



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

**What makes authorities legitimate in the eyes of citizens? : an investigation of perceived legitimacy in different political regimes**  
Mazepus, H.

**Citation**

Mazepus, H. (2016, September 14). *What makes authorities legitimate in the eyes of citizens? : an investigation of perceived legitimacy in different political regimes*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/42940>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License:

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/42940>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/42940> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

**Author:** Mazepus, Honorata

**Title:** What makes authorities legitimate in the eyes of citizens? : an investigation of perceived legitimacy in different political regimes

**Issue Date:** 2016-09-14

## References

- Abulof, U. (2015) “‘Can’t buy me legitimacy’”: the elusive stability of Mideast rentier regimes’, *Journal of International Relations and Development*.
- Alagappa, M. (1995) *Political Legitimacy in Southeast Asia: The Quest for Moral Authority*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Allik, J., Realo, A., Möttus, R., Pullmann, H., Trifonova, A., McCrae, R.R., Yurina, A.A., Shebanets, E.Y., Fadina, A.G., Tikhonova, E.V. (2011) ‘Personality profiles and the “Russian Soul”’: Literary and scholarly views evaluated’, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 42(3), 372–389.
- Almond, G., Powell, G.B. (1966) *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*, Little Brown & Co: Boston.
- Anderson Jr., R.D. (2013) ‘Discourse and strategic continuity from Gorbachev through Putin’, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 46(1), 123–135.
- Armony, A.C., Schamis, H.E. (2005) ‘Babel in democratization studies’, *Journal of Democracy*, 16(4), 113–128.
- Atzmüller, C., Steiner, P.M. (2010) ‘Experimental vignette studies in survey research’, *Methodology: European Journal of Research Methods for the Behavioral and Social Sciences*, 6(3), 128–138.
- Barker, R. (1990) *Political Legitimacy and the State*, Clarendon Press: Oxford.
- Barker, R. (2000) ‘The long millennium, the short century, and the persistence of legitimation’, *Contemporary politics*, 6(1), 7–12.
- Barker, R. (2001) *Legitimizing Identities: The Self-Presentations of Rulers and Subjects*, Cambridge University Press.
- Beetham, D. (1991) *The Legitimation of Power*, Macmillan: Houndmills.
- Bensman, J. (1979) ‘Max Weber’s concept of legitimacy: an evaluation’, *Conflict and Control: Challenge to Legitimacy of Modern Governments*, 7, 17.
- Bertelsmann Stiftung (2016) ‘Transformation Index BTI’, available: <http://www.bti-project.org/index/status-index/> [accessed 10 Jul 2015].
- Bjola, C. (2008) ‘Legitimacy and the use of force: bridging the analytical–normative divide’, *Review of International Studies*, 34(4), 627–644.
- Bogaards, M. (2009) ‘How to classify hybrid regimes? Defective democracy and electoral authoritarianism’, *Democratization*, 16(2), 399–423.
- Bohman, J. (1997) *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics*, MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Bohman, J., Rehg, W. (2014) ‘Jurgen Habermas’, in Zalta, E.N., ed., *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, available: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/habermas/> [accessed 5 Sep 2014].
- Booth, J.A., Seligson, M.A. (2005) ‘Political legitimacy and participation in Costa Rica: Evidence of arena shopping’, *Political Research Quarterly*, 58(4), 537–550.

