



KONDA

Barometer

THEMES

Legitimacy
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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

DEFINITION OF THE SURVEY

The survey which forms the basis for this report was conducted on February 1-2, 2014 by face-to-face interviews with 2544 individuals in 141 neighborhoods and villages of 109 districts including the central districts of 31 provinces.

SOCIAL LEGITIMACY

In-depth interviews of the past months indicated that the voters' consideration of Erdoğan as legitimate may result from different sources other than legal limitations. In addition, Erdoğan had been frequently emphasizing in the recent political debates that he was obtaining legitimacy through elections. The theme of social legitimacy which we handled in view of this situation provides explanation to this matter in certain angles. First of all, half of the society takes their own convictions as the basis whereas it is significant that those who take the convictions of the society as the reference are higher in less educated and more conservative clusters. Thus, for those who wish to see Erdoğan as the leader, the convictions of the society are more important.

On the other hand, the society considers the primary feature that renders a leader legitimate as compliance with legal rules and indicates that within the past decade, the least progress was made in the supremacy of law with regard to the Copenhagen Criteria. In the legitimacy of a prime minister, legality, being elected and to be loved by the public are equally important.

As a result, a social consensus is not readily apparent as to the conditions for the legitimacy of a leader or a government, but the following outcomes should be noted: 1) For the society, elections do not seem to be as important a source of legitimacy as stated by the Prime Minister 2) The matter of legitimacy is also affected by the political and daily polarization prevailing in the society 3) The society's demand for legality as emphasized in the January'14 Barometer Report is observed again in the framework of the theme of legitimacy.





2. LEGITIMACY

2.1. Conceptual Framework

The word "legitimacy" comes from the Latin word "*legitimus*". "Legitimate" identifies an action or norm that is approved by the majority, and accepted as right and proper by law, religion, traditions and public conscience. "Legality", on the other hand, identifies the quality of being in conformity with law. Within this context, carrying out political processes in conformity with positive law does not necessarily mean that a government is legitimate, i.e. it is approved by the society. Legality and legitimacy are different concepts, but they sometimes complete each other. Legality may contribute to legitimacy; however, a regime which is in conformity with law may not always be legitimate.

German sociologist Max Weber's tripartite classification of authority is an important milestone for all studies on legitimacy. According to Weber, an authority cannot sustain its continuity only through economic and ideal motives. The continuity of authority can only be ensured through the legitimacy of the system it establishes, and legitimacy is based upon the belief in the system. According to Weber's tripartite classification of authority, the legitimacy of *traditional authority* comes from traditional values, whereas that of *charismatic authority* emanates from the extraordinary personal qualities of a leader. In other words, in traditional authority, society agrees that authority is established and maintained in conformity with traditions. Charismatic authority, on the other hand, is based upon obedience to a charismatic leader. Finally, in *legal-rational authority*, legitimacy derives from a series of formal rules enacted between the governors and the governed. In other words, in legal-rational authority, law is the source of legitimacy. However, today, the source of legitimacy may be defined differently among political and social groups. It is a fact that things which are approved or forbidden, influence behavior and preferences within societies. Even though the legitimacy in *legal-rational authority* grows out of the laws, political legitimacy may be based upon different sources within society. Legitimacy of a leader or an authority is in close relation to the importance and confidence the society attributes to the leader, and it should not be limited with the laws and the voting system. "Consent" is a key concept for legitimacy, and a political authority is illegitimate unless it is supported by society consent and approval. Society's consent and support for the government within reasonable bounds makes its political authority legitimate.

As polarization in the political arena has been increasingly affecting daily life, sources of legitimacy among society may be diverse. Even though it is difficult to base legitimacy upon a single agreed upon source in this polarized environment, we endeavored to gather findings illustrative of the political authority's source of legitimacy. With this aim in mind, in the KONDA February'14 Barometer, we directed respondents 4 questions related to definition and source of legitimacy in order to understand society's perception of legitimacy:

- ✓ Under which condition do you approve an opinion?
- ✓ What does legitimacy of a leader mean to you?



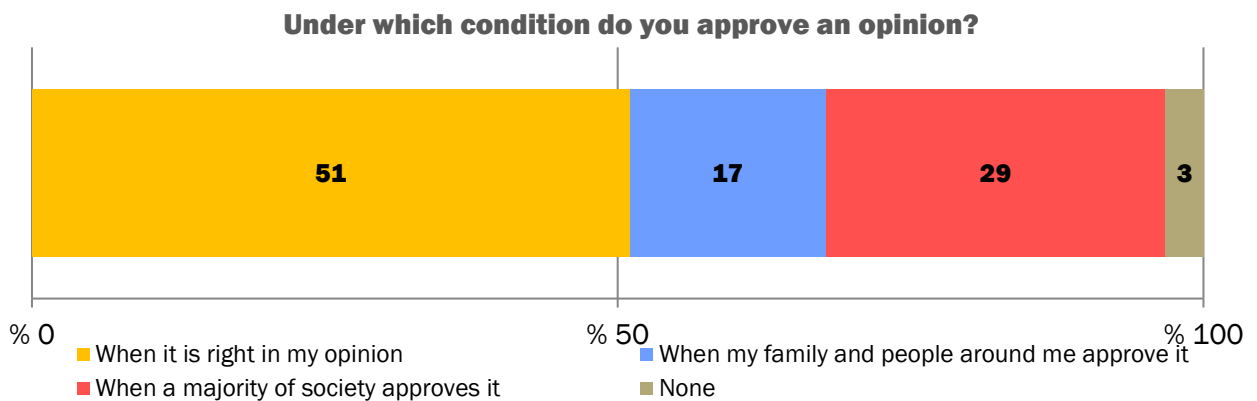
- ✓ What do you think provides the legitimacy of a government? When do you think a government becomes legitimate?
- ✓ Which characteristic do you think a prime minister should foremost possess?

2.2. Under Which Condition Do You Approve An Opinion?

In the February'14 Barometer, we aimed to address the question of legitimacy, which is a social decision-making mechanism, by inquiring under which condition individuals approve an opinion. With this purpose, respondents were asked “under which condition they approve an opinion”. For an individual, the soundness of an opinion also indicates its legitimacy.

2.2.1. I stand firm on what I think is right

Half of society (51 percent) approves an opinion only if the opinion is personally shared. Society “standing firm on their opinions” provides a notable indicator about social decision-making mechanisms. The other half of society, references the opinions of a small group, i.e.their families and people around them, and the larger group of people, i.e. the majority of society in justifying an opinion.

