

Aaron Belkin

Professor of Political Science, San Francisco State University

Director, Palm Center

belkin [at] palmcenter [dot] org; aaronbelkin.org**Higher 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

Faculty appointments

San Francisco State University	2009-	Professor	Political Science
Univ. of California, Santa Barbara	1998-2009	Associate Professor	Political Science
Hunter College, New York	2005-2006	Associate Professor	Psychology
Stanford University	1998	Visiting Lecturer	Political Science

Administration

University of California, 1999-, Director and founder, Palm Center. Responsible for strategic planning, oversight of policy-relevant research, development (major donor and foundation), budget, communications, external relations, day-to day administration.

Books

Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Façade of American Empire, 1898-2001. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2012; Oxford University Press, 2013.

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

Don't Ask, Don't Tell: Exploring the Debates on the Gay Ban in the U.S. Military, 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.

E-Book

How We Won: Progressive Lessons from the Repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell". New York, NY: Huffington Post Media Group, 2011.

Articles

“Combat Exclusion RIP. Will Patriarchy’s Demise Follow?” Critical Studies on Security, vol. 1, no. 2, 2013, pp. 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, Armed Forces and Society, vol. 39, no. 4, 2013, pp. 587-601

“Conceptualizing the Civil-Military Gap: A Research Note,” Armed Forces and Society, with Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen, Emerald M. Archer, John Barr, Mario Guerrero, Cameron Hall and Katie E. O. Swain, vol. 38, no. 4, 2012, pp. 669-678.

“ Militarized Masculinities and the Erasure of Violence,” with Terrell Carver, International Feminist Journal of Politics, vol. 14, no. 4, 2012, pp. 558-567

“Conceptualizing the Civil-Military Gap: A Research Note,” with Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen, Emerald Arch, John Barr, Mario Guerrero, Cameron Hall and Katie Swain, Armed Forces & Society, vol. 38, no. 4, 2012, pp.669-678.

"Assessing the Integration of Gays and Lesbians: Into the South African National Defence Force," with Margot Canaday, Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies, 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 Nathaniel Frank, Gary Gates and Jeanne Scheper, 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?” Armed Forces & Society, 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, Armed Forces & Society, vol. 32, no. 4, 2006, pp. 646-654.

“Reply to Schumm’s Argument That Ending the Gay Ban Will Morally ‘Injure’ Some Service Members,” Psychological Reports, vol. 96, no. 2, 2005, pp. 334-336.

“Coup-risk, Counterbalancing and International Conflict” (with Evan Schofer, Security Studies, vol. 14, no. 1, 2005, pp. 131-166.

“Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell: Is the Gay Ban Based on Military Necessity?” Parameters, vol. 33., no. 2, 2003, pp. 108-119.

“Toward a Structural Understanding of Coup Risk: Concepts, Measurement, and Implications,” with Evan Schofer, Journal of Conflict Resolution, 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, International Security, 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, Police Quarterly, 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, Armed Forces & Society, vol. 27, no. 4, 2001, pp. 541-566.

“Breaking Rank: Military Homophobia and the Production of Queer Practices and Identities”, Georgetown Journal of Gender and the Law, 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, International Journal, vol. 56, no. 1, 2001, pp. 73-88.

“The Pentagon’s Gay Ban is Not Based on Military Necessity,” Journal of Homosexuality, 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, Political Psychology, vol. 12 no. 4, 1991, pp. 727-745.

Chapters

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

“One Year Out: An Assessment of DADT Repeal’s Impact on Military Readiness,” with Morten G. Ender, Nathaniel Frank, Stacie R. Furia, George Lucas, Gary Packard, Steven M. Samuels, Tammy Schultz, and David Segal, in James E Parco and David A. Levy, eds., *Evolution of Government Policy Towards Homosexuality in the US Military: The Rise and Fall of DADT*, London, UK: Routledge, 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, encyclopedia entries, misc.

“What is Critical Military Studies,” with Victoria M. Basham and Jess Gifkins,” *Critical Military Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2015, DOI 10.1080/23337486.2015.1006879.

“Officially Gay: The Political Construction of Sexuality by the U.S. Military,” by Gary Lehring, in Armed Forces and Society, vol. 31, no. 3, 2005.

“Gay Warriors: A Documentary History from the Ancient World to the Present,” by B.R. Burg, in the Journal of the History of Sexuality, vol. 11, no. 4, 2002.

“Constructing National Interests: The United States and the Cuban Missile Crisis,” by Jutta Weldes, in American Political Science Review, vol. 95, no. 4, 2001.

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

Professional activities

Selected presentations

Military Family Research Institute, Battlemind to Home V Symposium, August 21, 2014, “LGBT and the Military: Challenges and Opportunity.”

Cambridge University, Purity & Impurity Across Anthropology, Psychology and Religious Studies, May 21, 2014, “Spoiling for a Fight: Purity, Pollution and Military Masculinity.”

International Studies Association, San Francisco, September, April 5, 2013, “Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and Benign Façade of American Empire”

National Women’s Studies Association Annual Conference, Oakland, November 10, 2012, “Military Masculinity and the Paranoid Militarization of the Homefront.”

London School of Economics, Gender Institute, November 2, 2012, Gender, Militarisation and Violence Roundtable.

University of Massachusetts, Boston, Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, October 31, 2012, “Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Façade of American Empire.”

University of Minnesota, Department of Gender, Women and Sexuality Studies, October 12, 2012, “Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Façade of American Empire.”

University of Illinois, Chicago, Gender and Women’s Studies Department, October 11, 2012, “Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Façade of American Empire.”

