

Curriculum Vitae

DR. MILTON L. MUELLER

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CURRENT POSITIONS

Professor, GT School of Public Policy (2015-present)
Program Director, MS Cybersecurity Policy (2017-present)
Director, Internet Governance Project

EDUCATION

1989 Ph.D. University of Pennsylvania, Annenberg School
1986 M.A. University of Pennsylvania, Annenberg School
1976 B.A. Columbia College, Chicago

PUBLICATIONS (sole-authored unless otherwise noted)

Books

Declaring Independence in Cyberspace: Internet Self-governance and the end of U.S. control of ICANN. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press. (2025)

Will the Internet Fragment? Sovereignty, Globalization, and Cyberspace. London: Polity Press. (2017).

Networks and States: The Global Politics of Internet Governance. Cambridge: MIT Press. (2010)

Ruling the Root: Internet Governance and the Taming of Cyberspace. Cambridge: MIT Press (2002)

Universal Service: Interconnection, Competition, and Monopoly in the Making of American Telecommunications. Cambridge: MIT Press (1997)

China in the Information Age: Telecommunications and the Dilemmas of Reform. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies (1996) Co-author: Zixiang Tan)

Telephone Companies in Paradise: A Case Study in Telecommunications Deregulation. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers (1993)

Refereed Journal Articles

Artificial General Intelligence: The illusion that distorts and distracts digital governance. Journal of Cyber Policy, December 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23738871.2025.2597194>

It's Just Distributed Computing: Rethinking AI Governance. Telecommunications Policy 49 (3) (2025)

Non-governmental governance of trust on the Internet: WebPKI as public good. Journal of Cybersecurity 11, 1 (2025). With Karl Grindal and Vagisha Srivastava.

Exploring the role of data enclosure in the digital political economy. Telecommunications Policy 47(8). (2023) With Brenden Kuerbis.

Regulation of platform market access by the United States and China: Neo-mercantilism in digital services. Policy & Internet 14, 2, 348-367. (2022) With Karim Farhat.

"Information as Power: Evolving US Military Information Operations and their Implications for Global Internet Governance." Cyber Defense Review 7, 2, 79-93 (2022). With Karl Grindal.

Standardizing Security: Surveillance, Human Rights, and the Battle over TLS 1.3. Journal of Information Policy 11, 1-25 (2021). With Colin J. Kiernan.

Against Sovereignty in Cyberspace. International Studies Review, 22, 4, 779-801 (2020).

The Hidden Standards War: Economic Factors Affecting IPv6 Deployment." Digital Policy, Regulation and Governance, 22, 4 (2020). With Brenden Kuerbis.

Requiem for a Dream: On Advancing Human Rights via Internet Architecture," Policy and Internet, 11, 1 (March 2019). With Farzaneh Badii.

Data flows and the digital economy: Information as a mobile factor of production," Digital Policy, Regulation and Governance 21 (1), (January 2019), 71-87. With Karl Grindal.

Cyber Attribution: Can a New Institution Achieve Transnational Credibility?" Cyber Defense Review, April 30, 2019. With Karl Grindal, Brenden Kuerbis, Farzaneh Badii.

Is Cybersecurity Eating Internet Governance?" Digital Policy, Regulation and Governance 19:6, 415-428 (September 2017).

Internet routing registries, data governance, and security. Journal of Cyber Policy Vol 2 No. 1. (March 2017). With Brenden Kuerbis.

Governing Internet Territory: ICANN, Sovereignty Claims, Property Rights, and Country Code Top Level Domains. Columbia Science and Technology Law Review, Vol. XVIII. (January 2017). With Farzaneh Badii.

Hyper-transparency and social control: Social media as magnets for regulation. Telecommunications Policy, 39(9), 804-810 (October 2015)

Detaching Internet governance from the state: Globalizing the IANA. Georgetown Journal of International Affairs (October 20, 2014).

Dimensioning the elephant: An empirical analysis of the IPv4 number market Info 15(6), 6-18, (September 2013). With Brenden Kuerbis and Hadi Asghari.

Where is the Governance in Internet Governance? New Media & Society, 15(5), 720-736 (August 2013). With Michel van Eeten.

