

Impact of Terrorism and Political Violence on Sacred Sites

Ayesha Chowdhury

Staffordshire University, Ayesha.Chowdhury@staffs.ac.uk

Razaq Raj

Leeds Beckett University, r.raj@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

Alan Clarke

University of Pannonia, alanhungary@hotmail.com

Abstract

Over the last decade there has been an increased terrorist attacks on sacred sites and on individuals travelling to perform pilgrimage. Religious terrorism is a type of political violence motivated by an absolute belief that religious faith has authorised and commanded terrorist violence. Religious terrorists often use mass destruction as an agenda to make a politically motivated statement. Religious sacred sites suffer the most from risk of mass destruction. Terrorist organisations commit violent actions including assassination, murder, and destruction of religious sites in order to achieve their goals. ISIS and other groups often loot artefacts from sacred sites to sell them in black market in order to raise funding for their terrorist organisations. The destruction and looting of heritage sites, which are recognised as war crimes. The effects of such destruction are beyond their financial value, when these sites are destroyed, the history, the religious sentiments and the culture of a society is also destroyed.

This paper evaluates and analyses different expressions of terrorism destruction of sacred sites with particular reference to the atrocities carried out over the last decade and analyses the motivations and terror philosophy of the perpetrators behind the terrorist attacks.

Keywords: Religious Terrorism, religious tourists, sacred sites.

Introduction

Over the last decade there has been an increased terrorist attacks on sacred sites and on individuals travelling to perform pilgrimage. Terrorism in the name of religion has become the predominant form of political violence across the world. In the past 20 years, religious terrorism has increased in its frequency and damages caused. In today's world, religiously motivated terrorism has become a central issue for the tourism industry. Like any other form of tourism, religious tourism also needs safety, political stability, peace and socio economic guarantees.

Volume 1 (2021)

Inaugural Issue

Religious terrorism is a type of political violence motivated by an absolute belief that religious faith has authorised and commanded terrorist violence. Religious terrorists often use mass destruction as an agenda to make a politically motivated statement. Religious sacred sites suffer the most from risk of mass destruction. Terrorist organisations commit violent actions including assassination, murder, and destruction of religious sites in order to achieve their goals. ISIS and other groups often loot artefacts from sacred sites to sell them in black market in order to raise funding for their terrorist organisations. The destruction and looting of heritage sites, which are recognised as war crimes. The effects of such destruction are beyond their financial value, when these sites are destroyed, the history, the religious sentiments and the culture of a society is also destroyed.

Religious terrorism has a broader economic impact that extends far beyond the violent act itself. According to the 2017 Global Terrorism Index (GTI, 2017), the impact fell by seven percent in 2016, the second year in succession that it declined. Despite the decline, costs still reached a grim \$84 billion last year. Countries embroiled in conflict tend to suffer the highest economic impact from terrorism. Most of them are situated in the Middle East and North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. For example in 2016 Iraq had the highest economic impact of terrorism as a share of GDP at 24 percent, one of the contributing factors was the way The Islamic State group (also called ISIL) destroyed and damaged numerous historical sites between 2014-2016 (Forbes, 2017). The artifacts from such historical sites have religious, historical and cultural value that cannot be measured in cash. This can have both direct and indirect economic impact. Direct impacts are usually associated with the immediate or short term consequences including the destruction of property, infrastructure, and more importantly, life. Indirect impacts are associated with trade, tourism and political stability of the country. In addition, terrorism creates a feeling of vulnerability in the country where the violent attacks occur. Furthermore, the motivation of the terrorists who deliberately destroy cultural and religious sites remains a grey area of research.

Methodology

Secondary data sources were used for the sake of this study. The secondary research was undertaken in the form of a literature review of key theories and current related research. This took the form of researching books, journals, newspaper articles, online journals and the Internet. This was essential in demonstrating awareness of the current state of knowledge on the subject and how the proposed research would add to what is already known (Gill & Johnson, 1991).

The paper evaluates the many expressions of terrorism destruction of sacred sites with particular reference to the atrocities carried out over the last decade by religious terrorists and analyse the motivations and terror philosophy of the perpetrators behind the terrorist attacks. This paper also examines relevant international law on protection of cultural property and analyses the potential impact of such acts of destruction on religious tourism overall.

Religiously Motivated Terrorism

There are numerous claims that extremism, fundamentalism and mass violence are interlinked; however, there is no established automatic connection. Nevertheless, religion is often used to justify acts of violence and terrorism by the terrorist groups. Juergensmeyer (2003) stated that ‘why does religion seem to need violence and violence religion, and why is a mandate for destruction accepted with such certainty by some believers?’ This seems to be the burning question today, due to the rise of fundamentalism, extremism and lethal terrorist attacks justified in the name of religion. In this section we are seeking to problematise the effect of religion on terrorism and political violence, with a particular objective, to elucidate the nature of religious terrorism that results in destruction on sacred sites.

