Towards a Multifaceted Measure of Perceived Legitimacy of Participatory Governance[1]

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Abstract

Policy decision-making modes in governance contexts have become increasingly participatory. This raises questions about legitimacy, and how to measure this concept. The current article advances a multifaceted measurement of perceived legitimacy of policy decision-making modes in participatory governance, capturing the three components of legitimacy (input, throughput, and output) with two items each. This six-item measure was tested in a vignette survey (total *N* = 4,583) and administered among four types of democratic stakeholders: politicians, civil servants, civil society, and citizens. Respondents completed the scale for four different policy decision-making modes (representative, consultative, co-decisive, and decisive). Our six-item scale shows excellent internal consistency as an encompassing measure, while at the same time also allowing for fine-grained analyses on difference patterns in the input, throughput, and output components of legitimacy. As such, it provides a relevant and parsimonious tool for future research that requires a multifaceted measurement of the perceived legitimacy of participatory governance.

Keywords: participatory governance; multifaced measurement; perceived legitimacy; policy decision-making modes; democratic stakeholders

1. Introduction

(Local) governments worldwide are engaging with citizen participation, part of a shift towards an era of democratic governance concisely depicted as: *"*a more or less polycentric system in which a variety of actors are engaged in (…) public decision-making processes" (Denters, 2011, p. 313). Therein, a multitude of interdependent players coming from different tiers of both government and society shape collective action in the public realm through a range of different decision-making mechanisms (Sørensen & Torfing, 2018). This also includes innovative attempts to expand and deepen the involvement of citizens (Smith, 2009), which occurs through various instruments, such as mini-publics, participatory budgets, referenda and citizen initiatives, forms of collaborative governance or digital participation (Elstub & Escobar, 2019). Experiments are visible at many levels (particularly the local), so that contemporary democracy is often denoted as increasingly participatory (Hertting & Kugelberg, 2019).

But questions arise about how public policy decisions are made, and to what extent a certain mode is accepted by different democratic stakeholders. In the associated value frameworks for democratic governance, legitimacy is often at the core (Hendriks, 2021). This concept generally refers to the extent to which policy decision-making processes and outcomes "are acceptable to and accepted by the citizenry" (Schmidt, 2013, p. 9-10). Decisions are legitimate *when considered* as morally binding *for* and voluntary complied *by the public*. Specific applications in participatory democracy come to similar assertions of perceived legitimacy as the "degree to which a decision can be accepted" (Arnesen, 2017, p. 151), the "idea of political power rightfully held and exercised" (Strebel et al., 2019, p. 2) or the "belief that a political decision-making process (is) proper and just and that the decisions produced (…) ought to be accepted" (Werner, 2021, p. 23).

The measurement of this concept in empirical research has been subject to discussion: Perceived legitimacy is often operationalized with only one single item, and it is almost exclusively tested in surveys among one group of stakeholders at the time, mostly citizens. In

this article, we present an alternative empirical measure that adopts a broader and innovative perspective on legitimacy perceptions of participatory governance. First, we consider aspects of the three components of legitimacy (i.e., input, throughput, and output). Secondly, we empirically test various modes of increasingly participatory policy decision-making (i.e., representative, consultative, co-decisive, and decisive). Thirdly, we measure the assessment thereof by different democratic stakeholders simultaneously (i.e., citizens, civil society, politicians, and civil servants), because each of them is affected in one way or another by the introduction of participatory instruments. We explore our measure with data gathered in a large scale vignette-experiment (total N = 4,583) among the stakeholders mentioned in Flanders (Belgium), in an endeavor to develop and explore an empirically and theoretically sound multifaceted measurement of perceived legitimacy. This way, we aim to advance the methodological understanding of how to conceptually and operationally grasp a layered phenomenon in a governance context that is increasingly participatory in terms of policy decision-making modes. Our research questions are threefold:

> **RQ1.** Do the three components of legitimacy (input, throughput, and output) empirically represent separate dimensions or do they rather constitute a unitary factor of perceived legitimacy?
>
> **RQ2.** Does a composed indicator (of the three components) provide more explanatory power for the favorability of certain modes of policy decision-making than the individual legitimacy items?
>
> **RQ3.** Are some components (input, throughput, or output legitimacy) more sensitive than others for particular characteristics of different policy decision-making modes that vary in the extent of citizen influence?