- Booth, J.A., Seligson, M.A. (2009) *The Legitimacy Puzzle in Latin America: Political Support and Democracy in Eight Nations*, Cambridge University Press: New York.
- Bovens, M.A.P. (2005) 'De verspreiding van de democratie', *B en M*, 32(3), 119–127.
- Brandt, M.J. (2013) 'Do the disadvantaged legitimize the social system? A large-scale test of the status–legitimacy hypothesis.', *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 104(5), 765.
- Brandt, M.J., Reyna, C. (2012) *Social Dominance or System Justification? - The Acceptance of Inequality and Resistance to Social Change as Unique System-Relevant Motivations*, SSRN Scholarly Paper ID 2165690, Social Science Research Network, Rochester, NY, available: <http://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2165690> [accessed 4 Feb 2014].
- Brudny, Y.M., Finkel, E. (2011) 'Why Ukraine Is Not Russia Hegemonic National Identity and Democracy in Russia and Ukraine', *East European Politics & Societies*, 25(4), 813–833.
- Brusis, M. (2016) 'The Politics of Legitimation in Post-Soviet Eurasia', in Brusis, M., Ahrens, J. and Wessel, M.S., eds., *Politics and Legitimacy in Post-Soviet Eurasia*, Palgrave Macmillan: Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1–17.
- Brusis, M., Ahrens, J., Wessel, M.S. (2016) *Politics and Legitimacy in Post-Soviet Eurasia*, Palgrave Macmillan: Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire.
- Buchanan, A. (2002) 'Political Legitimacy and Democracy', *Ethics*, 112(4), 689–719.
- Bunce, V.J., Wolchik, S.L. (2010) 'Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes', *World Politics*, 62(1), 43–86.
- Busygina, I., Filippov, M. (2015) 'The Calculus of Non-Protest in Russia: Redistributive Expectations from Political Reforms', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 67(2), 209–223.
- Carnaghan, E. (2007) 'Do Russians dislike democracy?', *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 40(1), 61.
- Carnaghan, E. (2010) *Out of Order: Russian Political Values in an Imperfect World*, Penn State Press: Pennsylvania.
- Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej (2015) *Sympatia I Niechęć Do Partii I Inicjatyw Politycznych*, 99/2015, Warsaw, available: [http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2015/K\\_099\\_15.PDF](http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2015/K_099_15.PDF).
- Cohen, J., Cohen, P., West, S.G., Aiken, L.S. (2003) *Applied Multiple Regression /correlation Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates: Mahwah, NJ.
- Collier, D., Levitsky, S. (1997) 'Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research', *World Politics*, 49(3), 430–451.
- Crick, B. (1959) *American Science of Politics: Its Origins and Conditions*, Routledge: London.
- Dahl, R.A. (1956) *A Preface to Democratic Theory*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- DeScioli, P., Massenkoff, M., Shaw, A., Petersen, M.B., Kurzban, R. (2014) 'Equity or equality? Moral judgments follow the money', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London B: Biological Sciences*, 281(1797), 20142112.

- Diamond, L.J. (2002) 'Thinking About Hybrid Regimes', *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 21–35.
- Di Palma, G. (1991) 'Legitimation from the Top to Civil society', *World Politics*, 44(1), 49–79.
- Dogan, M., Pelassy, D. (1990) *How to Compare Nations: Strategies in Comparative Politics*, Chatham House: Chatham, N.J.
- Donnelly, J. (1982) 'Human Rights and Human Dignity: An Analytic Critique of Non-Western Conceptions of Human Rights', *The American Political Science Review*, 76(2), 303–316.
- Donnelly, J. (1984) 'Cultural relativism and universal human rights', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 400–419.
- Druckman, J.N., Green, D.P., Kuklinski, J.H., Lupia, A. (2006) 'The growth and development of experimental research in political science', *American Political Science Review*, 100(4), 627.
- Druckman, J.N., Green, D.P., Kuklinski, J.H., Lupia, A. (Eds.) (2011) *Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Political Science*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Druckman, J.N., Kam, C.D. (2011) 'Students as Experimental Participant', in Druckman, J.N., Green, D.P., Kuklinski, J.H. and Lupia, A., eds., *Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Political Science*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 41–57.
- Dryzek, J.S. (2009) 'Democratization as deliberative capacity building', *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(11), 1379–1402.
- Dryzek, J.S. (2010) *Foundations and Frontiers of Deliberative Governance*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Easton, D. (1957) 'An approach to the analysis of political systems', *World politics*, 9(3), 383–400.
- Easton, D. (1965) *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*, Wiley: New York.
- Easton, D. (1975a) 'A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support', *British Journal of Political Science*, 5(4), 435–457.
- Easton, D. (1975b) 'A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support', *British Journal of Political Science*, 5(4), 435–457.
- Easton, D., Dennis, J. (1980) *Children in the Political System : Origins of Political Legitimacy*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago & London.
- 'Economic miracle built on pollution' (2015) *The Nation*, 29 Nov, available: <http://global.factiva.com/redir/default.aspx?P=sa&an=THENAT0020151129ebbt0000n&cat=a&ep=ASE> [accessed 29 Nov 2015].
- Etzioni, A. (1961) *Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations*, Free Press: New York.
- Federal Register (2015) 'Standards of Ethical Conduct for Employees of the Executive Branch; Amendment to the Standards Governing Solicitation and Acceptance of Gifts From Outside Sources', *Federal Register: The Daily Journal of the United States Government*, 27 Nov, 74004.
- Feklyunina, V., White, S. (2011) 'Discourses of "Krizis": Economic Crisis in Russia and Regime Legitimacy', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 27(3–4), 385–406.

