

PAULINE JONES

University of Michigan
pjluong@umich.edu

September 2025

Professor
Department of Political Science
7766 Haven Hall, 505 S. State Street
Ann Arbor, MI 48109
734-764-5207

Edie N. Goldenberg Endowed Director
Michigan in Washington Program
Haven Hall, 505 S. State Street
Ann Arbor, MI 48109
734-763-9200

EDUCATION

Ph.D.: 1998 **HARVARD UNIVERSITY**
M.S.: 1992 **DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT**
Cambridge, Massachusetts
Master of Science and Ph.D. in Political Science

May 1990 **UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY**
 DEPARTMENTS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND HISTORY
Berkeley, California
Bachelor of Arts in History with Highest Honors
Bachelor of Arts in Political Science with Highest Honors

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

January 2012-Present **UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN**
 DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
Ann Arbor, Michigan
Professor with tenure

July 2004-December 2012 **BROWN UNIVERSITY**
 DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
Providence, Rhode Island
Associate Professor with tenure

July 1998 to June 2004 **YALE UNIVERSITY**
 DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
New Haven, Connecticut
Assistant Professor

ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

- September 2022- **EDIE N. GOLDENBERG ENDOWED DIRECTOR, MICHIGAN IN WASHINGTON PROGRAM**
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan
- July 2012-June 2025 **DIRECTOR, DIGITAL ISLAMIC STUDIES CURRICULUM**
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan
- July 2014-June 2020 **DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE (II)**
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan
- July 2012-June 2014 **DIRECTOR, ISLAMIC STUDIES PROGRAM, II**
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan
- July 2005-June 2010 **DIRECTOR OF GRADUATE STUDIES, POLITICAL SCIENCE**
Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Books

- 2021 *The Oxford Handbook on Politics in Muslim Societies*. Oxford, UK: Oxford Univ. Press (with Melani Cammett, Harvard Univ.)
- 2016 *Islam, Society, and Politics in Central Asia*, Central Eurasia in Context Book Series, Pittsburgh, PA: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press.
- 2010 *Oil is Not a Curse: Ownership Structure and Institutions in Petroleum-Rich Soviet Successor States*, New York, NY: Cambridge Univ. Press. (with Erika Weinthal, Duke Univ.)
- 2003 *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press.
- 2002 *Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Power, Perceptions, and Pacts*, New York, NY: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Articles

- 2025 "Effect of Historical Analogies and Public Opinion toward Foreign Policy." *Security Studies* 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2025.2537651> (with Yehonatan Abramson, Dean Dulay & Anil Menon)

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS, continued

Articles

- 2024 "Can Endorsement by Religious Leaders move the Needle on Vaccine Hesitancy?" *Vaccines* 6(42): 918-923 (with Anil Menon, Allen Hicken, & Laura Rozek)
- 2023 "Russia's War against Ukraine and the Future of Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy," *Journal of International Affairs*. Spring/Summer 75(2): 97-106.
- 2022 "Trust in Religious Leaders and Voluntary Compliance: Lessons from Social Distancing during COVID-19 in Central Asia." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 0(0):1-20 (with Anil Menon)
- 2021 "Global Adoption of Personal and Social Mitigation Behaviors during COVID-19: The Role of Trust & Confidence." *PLoS ONE* 16(9): e0256159. (with Anil Menon, Allen Hicken, & Laura Rozek)
- 2021 "Understanding Vaccine Hesitancy in the Context of COVID-19: The Role of Trust and Confidence" *International Journal of Public Health* 66:636255. (with Laura Rozek, Allen Hicken, and Anil Menon)
- 2021 "The International System after Trump and the Pandemic." *Current History. Global Trends Issue* 120 (822): 3-8. (with Allen Hicken and Anil Menon)
- 2020 "The Evolution of Religious Regulation in Central Asia, 1991-2018." *Central Asian Survey*. DOI: 10.1080/02634937.2020.1836477. (with Dustin Gamza)
- 2015 "The Domestic Political Conditions for International Economic Expansion: Lessons from Latin American National Oil Companies." *Comparative Political Studies* 48, 14: 2010-43 (with Jazmin Sierra)
- 2014 "Is there an Islamist Political Advantage?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 187-206 (with Melani Cammett)
- 2006 "Rethinking the Resource Curse: Ownership Structure, Institutional Capacity, and Domestic Constraints," *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 241-63.
- 2006 "Combating the Resource Curse: An Alternative Solution to Managing Mineral Wealth," *Perspectives on Politics* 4, 1: 35-53 (with Erika Weinthal)
- 2004 "Contra Coercion: Russian Tax Reform, Exogenous Shocks and Negotiated Institutional Change," *American Political Science Review* 98, 1.
- 2003 "The Middle Easternization of Central Asia," *Current History* (October): 333-340.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS, continued

