

Kelly M. Greenhill
Refugees, Migration and Security

Published or in press:

Book:

- *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).

Articles and chapters:

- "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).
- "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).
- "How Trump Manipulates the Migration Debate: The Use and Abuse of Extra-factual Information," *Foreign Affairs* (July 5, 2018); <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2018-07-05/how-trump-manipulates-migration-debate>.
- "The Power and Limits of Compellence" (with R. Art), *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 133, no. 1 (spring 2018): 77-97.
- "Migration as a Coercive Weapon: New Evidence from the Middle East," in Kelly M. Greenhill and Peter Krause (eds.), *Coercion: The Power to Hurt in International Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2018; Tantor Media, 2018).
- "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).
- "Open Arms Behind Barred Doors: Fear, Hypocrisy and Policy Schizophrenia in the European Migration Crisis" *European Law Journal*, vol. 22, no. 3 (May 2016): 279-94; Italian translation (January 2017); reprinted in T. Fouskas (eds.), *Migrants and Refugees in Time of Crisis* (European Public Law Organization, forthcoming).
- "When Virtues Become Vulnerabilities: The Achilles' Heel of Migration Social Policy," in Gary Freeman and Nikola Mirilovic (eds.), *Handbook of Migration and Social Policy* (Edward Elgar, 2016).
- "Unpacking the Facts Behind Europe's 'Odd Migration Policy Choices'," invited contribution to a debate on the EU migration crisis in the *APSA Migration and Citizenship Newsletter* (August 2016).

- "The Weaponization of Migration," in Mark Leonard (ed.), *Connectivity Wars: An Essay Collection* (London, UK: European Council on Foreign Relations, January 2016).
- "Demographic Bombing: People as Weapons in Syria and Beyond," *Foreign Affairs* (December 2015); <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2015-12-17/demographic-bombing>.
- "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> .
- "H-Diplo Roundtable on *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion and Foreign Policy* (April 2013); <http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/ISSF/PDF/ISSF-Roundtable-5-3.pdf>.
- "Using Refugees as Weapons," *New York Times.com Op-Ed*, April 20, 2011, *International Herald Tribune* (print edition), April 21, 2011; <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/21/opinion/21iht-edgreenhill21.html>.
- "Strategic Engineered Migration as a Weapon of War," *Civil Wars*, vol. 10, no. 1 (spring 2008): 6-21. Reprinted in *Transnational Law Review*, vol. 39, no. 3 (2016); and in E. Chenoweth (ed.), *Political Violence* (Sage, 2013).
- "Human Trafficking and Migrant Smuggling: New Perspectives on an Old Problem," *Program on Intrastate Conflict and Conflict Resolution Policy Brief #7* (May 2007).
- "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.
- "Extortive Engineered Migration: Asymmetric Weapon of the Weak," *Conflict, Security and Development*, vol. 2, no. 3 (winter 2002): 105-116.
- "Engineered Migration and the Use of Refugees as Political Weapons: A Case Study of the 1994 Cuban Balseros Crisis," *International Migration*, vol. 40, no. 4 (fall 2002): 39-72.
- "The Politics of Repatriation: A Snapshot of Bosnia Four Years After Dayton," *Precis*, vol. X, no. 2 (spring 2000): 16-18.

In progress:

- (final two chapters of) *Fear and Present Danger: Extra-factual Sources of Threat Conception and Proliferation* (book ms) (aka *Whispers of War, Mongers of Fear...*).
- "Coercion By Proxy: Population Relocation in Counterinsurgency Operations" (with A. Downes).