San Francisco Rights Conference, September 16, 2011, “‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ is Repealed: What Follows in Its Wake?”

Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, September 13, 2010, "Structuring Contradictions of Military Masculinity and American Empire."

Goldman School of Public Policy, November 23, 2009, "'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' as a Matter of Public Policy."

International Society of Political Psychology Annual Scientific Meeting, Paris, July 12, 2008, "Male-Male Rape and Military Masculinity."

San Francisco State University, Department of Human Sexuality Studies, March 20, 2008, "Military Masculinities and the Flight from Non-Normativity."

American Psychological Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, Aug. 18, 2007, "Reputational Implications for the U.S. Armed Forces of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell.'"

International Symposium for Military Ethics, January 26, 2007, "Evaluating the Effectiveness of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell.'"

American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, San Jose, Oct. 16, 2006, "Purely By Force: Same-Sex Assault in the U.S. Armed Forces."

Bristol University, Department of Politics, June 21, 2006, "Contamination and Purification in the U.S. Armed Forces."

Dartmouth College, Legal Studies Workshop, January, 2005, "Constructing Military Citizenship: Race, Sexuality, Silence and the State."

Milano School of Management and Urban Policy, New School University, December, 2004, "Framing the State of Our Art: Can and Should Social Science Play a Role in Public Policy?"

Harvard University Law School, Conference on The Law of Dignity / The Politics of Shame: An Inquiry into the State of Our Art on Sex, Sexuality, Gender and the Family, November, 2004, "Stoicism, Shame and Male/Male Violence in the Military."

Inter-University Seminar, Chicago, October, 2003, "Constructing Normal Citizens: Militarism, Race, Sexuality and Gender."

American Psychological Association Annual Meetings, Toronto, August, 2003: "Military Sexuality and Total Institutions."

American Anthropological Association Annual Meetings, New Orleans, November, 2002: "Privacy as a Rationale for Excluding Gays and Lesbians from the Military."

University of Toronto, Munk Centre for International Studies at Trinity College, October, 2002: "Don't Ask, Don't Tell: What's at State in the Debate over Military Diversity."

Stanford University, Center for International Security and Cooperation, October, 2002: "A Modest Proposal: Privacy as a Rationale for Excluding Gays and Lesbians from the U.S. Military."

Inter-University Seminar, Baltimore, MD, October, 2001: "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Peek: Privacy as a Rationale for Excluding Gays and Lesbians from the Military."

Tulane University Law School, October, 2001: "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Peek: Privacy as a Rationale for Excluding Gays and Lesbians from the Military."

Stanford University, Center for International Security and Cooperation, April, 2001: "The Effects Of Including Gays And Lesbians In the Military: Cross-National Comparisons."

CUNY, Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies, New York, NY: March, 2001: "The Effects of Including Gay and Lesbian Soldiers in the British Armed Forces: Appraising the Evidence."

American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2000: "Breaking Rank: Military Homophobia and the Emergence of Queer Identity."

American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, September, 1999: "Civil-Military Relations as a Cause of Regional Instability: The Case of the Caucuses."

American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September, 1996: "Historical Counterfactuals and Conditional Forecasts." (chair)

University of Amsterdam, Department of Communication, June, 1996: "Counterfactual Arguments in World Politics."

Harvard University, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Cambridge, MA, June 1996: "Civil-Military Relations as a Cause of International Conflict."

American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September, 1995: "Counterfactual Thought Experiments in World Politics." (chair)

American Political Science Association, New York, NY, September, 1994: "Contextualizing Psychology: Do Structural and Psychological Variables Interact."

International Studies Association, Washington, DC, March, 1994: "An Overlooked Case of Nuclear Deterrence Failure: Domestic Survival Strategies and Syrian-Jordanian Involvement in the 1973 War."

Referee and review

University of Michigan Press, NYU Press, University of North Carolina Press, American Political Science Review, World Politics, International Studies Quarterly, International Security, Security Studies, Armed Forces and Society, Journal of Homosexuality, Journal of

the Gay and Lesbian Medical Association, Psychological Reports, Research Grants Board, Economic and Social Research Council (UK), Social Sciences & Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Other professional activities

Guest editor, Critical Military Studies, Special Issue: *What is Critical Military Studies* (2014)
Founding co-Editor, Critical Military Studies (2014-present)
Advisory Board member, Protect Our Defenders (2014-present)
Board member, Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights (2012-present)
Board member, Eisenhower Research Project, Brown University (2010-present)
Editorial Board, Journal of Homosexuality (2000-current)
Committee on the Status of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Transgendered in the Profession, American Political Association (2002-2005)
Governing Council, International Society for Political Psychology (1999-2001)

Honors and awards

Leadership Award, Spectrum/Knights Out (US Military Academy LGBT organizations), 2015
Cal Alumni Association, Mark Bingham Award for Excellence by a Young Alumnus, 2013
Beth Chayim Chadashim, Freedom Award, 2012
Outserve, Honorary Lifetime Member, 2011
Community Grand Marshal, San Francisco Pride, 2011
Monette-Horowitz Trust, Annual award, 2008
Benjamin Meaker Visiting Professor, Bristol University, 2006
Outstanding Faculty Member, UC Santa Barbara, 2000, 2001, and 2002
MacArthur Postdoctoral Fellowship, University of California, Berkeley, 1996-1997
Predoctoral Fellowship, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford, 1995-96
Graduate Fellowship, National Science Foundation, 1992-1995
First Prize, Alexander George Graduate Student Competition in Foreign Policy Analysis, International Studies Association, 1994
National Debate Champion, 1988