Articles

- 2002 “Reconceptualizing the State: Lessons from Post-Communism,” *Politics and Society* 30, 4 (December 2002): 529-554 (with Anna Grzymala-Busse)
- 2002 “New Friends, New Fears in Central Asia,” *Foreign Affairs* 81, 2 (March-April 2002): 61-70 (with Erika Weinthal)

Recent Book Chapters

- 2024 “Chapter Four: Varieties of Populists.” In Michael Bernard and Steven Hanson, Editors. *Still the Age of Populism?* Routledge. (with Anil Menon)
- 2021 “Politics in Muslim Societies: What’s Religion Got to Do With it.” *The Oxford Handbook on Politics in Muslim Societies*, Oxford Univ. Press. (with Melani t)
- 2021 “Why Muslims (Don’t) Rebel: Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Central Asia.” *Oxford Handbook on Politics in Muslim States and Societies*, Oxford University Press. (with Dustin Gamza)
- 2021 “COVID-19 Response in Central Asia: A Cautionary Tale.” In Scott Greer, et al editors. *Coronavirus Politics*. University of Michigan Press. (with Elizabeth King)

Recent Policy Memos, Op-Eds, and Commentary

- September 2023 “SCOTUS is increasingly putting Christians' First Amendment rights ahead of others' dignity and rights to equal protection.” *The Conversation*. October 6, 2023. <https://theconversation.com/supreme-court-is-increasingly-putting-christians-first-amendment-rights-ahead-of-others-dignity-and-rights-to-equal-protection-210220>
- November 2022 “Why are Germans losing enthusiasm for helping Ukraine?” *WaPo* November 25, 2022. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/11/25/russia-ukraine-energy-europe/>
- October 2022 “The future of Kazakhstani-Russian relations: Public opinion and the CSTO,” *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*, October 30, 2022. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/the-future-of-kazakhstani-russian-relations-public-opinion-and-the-csto/>
- June 2022 “Your past is my present: How Volodymyr Zelenskyy uses history.” *The Conversation*. June 16, 2022. <https://theconversation.com/your-past-is-my-present-how-volodymyr-zelenskyy-uses-history-182216>
- January 2022 “The Kazakhstan protests escalated quickly. Here’s why.” *WaPo* January 8, 2022. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/01/08/kazakhstan-protests-escalated-quickly-heres-why/>

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS, continued

Recent Policy Memos, Op-Eds, and Commentary

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| June 2021 | “How do you persuade skeptics to get vaccinated? Trust matters more than information.” <i>WaPo</i> June 11, 2021.
(https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/06/14/how-do-you-persuade-skeptics-get-vaccinated-trust-matters-more-than-information/) |
| December 2020 | “Democratic Survival in the Muslim World.” <i>Democracy and Autocracy Section Newsletter</i> , American Political Science Association. |
| November 2019 | “30 years after the Berlin Wall fell, some former Soviet-controlled countries are dismantling democracy. What happened?” <i>WaPo</i> November 11, 2019
(https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/11/08/) |