- Field, A. (2013) *Discovering Statistics Using IBM SPSS Statistics*, Sage: Los Angeles, CA.
- Field, A., Miles, J., Field, Z. (2012) *Discovering Statistics Using R*, SAGE: London.
- Finch, J. (1987) 'The Vignette Technique in Survey Research', *Sociology*, 21(1), 105–114.
- Fiske, S.T., Berdahl, J. (2007) 'Social power', in Kruglanski, A.W. and Higgins, E.T., eds., *Social Psychology: A Handbook of Basic Principles*, Oxford University Press: New York, 678–692, available: <http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/2007-11239-029> [accessed 25 Jan 2015].
- Fleron, F.J. (1996) 'Post-Soviet Political Culture in Russia: An Assessment of Recent Empirical Investigations', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 48(2), 225–260.
- Fraser, J. (1974) 'Validating a measure of national political legitimacy', *American Journal of Political Science*, 117–134.
- Freedom House (2001) Russia: Country Report. Freedom in the World 2001 [online], available: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2001/russia> [accessed 10 Jul 2016].
- Freedom House (2015) Freedom in the World [online], available: <https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world#.Vdc2e5degqO> [accessed 21 Aug 2015].
- Freeman, M. (1995) 'Are there Collective Human Rights?', *Political Studies*, 43, 25–40.
- French, J.R., Raven, B. (1959) 'The Bases of Social Power', *Studies in social power*, 150, 167.
- Friedrich, C.J. (1963) *Man and His Government: An Empirical Theory of Politics*, McGraw-Hill: New York.
- Gallie, W.B. (1955) 'Essentially contested concepts', in *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, JSTOR, 167–198, available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4544562> [accessed 8 Sep 2014].
- Galston, W.A. (2001) 'Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4(1), 217.
- Gerring, J. (1999) 'What makes a concept good? A criterial framework for understanding concept formation in the social sciences', *Polity*, 357–393.
- Gerring, J. (2008) 'Cases selection for case-study analysis: qualitative and quantitative techniques', in Box-Steffensmeier, J.M., Brady, H.E. and Collier, D., eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology*, Oxford Handbooks Online, 645–684, available: <https://books.google.nl/books?hl=en&lr=&id=BpsLCx0SHtwC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=the+oxford+handbook+of+political+methodology&ots=WahhvYXiB4&sig=F9CImodlRVrzoFHZpvgXdt-5mCA> [accessed 17 Aug 2015].
- Gerschewski, J. (2013) 'The three pillars of stability: legitimation, repression, and co-optation in autocratic regimes', *Democratization*, 20(1), 13–38.
- Gibson, J.L. (1989) 'Understandings of Justice: Institutional Legitimacy, Procedural Justice, and Political Tolerance', *Law & Society Review*, 23(3), 469.
- Gibson, J.L., Caldeira, G.A., Spence, L.K. (2005a) 'Why Do People Accept Public Policies They Oppose? Testing Legitimacy Theory with a Survey-Based Experiment', *Political Research Quarterly*, 58(2), 187–201.

- Gibson, J.L., Caldeira, G.A., Spence, L.K. (2005b) 'Why do people accept public policies they oppose? Testing legitimacy theory with a survey-based experiment', *Political Research Quarterly*, 58(2), 187–201.
- Gilbert, L., Mohseni, P. (2011) 'Beyond Authoritarianism: The Conceptualization of Hybrid Regimes', *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 46(3), 270–297.
- Gilley, B. (2006) 'The meaning and measure of state legitimacy: Results for 72 countries', *European Journal of Political Research*, 45(3), 499–525.
- Gilley, B. (2009) *The Right to Rule: How States Win and Lose Legitimacy*, Columbia University Press: New York.
- Gilley, B. (2012) 'State legitimacy: An updated dataset for 52 countries', *European Journal of Political Research*, 51(5), 693–699.
- Grafstein, R. (1981) 'The Legitimacy of Political Institutions', *Polity*, 14(1), 51–69.
- Grauvogel, J., Von Soest, C. (2014) 'Claims to legitimacy count: Why sanctions fail to instigate democratisation in authoritarian regimes', *European Journal of Political Research*, 53(4), 635–653.
- Gurr, T.R. (1970) *Why Men Rebel*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ.
- Gutmann, A., Thompson, D. (2009) *Why Deliberative Democracy?*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ.
- Habermas, J. (1979) *Communication and the Evolution of Society*, Polity Press: Cambridge.
- Habermas, J. (1996) *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Hahn, J.W., Logvinenko, I. (2008) 'Generational differences in Russian attitudes towards democracy and the economy', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60(8), 1345–1369.
- Hale, H.E. (2011) 'The Myth of Mass Russian Support for Autocracy: The Public Opinion Foundations of a Hybrid Regime', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 63, 1357–1375.
- He, B., Warren, M.E. (2011) 'Authoritarian Deliberation: The Deliberative Turn in Chinese Political Development', *Perspectives on Politics*, 9(2), 269–289.
- Högström, J. (2013) 'Does the Choice of Democracy Measure Matter? Comparisons between the Two Leading Democracy Indices, Freedom House and Polity IV', *Government and Opposition*, 48(2), 201–221.
- Holbig, H., Gilley, B. (2010) 'Reclaiming Legitimacy in China', *Politics & Policy*, 38(3), 395–422.
- Holmes, L. (1993) *The End of Communist Power: Anti-Corruption Campaigns and Legitimation Crisis*, Polity Press: Cambridge.
- Holmes, S. (2015) in Przeworski, A., ed., *Democracy in a Russian Mirror*, Cambridge University Press: New York, 30–57, available: [https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=clqtCAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR13&dq=Przeworski,+A.+\(ed.\)+Democracy+in+Russian+Mirror&ots=itl0URKi78&sig=9bEPdQdXphHw9AMul4H0iPH0rgc](https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=clqtCAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR13&dq=Przeworski,+A.+(ed.)+Democracy+in+Russian+Mirror&ots=itl0URKi78&sig=9bEPdQdXphHw9AMul4H0iPH0rgc) [accessed 7 Jul 2016].
- Horne, C. (2009) 'A Social Norms Approach to Legitimacy', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 53(3), 400–415.