Internet Security and Networked Governance in International Relations," International Studies Review, 15(1), pp. 86-104, (March 2013). With Andreas Schmidt and Brenden Kuerbis.

Deep packet inspection and bandwidth management: Battles over BitTorrent in Canada and the United States. Telecommunications Policy Vol. 36, No. 6, (July 2012), 462-475. With Hadi Asghari.

Policing the Network: Using DPI for copyright enforcement." Surveillance and Society Vol. 9, No. 4, (July 2012), 348-364. With Andreas Kuehn and Stephanie Santoso.

Negotiating a new governance hierarchy: The conflicting incentives to secure Internet routing." Communications & Strategies 81 (March 2011), 125-142. With Brenden Kuerbis.

The end of the net as we know it? Deep packet inspection and Internet governance, New Media and Society, Vol. 13, No. 7 (November 2011), 1142-1160. With Ralf Bendorath.

Critical resource: An institutional economics of the Internet addressing-routing space. Telecommunications Policy Vol. 34 (2010) 405-416.

Disrupting Global Governance: The Internet Whois Service, ICANN and Privacy. Journal of Information Technology and Politics Vol. 5, No. 3, (2008) 303-325. With Mawaki Chango.

Info-Communism? Ownership and freedom in the digital economy. First Monday, April 2008.

Democratizing Global Communication? Global Civil Society and the Campaign for Communication Rights in the Information Society." International Journal of Communication Vol. 1 (2007). With Brenden Kuerbis and Christiane Page.

The Internet and Global Governance: Principles and Norms for a New Regime." Global Governance 13:2 (April-June, 2007). With John Mathias and Hans Klein.

Digital Identity: How Users Value the Attributes of Online Identifiers," Information Economics and Policy 18:4 (November 2006), 405-422. With Yuri Park, Jongsu Lee and Tai-yoo Yim.

The Post-COM internet: toward regular and objective procedures for Internet governance. Telecommunications Policy 28 (7/8), 487-502 (2004). With Lee McKnight.

Civil Society and the Shaping of Communication-Information Policy: Four Decades of Advocacy." The Information Society 20 (3), 1-17 (2004). With Christiane Page and Brenden Kuerbis.

Competing DNS Roots: Creative Destruction or Just Plain Destruction?" Journal of Network Industries, 3(3) (Summer 2002).

Rough justice: A Statistical assessment of ICANN's Uniform Dispute Resolution Policy." The Information Society, 17(3), (2001) 153-163.

The WTO and China's Ban on Foreign Investment in Telecommunication Services: A Game-theoretic Analysis." Telecommunications Policy 24 (8/9) (September-October, 2000), 731-760. With Peter Lovelock.

Technology and Institutional Innovation: Internet Domain Names." International Journal of Communications Law and Policy, Issue 5, Article 1 (2000).

ICANN and Internet Governance: Sorting through the debris of self-regulation." Info 1 (6), 477-500, (December 1999).

Digital Convergence and its Consequences," Javnost/The Public 6, 3, 11-28 (1999).

Universal Service Policies as Wealth Redistribution," Government Information Quarterly, 16(4), 353-358 (1999).

The Battle over Internet Domain Names: Global or National TLDs?" Telecommunications Policy 22(2) (March 1998).

Telecommunications Access in the Age of Electronic Commerce: Toward a Third-Generation Universal Service Policy. Federal Communications Law Journal 49, 3 (April 1997).

Universal Service from the Bottom Up: A profile of telecommunications access in Camden, New Jersey. The Information Society 12, 3 (1996) 273-291. With Jorge R. Schemert.

Why Communications Policy is Passing Mass Communications By: Political Economy as the Missing Link. Critical Studies in Mass Communication 13, 3 (December 1995), 457-72.

One Country, Two Systems: What will 1997 mean in telecommunications? Telecommunications Policy 18, 3 (April 1994) 243-53.

Universal Service in Telephone History: a reconstruction. Telecommunications Policy 17, 5 (July 1993) 352-69.

New Zealand's Revolution in Spectrum Management. Information Economics and Policy 5, 2 (July 1993) 159-77.

The Switchboard Problem: Scale, signaling and organization in the era of manual telephone switching, 1878-1898. Technology and Culture 30, 3 (July, 1989) 534-60.