WORK IN PROGRESS

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|------------------------|---|
| Book | <i>The Colonial Roots of Religious Regulation and Autocracy in Muslim Majority Countries</i> |
| Article (under review) | “Believing like the State? State Narratives on Religion and Popular Attitudes toward Religious Freedom.” (with Hasher Nisar) |
| Working paper | “Public Opinion and the Future of the CSTO: Domestic Pressures and Alliance Stability in the Wake of Russia’s War in Ukraine” (with Regina Smyth) |
| Working paper | “Protest Legacies in Autocracies: How States Deploy Narratives and Reform Policies to Rebuild Core Support” (with Regina Smyth) |
| Working paper | “Opportunistic Repression? Understanding the Relationship between Terrorism and Religious Regulation.” (with Mostafa El Sharkawy) |

SELECTED AWARDS AND HONORS

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| 2025-2026 | FELLOW, CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES, STANFORD UNIVERSITY <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Awarded nine-month fellowship to develop my book project <i>The Colonial Roots of Religious Regulation and Autocracy in Muslim Majority Countries</i>. |
| 2022-2024 | NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION RAPID GRANT <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>A Novel Framework & Toolkit to Measure Protest Legacies in Non-democratic States</i>• Awarded \$150,000 (with co-PI Regina Smyth) to study protest legacies following mass mobilization in Kazakhstan in January 2022.• Extended thru June 2024 to hold international conference (additional \$24,000) |

SELECTED AWARDS AND HONORS, Continued

- 2020-2022 **STUDYING INTERNATIONAL COPING AND COMPLIANCE (SICC) RESEARCH CONSORTIUM**
- Awarded 100,000 to convene a team of researchers across the U-M campus (Public Health, Public Policy, Psychology & Political Science) to better understand how COVID-19 was affecting different communities around the world and the factors driving compliance with government health directives.
- 2017-2023 **NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION RESEARCH GRANT**
- Project title: *Reluctant Monopolists: Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Predominantly Muslim Countries*
 - Awarded \$ 957,962 to collect data (including surveys) in three Central Asian countries over three years. Extended thru June 2023.
- 2014-2024 **ANDREW W. MELLON FOUNDATION**
- *Islamic Studies Virtual Curriculum*. Renamed *Digital Islamic Studies* (DISC) in 2016.
 - Awarded \$3 million as director of Islamic Studies Program at U-M to build & sustain a curriculum in Islamic Studies shared via synchronous classroom learning across the member universities of the Big Ten Academic Alliance.

SELECTED LECTURES AND PRESENTATIONS

- April 2025 **COLLEGE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, NORMAN, OK**
- Keynote Address: *Global Implications of Russia's War against Ukraine*
- November 2024 **BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH (INR), US DEPARTMENT OF STATE**
- *State Narratives and Protest Potential in Eurasia (Kazakhstan and Georgia)*
- October 2024 **INTERDISCIPLINARY WORKSHOP IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS**
- *Opportunistic Repression? Understanding the Relationship between Terrorism and Religious Regulation in Muslim Majority Countries*
- May 2024 **IU GATEWAY BERLIN CONFERENCE ON PROTESTS LEGACIES**
- *Public Opinion and Inter-Ethnic Relations in Post-protest Environments*
- April 2024 **MIDWEST POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (MPSA) ANNUAL CONVENTION, CHICAGO, IL**
- *Believing like the State?: State Narratives on Religion and Popular Attitudes toward Religious Freedom in Kyrgyzstan*