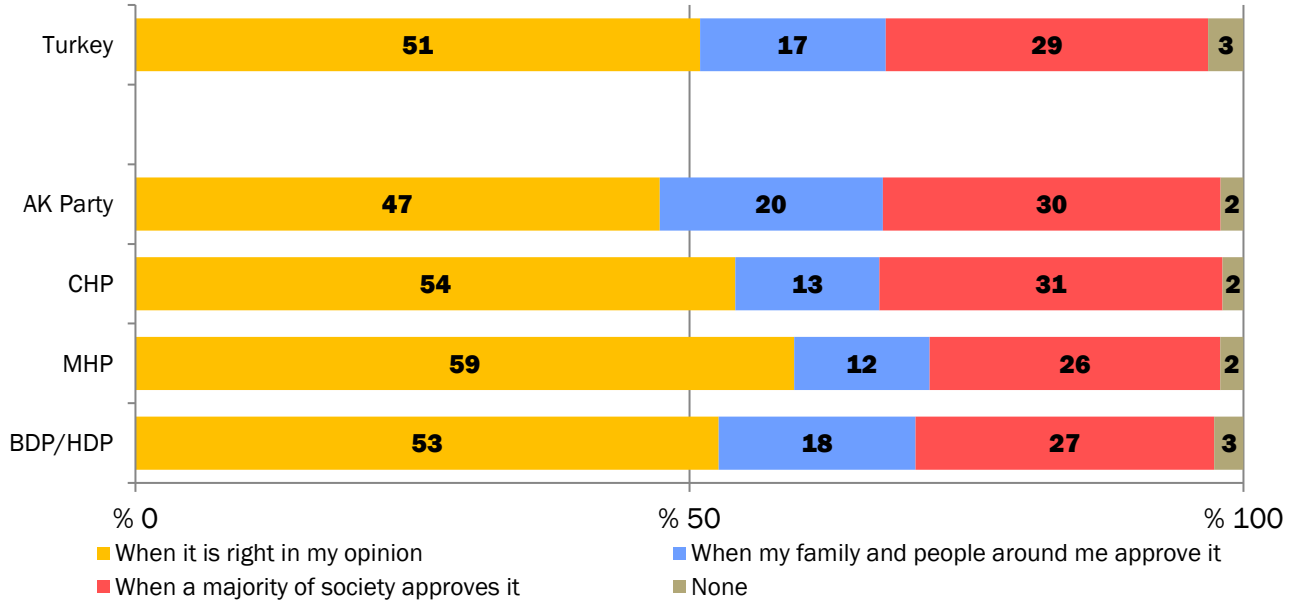


As their educational attainment level decreases, individuals tend to regard the opinions of the majority of society and their family/people around them. In other words, the more an individual is educated, the more firmly he/she is like to stand on personal views and opinions.. Likewise, women consider what people around them and society think when validating an opinion.

In addition, life style groups influence the validation mechanisms in society. The rate of those who approve an opinion only "when it is right in their own opinion" decreases significantly, as the degree of conservatism increases. An important finding identified in KONDA researches is that traditional conservatives reflect a trend parallel to the country average. The rate of those who approve an opinion “when it is right in their own opinion” (51 percent) corresponds to the average in Turkey.



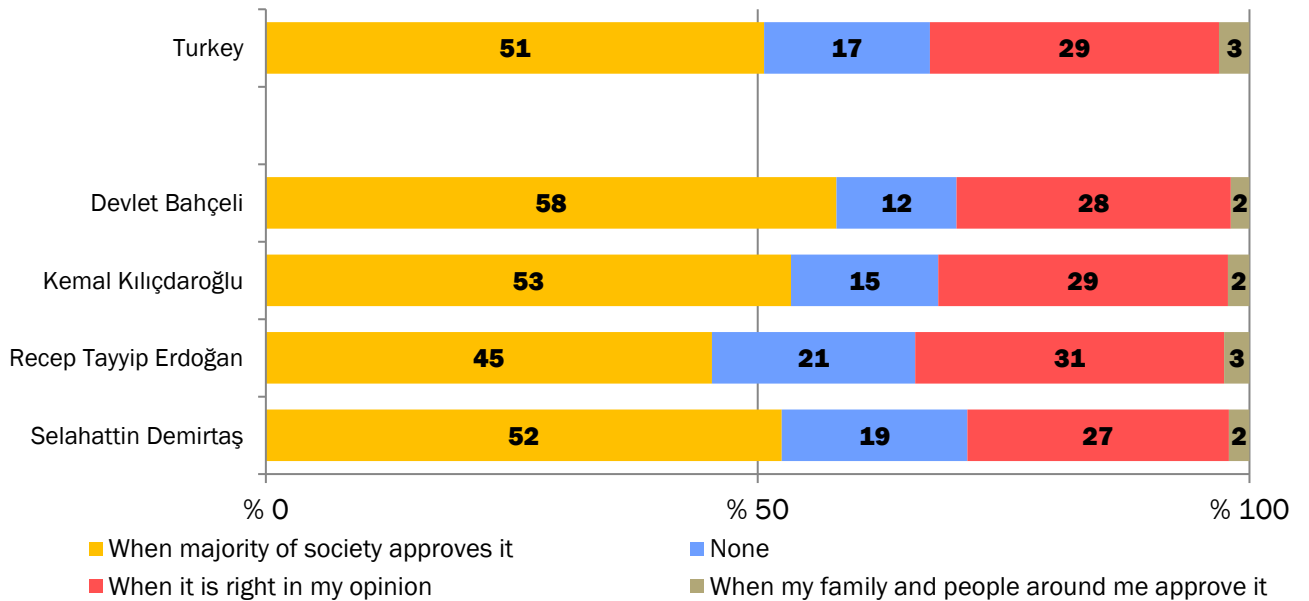
Under which condition do you approve an opinion?



Even though the prevalent opinion among each voter-group is “I approve what I think is right”, there are certain differences between them.

Among AK Party voters, the rate of those who think what their families/the people around them approve is legitimate, is higher than that of other parties' voters. The opinion "I approve what I think is right" is more prevalent among MHP voters in comparison to others.