‘Religious Terrorism’ is a very problematic term to define in the modern age. Over the last 50 years the term has been used by governments and society in general, such that its use is commonplace in the modern lexicon. Religious terrorists are portrayed as having an evil ideology - using religion to achieve their motives and to share their brutal extremist views, to justify their cause for carrying out terrorism, regardless of their denomination, whether they are Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh etc. (Chowdhury et al, 2017). Juergensmeyer (2003) defines religious terrorism as terrorism ‘for which religion provided the motivation, the justification, the organization, and the world view’. The causal link between religion and violence is not unique to any particular religion. Juergensmeyer (2003) points out that the relationship between religion and violence has been noted since before the bible, and while religion is often used to explain acts of violence and terrorism, it is rarely that simple; terrorism is usually an act linked to broader geopolitical issues. Nevertheless, religious extremism is a dominating factor in the rise of terrorism. This does not automatically imply that all religious extremists are prone to violence. There are large sections of religious communities who might hold fundamental religious beliefs but do not get violent when their religious sentiments are offended or are associated with terrorist organizations. Extremism, fundamentalism and mass violence are interlinked; however, there is no established automatic connection. Stern (2003) suggests that ‘religious terrorist groups are more violent than their secular counterparts and are probably more likely to use weapons of mass destruction’. Hoffman (2006) claims this particular element of religion makes religious terrorism a distinct category of terrorism that is apparently more violent than traditional forms of terrorism. Many studies on ‘religious terrorism’ have reached the conclusion that the religious element is a central cause of violence. On the other hand, Gunning and Jackson (2011) have indicated that Islamist groups are nevertheless more violent statistically, but religion may still not necessarily be the primary cause.

The top four terrorist groups (ISISL, Bokoharam, Taliban and Alshabab according to the Global Terrorism Index, 2017) fall into this category. Therefore, the argument on whether or not religion has now become the root cause of this new era of terrorism has become a highly debated issue in public forums, academia (especially in the fields of terrorism studies and international relations) and policy making.

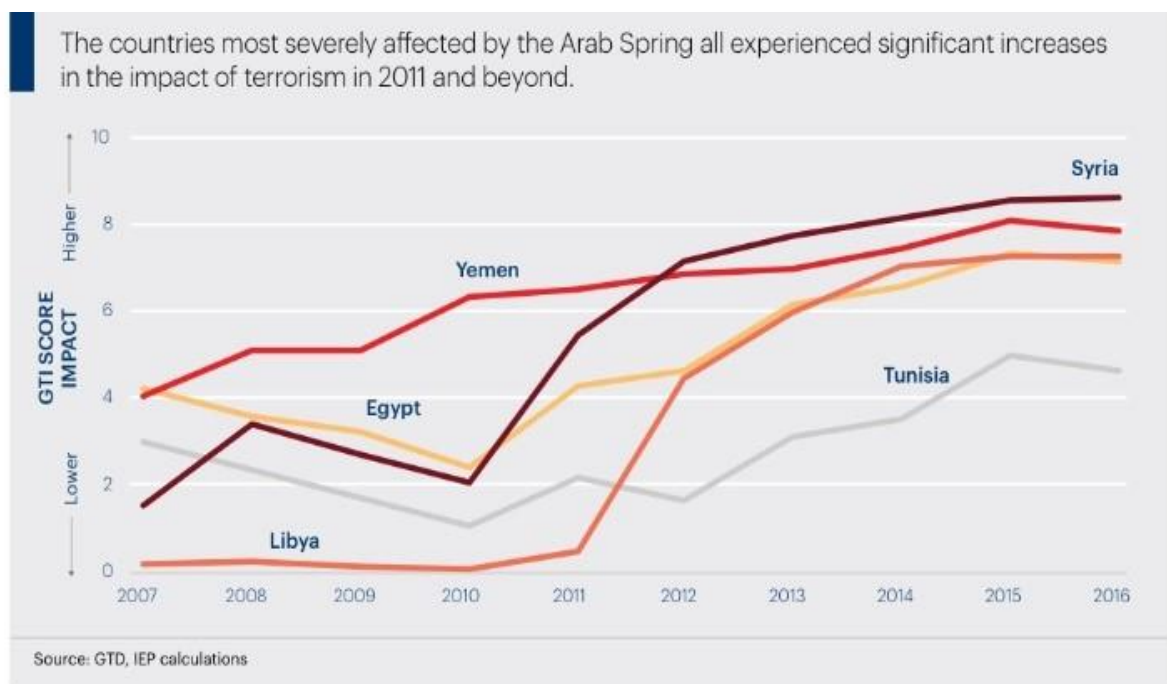
Religiously motivated terrorism is a complicated, multi -dimensional phenomenon with no unified theory that explains it. In simple words it can be called a distinct category of political violence namely

