

**PAULINE JONES**

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November 2023

Professor  
Department of Political Science  
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Digital Islamic Studies Curriculum  
500 Church Street, Suite 3000  
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**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 2024 **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
- 2012-2014 **DIRECTOR, ISLAMIC STUDIES PROGRAM, II**  
University of Michigan  
Ann Arbor, Michigan
- 2005-2010 **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

- Forthcoming “Can Endorsement by Religious Leaders move the Needle on Vaccine Hesitancy?” *Vaccines* (with Anil Menon, Allen Hicken, and Laura Rozek)

## SELECTED PUBLICATIONS, continued

### Articles

- 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, and 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 Weintal)
- 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)
- 2002 “New Friends, New Fears in Central Asia,” *Foreign Affairs* 81, 2 (March-April 2002): 61-70 (with Erika Weintal)

## SELECTED PUBLICATIONS, continued

### Recent Book Chapters

- Forthcoming “Varieties of Populists” In Michael Bernard and Steven Hanson, editors. *Still the Age of Populism?* Routledge Press. (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 “Supreme Court 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/>)
- June 2021 “How do you persuade skeptics to get vaccinated? Trust matters more than information.” *WaPo* June 11, 2021. (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/06/14/how-do-you-persuade-skeptics-get-vaccinated-trust-matters-more-than-information/>)

## SELECTED PUBLICATIONS, continued

### Recent Policy Memos, Op-Eds, and Commentary

- December 2020 “Democratic Survival in the Muslim World.” *Democracy and Autocracy Section Newsletter*, American Political Science Association.
- November 2019 “30 years after the Berlin Wall fell, some former Soviet-controlled countries are dismantling democracy. What happened?” WaPo November 11, 2019 (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/11/08>)
- March 2019 *Nazarbaev’s Resignation: Planned Exit as a Cautionary Tale*. (<http://www.ponarseurasia.org/node/10200>)

## WORK IN PROGRESS

- Book *Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Muslim Majority States*
- Article (under review) “Your Past is my Present: Historical Parallels and Changing Public Opinion about Support for Ukraine” (with Anil Menon, Yehonatan Abramson, and Dean Dulay)
- Article “Does Religious Regulation undermine Democracy?” (with Jeremy Boo)
- Article “Believing like the State?: State Narratives on Religion and Popular Attitudes toward Religious Freedom.” (with Hasher Nasar)
- 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)

## SELECTED AWARDS AND HONORS

- 2022-2023 **NSF Collaborative Research: RAPID**
- *A Novel Framework & Toolkit to Measure Protest Legacies in Non-democratic States*
  - Awarded \$150,000 (with co-PI Regina Smyth) to study protest legacies following mass mobilization in Kazakhstan in January 2022.
- 2017-2023 **NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION**
- 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.

## **SELECTED AWARDS AND HONORS, continued**

- 2014-2023
- 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 2023
- MIDWEST POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (MPSA) ANNUAL CONVENTION, CHICAGO, IL**
- *Your Past is my Present: Historical Parallels, Empathy & Public Support for Ukraine*
- February 2023
- AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATION FOR COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST STUDIES 16<sup>th</sup> BIENNIAL CONFERENCE**
- Keynote Address: *What Political Science can learn from Eurasian Studies*
- December 2022
- CONFERENCE ON THE WAR IN UKRAINE, CLAREMONT MCKENNA COLLEGE, CALIFORNIA**
- *Russia's War against Ukraine and the End of the Near Abroad*
- September 2022
- AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (APSA) ANNUAL MEETING, MONTREAL CANADA**
- *Can Endorsement by Religious Leaders move the Needle on Vaccine Hesitancy?*
- May 2022
- BOOK LAUNCH, OXFORD UNIVERSITY, OXFORD UK**
- *Politics in Muslim Societies: What's Religion Got to Do With it?*
- March 2022
- PONARS SPRING POLICY CONFERENCE, GWU, WASHINGTON DC**
- *Russia's War against Ukraine: Implications for Central Asia*
- March 2022
- INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE, UNIV. OF MICHIGAN**
- *II Roundtable: Russia's War against Ukraine*
- January 2022
- CENTRAL ASIA PROGRAM, GWU, WASHINGTON DC**
- *Nazarbayev's Second Exit and the Future of Kazakhstan*
- October 2021
- CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES, STANFORD UNIVERSITY**
- *Trust in Religious Leaders & Voluntary Compliance: Lessons from Social Distancing during COVID-19 in Central Asia*

