BOOK PROPOSAL

Islamist Radicalism and the Rise of the Islamic State
Root Causes, Diffusion and Responses

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1. Statement of Aims

1.1 Book Themes and Objectives

The proposed edited collection of chapters aims to advance knowledge on the evolution of violent Islamist radicalism in the post -'Arab Spring' period and account for its contemporary growth and enduring impact on regional and global security.The book analyses catalyst events and security interpretations,which helped breed violence for the satisfaction of perceived politico-religious objectives among parts of the Muslim communities,andwhich ultimately led to an unprecedentedly violent manifestation of Sunnite Islamist radicalism, represented by the rise, establishment and diffusion of the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, currently appearingto grow stronger in the Middle East andNorth Africa. The book's sections offer a comprehensive outlook of the phenomenon, cutting across the whole spectrum of related aspects, starting with conceptual analysis and theoretical interpretations of the emergence of this post-modern off-shoot of violent Islamic fanaticism, and advancing through with analysis of its regional expansion and containment.

The regional uprisings of the 'Arab Spring' in 2010/11 and the ensuing spread of non-state armed groups, violent conflict and disorder across much of the North African and Middle East regions, have resulted in the drastic rearrangement of the regional security puzzle. The profound impact of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on US foreign policy and the ensuing global policy shift resulting from George W. Bush's "War on Terror" marked a key turning point for the drastic and largely unforeseen

changes occurring in the Middle East and North African regions. The 2003 US-led invasion in Iraqcaused a radical disruption in the country'sestablished political order. The political and security vacuum left by the overthrow of the Ba'athist dictatorial regime in Iraq was awkwardly replaced by a largely incoherent and uncoordinated international agenda lacking the capacity, integrity and means to restore peace and security, failing to inaugurate aconstructiveprocess of inclusive democratic growth for the countries at stake. The withdrawal of US and British armed forces has largely left Iraq drifting into a cyclone of ethno-religious violence and sectarianism.

The diffusion ofa violent (and non-violent) wave of protests across the MENA region, popularly known as the 'Arab Spring',and the ensuing western-led military operations in Libya, marked a unique historical change that was nevertheless rooted in and influenced by the post-9/11 policy discourses ('Axis of Evil') and supported by narratives of democratization. With few exceptions, the revolts against previous status quo powers undermined the established security systems and soured the delicate intrastate balances and affiliations,marking the awakening of region-wide complex dichotomies, reinforcing dormant sectarianism and increasing radicalism along ethnic and religious lines. The viral spread of revolts have increased fluidity and created new controversies, primal among which are the ongoing civil wars in Syria and Libya and the spread of the so-called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. This chain of events resulted in territories under the control of non-state armed groups and states with limited control over their territories.

The edited book's three-pronged design,reflected on its three separate but interdependent thematic units, aspiresto promote a)a better understanding of the newly emerging face of violent Islamist radicalismin the post-'Arab Spring' geopolitical order, ii) illustrate, to the extent possible, the repercussions of Islamic extremism and the Islamic State's regional diffusion, and iii) explore a range of conceivable political and military responses to contain it.

First, the book opens up with a review and analysis of conceivedunderlying factors accounting for the emergence and empowerment of violent Islamist radicalism. The first section comes under the title: "Understanding the 'New Face' Of Islamist Radicalism", and contains six thematic chapters, namely: 'Arab Spring' repercussions on Islamic radicalism; processes of radicalization in the Mashreq; ethno-sectarianism as a driver of violence and radicalism, the nature of ISIS religious confessionalism, ISIS media propaganda, and the political economy dynamics in the North African and Mediterranean region.

Secondly, the book wishes to provide an informed analysis of the Islamic State's regional operational expansion, and shed some light into the following thematic units: ISIs in the Syrian civil war, the diffusion of ISIS ideology and operational structure in South Eastern Europe, Turkey's policy towards ISIS, and the role of the Kurdish factor. Thirdly, the book concludes with a section focusing on international perceptions and policy responses to the increasing security pressures and threats posed by the terrorist acts of Islamist radicals and the Islamic State. This section starts with a survey on the psychological impact of terrorist projection of images in the West, and includes responses to Islamic fundamentalism in West Africa and two studies examining Western military and diplomatic options and responses against ISIS

The proposed edited collection is among the very first academic efforts focusing on the rising security threats posed by the Islamic state's idiosyncratic Sunni radicalism in the period following the outbreak of the Syrian civil war and the emergence of the so-called Islamic state. It is for the first time that a book seeks to provide a holistic account of the nature, diffusion and challenges of the Islamic state's growth and ideology and

account for its regional effects and international responses. Its distinct feature lies on the idea of exploring a transformed, more aggressive and resilient version of militant Islamist radicalism expressed by the followers of the so-called Islamic state's religious-political doctrine and structure.

