

HOW DO IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES INFLUENCE PERCEPTIONS OF POWER LEGITIMACY? AN EMPIRICAL INQUIRY

Dr. Bożena Iwanowska

VIZJA University, Poland
e-mail: b.iwanowska@vizja.pl; <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1331-2866>

Abstract. This paper investigates the evolution of the concept of power legitimacy, focusing on the interplay between political, sociological, and legal perspectives. It highlights the distinctive contributions of Polish scholarly interpretations to the broader global academic dialogue, offering unique empirical insights. Through an empirical analysis conducted via a questionnaire among a diverse participant pool, the study probes the ideological aspects of power legitimacy. This approach integrates modern viewpoints with established theoretical frameworks, enriching our understanding of the complex nature of legitimacy. The objective is to deepen insights and foster scholarly discussion on how ideology, law, and societal acceptance converge to define legitimate power, thereby making a significant empirical contribution to the field.

Keywords: legitimacy; power; society; validity.

INTRODUCTION

In today's world, scepticism and pessimism challenge the efficacy of addressing global crises like ecological degradation, conflicts, institutional failures, economic turmoil, the COVID-19 pandemic, and climate change, eroding trust in self-governance and environmental management. This era of doubt, as noted by Eduardo Apodaka and Mikel Villarreal, sees traditional problem-solving and international cooperation methods as increasingly inadequate, with political dynamics dominated by distrust and life perceived as fraught with risks [Apodaka and Villarreal 2006, 3]. Such scepticism extends to political discourse, prompting a reassessment of expertise and a move towards critical reflection, highlighting the significance of legitimacy in authority and political power structures.

This paper delves into the evolution of power legitimacy across political science and sociology, employing philosophical, political, and legal perspectives to comprehend and reconcile its concept with societal acceptance. By incorporating insights from empirical research, the study navigates linguistic

and cultural variances, contributing to a more nuanced understanding of legitimacy's role in modern governance.

The first hypothesis presented in this paper suggests that power's legitimacy fundamentally depends on its societal recognition and endorsement, aligning with political and sociological views. It posits that legitimacy is rooted in the collective belief systems of a community, emerging when the governed recognize an authority's legitimacy. This perspective contrasts with legalistic approaches that prioritize formal structures, highlighting the intricate interplay between societal acceptance and formal legitimacy in defining the legality of power.

The second hypothesis examines the evolution of power legitimacy, highlighting the shift from divine and natural law justifications to social contract theories and democratic consent. This transition reflects a critical re-evaluation of societal belief as the sole basis for legitimacy. The author outlines this historical development, emphasizing the significant impact of changes in philosophical thought, political ideology, and legal foundations. This evolution marks a move towards modern interpretations that prioritise legal reasoning, democratic consensus, and normative validity in understanding power legitimacy.

The empirical analysis was conducted through a detailed questionnaire distributed among a diverse group of participants from multiple countries, probing their views on the ideological dimensions of power legitimacy. The results revealed a complex interplay of cultural and historical (and in some cases personal factors) influencing perceptions of legitimacy, with significant emphasis on ethical and moral standards alongside legal-rational criteria. These findings support the hypotheses by illustrating the dynamic and multifaceted nature of legitimacy as perceived through various global perspectives. These hypotheses were formulated through an analysis of primary sources and a review of scholarly literature, aimed at exploring aspects of power legitimacy.

1. METHODS

This paper explores the historical and intrinsic aspects of power legitimacy, a subject deeply rooted in scholarly inquiry. It employs content analysis of foundational texts and a review of the current academic literature to shed light on contemporary discussions. The paper emphasises the need for comprehensive research into the origins, mechanisms, and impacts of power legitimacy, alongside the theoretical frameworks that explain its multifaceted nature. Distinguishing itself from traditional approaches, the author incorporated an empirical component through a questionnaire titled "The Notion of Legitimacy of Power," distributed among Political Science and International Relations students of various nationalities. This mixed-methods approach

integrates quantitative and qualitative data, enriching theoretical debates with practical insights. By analysing the responses from participants of diverse sociopolitical backgrounds, the study contributes to the discourse on power legitimacy, enhancing our understanding of its relevance today. The research bridges historical and theoretical insights with the perspectives of a younger generation, offering a more nuanced understanding of power legitimacy.