**SELECTED LECTURES AND PRESENTATIONS, continued**

- April 2021                   **MILLER-CONVERSE ANNUAL LECTURE, CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN**
- *Democratic Survival in the Muslim World*
- March 2021                   **POST-COMMUNIST POLITICS WORKSHOP, GWU, WASH. D.C.**
- *Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Muslim Majority States*
- September 2020           **PONARS EURASIA, GWU, WASHINGTON D.C.**
- *The Impact of COVID-19 on Regime Legitimacy in Central Asia*
- June 2020                   **INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN**
- *COVID-19 Across the Globe: Results from an International Survey*
- February 2020             **COMPARATIVE POLITICS WORKSHOP, YALE UNIVERSITY**
- *Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Muslim Majority States*
- December 2019           **WORKSHOP ON RELIGION & POLITICS IN MUSLIM SOCIETIES, HARVARD UNIVERSITY**
- *Why (Don't) Muslims Rebel? Responses to Religious Repression in Muslim Majority States*
- September 2019           **AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (APSA) ANNUAL MEETING, WASHINGTON DC**
- *Why Muslims Rebel: Religious Repression and Political Mobilization in Central Asia*
- October 2019              **COMPARATIVE POLITICS WORKSHOP, UNIVERSITY OF OREGON**
- *Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Muslim Majority States*
- September 2019           **ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, SAN FRANCISCO, CA**
- *Populism and Democratic Decline in Russia & Eastern Europe*
- April 2019                   **COMPARATIVE POLITICS WORKSHOP, YALE UNIVERSITY**
- *Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Muslim Majority States*
- March 2019                 **FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE, STANFORD UNIVERSITY**
- *Perils of Populism: The Domestic Implications of Putin's International Strategy*
- February 2019             **U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON DC**
- *Islam & the State in Tajikistan*
- October 2018              **DAVIS CENTER FOR RUSSIAN STUDIES, HARVARD UNIVERSITY**
- *The Political & Economic Transition in Uzbekistan*

**SELECTED LECTURES AND PRESENTATIONS, continued**

- April 2018                   **COMPARATIVE POLITICS WORKSHOP, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY**  
• *Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Central Asia*
- October 2017               **LSA DEAN'S COUNCIL, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN**  
• *International Institute: Past, Present, and Future*
- September 2017           **WORKSHOP ON EMPIRICAL RESEARCH IN CENTRAL ASIA,  
GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY**  
• *Conducting Cognitive Interviews & Mass Surveys in Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, & Tajikistan*
- April 2017                   **HARVARD UNIVERSITY, DAVIS CENTER FOR RUSSIAN &  
EURASIAN STUDIES**  
• *Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Central Asia*
- February 2017              **BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH, U.S. DEPARTMENT  
OF STATE, WASHINGTON DC**  
• *Religious Regulation and Political Mobilization in Central Asia*
- September 2016           **DEPT. OF GOVERNMENT, LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS**  
• *Crude Expectations: How Oil Shapes Citizen Demands for Public Goods*
- November 2015             **ISLAM IN EURASIA CONFERENCE, GW UNIVERSITY**  
• Keynote address: *Reassessing the "Islamic Revival" in Central Asia*
- September 2014           **ACADEMY SCHOLARS REUNION, HARVARD UNIVERSITY**  
• *Measuring Religiosity in Central Asia: The Pluralism of Piety & its Implications*
- November 2013             **ASSOCIATION FOR SLAVIC, EAST EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN  
STUDIES (ASEEES) ANNUAL MEETING**  
• Roundtable: *Religion and Politics in the post-Soviet Space*
- July 2013                   **CENTER FOR RUSSIA, EAST EUROPE, & CENTRAL ASIA,  
UNIVERSITY OF MADISON, WISCONSIN**  
• *Measuring Religiosity: Lessons from Central Asia*
- May 2013                   **AMERICAN UNIV. OF CENTRAL ASIA, BISHKEK, KYRGYZSTAN**  
• *Is there an Islamist Governance Advantage?*
- April 2013                   **COMP. POLITICAL ECONOMY WORKSHOP, UNIV. OF VIRGINIA**  
• *Crude Ambitions: The Internationalization of Emerging Country NOCs*



**PROFESSIONAL SERVICE (Selected)**

- 1996- **PROGRAM ON NEW APPROACHES TO EURASIAN SECURITY**  
**George Washington University, Washington D.C.**
- Participate in on-going meetings and workshops with scholars from across the U.S. and Russia/Eurasia to discuss major security issues with policy-makers, write up-to-date policy briefs, and set an agenda for future research.
- 2006- **MEMBER, EDITORIAL BOARD, *SLAVIC REVIEW***
- 2011- **MEMBER, EDITORIAL BOARD, *COMPARATIVE POLITICAL STUDIES***
- 2015- **MEMBER, EDITORIAL BOARD, *POST-SOVIET AFFAIRS***
- 2018- **MEMBER, EDITORIAL BOARD, *JOURNAL OF POLITICS***
- 2018- **MEMBER, EDITORIAL BOARD, *POLITICS AND SOCIETY***
- 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**
- Attended regular meetings between Russian and U.S. scholars in Washington DC and Moscow and policymakers to promote improved relations between the two countries through on-going intellectual exchange and dialogue commencing pressing international issues.
- 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)**

2023-	<b>MEMBER, EDITORIAL BOARD, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS</b>
2023-	<b>SERIES CO-EDITOR, EMERGING DEMOCRACIES (WITH DAN SLATER) UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS</b>
2023-	<b>COMPARATIVE POLITICS SUBFIELD COORDINATOR</b>
2022-	<b>JUNIOR FACULTY MENTOR</b>
2013-	<b>DIRECTOR, DIGITAL ISLAMIC STUDIES CURRICULUM, II</b>
Dec 2021 to March 2022	<b>GRADUATE ADMISSIONS COMMITTEE</b>
July 2014 to June 2020	<b>DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE (II)</b>
Fall 2019	<b>TENURE PROMOTION COMMITTEE, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE</b>
Fall 2018	<b>THIRD YEAR REVIEW COMMITTEE, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE</b>
2012-2017	<b>DIVERSITY ALLY, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE</b>
2012-2017	<b>CHAIR, EMERGING SCHOLARS PROGRAM, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE</b>
2012-2014	<b>DIRECTOR, ISLAMIC STUDIES PROGRAM, II</b>