

The Infrastructures of International Politics

PLSC 39204

Autumn 2026

Time: Mondays, 11:30am-2:20pm

Room: Pick Hall, 506

Professor: Austin Carson, Department of Political Science, acarson@uchicago.edu

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 1-3:30pm. Sign up at [this link](#).

Course description

This is a graduate seminar addressing the ways infrastructures shape international politics and their role in empirical and theoretical research in the field of International Relations (IR). Infrastructures are the technical systems that make everyday life and political processes possible. This course adopts infrastructure as a central organizing concept to understand a diverse array of dynamics in IR and assesses the value and tradeoffs in doing so. At its best, “infrastructure” can unify the study of topics and processes previously analyzed in isolation while offering a distinctive theoretical lens. Course material addresses questions like: What is infrastructure and what forms does it take? What are its distinctive features? Does attending to it uncover overlooked relationships, networks, processes, and yield novel insights? How does infrastructure constitute and affect international structure, agency, power, and order? Readings cross disciplines including work in IR but also history, sociology, anthropology, and economics. We move through themed weeks that study socio-technical systems which enable cross-border telecommunication, free trade, diplomacy, intelligence, energy flows, and military power projection. Readings also address infrastructure’s materiality, its socio-cultural meanings, its path dependence, and unintended consequences. Assignments include writing assignments that focus on student creativity and original research.

Required texts

Beware: there is a heavy reading load for this course! If you don’t have the bandwidth this quarter, perhaps it’s better to take this class another time.

No books are required for purchase. All assigned book chapters will either be scanned and available on Canvas or a digital version is available from our Library. All academic articles are available through the UChicago library website.

Assignments & Grade

Beware: there is a major research project in this course! If you don’t have the bandwidth this quarter, perhaps it’s better to take this class another time.

The class grade will be based on the following:

- Seminar participation (20%)
- Seminar journal (15%)
- Scaffolded research project (65% total)

Seminar participation (20%). Students should come to each seminar meeting having completed all assigned readings and prepared to thoughtfully contribute to discussion. Students can err in two ways: under-

participating (silence) or over-participating (dominating discussion). Don't do either. Seminar participation may also include occasionally leading discussion of specific assigned readings. I take seriously the wide variation in student comfort with verbal contributions. It is a tricky skill to develop that requires practice. Talk to me in office hours if you find yourself struggling with participation. I reserve the right to use "cold calling" but rarely do it.

Seminar journal (15%). Each student will keep a "seminar journal," a physical journal in which they write during class. This assignment is designed to be a low-stakes writing exercise that encourages a different method of reflecting on readings, builds reading comprehension without the aid of AI, and builds habits of creativity in research. Students will write in their journals during seminar in response to a prompt. Some prompts will ask for critical reflections on the readings; some will ask students to pitch a creative idea for a research paper. I will grade journal entries using a simple system (check / check plus / check minus) that focuses on clarity of exposition, fluency in the readings, and engagement with the prompt. Stylistic prose and quality of penmanship will not be assessed.

Scaffolded research project (65% in total). Students will work on a quarter-long original research project on some aspect of infrastructure and its relevance to some aspect of international politics. There is no substitute for hands-on experience doing original research that blends some kind of empirical content with theoretical innovation. It is what graduate training at UChicago is designed to foster and what we think we do well. Thus, the primary goal of this assignment is to give graduate students a framework for developing an original research project within our compressed quarter system. A secondary goal is to create opportunities for students to learn some of the "hidden curriculum," or the many rules, conventions, and best practices for doing successful, original scholarly research. This assignment is also inherently AI-resistant, which is a nice bonus given where the world is right now.

Students will complete a series of assignments. These are intentionally "scaffolded," or broken into small steps that provide opportunities for my feedback and force students to sharpen their research idea early in a fast-paced quarter.

- Topic proposal and candidate research questions (due Wk 3) (5%)
 - 1-page single spaced, memo format
- Data overview and summary of methodology (due Wk 4) (5%)
 - 1.5-page single spaced memo + up to 1 page of visuals (broadly defined)
- Existing literature summary and a preliminary, contrasting line of argument (due Wk 5) (5%)
 - Up to 2 pages, single spaced memo
- Empirical patterns summary (due Wk 7) (10%)
 - Up to 3 pages, single spaced, memo format or a narrative
- A draft theory (due Wk 8) (5%)
 - 1-page single spaced memo + ½ page of visuals (arrow diagram or similar)
- Final paper (due Weds of finals week) (30%)
 - Up to 25-page, double spaced, Times New Roman, 1" margins
 - Submit via Google Documents or Microsoft Word with version history

I will explain these assignments in greater detail during class.

Professionalism

We will create a quarter-long community with its own intellectual culture. All students should feel welcome to articulate, experiment with, and rigorously test their ideas during class. To enable this, we all must follow some basic norms of respectful exchange. Verbal contributions during seminar should be respectful of other viewpoints. Avoid a confrontational tone but do not shy from disagreement. Learning happens through

expression of alternative and conflicting ideas. Be professional. Acts of harassment or misconduct based on protected identity categories is not allowed. A useful university resource on sexual harassment and misconduct is [here](#). I encourage you to come to me with concerns about anyone's professionalism, including your own.

Email policy

Note that due to the very busy quarter structure and several non-teaching responsibilities that I hold at the university, I may not be able to read or respond to student emails for 24 hours. I do not regularly check my email on weekends. Plan accordingly.

Tips for success

One key to success in a grad seminar like this is staying organized. This includes developing a system for taking and using detailed notes. I specifically recommend experimenting with techniques that help you take “forest thinking” notes (i.e. the big picture) as well as “trees thinking” notes (i.e. detailed notes on each reading). You might explore reference management systems like Zotero. You should also put thought into what system(s) you will use to keep your research project organized. Note that keeping material organized is one area where AI may be useful, if used carefully and with exacting oversight.

Late policy

Deadlines are strict. Papers/assignments received late will be dropped a full letter grade for each 24-hour period beyond the deadline. Exceptions can be for unexpected illness or family emergencies. Advanced communication, to the extent it is possible, is important. This is especially true of incompletes (and, relatedly, “pass/fail” arrangements), which must receive approval before finals week.

Academic integrity

Language and ideas that are not your own must be properly cited. I strictly follow the University's policy on academic integrity: “It is contrary to justice, academic integrity, and to the spirit of intellectual inquiry to submit another's statements or ideas as one's own work.” More details on the policy are [here](#).

Student disability accommodations

If you need accommodations, please provide us with a copy of an Accommodation Determination Letter (provided to you by the Student Disability Services office) as soon as possible so that you may discuss with him/her how your accommodations may be implemented in this course.