- Howard, M.M. (2003) *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe*, Cambridge Univ Pr.
- Howard, R.E. (1995) 'Human Rights and the Search for Community', *Journal of Peace Research*, 32(1), 1–8.
- Huntington, S.P. (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, OK.
- Hurd, I. (1999) 'Legitimacy and authority in international politics', *International Organization*, 53(2), 379–408.
- Hurrelmann, A., Krell-Laluhová, Z., Lhotta, R., Nullmeier, F., Schneider, S. (2005) 'The Democratic Nation State: Erosion or Transformation of Legitimacy. Is there a legitimization crisis of the nation-state?', *European Review*, 13(Supplement S1), 119–137.
- Hurrelmann, A., Krell-Laluhová, Z., Schneider, S. (2005) *Mapping Legitimacy Discourses in Democratic Nation States: Great Britain, Switzerland, and the United States Compared*, TranState working papers, available: <http://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/28274> [accessed 8 Sep 2014].
- Hyde, A. (1983) 'The Concept of Legitimation in the Sociology of Law', *Wisconsin Law Review*, (2), 379–426.
- Ilchman, W.F., Uphoff, N.T. (1969) *The Political Economy of Change*, University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Inglehart, R. (1988) 'The Renaissance of Political Culture', *The American Political Science Review*, 82(4), 1203–1230.
- Jost, J.T., Banaji, M.R., Nosek, B.A. (2004) 'A Decade of System Justification Theory: Accumulated Evidence of Conscious and Unconscious Bolstering of the Status Quo', *Political Psychology*, 25(6), 881–919.
- Jost, J.T., Pelham, B.W., Sheldon, O., Ni Sullivan, B. (2003) 'Social inequality and the reduction of ideological dissonance on behalf of the system: Evidence of enhanced system justification among the disadvantaged', *European journal of social psychology*, 33(1), 13–36.
- Jost, J.T., Van der Toorn, J. (2012) 'System Justification Theory', in Van Lange, P.A., Kruglanski, A.W. and Higgins, E.T., eds., *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology: Volume Two*, SAGE: London, 313–343.
- Kailitz, S. (2013) 'Classifying political regimes revisited: legitimation and durability', *Democratization*, 20(1), 39–60.
- Kardaś, S., Konończuk, W. (2015) Minsk 2 - a Fragile Truce [online], OSW, available: <http://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2015-02-12/minsk-2-a-fragile-truce> [accessed 23 Aug 2015].
- Kausikan, B. (1993) 'Asia's Different Standard', *Foreign Policy*, (92), 24–41.
- King, L.A. (2003) 'Deliberation, legitimacy, and multilateral democracy', *Governance*, 16(1), 23–50.
- Kluegel, J.R., Mason, D.S. (2004) 'Fairness matters: social justice and political legitimacy in post-communist Europe', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 56(6), 813–834.
- Koroma, E.B. (2015) 'A Post-Ebola Plan for Sierra Leone', *The Wall Street Journal (Europe Edition)*, 27 Nov, A13.
- Kubicek, P. (1994) 'Delegative democracy in Russia and Ukraine', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 27(4), 423–441.