2. DISCUSSION

In this subsection of the paper, the notion of power legitimacy is primarily explored and interpreted from a historical perspective. Several scholars have highlighted that the notion of legitimacy possesses an ancient pedigree, evidenced by its employment in classical expressions such as *legitimum imperium* (legal imperial power) and *potestas legitima* (legal civil power), underscoring its long-standing presence in historical discourse [Coicaud 2002, xvi]. The concept of justice, as articulated by Plato in ancient Greece, along with Aristotle's reflections on the structural organization of the state, encompassed early deliberations on the issues of legitimacy.

St. Augustine's political theology in *The City of God* examines the exclusivity of legitimacy within the divine realm, linking it to divine peace and justice. Through the story of Marcus Atilius Regulus, a Roman general who honoured an oath at the cost of his life, Augustine contrasts pagan and Christian justice, questioning the legitimacy of Roman gods and advocating for a shift to Christian theology rooted in moral constancy [Saint Augustine 1994, n33]. Regulus's sacrifice serves as a critique of pagan legitimacy, emphasizing the ethical foundation of Christian justice.

The debate on authority's legitimacy has been central to political thought since Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1525), which offered rulers guidance on securing their right to rule. Philosophers like Marsilius of Padua, John Locke, and Joseph de Maistre contributed varied perspectives. Marsilius advocated for legitimacy through public consent, while Locke expanded this to argue that all governments, including monarchies, derive legitimacy from the people. In contrast, de Maistre defended hereditary monarchy, positioning himself against Locke's views.

In the early 20th century, Max Weber introduced legitimacy as a key concept in understanding power and societal structures, emphasizing that power is considered legitimate when society perceives it as such [Beetham 1991, 8]. Weber identified distinct forms of legitimacy, with charismatic legitimacy being particularly significant due to the personal bond between a leader and their followers [Weber 1946, 79]. He also explored how administrative autonomy within feudal-like systems influenced power dynamics, where authority was

based on personal loyalty and social honour [ibid., 81]. Weber's theories have profoundly shaped the study of political authority and governance.

Weber's framework emphasizes the role of personal charisma, social honor, and administrative autonomy in shaping political authority, defining legitimacy as the belief in a system's appropriateness by its constituents. Critics such as Lipset (1963) and Merelman (1966) expanded this idea, but others, like Schaar (1969) and Pitkin (1972), argue that Weber's focus on societal belief overlooks the moral dimensions of legitimacy. Beetham (1991) further critiques Weber, suggesting that legitimacy can be manipulated through public perception and advocating for a deeper analysis based on legal standards, societal values, and consent. Beetham emphasizes that legitimacy arises from rule compliance, legal justification, and societal alignment, cautioning against the abuse of power beyond its legal scope [Beetham 1991, 3, 9-13].

Over the last fifty years, the discussion on political legitimacy has expanded, shaped by events such as decolonization in Africa and Asia and the post-World War II establishment of communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe under Soviet influence. The collapse of these regimes and the end of the Cold War further complicated the concept, especially with the emergence of new nations from former Soviet and Yugoslav territories. Scholars like Lipset (1963) have broadened the scope of legitimacy to include political, administrative, and legal structures, while others, like d'Aspremont (2005), have explored its relevance in international organizations. This evolving discourse highlights the complexity and ongoing importance of legitimacy in global power structures.

Recent research has deepened the understanding of legitimacy, highlighting its role within societal norms and governance structures. Suchman (1995) defines legitimacy as social endorsement of actions within a framework of established norms, while Bukovansky (2009) emphasizes its centrality to sovereignty. Thakur (2010) connects legitimacy to the ability to uphold rights and obligations recognized by society, underscoring its link to the social contract. Biernat (2000) further expands on this by identifying three key criteria for political legitimacy: legal compliance, societal alignment, and explicit consent. Rapkin and Braatan (2009) explore international legitimacy, introducing the Family Resemblance Concept (FRC) to assess global perceptions of legitimacy through public opinion, offering a new empirical approach to understanding its complexities.