AI policy

Students may only use AI tools that are expressly permitted here or in other course documents I develop. Unauthorized use of AI tools for any purposes in this course will violate the University's academic integrity policy. If you are unclear if something is an AI tool or what the policy is, check with me.

Let's first break down AI's relevance and permitted uses by category. This class involves three main areas of student effort. AI fits differently in different lines of effort.

- *Understanding assigned readings.* Taking shortcuts with assigned readings via AI summarization is tempting and very harmful to the learning goals of this course. It is prohibited but this prohibition is patently unenforceable. So, you must regulate yourself. Some productive, permitted uses of AI for understanding assigned readings do exist, including making your own manual summary and comparing it to an AI summary, asking an AI to critique your notes/summary, and asking an AI to suggest additional readings about a passage/idea in an assigned reading that you find interesting.
- *Formulating and researching your research project.* Many activities in this category should never be outsourced to AI, such as topic selection, the justification for topic choice, question selection, the justification for question choice, choices about research design and justification, and the execution of many specific data collection and analysis tasks (varies by methodology). Some

productive, permitted uses of AI are as a sparring partner about some of the above choices, as one source for relevant scholarly readings (beware of hallucinations), as a way of comparing a scholarly concept you wish to use with others, as a source of suggestions for kinds of data that might be consulted. Some data cleaning, processing, and organization tasks can be made much faster with AI and are permitted, though helpfulness varies by methodology. See below about the risks you accept when using an AI in any of these roles, especially related to data.

- *Writing assignments.* Writing is sacred. It is a key skill developed in this course and a skill for life. Due to AI / language models, average writing is now available to anyone. Good, creative, memorable writing is now what separates us. There is no substitute for improving your ability to do original writing. Thus, AI may not be used to generate written content or revise manually written material. Text generated by AI tools as a form of writing for any assignment is forbidden under any circumstances.

Now, some principles to guide your use and my teaching regarding AI.

- *Transparency.* Each student who uses AI in any way for an assignment must include a footnote that lists in detail the role AI played in preparation and assignment content. No statement of AI use means no AI was used on an assignment. I will be transparent if I ever use AI for the course.
- *Validation.* Each digitally submitted written assignment should have a “version history” available for my inspection. File version history is one way to assess how the content of assignments was generated. This is not hard to do. [Microsoft Word](#), [Google Docs](#), and cloud storage services like [Dropbox](#) and [Box](#) provide ways to save and later view the history of all versions of a file. Each digitally submitted assignment is also eligible for review through Pangram. An adverse result from Pangram will never be the sole basis for penalties given the risk of false positives. But a Pangram review can trigger a closer inspection by me, a discussion, and other steps.
- *Experimentation and equity.* Students may propose uses for AI tools that are not already expressly permitted. If I approve it, the student must summarize the practice in a class resource via a short, written summary with visual aids and an example of implementation. These will be compiled in class-wide resource saved on Canvas. These steps must be completed before students use the practice. All approved AI uses will be available to all students.

A reminder: students and scholars are responsible for the work they present as their own. *Every time we use AI, we accept a risk that we have unknowingly imported errors of fact or misrepresentation in our scholarship.* This is why expertise (often earned through manual effort and human expertise) and manual review of AI are so critical to its effective use. Students will be held accountable for work presented in their name that contains hallucinations, erroneous citations, manufactured data, or other sins against social science.

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Week 1. What is Infrastructure?

Date: Sept 28

This week focuses on meanings and boundaries of the core concept of the seminar. How do different scholars define infrastructure? Where did the concept come from? What is not infrastructure? What are the tradeoffs in broad vs. narrow conceptualizations of infrastructure? Is an “infrastructural approach” different from studying infrastructure? Is infrastructure exclusively material or includes social or ideational elements? How does infrastructure relate to major IR theoretical ideas like “structure” and “process/processualism”?

Required readings

- Carse, Ashley. “Keyword: Infrastructure: How a Humble French Engineering Term Shaped the Modern World.” In Harvey, Penelope, Casper Jensen, and Atsuro Morita, eds. *Infrastructures and Social Complexity: A Companion*. Routledge, 2016.
- Bridges, Mary. “The Infrastructural Turn in Historical Scholarship.” *Modern American History* 6.1 (2023): 103-120.
- Bueger, Christian, Tobias Liebetrau, and Jan Stockbruegger. “Theorizing Infrastructures in Global Politics.” *International Studies Quarterly* 67.4 (2023).
- Bakonyi, Jutta, and May Darwich. “Infrastructures and International Relations: A Critical Reflection on Materials and Mobilities.” *International Studies Review* 26.4 (2024): viae046.
- Bieling, Hans-Jürgen, et al. “Infrastructural Perspectives on Global Ordering: A Research Agenda on the Infrastructure-Orders-Nexus.” *International Political Sociology* 20.4 (2026): olag032.

You should also skim/refamiliarize:

- Waltz, Kenneth N. *Theory of International Politics*. McGraw-Hill Humanities/Social Sciences/Languages, 1979, especially Chapter 5. (Think about: structure vs. infrastructure)
- Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus, and Daniel H. Nexon. “Relations Before States: Substance, Process and the Study of World Politics.” *European Journal of International Relations* 5.3 (1999): 291-332, especially pp. 291-4, 302-4. (Think about: infrastructures as “process”)

Additional work on these themes

Concept in IR

- De Goede, Marieke, and Carola Westermeier. “Infrastructural Geopolitics.” *International Studies Quarterly* 66.3 (2022): sqac033.
- Bieling, Hans-Jürgen, et al., eds. *Transnational Infrastructures and the Transformation of Global Orders*. Springer Nature Switzerland, 2025.

Concept in Interdisciplinary Scholarship

- Bridges, Mary. “The Infrastructural Turn in Historical Scholarship.” *Modern American History* 6.1 (2023): 103-120.
- Neuman, Michael. “Infiltrating Infrastructures: On the Nature of Networked Infrastructure.” *Journal of Urban Technology* 13.1 (2006): 3-31.
- Hansen, Jan, and Frederik Schulze. “Toward a Material History of Infrastructure.” *Icon* 26.1 (2021): 67-89.
- Brian Larkin, “The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42 (2013): 327–343.
- Susan Leigh Star, “The Ethnography of Infrastructure,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 43 no. 3 (1999): 377–391
- Anand, Nikhil, Akhil Gupta, and Hannah Appel, eds. *The Promise of Infrastructure*. Duke University Press, 2018.
- Harvey, Penelope, Casper Bruun Jensen, and Atsuro Morita, eds. *Infrastructures and Social Complexity: A Companion*. Taylor & Francis, 2016.

