



**Christopher F. Gelpi**

*Professor of Political Science  
The Ohio State University*

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***Academic Positions***

**The Ohio State University**, Columbus, OH, 2013 to present

Professor of Political Science 2013 to present

Senior Fellow, Mershon Center for International Security Studies 2023 to present

Director, Mershon Center for International Security Studies 2018 to 2023

Chair of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution 2013 to 2023

**Duke University**, Durham, NC, 1997 to 2012

Professor of Political Science 2007 to 2012

Associate Professor of Political Science 2002 to 2007

Assistant Professor of Political Science 1997 to 2002

**Harvard University**, Cambridge, MA, 1994 to 1997.

Assistant Professor of Government.

Faculty Associate at the Center for International Affairs.

Faculty Associate at the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies.

***Education***

**University of Michigan**, Ann Arbor, MI, 1988 to 1994.

Ph.D. in Political Science.

Dissertation entitled "Power and Legitimacy: Assessing the Role of Norms in Crisis Bargaining Behavior."

Coursework in World Politics, Social Science Methods, and Comparative Politics.

**Stanford University**, Stanford, CA, 1984 to 1988.

A.B. in Political Science.

Honors thesis entitled “Defining Détente: the Stumbling Block of the Soviet-American Relationship.”

Coursework in Soviet and American Foreign Policy, International Relations Theory, Security Studies, and Soviet History.

**University of California, Berkeley**, Berkeley, CA, 1987.

Summer program in Russian language.

## ***Peer Reviewed Publications***

### *Books*

Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver and Jason Reifler. 2009. **Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion and Casualties in Military Conflicts**. (Princeton: Princeton University Press).  
*Outstanding Academic Title for 2009 – Choice Magazine*

Peter Feaver and Christopher Gelpi. 2004. **Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force**. (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Christopher Gelpi. 2002. **The Power of Legitimacy: The Role of Norms in Crisis Bargaining**. (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

### *Articles*

Victoria Gurevich and Christopher Gelpi. 2025. “Attachment to the nation and tolerance for white nationalist terrorism: A study of the United States.” Forthcoming, **Journal of Peace Research**.

Victoria Gurevich and Christopher Gelpi. 2024 “Whose crime & whose punishment? Identity and retribution for extremist violence.” **Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism**. November 2024.

Nazli Avdan, Andrew Rosenberg, and Christopher Gelpi. 2023. “Where There is a Will There is a Way: Border Walls and Refugees.” **Journal of Peace Research**. July 2023.

Daniel Silverman, Daniel Kent, and Christopher Gelpi. 2022. “Public Fears of Terrorism, Partisan Rhetoric, and the Foundations of American Interventionism.” **Journal of Conflict Resolution** July 2022.

Christopher Gelpi and Nazli Avdan. 2018. “Democracies at Risk? A Forecasting Analysis of Regime Type and the Risk of Terrorist Attack.” **Conflict Management and Peace Science** January 2018.

Christopher Gelpi. 2017. “Democracies in Conflict: The Role of Public Opinion, Political Parties, and the Press in Shaping Security Policy.” **Journal of Conflict Resolution** October 2017.

Christopher Gelpi. 2017. “The Surprising Robustness of Surprising Events: A Response to a Critique of ‘Performing on Cue’.” **Journal of Conflict Resolution** September 2017.