Inaugural Issue

violence perpetrated in the name of religion by religiously motivated militants however, Gunning and Jackson (2011) have argued that making religious terrorism a distinct category of terrorism, especially associating it with a particular religion (Islamic terrorism, for example) has serious policy, legal, academic, ethical and moral implications. In contrast Bruce Hoffman (2006) claims that ‘the religious imperative is the most important defining characteristic of terrorist activity today’. The concept of terrorism has been changed since the last two decades, especially after the 9/11 attack on the twin towers in the USA.

According to the annual report of the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) 2017, the primary target of most terrorist attacks has been private citizens and property. In most regions private citizens and private property have been the main targets of terrorism however a significant number of religious/cultural sites are destroyed damaged and appropriated by the terrorists. As shown in Figure 1 below, the impact of terrorism after the Arab Spring increased the most in Egypt, Yemen, Libya and Syria. The impact of terrorism, as measured by the GTI, includes not only deaths but also the number of incidents, the number of wounded and the level of property damage over a five year period. GTI did not separate the level of property damage from other acts of terrorism.

Figure 1: Impact of terrorism before and after the Arab Spring 2007-2016



Source: Global Terrorism Index 2017

The top most lethal terrorist group in 2016, ISIL, overwhelmingly attacked private citizens, police and the government to establish their presence in their subjugated area (Global Terrorism Index, 2017).

If deaths attributed to ISIL affiliates are included then ISIL killed over 11,500 people. This makes 2016 the group's deadliest ever recorded year for terrorism. Four of the five most deadly terrorist groups (Boko Haram, IS, Taliban Fulani militants and al-Shabaab) are known to be Islamist terrorist

Inaugural Issue

groups. Although the actual attacks religious property are fairly low compared to all the other attacks made by these four groups are automatically considered to be Islamic terrorism, whether for entirely religious goals or not.

Acts such as attacking the World Trade Centre in September 2001 demonstrate the apocalyptic nature of religious terrorism, as the twin towers represented the economic core of the USA. Similarly destroying, damaging or appropriating cultural property of religious value symbolically represents attacking or disapproving the values of that particular religion or sect of religion by the terrorist perpetrators. In the above discussion, it is evident that the concept of religion, with its symbolic statements, cosmic war dimensions, certainties after death and other motivating factors, can be used to legitimize unsolicited mass violence on innocent people and property with religious importance.

Protection of Sacred Sites

Religious sacred sites need maintenance and protection. Although protection of properties with cultural or religious value falls under the duty of the state who is in charge of the geographic boundaries. Some cultural and religious sites may have historical and international importance to the world, those properties are protected under international law and destruction of such valuable sites would be considered as war crimes which is discussed at the next section. Artifacts of a non dominant religion of the region are often harder to protect from demolition or damage. Gredicks (1989) (Cited in Herz, 1993) has identified that the belief systems of cultural minorities often tend to undermine political and social stability by creating an orthodoxy in competition with that of the dominant culture.

However, not only does terrorism impede travel to religious sites, there are incidents when the act of worship itself is actively, and aggressively targeted by terrorists. All six of Syria's World Heritage Sites have been put on UNESCO's list of endangered World Heritage Sites (Aljazeera, 2013)

In the year of 2014-2015 right after ISIL gained strength as the deadliest terrorist groups they repeatedly targeted and destroyed Mosques, shrines, tombs, churches and monasteries. Not only building works and sites of religious value ISIL took pledge to destroy all non-Islamic books as well (Wall Street journal, 2017), some of them was of significant religious value to other faiths and Islam. To give effect to that ISIL burned or stolen collections of books and papers from various locations, in the 2015, ISIL ordered the removal of all decorative elements and frescoes from mosques in Mosul, even those containing Quranic verses that mention Allah. The destruction was mostly carried out with explosive devices, but in some cases, bulldozers were used.

International Law on Destruction of Sacred Sites

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) considers the intentional destruction of cultural heritage a war crime. Modern international law has prohibited the intentional destruction of cultural heritage but the application is not frequent. Prohibition of destruction or damage of cultural property has been reiterated repeatedly in successive multilateral instruments for

over 150 years. Cultural and religious sites along with monuments and works of art and science have been protected by international law since the nineteenth century.