Under which condition do you approve an opinion? (in relation to prime minister preference)





When we observe the responses in relation to leader preferences, the rate of those who approve an opinion when they think it is right is below average among those who prefer Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

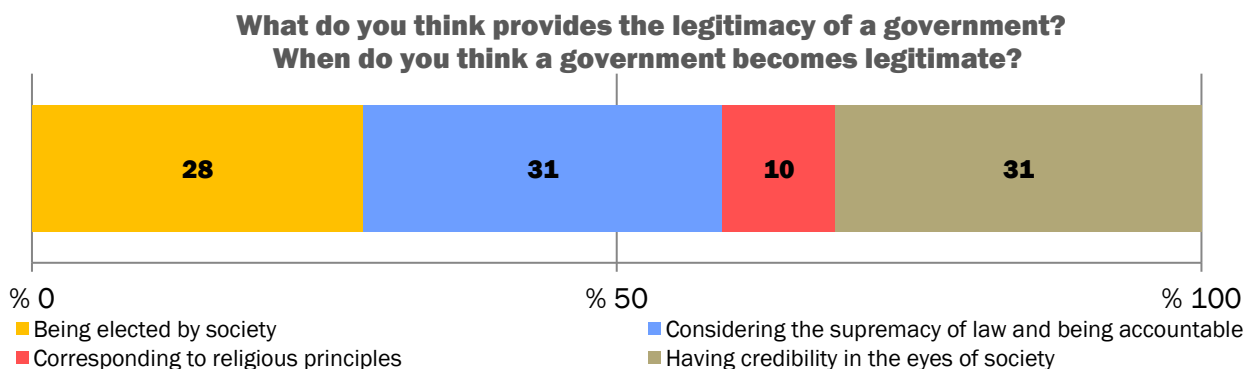
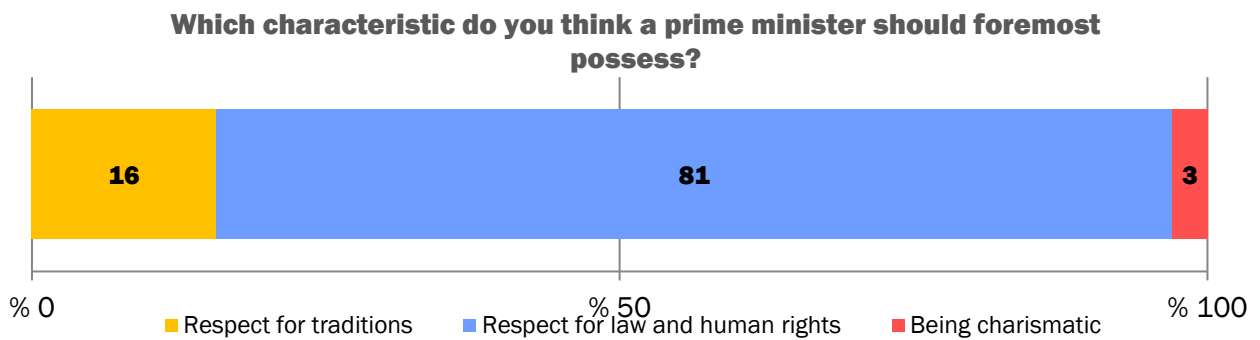
In summary, it is possible to assert that educational attainment level and political preferences influence validity mechanisms in society. AK Party core voters tend to consider their ambient and social factors when deciding on what is right, whereas individual decisions are more prevalent among the voters of other parties.

2.3. Public Perception of Legitimacy

In order to measure society's perception of legitimacy, it is first necessary to ask questions about decision-making mechanisms in society. As mentioned above, validity of an opinion for an individual is defined by whether or not the opinion is approved by the individual. Departing from the assertion that what is perceived right by society is also legitimate, we directed respondents a series of questions in February'14 Barometer, with the purpose to define the public perception of legitimacy.

- ✓ What do you think provides the legitimacy of a government? When do you think a government becomes legitimate?
- ✓ Which characteristic do you think a prime minister should foremost possess?
- ✓ What does legitimacy of a leader mean to you?

It is observed that the majority of society thinks that a prime minister should respect law and human rights in response to the question, "Which characteristic do you think a prime minister should foremost possess?".





The distribution of responses to the question about when a government becomes legitimate is notable. While 28 percent of society perceive winning the elections as the source of legitimacy, 30 percent find supremacy of law, and 31 percent emphasize credibility as the source of legitimacy. Conformity with religious principles is seen as the source of legitimacy by only 10 percent of society.

It is interesting to see that supremacy of law, credibility and winning the elections are stated at similar rates. This distribution of replies shows that there is no shared definition for legitimacy in society.

2.3.1. Society's Definition of Legitimacy

The definition of legitimacy differs within society. We grouped the responses given to the question, “What does the legitimacy of a leader mean to you?” under 10 categories. Thus, we have reached the following results:

What does legitimacy of a leader mean to you?	Percentage
Being Credible/Fair/Honest	16.0
Being elected/approved by society	12.9
Acting lawfully	5.2
Being Egalitarian/Democratic	5.0
Being Hardworking/Serving Society	4.6
Being Popular/Respected	2.6
Being known by everyone	2.1
Being Fair/Just	1.9
Being a good administrator	1.7
Being religious	1.6
Other	10.8
Do not know	6.2
No answer	29.4
Total	100.0

The references that society provides in relation to the legitimacy of a leader and a government, is usually in correspondence with the values they adopt. This outlook provides us with a general idea on society's definition of legitimacy. Having credibility, being elected, and acting lawfully are the first responses when asked about the legitimacy of a leader. It is necessary to observe the findings of the remaining 3 questions in order to explain how the frequency of these three statements change in relation to social groups, demographic characteristics and political preferences.

2.3.2. Under which condition is a leader legitimate?

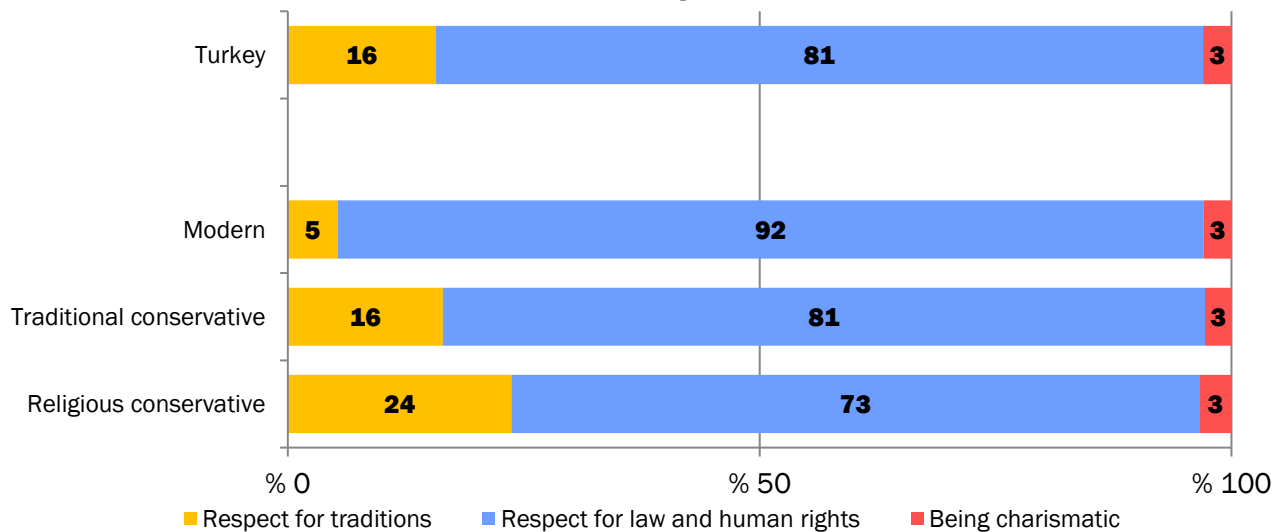
In the conceptual framework section, we have mentioned of Weber's tripartite classification of authority and the sources of legitimacy. Within this context, the characteristic a



“Maybe we can mention Turgut Özal in the history of the republic, but he [Tayyip Erdoğan] is much more of a world leader than Turgut Özal. At the moment, there are three leaders around the world; one is our prime minister, the others are Putin and Obama; there are three leaders.”

