Aaron Belkin

Professor of Political Science, San Francisco State University **belkin@sfsu.edu**

Education

University of California, Berkeley	1991-1998	Ph.D.	Political Science	1998
University of California, Berkeley	1991-1998	M.A.	Political Science	1992
Brown University	1984-1988	B.A.	International Relations	1988

Professional

Academic

San Francisco State University	2024	Director of Faculty Advising	
San Francisco State University	2024	Chair (acting)	Political Science
San Francisco State University	2012-	Professor	Political Science
Univ. of California, Hastings	2015-2016	Visiting Professor	Law
San Francisco State University	2009-2012	Associate Professor	Political Science

Univ. of California, Santa Barbara 1998-2009 Associate Professor Political Science Hunter College, New York 2006 Associate Professor Psychology Visiting Lecturer Political Science

Professional

Take Back the Court	2018-2022	Founding President
Palm Center	1998-2022	Founding Director

Fellowships

MacArthur Postdoctoral Fellow, University of California, Berkeley, 1996-1997. Predoctoral Fellow, Center for International Security & Arms Control, Stanford Univ., 1995-96. Graduate Fellowship, National Science Foundation, 1992-1995.

Publications

Books

Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Façade of American Empire, 1898-2001. New York, NY: Columbia University Press (US edition), Oxford University Press (UK edition) and Hurst Publishers (UK edition), 2012.

<u>How We Won: Progressive Lessons from the Repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell."</u> New York, NY: Huffington Post Media Group, 2011 (e-book).

<u>United We Stand? Divide and Conquer Politics and the Logic of International Hostility</u>. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005.

<u>Don't Ask, Don't Tell: Exploring the Debates on the Gay Ban in the U.S. Military</u>, co-edited with Geoffrey Bateman. Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003.

Counterfactual Thought Experiments in World Politics: Logical, Methodological, and Psychological Perspectives, co-edited with Philip E. Tetlock. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Articles

"Queer Militarism?!: The Politics of Military Inclusion in Authoritarian Times," with Dean Spade, GLQ, vol. 27, no. 2, 2021, pp. 281-307.

"Court Expansion and the Restoration of Democracy: The Case for Constitutional Hardball," <u>Pepperdine Law Review</u>, vol. 19, no. 1, 2020, pp. 19-50.

"Trans in the United States Military: Fighting for Change," <u>Journal of Gay & Lesbian</u> Mental Health, February 1, 2019, pp. 3-26.

"Caring for Our Transgender Troops -- The Negligible Cost of Transition-Related Care," New England Journal of Medicine, August 12, 2015, pp. 1089-1092.

"What is Critical Military Studies," with Victoria M. Basham and Jess Gifkins, <u>Critical Military Studies</u>, vol. 1, no. 1, 2015, pp. 1-2.

"Combat Exclusion RIP. Will Patriarchy's Demise Follow?" <u>Critical Studies on Security</u>, vol. 1, no. 2, 2013, 249–250.

"Politics of Paranoia," Journal of Homosexuality, vol. 60, no. 1-2, 2013, pp. 214-218.

"Readiness and DADT Repeal: Has the New Policy of Open Service Undermined the Military," with Morten G. Ender, Nathaniel Frank, Stacie R. Furia, George Lucas, Gary Packard, Steven M. Samuels, Tammy Schultz, and David Segal, <u>Armed Forces & Society</u>, vol. 39, no. 4, 2013, 587-601.

"Militarized Masculinities and the Erasure of Violence," with Terrell Carver, <u>International</u> Feminist Journal of Politics, vol. 14, no. 4, 2012, 558-567.

"Conceptualizing the Civil-Military Gap: A Research Note," <u>Armed Forces & Society</u>, vol. 38, no. 4, 2012, pp.669-678.

"Don't Ask, Don't Tell: Is the Gay Ban Based on Military Necessity," <u>Parameters</u>, vol. 40, no. 4, 2010-2011, pp. 173-183.

"Assessing the integration of gays and lesbians: Into the South African National Defence Force," with Margot Canaday, <u>Scientia Militaria</u>: <u>South African Journal of Military Studies</u>, vol. 38, no. 2, 2010, pp. 1-21.

"The Importance of Objective Analysis' on Gays in the Military: A Response to Elaine Donnelly's *Constructing the Co-Ed Military*," with Jeanne Scheper, Nathaniel Frank and Gary Gates, Duke Journal of Gender and the Law, vol. 15, no. 2, 2008, pp. 419-448.