Bourdieu's approach views political legitimacy as the result of symbolic capital within societal power dynamics, where authority is recognized and internalized through shared norms and values [Bourdieu 1997]. He argues that legitimacy emerges when power aligns with societal beliefs, differentiating it from mere coercion. This symbolic capital, rooted in the habitus, transforms domination into accepted authority, making political dominance

appear natural within the social fabric. Bourdieu highlights that legitimacy is continuously negotiated, influenced by social structures, cultural norms, and public opinion, reflecting the dynamic and contested nature of political power [ibid., 170-72].

In his PhD thesis at King's College London, Ioannidis Christoforos delves into the concept of legitimacy at its most abstract level in the section titled "2.2. Tier 1: Legitimacy in Abstracto" [Christoforos 2019, 23-24]. Positioned at the pinnacle of a theoretical abstraction hierarchy, legitimacy is examined in its purest, context-detached form, rendering it a conceptually dense yet abstract notion. Christoforos adopts a methodological strategy akin to Hart's approach in defining "law," focusing on identifying commonalities across various uses of "legitimacy" to distil its core essence. This analytical process aims to uncover the fundamental attributes that constitute legitimacy, irrespective of specific applications or contexts.

Belhaj and Speidl critique and adapt Max Weber's notion of authority for Muslim contexts, particularly within Hungarian Muslim communities [Belhaj and Speidl 2017, 96-115]. They highlight the dynamic nature of religious affiliation and mosque attendance, noting that individuals often shift their allegiances due to disagreements with preached discourses. This fluidity in authority and religious affiliation exemplifies a broader trend of reconfiguration in Islamic authority, challenging Weber's concept of authority as merely the expectation of obedience within a specific group. Belhaj and Speidl's observations point to the need for a nuanced understanding of legitimacy and authority in Muslim contexts, reflecting the complex interplay between individual agency, religious identity, and community dynamics [ibid., 97].

Belhaj and Speidl delve into the process of legitimizing religious authority within Islam, drawing on F. Peter's [Peter 2006] work to argue that legitimacy is achieved through the authorization of Islamic practices and beliefs [Belhaj and Speidl 2017, 97]. This process is relational, depending on the audience's reaction, suggesting that perceived fragmentation of authority does not denote decay but rather the essential flexibility for its regeneration. This adaptability facilitates the structuring and restructuring of authority, underscoring the dynamic essence of the Islamic field of authority. Furthermore, they explore the changing dynamics of authority among Muslim immigrants in Europe, observing a transition from a minimal authority rooted in a basic moral economy among first-generation workers to a more intricate moral economy for later generations. Influenced by factors such as economic integration, the influence of Islamist associations, family reunion policies, and international funding, there is a noticeable enhancement in the role of imams within this evolving moral economy. This shift reflects a complexification of authority structures, supported autonomously and shaped by broader social and economic contexts.

3. RESULTS OF RESEARCH

This study collected data from an array of international undergraduate students primarily studying Political Science and International Relations, providing a fertile ground for analysing the concept of power legitimacy across varied demographic landscapes. The dataset, incorporated into this paper as Annex 1, includes 118 participants from 20 different countries, thereby offering a meaningful glimpse into the diverse interpretations of political authority and legitimacy shaped by distinct regional and demographic influences.

3.1. Geographic diversity and regional insights

The participant distribution underscores significant representation from countries like Azerbaijan and Zimbabwe, with 18 and 13 students respectively. This suggests a regional engagement with the study's themes, potentially driven by these specific regions' political climates and historical experiences with power structures. For instance, Azerbaijan's complex geopolitical position and Zimbabwe's history of colonial and post-colonial governance issues may influence students' perceptions of legitimacy in ways that differ markedly from participants in countries with more stable democratic histories.

Such geographic diversity is crucial for a comprehensive understanding of global perceptions of legitimacy. The inclusion of participants from both democratic and autocratic regimes provides a broader spectrum of experiences, enriching the analysis of how different governmental systems influence citizen perceptions of legitimacy. The varied political backgrounds allow for a comparison of how legitimacy is constructed in different political and cultural contexts, ranging from the democratic inclinations of the USA to the authoritarian leanings of Belarus and the conflict-ridden landscapes of Syria and Ukraine.