Good Non-Political Science Examples

- Hughes, Thomas. *Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880-1930*. JHU press, 1993.
- Carse, Ashley. *Beyond the Big Ditch: Politics, Ecology, and Infrastructure at the Panama Canal*. MIT Press, 2014.
- MacKenzie, Donald. *Inventing Accuracy: A Historical Sociology of Nuclear Missile Guidance*. MIT press, 1993.
- Edwards, Paul N. *A Vast Machine: Computer Models, Climate Data, and the Politics of Global Warming*. MIT Press, 2013.
- Clark, Anna. *The Poisoned City: Flint's Water and the American Urban Tragedy*. Metropolitan Books, 2018.
- Aschauer, David Alan. "Is Public Expenditure Productive?." *Journal of Monetary Economics* 23.2 (1989): 177-200.
- Straub, Stephane. "Infrastructure and Development: A Critical Appraisal of the Macro-level Literature." *Journal of Development Studies* 47.5 (2011): 683-708.

Week 2. Military Infrastructures

Date: Oct 5

This week focuses on a kind of infrastructure that has received significant attention in the field of International Relations: military bases. What is military infrastructure and what are its varieties? Where are they located (domestic vs. foreign)? Why do states build sprawling foreign military infrastructures? How do foreign-based military infrastructures affect a host state's local politics and its sovereignty? Are military infrastructures necessary to project military power? Are military infrastructures a source of hierarchy in the international system?

Required readings

- Yeo, Andrew, and Stacie Pettyjohn. "Bases of Empire? The Logic of Overseas US Military Base Expansion, 1870–2016." *Comparative Strategy* 40.1 (2021): 18-35.
- Cooley, Alexander, and Daniel H. Nexon. "'The Empire will Compensate You': The Structural Dynamics of the US Overseas Basing Network." *Perspectives on Politics* 11.4 (2013): 1034-1050.
- Andrew Yeo, *Activists, Alliances, and Anti-U.S. Base Protests* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2011). Introduction and Chapter 6.
- Carson, Austin, Rachel Metz, and Paul Poast. "Allies and Access: Implications of an American Turn Away from Alliances." *International Organization* 79.S1 (2025): S103-S116.
- Khalili, Laleh. "The Infrastructural Power of the Military: The Geoeconomic Role of the US Army Corps of Engineers in the Arabian Peninsula." *European Journal of International Relations* 24.4 (2018): 911-933.

Additional work on these themes

Foreign Military Basing

- Schmidt, Sebastian. "Imperial Relations? Hierarchy and Contemporary Base Politics." *Security Studies* 31.5 (2022): 917-944.
- Cooley, Alexander, and Hendrik Spruyt. *Contracting States: Sovereign Transfers in International Relations*. Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Cooley, Alexander. *Base Politics: Democratic Change and the U.S. Military Overseas* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).
- Yeo, Andrew I. "The Politics of Overseas Military Bases." *Perspectives on Politics* 15.1 (2017): 129-136.
- Bitar, Sebastian E. *US Military Bases, Quasi-Bases, and Domestic Politics in Latin America*. Springer, 2016.
- Calder, Kent E. *Embattled Garrisons: Comparative Base Politics and American Globalism*. Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Schmidt, Sebastian. *Armed Guests: Territorial Sovereignty and Foreign Military Basing*. Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Vine, David. *Base Nation: How U.S. Military Bases Abroad Harm America and the World*. Henry Holt, 2015.
- Braithwaite, Alex, and Jeffrey Kucik. "Does the Presence of Foreign Troops Affect Stability in the Host Country?." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 14.4 (2018): 536-560.
- Allen, Michael A., et al. "Outside the Wire: US Military Deployments and Public Opinion in Host States." *American Political Science Review* 114.2 (2020): 326-341.
- Stravers, Andrew, and Dana El Kurd. "Strategic Autocracy: American Military Forces and Regime Type." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 5.3 (2020): 427-442.
- Brown, Jonathan N. "Immovable Positions: Public Acknowledgment and Bargaining in Military Basing Negotiations." *Security Studies* 23.2 (2014): 258-292.
- Pettyjohn, Stacie L. *US Global Defense Posture, 1783-2011*. RAND, 2012.
- Holmes, Amy Austin. *Social Unrest and American Military Bases in Turkey and Germany since 1945*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Martinez Machain, Carla, Michael A. Allen, Michael E. Flynn, and Andrew Stravers. *Beyond the Wire: US Military Deployments and Host Country Public Opinion*. Oxford University Press, 2022.

- Harkavy, Robert E. *Strategic Basing and the Great Powers, 1200–2000*. Routledge, 2007.
- Brown, J. Wellington, and Dean C. Dulay. “Barracks and Barricades: How Internal Security Threats Affect Foreign Basing Access in the Philippines.” *Asian Security*, vol. 17, no. 3, 2021, pp. 398–417.
- Cabestan, Jean-Pierre. “China’s Military Base in Djibouti: A Microcosm of China’s Growing Competition with the United States and New Bipolarity.” *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 29, no. 125, 2020, pp. 731–747.
- Cobbett, Elizabeth, and Ra Mason. “Djiboutian Sovereignty: Worlding Global Security Networks.” *International Affairs*, vol. 97, no. 6, 2021, pp. 1767–1784.
- Envall, H. D. P., and Kerri Ng. “The Okinawa ‘Effect’ in US–Japan Alliance Politics.” *Asian Security*, vol. 11, no. 3, 2015, pp. 225–241.
- Forgash, Rebecca. *Intimacy across the Fencelines: Sex, Marriage, and the U.S. Military in Okinawa*. Cornell University Press, 2020.
- Hikotani, Takako, Yusaku Horiuchi, and Atsushi Tago. “Revisiting Negative Externalities of U.S. Military Bases: The Case of Okinawa.” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2023, pp. 325–349.
- Joyce, Renanah Miles, and Brian Blankenship. “The Market for Foreign Bases.” *Security Studies*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2024, pp. 194–223.
- Kawato, Yuko. *Protests Against U.S. Military Base Policy in Asia: Persuasion and Its Limits*. Stanford University Press, 2015.
- Kim, Claudia J. “Bases That Leave: Consequences of US Base Closures and Realignments in South Korea.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 48, no. 2, 2018, pp. 339–357.
- Kim, Claudia Junghyun. *Base Towns: Local Contestation of the U.S. Military in Korea and Japan*. Oxford University Press, 2023.
- Mattheis, Frank. “How to Wield Regional Power from Afar: A Conceptual Discussion Illustrated by the Case of France in Central Africa.” *International Politics*, vol. 61, 2024, pp. 145–168.
- Oyosoro, Felix Idongesit. “Securing Interests or Undermining Sovereignty? The Political Implications of Foreign Military Basing in Africa.” *African Security*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2023, pp. 248–275.
- Oyewole, Samuel. “Civil-Military Relations: Conflict and Cooperation between Military Bases and Host Communities in Nigeria.” *African Security*, vol. 13, no. 4, 2020, pp. 353–379.
- Paloyo, Alfredo R., Colin Vance, and Matthias Vorell. “The Regional Economic Effects of Military Base Realignment and Closures in Germany.” *Defence and Peace Economics*, vol. 21, nos. 5–6, 2010, pp. 567–579.
- Tanrıverdi Yaşar, Nebahat. “A Relational Approach to Turkey’s Security Engagement with African States.” *European Journal of International Security*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2026, pp. 115–133.
- Kardon, Isaac B. “China’s Global Maritime Access: Alternatives to Overseas Military Bases in the Twenty-First Century.” *Security Studies* 31.5 (2022): 885–916.

