

# Dr. Benjamin Schuetze

Post-doctoral research fellow, Department of Political Science, University of Freiburg  
Research associate, Arnold Bergstraesser Institute (ABI), Freiburg

Belfortstraße 20, 79098 Freiburg, Germany  
Windausstraße 16, 79110 Freiburg, Germany  
benjamin.schuetze@politik.uni-freiburg.de | +49 (0)761 203-96815  
www.politik.uni-freiburg.de/professuren/entwicklungstheorien-politik/mitarbeiter/schuetze  
www.arnold-bergstraesser.de/mitarbeiterinnen/schuetze-dr-benjamin-universitaet-freiburg

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## PROFILE

In my research, I am interested in authoritarian practices and the politics of intervention. I investigate these themes in US and European attempts at 'democracy promotion' in Jordan, US-Jordanian military collaboration, economic liberalization and the political economy of renewable energy projects. Exploring the often-contradictory effects of external interventions in the Middle East and North Africa, my work is situated at the intersections of international relations, Middle Eastern politics, critical security studies and transregional studies. I have extensive experience teaching and supervising undergraduate and postgraduate students in a range of IR-related topics and the politics of the Middle East.

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## POSITIONS HELD

Apr 2016 – **Postdoctoral research fellow, Department of Political Science, University of Freiburg**  
present **Research associate, Arnold Bergstraesser Institute (ABI), Freiburg**

At the University of Freiburg, I am teaching International Relations and Middle Eastern politics, supervising theses, coordinating the management of the chair for development theory and policy, and collaborating with our partner university SciencesPo Aix-en-Provence. At the ABI I am an active member in the research cluster *Contested Governance*, regularly participate in internal meetings and workshops, and have acted as member in a selection committee for the appointment of a postdoctoral researcher position. I am writing third party funding proposals, producing peer-reviewed articles, and currently publishing a book entitled *Promoting Democracy, Reinforcing Authoritarianism: US and European Policy in Jordan* with the Middle East Studies series of Cambridge University Press.

In the entire calendar year 2017, I was on a reduced contract (50%) due to parental leave.

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## EDUCATION

2011-2016 **PhD Politics and International Relations, passed with no corrections**

SOAS University of London

*US and European democracy promotion in Jordan: The reinforcement of authoritarianism*

Supervisors: Professor Charles Tripp, Professor Laleh Khalili, and Dr. Matthew Nelson.

Examiners: Dr. Nicola Pratt and Dr. Jamie Allinson.

2009-2010 **MA Near and Middle Eastern Studies, with Distinction**

SOAS University of London

2006-2009 **BA Arabic Studies and Political Science, with Distinction**

University of Leipzig

2008-2009 **Semester abroad**

American University of Beirut (AUB)

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## MONOGRAPHS

2019 *Promoting Democracy, Reinforcing Authoritarianism: US and European Policy in Jordan*  
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Middle East Studies series).

## PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES

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- Revise & Resubmit 'Rethinking authoritarian power: Aqaba and Buenaventura in the 'transregional authoritarian logistics space', *International Studies Quarterly* (co-authored with Alke Jenss).
- 2018 'Marketing parliament: The constitutive effects of external attempts at parliamentary strengthening in Jordan', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 53(2), pp. 237-258.
- 2017 'Simulating, marketing, and playing war: US-Jordanian military collaboration and the politics of commercial security', *Security Dialogue*, 48(5), pp. 431-450.

## PUBLICATIONS UNDER PREPARATION

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I am currently:

- preparing a book chapter entitled "Marquez un but pour la démocratie": La commercialization et le contrôle de la 'Société Civile' en Jordanie, in: *La "Société civile": dans l'action transnationale au concret*, edited by Philippe Aldrin and Nathalie Ferré, published by Presses Universitaires Aix-Marseille Université (co-authored with Delphine Weil-Accardo).
- preparing a book chapter entitled 'Performing the Jordanian state: Intervention, aid dependence and eternal reform', in: *Charles Tripp and the comparative politics of the Middle East: Power, resistance, ideology and the state*, edited by Ali Ansari, Toby Dodge and Daniel Neep.
- preparing an article manuscript entitled "Seizing the Moment": Attempts at strengthening an Israeli-Jordanian transit trade route and conflicting visions of Arab-Israeli normalization, for submission to *Mediterranean Politics* in December 2019.