Our findings suggest that the three components form a unitary factor of perceived legitimacy: All items load on the same factor and comprise a reliable scale. Democratic

stakeholders thus tend to perceive a mode of policy decision-making as less or more legitimate at large. However, this does not imply that it suffices to measure only one item (or one component) to grasp their legitimacy perceptions. Additional analyses reveal that the composed indicator better explains the favorability assessment of a mode of policy decision-making than any of the individual legitimacy items. The results, moreover, demonstrate that perceived legitimacy varies across modes, but notably less across democratic stakeholders. In policy decision-making modes with limited involvement of citizens, output legitimacy scores higher than input legitimacy. In those with far-reaching decisional discretion for citizens, this is the other way around. Finally, for modes with medium citizen participation, input, throughput, and output indicators are scored almost equally.

2. Legitimacy: Three Components

There is a growing consensus in the literature that legitimacy is a concept that consists of three components: input, throughput, and output (e.g., Hendriks, 2021; Schmidt, 2013). Legitimacy from the angle of *input* centers around values such as inclusion and equal input (of positions), and effective participation and control by the population. The key question is how open and sensitive policy decision-making is for diverse inputs and societal signals in a diverse citizenry (Scharpf, 1999; Schmidt, 2013; Van Meerkerk et al., 2015; Hendriks, 2021). In other words: Do (all) citizens have access to policy-makers and opportunities to become involved, and are policy-makers willing to bring in (all) citizens and take their interests into account (Schmidt & Wood, 2019)?[3]

Legitimacy from the angle of *throughput* is concerned with values such as deliberation and enlightened understanding, transparency and openness, due justification and impartial

[3] Of course, '*opportunities*' and '*willingness*' are deliberately chosen nouns. No political system can incorporate every group or each disposition (let alone its individual members or holders) for all decisions (without the risk of overload). The key issue is the chance of incorporation must exist (albeit distributed more or less equal).

treatment, integrity and incorruptibility and accountability. Here, the key question is how (much) policy decision-making is attuned to proper process and procedural fairness (De Fine Licht et al., 2014; Schmidt, 2013; Van Meerkerk et al., 2015; Jäske, 2019; Beyers & Arras, 2021; Hendriks, 2021; Jacobs & Kaufman, 2021). Moreover, throughput legitimacy can be connected with design choices such as the mode of communication and policy decision-making (Fung, 2006, 2015) and the evaluation of their effects in terms of the quality of public reasoning, such as encouraging civic skills and virtues (Smith, 2009; Michels, 2011; Geissel & Newton, 2012; Binnema et al., 2020).

Finally, legitimacy from the angle of *output* evokes values such as efficiency and consequentiality, economy, (cost-)efficiency and effectiveness. The key question is how (much) policy decision-making is capable of delivering quality, effective and efficient outputs (i.e., public provisions and services) and outcomes (i.e., solutions for collective problems), and to what extent these outputs and outcomes are accepted by citizens (Scharpf, 1999; Schmidt, 2013; Van Meerkerk et al., 2015; Gundelach et al., 2017; Strebel et al., 2019; Hendriks, 2021).

3. Problems with Measuring 'Legitimacy' of Participatory Governance

Despite growing attention for the legitimacy of democratic decision-making in a governance context with increasing participation of citizens (Garry et al., 2021), two particular gaps in the extant literature remain which both evoke a broader perspective on the phenomenon at hand. The first gap concerns the difference between conceptual-theoretical and operational-empirical approaches of perceived legitimacy (Weatherford, 1992), whereas the second gap relates to the kind of democratic stakeholder that is the subject of empirical research.

3.1 Mismatch Between Theoretical and Empirical Approaches (Gap 1)

In conceptual-theoretical approaches (cf. supra), legitimacy is increasingly conceived as an integrated sequence of input, throughput, and output (Scharpf, 1999; Schmidt, 2013).

Decisions are deemed acceptable and accepted when evaluated as responsive to citizen concerns (input), proper and just in process (throughput), and effective in policy output and outcomes (output). This 'triad' denotes distinct theoretical components under a shared conceptual umbrella. It comprises various aspects of the same phenomenon, that do not necessarily coincide. Such theorization also opens queries on their potential interplay. Moreover, for each component several evaluation criteria can be developed. Hence, for a comprehensive and integrated understanding of legitimacy we need to measure perceptions from each of those three angles. This is in line with recent calls in the literature on participatory democracy and democratic innovations (Geissel & Newton, 2012; Pogrebinschi & Ryan, 2017; Smith, 2019).

