

# Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Table of Contents.....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>List of Abbreviations .....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>15</b>
Scope of study and research questions .....	17
Preliminary note on conceptual approach.....	19
Outline of the thesis .....	22
<b>Part I: State of research</b>	
<b>1 'Transitional Justice' discourse in transition.....</b>	<b>27</b>
1.1 Origins and evolution of 'transitional justice' discourse as a field of practice and enquiry.....	27
1.2 Key concepts and tensions within the evolving field of 'transitional justice': 'Transition', 'Justice', 'Reconciliation' and 'Victimhood' .....	31
1.2.1 Unpacking the notion of political 'transition' in 'transitional justice' ..	32
1.2.2 Unpacking the notion of 'justice' in 'transitional justice' .....	33
1.2.3 Towards 'Reconciliation'? .....	36
1.2.4 Contesting 'Victimhood' .....	37
1.3 Research gaps: Contribution of the study.....	38
1.4 Concluding remarks.....	40
<b>2 Theoretical framework and methodology.....</b>	<b>41</b>
2.1 Introduction to conceptual approach .....	41
2.2 Theoretical premises of post-structuralist political discourse theory .....	42

2.3	Towards operationalisation .....	48
2.3.1	Logics of the discourse theoretical approach.....	48
2.3.2	The discourse theoretical approach to language: Key terms and concepts .....	52
2.3.3	Conceptualising linguistic and non-linguistic discursive practice .....	54
2.4	Concluding remarks: Strengths and limitations of post-structuralist political discourse theory for the purposes of empirical research .....	55
<b>3</b>	<b>Methods and proceeding: From discourse theory to discourse analysis.....</b>	<b>57</b>
3.1	On the methodology of interpretative policy analysis .....	57
3.2	Methods of data selection, collection, analysis, limitations: Elite-based approach .....	60
3.2.1	Methods and proceeding in qualitative content analysis .....	60
3.2.1.1	Collection and Selection of data .....	61
3.2.1.2	Coding Process.....	63
3.2.2	Sources of research data.....	65
3.2.2.1	Media coverage and official documents.....	65
3.2.2.2	Interviews.....	66
3.2.3	Choice of individual discourse strands for in-depth analysis .....	67
3.3	Limitations .....	68
<b>4</b>	<b>Context: A brief chronology of political transition .....</b>	<b>71</b>
4.1	The regime on the eve of the revolution: On the legacy of human rights violations in Tunisia.....	72
4.2	Phase I: Struggle for political legitimacy and direction (January-October 2011).....	79
4.3	Phase II: Tales of a new beginning and of muddling through (Nov 2011-Feb 2013) .....	82
4.4	Phase III: Political stand-off until compromise on the way forward (Feb-Dec 2013) .....	87
4.5	Concluding remarks: Polarisation of political discourse and reciprocity with transitional justice discourse.....	89

## Part II: Findings

<b>5</b>	<b>Transitional justice in political transition .....</b>	<b>95</b>
5.1	Phase I: Ad hoc transitional justice (January-October 2011) .....	96
5.2	Phase II: Political commitment and National Dialogue (Nov 2011-Feb 2013) .....	107
5.3	Phase III: Waiting 'Before the law' (Feb-Dec 2013) .....	114
5.4	Concluding remarks: What does 'transitional justice' mean to whom? .....	118
<b>6</b>	<b>Lustration: The discursive struggle over political exclusion .....</b>	<b>123</b>
6.1	A legislative chronology of the draft political immunisation law .....	125
6.2	Mapping of discourse communities .....	127
6.2.1	Government discourse community .....	128
6.2.2	Opposition discourse community .....	131
6.2.3	International discourse community .....	133
6.3	Discursive logics .....	134
6.4	Concluding remarks .....	138
<b>7</b>	<b>Reparations: The discursive struggle for recognition .....</b>	<b>141</b>
7.1	Policy developments .....	142
7.2	Mapping of discourse communities .....	147
7.2.1	Government discourse community .....	148
7.2.2	Opposition discourse community .....	152
7.2.3	International discourse community .....	154
7.3	Discursive logics .....	155
7.4	Concluding remarks .....	159
<b>8</b>	<b>Conclusion: Synthesis of Findings and Implications .....</b>	<b>161</b>
8.1	Synthesis of empirical findings: The function, structure and logics of evolving transitional justice policy discourse in post-revolutionary Tunisia..	162
8.1.1	Function: What is the political function of the discursive struggle over 'transitional justice' policy in early post-revolutionary Tunisia? .....	162

8.1.2 Structure: What is the structure of emerging ‘transitional justice’ discourse? What structural dynamics govern the discursive field? .... 165

8.1.3 Discursive Logics: What logics govern the formation of ‘transitional justice’ discourse in Tunisia? In what ways do elites shape emerging discourse?..... 171

8.2 Contribution of study..... 174

8.3 Recommendations for further research..... 175

**Bibliographical References ..... 179**

**Appendix ..... 195**

I. Coding Table ..... 195

II. List of interviewees (in chronological order) ..... 199

III. Standardised interview questionnaires ..... 200

IV. Timeline of selected key transitional justice related policy measures and events in Tunisia ..... 204