Week 3. Private Infrastructures

Date: Oct 12

This week focuses on how commercially built infrastructures affect who has power in international politics and what kind. What are examples of private transnational infrastructures (e.g. undersea data cables; financial transaction systems)? Is there a meaningful boundary between state and private infrastructures, and how do we draw it? How do privately built infrastructures shape international politics? In what ways do states harness commercial infrastructures for coercive power? In what ways do infrastructural functions give firms governance or coercive powers? (Note: there is some overlap with work on “weaponized interdependence” in Week 6.)

Required readings

- Abels, Joscha. "Private Infrastructure in Geopolitical Conflicts: The Case of Starlink and the War in Ukraine." *European Journal of International Relations* 30.4 (2024): 842-866.
- Srivastava, Swati. "Platform Rule: Facebook, Corporate Power, and Networked Publics." *European Journal of International Relations* (2026): 13540661261444845.
- Appel, Hannah C. "Walls and White Elephants: Oil Extraction, Responsibility, and Infrastructural Violence in Equatorial Guinea." *Ethnography* 13.4 (2012): 439-465.
- Easterling, Keller. *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space*. Verso Books, 2016. Introduction, Chapter 3 “Broadband.”
- Kardon, Isaac B. "China’s Global Maritime Access: Alternatives to Overseas Military Bases in the Twenty-First Century." *Security Studies* 31.5 (2022): 885-916.

Additional work on these themes

Transnational Commercial Infrastructures

- Bueger, Christian, and Tobias Liebetrau. "Protecting hidden infrastructure: The security politics of the global submarine data cable network." *Contemporary Security Policy* 42.3 (2021): 391-413.
- Abels, Joscha, and Hans-Jürgen Bieling. "The geoeconomics of infrastructures: Viewing globalization and global rivalry through a lens of infrastructural competition." *Globalizations* 21.4 (2024): 722-739.
- Bakonyi, Jutta, et al. "Infrastructures and capitalist world ordering." *International Political Sociology* 19.3 (2025): olaf028.
- Levinson, Marc. *The Box: How the Shipping Container Made the World Smaller and the World Economy Bigger*. Princeton University Press, 2016.
- Bernards, Nick, and Malcolm Campbell-Verduyn. "Understanding Technological Change in Global Finance through Infrastructures." *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 26, no. 5, 2019, pp. 773–789.
- de Goede, Marieke. "Finance/Security Infrastructures." *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2021, pp. 351–368.
- Abels, Joscha, and Milan Babić. "Cable wars? Mapping the political economy of submarine cables in an era of geoeconomic competition." *Globalizations* (2025): 1-26.

Firms and Platforms

- Bernards, Nick, and Malcolm Campbell-Verduyn. "Understanding Technological Change in Global Finance through Infrastructures." *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 26, no. 5, 2019, pp. 773–789.
- de Goede, Marieke. "Finance/Security Infrastructures." *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2021, pp. 351–368.
- Atal, Maha Rafi. "The Janus Faces of Silicon Valley." *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2021, pp. 336–350.
- Lehdonvirta, Vili. *Cloud Empires: How Digital Platforms Are Overtaking the State and How We Can Regain Control*. MIT Press, 2022.
- DeNardis, Laura. *The Global War for Internet Governance*. Yale University Press, 2014.
- Klonick, Kate. "The New Governors: The People, Rules, and Processes Governing Online Speech." *Harvard Law Review*, vol. 131, 2018, pp. 1598–1670.

- Gorwa, Robert. *The Politics of Platform Regulation: How Governments Shape Online Content Moderation*. Oxford University Press, 2024.
- Gillespie, Tarleton. *Custodians of the Internet: Platforms, Content Moderation, and the Hidden Decisions That Shape Social Media*. Yale University Press, 2018.
- Culpepper, Pepper D., and Kathleen Thelen. "Are We All Amazon Primed? Consumers and the Politics of Platform Power." *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 53, no. 2, 2020, pp. 288–318.
- Zeitzoff, Thomas. "How Social Media Is Changing Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 61, no. 9, 2017, pp. 1970–1991.
- Gohdes, Anita R. *Repression in the Digital Age: Surveillance, Censorship, and the Dynamics of State Violence*. Oxford University Press, 2023.
- Lanoszka, Alexander. "Disinformation in International Politics." *European Journal of International Security*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2019.
- Bratton, Benjamin H. *The Stack: On Software and Sovereignty*. MIT Press, 2015.
- Flonk, Daniëlle. "Emerging Illiberal Norms: Russia and China as Promoters of Internet Content Control." *International Affairs*, vol. 97, no. 6, 2021, pp. 1925–1944.

Energy Infrastructure

- Talmadge, Caitlin. "Closing Time: Assessing the Iranian Threat to the Strait of Hormuz." *International Security*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2008, pp. 82–117.
- Bouzarovski, Stefan, Michael Bradshaw, and Alexander Wochnik. "Making Territory through Infrastructure: The Governance of Natural Gas Transit in Europe." *Geoforum*, vol. 64, 2015, pp. 217–228.
- Hughes, Llewelyn, and Austin Long. "Is There an Oil Weapon? Security Implications of Changes in the Structure of the International Oil Market." *International Security*, vol. 39, no. 3, 2015, pp. 152–189.
- Jentleson, Bruce W. *Pipeline Politics: The Complex Political Economy of East-West Energy Trade*. Cornell UP, 1986.
- Kelanic, Rosemary A. "The Petroleum Paradox: Oil, Coercive Vulnerability, and Great Power Behavior." *Security Studies*, vol. 25, no. 2, 2016, pp. 181–213.
- Stulberg, Adam N. "Strategic Bargaining and Pipeline Politics: Confronting the Credible Commitment Problem in Eurasian Energy Transit." *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 19, no. 5, 2012, pp. 808–836.