- Libby Jenke and Christopher Gelpi. 2017. "Theme and Variations: Historical Contingencies in the Causal Model of Inter-State Conflict." **Journal of Conflict Resolution**. January 2017.
- Nazli Avdan and Christopher Gelpi. 2017. "Do Good Fences Make Good Neighbors? State Border Characteristics and the Transnational Flow of Terrorist Violence." **International Studies Quarterly** January 2017.
- Scott Sigmund Gartner and Christopher Gelpi. 2016. "The Affect and Effect of Images of Success and Failure in War on Public Opinion." **International Interactions**. January 2016.
- Christopher Gelpi and Joseph Grieco. 2015. "Competency Costs in Foreign Affairs: Presidential Performance in International Conflicts and Domestic Legislative Success, 1952-2001." **American Journal of Political Science**. April 2015.
- Christopher Gelpi, Laura Roselle, and Brooke Barnett. 2013. "Polarizing Patriots: Divergent Responses to Patriotic Imagery in News Coverage of Terrorism." **American Behavioral Scientist**. January 2013.
- Joseph Grieco, Christopher Gelpi, Jason Reifler, and Peter Feaver. 2011. "Let's Get a Second Opinion: International Institutions and American Public Support for War." **International Studies Quarterly**. June 2011.
- Christopher Gelpi. 2010. "Performing on Cue? The Formation of Public Opinion Toward War." **Journal of Conflict Resolution**. February 2010.
- Joseph Grieco, Christopher Gelpi and Camber Warren. 2009. "When Preferences and Commitments Collide: The Effect of Relative Partisan Shifts on International Treaty Compliance." **International Organization**. April 2009.
- Christopher Gelpi and Joseph Grieco. 2008. "Democracy, Trade and the Nature of the Liberal Peace." **Journal of Peace Research**. Winter 2008.
- Christopher Gelpi and Jason Reifler. 2007. "Success Still Matters: A Reply to Berinsky and Druckman." **Public Opinion Quarterly**. Fall 2007.
- Christopher Gelpi, Jason Reifler, and Peter Feaver. 2007. "Iraq the Vote: Retrospective and Prospective Foreign Policy Judgments on Candidate Choice and Casualty Tolerance." **Political Behavior**. Summer 2007.
- Christopher Gelpi and Jason Reifler. 2006. "Casualties, Polls, and the Iraq War." **International Security**. Fall 2006.
- John Aldrich, Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, Jason Reifler, and Kristin Thompson Sharp. 2006. "Foreign Policy and the Electoral Connection." **Annual Review of Political Science**. June 2006.
- Christopher Gelpi. 2006. "How Many Casualties Will Americans Tolerate?" **Foreign Affairs**. January/February 2006.
- Peter Feaver, Christopher Gelpi, and Lindsay Cohn. 2006. "American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force." In Karsten (ed.) **Encyclopedia of War and American Society**. (London: Sage Publications).

- Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver and Jason Reifler. 2005/2006. "Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq." **International Security**. Winter 2005/2006.
- Scott Demarchi, Christopher Gelpi, and Jeffrey Grynviski. 2004. "Untangling Neural Nets." **American Political Science Review**. June 2004.
- Christopher Gelpi and Joseph Grieco. 2003. "Conceptualizing the Liberal Peace." In Mansfield and Pollins (eds.) **Economic Interdependence and International Conflict** (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- Christopher Gelpi and Peter D. Feaver. 2002. "Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick? Veterans in the Political Elite and the American Use of Force." **American Political Science Review**. December 2002.
- Christopher Gelpi and Joseph Grieco. 2001. "Attracting Trouble: Democracy, Leadership Tenure and the Targeting of Militarized Challenges, 1816-1992." **Journal of Conflict Resolution**. December 2001.
- Christopher Gelpi and Michael Griesdorf. 2001. "Winners or Losers? Democracies in International Crisis." **American Political Science Review**. September 2001.
- Christopher Gelpi. 1999. "Alliances as Instruments of Intra-Allied Control." In Keohane, Haftendorn and Wallander, eds., **Imperfect Unions: Security Institutions in International Politics**. (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Christopher Gelpi. 1997. "Crime and Punishment: The Role of Norms in Crisis Bargaining." **American Political Science Review**. June 1997.
- Christopher Gelpi. 1997. "Democratic Diversions: Governmental Structure and the Externalization of Domestic Conflict." **Journal of Conflict Resolution**. April 1997.
- David Rousseau, Christopher Gelpi, Dan Reiter, and Paul Huth. 1996. "Assessing the Dyadic Nature of the Democratic Peace, 1918-1988." **American Political Science Review**. September 1996
- Christopher Gelpi. 1995. "Crime and Punishment: The Role of Norms in Crisis Bargaining." **Center for International Affairs at Harvard University**. Working Paper 95-13.
- Christopher Gelpi. 1994. "Power and Legitimacy: Assessing the Role of Norms in Crisis Bargaining Behavior." Ph.D. Dissertation, Ann Arbor, MI: University Microforms.
- Paul Huth, Christopher Gelpi, and D. Scott Bennett. 1993. "The Escalation of Great Power Militarized Disputes: Testing Rational Deterrence Theory and Structural Realism." **American Political Science Review**. September 1993.
- Paul Huth, D. Scott Bennett, and Christopher Gelpi. 1992. "Systemic Uncertainty, Risk-Propensity, and International Conflict Among the Great Powers," **Journal of Conflict Resolution**. September 1992.