The book's interdisciplinary nature is crucial for conceptualizing the endurance of Islamist radicalism and violence, and for understanding better the emergence of an intrinsically peculiar Islamist ideology through the adoption of different epistemic viewpoints. Innovative contributions stem from high-quality research that combinesand crosscuts broader academic areas of study such as political science, international relations, security studies, Islamic studies, economics andpsychology. The book will eventually set a comprehensive academic precedent on the study of ISIS-related militancy and naturally pave the way for more works to follow.

2. Synopsis and Chapter Headings

2.1 Book Structure

The book contains fifteen (15) chapters divided into three sections.

Section A: Understanding the 'New Face' of Islamist Radicalism

Section A introduces the main factors relevant to the emergence and growth of the ideological, religious and political structure known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. The section includes five thematic chapters.

Name: Saira Bano Orakzai (Postdoctoral Fellow, Institute for Reconciliation and Social Justice South Africa)
Title:*The Rise of ISIS in the aftermath of Arab Spring and Islamic Radicalism*

In the first chapter, Saira Bano Orakzai examines the rise of Islamic extremism and radicalism in the form of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and its regional implications in the aftermath of Arab Spring in 2011. The central theoretical issue in this chapter is the problem of foundational narratives as a recurring theme for the analysis of conflicts and for countering violent extremism within Muslim societies. However, in the post-Cold War era, the traditional state-centric focus of international politics has been replaced by the emergence of non-state networks, such as al Qaeda, ISIS, which have undermined the Weberian assumptions of statehood that have traditionally informed the international relations theories. Therefore, it is helpful to have a general theoretical framework for analyzing political Islam and violent extremism, and its connection to the rise of ISIS and its regional implications. Such a framework can direct our attention to the important processes underpinning this conflict and to describe these processes in a systematic way within political Islam and its impact on conflict resulting in formation of ISIS. Critical to this aspect of examining the rise of ISIS is the following question: What ideas and assumptions have informed the founding of ISIS as a movement?Historically, there has been no unified theory of the role of politics in Islam but a continuity of emerging trends. The foundational narratives of the movement of political Islam and the order it created are very important in providingthe ideological cover for present day objectives of political Islam or Islamism and for understanding the changing concepts during different historical eras. There are few other movements within the Muslim societies, which challenged the entire exercise of political process adopted in line withthe Westphalian state structure established since 1648. ISIS is one such movement that has appeared in opposition to political

movements, such as the Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami, or other religious and spiritual movements like Tablighee Jamaat, Gulen Movement or even al Qaeda and the Taliban. The rejection of Western defined politics by the Muslim movements is itself a political form of action, which has generated this particular emphasis on the 'role of Islam and an Islamic state in politics', as they challenge the established norms, order and structures already established in the world. To sum up, the entire debate about the role of Islam in politics revolves around the particular aspect of this challenge and effort to overthrow the existing international political system and state structure and to establish a new order as defined by the Islamic principles.

Name: John H. W. Measor (Research Fellow at the International Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies (ICCMES) in Victoria, B.C. Canada)
Title: *Daesh's Islamic modernity, occupation, and the assault on Arab citizenship: Radicalization and direct action across the Mashreq*

The purpose of this chapter is to problematize the concept of Western intervention that has remade the geopolitical map and challenged the citizenship rights of both Iraqis and Syrians. Whether of Western initiation through the Anglo-American invasion and war post-2003, Iranian through the new Iraqi state's Shi'ite sectarian regime bequeathed by the occupation, or that of Salafi *jihadist*'s through the al-Nusra Front or Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi's Al-Qaida in Iraq franchise, all have entered popular Iraqi and Syrian consciousness as occupying foreign power. This experience need be framed through the lens of citizenship and the violence used to deny popular political expression. The chapter will examine the growth of Islamic radicalism in Iraq and Syria and the emergence of *Daesh*, the so-called Islamic State in Syria and Iraq, through the evolution of violent Islamic radicalism in the period following the US-led invasion of Iraq. The escalating use of violence, from this vantage, has not merely expressed itself as an act of war, but increasingly as a political act itself. As an act to reassemble the citizen it poses a required debate over legitimate governance and the interaction between international norms and Arab politics. The study argues that without the Anglo-American invasion and post-2003 occupation the *Daesh* phenomenon would not have had an opportunity to metastasize, congealing global *jihadist* notions into a particular local phenomenon. The ability of *Daesh* to have an enduring impact on regional security, challenge regional state legitimacy and strain global order will be determined by its ability to quell the notion of Arab citizenship within those subjects held captive to its rule.