3.2. Demographic variables concerning age and gender

The author of this research paper emphasizes the significance of the age range of 16 to 24 among the participants, highlighting that this demographic is in a formative stage of developing political and ideological beliefs. This age group is particularly susceptible to the influences of digital globalization, which reshapes their perceptions of governance and legitimacy through a continuous influx of information and global narratives. By analysing their views, the study provides insights into the evolving dynamics of legitimacy in a digital age.

Additionally, the greater number of female participants from Ukraine is attributed to the fact that most males in this age group do not have the right to leave the country due to ongoing military mobilization. The author

conducted the study on site at a university in Warsaw, Poland, capturing this specific gender distribution which adds further layers to understanding power legitimacy. Notable differences, such as male dominance in Uzbekistan and female predominance in Ukraine, likely reflect broader societal and cultural dynamics that influence how legitimacy is perceived and discussed. For instance, the ongoing conflict in Ukraine may have catalysed more active political engagement among women, influencing their views on legitimate governance and power. This gender-based analysis not only sheds light on the differences in perceptions but also highlights the potential impact of societal roles and expectations on political views.

3.3. Implications for theoretical and practical understandings of legitimacy

The author of this research paper suggests that the diverse dataset allows for a multifaceted exploration of the concept of legitimacy, factoring in the influence of age, gender, and regional backgrounds. This comprehensive approach enriches the analysis, revealing how various demographic characteristics can significantly shape perceptions of political legitimacy across different contexts. It underscores the need to consider a wide range of demographic factors when analysing perceptions of legitimacy, as these factors can significantly shape and sometimes skew the understanding of what constitutes legitimate power.

For researchers and policymakers, this study serves as a reminder of the complexity inherent in global perceptions of legitimacy. It challenges the universality of any single model of legitimate governance and suggests that legitimacy is perceived through various prisms of cultural, regional, and demographic influences. The findings advocate for a more nuanced approach in international relations and political science research, promoting policies and theories that are sensitive to these diverse contexts.

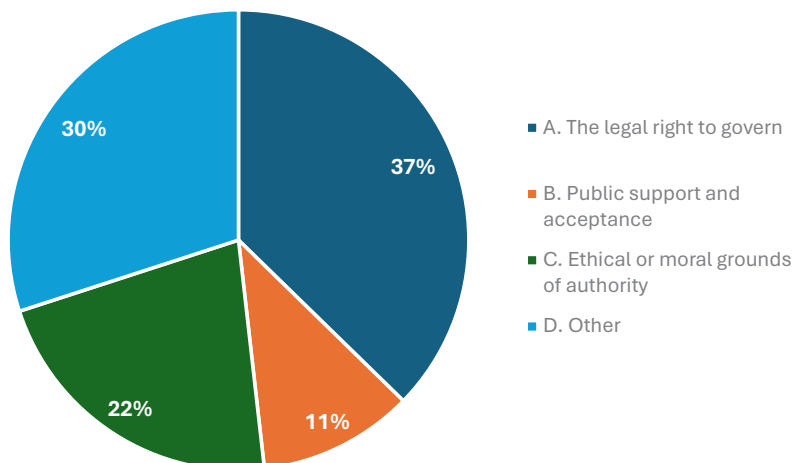
In summary, the author of this research paper believes that the analysis of this participant profile from a global survey illuminates the ways in which demographic characteristics influence perceptions of political legitimacy. This understanding is crucial for developing more effective and inclusive political theories and practices that acknowledge and address the diverse realities of global populations.

4. ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES

One of the questions asked participants to describe their understanding of the term “legitimacy” in the context of political power. This question focused on how legitimacy is perceived, formed, and evolves across various

cultural contexts and future scenarios. This approach aimed to capture a range of interpretations and insights on the concept of legitimacy, reflecting the diverse backgrounds and perspectives of the participants.

Chart 1. Distribution of Participant Responses on the Concept of Political Legitimacy



Source: Author's own elaboration based on research data.