Technical Standards, the Market, and Radio Frequency Allocation Telecommunications Policy 12, 1 (March 1988) 42-56.

Book Chapters (refereed)

Kuerbis, B., Badiei, F., Grindal, K., & Mueller, M. (2022). Understanding transnational cyber attribution. Chapter 15 in Myriam Dunn Cavelty and Andreas Wenger (eds.) Cyber Security Politics, Socio-Technological Transformations and Political Fragmentation, London: Routledge.

Inventing Internet Governance: The Historical Trajectory of the Phenomenon and the Field. With Farzaneh Badiei. Chapter 3 in DeNardis, Cogburn, Levinson and Musiani (eds.) Researching Internet Governance: Methods, Frameworks, Futures. MIT Press (2020).

Communications and the Internet. Chapter 25 in J. Cogan, I. Hurd & I. Johnstone, The Oxford Handbook of International Organizations, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2016)

Milton Mueller. "Einstein on the Breach: Surveillance Technology, Cybersecurity and Organizational Change." Chapter 6 in G. Giacomello (Ed.), Security in Cyberspace: Targeting Nations, Infrastructures, Individuals. London: Bloomsbury (2014). With Andreas Kuehn.

Internet Addressing: Global Governance of Shared Resource Spaces," Chapter 3 in Ian Brown (ed.), Research Handbook on the Governance of the Internet. Edward Elgar, 2013.

China and Global Internet Governance: A Tiger by the Tail." Chapter 9 in R. Deibert, J. Palfrey, R. Rohozinski & J. Zittrain (Eds.) Access Contested: Security, Identity and Resistance in Asian Cyberspace. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press (2011).

Securing the Root. Chapter 4 in Opening Standards: The global politics of interoperability. L. DeNardis, (Ed.). Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press (2011) With Brenden Kuerbis.

Property and Commons in Internet Governance," Chapter in Governance, Powers and Regulation on the Internet, E. Brousseau, M. Marzouki and Cecile Meadel (Eds.), Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Delegation, Networks and Internet Governance, Chapter 9 in Miles Kahler (ed.), Networked Politics: Agency, Power and Governance. Ithaca: Cornell University Press (2009). With Peter Cowhey.

Toward an Economics of the Domain Name System." Handbook of Telecommunications Economics, Volume 2, Technology Evolution and the Internet, Martin E. Cave, Sumit K. Majumdar and Ingo Vogelsang (eds.), Amsterdam, etc.: North-Holland/Elsevier. (2005)

Convergence: A Reality Check." Chapter 11 in The WTO and Global Convergence in Telecommunications and Audio-Visual Services, D. Gerardin and D. Luff (Eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

ICANN and Intelsat: Global Communication Technologies and their Incorporation into International Regimes." Chapter in Sandra Braman (ed.), The Emergent Global Information Policy Regime. Palgrave/Macmillan, 2003. With Dale Thompson.

Property Rights and Institutional Innovation: Internet Domain Names," in G. Libecap (Ed.), Advances in the Study of Entrepreneurship, Innovation, and Economic Growth, Vol 12, Entrepreneurship and Growth in the American Economy. Amsterdam: Elsevier (2000).

Trademarks and Domain Names: Property rights and institutional evolution in cyberspace." Sharon E. Gillett and Ingo Vogelsang (Eds.), Competition, Deregulation, and Convergence: Proceedings of the 26th Annual Telecommunications Policy Research Conference, Mahwah, New Jersey: LEA Publishers (1999).

Household Financing of the First 100 Feet?" in D. Hurley and J. Keller (Eds.) The First 100 Feet: Options for Internet and Broadband Access, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press (1999) 11-23. With David Gabel.

China's Telecommunications Sector and the WTO," in James Dorn (Ed.), China in the New Millennium: Market Reforms and Social Development. Washington, DC: Cato Institute (1998).

The Hong Kong Internet Exchange: A Case Study in the Economics, Evolution, and Connectivity of Asian Internet Infrastructure. In Brian Kahin and James H. Keller, (eds.) Coordinating the Internet (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997).

