

Kelly M. Greenhill
Non-state Actors and Asymmetric Influence

Books:

- *Coercion: The Power to Hurt in International Politics* (co-edited with P. Krause) (Oxford University Press, 2018 [cloth and paper]; Tantor Media, September 2018 [audiobook]).
- *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion and Foreign Policy* (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs, 2010); E-book (2011); new paperback (2016); German language edition (Kopp-Verlag, 2016); Italian language edition (LEG Edizioni, 2017).
- *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics*, 8th ed. (with R. Art) (Rowman and Littlefield, 2015).

Published (or in press) articles and chapters:

- "Coercive Engineered Migration as a Political Weapon: The Case of NATO and the Kosovo Conflict," in A. Bresselau von Bressensdorf (ed.), *Migration, Refugees and Asylum, Concepts, Actors, Practices Since the Second World War in Global Perspective* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, in press).
- "Asymmetric Advantage—Weaponizing People as Non-Military Instruments of Cross-Domain Coercion," in Erik Gartzke and Jon Lindsay (eds.), *Cross-Domain Deterrence: Strategy in an Era of Complexity* (Oxford University Press, in press).
- "The Power and Limits of Compellence" (with R. Art), *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 133, no. 1 (spring 2018): 77-97.
- "Coercion: An Analytical Overview" (with R. Art); "Migration as a Coercive Weapon: New Evidence from the Middle East"; and "Introduction" and "Conclusions" (with P. Krause) in Kelly M. Greenhill and Peter Krause (eds.), *Coercion: The Power to Hurt in International Politics* (see Books above).
- "Migration as a Weapon in Theory and in Practice," *Military Review*, vol. 96, no. 6 (November/December 2016): 23-36; Spanish and Portuguese translations (May/June 2017).
- "Ain't That a Shame? Hypocrisy, Punishment and Weak Actor Influence in International Politics" (with J. Busby) in H. Rich Friman (ed.), *The Politics of Leverage: Name, Shame and Sanction in International Relations* (Palgrave Studies in International Relations, 2015).
- "Europe Must Deal With the Breeding of Terrorism Within Its Borders," *New York Times.com* (commissioned piece for "Room for Debate,"), November 16, 2015: <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2015/11/16/should-europe-shun-refugeesafter-the-paris-attacks/europe-must-deal-with-the-breeding-of-terrorism-within-its-borders>.
- "Demographic Bombing: People as Weapons in Syria and Beyond," *Foreign Affairs* (December 2015); <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2015-12-17/demographic-bombing>.
- "Kleptocratic Interdependence: Trafficking, Corruption and the Marriage of Politics and Illicit

Profits," in Robert Rotberg (ed.), *Corruption, Global Security and World Order* (Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 96-123.

- "Ten Ways to Lose at Counterinsurgency" (with P. Staniland), *Civil Wars*, vol. 9, no. 4 (winter 2007): 402-19. Reprinted in Art and Greenhill (eds.), *The Use of Force* (2015).
- "Human Trafficking and Migrant Smuggling: New Perspectives on an Old Problem," *Program on Intrastate Conflict and Conflict Resolution Policy Brief #7* (May 2007).
- "The Perils of Profiling: Civil War Spoilers and the Collapse of Intrastate Peace Accords" (with S. Major), *International Security*, vol. 31, no. 3 (winter 2006/2007): 7-40.
- "The Use of Refugees as Political and Military Weapons in the Kosovo Conflict," in Raju G. C. Thomas (ed.), *Yugoslavia Unraveled: Sovereignty, Self-Determination, and Intervention* (Lanham, MD: Lexington/Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), 205-42.
- "Refugees as Asymmetric Weapons," *Précis*, vol. XIII, no. 2 (spring 2003).

In progress:

- (first and last two chapters of) *Fear and Present Danger: Extra-factual Sources of Threat Conception and Proliferation* (book ms) (aka *Whispers of War, Mongers of Fear...*).
- "Do What You Say, or Else: Shaming and Taming in International Politics" (with J. Busby).
- "Coercion By Proxy: Population Relocation in Counterinsurgency Operations" (with A. Downes).