Week 4. Infrastructure and State Control

Date: Oct 19

This week focuses on infrastructure's role in generating internally directed state power. How do infrastructural systems enable the state to better see, reach, coordinate, control, and govern populations within their territory? How do they allow states to replicate this control in new territories, as in formal empires, occupations, or neoimperial formations? With what consequences and via what mechanisms? Are there differences in domestic and imperial processes? Has infrastructure's role changed in distinct historical contexts?

Required readings

Half of class reads one, half reads the other:

Scott, James C. *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. Yale University Press, 1998. Chapter 2.

Michael Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results," *European Journal of Sociology* 25 no. 2 (1984): 185–213.

All read:

Headrick, Daniel R. *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford University Press, 1981. Chapter on Suez Canal in Part III.

Zajontz, Tim. "Railway Imperialisms in East Africa: Laying the Tracks for Exploitation." I Cope, Zak, and Immanuel Ness, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Economic Imperialism*. Oxford University Press, 2022.

Merrino, Serena. "Currency and Settler Colonialism: The Palestinian Case." *Review of International Political Economy* 28.6 (2021): 1729–1750.

Otero-Bahamon, Silvia, Simón Uribe, and Isabel Peñaranda-Currie. "Seeing like a Guerrilla: The Logic of Infrastructure in the Building of Insurgent Orders." *Geoforum* 133 (2022): 198–207.

Additional work on these themes

Infrastructure and Internal State Capacity

Guldi, Jo. *Roads to Power: Britain Invents the Infrastructure State*. Harvard University Press, 2012.

Soifer, Hillel David. "The Sources of Infrastructural Power: Evidence from 19th Century Chilean Education." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 44, no. 2, 2009, pp. 158–180.

Soifer, Hillel David. "State Infrastructural Power: Conceptualization and Measurement in Empirical Analysis." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, vol. 43, no. 3–4, 2008, pp. 231–251.

Soifer, Hillel David, and Matthias vom Hau. "Unpacking the 'Strength' of the State: The Utility of State Infrastructural Power." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, vol. 43, no. 3–4, 2008, pp. 219–230.

Schouten, Peer. 2013. "The Materiality of State Failure: Social Contract Theory, Infrastructure and Governmental Power in Congo." *Millennium* 41 (3): 553–74.

McLoughlin, Claire. "When Does Service Delivery Improve the Legitimacy of a Fragile or Conflict-Affected State?" *Governance* 28.3 (2015): 341–356.

Zakaria, Fareed. *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*. Princeton University Press, 1999.

Infrastructure and Empire

Headrick, Daniel R. *Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850–1940*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (Verso, 2003)

Donaldson, Dave. "Railroads of the Raj: Estimating the Impact of Transportation Infrastructure." *American Economic Review*, vol. 108, no. 4–5, 2018, pp. 899–934.

Collier, Stephen J. *Post-Soviet Social: Neoliberalism, Social Modernity, Biopolitics*. Princeton University Press, 2011.

Bear, Laura. *Lines of the Nation: Indian Railway Workers, Bureaucracy, and the Intimate Historical Self*. Columbia University Press, 2007.

Prasad, Ritika. *Tracks of Change: Railways and Everyday Life in Colonial India*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Marks, Steven G. *Road to Power: The Trans-Siberian Railroad and the Colonization of Asian Russia, 1850–1917*. Cornell University Press, 1991.

Högselius, Per. *Red Gas: Russia and the Origins of European Energy Dependence*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Infrastructure, Israel, Palestine

Gade, Emily Kalah. "Social isolation and repertoires of resistance." *American Political Science Review* 114.2 (2020): 309-325.

Alimahomed-Wilson, Jake, and Spencer Louis Potiker. "The logistics of occupation: Israel's colonial suppression of Palestine's goods movement infrastructure." *Journal of Labor and Society* 20.4 (2017): 427-447.

Weinthal, Erika, and Jeannie Sowers. "Targeting infrastructure and livelihoods in the West Bank and Gaza." *International Affairs* 95.2 (2019): 319-340.

Week 5. The Human Element: Meaning and People in Infrastructure

Date: Oct 26

This week focuses on the role of people in infrastructure, and the meanings people give to it. Should we conceptualize people, social groups, and social networks as a kind of “infrastructure”? What are examples? What does this infrastructural interpretation add? In what ways do infrastructures become symbolic? Are these meanings anticipated by infrastructure builders or unintended? Does meaning change over time and why? What political consequences do such meanings have?

Required readings

- Simone, AbdouMalik. "People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg." *Public culture* 16.3 (2004): 407-429.
- Parkinson, Sarah Elizabeth. "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War." *American Political Science Review* 107.3 (2013): 418-432.
- Star, Susan Leigh. "The Ethnography of Infrastructure." *American Behavioral Scientist* 43.3 (1999): 377-391.
- Larkin, Brian. *Signal and Noise: Media, Infrastructure, and Urban Culture in Nigeria*. Duke University Press, 2020. Chapter 1.
- Schwenkel, Christina. "Spectacular Infrastructure and its Breakdown in Socialist Vietnam." *American Ethnologist* 42.3 (2015): 520-534.

Additional work on these themes

People and Social Networks as Organizational Infrastructure

- Staniland, Paul. *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*. Cornell University Press, 2014.
- Parkinson, Sarah E. *Beyond the Lines: Social Networks and Palestinian Militant Organizations in Wartime Lebanon*. Cornell University Press, 2023.
- Larson, Jennifer M., and Janet I. Lewis. "Ethnic Networks." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2017, pp. 350–364.
- Moss, Dana M. *The Arab Spring Abroad: Diaspora Activism against Authoritarian Regimes*. Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Adamson, Fiona B., and Gerasimos Tsourapas. "The Migration State in the Global South: Nationalizing, Developmental, and Neoliberal Models of Migration Management." *International Migration Review*, vol. 54, no. 3, 2020, pp. 853–882.

Symbolism and Infrastructure

- Harvey, Penny, and Hannah Knox. "The Enchantments of Infrastructure." *Mobilities* 7.4 (2012): 521-536.
- Rutkow, Eric. *The Longest Line on the Map: The United States, the Pan-American Highway, and the Quest to Link the Americas*. New York: Scribner, 2019.
- Carse, Ashley. *Beyond the Big Ditch: Politics, Ecology, and Infrastructure at the Panama Canal*. MIT Press, 2014.
- Yeo, Andrew. "Not in Anyone's Backyard: The Emergence and Identity of a Transnational Anti-Base Network." *International Studies Quarterly* 53.3 (2009): 571-594.
- Lutz, Catherine, ed. *The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against US Military Posts*. New York University Press, 2009.
- Mitchell, Timothy. *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil*. Verso Books, 2011.
- Malm, Andreas. *How to Blow Up a Pipeline: Learning to Fight in a World on Fire*. Verso Books, 2021. (not super academic fyi)
- Barry, Andrew. *Material Politics: Disputes along the Pipeline*. John Wiley & Sons, 2013.