However, empirical contributions to those fields have not followed suit. Seminal contributions determine levels of legitimacy via the mere observed presence of certain procedures, such as accountability mechanisms and transparent procedures (Weatherford, 1992). Other studies rely on objective or factual data on, for instance, (voter) turnout or diversity of participants (Binnema & Michels, 2021; Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2018). But most research tries to determine levels of legitimacy by measuring perceptions via surveys with democratic stakeholders, mostly citizens. Among these studies, two approaches can be discerned.

A first set of studies uses a general and straightforward indicator to capture legitimacy as a one-dimensional concept, often relying on the juxtaposition of good versus bad: Respondents are simply asked whether they evaluate a policy decision-making process as good or as bad (Garry et al., 2021; Pilet et al., 2020; Rojon & Pilet, 2021). Some related approaches rely on variations of this comparison, with assessment ranging from 'not at all desirable' to 'very desirable' processes (Junius et al., 2020), or by measuring the level of 'support' for institutions or processes (Mohrenberg et al. 2021; Werner & Jacobs, 2021). Given that these kind of measures are very general and comprehensive, it is not entirely clear which components of legitimacy they are covering, and even whether they are covering legitimacy at all.

A second set of studies uses specific indicators related to one of the three components of legitimacy. Some of these studies use one of the components as a proxy for legitimacy in general (Beyers & Arras, 2021; Clayton et al., 2019; Jacobs & Kaufmann, 2021; Werner & Marien, 2022). Notably, the operationalization of procedural fairness, developed by De Fine Licht and colleagues (2014) has been highly inspirational for many researchers. Although this operationalization can be linked to one specific component (i.e., throughput legitimacy), it is considered to be a good indicator to measure legitimacy in general (and is often used for these purposes by researchers). Other studies use one of the components (input, throughput, or output legitimacy) because they are particularly interested in that specific component. Examples of studies focusing on *input* legitimacy are Devillers et al. (2021) and Esaiasson et al. (2017) who measure perceptions of inclusiveness and responsiveness among respectively non-participants and citizens in general. An example of studying *throughput* legitimacy is provided by Van Meerkerk et al. (2015) who measure the evaluation of items like the provision of information to participants, the transparency of the participatory decision-making, and the extent to which the process includes opportunities for debate and discussion. Studies that focus on *output* legitimacy are, for instance, those with attention to the so-called winner-loser gap (Esaiasson, 2011; Marien & Kern, 2018; Nadeau et al., 2021). This gap entails that citizens who do not obtain what they want in elections and referenda have a harder time to accept the final decision, and evaluate the political system and the policy decision-making process less favorable. Other studies measuring output legitimacy focus on effectiveness, or the realization of concrete results (depending on the project at stake), by asking respondents about the impact of citizen participation (e.g., whether people's needs are better perceived and addressed; Gundelach et al., 2017).

In sum, whereas many studies have either used a (single-item) general assessment of legitimacy or a highly specific assessment focused on a particular legitimacy component, a more integrative approach that incorporates these specific aspects into a comprehensive, general measure of perceived legitimacy is needed.

3.2 Consideration of the Various Stakeholders (Gap 2)

Traditional research on perceived legitimacy typically focusses on citizens' perceptions. However, particularly in participatory models of governance, perceived legitimacy becomes a more focal topic of interest for other stakeholders in the democratic process as well. How legitimate people perceive a mode may differ according to the kind of stakeholder under study, and the extent to which their discretion is affected by a particular mode of policy decision-making. In the traditional conception of representative democracy, decisional authority is handed over by a large group of citizens to a limited set of politicians and civil servants. Legitimacy then rests upon the acceptability and acceptance of the process and the outcome of these decisions made *for the people*. In this model, citizens are often the sole focus of legitimacy studies. However, in a participatory democracy, politicians and civil servants render part of their decisional authority to (organized) citizens. Policy-making transpires *with and by the people*. This broadens the scope of legitimacy. The latter not only rests on the condition that (organized) citizens perceive the decision-making by their fellow citizens as acceptable. It also requires that politicians and civil servants (ceding part of their authority) accept the (increasingly participatory) mode of policy decision-making. Participatory democracy thus implies multiple stakeholders (citizens, civil society, politicians, and civil servants) likely to hold varying perceptions of legitimacy.