## ***Conference Papers and Manuscripts in Progress***

Hyunso Christy Oh and Christopher Gelpi. 2025. "Democracy Hacked? Public Opinion and Foreign Cyber Influence Operations During Elections." Under review at the **American Political Science Review**.

Victoria Gurevich and Christopher Gelpi. 2025. "Hand in fist: Attachment to the nation and tolerance for white supremacist violence." Under review at the **American Journal of Political Science**.

Christopher Ray and Christopher Gelpi. 2024. "The Anxious Public: How Anxiety Management Shapes Support for the War on Terror." Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 2023. Under review at **Political Psychology**.

Christopher Gelpi, Elias Assaf, and Victoria Gurevich. 2023. "Trump's Taboos: Elite Rhetoric and the Normative Foundations of American Grand Strategy." Paper originally prepared for the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. San Francisco, CA, September 2017.  
*Currently Under Revision*

Andrew Rosenberg, William Minozzi, Elias Assaf, and Christopher Gelpi. 2019. "Man, the State, and War: An Experimental Approach." Paper prepared for the International Studies Association Annual Meeting. San Francisco CA, April 2018.  
*Currently Under Revision*

Christopher Gelpi, Kara Hooser, and Kristine Kay. 2018. "Opting Out in 2012: Military Casualties, Vote Choice, and Voter Turnout in Obama's Bid for Reelection."  
*Currently Under Revision*

## ***Other Publications***

Avdan, Nazli, Andrew S. Rosenberg, and Christopher Gelpi. "Border Walls and Refugees." Research Briefs in Economic Policy #381 CATO Institute (May 1, 2024)  
<https://www.cato.org/research-briefs-economic-policy/border-walls-refugees>

Peter Feaver, Christopher Gelpi, and Jason Reifler. 2023. "The Strange Case of Iraq Syndrome: How Elites Misread Public Perceptions of the War." Foreign Affairs (March 15, 2023)  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/iraq-war-vietnam-syndrome-leaders>

Christopher Gelpi. "Botched Diplomacy Made Putin's War with Ukraine Inevitable." The Columbus Dispatch (March 2, 2022)  
<https://www.dispatch.com/story/opinion/columns/guest/2022/03/02/opinion-american-leaders-partly-responsible-war-ukraine-russia-putin/9330797002/>

Victoria Gurevich and Christopher Gelpi. 2022. "Why aren't Americans more alarmed by white-supremacist violence?" **The Monkey Cage** (January 19, 2022)  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/01/19/white-supremacist-republicans-jan-6/>

Christopher Gelpi. 2018. "Public Opinion and Conflict" in Dan Reiter ed. **Understanding War and Peace**. Available at <https://www.understandingwarandpeace.com>

