories in details (sometimes veering off topic and going into areas not related to the interview questions). Some of these stories were quite shocking and horrific but they interviewees were not stopped because the interviewer thought it would be inhumane to do so as they clearly found relief in telling their stories.

The sensitivity of the nature of the topic led to several setbacks in carrying out the interviews. Several people who were supposed to help in the interviews pulled out at the last minute when they saw the questions. Even personal friends and friends of family members were offended and refused to participate or be of any assistance. There were also several participants who were happy to start the interviews but midway through, felt uncomfortable to continue and in some cases became angry and hostile towards the interviewer. This reaction was not limited to the Muslims but was also exhibited by other faiths.

All this lead to delays and collecting data took much longer than expected

RESULTS

The Definition of ISIS
It is the observation of this study that even though 90% of the Mosulian participants are from different faiths and backgrounds- Sunni, Shiia, Christian, and Yazidis- they all agree that the ISIS does not represent the Sunni-Muslims. The following participants from different faiths reported that;

'*ISIS ideology is closer to the Wahhabi ideology (Non-total reliance on the four Sunni schools of Islamic jurisprudence and direct reliance on the text of the Qur'an and Sunnah and sayings of the ancestors and the consensus of scientists relying on the statements of the four Imams).*'(Int 1, 30, 10, 16)

Yazidis participants have similar opinion about the ISIS ideology with 90% of Yazidis participants believing that ISIS is a 'political movement' (Int 18, 16), while 10 % of the Yazidis participants believe that ISISI is Sunni, that they the Sunni, and that they fight against the Shia and Yazidis (Int 17).

Similarly, a Yezidis participant further added that:

'*A few of the Iraqis Sunni-Muslims follow the ideologies of the Wahhabis Sunni, learning this from the Saudi Sunnis. Although, these peoples do not believe in this ideology, Saudi Arabia took advantage of their poverty and influenced them with money. However, there a few others who believed that Saudi Arabia cared about them.*' He add that '*Saudi Arabia took advantage of the situation after the fall of the (Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq, while also exploiting policies of the current Iraqi government, they lead some people into believe that Saudi Arabia is a supporter of Iraqi Sunni-Muslim'.* (Int 18) He also added '*because of ISIS people can now differentiate between extreme Sunnis and the normal Sunnis*'. (Int 18) Another Yazidis participant reported that '*the Sunni who did not support ISIS escaped to other cities or abroad. However, some of Sunni-Muslim could not escape, because ISIS did not allow to them to leave Mosul*' (Int17) Similar the Sunni participants believe that '*ISIS follows the Wahhabi Salafi ideology that came from Saudi Arabia and was supported by them. The very few Iraqi Sunni-Muslims that joined ISIS were illiterate and looking for money and power.* (int13).

The views of the Shiia-Muslim are that ISIS does not represent the Sunni. A Shiia-Muslim participant stated that 'ISIS does not represent the Sunni-Muslim. ISIS is merely an international conspiracy to bring down Iraq', there are

still, however, some Sunni- Muslim who strongly believe in ISIS' (Int 30).

While 95% of Shiia –Muslim interviewed stated that some Sunni Muslims join ISIS group because they are afraid. A Shiia- Muslim participant stated that:

> 'the Sunni-Muslim who does not follow them will face the death' (int12).

Only 5% of Shiia –Muslim believed ISIS is Sunni and that they have similar ideologies. However, this group is made up of only extremists Sunnis. The Sunni Muslim and Yazidis reported that the ISIS army is not limited to the Sunni, but also made up of others who were misled and also includes a collective of the sicarios and mercenaries' (Int 1, 17).One Yazidis participant reported that:

> '*there are some Muslim- Sunni who joined ISIS as they thought they were members of the Bath party (the party of previous regime before 2003) who came to support the Sunni and they joined as a reaction to being ignored by the recent government'*. (Int 18) Similarly a Shiia-Muslim respondent explained that '*the people of Mosul thought it was a revolution by the Bath party, the party of the previous government'* (Int27).

Another Sunni Muslim reported that:

> '*the ISIS armyalso includes Muslims and Yazidis who are Arab and Kurdish.*'(Int 15)

ISIS is according to one Sunni-Muslim participant who was close to the ISIS because of his job as a lawyerstated that:

> '*ISIS is not affiliated to any religion and is an organization with an unclear ideologythat preaches radicalism. In my opinion as I was close to them. I noticed that there is a big different between the Islamic faith and the action of the ISIS'*. (Int 5) He add that, '*ISIS theoretical practice the Islam, but in practice they are looking for the power*' (Int 5).

Similar a Muslim Shia participant stated that ISIS is:

> '*Grim political movement'* (Int 11).

Christians believe that ISIS is a political plot. The following Christian participant reported that:

> '*ISIS is terrorist group, not related to any religion, and working on behalf of countries that do not wish to see the people of Iraq do well*(int10).

She added that:

> '*ISIS regards most of the Sunni Muslims as non-Muslims'* (int10).

While another Christian participant believed that some Sunni-Muslims support ISIS, another Christian participant explained that:

> '*some Sunni-Muslim at the beginning believed in ISIS, but they left them when they worsenedthe economy(especially when government refrained from paying people in Mosul their salary so that it would not go to funding ISIS) and there was a lack of services along with their strict regimen of ISIS'* (int7).

The Sunni – Muslim confirmed that the ISIS disrupted the Sunni Muslim life, and one Sunni –Muslim participant explained that:

> '*ISIS after almost a month of its entrance into Mosul, passed around instructions on leaflets detailing how to perform repentance and other strict instructions in houses of worship (mosques). They were very dictatorial and classified people either as an enemy or ally/supporter. The people were not allowed to argue with them about anything'* (int14).

He also adds that:

> '*ISIS believes that the Islamic religion is the literal practice of the Quran and as it comes from the God, it is not open to interpretation, and they were very strict in their application of this belief. The human being according to them was created for slavery and nothing else. Anything that was not available in the time of Prophet Mohamed (the founder of the Islam) is not permissible for use in these present days (Haram)'*. (int14).

A Sunni Muslim participant stated that:

'ISIS is Sunni in theory, but in practice they very different from the Iraqi Sunni-Muslims, who are simple compared to the extremist ISIS. ISIS murders people who refuse to follow them, even Muslims while the Sunni-Muslim does not believe in that. In his opinion, ISIS does not consider the effect of their actions on society and individuals (Int 2).