(In-depth interview: 42- Female – Religious Conservative)

Which characteristic do you think a prime minister should foremost possess?



As we emphasize in all KONDA researches, traditional conservatives represent the overall average in the country. The observation that one fourth of religious conservatives demand a prime minister who is respectful to traditions and who is also charismatic is noteworthy.

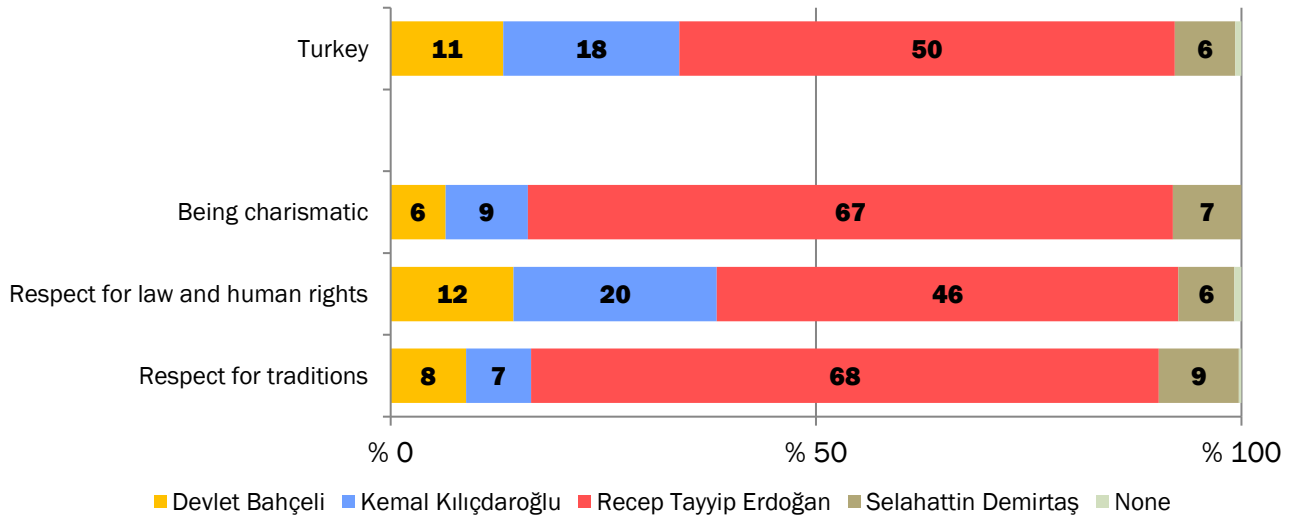
The rate of those who prioritize a leader's respect to law and human rights is at high rates in each life style group. However, when we compare the overall averages within each life style group, respect to law and human rights is the most important for moderns. Even though respect to law is placed first by traditional conservatives and religious conservatives, the criteria of being respectful to traditions also stands out among these groups.

“There is the general, Osman Pamukoğlu. His country, his land, the borders, his qualities, his flag, his people; Atatürk was such a person, and he [Pamukoğlu] is Atatürk's disciple, you know? Well, the general is equal to what Atatürk to me is. So are the generals in Silivri, and those prisoned in Hasdal; you know what I mean? I mean, lawyers, primary school graduates, engineers; forget about all those. Retired soldiers who maintain their qualities, should be transferred to the parliament directly, you know what I mean? They would handle both the foreign politics and domestic affairs superbly.”

(In-depth interview: 38 - Female - Modern)



Which characteristic do you think a prime minister should foremost possess?



The rate of CHP voters among those who give priority to a prime minister's respect to law and human rights is above average, while the rate of AK Party voters is below average. The rate of AK Party voters (56 percent of those stating respect for traditions, 63 percent of those stating charisma) is notable among those who define the legitimacy of an authority through respect to traditions and charisma; the rates of other parties' voters are below the overall trend.

It is necessary to look into the difference between values and practice in order to see what the legitimacy of a leader means to society. The comparison of who the society prefers as the prime minister and which characteristic of the prime minister they prioritize is important for the consistency and significance of the findings. Upon the comparison of the data with the average in Turkey, we can reach important conclusions. Among those who identify Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as a leader, the rate of those who think that a leader should respect law is below the average in Turkey. However, among those who identify Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu as a leader, the rate of those who prioritize respect for law is above the overall average.

It is possible to assert that Alevis give priority to a leader respecting law, whereas Sunnis prioritize respect for traditions.

Among those who identify themselves as religious, the rate of those who prioritize respect for law is below the overall rate of those who pay attention to this criterion. However, among those who identify themselves as believers, the rate is above the overall average.

Even though the rate of those who prefer Erdoğan as a leader is high among those stating that a prime minister should respect law and human rights, it is lower than the overall preference rate of Erdoğan in Turkey. Among those who prioritize a leader's respect for traditions and charisma, the rate of those who prefer Erdoğan (68 percent of those