SELECTED LECTURES AND PRESENTATIONS, continued

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| January 2024 | CENTER ON DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT AND THE RULE OF LAW, FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE, STANFORD UNIVERISTY <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Public Opinion & the Future of the CSTO: Domestic Pressures & Alliance Stability in the Wake of Russia's War in Ukraine</i> |
| April 2023 | MPSA ANNUAL CONVENTION, CHICAGO, IL <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Your Past is my Present: Historical Parallels, Empathy & Public Support for Ukraine</i> |
| February 2023 | AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATION FOR COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMMINIST STUDIES 16th BIANNUAL CONFERENCE <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Keynote Address: <i>What Political Science can learn from Eurasian Studies</i> |
| December 2022 | CONFERENCE ON THE WAR IN UKRAINE, CLAREMONT MCKENNA COLLEGE, CALIFORNIA <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Russia's War against Ukraine and the End of the Near Abroad</i> |
| September 2022 | AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (APSA) ANNUAL MEETING, MONTREAL CANADA <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Can Endorsement by Religious Leaders move the Needle on Vaccine Hesitancy?</i> |
| May 2022 | BOOK LAUNCH, OXFORD UNIVERSITY, OXFORD UK <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Politics in Muslim Societies: What's Religion Got to Do With it?</i> |
| March 2022 | PONARS SPRING POLICY CONFERENCE, GWU, WASHINGTON DC <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Russia's War against Ukraine: Implications for Central Asia</i> |
| January 2022 | CENTRAL ASIA PROGRAM, GWU, WASHINGTON DC <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Nazarbayev's Second Exit and the Future of Kazakhstan</i> |
| October 2021 | CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES, STANFORD UNIVERSITY <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Trust in Religious Leaders & Voluntary Compliance: Lessons from Social Distancing during COVID-19 in Central Asia</i> |
| April 2021 | MILLER-CONVERSE ANNUAL LECTURE, CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Democratic Survival in the Muslim World</i> |
| March 2021 | POST-COMMUNIST POLITICS WORKSHOP, GWU, WASH. D.C. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Muslim Majority States</i> |
| September 2020 | PONARS EURASIA, GWU, WASHINGTON D.C. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>The Impact of COVID-19 on Regime Legitimacy in Central Asia</i> |

SELECTED LECTURES AND PRESENTATIONS, continued

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| June 2020 | INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>COVID-19 Across the Globe: Results from an International Survey</i> |
| February 2020 | COMPARATIVE POLITICS WORKSHOP, YALE UNIVERSITY <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Muslim Majority States</i> |
| December 2019 | WORKSHOP ON RELGION & POLITICS IN MUSLIM SOCIETIES, HARVARD UNIVERSITY <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Why (Don't) Muslims Rebel? Responses to Religious Repression in Muslim Majority States</i> |
| September 2019 | AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (APSA) ANNUAL MEETING, WASHINGTON DC <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Why Muslims Rebel: Religious Repression and Political Mobilization in Central Asia</i> |
| October 2019 | COMPARATIVE POLITICS WORKSHOP, UNIVERSITY OF OREGON <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Muslim Majority States</i> |
| September 2019 | ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, SAN FRANCISCO, CA <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Populism and Democratic Decline in Russia & Eastern Europe</i> |
| April 2019 | COMPARATIVE POLITICS WORKSHOP, YALE UNIVERSITY <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Muslim Majority States</i> |
| March 2019 | FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE, STANFORD UNIVERSITY <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Perils of Populism: The Domestic Implications of Putin's International Strategy</i> |
| February 2019 | U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON DC <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Islam & the State in Tajikistan</i> |
| April 2018 | COMPARATIVE POLITICS WORKSHOP, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Central Asia</i> |
| October 2017 | LSA DEAN'S COUNCIL, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>International Institute: Past, Present, and Future</i> |
| April 2017 | HARVARD UNIVERSITY, DAVIS CENTER FOR RUSSIAN & EURASIAN STUDIES <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Central Asia</i> |
| February 2017 | BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH (INR), U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON DC <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Central Asia</i> |