The first binding international obligations for the protection of cultural heritage related to the rules of war emerged from the Regulations annexed to the Convention (II) with Respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land (1899 Hague II Convention) and Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land (1907 Hague IV Convention), that were found to be customary international law and ‘recognized by all civilized nations’ by the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg in 1945. (Vrdoljak, 2017). Article 8 (2) of Rome statute of the International criminal court defines war crimes as ‘For the purpose of this Statute, ‘war crimes’ means:

- (a) Grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, namely, any of the following acts against persons or property protected under the provisions of the relevant Geneva Convention:
 - (i) *Wilful killing;*
 - (ii) *Torture or inhuman treatment, including biological experiments;*
 - (iii) *Wilfully causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or health;*
 - (iv) *Extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly;*

Article 8 (2) (iv) specifically mentions extensive destruction and appropriation of property.

There are numerous international legal instruments to protect cultural and religious site from destruction and bring the perpetrators to be subject to legal proceedings such as 1907 Hague Regulations, the 1949 Geneva Conventions, the 1954, Hague Convention and its Protocols, 1970 UNESCO Convention, 1972 World Heritage Convention, UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime 2000. One mentionable strategy of UNESCO is the one adopted in November 2015 at the 38th General Conference of UNESCO for the reinforcement of the Organization’s actions for the protection of culture and the promotion of cultural pluralism in the event of armed conflict (38/C48). This strategy sets the path for the Organization’s work through two key objectives: on the one hand, strengthening Member States’ ability to prevent, mitigate, and recover the loss of cultural heritage and diversity as a result of conflict; and on the other hand, incorporating the protection of culture into humanitarian action, security strategies and peace building processes. (en.unesco.org)

However due to the nature of international law being not directly applicable by the international authorities, the obligation for holding perpetrators criminally responsible primarily falls to the territorial State where the acts occurred or the state of nationality of the offender. Vrdoljak (2017) had pointed towards how States are often unable to fulfil these obligations for a variety of reasons including the lack of control over their territory and its inhabitants or the violation of international humanitarian law and human rights law by the government itself.

As we all know how little could be done till date to bring ISIL under legal proceedings for humanitarian crime, for destruction of cultural property it is more difficult to prosecute a perpetrator of such an act. Recently a landmark case set an important precedent as it is the first time a criminal case has been

brought before the ICC over the destruction of buildings and historic monuments whereas the court has traditionally focused on atrocities committed against individuals.

A radical Islamic cleric Ahmad al-Faqi al-Mahdi has appeared before the International Criminal Court in The Hague who allegedly ordered the destruction of historic mausoleums and a mosque in Timbuktu, Mali for committing war crimes in connection to the destruction of the ancient sites in 2012 (The Prosecutor V. Ahmad Al Faqi Al Mahdi, 2017). Ahmad Al Faqi Al Mahdi was the head of the Manners Brigade and a member of Ansar Dine that has links to al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and between 2012 and 2013, Ansar Dine was involved with the vandalism and destruction of mosques and mausoleums. His actions were declared as war crimes under the Rome Statute by the ICC Al Mahdi confessed at his trial and The ICC sentenced Al Mahdi to nine years. This case is remarkable as it was the first time that the ICC had brought a war crimes charge against a defendant for the destruction of cultural sites that offered expectation that in future top terrorist groups like ISIL responsible for damage to cultural heritage in Iraq and Syria might one day be held accountable in a legal forum.

Motivation of the Terrorists to Destroy Cultural/Religious Sites

There are a number of motivating factors behind the destruction of cultural heritage. Harmansah (2015) argues that ISIL's cultural heritage destruction can be seen as a form of 'place-based violence that aims to annihilate the local sense of belonging, and the collective sense of memory among local communities to whom the heritage belongs'. ISIL is repeatedly found to destroy religious sites then capturing and disseminating video recordings of such brutal acts. Such kind of action could be explained as a media to reach 'local, regional and international audiences with reactions from one audience used to subdue, embolden or intrigue another' (Smith et al., 2016) De Cesari (2015) has explained that destruction of sites used by oppressive regimes are a way to impose a sense of collective national identity

Isakhan & Zrandona (2018) have identified that the key motivation of ISIL for destructing heritage is not only situated within a carefully articulated theological framework and key to the creation of a new and ideologically pure 'Islamic State', but that they are also constituted by several complex layers of religious and political iconoclasm. In contrast, Shahab and Isakhan (2018) disagreed that the terrorists are not purely driven by an adherence to specific religious or political iconoclastic ideologies. Isakhan & Zrandona's (2018) theory of religious and political iconoclasm conforms with the GTI 2017 report that says 92% of all terrorist attacks over the past 25 years occurred in countries where state sponsored political violence was widespread, while 88% of attacks occurred in countries involved in violent conflicts. The report further establishes that 'the link between these two factors and terrorism is so strong that less than 0.6 per cent of all terrorist attacks have occurred in countries without any ongoing conflict and any form of political terror'. From this, it is evident that both religious and political iconoclasm play a role in motivating the terrorist groups to destroy heritage, just because religious terrorist groups justify their actions by religion does not automatically make their actions an act of religious terrorism.