The analysis of responses to this question, which probes the conceptual foundations of political legitimacy, yields a view of the varied interpretations held by the study's participants. The distribution of responses reflects a spectrum of perspectives, indicating a dialogue surrounding the essence of legitimate political power within the student body. This diversity indicates the rich array of cultural, regional, and personal influences that shape individual understandings of what constitutes legitimate authority, underlining the complexity and multiplicity inherent in the concept of political legitimacy.

The majority of participants, 37% of all respondents considered the legal right to govern as the cornerstone of political legitimacy. The range of the group, representing 37% of respondents, identifies the legal right to govern as the cornerstone of political legitimacy. This preference underscores a widespread acknowledgment of the importance of legal frameworks and constitutional authority in conferring legitimacy, suggesting a strong inclination toward a rule-of-law-based understanding of political power.

A smaller yet significant group, approximately 11% of survey participants, emphasised the critical role of public support and acceptance. This viewpoint highlights the democratic principle that legitimacy is derived from the consent of the governed, pointing to the intrinsic value of popular endorsement in legitimizing authority.

Reflecting a considerable focus on ethical considerations, about 22% of participants advocated for the primacy of moral and ethical grounds

in establishing legitimacy. This stance indicates a belief in the moral underpinnings of authority, suggesting that ethical integrity and adherence to moral principles are vital in legitimizing political power.

Remarkably, 30% of the respondents opted for “Other,” indicating a diverse array of alternative viewpoints or supplementary factors that contribute to legitimacy not explicitly listed in the options provided. This diversity signals a multifaceted understanding of legitimacy, revealing an openness to broader, more inclusive interpretations that extend beyond conventional criteria. In this survey, 30% of the respondents who selected “Other” as their answer to the factors contributing to political legitimacy further elaborated on their choices. Their responses fell into seven distinct areas that they considered vital for establishing legitimacy beyond the conventional criteria.

Firstly, some respondents identified charismatic authority as critical, emphasizing the personal charisma and the leader’s ability to inspire and mobilize followers as key elements of legitimacy. This perspective aligns with sociological theories that highlight the importance of charismatic leadership.

Secondly, historical tradition or legitimacy was noted, where the continuity of a regime or leader’s authority derived from longstanding customs or traditional claims played a significant role in their perceived legitimacy.

Economic performance was another area highlighted by participants, suggesting that the ability of a government or leader to manage the economy effectively boosts their legitimacy by enhancing public approval.

Similarly, international recognition was seen as pivotal, with the argument that a government’s legitimacy is partly influenced by its acceptance and support from the global community, reflecting the interconnected nature of modern politics.

Technocratic expertise was also a recurring theme. Respondents valued skilled and knowledgeable leadership, particularly in managing complex societal challenges, viewing this as a basis for political legitimacy.

Security and stability were deemed essential as well, with a focus on the leader’s ability to ensure national security and maintain social order, which is considered foundational for legitimate governance.

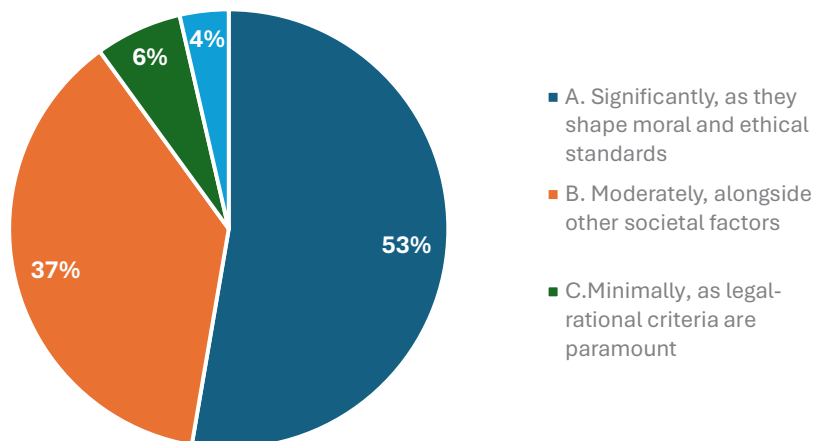
Lastly, a commitment to social justice and efforts to reduce inequality were highlighted. Participants viewed these efforts as critical indicators of a leader’s dedication to the welfare and rights of all citizens, not just the privileged or majority groups. These diverse responses illustrate a multifaceted understanding of legitimacy, indicating that respondents recognize a broad spectrum of factors that can affirm or undermine the legitimacy of political power.