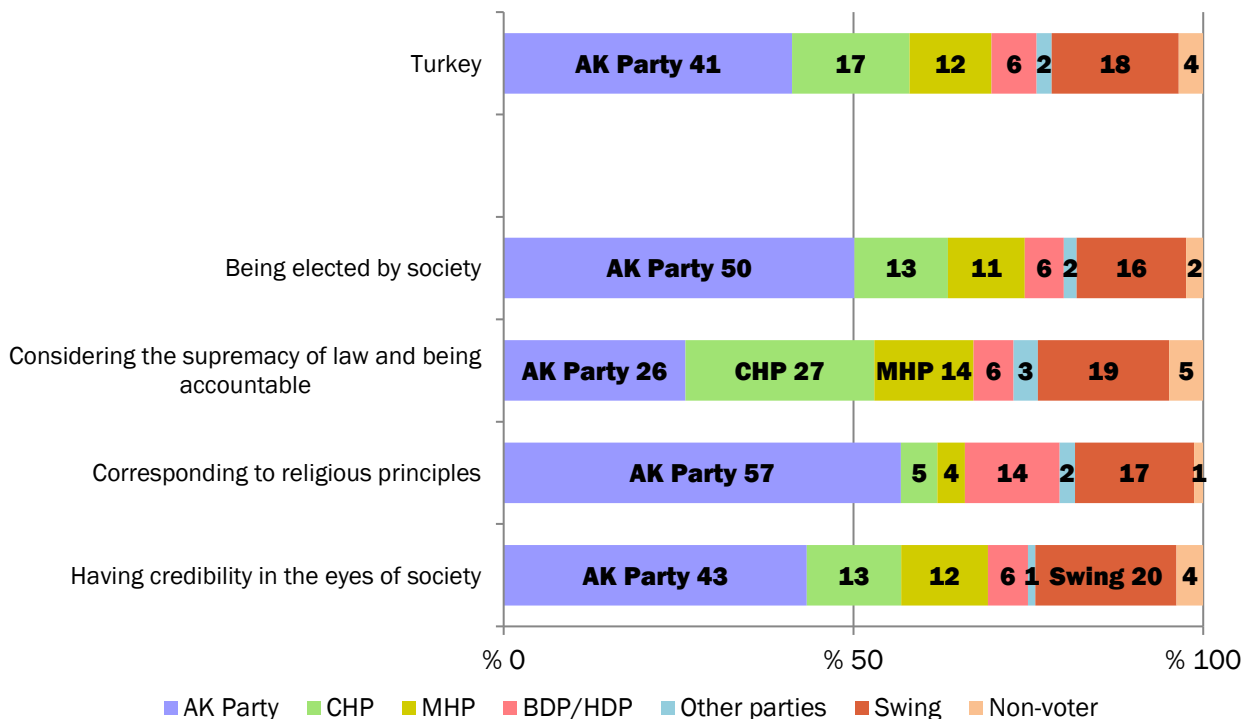
choosing respect for tradition, 68 percent of those choosing charisma) is above Erdoğan's average preference rate.

"A leader should not be selfish; how should I put it, a leader should have the character to stand up for society, should have the charisma to govern society. I can start with the physical appearance; first of all, a leader should have a strong posture; should be knowledgeable, I mean, should be a person dedicated to the cause. He should know foreign affairs as well as domestic affairs, should know how to increase prosperity without giving compromises. A leader should also know political tricks."

(In-depth interview: 20 – Female – Traditional Conservative)

Recently, we are witnessing Prime Minister Erdoğan define legitimacy solely on the basis of the ballot box. Upon the prime minister's statements that national will is based on the election results, another question that arose in our research was where elections are situated in society's perception of legitimacy. Our data prove that the prevalent perspective among society is not much different from that of the prime minister. In order to reach a more solid finding, it is necessary to look into the issue in relation to political preferences.

What do you think provides the legitimacy of a government?

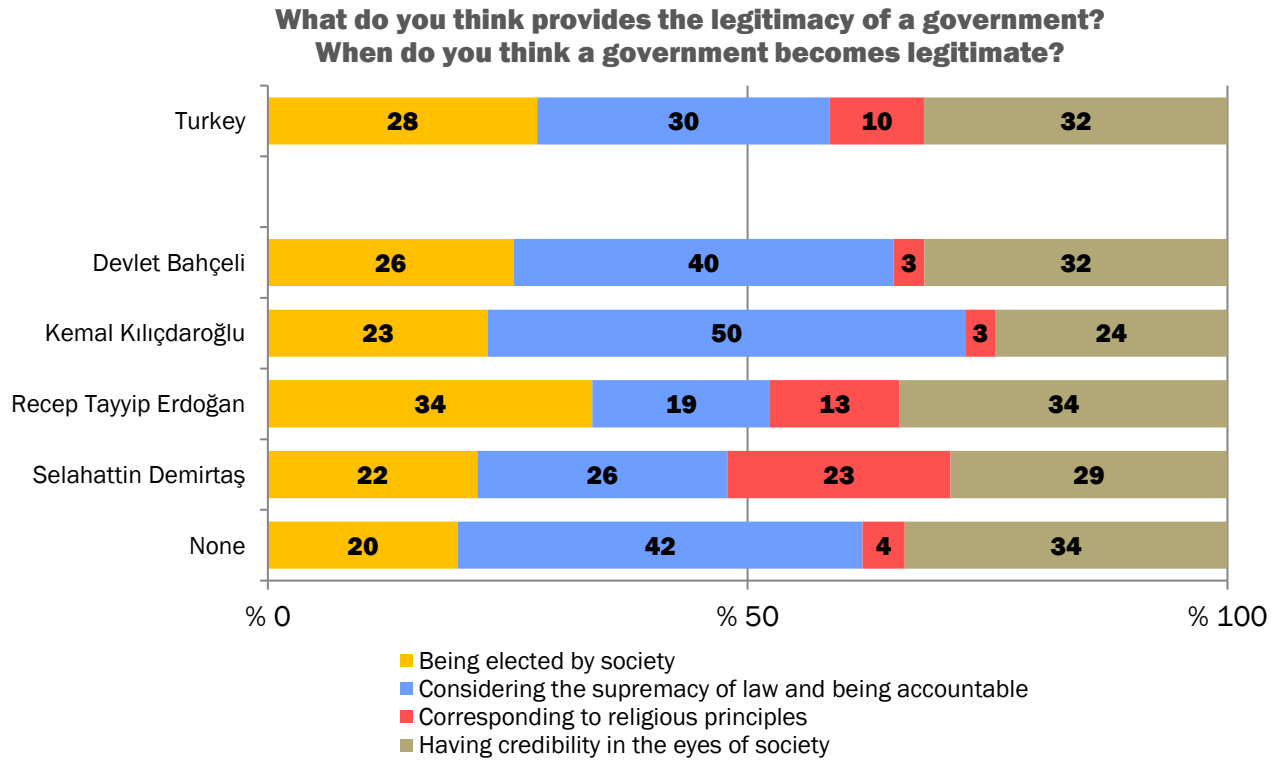


When we observe the responses to the question on the source of a government's legitimacy in relation to political preferences, 50 percent of those who define legitimacy through being elected consist of AK Party voters. 34 percent of AK Party voters think that



being elected is the source of legitimacy for a government, while the rate of those who think that having credibility in the eyes of society is around the same level.

When we look into other voter groups, 49 percent of CHP voters think that supremacy of law is the source of legitimacy, which is significantly higher than the Turkey-wide average. The trend of defining legitimacy through religion among BDP/HDP voters is notable.



Another way to analyze voter behavior is looking into the profile of the political leader who determines their political preferences. In this perspective, 25 percent of those who vote for the same party in sequential elections state that they prefer a prime minister who respects traditions; this rate is 15 percent in Turkey overall.

Is election by itself, the source of democratic legitimacy?