Week 6. Infrastructure as Statecraft in Power Politics

Date: Nov 2

This week focuses on state use of infrastructure policy and infrastructures in power politics. We analyze if and how states use infrastructure to increase their relative power and better compete geopolitically. This includes state financing commercial infrastructures, as in China's Belt and Road Initiative. It also includes how states build their own infrastructures to support different functions, enabling and improving diplomacy, intelligence, and space power. How can infrastructure help states grow their power? Which kinds of power? Through what mechanisms? What are the downsides of such strategies? The unintended consequences?

(Note: material in Week 2 on military infrastructures could fit in this week but is omitted.)

Required readings

- Loeffler, Jane C. *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies*. Princeton Architectural Press, 1998. Introduction.
- Carson, Austin. *To Spy on the World: Geopolitics and the Infrastructure of Intelligence*. Princeton University Press, forthcoming. Chapters 2, 6.
- Bateman, Aaron. "US Space Power and Alliance Dynamics in the Cold War." *International Security* 50.2 (2025): 55-94.
- Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L. Newman. "Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion." *International Security*, Vol. 44, No. 1, Summer 2019.
- Ho, Selina. "Infrastructure and Chinese Power." *International Affairs* 96.6 (2020): 1461-1485.
- Strange, Austin. *Chinese Global Infrastructure*. Cambridge University Press, 2023. Sections 1, 3.3, 3.4, 4.3 (all). ([Open Access](#))

Additional work on these themes

Weaponized Interdependence

- Drezner, Daniel W., Henry Farrell, and Abraham L. Newman, eds. *The uses and abuses of weaponized interdependence*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2021.
- Cha, Victor D. "Collective resilience: Deterring China's weaponization of economic interdependence." *International Security* 48.1 (2023): 91-124.
- Gjesvik, Lars. "Private Infrastructure in Weaponized Interdependence." *Review of International Political Economy* 30.2 (2023): 722-746.
- Clayton, Christopher, Matteo Maggiori, and Jesse Schreger. "A Framework for Geoeconomics." *Econometrica* 94.1 (2026).

China and BRI

- Strange, Austin. *Chinese Global Infrastructure*. Cambridge University Press, 2023.
- Petry, Johannes. "Beyond ports, roads and railways: Chinese economic statecraft, the Belt and Road Initiative and the politics of financial infrastructures." *European journal of international relations* 29.2 (2023): 319-351.
- Kardon, Isaac B., and Wendy Leutert. "Pier Competitor: China's Power Position in Global Ports." *International Security* 46.4 (2022): 9-47.
- Norris, William J. *Chinese Economic Statecraft: Commercial Actors, Grand Strategy, and State Control*. Cornell University Press, 2016.
- Li, Mingjiang. "The Belt and Road Initiative: geo-economics and Indo-Pacific security competition." *International affairs* 96.1 (2020): 169-187.
- Lampton, David M., Selina Ho, and Cheng-Chwee Kuik. *Rivers of Iron: Railroads and Chinese Power in Southeast Asia*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2020.
- Hameiri, Shahar, and Lee Jones. "Why the West's Alternative to China's International Infrastructure Financing is Failing." *European Journal of International Relations* 30.3 (2024): 697-724.
- Blanchard, Jean-Marc F., and Colin Flint. "The geopolitics of China's maritime silk road initiative." *Geopolitics* 22.2 (2017): 223-245.

Goh, Evelyn. "Contesting Hegemonic Order: China in East Asia." *Security Studies* 28.3 (2019): 614-644.

Infrastructures of Intelligence

Bolsinger, Diana. "Not at Any Price: LBJ, Pakistan, and Bargaining in an Asymmetric Intelligence Relationship." *Texas National Security Review* 5.1 (2021): 55-80.

Bateman, Aaron. "US Space Power and Alliance Dynamics in the Cold War." *International Security* 50.2 (2025): 55-94.

Nutt, Cullen G. "'Vital and Irreplaceable Facilities': Explaining Leverage When States Host Great Powers' Spying Operations." *Intelligence and National Security* 39.5 (2024): 841-863.

Greitens, Sheena Chestnut, and Edward Goldring. "Exporting Authoritarian Social Control: Drivers and Effects of China's Surveillance Technology Exports." 2025.

Greitens, Sheena Chestnut, et al. "China's Foreign Police Training: A Global Footprint." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 2025.

Xu, U. "To Repress or to Co-opt? Authoritarian Control in the Age of Digital Surveillance." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 65, no. 2, 2021, pp. 309-325.

Communication Infrastructures

Krasner, Stephen D. "Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier." *World Politics*, vol. 43, no. 3, 1991, pp. 336-366.

Winseck, Dwayne R., and Robert M. Pike. *Communication and Empire: Media, Markets, and Globalization, 1860-1930*. Duke University Press, 2007.

Hills, Jill. *The Struggle for Control of Global Communication: The Formative Century*. University of Illinois Press, 2002.

Peoples, Columba, and Tim Stevens. "At the Outer Limits of the International: Orbital Infrastructures and the Technopolitics of Planetary (In)Security." *European Journal of International Security*, 2022.

Mueller, Milton L. *Networks and States: The Global Politics of Internet Governance*. MIT Press, 2010.

Transnational Repression Infrastructures

Greitens, Sheena Chestnut. *Dictators and Their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Cooley, Alexander, and John Heathershaw. *Dictators without Borders: Power and Money in Central Asia*. Yale University Press, 2017.

Tsourapas, Gerasimos, et al. "The Origins of Transnational Repression: Colonial Legacies and Authoritarian Circulations in Libya's Disappearance Regime." *International Political Sociology* 20.3 (2026).

Diplomatic Infrastructures

Mattingly, Garrett. *Renaissance Diplomacy*. Houghton Mifflin, 1955.

Neumayer, Eric. "Distance, Power and Ideology: Diplomatic Representation in a World of Nation-States." *Area*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2008, pp. 228-236.

Neumann, Iver B. *At Home with the Diplomats: Inside a European Foreign Ministry*. Cornell University Press, 2012.

Sending, Ole Jacob, Vincent Pouliot, and Iver B. Neumann, editors. *Diplomacy and the Making of World Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Pouliot, Vincent. *International Pecking Orders: The Politics and Practice of Multilateral Diplomacy*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Kinne, Brandon J. "Dependent Diplomacy: Signaling, Strategy, and Prestige in the Diplomatic Network." *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2014, pp. 247-259.

