

PAULINE JONES

University of Michigan
pjluong@umich.edu

April 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
M.S.: 1992

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
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

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|---------------------|---|
| 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

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

Articles

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| Forthcoming | "Your Past is my Present: Historical Analogies and Public Opinion toward Foreign Policy." <i>Security Studies</i> (with Yehonatan Abramson, Dean Dulay & Anil Menon) |
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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.
- 2002 “Reconceptualizing the State: Lessons from Post-Communism,” *Politics and Society* 30, 4 (December 2002): 529-554 (with Anna Grzymala-Busse)

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS, continued

Articles

- 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 Cammett)
- 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

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)
Article	“Public Opinion and the Future of the CSTO: Domestic Pressures and Alliance Stability in the Wake of Russia’s War in Ukraine” (with Regina Smith)
Article	“Protest Legacies in Autocracies: How States Deploy Narratives & Reform Policies to Rebuild Core Support” (with Regina Smith)
Article	“Opportunistic Repression? Understanding the Relationship between Terrorism and Religious Regulation.” (with Mostafa El Sharkawy)

SELECTED AWARDS AND HONORS

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)
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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 2024 **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 |
| 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 <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 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