Political elections are one of the fundamental sources of legitimacy, however they are not by themselves sufficient to explain the legitimacy of a government. At this point, we would like to remind the theme "Belief in science and being unscientific" which was included in January'13 Barometer. Within this theme, when asked the question, "Do you believe cheating happens in elections?", 40 percent of society stated that they believed so. As we have asserted in January'13 Barometer, even though individuals behave rather reasonably in their personal lives, society in general approaches the country affairs in a skeptical manner. Consequently, the rationality of defining legitimacy through elections is a matter of debate. (Source: January'13 Barometer)

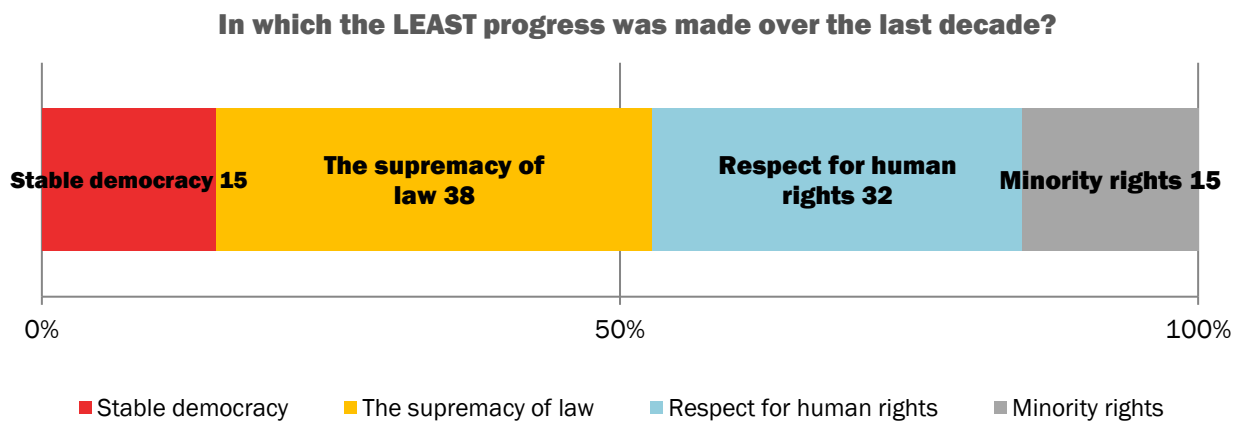


2.4. The Copenhagen Criteria

At the Copenhagen European Council held on June 22, 1993, enlargement of the European Union into Central and Eastern European countries was agreed upon, and the criteria that any country seeking membership to the European Union must conform were defined. The criteria are divided into three conditions: political, economic, and acceptance of the Community acquis. Under the political criteria, countries seeking membership to the European Union must fulfill four requirements:

- Existence of stable and institutionalized democracy,
- Constitutional state and the supremacy of law,
- Respect for human rights and
- Protection of minorities.

We endeavored to understand the public opinion on these political requirements upon Stefan Füle's emphasis on these requirements in his letter to Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu dated January 20 regarding the amendments in the Supreme Council of Judges and Prosecutors Act. Opinions on these requirements also provide explanation on the perception of legitimacy. We listed the four political criteria as answer options and asked respondents which one they thought the LEAST progress was made towards.

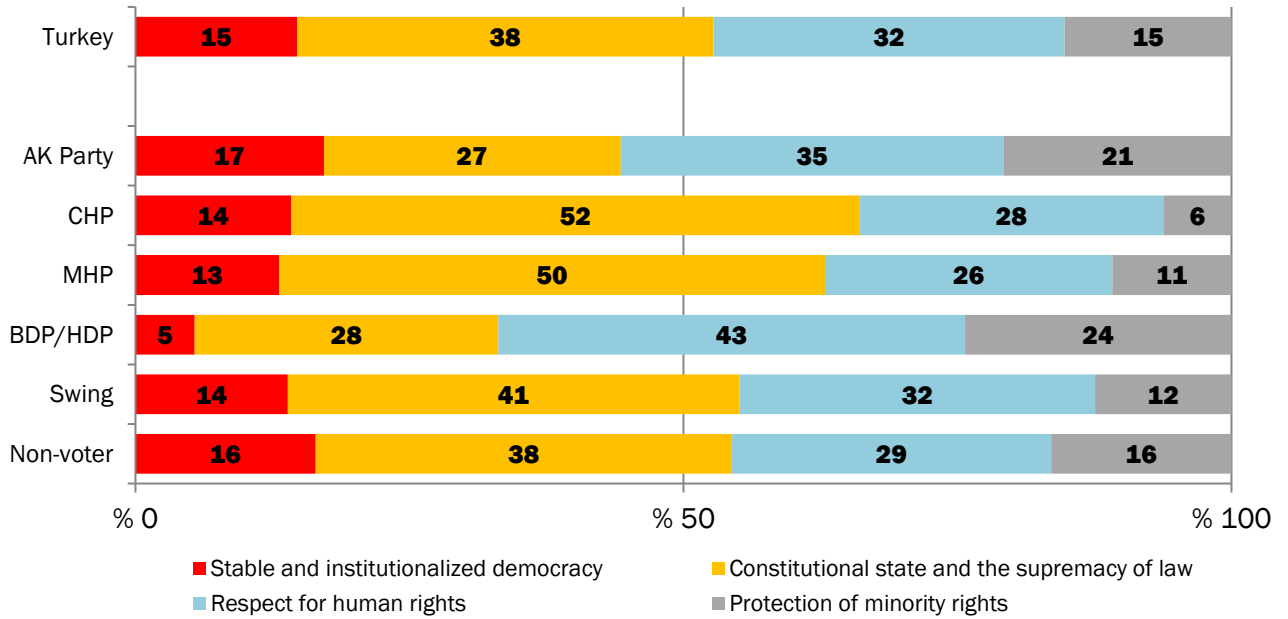


As the graph above presents, the group with the highest rate is composed of respondents who think that Turkey fell behind in regard to the supremacy of law. On the other hand, almost one third of respondents state that Turkey lags behind in human rights.

When observed in relation to political preferences, we can see that voters of opposition parties emphasize that the least progress was made with regard to the supremacy of law. Half of CHP and MHP voters state that progress made with regard to the constitutional state is not sufficient.