- Kubicek, P. (2009) 'Problems of post-post-communism: Ukraine after the Orange Revolution', *Democratization*, 16(2), 323–343.
- Kuzio, T. (2006) 'Ukraine Is Not Russia: Comparing Youth Political Activism', *sais Review*, 26(2), 67.
- Lasswell, H.D. (1950) *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*, Peter Smith: New York.
- Levada Center (2014) Corruption of the Political System [online], available: <http://www.levada.ru/18-11-2014/korrupsiya-v-sisteme-gosudarstvennoi-vlasti> [accessed 1 Sep 2015].
- Levada Center (2015) Protest Potential and Opinion about the Authorities [online], available: <http://www.levada.ru/07-07-2015/protestnyi-potentsial-i-vospriyatie-vlasti> [accessed 30 Jul 2015].
- Leventhal, G.S. (1980) *What Should Be Done with Equity Theory?* [online], Springer, available: [http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-1-4613-3087-5\\_2](http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-1-4613-3087-5_2) [accessed 25 Jan 2015].
- Leventhal, G.S., Karuza, J., Fry, W.R. (1980) 'Beyond fairness: A theory of allocation preferences', *Justice and social interaction*, 3, 167–218.
- Levi, M. (1991) 'Are there limits to rationality?', *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, 32(1), 130–141.
- Levi, M., Sacks, A., Tyler, T. (2009) 'Conceptualizing Legitimacy, Measuring Legitimizing Beliefs', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 53(3), 354–375.
- Levitsky, S., Way, L. (2002) 'The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism', *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 51–65.
- Levitsky, S., Way, L. (2010) *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*, 1st ed, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Lindgren, K.-O., Persson, T. (2010) 'Input and output legitimacy: synergy or trade-off? Empirical evidence from an EU survey', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(4), 449–467.
- Linz, J.J. (1988) 'Legitimacy of democracy and the socioeconomic system', *Comparing Pluralist Democracies*, 65–113.
- Linz, J.J., Stepan, A.C. (1978) *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*, Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.
- Lipman, M., McFaul, M. (2001) "'Managed Democracy" in Russia', *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 6(3), 116–127.
- Lipset, S.M. (1959) 'Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development', *American Political Science Review*, 53(1), 69–105.
- Losh, J. (2015) 'Ukraine crisis: Forgotten victims of the war in east of country speak out as vital UN lifeline runs out of funds', *Independent Online*, 28 Nov, available: <http://global.factiva.com/redir/default.aspx?P=sa&an=INDOP00020151128ebbs0048z&cat=a&ep=ASE> [accessed 29 Nov 2015].
- Manin, B., Stein, E., Mansbridge, J. (1987) 'On Legitimacy and Political Deliberation', *Political Theory*, 15(3), 338–368.
- Marquez, X. (2016) 'The Irrelevance of Legitimacy', *Political Studies*, 64(1\_suppl), 19–34.

- Marshall, M.G., Jagers, K. (2013) *Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1946-2013*, available: <http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm> [accessed 8 Mar 2013].
- Mason, D.S. (2003) 'Fairness Matters', *World Policy Journal*, (4), 48–56.
- Mazepus, H., Veenendaal, W., McCarthy-Jones, A., Vásquez, J.M.T. (2016) 'A comparative study of legitimation strategies in hybrid regimes', *Policy Studies*, 37(4), 350–369.
- McFarland, D.A., Thomas, R.J. (2006) 'Bowling Young: How Youth Voluntary Associations Influence Adult Political Participation', *American Sociological Review*, 71(3), 401–425.
- Mehta, P.S. (2015) 'Is time ripe to pull the plug on the WTO Doha Round issues?', *The East African*, 28 Nov, available: <http://global.factiva.com/redirect/default.aspx?P=sa&an=EAAFRI0020151128ebbs0000d&cat=a&ep=ASE> [accessed 29 Nov 2015].
- Merelman, R.M. (1966) 'Learning and legitimacy', *The American Political Science Review*, 60(3), 548–561.
- Mickiewicz, E. (2014) *No Illusions: The Voices of Russia's Future Leaders*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Miller, D. (1992a) 'Deliberative Democracy and Social Choice', *Political Studies*, 40, 54–67.
- Miller, D. (1992b) 'Distributive Justice: What the People Think', *Ethics*, 102(3), 555–593.
- Miller, D. (2016) Political Philosophy [online], *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, available: <https://www.rep.routledge.com/articles/political-philosophy/v-1> [accessed 7 Mar 2016].
- Mintz, A., Redd, S.B., Vedlitz, A. (2006) 'Can we generalize from student experiments to the real world in political science, military affairs, and international relations?', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50(5), 757–776.
- Mishler, W., Rose, R. (1996) 'Trajectories of Fear and Hope Support for Democracy in Post-Communist Europe', *Comparative Political Studies*, 28(4), 553–581.
- Morgenbesser, L. (2016) 'The autocratic mandate: elections, legitimacy and regime stability in Singapore', *The Pacific Review*, 0(0), 1–27.
- Mullinix, K.J., Leeper, T.J., Druckman, J.N., Freese, J. (2015) 'The generalizability of survey experiments', *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 2(2), 109–138.
- Niland, P. (2015) Define 'legitimate' [online], *Kyiv Post*, available: <http://www.kyivpost.com/opinion/op-ed/define-legitimate-402807.html> [accessed 28 Nov 2015].
- Norris, P. (2011) *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- O'Donnell, G.A. (1994) 'Delegative democracy', *Journal of democracy*, 5(1), 55–69.
- O'Kane, R.H. (1993) 'Against legitimacy', *Political Studies*, 41(3), 471–487.
- Ottaway, M. (2003) *Democracy Challenged*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Washington, DC.
- Palma, G. di (1991) 'Legitimation from the Top to Civil Society: Politico-Cultural Change in Eastern Europe', *World Politics*, 44(1), 49–80.