Similarly another Sunni-Muslim participant reported that:

'the Sunni- Muslim does not believe in ISIS but they did not fight them as they thought they were here to support them as they alleged when they first came, and then they started killing any Sunni – Muslim who do not follow them' (22).

A Sunni-Muslim reported that:

'ISIS does not believe in anything and most of things they do, they do not even understand why but do it regardless because they are ordered by their leader, Al-Baghdadi, who is both their religious and military leader and they believe only in him' (Int 13)

A Christian participant believes that:

'*the fighting in Middle East is sectarian power tussle between the Sunni-Muslim and Shia-Muslim*' (int 24). He added that '*ISIS is Sunni-Muslim from different ethnicities- Arab, Kurdish, and Turkmen, and the latter is in the majority.*'(Int 24).

Another Sunni –Muslim participant reported that:

'In the beginning the people of Mosul were very happy as they thought it was a revolution against the government of the previous prime ministerNouri al-Maliki' (Int 22).

He added that:

'*After around one month ISIS declared through the mosques that their aim is to establish an Islamic State following the prophet Mohamed (The founder of the Islam) by its leader Abu-*

Baker Al-Baghdadi' the people were confused as to the real aim of ISIS as they started focusing on the appearance of the people and not on important things such as justice or fighting against the government, if the Sunni –Muslim of Mosul are members of ISIS then why do they not focus on fighting the government'. He also said that '*ISIS is the enemy of Islam, in Mosul many of the young people who are Sunni Muslim were killed by ISIS for not following their orders. Also, ISIS killed thousands of the Albo- nmr clan (Sunni-Muslim people) in Anbar-Iraq the largest city of Sunni-Muslim people because they do not follow them*' (Int 22).

Similarly a Shia-Muslim participant reported that:

'the people of Mosul do not know who or what ISIS is' (Int27)

The Sunni Muslim who did follow ISIS was for different reasons. The following Sunni Muslim participant explained that:

'Those who follow ISIS have to be divided into groups, the first groups between the age of 12-18 years old, and this group did not understand the aim of ISIS, and joined ISIS without the permission of their family because ISIS declared a Fatwa that allowed children and young people join them without the permission of their family (This is not allowed in Islam). This group want to be heroes and this is the dream of those their age. The second group is made up of those between the ages of 19-30. These were forcefully conscripted (with death being the price of refusal). These groups joined ISIS because they afraid for their families. However, the largest group of those who joined ISIS are a third group made up of prisoners who ISIS freed' (Int22).

The Challenges Faced the People of Mosul-Iraq during Control of ISIS

Economic Challenges
It is noted that the Sunni Muslim people who lived under the control of ISIS, suffered economically, with the number of individuals and households in need increasing with a lot of them slipping under the poverty line.

ISIS' income was based on the money they collected from the people (tax). One Sunni-Muslim participant reported that:

'The tax were imposed on everything; electricity, shops, houses, water, etc'. The people were not familiar with the tax system as this system wasn't in existence before the coming of ISIS. The Sunni –Muslim participant explained that *'the people were bothered about the tax, however, they could not refuse this order from ISIS.'* (Int 14).

He added that:

'the other sources of ISIS' income is the control of the governmental offices (e.g. Banks) in Mosul, the oil and its derivatives, cement, natural resources, etc.' (Int 14).

Most of the people in Mosel have low income. The major source of income for the area was the salaries that they get from their jobs. However, the Sunni- Muslim lost their job and their salary.

One Sunni-Muslim participant reported that *'most of people lost their job because of the ISIS war'.* (Int 21) as there were certain jobs the Sunni-Muslims were not allowed to do. The participant explained that:

'jobs as lawyers, judges, police, military and security men were not allowed anymore and those who refused faced immediate death at the hands of ISIS'

Also, another Shiia Muslim participant explained that:

'salaries were stopped by government' (Int 30). *The income of the Muslim- Sunni people was reduced daily' (Int30) 'ISIS imposed taxes on the Sunni-Muslim people. The migration of the most of the Mosulians affected the income of the trader because they lost a majority of their customers'* (Int 1).

The traders were the main target of ISIS, whether by collecting the tax from them or by closing their shops. The following Sunni-Muslim participant explained that:

'The owner of the shops of the clothes and cigarettes or CD films and music were warned by ISIS to close their shops or replace it with other kind of trading such as Islamic clothes. These traders lost a lot of money' (Int 22)

ISIS made up for their losses at war by coming back to the Mosul people and taxing them more. The following Sunni-Muslim participant explained that:

'ISIS when faced with losses would promptly increase the tax and take more properties' (Int22) He add that *'Finical taxes were imposed more on the rich people than the poor people, however, these sum were large, and the payments were not divided into instalments but were to be paid at once. ISIS acted like they knew everything about these people and knew that they had money.'* (Int22).

ISIS asked people to explain their sources of income and as one Sunni –Muslim participant explained that:

'the Sunni Muslim were asked for any income they had and were not allowed to take their money from bank, otherwise they will be investigated. ISIS was taking around 10% anything the people possessed' (Int 22)

Education Challenges

The people from different faiths were deprived of the right to education because of the war. Mosul city become a separate city from Iraq. The following Sunni-Muslim explained that:

'ISIS controlled the city and did not allow anyone to leave it, we did not have any connection with the other part of Iraq, and we did not know what was going on. Even in the new education system which ISIS applied, we were caught off from this rest of the country and idd only ISSI approved subjects not the ones approved by the Iraqi minister of education' (int 15).

Majority of the Sunni participants were upset and stunned at the changing of the education system. The following Sunni-Muslim participant reported that:

'ISIS changed the system of the education, and the books and the information which was delivered to

the students. Even the math books looked more like an Islamic books than a math book. The ideology of ISIS was very clearly stated in these books. That is why most of the Sunni Muslim refused to send their children to school'. (Int 15, 5, 8).

The people of Mosul regarded the depravation of education as a big crime against their children. The following Muslim-Sunni participant reported that:

'the greatest crime was committed against the children and young people by depriving of the right to an education and instead teaching them takfiri and inciting them to fight'.(int 22).