Name: Enrica Fei (PhD candidate, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter)
Title: *Understanding Ethno-Sectarianism as a Driver of Violence and Radicalism*

To understand the causes of the Islamist radicalism in the Middle East and the rise of the Islamic State (IS) the ethno-religious and sectarian divisions of the region are to be observed. Today's scholars have not overlooked the so-called 'new wave of sectarianism'.The phenomenon has been mostly looked at as a primarily political construction, however, this chapter argues that disregarding those elements which seem to escape the 'political framework' and which instead take into account the matter of 'identity' at an ethno-religious level. Sectarian identities have indeed been politicised and, arguably, by competing for filling the power-vacuum in Iraq, for instance, have become violent and militarised. The Gulf rulers' response to the Arab Spring, moreover, has fuelled communalist and sectarian hatred: to divert the protesting population's attention from domestic issues, they responded to those demands with a

political discourse fuelled with communalist and sectarian animosity, blaming their sectarian adversaries to deflect popular attention to an external enemy. Yet, to exploit sectarian sentiment, such a sentiment needs to be present at a grass-root level. Distinct communities with a strong sense of belonging to a sect and, arguably, with divergent nation-building aspirations need to be there, to allow a political exploitation of such identities. The chapter argues that to understand why and when that has become so apparent, one needs to look at the American invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the dramatic change in the capacity of Iraq to alter the balance of the region. With the removal of Saddam Hussein, not only the Shi'as could go to power in Iraq. But also, most importantly, given the Iraqi status in Shi'a Islam, Shi'a communities in other countries finally saw an incentive for their own empowerment. Sunni governments could finally be 'challenged': Shi'a opposition leaders had now a stronger transnational network to be part of, with symbolic moments of reunion where discussing religious and political matters with the most prominent religious figures of Shi'a Islam. Najaf and Kerbala had finally returned to be the religious gathering-shrine for Shi'a Muslims, where Shi'a leaders from the whole Gulf could meet and empower their sense of belonging to their own religious sect. That has triggered a regional sectarian strife of which the Islamic State is one of the most tragic consequences. For the IS fighters, there is no difference between a *kaafir* (infidel, disbeliever) and a Shi'a Muslim. And IS has been attracting more and more fighters from the region and it operates quite easily in certain provinces (Anbar, Nineveh and Salahadin in Iraq.

Name: Gabriele Pedrini (Research Fellow in Contemporary Near Eastern Studies at the Department of Social Sciences and Institutions of the University of Cagliari)
Title: *The Alleged Confessional Nature of Conflict between Ḥizb Allāh and Islamic State. Ḥizb Allāh's Political Response towards Takfīrī Practice*

The aim of this chapter is to offer an analysis of the *Ḥizb Allāh*'s political and religious discourse in response to the sectarian-confessional propaganda of the so-called 'Islamic State', or *Dāʿish* (*dawla al-islāmiyya fī al-ʿirāq wa al-shām*). It is well known that these conflicting sides belong to and originate from different branches of Islam, respectively Shīʿa and Sunna. However, it is alleged that they fall within the framework of a wider confessional conflict flowing between these two branches in the region. This idea is the result of an erroneous overlap of a religious condition under a geopolitical context in which the two major conflicting regional powers (Iran and Saudi Arabia) relate to those different confessional 'affiliation'. Exacerbating the situation, the propaganda developed by the 'Islamic State' has distinguished itself by an extreme *Takfīrī* discourse the target of which is any confessional community, group or individual unrelated to it, be they Christian, Shi'i or Sunni. It is therefore evident that this conflict should not be viewed as a confessional-rooted conflict, unless *takfīriyya* ('Takfirism') constitutes a very new confessional group totally distinct and separate from any other existing Islamic branch (e.g. Shīʿa, Sunna) or Sunni trend (e.g. *salafiyya*, *wahhābiyya*). Rather, it could be argued that 'Takfirism' constitutes a very new religion since it has nothing to do with Islam at all.

Either way, in order to refute the fallacious transfer of conflict from the political to the religious sphere, this chapter will show the way in which *Ḥizb Allāh*'s stance is carried out. With a view to pursuing this objective, I will make use of primary sources in Arabic, consisting of official statements from within the *Ḥizb Allāh*'s political hierarchy, as well as articles from the movement's official Medias (e.g. *al-Manār, al-ʿAhed, moqawama.org*). During this textual exploration, the chapter focuses on the

most significant categories, both political and religious, used for addressing the Islamic State's stance at religious, political, and military level. In the final analysis, this study demonstrates that *Ḥizb Allāh* carried out a clear politico-strategic stance liable to prevent the situation from shifting from the political to the religious sphere, and hence from degenerating into a real confessional conflict. In parallel, we will find out that *Ḥizb Allāh* kept using the customary Shīʿa rhetoric of martyrdom (*shahāda*) and sacrifice (*taḍḥiya*), as usual in Shīʿa political activism.