Duque, Marina G. "Recognizing International Status: A Relational Approach." *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 62, no. 3, 2018, pp. 577-592.

Lindsey, David. "Diplomacy Through Agents." *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2017, pp. 544-556.

Malis, Matt. "Conflict, Cooperation, and Delegated Diplomacy." *International Organization*, 2021.

Lindsey, David. "Who Decides Who Gets In? Diplomats, Bureaucrats, and Visa Issuance." *Political Science Research and Methods*, vol. 13, no. 4, 2025, pp. 850-864.

Torpey, John. *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*. Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Salter, Mark B. *Rights of Passage: The Passport in International Relations*. Lynne Rienner, 2003.

Financial/Economic Infrastructures

- Schwartz, Herman Mark. "American hegemony: Intellectual property rights, dollar centrality, and infrastructural power." *Review of international political economy* 26.3 (2019): 490-519.
- Cohen, Benjamin J. *Currency Power: Understanding Monetary Rivalry*. Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Winecoff, William Kindred. "'The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony,' Revisited: Structural Power as a Complex Network Phenomenon." *European Journal of International Relations*, 2020.
- McDowell, Daniel. *Bucking the Buck: US Financial Sanctions and the International Backlash against the Dollar*. Oxford University Press, 2023.
- Tworek, Heidi. 2019. *News from Germany: The Competition to Control World Communications, 1900-1945*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Week 7. Infrastructure and International Order

Date: Nov 9

This week focuses on infrastructure's importance beyond individual states or firms, adopting a more holistic or structural lens. We analyze its role in enabling international order and shaping specific regional or hegemonic orders. Are some forms of infrastructure a prerequisite for international order in the first place (i.e. "interaction capacity")? How do transnational infrastructures affect the character of international orders, hegemonic orders, and regional orders? Is infrastructure how powerful states build hegemonic international orders? Are commercial infrastructures, in the aggregate, how a capitalist order is created and regenerated? What is an "international order" in the first place?

Required readings

- Buzan, Barry, and George Lawson. *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations*. Cambridge University Press, 2015. Chapter 3.
- Diez, Thomas. "Infrastructural Development and the Ordering of International Society." In Bieling, Hans-Jürgen, et al., eds. *Transnational Infrastructures and the Transformation of Global Orders*. Springer Nature Switzerland, 2025.
- Kitchen, Nicholas, and Simon Curtis. "'If You Build It, They Will Come.'" *Infrastructure, Hegemonic Transition, and Peaceful Change*. *Global Studies Quarterly* 5.1 (2025): ksaf021.
- Bakonyi, Jutta, et al. "Infrastructures and Capitalist World Ordering." *International Political Sociology* 19.3 (2025): olaf028.
- Graham, Stephen, and Simon Marvin. *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities and the Urban Condition*. London and New York: Routledge, 2001. Chapter 3.

You should also skim/refamiliarize:

- Ikenberry, G. John. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Orders After Major Wars*. Princeton UP, 2000. Skim Chapter 2. (Think about: his definition and typology of "international orders")
- From Week 1: Bieling, Hans-Jürgen, et al. "Infrastructural Perspectives on Global Ordering."

Additional work on these themes

Order and Interaction Capacity

- Buzan, Barry. "From international system to international society: structural realism and regime theory meet the English school." *International organization* 47.3 (1993): 327-352.
- Butcher, Charles, and Ryan Griffiths. "War, interaction capacity, and the structures of state systems." *International Theory* 13.2 (2021): 372-396.
- Acharya, Amitav, Antoni Estevadeordal, and Louis W. Goodman. "Multipolar or multiplex? Interaction capacity, global cooperation and world order." *International Affairs* 99.6 (2023): 2339-2365.
- Ding, Jeffrey, and Allan Dafoe. "Engines of power: Electricity, AI, and general-purpose, military transformations." *European Journal of International Security* 8.3 (2023): 377-394.

Regional Orders

- Lake, David A. "Regional hierarchy: authority and local international order." *Review of International Studies* 35.S1 (2009): 35-58.
- Lake, David A., and Patrick M. Morgan. *Regional orders: Building security in a new world*. Penn State Press, 2010.
- Paul, TV, ed. *International Relations Theory and Regional Transformation*. Cambridge University Press, 1945.
- Kelly, Robert E. "Security theory in the "new regionalism". *International studies review* 9.2 (2007): 197-229.

Darwin, John. *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Ekbladh, David. *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order*. Princeton University Press, 2010.

Hegemonic Orders/Transitions

Bieling, Hans-Jürgen, et al. "Infrastructural Perspectives on Global Ordering: A Research Agenda on the Infrastructure-Orders-Nexus." *International Political Sociology* 20.4 (2026): olag032.

Cooley, Alexander, and Daniel Nexon. *Exit from hegemony: The unraveling of the American global order*. Oxford University Press, 2020.

Ikenberry, G. John, and Daniel H. Nexon. "Hegemony studies 3.0: The dynamics of hegemonic orders." *Security Studies* 28.3 (2019): 395-421.

China, Infrastructure, Order [see also BRI work above]

Goh, Evelyn. "Contesting Hegemonic Order: China in East Asia." *Security Studies* 28.3 (2019): 614-644.

Cabestan, Jean-Pierre. "China's Military Base in Djibouti: A Microcosm of China's Growing Competition with the United States and New Bipolarity." *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 29, no. 125, 2020, pp. 731–747.

Curtis, Simon, and Ian Klaus. *The Belt and Road City: Geopolitics, Urbanization, and China's Search for a New International Order*. Yale University Press, 2024.

Norrlöf, Carla. *America's Global Advantage: US Hegemony and International Cooperation*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Week 8. Infrastructures as Objects of Violence

~~Date: Nov 16~~ [to be rescheduled; professor travel]

This week focuses on infrastructure as a target of political violence. Past weeks have focused on how infrastructure enables the use of violence. But it can also be a target of it. What kinds of conflicts have featured infrastructure as an object of violence? Why is infrastructure targeted? With what effects? How has historical context and technology shaped the practice of targeting of infrastructure during civil and interstate war? Can infrastructure be a tool for building peace after war?

Required readings

- Thomas, Ward. "Victory by Duress: Civilian Infrastructure as a Target in Air Campaigns." *Security Studies* 15.1 (2006): 1-33.
- Fregonese, Sara. "The Urbicide of Beirut? Geopolitics and the Built Environment in the Lebanese Civil War (1975–1976)." *Political Geography* 28.5 (2009): 309-318.
- Coward, Martin. "Against Anthropocentrism: The Destruction of the Built Environment as a Distinct Form of Political Violence." *Review of International Studies* 32.3 (2006): 419-437.
- Lukasik, Stephen. *Protecting Critical Infrastructures Against Cyber-Attack*. Routledge, 2020. Chapter 1.
- Bachmann, Jan, and Peer Schouten. "Concrete Approaches to Peace: Infrastructure as Peacebuilding." *International Affairs* 94.2 (2018): 381-398.