- Peter, F. (2009) *Democratic Legitimacy*, Routledge: New York, NY.
- Peter, F. (2014) 'Political Legitimacy', in Zalta, E.N., ed., *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, available:  
<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/legitimacy/> [accessed 5 Feb 2014].
- Popkin, S.L. (1991) *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Przeworski, A. (1986) 'Some Problems in the Study of the Transition to Democracy', in O'Donnell, G., Schmitter, P. and Whitehead, L., eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*, The Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.
- Przeworski, A. (1991) *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Rawls, J. (1993) *Political Liberalism*, Columbia University Press: New York.
- Raz, J. (1985) 'Authority and justification', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 3–29.
- Rigby, T.H., Fehér, F. (1982) *Political Legitimation in Communist States*, Macmillan and St Antony's College, Oxford: London.
- Rose, R. (1995) 'Mobilizing Demobilized Voters in Post-Communist Societies', *Party Politics*, 1(4), 549–563.
- Rose, R., Mishler, W., Munro, N. (2011) *Popular Support for an Undemocratic Regime: The Changing Views of Russians*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Rossi, P.H., Anderson, A.B. (1982) 'The factorial survey approach: An introduction', *Measuring social judgments: The factorial survey approach*, 15–67.
- Rothschild, J. (1977) 'Observations on political legitimacy in contemporary Europe', *Political Science Quarterly*, 92(3), 487–501.
- Rothstein, B. (1998) *Just Institutions Matter: The Moral and Political Logic of the Universal Welfare State*, Theories of institutional design 122667786, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Ryabchuk, A. (2014) 'Right Revolution? Hopes and Perils of the Euromaidan Protests in Ukraine', *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, 22(1), 127–134.
- Sachs, J.D. (2015) 'The West is partly responsible for the recent terrorist attacks', *Daily Star*, 28 Nov, available:  
<http://global.factiva.com/redir/default.aspx?P=sa&an=DSTAR00020151127ebbs00004&cat=a&ep=ASE> [accessed 29 Nov 2015].
- Sandby-Thomas, P. (2014) 'How Do You Solve a Problem Like Legitimacy? Contributing to a new research agenda', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23(88), 575–592.
- Sapsford, R., Jupp, V. (2006) *Data Collection and Analysis*, SAGE: London.
- Sartori, G. (1970) 'Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics', *The American Political Science Review*, 64(4), 1033–1053.
- Saurugger, S. (2007) 'Democratic "misfit"? Conceptions of civil society participation in France and the European Union', *Political Studies*, 55(2), 384–404.