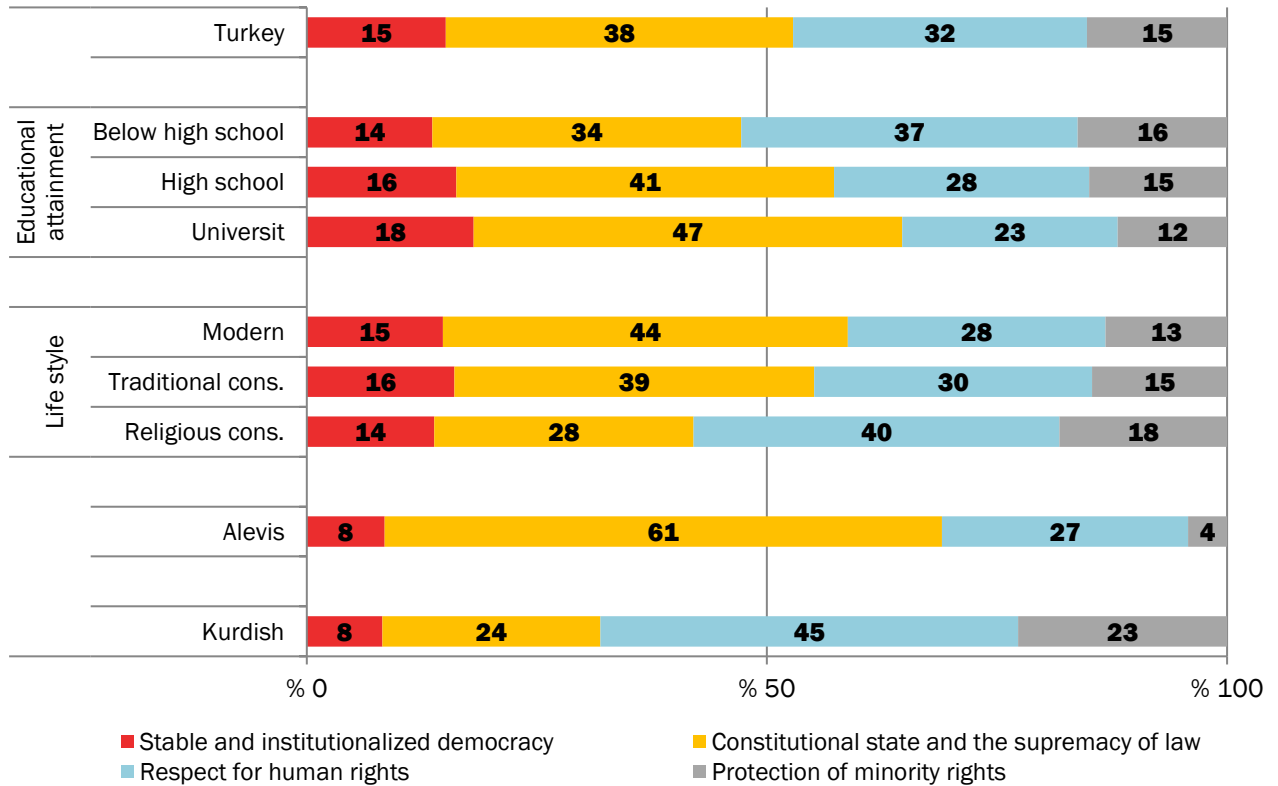
In which the LEAST progress was made over the last decade?



BDP voters stand out as having the most distinct opinion in comparison to other voter groups and Turkey in general. About one fourth of BDP voters claim that the least progress was made towards the protection of minority rights, while half stated that respect for human rights is a problematic issue. In comparison to other voters and Turkey in general, AK Party voters think that the constitutional state is the least problematic area.



In the last decade, in which of the areas listed below do you think the LEAST progress was made?



When we analyze responses to the question on the Copenhagen Criteria in relation to political preferences and other characteristics, we observe that the response 'constitutional state and the supremacy of law' is the most significant.

The rate of respondents who stated that little progress was made towards the supremacy of law increases along with an increase in the educational attainment level, a decrease in degree of piety, and an increase in the rate of identifying their life style as modern.

Three out of five Alevis assert that there had been little progress in regard to constitutional state and the supremacy of law over the last decade. Similar to BDP voters, one fourth of the Kurdish state that little progress was made with respect to the protection of minority rights.

In response rates, the influence of social polarization is also evident. However, polarization only influenced the balance of trends with respect to the attitude towards these criteria, it did not cause totally opposite clusters.



The most critical finding of our research is obtained by looking into these responses in relation to political preferences. Even though the rate of those who define legitimacy through law is high among each voter group; political preferences, educational attainment level, and life style cluster differentiate this trend. AK Party voters, traditional and religious conservatives and those who are educated below high school tend to define legitimacy through traditions and charisma, whereas CHP voters, moderns, and university graduates define legitimacy based on law.

In parallel to Prime Minister Erdoğan's discourse, those who identify the legitimacy of a government based on election results are clustered within AK Party voters. In accordance with rest of the data, majority of CHP voters find a government legitimate to the extent it respects the supremacy of law.

From responses to the open-ended question, we can conclude that 3 sources of legitimacy have priority for society: the supremacy of law (respect for law, being fair, being egalitarian and democratic), being elected and having credibility. It is especially important to note that respondent immediately think of ethical values such as credibility/honesty in providing a response. Considering that the primary duty of the justice and legal system is to secure social mechanisms and political system in a democratic system, it is possible to conclude that society presents rational behavior and statements, and with expectations in the parallel direction.

"They were like, let's uncover a corruption issue. Do people really think that it was possible to fit four and half million dollars in a shoe box? You cannot fit that into a bank. Maybe they want to believe so? I don't believe it myself. I have absolute confidence in our prime minister. I like him since the very beginning, I really love him. I truly support him, and I will support him to the very end. I will support him until the end of his term, that is for sure. I would not believe the allegations even if I were to witness it myself. I do not believe that he can accept or allow such things."

(In-depth interview: 42 - Female - Religious Conservative)





3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Overall Description of the Survey

The survey that this report is based on was conducted by KONDA Research and Consultancy Limited (KONDA Araştırma ve Danışmanlık Ltd. Şti.) for the subscribers of KONDA Barometers.

The field survey was conducted on February, 1-2, 2014. This report presents the political trends, preferences and profiles of the adult population above the age of 18 in Turkey within the dates of the field survey.

The survey is designed and conducted with the purpose to determine and monitor trends and changes in the preferences of respondents who represent the adult population above the age of 18 in Turkey.

The error margin of the survey is +/- 2 at 95 percent confidence level and +/- 2.6 at 99 percent confidence level.

3.2. The Sample

The sample was selected through the stratification of the population data and education level data of neighborhoods and villages based on the Address-Based Population Registration System (ADNKS), and the results of the June 12, 2011 General Elections in neighborhood and villages.

First, the settlements were grouped as rural/urban/metropolitan, and then the sample was determined based on the 12 regions.

Within the scope of the survey, 2544 respondents were interviewed face-to-face in 141 neighborhoods and villages of 109 districts -including central districts- of 31 provinces.

Provinces visited	31
Districts visited	109
Neighborhoods/villages visited	141
Number of respondents	2544

Within the 18 surveys conducted in each neighborhood, quotas regarding age and sex were considered.

