

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Setting the Scene	1
1.2	Research Question	7
1.3	Empirical, Methodological, and Theoretical Contributions	8
1.4	Structure of the Thesis	10
2	Method and Methodology	13
2.1	What Ethnography Has to Offer to Political Science	13
2.2	Finding My Topic	18
2.3	Gathering Data	20
2.4	Analysis	31
2.5	Ambivalence, or, How Seriously I Take What People Tell Me	36
2.6	Methodological Limits	38
3	Conceptual Framework: Towards a Multilayered Understanding of Development	41
3.1	What We Look at When We Research “Development”	44
3.2	Development as a Project of Postcolonial Nation-State Building	45
3.3	Development as an Imaginary	52
3.4	Development as the Unfolding of Global Capitalism	60
3.5	What We Gain from a Development Perspective	72
4	Context: A Brief History of Tunisia’s Political Economy	75
4.1	1956–1961: The First Five-Year Plan. Attempted Economic Decolonization	77

4.2	1961–1969: The First 10-Year Plan. Import Substitution Industrialization	80
4.3	1969–1986: The Second 10-Year Plan and Export-Oriented Development	84
4.4	1986–2010: Structural Adjustment	90
4.5	2010–Today: A Preliminary Assessment. Further SAPs in the Context of the Post-Revolutionary Budget Crisis	96
4.6	Assessing 70 Years of Development	99
5	Analysis Part I: The State’s Development Discourse	101
5.1	Development Discourse 1972	102
5.2	Development Discourse 1986	117
5.3	Comparison Between 1972 and 1986	147
5.4	Development Discourse Post-2010/2011	150
5.5	Why the Development Promise is not a Social Contract	155
6	Analysis Part II: Development Imaginaries at CERAT	169
6.1	Disappointed Hopes of Progress, Meritocracy, and Middle Classness	172
6.2	“Feels Like Development”: Tidiness, Orderliness, Respect, Discipline, Professionalism, Security and Peace of Mind	210
6.3	Privileged and Stuck at the Same Time	221
6.4	Why Neoliberal Policies do not (Necessarily) Create Neoliberal Subjects	224
7	Analysis Part III: Quality, Standardization, and Bureaucracy	235
7.1	The Enterprise Bureaucracy at CERAT	235
7.2	A Working Definition of Bureaucracy	237
7.3	Facets of Bureaucracy at CERAT	239
7.4	ISO 9001: Measurement and Governmentality	251
7.5	The Bureaucratic Market ..	263
7.6	How the Enterprise Bureaucracy Plays Out at CERAT	270
8	Conclusion	275
8.1	Development as the Unfolding of Global Capitalism	277
8.2	Development as Tunisia’s Postcolonial Nation-State Project	281
8.3	Development as Personal Imaginary	284
8.4	Further Research Perspectives	286
8.5	Why We Need Development	287
	References	289