Volume 1 (2021)**Inaugural Issue**

Gregg (2014) claims that the use of scripture or the presence of religious symbols is not sufficient to distinguish a group and its use of terrorism as uniquely religious. Gregg (2014) further argues that ‘certain terrorists can have immediate goals that are religious, specifically apocalyptic terrorists, while others can have long-term objectives that are political, such as creating a religious government’. For example, the goal of ‘Islamic terrorists’ is argued to be ‘uniting all Muslims into one state, and dominating the world’ (Cook, 2003). Therefore, religious terrorism should only be categorized by its immediate and ultimate objectives. Sedgwick (2004) illustrates that ‘while the ultimate aims will be religiously formulated, the immediate objectives will often be found to be almost purely political’.

From a narrow point of understanding it seems quite astonishing that ISIL identifying as Muslims trying to establish Islamic Law throughout the world is keen to destroy shrines, mosques and even Islamic artifacts and literature. However the reality is ISIL has pledged to destroy everything they consider idolatrous or heretical based on their strict Salafi interpretation of Islam, which “deems the veneration of tombs and non-Islamic vestiges as idolatrous”(Cascone 2014) ISIL justifies their act of destruction based on the belief that active worship of images or structures that undermine the oneness of God are grave sins of idolatry.

Isakhan & Zrandona (2018) had proficiently concluded that the complex layers of motives that drive the iconoclasm of the ISIL comes into sharp relief when one examines closely their attacks along two key axes: Symbolic Sectarianism and Pre-Monotheistic Iconoclasm. Isakhan & Zrandona (2018) then further provided examples that the Sayyida Zaynab shrine in Damascus and the Mosul Museum was destroyed by ISIL for their supposed blasphemy, the attack on the Sayyida Zaynab shrine is also an attack on: a key Shia historical figure who is commemorated for her role in the first civil war between the two sects; a contemporary hub of Shia religiosity and activism; a prominent pilgrimage site; and an attack on the Assad regime and its relationship with Iran.

Another example illustrated by Isakhan & Zarandona (2018) is the attack on the Mosul Museum that can be seen as a rejection of the colonial powers that drew the borders of the modern Middle East and conducted archaeological excavation across the region; the post-colonial state that sought to utilise the region’s rich heritage to inculcate a sense of collective national identity built atop secular ideologies; and an attack on key multi-lateral bodies such as UNESCO which promote liberal values including the protection of heritage sites.

According to the authors such attacks are also simultaneously steeped in layers of complex religious, historical and political symbolism. This position conforms with Juergensmeyer (2003) who, talking of extremists, suggested that: they have come to hate secular governments with an almost transcendent passion ... dreamed of revolutionary changes that would establish a godly social order in the rubble of what the citizens of most secular societies have regarded as modern, egalitarian democracy.

Destruction of cultural heritage by the Islamic State could also be seen as a broader process of ritualization that is instrumental in forming bonds between members and ensuring their allegiance. Shahab and Isakhan (2018) have identified the following purposes of such rituals.

Volume 1 (2021)

Inaugural Issue

- (1) *they physically and ideologically separate new recruits from existing social norms and laws;*
- (2) *they breed a deference to leadership and create a unified identity towards the potentiality of violence; and*
- (3) *they situate heritage destruction itself within a complex symbolic kaleidoscope of prescribed actions and specific attire, invoking connections to an imagined past and repeating the actions of their forbearers.*