The User-Driven Network: the present extent of private networking in the United States. In E. Noam et al (eds.) Private Networks and Public Objectives (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1996).

On the Frontier of Deregulation: New Zealand Telecommunications and the Problem of Interconnecting Competing Networks. In Gabel, D. and Weiman, D., (eds.) Opening Networks to Competition: the Regulation and Pricing of Access. (Kluwer: 1996).

Creating a Telecommunications Free Trade Zone in Greater China. in Lee, P., (ed.) Telecommunications and Development in China (New Jersey: Hampton Press, 1996).

Universal Service as an Appropriability Problem: a new framework for analysis." in Brock, G. (ed.) Toward a Competitive Telecommunications Industry: Selected Papers from the 1994 Telecommunications Policy Research Conference. (Washington, DC: Lawrence Erlbaum & Associates, 1995).

Contested Terrain: Hong Kong's International Telecommunications on the Eve of 1997." in Comor, E.A. (ed.), The Global Political Economy of Communication (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

Monographs

The Myth of AGI: How the illusion of Artificial General Intelligence distorts and distracts digital governance. Internet Governance Project (May 2024)

TikTok and US National Security. Internet Governance Project. (January 2023). With Karim Farhat.

Securing Internet Freedom: Security, Privacy and Global Governance, Inaugural Address, Technology University of Delft XS4ALL Professor (October 2008).

Reinventing Media Activism: Public Interest Advocacy in the Making of U.S. Communication-Information Policy, 1960-2002. The Convergence Center. Online. July 2004.

Telecom Policy and Digital Convergence. Hong Kong: City University Press, the Hong Kong Economic Policy Studies Series (1997)

International Telecommunications in Hong Kong: The case for liberalization (2nd edition). Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press (1992)

Edited Collections and Conference Proceedings

Special issue on AI governance, Journal of Cyber Policy, December 2025, Chatham House UK.

Editor, with Karim Farhat: What is 'national' security in a globally connected digital economy? Internet Governance Project, (February 2024).

Guest editor with Yik-chan Chin: Special issue on Comparative Analysis of Platform Governance in the U.S. and China. Policy and Internet 14, 2. (2022)

Guest editor: Special issue on 'Global Internet Governance, Research and Public Policy Challenges for the next Decade.' Telecommunications Policy 36, 6 (2012).

Guest Editor with Becky Lentz: Special issue on "Social Determinants of Public Policy in the Information Age," The Information Society 20, 3 (Summer, 2004)

Guest Editor: Special issue on "Emerging Internet Infrastructures," Communications of the ACM (1999).

Guest Editor: Special issue on "Telecommunications and the Integration of China," Telecommunications Policy 18, 3 (April 1994).

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

2003 – 2015: Professor, School of Information Studies, Syracuse University, USA.

2008 – 2010: XS4All Chair for the Security and Privacy of Internet Users, Technology University of Delft School of Policy and Management, Netherlands.

1998 – 2003: Associate Professor, Syracuse University School of Information Studies.

1992 – 1997: Assistant Professor, Department of Communication, School of Communication, Information, and Library Studies, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Promoted to Associate Professor, July 1997.

1995 & 1997: Visiting Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, Department of Information and Systems Management.

1991 – 1992: Assistant Director, International Center for Telecommunications Management, College of Business Administration, University of Nebraska at Omaha.

1989 – 1991: Research Associate, International Center for Telecommunications Management, College of Business Administration, University of Nebraska at Omaha.

AWARDS

2019

5th Annual Vincent and Elinor Ostrom Memorial Lecture. "Sovereignty and Cyberspace: Institutions and Internet governance," University of Indiana, Bloomington, October 3rd.

2015

Best paper award, International Studies Association International Communications section, for "Are we in a digital cold war?"

2014

Laura and L. Douglas Meredith Professor of Teaching Excellence award, Syracuse University

2013

Honorable mention, Best research paper, 2013 iConference for "Buying Numbers."

2010

Best Paper award, Korean Journal of Policy Studies for "ICANN, Inc.: Accountability and Participation in the Governance of Critical Internet Resources."

2009

International Telecommunications Education and Research Association (ITERA) Outstanding Research Award

2002

Ruling the Root nominated for Donald McGannon award, best book in Communications, 2002