Name: Lia-Paschalia Spyridou (Lecturer in Media and Communication, University of Cyprus)
Title: *#ISIS: Propagating the Islamic State through social media*

On November 14, 2015 it was reported that the Islamic State, known as ISIS, was celebrating the Paris attack under the hashtag #تشـــــتعل_بـــاريس, translated as "Paris Burns". It turns out that besides its extremist ideas and unrestrained brutality, ISIS exhibits extraordinary command of new and social media: state-of-the-art videos, ground images shot from drones and multilingual Twitter messages. Social media are effectively used to send its propaganda and messaging to draw in people vulnerable to radicalization, recruit fighters, intimidate enemies and promote its claim to have established a caliphate, a unified Muslim state run according to a strict interpretation of Islamic law. A closer look at the symbolic content produced by ISIS generates two main questions: (1) How does ISIS gets people from comfortable backgrounds in the US and Europe to give up everything and join a movement so infused with violence and brutality? and (2) Why so much emphasis on the burnings, the beheadings and torture? Against this background, the chapter engages in two tasks. On one hand, to analyse the structural elements of ISIS' communication campaign. On the other hand, drawing upon propaganda theory, it seeks to address the main narratives and communication goals of the extremist jihadist group.

Name: Hardy Hanappi (Professor of Economics, University of Technology of Vienna)
Title: *Arab Spring - Islamic Winter - North-African Exodus: An explanation of the political economy of Mediterranean long-run dynamics*

This chapter sets out to understand what currently manifests itself as the emergence of a political and military entity called Islamic State, why masses of refugees from the Middle-East and North Africa are heading to EU member states, and how the future states on the Southern coast of the Mediterranean can be built to enable a peaceful cooperation with Europa. For all these burning questions a closer look at the long-run economic and political development since the end of World War 2 is necessary. To provide such a modest synopsis it is useful to start with the sequence of the three most recent 'surprises': the Arab Spring, the Islamic Winter, and the North African (and Arab) Exodus. From each of these lighthouse events a way towards the understanding of its roots back in history is presented. The *Arab Spring* evidently exploded an arrangement of state powers that had worked quite some time after WW2 – and which thus has to be examined first. The so-called *Islamic Winter* subsequently showed the fact that the ideological force of religious believes had been dramatically underestimated by Western social scientists. The roots of ideological manipulation in the respective areas thus have to be studied in greater detail. Finally the great emigration, what we may call *North-African exodus*, clearly has historical roots in the

divergence between economic and political developments North and South of the Mediterranean. This should not have been a 'surprise', but rather is an unavoidable late consequence of the *Arab Spring* modified by the ideological distortions of the *Islamic Winter*. The war in Syria is only the most outstanding example of a dangerous mixture of geo-politically determined military potential and ideological manipulation. Though this sequence of recent events that made it to Western mass media becomes clearer in retrospect, it has not been used to develop a feasible vision for a future economically and politically stable settling of power structures. A first attempt in this respect is provided in the conclusion.

Section B: Regional Diffusion

Section B investigates some major dimensions of the Islamic state's ideological and operational diffusion in Syria, Turkey, the Balkans and West Africa. This section consists of six (6) chapters.

Name: Ubong Essien Umoh (Lecturer in Military History, University of Uyo, Nigeria)
Title: *Are the Insurgents in Syria Deprived or Rational? A Revisionist Interpretation of Insurgency in Syria*

Using a historical approach and relying on secondary sources as well as content analysis of international media reportage, this chapter seeks to narrow the gap in literature by examining the cause behind the causes of the Syrian Civil War from two mainstream paradigms: the Deprived Actor (DA) and the Rational Actor (RA). DA paradigm emphasises deprivation, grievance and frustration (DGF) as explanations for insurgency in Syria. It attempts to link deprivation with collective violence. The Rational Actor (RA) paradigm shifts from grievances and emphasises greed, opportunity and cost-benefit (GOC) as explanations for insurgency in Syria. The chapter argues in part that RA perspective holds sufficient and necessary explanations than the DA perspective for the Syrian insurgency. Such RA approach will stress the dynamics of resource mobilisation and opportunity structures in the insurgency. The chapter contends that Syrian insurgents appear to be more rational than deprived employing a simple cost-benefits calculus to decide their continuous involvement in the insurgency and consequently its duration. It characterises the Syrian insurgents as rational organisations that respond to contextual stimuli. However, beyond the mainstream approach of DA and RA argument, the chapter attempts a significant leap forward through a revisionist filter by examining the demand side and the supply side of DA and RA argument. The supply side examines the political economy of Syrian development trajectory, personality of President Bashar al-Assad, his style of governance, his hold on power, Middle East geopolitics, post-2003 globalisation of Islamic radicalism, contagion effect of contiguous neighbourhood spill over, and external pressures modelled along lines of the democratic peace theory. The demand side examines costs and benefits of engaging in an insurgency. This hinges upon the proliferation of small arms and light weapons which is easy-to-carry, easy-to-fire as well as the rise and spread of modern war-fighting technology.