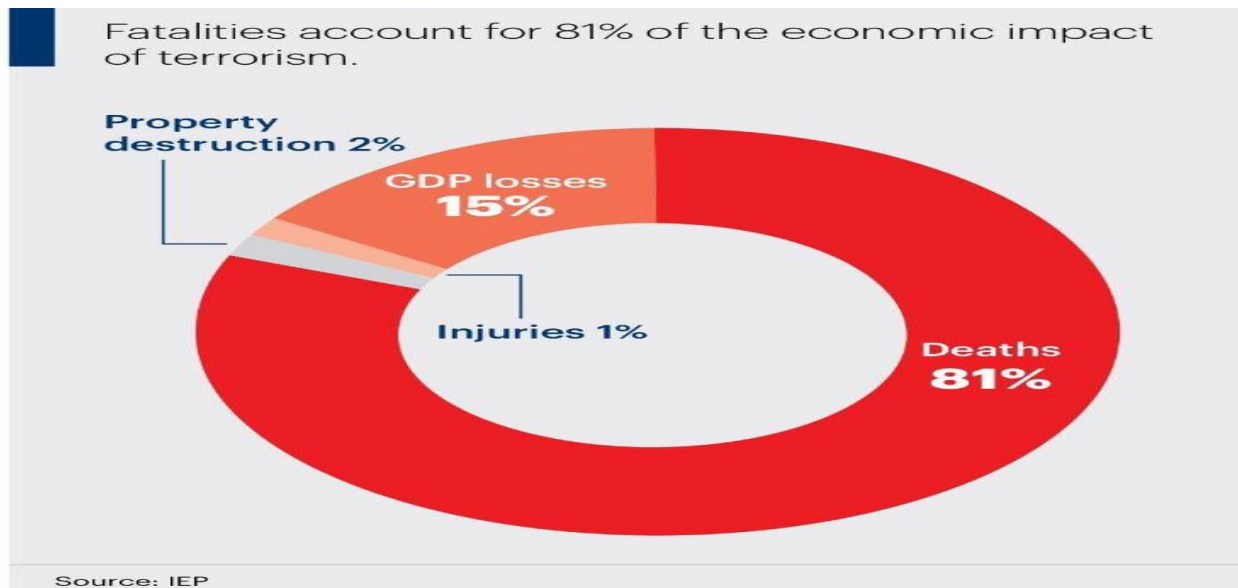
Shahab and Isakhan (2018) have concluded that such heritage destruction is much more than a performance designed to appeal to or shock different audiences, or to obliterate opposition towards the creation of a monolithic state. The actual motivation of the perpetrators of destruction of cultural heritage still remains a mystery.

Another minor form of motivation of terrorists for destroying cultural/religious properties, apart from several complex layers of religious and political iconoclasm is pure financial. ISIL has sold every valuable artifact they did not destroy at the black market. The revenues raised from the illicit looting and trafficking of cultural artefacts which sold on the international black market (Losson, 2017). Reports suggest that ISIL are said to have reaped \$36 million in antiquities up to 8,000 years old from al Nabuk alone, an area in the Qalamoun Mountains west of Damascus, the antiquities there are up to 8,000 years old (Chuvlov, 2015). It is evident that selling antique artifacts appropriated from religious/culture is a massive source of terrorist finance.

Economic Impact of Terrorism Including Property Damage:Economic Impact of Terrorism Including Property Damage:

The chart in figure 1 below, derived from the Global Terrorism Index, 2017 illustrates the breakdown of the economic impact of terrorism for the year of 2016. The Global Terrorism Index (GTI) is a comprehensive study analysing the impact of terrorism for 163 countries and which covers 99.7 per cent of the world's population. It shows that deaths from terrorism accounted for 81 per cent of the global economic impact of terrorism. The second largest category that had a global economic impact is indirect GDP losses, at 15 percent of the total which is only calculated for countries with more than 1,000 deaths. The grey coloured area at the top left is Property destruction, which is estimated at two per cent of the global economic impact of terrorism. The global economic impact for property destruction by terrorist groups is significantly low however, we must bear in mind the challenges of acquiring accurate data from terrorism prone regions. In this chart GTI acknowledges that property cost estimates are missing for a large number of incidents. Figure 1 below shows the breakdown of the economic impact of terrorism.