- Christopher Gelpi. 2017. "War and Democratic Constraint: How the Public Influences Foreign Policy" (book review). **H-Diplo | International Security Studies Forum Roundtable**, Volume IX, No. 18 (2017).
- Christopher Gelpi and Elias Assaf. 2017. "Donald Trump Wants to Change US Nuclear Policy. Most Americans Aren't Persuaded." **The Monkey Cage** (February 10, 2017.)  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/10/donald-trump-wants-to-change-u-s-nuclear-policy-most-americans-arent-persuaded/?utm\\_term=.58f7db4a24cd](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/10/donald-trump-wants-to-change-u-s-nuclear-policy-most-americans-arent-persuaded/?utm_term=.58f7db4a24cd)
- Christopher Gelpi and Elias Assaf. 2017. "Party Trumped Policy in 2016." **Duck of Minerva** (January 30, 2017). <http://duckofminerva.com/2017/01/party-trumped-policy-in-2016.html>
- Christopher Gelpi. 2016. "Constructive Illusions: Misperceiving the Origins of International Cooperation." By Grynaviski Eric. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2014. 224p. \$34.95." **Perspectives on Politics** 14.4 (2016): 1265-1266.
- Christopher Gelpi. 2016. "Retired Generals Are People Too!" **Duck of Minerva** (August 9, 2016).  
<http://duckofminerva.com/2016/08/retired-generals-are-people-too.html>
- Christopher Gelpi. 2014 "Caveat Consuasor!" **Political Violence @ A Glance** (March 20, 2014).  
<http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2014/03/20/caveat-consuasor/>
- Peter D. Feaver and Christopher Gelpi. 2013. "Hagel and the Veteran Effect: Service Tempers Views on the Use of Force." **TheDailyBeast.com** (February 12, 2013).
- Christopher Gelpi. 2012. "How We Fight: Crusades, Quagmires and the American Way of War" (book review). **H-Diplo | International Security Studies Forum Roundtable**, Volume III, No. 9 (2012).
- Peter D. Feaver and Christopher Gelpi. 2012. "American Veterans in Government and the Use of Force." In **The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy**. James McCormick (ed.). (New York: Rowan and Littlefield).
- Christopher Gelpi, Jason Riefler, and Peter D. Feaver. "Photographs of Military Caskets Might Not Increase War Opposition." Editorial column in the **Seattle Times** (and syndicated), February 27, 2009.
- Christopher Gelpi. 2008. "Fading in the Public Mind, Iraq Could Still Decide the Race." Editorial Column in the **Newark Star-Ledger** (and syndicated), May 26, 2008.
- Christopher Gelpi and Jason Reifler. 2005. "It's the Reality in Iraq that Counts – For Public Action Means More Than Right Words." Editorial Column in the **Newark Star-Ledger** (and syndicated), December 12, 2005.
- Michael Newcity and Christopher Gelpi. 2004. "Bush Has Liberals Longing for Nixon." Editorial Column in the **Durham Herald-Sun**, December 5, 2004.
- Christopher Gelpi and Peter Feaver. 2004. "Iraq Messages Need Honing." Editorial column in **Newsday**, September 23, 2004.

- Christopher Gelpi. 2003. "Here's Why Bush's Reasons Don't Add Up." Editorial column in the **Charlotte Observer**, January 31, 2003.
- Christopher Gelpi. 2002. "In Danger of Mistaking the Threat." Editorial column in the **Raleigh News and Observer**, September 17, 2002.
- Christopher Gelpi. 2001. "We'll Accept Battle Deaths in a Winning Effort." Editorial column in the **Raleigh News and Observer**, September 26, 2001.
- Peter Feaver and Christopher Gelpi. 1999. "A Look At...Casualty Aversion. How Many Deaths are Acceptable? A Surprising Answer". Editorial essay in the **Washington Post**, November 7, 1999.
- Christopher Gelpi. 1999. "Remember What Worked." Editorial column in the **Raleigh News and Observer**, June 11, 1999.
- Christopher Gelpi. 1999 "Kosovo: Air War Won't Do It." Editorial column in the **Raleigh News and Observer**, April 9, 1999.
- Christopher Gelpi. 1998. "Deplorable Behavior Not Impeachable." Editorial column in the **Durham Herald-Sun**. December 16, 1998.
- Christopher Gelpi. 1998. "To Rein in Saddam, Lift Sanctions on Iraq." Editorial column in the **Raleigh News and Observer**. November 17, 1998.
- Christopher Gelpi. 1998. "Bringing Stability to South Asia." Editorial column in the **Raleigh News and Observer**. June 4, 1998.
- Christopher Gelpi. 1997. "The Art of Bargaining." (book review) **Political Science Quarterly**, Summer, 1997.