- "Spam filter: Gay rights and the normalization of male-male rape in the U.S. military," Radical History Review, vol. 100, 2008, pp. 180-185.
- "'Don't Ask, Don't Tell': Does the Gay Ban Undermine the Military's Reputation?" <u>Armed Forces and Society</u>, vol. 34, no. 2, 2008, pp. 276-291.
- "Does Social Cohesion Determine Motivation In Combat? An Old Question with an Old Answer," with Robert MacCoun and Elizabeth Kier, <u>Armed Forces and Society</u>, vol. 32, no. 4, 2006, pp. 646-654.
- "Reply to Schumm's Argument That Ending the Gay Ban Will Morally 'Injure' Some Service Members," <u>Psychological Reports</u>, vol. 96, no. 2, 2005, pp. 334-336.
- "Coup-risk, Counterbalancing and International Conflict" (with Evan Schofer, <u>Security Studies</u>, vol. 14, no. 1, 2005, pp. 131-166.
- "Toward a Structural Understanding of Coup Risk: Concepts, Measurement, and Implications," with Evan Schofer, <u>Journal of Conflict Resolution</u>, vol. 47, no. 5, 2003, pp. 594-620.
- "A Modest Proposal: Privacy as a Rationale for Excluding Gays and Lesbians from the U.S. Military," with Melissa S. Embser-Herbert, <u>International Security</u>, vol. 27, no. 2, 2002, pp. 178-197.
- "When Is Strategic Bombing Effective? Domestic Legitimacy and Aerial Denial," with Michael Clark, Gigi Gokcek, Robert Hinckley, Tom Knecht, and Eric Patterson, Security Studies, vol. 11, no. 4, 2002, pp. 51-88.
- "Pink and Blue: Outcomes Associated with the Integration of Open Gay And Lesbian Personnel in the San Diego Police Department," with Jason Mcnichol, <u>Police Quarterly</u>, vol. 5, no. 1, 2002, pp. 63-95.
- "Homosexuality and the Israel Defense Forces; Did Lifting the Gay Ban Undermine Military Performance?" with Melissa Levitt, <u>Armed Forces and Society</u>, vol. 27, no. 4, 2001, pp. 541-566.
- "Breaking Rank: Military Homophobia and the Production of Queer Practices and Identities", <u>Georgetown Journal of Gender and the Law</u>, vol. 3, no. 1, 2001, pp. 83-106.
- "Homosexual Personnel Policy of the Canadian Forces; Did Lifting the Gay Ban Undermine Military Performance?" with Jason McNichol, <u>International Journal</u>, vol. 56, no. 1, 2001, pp. 73-88.
- "The Pentagon's Gay Ban is Not Based on Military Necessity," <u>Journal of Homosexuality</u>, vol. 41, no. 1, 2001, pp. 103-119.

"USSR's Third World Orphans: Deterring Desperate Dependents," with James G. Blight, Third World Quarterly, vol. 13 no. 4, 1993.

"Triangular Mutual Security: Why the Cuban Missile Crisis Matters in a World Beyond the Cold War," with James G. Blight, <u>Political Psychology</u>, vol. 12 no. 4, 1991, pp. 727-745.

Chapters

"DoD's Rationale for Reinstating the Transgender Ban is Contradicted by Evidence," in James E. Parco et. al., eds, *Attitudes Aren't Free: A Call to Action, Vol. II*, Palmer Lake, CO: Enso Books, 2023.

"Crack Troops: Military Masculinity Isn't Masculine," in Gaby Zipfel, Regina Muhlhauser, and Kirsten Campbell, eds., In Plain Sight: Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict, New Delhi, India: Zubaan Publishers, 2019.

"'Don't Ask, Don't Tell': The Politics of Military Change," in Leila J. Rupp and Susan K. Freeman, eds., Understanding and Teaching U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014.

"How to End 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' A Roadmap of Political, Legal, Regulatory, and Organizational Steps to Equal Treatment," with Nathaniel Frank, Greg Herek, Elizabeth Hillman, Diane Mazur, and Bridget Wilson, in James E. Parco et. al., eds., *Attitudes Aren't Free: Thinking Deeply about Diversity in the US Armed Forces*, Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Air University Press 2010.

"The International Experience," with Melissa S. Embser-Herbert, in Melissa S. Embser-Herbert, *The U.S. Military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" Policy*, Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007.

"Sexual Orientation and Military Service: Prospects for Organizational and Individual Change in the United States," with Greg Herek, in Thomas W. Britt et. al., eds., *Minds In The Military: Psychology And Life In The Armed Forces*, Westport, CT: Praeger 2005.

"Counterfactual Thought Experiments in World Politics," with Philip E. Tetlock. In Tetlock and Belkin, eds., *Counterfactual Thought Experiments in World Politics: Logical, Methodological, and Psychological Perspectives*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

"New Rules of the Road: U.S.-Soviet-Cuban Relations During the Cold War and After," with David Lewis and James G. Blight. In Wayne S. Smith, ed., *The Russians Aren't Coming: Soviet Policy in Latin America After the Cold War*. Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992.

Reviews and encyclopedia entries

"Officially Gay: The Political Construction of Sexuality by the U.S. Military," by Gary Lehring, in <u>Armed Forces and Society</u>, vol. 31, no. 3, 2005.

"Gay Warriors: A Documentary History from the Ancient World to the Present," by B.R. Burg, in the <u>Journal of the History of Sexuality</u>, vol. 11, no. 4, 2002.

"Constructing National Interests: The United States and the Cuban Missile Crisis," by Jutta Weldes, in <u>American Political Science Review</u>, vol. 95, no. 4, 2001.

"Gays and Lesbians in the Military," in *Oxford Companion to American Military History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Professional and Civic Activities

Referee and review

University of Michigan Press, NYU Press, University of North Carolina Press, <u>American Political Science Review</u>, <u>International Studies Quarterly</u>, <u>International Security</u>, <u>Security Studies</u>, <u>Armed Forces and Society</u>, <u>Journal of Homosexuality</u>, <u>Journal of the Gay and Lesbian Medical Association</u>, <u>Psychological Reports</u>, Research Grants Board, Economic and Social Research Council (UK), Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

Other professional activities

Co-founding editor, Critical Military Studies (2015-present)

Board member, Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights (2012-present)

Board member, Eisenhower Research Project, Brown University (2010-2012)

Editorial Board, Journal of Homosexuality (2000-present)

Committee on the Status of LGBT in the Profession, American Political Association (2002-2005)

Governing Council, International Society for Political Psychology (1999-2001)