Safety
There is a lack of safety in the entire Mosul city of Iraq. It is noted that the all Mosulian from different faiths and background did not feel safe during the time of ISIS control. The following Yazidis participants explained that:

'They were frightened every day since the day that ISIS took control of Mosul. Especially, as we felt we were the main target of ISIS because of our faith'. (Int 16, 17, 18).

The Yazidis explained that:

'the crimes against Yazidis vary and all of our focus was on trying to escape or waiting for our turn to die' (Int 16).

Another Yazidis added that:

'after what happened in my village, the killing and kidnapping, I could not sleep and was under stress. I was thinking only about the way that I will be killed, right now I cannot believe I am still alive (Int 18).

The following Yazidis participant reported that:

'our children and women were taken by force from us, we felt ashamed that we could not protect them when they asked us for it' (Int 17, 18). *The Yazidis become afraid even of their children, as one Yazidi explained that 'our children started to fight against us'* (Int 16). He added that *'the children believed that we were unbelievers and were plotting to kill* us' (Int 16).

Similarly, the Sunni-Muslim was unable to prevent their children and youth from joining ISIS. The following Sunni- Muslim reported that:

'ISIS incited our children against us' (Int 14) He add *'we were afraid about our women as well , they were not familiar with ISIS rules and did not feel safe when they go out'* (Int14).

Also, Shia-Muslims felt they were targeted by ISIS and were their main enemy just because of their beliefs. The following Shia-Muslim reported that:

'when ISIS asked people to repent, we were quite sure it was targeted at us and that they regard us as unbelievers. At this time we were scared and shocked, but later on we were able to escape' (Int 28).

Christians also felt unsafe; however, they did not stay long under ISIS control. A Christian participant explained that:

'*ISIS gives us the option to either convert to Islam or to pay Jizyah. We were frightened because we didn't know what they were thinking, and were afraid that they might kill us, but we promptly escaped and we kept our religion'*. (Int 24)

Deprivation of the Right of Freedom and Dignity
It has been observed that there was no freedom in time of ISIS. A Sunni- Muslim participant reported that:

'whatever ISIS ordered or instructed had to be strictly followed and adhered to. The people were not allowed to discuss the things, otherwise they will be listed as enemies (non- supporter of ISIS), regardless their faith' (Int 14).

He added that:

'The Sunni-Muslim women were the most disturbed by ISIS. The Mosulianare known as conformist people. However, the Sunni -Muslims wereupset at the strict rules ISIS imposed on their women (Int 14).

Similarly the following Sunni-Muslim explained that:

'The Sunni-Muslim women were checked every day when they go out. This includes their clothes, wearing their veil and gloves, going out to the roofs of houses and the garden of the houses, wearing makeup. What bothered the Mosulian families the most was that the women who do not follow these instructions were punished by stoning till there were dead (This penalty harlot in Islam)'(int 22).

Another Sunni-Muslims participant added that:

'the Muslim Sunni women have to wear Islamic clothes, with ISIS defining what that was- covering herself down to her toes. Sunni-Muslim women were not allowed to go outside without men whatever the urgency of the situation and the reason for her going. (Int14, 3)

It may be noted that the people under control of ISIS described their living conditions as comparable to living in a small prison. The following Sunni Muslim participant explained that:

'The people from different faiths were not allowed to go to other cities (the place of unbelievers according to ISIS)' (Int 22).

An incident occurred with one participant who is Sunni Muslim and told how "his relatives' family was killed on the border of Mosul city while they were trying to escape to another city (int. 5)

The Suuni - Muslim could not understand the way of ISIS and why they were being compelled to worship God. One Sunni participant explained that:

'it is something personal between the person and God'(int 14)

The children were not able to enjoy their childhood as one participant who is Yazidi reported that:

'The children from different backgrounds were deprived of their right to their childhood. The females were forcefully married ISIS men, while the male children were forcefully converted to Islam and conscripted into the ISIS army to fight against their own families'. (int16)

The dignity of the Mosulian men from different faiths and religions was stripped away. One Sunni Muslim explained that:

'the Sunni Muslim were forced to follow ISIS orders, otherwise they faced certain death. The orders included changing their jobs, give up their women to ISISetc, while the Shia and Christian were displaced and dispossessed. Also, ISIS took the women of the Yazidis' men in front of them while they watched powerless, unable to do anything in defence of their families' (Int 22).

The people of Mosul were deprived of every simple item of entertainment. The following Sunni –Muslim participant reported that:

'ISIS forbade the internet, TV and Satellite TV. However the problem was not with the denial of these items themselves but with the punishment for those who did not follow the orders - death' (Int 22).

A Christian participant explained that:

'the restriction of the freedom of the Sunni-Muslim men and erosion of their dignity by making them irrelevant are crimes directed against the Sunni men'. For Christian, insult their dignity because they are non-Muslims, dispossession' (Int 10)

The ISIS Crimes against the People of Mosul City of Iraq

During the interviews it was noted that some of the participants and their families fell under the suspicion of supporting the Iraqi government.

The majority of the Yazidis believe that ISIS committed several crimes against the Sunni Muslim, alongside the Shiia-Muslim, Christian and Yazidis. However, 10% of Yazidis believe that no crimes were committed against the Sunni. The following Yazidi participant reported that:

'ISIS controlled the salaries as well as the propriety of Sunni-Muslim and Shia-Muslim' (Int 16). *The person who feeds the government with any information on ISIS was immediately executed'* (Int 16).

However, the following Yazidis participant stated that:

'there were no crimes committed against the Sunni, however ISIS controlled their salaries (they were taking apart from it as tax (Zakat) as well as the properties of the Sunni-Muslim and Shia-Muslims who escaped' (Int 18).

He added that:

'the crimes against Yazidis vary between murders, raping, taken their children. The male children were taken as army recruits, while female children were takenas wives and to service ISIS groups. The Yazidis women were taken for marriage and in some cases were trafficked. While some of the Yazidis were able to escape, ISIS took over their property'.

Similarly, the Yazidi participant reported that:

'In the village where I lived, Kojo, several people were kidnaped and 450 people were killed in one hour for refusing convert to Islam. ISIS also kidnapped around 5000 Yazidis women' (int 17).

He add that:

'Christians escaped and few of them were killed for refusing to convert to Islam and ISIS took control of their property in Mosul'. (int 17).

