

## Stellingen behorende bij het proefschrift van Eman Muhammad Rashwan

1. Transitional justice is not only a distinctive form of justice but also a distinctive form of constitutional arrangements. The TJ momentum challenges preclude many of the classic solutions suggested to design self-enforcing constitutions.
2. Although civil society organizations cannot ultimately solve the TJ dilemmas, they play an important role post-revolution as a counterweight against autocratic regimes. In addition to reducing the information asymmetry, they are key to social transformations in phases of political transitions.
3. There is no single approach that will be efficient in every TJ context. Holistic approaches are a prerequisite for any successful TJ project.
4. Producing TJ policies in the form of constitutional laws can help solve their legal complications and save resources.
5. Up until September 2021, Tunisia still had an opportunity to maintain a promising TJ project. This is much harder to achieve now, but it is not impossible if parties decide to adopt cooperative behaviour.
6. One of the unanticipated advantages of the constitutional compliance gap after the Arab Spring is that it dragged the Arab constitutional scholars' attention to the vitality of empirical research after decades of dominance of black letter law studies in the Arabic literature.
7. Democratization is a non-linear process that can take decades. That is why a constitutional reform does not take place in a single *constitutional moment* but rather cumulatively.
8. International law and constitutional law are complementary, but it is hard to think of them as alternatives, especially under the rise of nationalism. Adapting constitutional laws to international human rights' standards sounds like a more realistic approach.
9. The social media forces started many revolutions and popular movements in the latest decade; it also became the primary platform of major civil society forces and social constituencies. Contemporary legal research can hardly avoid looking into social media inputs.
10. Constitutional systems are governed and driven by politics. Constitutional law research that ignores this aspect immediately loses a significant part of its relevance and applicability.

11. When I started this project, I was a person who surrendered to the faith that I am not destined to cook pleasant food, and I had the hope of mastering law and economics methodologies. Five years later, I am a person whom everyone asks to cook for them and who has surrendered to the faith that as a researcher, one is destined to know less than she/he thinks they should. I believe both transformations served me very well!