

Summary of dissertation in English

Dissertation Title	Legitimacy, Ideas and Norm-governed Institutional Change: A Processual-ideational Study of the EU's Unilateral Sanctions
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This study conducted a case-study analysis of the international sanctions imposed by the European Union. Its central concern was to explain why the European Union came to conceive of unilateral sanctions as a legitimate tool of external policy.

It represents an original contribution to the classical puzzle of the proliferation of unilateral sanctions in international relations because it addresses this phenomenon from an original and interdisciplinary perspective. On the one hand, it addresses this issue by using an approach that encompasses a policy-oriented analysis and combines methods and insights from international law and international relations, both of which were scarcely joined under a "dual agenda". On the other hand, this study focuses primarily on the legitimacy of this policy choice. By drawing on emerging scientific trends in humanities, namely the relational and ideational turns, this study conceptualizes legitimacy as an ideational process that pertains to an unwelcome exercise of power in international relations and as a process that is composed of three universal yet complimentary components: legal validity, justifiability under shared values and beliefs, as well as political acceptability by third parties.

The analytical and theoretical framework of this thesis encompasses various elements. First and foremost, by drawing on recent works in policy studies, it conceptualizes sanctions as a political tool of statecraft which carries an influence attempt to change not only the conduct but also the beliefs of the target. Secondly, the conceptualization of legitimacy as an ideational process that pertains to an unfriendly exercise of power implies the assumption that certain processual matters in interstate relations depend primarily on social considerations. Thirdly, by drawing on elements from coercion theories in social sciences, this study differentiates between two categories of sanctions based on their social purpose:

coercive corrective sanctions and coercive punitive sanctions. Fourthly and finally, this study draws on elements from regimes studies in order to account for sanctions from the broader angle of institutional change-making at the international level. More precisely, it evaluates the unilateral sanctions of the European Union in light of the distinction between norm-governed change and norm-transforming change in international regimes.

As for the methodology, the data acquisition method rests primarily on the exploration of secondary qualitative data combined with primary data acquired through the exploration of various sources found in the European institutional database as well as the database of the United Nations. The analysis used process tracing methods, namely the "explaining-outcome" process tracing—a type of case study method. As for the conceptual framework, this study draws on elements from Beetham's theory on the legitimation of power, Ruggie's work on institutional change, discursive institutionalism, and the English school's conceptualization of international law and international society.

Last but not least, the central findings of this research project can be summarized in the following four points. Firstly, it provided that the European unilateral sanctions constitute the core component of a value-embedded external policy. It also showed that ideas and discourse have a causal effect on the rise of unilateral sanctions as a legitimate foreign policy tool in the European context. Secondly, this thesis suggested that European sanctions imply a coercive corrective social purpose justified through a logic of necessity and appropriateness which is historically and socially constructed. Thirdly, this study evaluates the legitimacy of European sanctions and argued that fully autonomous sanctions and supplementary measures display a deficit of legitimacy in terms of their justifiability and political acceptability. Indeed, the European Union's approach to the use of unilateral sanctions is consolidated in the European and Western contexts but is contested outside it. Fourthly and finally, this thesis provided that the European sanctions incarnate the exportation by the European Union of its norms and values to the international arena and constitute a norm-transforming change under international law, namely in the case of supplementary measures and fully autonomous measures as distinguished from unilateral sanctions that are embedded in the UN framework.

Finally, the subject matter of this study provided added value in terms of policy and law. On the one hand, the invocation of the legitimacy of unilateral sanctions illuminates the

complexity of the legal status of sanctions which has been exacerbated by the evolution in the practice of the United Nations and the Security Council because this evolution has blurred the relationship between the law of the Charter and international responsibility, and has obscured the contours of the legality of unilateral acts in general. Furthermore, invoking legitimacy (rather than positivist legality) provides a better account for unilateral sanctions as a change under international law. It clarifies their relationship with the ongoing development of the structural principles of international law, which is manifested in the emergence of principles and rules underlying a sense of "community interest" such as the principle of solidarity, peremptory norms (jus cogens), and collective obligations (erga omnes). On the other hand, invoking the ideational foundations of European unilateral sanctions provides policy-makers, observers, and the general public, both in the European context and outside it, with a better understanding of these measures, which remain largely controversial and notoriously ambiguous. Furthermore, the findings of this thesis could help improve the effectiveness of European sanctions because it provides a rigorous evaluation of the legitimacy of different types of these measures and draws attention to the necessity to address the deficit in their legitimacy.

Keywords: legitimacy, international society, international law, the unwelcomed exercise of power, international regimes, change, international responsibility, ideas and interests.