Also, 90% of Yazidis believed that the Yazidis children were taken by force from their family, while 10%confirm that ISIS brainwashed these children. A Yazidi participant explained that:

'the children were persuaded by ISIS that their families were following the wrong religious path, that they are unbelievers and that God was going to punish them and as such, that they had to kill their own family members in order to make it to heaven. The Yazidis participant expressed his surprised at the way that ISIS was able to convince some children and young people in their area'. (Int 18)

The crime against children was not limited to the Yazidis kids but also to the Sunni Muslims. The following Sunni-Muslim explained that

'Apart from denying them their right to education, children were also taken to fight. ISIS changed the educational programme, in order to brainwash the children with their ideas and their beliefs. That is why many parents stopped their children from going to school' (Int 5)

The children were also used to carry out for executions and punishment. The following Sunni-Muslim participant explained that:

'ISIS made the children carry out of executions in order to harden their hearts and make them bloodthirsty and ruthless' (Int 13). *'ISIS crimes were against the children from different beliefs and faiths. ISIS orphaned children, denied them entertainment and forcing the girl children into early marriages with the ISIS men. If her husband dies, she will be made to marry another other one. The male children were conscripted into joining the army'* (int 13). *'ISIS displaced Shiites, Yazidis and Christians"* (int 13).

Similarly the following Christian participant reported that:

'ISIS gave the Christians the choice of either converting to Islam or paying Jizyah (money paid by non-Muslims in the Islamic State), however, the Christians immediately escaped to other places' (int 24, 25)

The Sunni-Muslim faced death if they didn't pay tax. The following Sunni-Muslim explained that:

'*My neighbour was a lawyer and he did nothing wrong. Then 5 men from ISIS came to inform him in the middle of the night that he is an apostate, and that he should leave the house with his family by the next morning, and that they were not allowed to take anything with them. It was an awful sight when I watched my neighbours leave their house with broken hearts, not knowing where to go or what to do. Later ISIS took the house for its group'* (Int 22). M*y relative was trader and when ISIS ordered him to pay money to them and he refused, they immediately beheaded him. What*

made the situation worse is that they forced his family, including his mum to watch' (Int22).

The women of different faiths were the most targeted. The Sunni-Muslim women suffered a lot. One explained that:

"*women were not allowed going out, unless they had some legitimate purpose to do so , and even then, they had to be accompanied by a husband or brother .The women who did not obey were stoned to death'*. (Int 22)

He added that:

'the women who worked in salons were killed immediately without discussion. Also, new kind of punishment were discovered by ISIS- there are women who wear brass knuckles and their duty is to punish the women who do not follow the ISIS instructions. Also, if these women catch any woman not obeying they would bite her from her shoulder till they cut a piece of flesh from her shoulder, especially for those who do not wear their veils' (Int 22).

The Sunni Muslim like other faiths faced different kind of suffering.The following Muslim-Sunni participant reported that:

'The Sunni men faced killing and slaughter, looting and the confiscation of all movable and immovable property' (Int 15).

Similarly, the Christian participant explained that:

'The crimes against the Sunni- Muslim men were of a variety- the restriction of their freedom, the obligation on them to follow the rules of ISIS without discussion or question, forcing them to go to mosque, not allowing them to smoke, or to shave their beards' (Int 10) She added that '*The Christian, Shia and Yezidis faced being killed'*(Int 10).

It was also noted that Sunni -Muslim families were punished for suspicion of supporting the government. A Sunni-Muslim participant who was (alongside his family) a victim of the ISIS reported that:
'My house was destroyed because of the armed conflict between the Iraqi movement and ISIS' (Int 14)

He added that:

'Torture and force were used to extract statements from people who suspicion fell on. ISIS kidnapped my son because they suspected him of supporting the government. ISIS subjected him to investigation, torture, suspended him by a noose or ligature around his neck and later burnt him with electricity in order to force extract a statement from him.' (Int 14). Al*though we escaped from Mosul city, my son is still suffering from his torture and bad memory'* (Int14).

The Yazidis stated that:

"*the crimes against them varied between killing, raping, taking their children and seizing the property of those who escaped"*(Int 16)

Human Right and Justice
It was noted that the concept and notion of justice was not clear in the time of ISIS. ISIS in theory was practicing religious justice. However, the Muslims who live under the control of ISIS could not understand this justice let alone the unbeliever. The following Sunni –Muslim participant reported that:

'*No one could understand the justice of ISIS- death is set out for any violation of their instructions. Also, the laws written by human beings are not recognized by ISIS. Theoretically, Quran in is the only resource for the justice and court procedures'* (Int 5).

Similarly, the following Sunni Muslim explained that:
'*Most of these 'crimes' is related to the violation of the Sunnah. These include shaving ones beard, wearing fashionable and stylish clothes, etc. However, some actions are not related to Islam, e.g. working with government, especially in important positions (police, army and the judiciary)*' (Int 6).

The following Sunni- Muslim participant explained that:

'The court not only contains just one person (who is supposed to keep and understand the Quran (holy book of Muslims), the judge was a person who did not finish his primary school. When I spoke to him, I found out that the only thing he knows from Quran is a very small part of Quran, 'Surat Al-Fatihah' (The Opening)' I found the discussion was too difficult for him when I argued with

him. *The court and the procedure of the trial is totally different. The accused person had no rights under ISIS apart from the right to produce evidence to prove his or her innocence'*. (int5). He added that *'The accused is not allowed to bring a lawyer'.* (int5).

The punishments were absolutely strange. The following Sunni –Muslim participant reported that:

'The punishment was a variety of warnings, whippings or canings (a beating administered with a whip or rod, with blows commonly directed to the person's back), and killing'. (int 13) while the following Sunni –Muslim participant reported that *'killing was the punishment for those who followed or supported the government, as well as for those who failed to pay money to them(tax)'* (int 15).

Similarly the following Sunni –Muslim added that:

'there is the punishment of a fine for smoking; beheading for magicians, criminals and officers of the security forces; thieves had their hands cut off, and traffickers, and the drivers who worked at the border of the Mosul city without permission of ISIS were killed'' (int 15).