### ***Awards and Distinctions***

- Principal Investigator for 2021 **Outreach and Engagement Research Grant** for "Social Cohesion and the Reintegration of Former FARC in Antioquia, Colombia."
- Co-Principal Investigator (with Daniel Silverman and Daniel Kent) for 2018 **Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (TESS)** grant for "Public Fears of Terrorism, Partisan Rhetoric, and the Foundations of American Interventionism."
- Decision Sciences Collaborative Research Forum, The Ohio State University. **Best Research Abstract** of 2017 (with Elias Assaf) for "Trump's Taboos: The Effect of Taking Taboo Policy Positions During The 2016 Presidential Election."
- Co-Principal Investigator (with Austin Knuppe) for **Decision Sciences Collaborative Grant** in 2016 for "Local Partners for Local Problems: When Does Foreign Security Assistance Undermine Civilian Support?"
- Co-Principal Investigator (with Elias Assaf) for **Behavioral Decision Making Grant** in 2015 for "Personality, Partisanship, and the Consumption of Mass Media."

Co-Principal Investigator (with John Carlarne) for **Mershon Research Grant** in 2014 for "Training to Talk Peace: An Experimental Analysis of Non-Violent Communication Workshops."

Co-Principal Investigator (with Joshua Wu) for **Behavioral Decision Making Grant** in 2013 for "The Crossover Partisan Power of Religious Rhetoric during Foreign Policy Crises."

**Outstanding Academic Title** in 2009 for **Paying the Human Costs of War** from **Choice Magazine**, the official publication of the Association for College and Research Libraries.

Principal Investigator for **National Science Foundation Award**. Grant # 0819038 for 2008-2009. "Performing on Cue? The Formation of American Public Attitudes Toward War."

Recipient of the 2006 **Karl Deutsch Award** from the **International Studies Association** for the body of work representing the most significant contribution to the study of International Relations and Peace Research by a scholar under 40 years of age.

Co-Director of the "Human Costs of War" section of "Wielding American Power: Managing Interventions After September 11th" project. Funded by the **Carnegie Foundation** and the **National Science Foundation**. (Grant PI's: Peter Feaver and Bruce Jentleson).

Co-Direction of the "Use of Force" section of "Bridging the Gap: Assuring Military Effectiveness When Military Culture Diverges from Civilian Society. Funded by the **Smith-Richardson Foundation**. (Grant PI's Peter Feaver and Richard Kohn).

Recipient of a research grant from the **Arts and Sciences Research Council**, Duke University. Summer 1998.

Recipient of a **Ford Foundation Grant** for Curricular Innovation, Fall 1997.

Recipient of **Junior Faculty Research Grant**, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Summer 1996.

**Horace H. Rackham Dissertation Fellowship**, University of Michigan, Spring 1994.

Recipient of **Departmental Teaching Award**, University of Michigan, January 1993.

Passed Qualifying Exams in World Politics and Social Science Research Methods with **Honors**, October 1990 and August 1991.

**University Regents' Fellowship**, University of Michigan, 1988-1990.

**MacArthur Foundation Fellowship**, Center for International Peace and Security at the University of Michigan, 1988-1990.

Graduated from Stanford University with **Honors and Distinction**, June 1988

## ***Courses Taught***

### **The Ohio State University**

Political Science 2300: American Foreign Policy  
Political Science 4315: International Security and the Causes of War  
Political Science 6194: Contemporary International Problems  
Political Science 7300: International Relations Theory  
Political Science 7320: Foreign Policy Decision Making

### **Duke University**

Political Science 49s: International Crisis Bargaining  
Political Science 102: Introduction to Political Inquiry  
Political Science 142: War and Peace  
Political Science 200D: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy  
Political Science 201: The Foreign Policy of Democratic States  
Political Science 208s: Theories of International Conflict  
Political Science 233: Intermediate Statistical Methods  
Political Science 299: Practical Analysis in Political Science  
Political Science 309: International Relations Field Seminar  
Political Science 330: Designing Political Research  
Political Science 398: Empirical Methods in International Relations