The author suggests that these findings reflect a complex and layered understanding of political legitimacy among the student participants. The varied distribution of responses illustrates the nuanced ways in which legitimacy

is conceptualized, transcending simple legalistic or democratic paradigms to include ethical considerations and alternative frameworks. A considerable proportion of students selecting “Other” suggests an appetite for a more expansive dialogue on legitimacy, one that incorporates a wider range of factors and perspectives. This analysis highlights the evolving nature of legitimacy in contemporary political thought, pointing to the need for ongoing exploration and discourse that accommodates the dynamic and diverse views on what constitutes legitimate political authority.

Furthermore, participants were asked to describe how cultural values influence perceptions of political legitimacy. This inquiry aimed to delve into the relationship between societal norms, traditions, and the acceptance of political authority, exploring how deeply ingrained cultural factors are and how they may shape the ways in which legitimacy is recognized and sustained across different regions and communities.

Chart 2. Participant Views on the Influence of Moral and Ethical Standards on Political Legitimacy



Source: Author's own elaboration based on research data.

Chart 2, related to the question assessing the influence of cultural values on perceptions of legitimacy provides an insightful snapshot of the participants' opinions. A majority of the respondents, approximately 53%, believe that cultural values significantly influence perceptions of legitimacy as they shape moral and ethical standards. This dominant view underscores the importance of cultural norms and values in defining and supporting the legitimacy of power, suggesting a deep interconnection between societal values and political authority.

Around 37% of participants consider the influence of cultural values to be moderate, existing alongside other societal factors. This perspective acknowledges the role of culture in shaping legitimacy perceptions but also points to a broader array of influences that collectively determine legitimacy.

A smaller group, about 6%, view the impact of cultural values as minimal, arguing that legal-rational criteria are paramount in establishing legitimacy. This response reflects a belief in the primacy of legal frameworks and rational-legal authority over subjective cultural norms in legitimizing power.

Lastly, roughly 4% of participants chose “Other,” indicating that alternative views or nuanced perspectives are not fully captured by the main options provided. These participants, when discussing the influence of cultural values on perceptions of legitimacy provided further insights into two specific areas that were not captured by the main response options.

Firstly, some participants highlighted the role of religious beliefs in shaping their views on legitimacy. They pointed out that in regions where religion is deeply intertwined with daily life and governance, religious doctrines can significantly influence what is considered a legitimate authority. This could mean that for these respondents, a leader’s or government’s adherence to religious values and norms is a crucial factor in their legitimacy.

Secondly, a few respondents discussed the impact of historical narratives and national identity in shaping perceptions of legitimacy. These participants felt that the historical context of a country, including past conflicts, colonial history, or national movements, plays a significant role in shaping current standards of legitimacy. They argued that understanding these historical influences is essential to fully grasp why certain forms of governance are deemed legitimate or not within different cultural settings.

The author of this research believes these additional insights demonstrate the complexity of factors that contribute to the perception of political legitimacy, extending beyond straightforward legal or ethical considerations to include deeper, culturally specific underpinnings such as religion and history.

The author interprets that these findings highlight the perceived significant role of cultural values in legitimizing political power. The majority opinion aligns with the understanding that cultural norms and moral standards are foundational to societal perceptions of legitimacy, reflecting a deep-seated belief in the cultural underpinnings of political authority. Meanwhile, the significant minority acknowledging a moderate influence, and the few dissenting voices prioritizing legal-rational criteria, illustrate the complexity and diversity of views within the student body. This analysis suggests that while cultural values are broadly recognized as crucial to the legitimacy of power, there exists a spectrum of opinions regarding their relative importance, pointing to the multifaceted nature of legitimacy as a concept. Focusing on these facets allow the study to offer an insight into the academic conversation about legitimacy. It highlights the research’s dedication to probing the ideological underpinnings of power legitimacy and addressing the complexity and changeability brought by cultural diversity and global connectivity. Consequently, the study resonates with the growing academic interest in the

adaptation of traditional legitimacy concepts amid changing social norms, technological progress, and global shifts. This approach provides valuable perspectives on the persistent yet flexible character of political legitimacy, contributing to a deeper understanding of its multifaceted nature.