A Yazidi participant reported that:

"I did not see special courts to charge the Sunni who did not follow ISIS, but they had their office to deal with the people who did not follow their instructions and orders, and there was the 'Hesba system' which began in the days of the ancient caliphate and is similar to the police in recent times. Their responsibility is to punish the Sunni who break the rules regarding prayer or fasting and who shave their beards, wear jeans and other fashion, and the women who did not wear veil, or go out after 7 p.m.'(Int 17).

The killing is the punishment for everything. The following Sunni-Muslim reported that:

'The punishment was the immediate death for even the simplest violations, and there is no appealing their decisions. The problem was that they were killing and confiscating the property of people for merely falling under suspicion' (Int 22).

Tackling the challenge of ISIS Terrorism
During the interviews, it was noted that in order to deal

with the present and future acts of terrorism, the reasons behind the emergence of terrorism need to be known.

According to this study, the main reason for the emergence of ISIS was the internal divisions in the government, with each division being strengthened by external support. Also, it would help the emergence of another kind of terrorism in the future.

The following Sunni participant reported that:

> *'the divided government in Iraq, sectarian incitement by clerics, foreign interference in internal affairs, and ignoring the demands of the Iraqi rebels are the main reason for ISIS appearance in Iraq.'* (Int 5).

The corruption and the impunity is the reason for ISIS emerging as the following Sunni-Muslim reported that:

> *'there are some leaders who facilitated the coming of ISIS, those leaders that backed one of the divisions in the Iraqi government from outside and believe they will go unpunished should be punished publicly and this would help to deter others who are thinking of supporting terrorism or terrorists in the future'*(Int 22).

While the Yazidis believe the spreading of radical ideas is the reason for ISIS emergence. A Yazidi participant reported that:

> *'there are some people that have extremist ideas and these people have no tolerance, they do not accept other people. It is duty of government, religious leaders and the media to bring them to the right path'* (Int17).

Similar the following Christian participant reported that:

> *'we have to change the way people think and we should start with the children'*

Yet other participant attributed the rise to terrorism to economic and educational factors and corruption. The following Sunni Muslim explained that:

> *'Poverty and Illiteracy played a significant role in emergence of ISIS and in supporting them'* (Int13). He added that *'some peoples support for*

ISIS is a reaction of to the government indifference towards them, and the corruption in all the sectors of the government' (Int 13)

Similar the following Shia –Muslim participant explained that:

'the government was not able to enforce the law on officials, the laws only applied to the poor people who did not have anyone in government' (Int 29)

Also, the abuse of executive power by the citizens of Mosul had a role in the citizen's desire for revenge and the support of ISIS by some. The following Muslim-Sunni participant explained that:

'The main reason behind the emergence of ISIS and the reason of some people joined them is because of the behaviour of some organs of government especially the army and police. The Sunni-Muslims were arrested and suffered insults and verbal abuse by police'. (Int14).

The majority of participants believe that finding justice for the victims could be the best mechanism for challenging the issue of ISIS or any future terrorist groups and justice could be obtained either by compensation or by punishing the criminals.

When asked about compensation, the people of Mosul said they prefer collective compensation for facing terrorism. The following Muslim-Sunni participant reported that:

'Compensation should be payed to them, and a memorial museum should built for them, to remember these events, and those who suffered from them' (Int 22).

Similarly the following Shia –Muslim participant reported that:

*'the best justice for victims of ISIS crimes is to regard them as victims of war' (*int 28).

However, other people do not believe in compensation, as one Yazidi explained that:

'Nothing could redress the problem that the Yazidis face, especial social stigma which is a big issue in Iraqi culture. The crimes against our women (honour crimes) are a big crime against us which destroy us' (Int 17).

Another Yazidi believes the punishment of the criminals is necessary, explaining that:

'Although for Yazidis there is nothing that could redress what they faced especially as it is a matter of the honour which is a very big issue in the Iraqi society. However, prosecution of perpetrators of genocide internationally is the major request of Yazidis, especially since this is not first time that they have been the target of a genocide campaigns, having faced several over the course of history. The Yazidi believed the importance of those who committed the crimes taking responsibility for their actions. Also, those who facilitated the coming and growth of ISIS should also be charged.'(Int 18)

The Christian participants also believe in the punishment of the criminals. The following Christian participant reported that:

'The punishment of the criminals and those who helped them to enter Mosul city as well as those who supported them later is very important' (Int 10, 24).

Similarly the following Sunni-Muslim participant reported that:

Getting justice for people cannot be summarized by the reparation because the suffering of the people from different faiths cannot be assuaged with just compensation. The punishment of those who facilities the coming of ISIS is the most important thing. The ISIS army had only 200 fighters while the Iraqi army had 6000 fighters, so it is unbelievable that ISIS defeated them. This could have only happened if someone in government ordered the army to leave their place for the interest of ISIS' (Int 9).

Another participant stated it is all about unity. The following Sunni- Muslim reported that:

'the government and the people from different faiths and backgrounds should be united to face ISIS or any other kind of terrorism; otherwise, there will be no peace in our country. ISIS emerged as an outcome of the years of suffering of the people who felt there was no justice for them, the Kurdish wanted to create their own State and the Sunni-Muslim wanted to bring their suffering to an end by establishing their own region. No one in general derived any benefit from ISIS, all wanted was unity.'(Int22).

Forces Facing the Future Terrorism
Successfully facing the terrorism in the future requires efforts from both the government and people. The following participant reported that:

'The government needs to avoid discrimination between the people, because for every action there is re-action. Also, the government needs to respect what the people believe in' He added that *'the Corruption in the government is another reason for the emergence of ISIS as well as poverty and illiteracy.'* (Int 14)

Some of the people believe that the government is responsible for security and that the government is not strong enough. The following Sunni-Muslim suggested:

'*Enhancing the capacity of state institutions by enforcing the law as well as building state-society relations.'* (Int 8)

Some others believe that enforcing the law in itself is not enough but that equality in applying the law would help. The following Shia –Muslim explained that:

'*The enforcement of law and applying it equally to all people. Also strengthening the intelligence agencies could help to stop the terrorists of ISIS and any other kind of terrorist in future'*(Int 29).

Similar a Shia-Muslim explained that:

*'Strengthening intelligence is neede*d' (int 6),

The following Shia- Muslim participant explained that:

'Solving the problem of terrorism logically by spreading awareness among the people and the

achievement of social justice among all members of society, rejecting division, sedition and sectarianism'

Also, the Muslims leaders have to be more cautious in the messages they deliver to the people. One Shiia-Muslim participant said:

'Start from mosques and restrictions on speakers' (int 27).