Name: Ioannis Armakolas, (Assistant Prof. in Comparative Politics of South East Europe, University of Macedonia)
Title:*Islamic Radicalism and Radicalization processes in Southeast Europe*

The proposed chapter will look at Islamic Radicalism and Radicalisation Processes in Southeast Europe, using a regional lens to draw conclusions about the processes in the region, and how they may or may not be specifically targeted to the local context. The focus on Southeast Europe has become especially relevant in recent years, and even more so just in the past several months. While the civil war in Syria has already contributed to a number of years of instability in the Middle East, with peripheral shocks felt in Southeast Europe, the recent dramatic influx of refugees heading into Europe via the Balkans has brought these concerns to the front pages.

As such, the questions the chapter will attempt to answer focus on the specifically regional context of Southeast Europe, using theories of recruitment and radicalisation processes to draw conclusions about the dynamics that are at work there. This chapter will use social network analysis and social movement theory as a starting point. It will focus on group-level variables (i.e. not individual or macro, society wide dynamics), looking carefully at the dynamics of social networks and interactions – using a model that focuses on 'who you know.' Though there are of course a number of competing theoretical approaches to the study of radicalisation, the social network approach is particularly useful in the context of Southeast Europe, where the structure of community relations is especially significant.

The material for analysis will be drawn directly from 'on the ground' sources within the region, mainly media reports. Focusing on Albania, FYROM, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Kosovo, the chapter will investigate the causes, including social factors and group processes, which could facilitate recruitment into violent militant groups. The chapter will look beyond more conventional ideas about the causes of radicalism such as poverty, disillusionment, disaffection or personal problems. Instead, the way social and intersubjective processes *frame* the issue itself is key and the chapter will discuss how the local context of Southeast Europe and its particular social networks have shaped the way recruitment processes are played out. This chapter will look at both the way these images permeate local networks, and at how local media have responded to these images and how they are popularly perceived. In addition, it will attempt to trace the recruitment patterns that have specifically been seen in Southeast Europe, linking them with broader patterns in the Middle East.

Name: Wietse van den Berge (Research Fellow, International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague)
Title: *Islamic State: Curse of the Kurds or a Blessing in Disguise?*

The chapter aims to understand Iraqi Kurdish foreign policy decisions and how these have changed under influence of IS' military advance in August 2014. The analysis will use Graham Allison's Rational Actor Paradigm. This model will regard Iraqi Kurdistan as a rational, unitary actor in foreign affairs. It will focus on Iraqi Kurdish intentions, statements, and actions directed toward the external world and the response of other actors to these intentions, statements and actions. It will take into account the Iraqi Kurdish' (perceived) threats and opportunities, goals, different options, cost-benefit calculations and decision-making. Sources for these factors are Iraqi Kurdish media statements, actual behavior and interviews with both academics and Iraqi Kurdish

officials. The findings will contribute to developing a new paradigm to classify and understand the changing geopolitical reality of the Middle East.

Name: Mehmet Bardakci (Assist. Prof.Department of Political Science and International Relations, Dzmir Gediz University, Turkey)
Title: *Turkey's Policy towards ISIS*

This study maintains that Turkey's stance towards ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) can best be understood with reference to Turkey's policy towards the Syrian crisis. Turkey's efforts were aimed primarily at the downfall of Assad and addressing the security risks posed both by the Assad regime and the possible emergence of a new *de facto* Kurdish region in Northern Syria, while ISIS was deemed of secondary importance as a threat for the AKP government, as long as it did not pose a direct threat to Turkey's security. Overthrowing Assad, if necessary through US military intervention, became all the more important for the AKP government after a Turkish jet was downed by Syrian air forces in June 2012, which was perceived as a blow to Turkey's reputation as a regional power. Taking into consideration the security threats posed by both the Assad regime and the Kurdish entity in Northern Syria, as well as the changing balance of power in the region following the Arab uprisings and the Syrian crisis, this study adopts a neo-realist perspective to explain how states formulate their foreign policy priorities on the basis of their security concerns.