## OTHER ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

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- 2019 'Militärisches Disneyland: In Jordanien sind Kriegsvorbereitungen ein lukratives Geschäft', *Iz3w*, Januar/Februar, No. 370, pp. 14-15.
- 2016 'Misrepresenting the Contextual and Idealising the Universal: How US Efforts at Democracy Promotion Bolster Authoritarianism in Jordan', *ABI Working Paper*, No. 3.
- 2013 'Book review: Democracy's Arsenal – Creating a twenty-first century defense industry', *Media, War & Conflict*, August 6, pp. 184-185.
- 2010 'Haret Hreik – Hisbollah-organisierter Wiederaufbau und die Notwendigkeit von Alternativen', *Mediterranes*, Nr. 2, pp. 13-15.

## MEDIA AND COMMENTARY

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- 2018 'Confronting Authoritarianism vs. Disciplining Democracy: The Recent Protests in Jordan and US Attempts at Democracy Promotion', *Jadaliyya*. Available at: <http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/37806/Confronting-Authoritarianism-vs-Disciplining-Democracy-The-Recent-Protests-in-Jordan-and-US-Attempts-at-Democracy-Promotion>.
- 2017 'Jordan's KASOTC: Privatising anti-terror training', *Al-Jazeera Online*. Available at: <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/07/jordan-kasotc-privatising-anti-terror-training-170717074832979.html>.
- 2017 'US-Jordanian military collaboration and the politics of commercial security', *Security Dialogue blog*. Available at: <https://blogs.prio.org/SecurityDialogue/author/benjamin-schuetze/>.
- 2016 'Stabilität nützt nicht unbedingt der Demokratie', *Badische Zeitung*. Available at: <http://www.badische-zeitung.de/kommentare-1/stabilitaet-nuetzt-nicht-unbedingt-der-demokratie-125781611.html>.

## TEACHING

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- 2016 – present**     **Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Freiburg**  
 I teach a range of courses in the fields of international relations and comparative politics, including BA and MA courses on *Middle Eastern politics, militarism and (in-)security in the Middle East, US and European interventions in the name of democracy, international relations theory*, and *introduction to political science*. I am independently responsible for designing the courses, methods of assessment, syllabi, delivering seminars, and marking assignments. I am informally participating in the supervision of PhD candidates and have helped interested candidates in obtaining scholarships and a research affiliation. I (co-)supervise BA and MA theses on a variety of topics related to International Relations, African and Middle Eastern politics, the politics of intervention and postcolonial perspectives in international relations. Select topics of theses supervised by me include the following:
- The consolidation of the Iraqi-Kurdish de-facto state
  - Leftist political parties in Morocco: Between King, communism and clientelism
  - Armed Non-State Actors as Security Providers: The Kurdish YPG in Northern Syria
  - The crisis of Islamic Liberalism: The production of collective consent for neoliberal politics in Turkey
  - Lebanese perceptions of the German ‘refugee crisis’: Decentering Eurocentric and Orientalist perspectives
  - Turtle Island: Land rights, cultural hegemony and political resistance by indigenous communities in North America
  - Authoritarian rule and economic liberalization in Saudi-Arabia: Saudi-Vision 2030 and the King Abdullah Economic City (KAEC)
  - North Korean Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in the Era of Kim Jong-Un
  - Authoritarian stability in Sudan
  - Shaping democracy? Young Tunisians’ trust in political participation processes
- Oct – Nov 2018**     **Erasmus+ Teaching Fellow, SciencesPo Aix-en-Provence**  
 I taught block seminars in the MA-programs *Euro-Méditerranée* and *Géostratégie, Défense et Sécurité Internationale*, including modules on ‘democracy promotion’ interventions, as well as militarism and contemporary war-making in the Middle East.
- 2013-2014**     **Graduate Teaching Assistant, SOAS University of London**  
 I delivered tutorials for second and third year undergraduates in the course *Government and Politics of the Middle East*. The course provides an introduction to the politics of the Middle East since 1900, and the political, economic and social transformations in the region. My responsibilities to design and lead tutorials, help students with essays, mark assignments, offer feedback and write student references.
- 2008**     **Student Assistant, Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Leipzig**  
 I independently designed and taught tutorials on *Developmental problems and potentials of the MENA-region*.