Similarly a Sunni-Muslim reported that:

'we can face any terrorist by renouncing extremist ideology and punishing those who use it while also stopping all international and regional means of supporting it' (Int 8).

Freedom of religion is one of the most important things in bringing the conflict to an end. Also, foreign interference in the internal affairs of Iraq badly affected the unity of Iraq and facilitated the emergence of ISIS in Iraq. A Muslim-Sunni reported that:

'the government needs to avoid external interventions, teaching themselves and the people to accept others who are of different faiths and opinions from them' (Int 1).

Similarly, a Sunni-Muslim reported that:

'Unity of the government and people is required' (Int 5). *'...religious leaders need to reject sectarianism and encourage the Muslims from different sects to unite and reject sectarianism'* (Int5).

Similarly, another Sunni-Muslim explained that:

'Unity is needed, otherwise we will face many kinds of terrorism's groups' (Int22).

Several of the participants believe it is important to educate the world on the reality of ISIS. A Muslim-Sunni reported that:

'enlightening people on the reality of ISIS is very important so an not be misled again''(Int 21).

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BASED ON GENDER, AGE, AND MARITAL AND MOBILITY STATUS

Gender	Age (in years)				Marital status			Mobility status		
	20-30	30- 40	40-50	50-60	Married	Single	Divorced	Employed	Unemployed	Student
Male	2	13	2	1	12	6	0	15	1	2
Female	3	8	1	0	7	4	1	6	3	3

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BASED ON GENDER AND PROFESSION

GENDER	PROFESSIONAL										
	Educated Dr.	Dentist	Educated Lawyer	Admini strative	Social Researcher	Educated Teacherin school	Student	House wife	Engr	Educated	Non
MALE	4	1	1	4	0	1	3	0	1	1	3
FEMALE	1	0	0	2	1	0	3	1	1	1	1

TABLE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY POPULATION BASED ON GENDER, RELIGION, SECT AND ETHNICITY

GENDER	RELIGION			SECT			ETHNICITY	
	Christian	Muslim	Yazidi	Sunni	Shia	Non	Iraqi	Non Iraqi
Male	2	13	3	9	4	5	18	0
Female	3	9	0	5	4	3	12	0

TABLE 4: DISTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY POPULATION BASED ON GENDER, CITY OF ORIGIN AND CURRENT CITY OF RESIDENCE

Gender	City of Origin			Current City of Residence														
	Mosul	Out of Mosul	Dohuk-Iraq	Sylemania Iraq	Germany	Sweden	UK	Najaf Iraq	Mothana Iraq	Karbala Iraq	Turkey	Poland	Bashiga (Mosul, Iraq)	Duhak Iraq	Bassra Iraq	Mosul	U.S	Erbil
Male	18	0	4	1	3	2	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Female	12	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1

It is the belief of Christians interviewed that secularism and secularist rule would bring the peace to Iraq. A Christian participant reported that:

> *'the Iraqis need to adopt secularism, this is to guarantee neutrality on matters of faith, and the freedom of religion'* (Int 24), … *special attention should be paid to educational books so as to guarantee there is no extreme ideology being presented to the young people'* (Int 24).

The punishment is important also for avoiding future terrorism. The following Sunni participant explained that:

> *'In order to guarantee there is no repeat of such crimes in future, the ISIS member and their supporter need to be punished in publicly, in order to serve as a warning to other people. The government also needs to put up some kind of reward for people who inform on ISIS and their supporters'*. (Int15)

DISCUSSION

This study focused on ISIS ideology and challenges facing the people of Mosul- Iraq from different themes and background. It revealed that these people of Mosul, including the Sunni-Muslim, faced many issues during the period they were under the control of ISIS.

This study has shown that the mixed ideology of ISIS (Muslim and non-Muslim) mislead a lot of people. For instance, Islam forbids the killing of another Muslim and the Quran states that: '…whoever kills a believer intentionally; his recompense is hell to abide therein, and the Wrath and the Curse of Allah are upon him, and a great punishment is prepared for him' *(Anisa 93/Quran).*

It also says that, 'Because of that We ordained for the Children of Israel that if anyone killed a person not in retaliation of murder, or (and) to spread mischief in the land - it would be as if he killed all mankind, and if anyone saves a life, it would be as if he saved the life of all mankind. And indeed, there came to them Our Messengers with clear proofs, evidences, and signs, even then after that many of them continued to exceed the limits (e.g. by doing oppression unjustly and exceeding beyond the limits set by Allah by committing the major sins) in the land' (Al-Maeda Verse No: 32).

This study reveals that ISIS misunderstood the Quran and even the definition of a Muslim. They regarded some Sunni-Muslim as non-Muslim because of their occupations, such as lawyers, judges, police, security men, etc. Even though the structure and rules imposed by ISIS were based on the Quran, the practice, however, was not related to Islam. That is why even the Sunni-Muslims were not able to accept these structures and rules. The ISIS is only present their self as the armed groups the main consideration of them is how to get the power and the money. Even the people who initially believed that ISIS is Sunni later made reference to the crimes committed against the Sunni by ISIS.

The Economist stated that the ISIS were in position to support Sunni-Muslim, and were fighting against the Shia-Muslims, Christians and Yazidis (The Economist Newspaper, 2014). Similarly, Gerges stated that ISIS came to fight against the Shia-Muslim. (Gerges, 2014)However, this study reveals that ISIS was not supporting the Sunni-Muslims but rather than ISIS worsened their lives. The ideology of ISIS and their structures and orders were not familiar to Sunni- Muslim and they did not feel safe under the rule of ISIS. As a lot of Sunni- Muslim could not escape from ISIS, they were left with no other option than to do as ISIS ordered them. That this Sunni-Muslim stayed in Mosul does not imply they were happy. That they prevented their children from learning the ISIS ideology supports the argument that they did not accept and support the ideology of ISIS. Mosul was totally subject to ISIS and the government had no access. The men and women from different faiths did as they were told as there were strict punishments for anyone who broke the smallest rules. The courts established by ISIS were not established to defend human rights but rather to punish anyone do not support and follow the rules of ISIS.