From the outbreak of the Syrian crisis, Turkey strove to shape events in Syria as a regional power, and has been championing a military intervention in the country since June 2012. Turkey's active role in Syria and its over-insistence on a military intervention in that country cannot be analyzed based solely on a neo-realist framework, and so this study complements the neo-realist perspective with role theory, in which role conceptions and their impact on a state's behavior in international relations are put under the microscope. Methodologically, the study will be based on a qualitative analysis of the history of Turkey's policies towards ISIS, including a critical review of secondary Turkish sources such as academic publications on Turkish policy towards the Syrian crisis and ISIS, as well as a review of the articles and reports that appeared in Turkish and international newspapers and magazines. In addition, a review of the speeches and actions of Turkish foreign policy makers will be instrumental in identifying Turkey's stance in the ISIS issue, at a discursive and practical level.

Name: Costas Laoutides (Lecturer, Deakin University, Australia)
Title: *Feet of Clay: The Kurdish Factor as a security response to the Islamic State*

Despite the optimism about the Kurd's potential to contain and control the IS, the internal fractions among the Kurds in different countries raise doubts about their credibility as a security alternative in the region. Although the Kurdish movement(s) in Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran have as their core political aim the improvement of the political, economic, and social conditions of the Kurdish populations in the respective countries, the pace of political change as well as the ideological underpinnings of how to realize this political agenda vary significantly. This variation begs further analysis before we determine the potential of the Kurds to act as a long-term security response in the much-troubled regions they inhabit. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to unpack the differences and highlight that although nationalism may seem to underpin certain Kurdish visions for self-rule (which in some instances move towards a Pan-Kurdish ideal), the way that this grand vision has evolved and is operationalized differs from

region to region as it is informed by different, and often opposing, ideas of political organization and distribution of political power creating a series of paradoxes. Thus, we witness political-ideological clashes over the nature of future Kurdish democracy/democracies (i.e. liberal vs social types of democracy), the modes of economic production, the form of self-rule (autonomy, federation, independence) as well as issues of gender equality and participation in the political process (public domain). These clashes strongly influence the future of the Kurdish position in view of the evolving post-conflict scenarios for a new status quo in the region.

Section C: Political and Military Responses

Section C focuses on the shaping of public perceptions created by ISIS propaganda, and explores possible diplomatic and military responses to contain the spread of Islamist radicalism.

Names: Majed Ashy, (Lecturer in Psychology, Merrimack College) and **Kathleen Malley-Morrison** (Professor in Psychology, Boston University
Title: *The Psychological Impact of ISIS and Islamic Terrorism in the West*

Following an introductory section on ISIS and terrorism in the West that is attributed to Islamic radicals, we will present an ecological analysis of the developmental and contextual processes that contribute to Western responses to what is seen by many as a major threat to Western ways of life. On this level, we are going to discuss the biological, behavioural, cognitive, and emotional correlates, and mental health consequences of terrorism in the West. These personal variables are embedded within the microsystem level of development, which includes the individual's proximal social environment such as family members. At this level, we will review the studies related to changes in family dynamics and maltreatment rates that can shape individuals' orientation (including stereotyping and prejudice) towards threat and the groups that are seen as the perpetrators of threat. Microsystem processes are located within the context of exosystem level variables that include experiences within the community. At this level, we will examine the community forces (e.g., "cultures of violence") that influence the kinds of responses and perceived solutions to terrorism that can vary cross-culturally within nations. We will also consider consequences of terrorism for policies related to education, government agencies, and community-police relations that have mental health consequences.

   Finally, exosystem level variables function within macrosystems that include broad national and international forces (e.g., "honour cultures"). At this level, cultural and political forces and their role in psychological responses to terrorism will be examined. We will conclude with a consideration of the various psychological responses to the apparent threat posed by terrorism linked to Islam, and the implications of these responses for different types of counter-terrorism programs found in the West.

Name: Giorgos Triantafyllou (Research Fellow, ELIAMEP, Athens, Greece)
Title: *Military and Diplomatic Responses against ISIS: Middle East as a litmus test for international and regional security*

The purpose of this chapter will be twofold: First, to give an account of what have been the military measures taken against ISIS, both before and after August 2014. Here, particular emphasis will be given, among others, on the role of the Kurds fighting ISIS

in Iraq, the US and the US-led coalition, Iran, Turkey and Jordan. Second, to present the sequence of diplomatic efforts to counter ISIS, examining in particular the role of all the countries in the region, the US, Russia, China, and all the international organisations. With regards to both the military and diplomatic measures taken against ISIS, and drawing a wide range of sources (official reports, statements, policy papers, etc.) this chapter will analyse in depth the similarities and differences of all the actors involved, concluding its analysis with a presentation of the most recent developments, and with an assessment of the international community's effectiveness in addressing the security challenge posed by the ISIS.