This analysis, weaving together qualitative and quantitative insights, uncovers a layered and complex understanding of political legitimacy among the participants. It underscores the necessity for continuous dialogue and research that embraces the evolving perspectives and complexities of our time. The author claims the findings significantly contribute to the academic discourse on legitimacy, indicating that perceptions are influenced by a confluence of legal, ethical, cultural, and technological factors, and affirming the dynamic essence of legitimacy in the realm of contemporary political thought.

CONCLUSIONS

This scholarly endeavour underscores that legitimacy is not merely an auxiliary attribute for political structures but a fundamental prerequisite for their stability and survival. To navigate the challenges of maintaining hegemony within an ever-evolving societal context, political entities deploy a range of strategies aimed at reinforcing their legitimacy. These strategies span from the utilization of symbols and rituals that resonate with societal values to the strategic employment of propaganda and coercive measures under circumstances deemed necessary for communal stability. Such mechanisms highlight the adaptive measures power structures must undertake to sustain their legitimacy amidst shifting societal norms and expectations.

The critical discourse of the article points towards a dynamic understanding of power legitimacy. It emphasizes the necessity for political entities to continuously earn and reaffirm their legitimacy through actions that align with both societal expectations and normative principles of governance. This necessitates a delicate balance, where the exercise of power must be justified not only on the basis of societal belief and acceptance but also through adherence to established legal and ethical standards.

In summary, the conclusion drawn from this paper underscores that the quest for legitimacy within political power structures is an ongoing process, influenced by historical evolution, philosophical debates, legal interpretations, and contemporary challenges rooted in globalization and migration. Furthermore, this research calls for a deeper engagement with the ideological dimensions of legitimacy, encouraging future research to delve into the interconnections between legitimacy, societal acceptance, and normative validity. By doing so, it aims to foster a more nuanced comprehension of the mechanisms through which political power is legitimized, challenged, and maintained across different cultural and temporal contexts.

REFERENCES

- Apodaka, Eduardo, and Mikel Villarreal. 2006. "Conceptions of Power and Paradigms of Legitimacy." *International Society of Political Psychology 29th Annual Scientific Meeting*, Barcelona. https://www.academia.edu/1580624/Conceptions_of_power_and_paradigms_of_legitimacy [accessed: 20.02.2024].
- Beetham, David. 1991. *The Legitimation of Power*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Belhaj, Abdessamad, and Bianka Speidl. 2017. "Legitimacy and Exchange: The Moral Economy of Authority Among Hungarian Muslims." https://www.academia.edu/66402419/The_Conceptual_Framework_II_The_notion_of_legitimacy [accessed: 20.02.2024].
- Biernat, Tadeusz. 2000. *Legitymizacja władzy politycznej. Elementy teorii*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1997. *Razones prácticas. Sobre la teoría de la acción*. Barcelona: Anagrama. https://sociologiac.net/biblio/Bourdieu_RazonesPracticas.pdf [accessed: 20.02.2024].
- Bukovansky, Mlada. 2009. *Legitimacy and Power Politics: The American and French Revolutions in International Political Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Coicaud, Jean-Mark. 2002. *Legitimacy and Politics: A Contribution to the Study of Political Right and Political Responsibility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Christoforos, Ioannidis. 2019. *Legitimacy: An Essentially Contested Concept*. PhD Thesis. https://www.academia.edu/92133830/Legitimacy_an_essentially_contested_concept [accessed: 10.08.2024].
- d'Aspremont, Jean. 2005. "Legitimacy of Governments in the Age of Democracy." In *The Global Fellows Forum*, organized by The Hauser Global Law School Program, 877-916. New York: New York University.
- Lipset, Seymour M. 1963. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Merelman, Richard M. 1966. "Learning and Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 60, no. 3:548-61. [https://scholar.google.com/scholar?q=Merelman,+Richard+M.,+%E2%80%9CLearning+and+Legitimacy,%E2%80%9D+American+Political+Science+Review,+09+1966+\(Vol.+60,+No.+3\),+pp.+548%E2%80%93561#d=gs_cit&t=1708619155046&u=%2Fscholar%3Fq%3Dinfo%3Agx5xNqx4J%3AScholar.google.com%2F%26output%3Dcite%26scirp%3D0%26hl%3Dpl](https://scholar.google.com/scholar?q=Merelman,+Richard+M.,+%E2%80%9CLearning+and+Legitimacy,%E2%80%9D+American+Political+Science+Review,+09+1966+(Vol.+60,+No.+3),+pp.+548%E2%80%93561#d=gs_cit&t=1708619155046&u=%2Fscholar%3Fq%3Dinfo%3Agx5xNqx4J%3AScholar.google.com%2F%26output%3Dcite%26scirp%3D0%26hl%3Dpl) [accessed: 10.08.2024].
- Peter, Frank. 2006. "Leading the Community of the Middle Way: A Study of the Muslim Field in France." *The Muslim World* 96, no. 4:707-36. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/j.1478-1913.2006.00154.x> [accessed: 01.09.2024].
- Pitkin, Hanna F. 1972. *Wittgenstein and Justice*. Berkeley: University of California Press. <https://archive.org/details/wittgensteinjust00hann/page/n5/mode/2up> [accessed: 01.09.2024].
- Rapkin, David P., and Dan Braaten. 2009. "Conceptualising Hegemonic Legitimacy." *Review of International Studies* 35, no. 1:113-49. <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Conceptualising-hegemonic-legitimacy-Rapkin-Braaten/da3a183f1cfc50e1290e28d-45af88a4477fb9458> [accessed: 20.08.2024].
- Saint Augustine. 1994. *The City of God*. Translated by Marcus Dods, with an introduction by Thomas Merton. New York: Modern Library. https://archive.org/details/city-ofgod0000augu_w6d9/page/n7/mode/2up [accessed: 25.08.2024].
- Schaar, John H. 1969. "Legitimacy in the Modern State." In *Power and Community*, edited by Paul Green and Sanford Levinson, 276-327. New York: Random House.