This study supports the work of Gunter (Gunter, 2015) who stated that ISIS army is made up of both Muslim and disbelievers. This study showed that not all these joined by consent as many were forcefully conscripted.

This study also supports Gunters statement that ISIS is politically motivated, with the aim of remapping the Middle East and North Africa(Gunter, 2015) The study showed that ISIS is terrorist group interested in power and money with no religious motivations.

The study also showed that people were misled about the aims of the ISIS group, believing that they came to

support them. Most of them thought that ISIS was an organ of the previous Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein (the Bath Party). This view is consistent with Gunter who stated that the Bath Party is one of the components of the ISIS army.(Gunter, 2015)

The ISIS claims that theQuran is the basis of their actions is undermined by the lack of justice during the time as justice is a fundamental theme in the Quran e.g.

'... and when you judge between people to judge with justice ...'(Quran, Sura An-Nisa: 58 (4:58)

Also, Chapter (4)-135 surat l-nisaa (The Women) stated that:

'*Believers, be the supporters of justice and testify to what you may have witnessed, for the sake of God, even against yourselves, parents, and relatives; whether it be against the rich or the poor. God must be given preference over them. Let not your desires cause you to commit injustice. If you deviate from the truth in your testimony, or decline to give your testimony at all, know that God is well aware of what you do.*'

Also, the other form of justice that the Quran emphasized as important in determining the responsibility of the Muslims involves intent:

'Allah will not impose blame upon you for what is meaningless in your oaths, but He will impose blame upon you for [breaking] what you intended of oaths.' Sura Al-Ma'ida:89 (5:89)

According to Dahham, the women were targets throughout the d of the armed conflict because: *'The individual lust of troops in an aberrant scenario with no conventional social and legal restraints, but it can also be encouraged as part of a concerted strategy to reward soldiers or to humiliate the enemy"* (Gunter, 2015).

No text could be found in the Quran justify the killing of the Muslim, and especially, beheading them, for not paying tax.

It is noted by this study that ISIS issued Fatwa (Islamic decree) to allow people join them without the permission of their family. This is totally contradictory to Islam. According to Sunna Abu Dawood from Abu Saeed al-Bakery:

'A man from Yemen asked prophet Mohamed (founder of the Islam) to join Jihad with him. The Prophet Mohamed asked him: Do you have someone in Yemen? He answered: My parents. Prophet Mohamed asked him: Do you have their permission? He said: No. Mohamed answered: you have to have permission; otherwise you cannot join us'.

This study reveals that the ISIS took control over all the resources of people of Mosel city- their property, oil and gas and other resources. This led to poverty. ISIS destroyed the economy of Mosel city and the income of the Sunni-Muslim. The economic issues and poverty were the reason behind the emergence of ISIS. This view is consistent with Khan's paper which focused on the economic issue as the main reason for existence of ISIS, as well as how ISIS emergence increased the prevalence of poverty.(Alam Khan, 2016).

It is noted by this study that ISIS was not in position to support the Sunni-Muslim. The Sunni-Muslim suffered a lot under ISIS and could not understand their ideology. Most of the people of Mosel including the Sunni –Muslim escaped from ISIS, while those that no chance or means of escape lived life in a 'small prison' as they described it. Although the Sunni-Muslim who stayed under the control of ISIS was under suspicion of following and supporting ISIS, these people refused to send their children to of the ISIS schools. They preferred stopping them from getting an education rather than learning the ISIS ideology. This is contrary to what the reports of the Economist Newspaper which stated that ISIS came to support Sunni –Muslim and were fighting against the Shia-Muslim, Christian and Yazidis and also contrary to what Gerges stated that the aim of ISIS is to fight the Shia-Muslims (Gerges, 2014).

Several studies have looked at the plight of women under ISIS, such as Dahham in her article on the suffering of Yazidis and Christian women in Iraq (Dahham, 2016). However, this study is the first to highlight that the Sunni – Muslim women were victims of ISIS. No other study has highlighted or talked about the Sunni- Muslim women as victim of ISIS.

It has been noted by this study there were many reasons behind the emergence and existence of ISIS in Iraq. These include poverty, ignorance and illiteracy, a weak government, the division inside the society and inside the government, unequal treatment of the people, no respect for freedom of faith and worship, the pressures faced by

Mosul by the government and corruption within the government and governmental offices. The view of this study is consistent with Gunter's paper which stated the reasons for exist of ISIS are the weakness of government and the divisions inside the government.(Gunter, 2015).

There are many factors that lead to the Sunni-Muslim slipping below the poverty line. The major reason was the loss of their income either as a result of losing their jobs, loss of their shops (either closed by ISIS or destroyed by the war), taxes forced on them or the freezing of their salaries by the government.

It is noted by this study that the international reports which focus on ISIS crimes against the Shia and unbelievers, confirm that the international community does not paint a very accurate picture of internal armed conflicts. This view is consistent with Dahham opinion that:

> *'International community pays less attention to internal armed conflict compared to international armed conflict'* (Dahham, 2016).

The actions taken by ISIS against people of Mosul city are prohibited by International Humanitarian Law (IHL). According to Article (1) of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide the genocide 1948 committed in time of war, is a crime. ISIS committed several wrongful actions such as killing; physical harm was inflicted on the Sunnis, as well as Christians and the Yezidis, and mental harm as a result of the shock of wars, panic and terror that the citizens were subjected to.

Moreover, ISIS deliberately inflicts on the Sunni group difficult conditions of life. This was in purpose to enforce them to obey to his group and to bring some resources to its group. These crimes committed by ISIS were prevented by Article 2 of the Convention of the 1948.

The deeds of ISIS regards as international crime and violation of international humanitarian law. The common Article 3 and the Additional Protocols (1977) are the laws apply in time of non-international armed conflict prevent these actions of ISIS. These laws list a number of actions which the parties must refrain from in all circumstances. These include actions that are recognised as violating the most basic human rights, such as violence endangering life, torture and physical or moral coercion, as well as non-compliance with many due process rights.

Article 4 (1) of Protocol Additional II to the Geneva Conventions (1977) stated that civil person, their honour and their beliefs should be respected by armed group. Also, these people should treat humanely. These rules of international humanitarian law were violated by ISIS during their war against Mousel city.