Name: Dessie Zagorcheva (Lecturer, Fordham University, USA).
Title: *The Use of Hard and Soft Power to Defeat ISIS*

This chapter analyzes the academic and policy debates (in the US and the EU) related to our recent experience in fighting ISIS in order to design a more comprehensive and successful strategy to defeat Islamic radicalism. Based on case studies of recent military operations in Iraq and Syria I argue that, in order to be successful, we should start fighting the root causes of terrorism and not only its epitomes, such as ISIS or Al Qaeda. Military force alone will not be sufficient in the fight against terrorism. Although a necessary instrument, military power has never been sufficient to counter violent extremism. We need to use all elements of power - political, diplomatic, economic, and most importantly - the power of ideas.

Regarding military means, the study analyses the advantages and disadvantages of the use of several tactics: training and equipping local forces; air strikes; ground troops (American and/or others'); and the use of safe zones, enforced by military means (based on the case of the "safe zone" in Srebrenica in 1995). On the one hand, we have a growing consensus that air power alone will not be sufficient to defeat ISIS. On the other, we also have to be mindful of some important political difficulties related to committing ground troops (e.g., in the US), namely potential high costs in lives and money and lack of public support for the intervention. In addition, US and coalition ground troops for about a decade in Iraq were not very successful in creating an environment free of violence and hatred; in some cases, they had the opposite effect - increasing resentment against the West and creating more terrorists. Regarding the often disregarded non-military means, this chapter focuses on how we can address the root causes of Islamic radicalism by using political, diplomatic, economic, financial, and media tools. The study shows that, in post conflict or crisis situations (like Iraq and Syria), we need to emphasize state-building and stability.

Name: Ernest Nnamdi Ogbozor (School for Conflict analysis and Resolution, George Mason University)
Title: *Understanding Islamic State of West Africa: Root Causes, Effects and Responses*

In April 2015, the Boko Haram militant group pledged allegiance to the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), and subsequently changed its name to the Islamic State of West Africa (ISWA). By extension, the Islamic State extends to the Boko Haram's controlled and operational areas in Nigeria. This chapter attempts to unravel the root causes, effects and responses to ISWA. The study explores the genesis of the Boko Haram militant and the situation that led to a metamorphosis into ISWA. Also, the effects of the militant group in the West African sub-region since the declaration of ISWA, and the responses from the affected countries (Nigeria, Niger, Chad, and

Cameroon) are analyzed.

The study draws largely from literature and field experience in Northern Nigeria. The study argues that the genesis of ISWA can be understood from the political transition in Nigeria from 2014 to early 2015. The recent political transition in Nigeria led to new survival strategies by organizations and agencies including the militant groups such as Boko Haram. ISWA has both direct and indirect effects on border communities in Nigeria and its neighbors. The study concludes that the threats posed by ISWA are underestimated by the West African States. A comprehensive review of the activities of ISWA in Nigeria, Niger, Chad, and Cameroon is suggested.

2.4 Word-length, Tables and Diagrams

Book length is expected to be around 110.000 words [15 chap. x 7.000 (approx.) words each = 105.000, plus a 3.000 words introduction]. We will, of course, ask authors to abide by a strict word limit set by editors and the publisher. Although we do not encourage the inclusion of diagrams, tables or figures, the possibility of including figures should not be entirely excluded.

2.5 Delivery

We feel it is appropriate to offer sufficient time for authors to submit their works, yet within a reasonable time-frame that allows for the book's timely completion. We recommend a final submissions deadline by the **end of June 2016**. This would offer a six months period for submitting the draft chapters, and for proceeding with editorial checks, revisions and submitting the entire work to the publisher for further editing and proofreading.

3. Definition of the Market

3.1 Audience and Appeal

The book is intended to reach a wide international audience of readers, including academics in the disciplines of international relations, political science, terrorism and security studies, religious and Islamic studies, history, geopolitics, cultural studies and sociology, economics and development sciences, as well as experts focusing primarily on the South East Mediterranean and Middle East regions. Policy-makers, military and police personnel, political analysts, opinion makers and journalists, andlay readers who generally wish to broaden and deepen their understanding on the challenges posed by the rising tide and effects of violent Islamic extremismmay constitute potential readership.

The book makes for an excellent companion for postgraduate students in the relevant fields of expertise in the social sciences and humanities. The edited volume will be of particular interest to those studying courses related to security and defence, foreign policy and military intervention, state-building, human rights, geopolitics, terrorism, radicalization and strategic studies, peace and development, and conflict resolution. The book adds to the dynamically and universally growing literature and expertise on Islamistradicalism and addresses the challenges related to the changing nature of Islamic radicalism at this critical point in time. Academic courses on conflict resolution, political violence, state-building and military intervention, regional security, radicalism, radicalization, religion and militancy addressmany aspects included into the book. The subject area covered in the book is taught widely by numerous universities and colleges across the world, though mainly in the U.S., Canada, Russia, Australia, Pakistan, the U.K. and Europe. By all means, the book's target market may easily

exceed the strict limits of the academic community to address an audience with a wish to understand key aspects in the evolution of militant Islamist radicalism.