SELECTED LECTURES AND PRESENTATIONS, continued

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| September 2016 | DEPT. OF GOVERNMENT, LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Crude Expectations: How Oil Shapes Citizen Demands for Public Goods</i> |
| November 2015 | ISLAM IN EURASIA CONFERENCE, GW UNIVERSITY <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Keynote address: <i>Reassessing the "Islamic Revival" in Central Asia</i> |
| September 2014 | ACADEMY SCHOLARS REUNION, HARVARD UNIVERSITY <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Measuring Religiosity in Central Asia: The Pluralism of Piety & its Implications</i> |
| November 2013 | ASSOCIATION FOR SLAVIC, EAST EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN STUDIES (ASEEES) ANNUAL MEETING <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Roundtable: <i>Religion and Politics in the post-Soviet Space</i> |
| July 2013 | CENTER FOR RUSSIA, EAST EUROPE, & CENTRAL ASIA, UNIVERSITY OF MADISON, WISCONSIN <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Measuring Religiosity: Lessons from Central Asia</i> |
| May 2013 | AMERICAN UNIV. OF CENTRAL ASIA, BISHKEK, KYRGYZSTAN <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Is there an Islamist Governance Advantage?</i> |

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE (Selected)

- | | |
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| 1996- | PROGRAM ON NEW APPROACHES TO EURASIAN SECURITY
George Washington University, Washington D.C. |
| 2006- | MEMBER, EDITORIAL BOARD, <i>SLAVIC REVIEW</i> |
| 2015- | MEMBER, EDITORIAL BOARD, <i>POST-SOVIET AFFAIRS</i> |
| 2018- | MEMBER, EDITORIAL BOARD, <i>JOURNAL OF POLITICS</i> |
| 2018- | MEMBER, EDITORIAL BOARD, <i>POLITICS AND SOCIETY</i> |
| 2023- | MEMBER, EXECUTIVE BOARD, MPSA WORKSHOP ON POLITICS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY OF EURASIA |
| 2024-2025 | CHAIR, DAVIS CENTER BOOK PRIZE COMMITTEE, ASEEEES |
| 2023-2024 | CHAIR, LUEBBERT BOOK PRIZE SELECTION COMMITTEE, APSA |
| 2022-2023 | CHAIR, BEST PAPER IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS PRIZE, MPSA |
| 2014-2020 | MEMBER, WORKING GROUP ON US-RUSSIA RELATIONS |

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE (Selected), Continued

2014- 2015	CHAIR, ANNUAL BOOK PRIZE COMMITTEE, CENTRAL EURASIAN STUDIES SOCIETY
2013-2016	CHAIR, DAVIS CENTER BOOK PRIZE COMMITTEE FOR RUSSIAN & EURASIAN STUDIES
2013-2016	EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, COMPARATIVE POLITICS SECTION, AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (APSA)
January 2012	FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE • Co-convener and Moderator, Workshop on “Islam in Secular Central Asia”
Summer 2012	JUAN LINZ DISSERTATION PRIZE COMMITTEE (APSA)

UNIVERSITY & DEPARTMENTAL SERVICE, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN (Selected)

2025-	MEMBER, STEERING COMMITTEE, CENTER FOR EMERGING DEMOCRACIES
2024-	MEMBER, UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON DEMOCRACY, CIVIC EMPOWERMENT AND GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT
2024-	REPRESENTATIVE, SENATE ASSEMBLY, FACULTY SENATE
2023-	MEMBER, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, UNIV. OF MICHIGAN PRESS
2023-	SERIES CO-EDITOR, EMERGING DEMOCRACIES (WITH DAN SLATER) UNIV. OF MICHIGAN PRESS
2023-	COMPARATIVE POLITICS SUBFIELD COORDINATOR, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE (DPS)
2022-	JUNIOR FACULTY MENTOR, DPS
2012-2025	DIRECTOR, DIGITAL ISLAMIC STUDIES CURRICULUM, II
2021-2022	GRADUATE ADMISSIONS COMMITTEE, DPS
2014-2020	DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE (II)
2012-2017	DIVERSITY ALLY, DPS
2012-2017	CHAIR, EMERGING SCHOLARS PROGRAM, DPS
2012-2014	DIRECTOR, ISLAMIC STUDIES PROGRAM, II