- Scally, D. (2015) 'Polish ruling party accused of gradual coup; Media and artists criticise crackdown on news outlets and controversial play', *The Irish Times*, 27 Nov, 10.
- Scharpf, F. (1997) 'Economic integration, democracy and the welfare state', *Journal of European public policy*, 4(1), 18–36.
- Scharpf, F. (1998) 'Interdependence and democratic legitimation', *MPIfG working paper*, 98(2), available: <http://hdl.handle.net/10419/41689> [accessed 10 Nov 2012].
- Scharpf, F. (1999) *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Scharpf, F. (2003) *Problem-Solving Effectiveness and Democratic Accountability in the EU*, MPIfG working paper, available: <http://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/41664> [accessed 9 Apr 2014].
- Scharpf, F. (2009) 'Legitimacy in the multilevel European polity', *European Political Science Review*, 1(2), 173–204.
- Scharpf, F.W. (2007) *Reflections on Multilevel Legitimacy*, MPIfG working paper, available: <http://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/41671> [accessed 31 Jan 2013].
- Schedler, A. (Ed.) (2006) *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder, CO.
- Schmidt, V.A. (2013) 'Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Input, Output and "Throughput"', *Political Studies*, 1–21.
- Service Torstar News (2015) 'Medical marijuana use now OK in Ontario's public places', *Metro Canada*, 25 Nov, 0.
- Sil, R., Chen, C. (2004) 'State Legitimacy and the (In) significance of Democracy in Post-Communist Russia', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 56(3), 347–368.
- Simmons, A.J. (1999) 'Justification and Legitimacy\*', *Ethics*, 109(4), 739–771.
- Stillman, P.G. (1974) 'The Concept of Legitimacy', *Polity*, 7(1), 32–56.
- Suchman, M.C. (1995) 'Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches.', *Academy of management review*, 20(3), 571–610.
- Sunshine, J., Tyler, T.R. (2003) 'The role of procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping public support for policing', *Law & Society Review*, 37(3), 513–548.
- The Economist Intelligence Unit (2011) *The Democracy Index 2011: Democracy under Stress*, available: [https://www.eiu.com/public/topical\\_report.aspx?campaignid=DemocracyIndex2011](https://www.eiu.com/public/topical_report.aspx?campaignid=DemocracyIndex2011) [accessed 8 Mar 2013].
- The Economist Intelligence Unit (2014) *The Democracy Index 2014: Democracy and Its Discontents*, available: <http://www.eiu.com/Handlers/WhitepaperHandler.ashx?fi=Democracy-index-2014.pdf&mode=wp&campaignid=Democracy0115> [accessed 21 Aug 2015].
- The Economist Intelligence Unit (2015) 'Democracy Index 2015: Democracy in the age of anxiety', available: <http://www.eiu.com/Handlers/WhitepaperHandler.ashx?fi=EIU-Democracy-Index-2015.pdf&mode=wp&campaignid=DemocracyIndex2015>.
- Thibaut, J.W., Walker, L. (1975) *Procedural Justice: A Psychological Analysis*, L. Erlbaum Associates Hillsdale, NJ; New York, NY.

- Tost, L.P. (2011) 'An integrative model of legitimacy judgments', *Academy of Management Review*, 36(4), 686–710.
- Turner, J. (2015) 'Daniel Radcliffe: all grown up', *thetimes.co.uk*, 28 Nov, available: <http://global.factiva.com/redir/default.aspx?P=sa&an=TIMEUK0020151128ebbs0012x&cat=a&ep=ASE> [accessed 29 Nov 2015].
- Tyler, T.R. (1988) 'What is procedural justice—criteria used by citizens to assess the fairness of legal procedures', *Law & Society Review*, 22, 103.
- Tyler, T.R. (1990) *Why People Obey the Law*, Yale University Press: New Haven, CT.
- Tyler, T.R. (1997) 'The Psychology of Legitimacy: A Relational Perspective on Voluntary Deference to Authorities', *Personality & Social Psychology Review (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates)*, 1(4), 323.
- Tyler, T.R. (2000) 'Social Justice: Outcome and Procedure', *International Journal of Psychology*, 35(2), 117–125.
- Tyler, T.R. (2001) 'The Legitimacy of Institutions and Authorities', in Jost, J.T. and Major, B., eds., *The Psychology of Legitimacy: Emerging Perspectives on Ideology, Justice, and Intergroup Relations*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 416–436.
- Tyler, T.R. (2003) 'Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and the Effective Rule of Law', *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, 30, 357.
- Tyler, T.R. (2006) 'Psychological Perspectives on Legitimacy and Legitimation', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 57(1), 375–400.
- Tyler, T.R. (2012) 'Justice Theory', in Van Lange, P.A., Kruglanski, A.W. and Higgins, E.T., eds., *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology: Volume Two*, SAGE: London, 344–361.
- Tyler, T.R., Caine, A. (1981) 'The influence of outcomes and procedures on satisfaction with formal leaders.', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 41(4), 642.
- Tyler, T.R., Huo, Y. (2002) *Trust in the Law*, Russell Sage Foundation: New York.
- Tyler, T.R., Rasinski, K. (1991) 'Procedural justice, institutional legitimacy, and the acceptance of unpopular US Supreme Court decisions: A reply to Gibson', *Law and Society Review*, 621–630.
- Tyler, T.R., Rasinski, K.A., Griffin, E. (1986) 'Alternative images of the citizen: Implications for public policy', *American Psychologist*, 41(9), 970.
- Tyler, T.R., Rasinski, K.A., Spodick, N. (1985) 'Influence of voice on satisfaction with leaders: Exploring the meaning of process control', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 48(1), 72–81.
- United Nations Human Rights (2015) *Persistent and Grave Human Rights Violations in Spite of Relative Calm in Eastern Ukraine*, Geneva, available: <http://www.un.org.ua/en/information-centre/news/1870> [accessed 23 Aug 2015].
- Uphoff, N. (1989) 'Distinguishing power, authority & legitimacy: Taking Max Weber at his word by using resources-exchange analysis', *Polity*, 295–322.
- Van den Bos, K., Lind, E.A., Vermunt, R., Wilke, H.A. (1997) 'How do I judge my outcome when I do not know the outcome of others? The psychology of the fair process effect.', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72(5), 1034.