4. Main Competing Books

Although there has been a growing amount of literature on the subject of Islamist militancy and radicalism in the post-9/11 and post-'Arab Spring' periods, we noted, however, a striking absence of published academic works on the emerging challenges posed by the reshaping of Sunnite-Islamist radicalism in the Middle East and North Africa, as portrayed by the Islamic state's functions and ideology. Since 2011, most contemporary works addressing aspects of the Islamic State phenomenon in Syria and Iraq and the changing nature of Islamist radicalism originated from journalist accounts by correspondents with experience in the area, covering the subject in an entirely descriptivemanner or through a purely speculative and/or interpretiveviewpoint (See: Abdel Bari Atwan's book titled the 'Islamic State: The Digital Caliphate', Saqi Books, 2015; Loretta Napoleoni The Islamist Phoenix: The Islamic State (ISIS) and the Redrawing of the Middle East, Seven Stories Press, 4 Nov. 2014;Michael Weiss. Isis: Inside the Army of Terror, Regan Arts, 19 Feb. 2015; Patrick Cockburn, The Rise of Islamic State: ISIS and the New Sunni Revolution, Verso 2015). Yet, only few academicscholars have so far engaged in efforts to explore the transformative causes and security threats of the evolved, post-Arab Spring Islamist radicalism in an organized, methodical and conceptually robustway. Some of the works attempting to provide academic insights into the problem include Jessica Stern's and J. M. Berger's: ISIS: The State of Terror William Collins (12 Mar. 2015) and Charles R. Lister's study 'The Syrian Jihad Al-Qaeda, the Islamic State and the Evolution of an Insurgency (Hurst 2015). Last, Daniel Byman's overview study, titled: Al Qaeda, the Islamic State, and the Global Jihadist Movement: What Everyone Needs to Know (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) serves only as a comprehensive general guide to the Islamic State's founding and evolution.

5. Product Category

5.1 Edited Book

A careful selection of works and contributing authors, awarded with PhD's from internationally respected institutions in the US and Europe, with a strong expertise and regional knowledge in their respective fields, ensure for the book's expected quality and academic consistency. Chapters are structured in a way that will allow readers to start with an analysis of the ideological nature and character of contemporary Islamist radicalism, understand how violent Islam diffused across the region and naturally conclude with a set of policy recommendations. The book includes a detailed introductory chapter, including a synopsis. Knowledgeable recommendations for purposes of improving the book's consistency, structure, focus and outreach, are most welcome, and we as editors, are willing and prepared to discuss suggestions on the selective exclusion, modification or addition of works, which may be deemed appropriate by reviewers and/or editors.

6. Questionnaire for Authors

a) Promotion by Societies and Organisations

International Sociological Association (http://www.isa-sociology.org/)
European Sociological Association http://www.europeansociology.org/
European Consortium for Political Research
European Communities Studies Association
PSA (Political Studies Association) Specialist Group Ethnopolitics
http://www.ethnopolitics.org/

b) Journals

1. International Journal of Middle East Studies
2. Cyprus Review
3. Middle Eastern Studies
4. Journal of South Eastern European and Black Sea Studies
5. Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East
6. Middle East Policy
7. British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
8. Middle East Quarterly
9. Journal of Ethnopolitics
10. Civil Wars
11. Peace and Conflict
12. Studies in Conflict and Terrorism
13. Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research
14. Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict: Pathways toward Terrorism and Genocide
15. Peace and Conflict Studies

c) Conferences

Important upcoming events for 2016

1. EAEPE – European Association for Evolutionary Political Economy, Symposium Krakow, Poland: May 12-13, 2016
2. EAEPE – European Association for Evolutionary Political Economy, The 28th Annual EAEPE Conference, Manchester, UK: November 3-5, 2016
3. ECPR - General Conference, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic: 7-10 September 2016.
4. ICCTHS - 18th International Conference on Counter Terrorism and Human Security, Zurich, Switzerland: July 21 - 22, 2016

d) Courses

1. Islam and Islamic Radicalism
2. Religion and Violence
3. Sociology of Violence
4. Foreign Policy Analysis
5. Middle East Politics
6. Defence and Security
7. Strategy and War
8. Conflict Resolution / Management
9. International Development and Conflict
10. Terrorism, Political Violence and Security