## GRANTS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

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- 2019**     Travel grant, Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft Freiburg
- 2018**     Travel grant, German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD)
- 2018**     Travel grant, Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft Freiburg
- 2017**     Collaborative grant for the organisation of an international workshop in Cairo, American Political Science Association (APSA)
- 2016**     Middle East and North Africa (MENA) workshop fellow, American Political Science Association
- 2016**     Travel grant, International Studies Association
- 2014-2015**     Doctoral scholarship, German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) (tuition & stipend)
- 2014**     Travel grant, Middle East Studies Association

2011-2014 Doctoral scholarship, Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) (tuition & stipend)  
 2013 Travel grant, Santander Mobility Award  
 2010-2011 Carlo-Schmid fellowship for an internship with the Beirut office of the Crisis Prevention and Recovery Unit of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Lebanon, German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and German Academic Scholarship Foundation  
 2009 Participation scholarship, Beirut Exchange, Mideastwire  
 2007-2010 Scholarship, Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES)

## FIELDWORK

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Sep 2012- **Jordan:** Doctoral fieldwork, including about 120 qualitative interviews with foreign  
 Apr 2013 diplomats, individuals involved in security collaboration and NGO employees, as well as  
 + Jan 2015 Jordanian activists, politicians and officials. Interviews were conducted in English, Arabic  
 and German.  
 May – Jun **Washington DC, USA:** Doctoral fieldwork, including archival research in the Library of  
 2013 Congress and about 25 qualitative interviews with US government employees, diplomats,  
 aid workers, consultants and scholars.  
 Mar 2015 **Brussels, Belgium:** Doctoral fieldwork, including about 15 qualitative interviews with EU  
 diplomats and NGO employees.  
 Feb – Apr **Beirut, Lebanon:** Conducted interviews with activists, government employees and local  
 2009 politicians for undergraduate thesis (with distinction) on urban governance and  
 reconstruction in Beirut's Southern Suburb Haret Hreik.

## WORKSHOPS, PANELS AND LECTURES ORGANISED

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Oct 2018 – 'Transregional Studies Lecture Series: Emerging Regional Powers and South-South  
 Apr 2019 Interventions', Colloquium Politicum (University of Freiburg) and Arnold Bergstraesser  
 Institute (ABI), Freiburg.  
 Jul 2018 'US foreign policy and public diplomacy in the Middle East', World Congress for Middle  
 Eastern Studies (WOCMES), Sevilla.  
 Mar 2018 'Faire de la politique (extérieure) sans en avoir l'aire : Les dispositifs à destination des  
 « sociétés civiles » étrangères', international colloquium organised by CHERPA, SciencesPo  
 Aix-en-Provence and the University of Freiburg with support of the German-French University  
 and the Centre d'Excellence Jean Monnet 'L'europe au sud', Aix-en-Provence.  
 Dec 2017 'Structure and agency revisited : new modes of political mobilisation in the changing Middle  
 East', American University of Cairo (AUC), Cairo.

## CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

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Nov 2019 'US and European 'Democracy Promotion' Interventions in Jordan: the Reinforcement of  
 Authoritarian Rule and Acts of Resistance.' Accepted for presentation at the Middle East  
 Studies Association (MESA) conference, New Orleans.  
 Oct 2019 'US and European Interventions in the Name of Democracy: the Reinforcement of  
 Authoritarianism.' Presented at the German Middle East Studies Association (DAVO)  
 conference, Hamburg.  
 Jun 2019 'Promoting Democracy, Reinforcing Authoritarianism: US & European Policy in Jordan.'  
 Presented at the British International Studies Association (BISA) conference, London.  
 Nov 2018 'US and European Democracy Promotion in Jordan and the Reinforcement of Assumptions  
 of Difference.' Presented at the Middle East Studies Association (MESA), San Antonio.

- Oct 2018 'Promoting an Israeli-Jordanian Transit Trade Route: Violence, Trade, and Opposing Visions of Arab-Israeli Normalization.' Presented at the German Middle East Studies Association (DAVO) conference, Frankfurt.
- Jul 2018 'Promoting democracy, reinforcing authoritarianism: Jordan and the unintended consequences of US and European democracy assistance.' Presented at the World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies (WOCMES), Sevilla.
- Oct 2017 "Break on through to the other side": Neoliberal democracy promotion in Jordan.' ALMA Research Series, Arnold Bergstraesser Institute (ABI) and University of Freiburg, Freiburg.
- Mar 2016 'Are you afraid of politics? US democracy promotion in Jordan.' Presented at the International Studies Association (ISA) annual convention, Atlanta.
- Mar 2016 'Promoting an Israeli-Jordanian transit-trade route: geopolitics and attempts at de-politicisation and technocratisation.' Presented at the International Studies Association (ISA) annual convention, Atlanta.
- Sep 2015 'The Eastern European origins of US democracy promotion in Jordan: Liberal democratic identity formation and the reinforcement of authoritarian stability.' Presented at an international conference organized by Sorbonne-Paris-Cité University, SciencesPo and INALCO, Paris.
- Nov 2014 "The special forces experience" – an analysis of US security assistance to Jordan at the example of the King Abdullah II Special Operations Training Centre.' Presented at the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) annual conference, Washington DC.
- Aug 2014 'Are you afraid of politics? US democracy promotion in Jordan.' Presented at the World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies (WOCMES), Ankara.
- Jun 2014 'The effects of growing Israeli-Jordanian economic cooperation: the promotion of an Israeli-Jordanian transit trade route.' Presented at the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES) annual conference, Brighton.
- Sep 2013 'Strategic Rents and their Limitations as Explanatory Device for Jordanian Politics.' Presented at the German Oriental Studies Conference (DOT), Münster.
- Jun 2012 'The unforeseen and self-defeating consequences of Western democracy promotion in Jordan.' Presented at the SOAS Politics MPhil Student Conference ('Pondering the Political'), London.

#### INVITED PRESENTATIONS AND WORKSHOP PARTICIPATION

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- Mar 2019 *Infrastructure and Territory*, hosted by the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute (ABI).
- Dec 2018 *Studying Infrastructure across Disciplines*, hosted by the University of Basel.
- Jun 2018 'Militarizing the Middle East: The Simulation, Marketization and Realization of Insecurity.' Presented to lecture series on 'Security in the Global Order', University College Freiburg (UCF), Freiburg.
- Nov 2016 'The creation of financial value and 'people' issues: the Aqaba Special Economic Zone (ASEZ).' Presented at an international conference on 'Mutants of Development? Special economic zones, economic corridors, and the changing geographies of capitalism', University of Amsterdam and Universiteit Utrecht, Amsterdam.
- Jul 2016 'Liberal democratic processes of identity formation and depoliticizing 'the local': US and European efforts at parliamentary strengthening in Jordan.' Presented to an international workshop on 'Decentering International Interventions: Alternative Perspectives on Statehood and (In)Security in the Global South', SFB700/Free University Berlin, Berlin.
- Jul 2016 '5 Jahre Krieg in Syrien: Innere und regionale Dynamiken.' Hochschulgruppe Außen- & Sicherheitspolitik in cooperation with Adopt a Revolution, Freiburg.