## ***Ph.D. Dissertation Advisees***

### *Completed:*

Alan Van Beek, *Princeton University* (Chair)  
Victoria Gurevich, *Department of Homeland Security* (Chair)  
Christopher Ray, *George Washington University* (Chair)  
Haoming Xiong, *University of Nebraska*  
Michael Lopate, *Data Analysis Consultant*  
John Harden, *Dartmouth College*  
Kara Hooser, *University of Chicago*  
Greg Smith, *Syracuse University* (Chair)  
Ruth Pertsis  
Jose Fourtou, *EAFIT University*  
Elias Assaf, *Humana Insurance*  
Benjamin Campbell, *CoverMyMeds*  
Benjamin Kenzer, *Ohio State University Office of Distance Education*  
Iku Yoshimoto, *University of Tokyo* (Chair)  
Daniel Kent, *Kaiser Permanente*  
Daniel Wollrich, *US Government*  
Mini Saraswati, *Voter Participation Center*  
Austin Knuppe, *Utah State University*, (Chair)  
Andrew Rosenberg, *University of Florida*, (Co-Chair)  
John Raines, *IHS Markit Risk Analysis*  
Aisha Bradshaw, *Associate Editor, Nature Human Behaviour*  
Kyle Larson, *Capital University*  
Daniel Silverman, *Carnegie Mellon University* (Chair)  
Gabriella Lloyd, *University of Maryland*  
Josh Wu, *University of Rochester* (Chair)

Katherine Powers, *Dartmouth College*  
Max Gallop, *The University of Strathclyde*  
William Robey, *The Air University*  
Joshua Kertzer, *Harvard University*  
Danielle Lupton, *Colgate University*  
Nathaniel Harris, *Duke University Medical School*  
Kathryn Cochran, *Triangle Institute for Security Studies (Co-Chair)*  
Charles Miller, *Australian National University (Co-Chair)*  
Eugene Walton, *Penn State University (Chair)*  
Mark Buntaine, *The College of William and Mary*  
Amber Diaz, *Kenan Institute for Ethics, Duke University*  
Nazli Avdan, *University of Kansas (Chair)*  
Christine Lee, *St. John's College (Chair)*  
T Camber Warren, *Naval Postgraduate School (Chair)*  
Mark Yeisley, *USAF Air Command and Staff College*  
Matthew Fehrs, *St. Mary's College of Maryland*  
Lindsay Cohn, *Naval War College*  
Brett Benson, *Vanderbilt University*  
Giacomo Chiozza, *UC Berkeley, Vanderbilt University*  
Jimmy Teng, *Academia Sinica, Taipei*  
Krista Wiegand, *The University of Tennessee*  
Seth Weinberger, *University Puget Sound*  
Carol Atkinson, *Vanderbilt University*  
Ajin Choi, *Yonsei University, Korea*  
Damon Coletta, *USAF Academy*  
Jeff Ritter, *Rutgers University*  
Curt Signorino, *University of Rochester*  
Page Fortna, *Columbia University*

*In-Progress:*

Eric Wisnewski  
Jiyoon Kim (Chair)  
Maryum Alam (Chair)  
Moshe Goldman  
Liuya Zhang (Chair)  
Ra'phael Davis (Co-Chair)  
Hyunso Christy Oh (Chair)  
Katie Gouge  
Zhiqin Gao (Chair)  
Jae Eun Chen (Chair)

## ***Related Professional Experience***

### **Reviewer for**

American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, British Journal of Political Science, Conflict Management and Peace Science, Economics and Politics, Journal of Conflict Resolution, International Interactions, International Organization, International Security, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Politics, National Science Foundation, Political Behavior, Political Psychology, Public Opinion Quarterly, Security Studies, Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (TESS), Terrorism and Political Violence, World Politics.

### **Media Appearances Presenting Research Findings:**

CBS Evening News, National Public Radio News, Hardball with Chris Matthews, All Things Considered, Talk of the Nation, Day to Day, On Point, To the Point, The Connection, The Al Franken Show, The State of Things, All Sides with Anne Fisher.