- Suchman, Mark C. 1995. "Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches." *Academy of Management Review* 20, no. 3:571-610.
- Thakur, Ramesh. 2010. "Law, Legitimacy and the United Nations." *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 11. https://law.unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/1686273/Thakur.pdf [accessed: 20.08.2024].
- Weber, Max. 1946. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Translated and edited by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press. <https://archive.org/details/frommaxweberessa00webe/page/n15/mode/1up?ref=ol> [accessed: 22.08.2024].

Annex 1.

Table 1. Profile of the Questionnaire Participants

Source: Author's own elaboration.

No.	Country	Number of Students	Age Range	Gender Distribution
1.	The People's Democratic Republic of Algeria	2	21	Male
2.	The Republic of Azerbaijan	18	18-21	Mixed (4 Female, 14 Male)
3.	The Republic of Belarus	3	20	Female
4.	Democratic Republic of the Congo	3	18-20	Mixed (1 Female, 2 Male)
5.	The Republic of Kenya	5	20	Mixed (2 Female, 3 Male)
6.	The Republic of Liberia	2	23-24	Male
7.	Mongolia	10	17-20	Mixed (4 Female, 6 Male)
8.	The Federal Republic of Nigeria	5	19-23	Mixed (3 Female, 2 Male)
9.	The Islamic Republic of Pakistan	1	22	Male
10.	The Republic of Poland	1	18	Female
11.	The Russian Federation	1	20	Female
12.	The Syrian Arab Republic	1	24	Female
13.	The Republic of Tajikistan	7	17-20	Mixed (1 Female, 1 Male)
14.	The Republic of Tatarstan	3	18-20	Male
15.	The Republic of Turkey	10	18-22	Mixed (5 Female, 5 Male)
16.	Ukraine	9	16-20	Mixed (8 Female, 1 Male)
17.	The United States of America	1	19	Female
18.	The Republic of Uzbekistan	12	18-21	Mixed (2 Female, 10 Male)
19.	The Socialist Republic of Vietnam	3	21	Mixed (2 Female, 1 Male)
20.	The Republic of Zimbabwe	13	19-23	Mixed (3 Female, 10 Male)