## CONSULTANCIES AND IMPACT

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### **2018-2019 German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)**

I wrote a new version of the political economy analysis (PÖK) Jordan, participated in a workshop in Bonn in preparation of the German-Jordanian governmental negotiations 2019, and updated the report in late 2019.

I am regularly invited to give educational lectures on contemporary Middle Eastern politics for pupils in local schools and for teachers participating in professional development courses.

## SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

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I have acted as a peer reviewer for the academic journals *Politics* and *Intervention and Statebuilding*.

2019 Mentor for a current Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) scholarship holder

Aug 2018 Examiner in *Grand Oral* examinations for the binational French-German MA program Applied Political Sciences, Sciences-Po Aix-en-Provence

## PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

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Sep 2013 Professional Development in Higher Education Programme (PDHEP), SOAS University of London

Jan – Mar 2012 Introduction to Quantitative Methods in Social Research, Department of Politics and International Studies, SOAS University of London

Jan – Mar 2012 Ethics of Social Science, Department of Politics and International Studies, SOAS University of London

Oct 2011 – Feb 2012 Introduction to Research Methods, Department of Politics and International Studies, SOAS University of London

## NON-ACADEMIC POSITIONS

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Mar 2016 **Speaker on flight and migration, German Embassy in Beirut, German Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Auswärtiges Amt)** (declined)

Jun – Jul 2011 **Intern, Alkarama for Human Rights, Geneva**  
I finalised a submission to the UN fact-finding Mission on Syria about crimes against humanity committed by the Syrian regime and translated testimonies of Syrian refugees and communiqués about cases of torture, extra-judicial killings and illegal detention (Arabic-English).

Oct 2010 – Apr 2011 **Carlo Schmid Fellow, Crisis Prevention and Recovery Unit, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Beirut**

I planned and prepared two Advance Missions to Lebanon in preparation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Meeting of State Parties on the Convention on Cluster Munitions. Also, I drafted and finalised a lessons learned report assessing UNDP's interventions in the communities surrounding Nahr El-Bared refugee camp.

Feb – Apr 2002 **Intern, Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES), Beirut**  
I carried out interviews and field research on Hizbullah-organised reconstruction after the July War 2006 and drafted background reports on Lebanese politics.

## VOLUNTARY WORK

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Nov 2008 – **Volunteer, Children & Youth Centre (CYC) Shatila, Beirut, Lebanon**

Apr 2009 I conducted English lessons for Palestinian refugees in the refugee camp Shatila.

Sep 2005 – **Volunteer, Simon Community – living and working with London’s street homeless, London**  
Aug 2006 I lived and worked as a full-time volunteer in a North London project house, coordinated a 24h shift system, conducted regular street-work and participated in regular outreach activities.

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## LANGUAGES

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**German** (native)  
**English** (fluent)  
**French** (working proficiency – written and spoken)  
**Modern Standard Arabic** and **Levantine Arabic** (intermediate)

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## PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS

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I am a member of the German Middle East Studies Association for Contemporary Research and Documentation (DAVO), Middle East Studies Association (MESA), Council for British Research in the Levant (CBRL), British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES), International Studies Association (ISA), American Political Science Association (APSA), European International Studies Association (EISA) and British International Studies Association (BISA).

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## REFEREES

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Professor Charles Tripp, Professor Emeritus, Department of Politics and International Studies, SOAS University of London, [ct2@soas.ac.uk](mailto:ct2@soas.ac.uk).

Professor Laleh Khalili, Professor of Middle East Politics, Queen Mary University of London, [l.khalili@qmul.ac.uk](mailto:l.khalili@qmul.ac.uk).

Dr. Nicola Pratt, Reader in International Politics of the Middle East, University of Warwick, [n.c.pratt@warwick.ac.uk](mailto:n.c.pratt@warwick.ac.uk).

Prof. Andreas Mehler, Professor for Development Theory and Policy, University of Freiburg, [andreas.mehler@abi.uni-freiburg.de](mailto:andreas.mehler@abi.uni-freiburg.de).



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Freiburg, 29 October 2019