Additional work on these themes

Urban Infrastructure

- Bevan, Robert. *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*. London: Reaktion Books, 2006.
- Fregonese, Sara. *War and the city: Urban geopolitics in Lebanon*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019.
- Sowers, Jeannie L., Erika Weinthal, and Neda Zawahri. "Targeting environmental infrastructures, international law, and civilians in the new Middle Eastern wars." *Security Dialogue* 48.5 (2017): 410-430.

Specific Infrastructures: Roads, Cyber, Electricity, Cell Phone

- Zhukov, Yuri M. "Roads and the Diffusion of Insurgent Violence: The Logistics of Conflict in Russia's North Caucasus." *Political Geography*, vol. 31, no. 3, 2012, pp. 144–156.
- Parreira, Christiana. "Power Politics: Armed Non-State Actors and the Capture of Public Electricity in Post-Invasion Baghdad." *Journal of Peace Research* 58.4 (2021): 683-698.
- Aradau, Claudia. "Security That Matters: Critical Infrastructure and Objects of Protection." *Security Dialogue* 41.5 (2010): 491-514.
- Kostyuk, Nadiya, and Yuri M. Zhukov. "Invisible Digital Front: Can Cyber Attacks Shape Battlefield Events?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 63, no. 2, 2019, pp. 317–347.
- Pierskalla, Jan H., and Florian M. Hollenbach. "Technology and Collective Action: The Effect of Cell Phone Coverage on Political Violence in Africa." *American Political Science Review* 107.2 (2013): 207-224.
- Shapiro, Jacob N., and Nils B. Weidmann. "Is the Phone Mightier than the Sword? Cellphones and Insurgent Violence in Iraq." *International Organization* 69.2 (2015): 247-274.
- Gohdes, Anita R. "Repression Technology: Internet Accessibility and State Violence." *American Journal of Political Science* 64.3 (2020): 488-503.

Peacebuilding and Infrastructure

- Zeiderman, Austin. "Concrete peace: building security through infrastructure in Colombia." *Anthropological Quarterly* 93.3 (2020): 497-528.
- Richmond, Oliver P. "Peace formation and local infrastructures for peace." *Alternatives* 38.4 (2013): 271-287.

Week 9. Nuclear Infrastructure

Date: Nov 30

Nuclear weapons arguably revolutionized international politics. A finished nuclear weapon is the product of the function of many nuclear-related infrastructures. This includes the physical sites of uranium mining, milling, heavy water production, uranium enrichment, plutonium reprocessing, warhead fabrication, nuclear weapons research, nuclear testing, and nuclear waste storage. What is the nature of nuclear infrastructures? What are the social and political impacts of this nuclear infrastructure? How does it shape communities and those who work in them? How do states approach building nuclear infrastructures? What are its legacies?

Required readings

- Frederickson, Kari. *Cold War Dixie: Militarization and Modernization in the American South*. University of Georgia Press, 2013. Introduction, Chapter 3.
- Gusterson, Hugh. *Nuclear Rites: A Weapons Laboratory at the End of the Cold War*. University of California Press, 1996. Chapter 3.
- Kassenova, Togzhan. *Atomic Steppe: How Kazakhstan Gave up the Bomb*. Stanford University Press, 2022. Chapters 1, 2.
- Volpe, Tristan A. "Atomic Leverage: Compellence with Nuclear Latency." *Security Studies* 26.3 (2017): 517-544.
- Lawrence, Christopher. "Normalization by Other Means—Technological Infrastructure and Political Commitment in the North Korean Nuclear Crisis." *International Security* 45.1 (2020): 9-50.

Additional work on these themes

Soviet Nuclear Infrastructure

- Bauer, Susanne, and Tanja Pentter. *Tracing the Atom: Nuclear Legacies in Russia and Central Asia*. Taylor & Francis, 2022.
- Budjeryn, Mariana. *Inheriting the Bomb: The Collapse of the USSR and the Nuclear Disarmament of Ukraine*. JHU Press, 2022.
- Gheorghe, Eliza. "Atomic Maverick: Romania's Negotiations for Nuclear Technology, 1964–1970." *Cold War History*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2013, pp. 373–392.
- Gheorghe, Eliza. "Building Détente in Europe? East–West Trade and the Beginnings of Romania's Nuclear Programme, 1964–70." *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, vol. 21, no. 2, 2014, pp. 235–253.

American Nuclear Infrastructure

- Brown, Kathryn L. *Plutopia: Nuclear Families, Atomic Cities, and the Great Soviet and American Plutonium Disasters*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2013.
- Findlay, John M., and Bruce W. Hevly. *Atomic Frontier Days: Hanford and the American West*. University of Washington Press, 2011.
- Freeman, Lindsey A. *Longing for the Bomb: Oak Ridge and Atomic Nostalgia*. UNC Press Books, 2015.
- Masco, Joseph. *The Nuclear Borderlands: The Manhattan Project in Post-Cold War New Mexico*. Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Oakes, Guy. *The Imaginary War: Civil Defense and American Cold War Culture*. Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Sparrow, James T. "Behind the Atomic Curtain: School Desegregation and Territoriality in the Early Cold War." *The Tocqueville Review/La revue Tocqueville* 33.2 (2012): 115-139.

Market for Nuclear Infrastructure

- Mehta, Rupal N., and Rachel Elizabeth Whitlark. "The Benefits and Burdens of Nuclear Latency." *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2017, pp. 517–528.

Kroenig, Matthew. *Exporting the Bomb: Technology Transfer and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons*. Cornell University Press, 2010.

Hecht, Gabrielle. *Being Nuclear: Africans and the Global Uranium Trade*. MIT Press, 2012.

Gheorghe, Eliza. "Proliferation and the Logic of the Nuclear Market." *International Security*, vol. 43, no. 4, 2019, pp. 88–127.

Infrastructure for Nuclear Waste

Roedder, Edwin. "Formation, handling, storage, and disposal of nuclear wastes." *Journal of Geological Education* 38.5 (1990): 380-392.

Ojovan, Michael I., William E. Lee, and Stepan N. Kalmykov. *An introduction to nuclear waste immobilisation*. Elsevier, 2019.

Van Wyck, Peter C. *Signs of Danger: Waste, Trauma, and Nuclear Threat*. University of Minnesota Press, 2005.