- Van den Bos, K., Wilke, H.A., Lind, E.A., Vermunt, R. (1998) 'Evaluating outcomes by means of the fair process effect: Evidence for different processes in fairness and satisfaction judgments.', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(6), 1493.
- Van der Toorn, J., Berkics, M., Jost, J.T. (2010) 'System justification, satisfaction, and perceptions of fairness and typicality at work: A cross-system comparison involving the US and Hungary', *Social Justice Research*, 23(2–3), 189–210.
- Van der Toorn, J., Tyler, T.R., Jost, J.T. (2011) 'More than fair: Outcome dependence, system justification, and the perceived legitimacy of authority figures', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47(1), 127–138.
- Von Soest, C., Grauvogel, J. (2015) 'How Do Non-Democratic Regimes Claim Legitimacy? Comparative Insights from Post-Soviet Countries', *GIGA Working Paper*, 277, available: <http://www.giga-hamburg.de/de/publication/how-do-non-democratic-regimes-claim-legitimacy-comparative-insights-from-post-soviet>.
- Von Soest, C., Grauvogel, J. (2016) 'Comparing Legitimation Strategies in Post-Soviet Countries', in *Politics and Legitimacy in Post-Soviet Eurasia*, Palgrave Macmillan: Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 18–46, available: [http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781137489449\\_2](http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781137489449_2) [accessed 7 Jul 2016].
- Way, L.A. (2005) 'Authoritarian state building and the sources of regime competitiveness in the fourth wave: the cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine', *World Politics*, 57(2), 231–261.
- Weatherford, M.S. (1992) 'Measuring Political Legitimacy', *The American Political Science Review*, 86(1), 149–166.
- Weber, M. (1947) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, Routledge & Kegan Paul LTD: London.
- Weber, M. (1964) *The Theory Of Social And Economic Organization*, Free Press of Glencoe: New York.
- Weber, M. (1978) *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Weber, M. (2009) *The Theory Of Social And Economic Organization*, Simon and Schuster.
- Welsh, M. (2015) 'Canadian journalist arrested in Punjab', *The Toronto Star*, 29 Nov, A3.
- White, S. (1986) 'Economic performance and communist legitimacy', *World Politics*, 38(3), 462–482.
- White, S., Kryshtanovskaya, O. 'ga (2011) 'Changing the Russian electoral system: inside the black box', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 63(4), 557–578.
- Wiling, J. (2011) 'The Portability of Electoral Procedural Fairness: Evidence from Experimental Studies in China and the United States', *Political Behavior*, 33(1), 139–159.
- Wilson, K. (2009) 'Party-System Reform in Democracy's Grey Zone: A Response to Moraski', *Government and Opposition*, 44(2), 188–207.

- World Bank (2012) GINI Index (World Bank Estimate) [online], available: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI/countries?display=default> [accessed 23 Nov 2015].
- Zakaria, F. (2003) *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*, Norton: New York.
- Zelditch, M. (2001) 'Processes of Legitimation: Recent Developments and New Directions', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 64(1), 4–17.
- Zelditch, Jr, M. (2001) 'Theories of Legitimacy', in Jost, J.T. and Major, B., eds., *The Psychology of Legitimacy: Emerging Perspectives on Ideology, Justice, and Intergroup Relations*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 33–53.
- Zürn, M., Binder, M., Ecker-Ehrhardt, M. (2012) 'International authority and its politicization', *International Theory*, 4(1), 69–106.