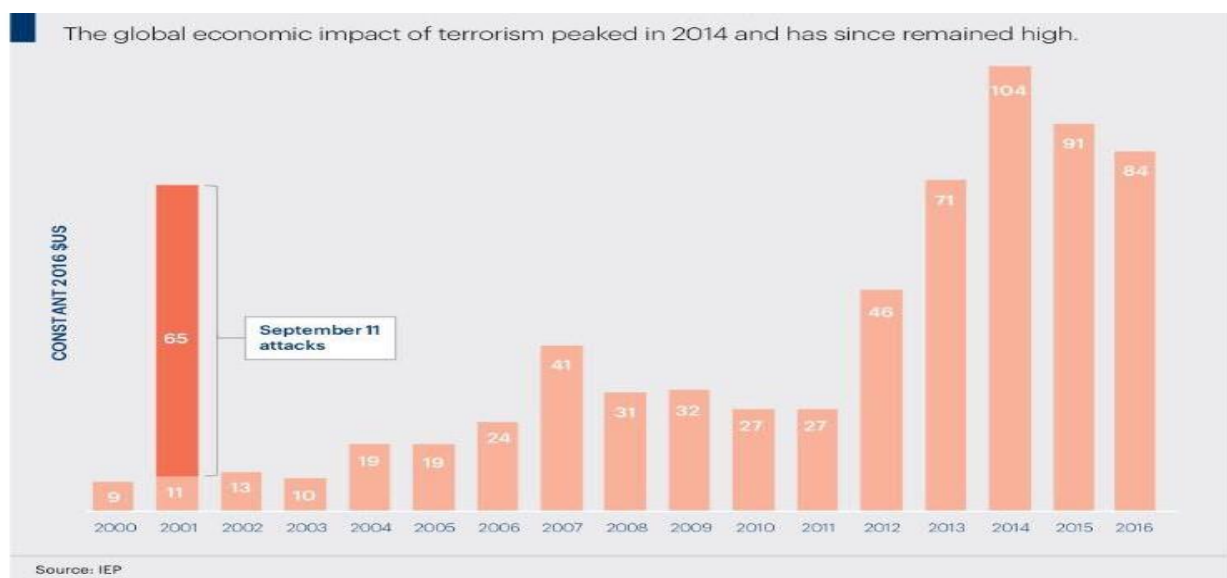
Figure 1: Break down of the economic impact of terrorism, 2016.



Source: Global Terrorism Index, 2017

Destruction of property of economic, historical, cultural or symbolic value is always associated with huge global economic impact. For example September 11 attacks in New York and Washington D.C. which resulted in losses from deaths, injuries and property destruction amounting to US\$65 billion in 2016 constant dollars (GTI, 2017). This excludes the indirect costs to the U.S. economy in general which have not been included in the IEP model but which has been estimated at between 0.7 and one percent of U.S. GDP, or up US\$190 billion. (Mueller& Stewart, 2015). The figure 3 below shows the economic impact of terrorism between 2000 and 2018.

Figure 3: The Economic Impact of Terrorism, US\$ Billion, 2000-2018.



Source: Global Terrorism Index, 2017

Volume 1 (2021)

Inaugural Issue

According to GTI (2017) the economic impact of terrorism is calculated using IEP's cost of violence methodology. The model for terrorism includes the direct and indirect cost of deaths and injuries, as well as the property destruction from incidents of terrorism. The data illustrated above provides the number of deaths and injuries for each incident as well as the extent of property destruction. The data provides estimated dollar values of property destruction for a sample of incidents.

The property destruction estimates from the GTD are then used to generate costs of property destroyed by various types of terrorist attacks. Each of the different property costs is further calibrated by country income type; OECD, high income non-OECD, upper middle income, lower middle income and lower income country groups. In addition, the data provides estimated dollar values of property destruction for a sample of incidents. The property destruction estimates from the GTD are then used to generate unit costs of property destroyed by various types of terrorist attacks such as bombings and explosions, armed assaults, hostage taking and assassinations. However, the data above does not categorize the type of property, the cost of destroyed or damaged religious artifacts or sites are not specifically known but it is measured in the data.

GTI (2017) acknowledged that the numbers above are a very conservative estimate of the costs associated with terrorism and only calculates globally quantifiable and comparable costs. It does not take into account the costs of counter terrorism or countering violent extremism, nor the impact of diverting public resources to security expenditure away from other government expenditure. Nor does it calculate any of the long term economic implications of terrorism from reduced tourism, business activity, production and investment.

Conclusion

This paper expressed the view that we live in a particular conjuncture in the late 2010s that not only bring together terrorism and tourism but also sets them in a context where religion is a defining parameter. In the battle of religions, religious terrorists are destroying religious sacred sites/property that is affecting religious tourism and pilgrimage overall. UNESCO Director General Irina Bokova (2015) argued that these acts of destruction are "a way to destroy identity.... Along with the physical persecution they want to eliminate – to delete – the memory of these different cultures". She further expressed that "[w]e continue to rebuild, but you cannot rebuild the traditions and heritage of a culture – when it is destroyed it is destroyed forever." Moreover, till date there is no conclusion on the actual motivation of the perpetrators behind such brutal acts of destruction.

There are some arguments on whether we should weigh crimes committed against human life and culture on the same scale. The authors are of the view that protection of human life of course deserves maximum international attention and there should be no comparison with culture. Nonetheless, destroying the heritage needs protection as the terrorists seek to eradicate the culture, faith and identity of others by destroying the evidence of their being. Therefore, it is important to offer legal protection both nationally and internationally to religious and cultural heritage as they are symbolic of people's identities.