Age group	Female	Male
Between 18-28	3 respondents	3 respondents
Between 29-44	3 respondents	3 respondents
44 and above	3 respondents	3 respondents



	Level 1 (12 regions)	Provinces visited
1	İstanbul	İstanbul
2	Western Marmara	Balıkesir, Edirne
3	Aegean	İzmir, Denizli, Afyonkarahisar, Muğla
4	Eastern Marmara	Bursa, Eskişehir, Kocaeli, Yalova
5	Western Anatolia	Ankara, Konya
6	Mediterranean	Antalya, Adana, Hatay, Mersin
7	Central Anatolia	Kayseri, Sivas
8	Western Black Sea	Samsun, Bartın
9	Eastern Black Sea	Trabzon, Giresun
10	Northeastern Anatolia	Kars
11	Middle Eastern Anatolia	Malatya, Van, Elazığ
12	South Eastern Anatolia	Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Siirt

Distribution of respondents according to the regions and places of residence is shown in the table below.

	Region where the survey was conducted	Rural	Urban	Metropolitan	Total
1	İstanbul			19.1	19.1
2	Western Marmara	1.4	3.5		5.0
3	Aegean	4.0	5.8	5.6	15.4
4	Eastern Marmara	1.4	2.8	5.2	9.4
5	Western Anatolia	0.6		9.4	9.9
6	Mediterranean	3.5	2.7	6.4	12.6
7	Central Anatolia	1.4	2.2	1.4	5.0
8	Western Black Sea	2.4	3.3		5.7
9	Eastern Black Sea	1.4	2.1		3.5
10	Northeastern Anatolia	1.4			1.4
11	Middle Eastern Anatolia	1.5	2.2		3.7
12	South Eastern Anatolia	2.1	3.0	4.2	9.3
	Turkey	21.0	27.6	51.4	100.0



4. FREQUENCY TABLES

4.1. Profile of the Respondents

Gender	Percentage
Female	47.7
Male	52.3
Total	100.0

Age	Percentage
Between 18 - 28	27.4
Between 29 - 43	34.4
44+	38.2
Total	100.0

Education level	Percentage
Less than high school	56.4
High school graduate	29.9
University graduate	13.7
Total	100.0

Place of birth	Percentage
Istanbul	6.4
Western Marmara	4.5
Aegean	11.9
Eastern Marmara	7.1
Western Anatolia	7.2
Mediterranean	11.7
Central Anatolia	8.6
Western Black Sea	8.6
Eastern Black Sea	8.1
Northeastern Anatolia	5.4
Middle Eastern Anatolia	6.2
South Eastern Anatolia	12.1
Abroad	2.0
Total	100.0



Employment status	Percentage
Public officer	5.7
Private sector	6.5
Worker	10.9
Small retailer	7.5
Merchant / businessman	0.9
Self-employed	1.8
Marginal sector	0.2
Farmer, agriculturist, stock breeder	3.0
Working, other	5.1
Retired	13.3
Housewife	31.9
Student	9.1
Unemployed	3.3
Disabled	0.8
Total	100.0

Lifestyle Cluster	Percentage
Modern	24.4
Traditional conservative	48.2
Religious conservative	27.4
Total	100.0

Head cover	Percentage
No head cover	26.4
Head cover	52.3
Turban	7.8
Chador, purdah	0.4
Bachelor men	13.1
Total	100.0



Ethnicity	Percentage
Turkish	81.6
Kurdish - Zaza	12.8
Arab	2.0
Other	0.9
Total	100.0

Religion/Sect	Percentage
Sunni Muslim	95.6
Alevi Muslim	3.1
Other Muslim	1.3
Total	100.0

Piety	Percentage
Non-believer	1.9
Believer	24.9
Religious	60.3
Devout	12.9
Total	100.0

Monthly Household Income	Percentage
TRY 300 or less	1.6
Between TRY 301 - 700	5.8
Between TRY 701 - 1200	31.4
Between TRY 1201 - 2000	37.1
Between TRY 2001 - 3000	16.1
TRY 3001 or more	8.1
Total	100.0

Car ownership	Percentage
Yes	38.7
No	61.3
Total	100.0



Region where the survey was conducted	Percentage
İstanbul	19.1
Western Marmara	5.0
Aegean	15.4
Eastern Marmara	9.4
Western Anatolia	9.9
Mediterranean	12.6
Central Anatolia	5.0
Western Black Sea	5.7
Eastern Black Sea	3.5
Northeastern Anatolia	1.4
Middle Eastern Anatolia	3.7
South Eastern Anatolia	9.3
Total	100.0

Settlement code	Percentage
Rural	21.0
Urban	27.6
Metropolitan	51.4
Total	100.0

Type of residence	Percentage
Traditional residence	35.8
Slum	4.7
Flat in an apartment block	53.2
Luxury residence	6.4
Total	100.0



Which TV channel do you usually prefer to watch the news?	Percentage
ATV	13.4
CNN Turk	1.9
Fox TV	8.1
Habertürk	3.9
Halk TV	4.8
Kanal 7	4.0
Kanal D	16.7
Kanaltürk	0.6
NTV	4.2
Roj TV	0.8
Samanyolu	7.1
Show TV	5.3
Star	6.1
TRT	11.7
Ulusal	2.3
Local channels	1.2
Other channels	7.9
Total	100.0



4.2. Legitimacy

Under which condition do you approve an opinion?	Percentage
When it is right in my opinion	51.0
When my family and people around me approve it	16.7
When a majority of society approves it	29.0
None	3.2
Total	100.0

In which of the areas below do you think the LEAST progress was made over the last decade?	Percentage
Stable and institutionalized democracy	15.1
Constitutional state and the supremacy of law	37.7
Respect for human rights	31.9
Protection of minority rights	15.2
Total	100.0

What do you think provides the legitimacy of a government? When do you think a government becomes legitimate?	Percentage
Being elected by society	28.4
Considering the supremacy of law and being accountable	30.7
Corresponding to religious principles	9.7
Having credibility in the eyes of society	31.3
Total	100.0

Which characteristic do you think a prime minister should foremost possess?	Percentage
Respect for traditions	15.7
Respect for law and human rights	81.3
Being charismatic	3.0
Total	100.0

What does legitimacy of a leader mean to you?	Percentage
Being Credible/Fair/Honest	22.7
Being elected/approved by society	18.3
Acting lawfully	7.4



Being Egalitarian/Democratic	7.0
Being Hardworking/Serving Society	6.5
Being Popular/Respected	3.7
Being known by everyone	3.0
Being Fair/Just	2.7
Being a good administrator	2.3
Being religious	2.2
Other	15.3
Do not know	8.8
Total	100.0