Moreover, Common Article 3 stated that civil persons and those in the armed forces, who no longer participate in the fighting, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on religion or faith. The common article 3 prevented the parties of internal armed conflict from killing, mutilation, cruel treatment, and torture; taking of hostages; outrages upon personal dignity, in particular, humiliating and degrading treatment; the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court.

Also, Article 4 (3/a) of Protocol Additional II to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II) which stated that preventing children from education is not permitted. However, ISIS prevented children from their right to education.

Obviously all action were taken by ISIS during the internal armed conflict in Mosul are violated to the conventions of internal armed conflict.
Moreover, Article 33 of the 1998 Statute of the International Criminal Court stated the criminal responsibility for crimes against humanity committed by individuals, including genocide and crimes against humanity. That means ISIS responsible for their wrongful acts which committed against people of Mosul.

The question arises of whether ISIS as armed group hold responsibility for international wrongful acts committed against people of Mosul city?

Although International law stated the responsibility of both the State and individuals in regard of reparations, though, international law did not deal with the responsibility of armed groups. However, International law states the armed group responsibility when they get the power. This was determined by Draft Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts, 2001. Article 10 of this law stated that:

"1. The conduct of an insurrectional movement which becomes the new Government of a State shall be considered an act of that State under international law".

Furthermore, Article 10(2) of this Draft of 2002 stated that:

"The conduct of a movement, instructional or other, which succeeds in establishing a new State in part of the territory of a pre-existing State or in a territory under its administration, shall be considered an act of the new State under international law".

This mean the action of the armed group becomes the act of the state when they win the war. However, the armed groups whether they win the war and get the power or not have to respect international humanitarian law. This was confirmed by Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions which states that all parties of the conflicts should subject and to international humanitarian law.

International law dealt with armed conflict and subject them to the international humanitarian law when they met the conditions stated by the international law which are; this group need to be subjected to command and this group has power on part of the disputed territory.

The question raised is which court could prosecute ISIS is it an international or internal court? According to article 6 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide the genocide 1948 ISIS could be prosecuted with genocide by the internal tribunal in Iraq where their crimes were committed. However, if the internal court is not ready to prosecute or the government is weak to prosecute them then the international penal tribunal has the authority to prosecute them.

On the other hand, *"even in the case of a successful prosecution, such groups do not generally have access to credit to pay compensation. Although responsibility has been developed under International Humanitarian Law, the situation of non-State groups remains unclear under this law. Despite the fact that these groups are not party to IHL treaties, they become liable to their provisions when they obtain de facto control over part of a territory, while they are denied legal states by the State involved, and may or may not be recognized by foreign States and international organizations. Sometimes States do not acknowledge the obligations of armed groups to hold*

*responsibility in order to avoid granting them statutory rights (*Dahham, Z.W. 2016).

International criminal court (ICC), however, believes that armed group should be charged for their crimes in time of internal armed conflict. This court takes a real action by charge some leaders of the armed groups for their crimes during armed conflict. For example, in 2003, the leader of armed group Mathieu Ngudjolo Chui was charged by ICC for his crimes against humanity such as the killing and for the crime of recruiting children during the attack against the village of Bogoroin the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo's Ituri region. But, the court could not provide evidences for his crime.

ICC in aim of end the violation of human rights paid a real attention to prosecute the armed groups for their crimes during armed conflict. Where, ICC sought to prevent armed groups from impunity for their crimes against humanity and their violation of human rights.(Dahham, 2016).

Although international law has paid attention to redressing the problem of violation of human rights and committed crimes against humanity during armed conflicts, civil people continue to suffer from this kind of violation because of the impunity of the criminals. For example, ISIS did not try for its crimes in Iraq so far 2022.

CONCLUSION

The emergence of terrorism is as a result of sectarian and racial discrimination in Iraq, along with the lack of tolerance and the division of Iraq into supporters of the former regime and supporters of the current government.

No one has gained from the emergence of ISIS. The people of Mosul from different faiths and backgrounds suffered under ISIS. The Sunni-Muslim suffered had several crimes committed against them-murder, torture, degradation, intimidation, displacement, injustice, loss of job and property, deprivation of their human rights personal liberty, and freedom of opinion and thought, forceful taxation, denial of the right to education, inciting their children against them, forcefully taking their children for jihad and forcefully taking their daughters as proof of their loyalty.

While the Shia –Muslim and Christians suffered from displacement, murder and appropriation of their property. The Yazidis because they were considered to be

unbelievers were the major targets of ISIS. Their young daughters were forcefully married to multiple men, Married the child- girls to the more than one man of ISIS, the boy-children were forcefully conscripted to fight against their own families and the Yazidis men were either killed or displaced.

Iraq has different ethnic groups and nationalities and that is why the unity of Iraq and the freedom of religion are very important to face both current and future terrorism. The unity has to start from the government which does not make unified political decisions.

There is no law renouncing sectarianism, and it is being encouraged by religious sheikhs, the media and even the government whose composition is based on sectarianism. Nationalism also encourages sectarianism and the partitioning of Iraq.

The Sunni believed that ISIS agenda was to revolt against the injustice they were facing but what happened was the beginning of another war against them. The Sunnis were not in favour of supporting ISIS but wanted revenge for themselves against the government. ISIS understood the situation in Iraq and exploited the internal rifts within the government and between the people themselves. ISIS found Iraq and especially Mosul, to be a good place to spread their ideology, taking advantage of the peoples need for freedom from the injustice, hatred and humiliation they were suffering at the hands of the Iraqi government.

Despite the people's need for money, the majority of them were not interested in the material compensation as much as they need to see the offenders punished.

Compensation for these people would more likely be collective compensation because the crimes did not infect private individuals, but was genocide.

The economy of Iraq in general and Mosul in particular has been negatively affected and it will take a long time for positive growth to trickle down to those who have dropped below the poverty line. However, despite their lack of material possessions and the prevalent poverty in the area, the vast majority of the victims would prefer justice (to see the offenders punished) rather than material compensation.

ISIS committed several crimes in Iraq against humanity and war crimes and violated the human rights. Although ICC played a significant role in prosecuting the armed groups for their crimes during the internal armed conflict, ICC proved its failure to punish those armed groups who committed serious crimes against humanity and war crimes during internal armed conflict.

Furthermore, the problem of impunity from punishment still exists to this day, and an example of this is the failure to prosecute ISIS for the crimes committed in Iraq in2013.

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