References

- Ahmad Al, V. and Al Mahdi, F. (2017) The Prosecutor. available at <https://www.icc-cpi.int/> Court Records. Accessed 24 May 2019.
- Besançon, A. (2000). *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bokova, I. (2015). "UNESCO Director General Condemns Destruction of Nimrud in Iraq." UNESCO Media Services. Accessed 6 March 2019.
- Cascone, S. (2014). ISIS Destroying Iraq's Cultural Heritage One Site at a Time, Artnet News, <http://news.artnet.com/art-world/isis-destroying-iraqs-cultural-heritage-one-site-at-a-time-58790>.
- Chowdhury, A. and Raj, R. (2018). Risk of Terrorism and Crime on Tourism Industry. In: *Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events*.
- Chuvlov, M. (2014). How an arrest in Iraq Revealed Isis' \$2bn Jihadist Network Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/15/iraq-isis-arrest-jihadists-wealth-power>. Accessed 28 August 2019.
- Coker, M. and Kesling, B. (2016). "Islamic State Hijacks Mosul University Chemistry Lab for Making Bombs". Available at: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/islamic-state-hijacks-mosul-university-chemistry-lab-for-making-bombs-1459503003>. Accessed 28 August 2019.
- Clarke, A. (2018). Risk of Terrorism and Crime on Tourism Industry. In: *Risk and Safety Challenges for Religious Tourism and Events*.
- Cook, D. (2003). The recovery of radical Islam in the wake of the defeat of the Taliban. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15(1), 31–56.
- De Cesari, C. (2015). Post-colonial ruins: Archaeologies of political violence and IS. *Anthropology Today* 31(6): 22–26.
- Gregg, H.S. (2014) Defining and distinguishing secular and religious terrorism. *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8(2). Available at: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/336/html>. Accessed 28 August 2019
- Global Terrorism Index (2017) Available at: <http://economicsandpeace.org>. Accessed 23 August 2019
- Gunning, J. and Jackson, R., 2011. What's so 'religious' about 'religious terrorism'?. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 4(3), pp.369-388.
- Harmanşah, O. (2015). Near Eastern Archaeology; The Cultural Heritage Crisis in the Middle East pp. 170-177 Vol. 78, No. 3, Special Issue: Published by: The American Schools of Oriental Research
- Herz, R. (1993). Legal protection for indigenous cultures: sacred sites and communal rights. *Virginia Law Review*, pp.691-716.

Volume 1 (2021)

Inaugural Issue

Hoffman, B. (2006) *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia University Press, New York.

Juergensmeyer, M. (2003) *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*. University of California Press, Berkeley, California.

Isakhan, B. and González Zarandona, J.A., 2018. Layers of religious and political iconoclasm under the Islamic State: symbolic sectarianism and pre-monotheistic iconoclasm. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24(1), pp.1-16.

Losson P (2017) Does the international trafficking of cultural heritage really fuel military conflicts? *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 40(6): 484–495.

McCarthy, N. (2017) The Global Economic Impact Of Terrorism [Infographic] (Nov 16, 2017, 08:08am) Retrieved 2 July 2018.

Mueller, J. E., & Stewart, M. G. (2015). *Chasing Ghosts: The Policing of Terrorism*. New York: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from [https:// global.oup.com/academic/product/chasing-ghosts9780190237318?cc=ap&lang=en&](https://global.oup.com/academic/product/chasing-ghosts9780190237318?cc=ap&lang=en&)

Raj, R. and Griffin, K. (2017) "Conflicts, Religion and Culture in Tourism" CABI Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Series. CABI Publishing, UK. ISBN-13: 978-1786390646

Shahab, S. and Isakhan, B., 2018. The ritualization of heritage destruction under the Islamic State. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 18(2), pp.212-233.

Six Syrian Heritage Sites Declared Endangered, AlJazeera (June 21, 2013, 3:19 PM), <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/06/2013620525729467.html>.

Sirriyeh, Elizabeth. 1989. "Wahhabis, Unbelievers and the Problems of Exclusivism." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 16 (2): 123–132.10.1080/13530198908705492

Sputnik (2015). "ISIL Destroys Another Mosque in Iraq". <https://sputniknews.com/middleeast/201503081019218229/> Accessed 22 May 2019.

Strategy for the Reinforcement of UNESCO's Action for the Protection of Culture and the Promotion of Cultural Pluralism in the Event of Armed Conflict (2015). Available at: <https://en.unesco.org/heritage-at-risk/strategy-culture-armed-conflict>, Accessed 22 May 2019.

Stern, J. (2003) *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill*. Harper Collins, New York.

Vrdoljak, A.F., 2017. The criminalisation of the intentional destruction of cultural heritage. *Forging a Socio-Legal Approach to Environmental Harms: Global Perspectives*, p.237.