

# CONTENTS

## **Part I Non-State Armed Actors in the Middle East: A Conceptual and Analytical Framework**

- 1 Introduction: The Phenomenon of Non-state  
Armed Actors and Patterns of Violent Geopolitics  
in the Middle East** 3  
Murat Yeşiltaş and Tuncay Kardaş
- 2 The Transformation of the Regional Order  
and Non-state Armed Actors: Pathways  
to the Empowerment** 21  
Şaban Kardaş

## **Part II The Ethno-Secular Geopolitical Space in the Middle East**

- 3 Understanding “Foreign Policy” of the PYD/YPG as a  
Non-State Actor in Syria and Beyond** 43  
Berkan Ögür and Zana Baykal

<b>4</b>	<b>The Kurdish Fight Against ISIS: Realizing the Virtual Kurdistan Through Factionalized Politics in a Fragmented Homeland</b>	<b>77</b>
	Galip Dalay	
<b>5</b>	<b>Global Politics of Image and the Making of a Legitimate Non-state Armed Actor: Syrian Kurds and ‘The Secular West’ in Kobane</b>	<b>97</b>
	Tuncay Kardaş and Murat Yeşiltaş	
 <b>Part III The Rise of Sacred Political Space in the Middle East</b>		
<b>6</b>	<b>Path to Become a State: From Jama’at Al-Tawhid Wal-Jihad to the Islamic State</b>	<b>121</b>
	Ömer Behram Özdemir and Recep Tayyip Gürlér	
<b>7</b>	<b>The New Middle East, ISIL and the 6th Revolt Against the West</b>	<b>147</b>
	Murat Yeşiltaş and Tuncay Kardaş	
<b>8</b>	<b>An Influential Non-state Armed Actor in the Iraqi Context: Al-Hashd Al-Shaabi and the Implications of its Rising Influence</b>	<b>169</b>
	Bilgay Duman and Göktuğ Sönmez	
 <b>Part IV New Methods in Old Bottles: The Strategy of Non-State Armed Actors in the Middle East</b>		
<b>9</b>	<b>Operationalizing the Vision of Building a New Caliphate: From Al-Qaeda to the Islamic State (IS)</b>	<b>191</b>
	Farhad Rezaei	
<b>10</b>	<b>The Making of European Foreign Fighters: Identity, Social Media and Virtual Radicalization</b>	<b>213</b>
	Tuncay Kardaş and Ömer Behram Özdemir	

<b>11 What the ISIS Crisis Means for the Future of the Middle East</b>	<b>237</b>
Burak Kadercan	
<b>12 Conclusion: The State of the Non-state Armed Actors in the Middle East</b>	<b>261</b>
Murat Yeşiltaş and Tuncay Kardaş	
<b>Index</b>	<b>269</b>

Non-State Armed Actors in the Middle East

Geopolitics, Ideology, and Strategy

Yeşiltaş, M.; Kardaş, T. (Eds.)

2018, XV, 278 p. 2 illus. in color., Hardcover

ISBN: 978-3-319-55286-6