However, in the literature such encompassing accounts are largely missing. The focus predominantly remains on one actor at the time: either citizens (Arnesen, 2017; Jacobs & Kaufman, 2021; Rojon & Pilet, 2021) or politicians (Heinelt, 2013; Junius et al., 2020) or civil servants (Migchelbrink & Van de Walle, 2020); for an account involving multiple stake-holders, see Garry et al. (2021). Moreover, existing approaches also tend to be concerned with specific instruments of citizen participation in policy decision-making. However, we anticipate that the aforementioned shift comes in several shapes and shades. Participatory governance implies various dispositions with modes of decision-making that are more or less participatory.

Legitimacy perceptions will likely differ with the initiator of an arrangement and/or the extent of decisional authority left to citizens (Fung, 2006, 2015). Our contribution therefore encloses the perspectives of all actors involved, and takes into account different modes of policy decision-making with varying levels of discretion handed over by politicians to citizens.

4. An Empirical Test of a Complex Concept

The gap between the complexity of the concept and the (often) unidimensionality of its empirical measurement may surprise, given that increasingly (also in the literature on democratic innovations; e.g., Geissel & Newton, 2012; Pogrebinschi & Ryan, 2017; Smith, 2019) input, throughput, and output are assumed to be distinct components of one underlying concept of legitimacy. Indeed, the overview of the research on legitimacy in democratic governance shows that the conceptual complexity is not often reflected in its empirical measurement. This was recently also observed by Werner and Marien (2022) who posit that, in order to grasp legitimacy perceptions more comprehensively, a combination of process and outcome perceptions should be used. In other words, throughput and output components should be combined. A similar but slightly different approach was undertaken by Jäske (2019) who measured legitimacy perceptions by looking at items covering input and throughput legitimacy. We take the discussion one step further by incorporating all three components of legitimacy (input, throughput, and output), and simultaneously consider the perceptions of citizens, civil society, politicians, and civil servants.

4.1 Operationalizing Legitimacy for our Purposes

As shown in Table 1, we selected six legitimacy items (two per component), and one item that measures the overall favorability of a particular policy decision-making mode. This overall favorability item could alternatively be considered as a general and straightforward indicator of perceived legitimacy. As mentioned above, such an approach is often used in the

literature to capture legitimacy in a one-dimensional way, but it can also be contested whether it really captures the broad legitimacy construct. Therefore, the inclusion of this overall favorability item allows us to empirically compare such a catch-all approach with the different sub-dimensional approaches (the six items and/or the three components).

The selection of our six items was guided by the aim to strike a balance between sufficient scope (three components) and necessary depth (multiple aspects per component), without presenting too many items. Together, they comprise a range of legitimacy aspects that is more encompassing than in the existing literature. Our approach is thus innovative in that it develops a multifaceted measure covering the whole of the aforementioned sequence (input-throughput-output). We are inspired by the approaches and formulations in earlier research, but given that we aim to include many items, we also try to be parsimonious in their formulation. At the same time, we try to incorporate the diversity of each component by focusing on different aspects of the same component in our formulation. For instance, when it comes to output legitimacy we have an item capturing effectiveness (Ou1) and one capturing efficiency (Ou2). In a similar vein, in terms of input legitimacy, one focusses on representation of interests (In1), while the other item takes into account the inclusion of all kinds of citizens (In2).

Note that none of the items explicitly refers to the notion of ‘legitimacy’, as it is considered conceptually elusive (particularly abstract to grasp for specific types of respondents). Items are rather stated to cover the variety of features placed under the label of legitimacy by the literature (see discussion above). The wording of the items reflects the equilibrium sought by the research team between theoretical accuracy and empirical accessibility. Bearing the intended comparison of various types of stakeholders in mind, the latter has been a particular concern for non-expert citizens as respondents. Different formulations have been piloted consecutively, each round informing towards our eventual items. For the item referring to ‘fairness’ as an aspect of

throughput (Tr2), we sought additional input from academic experts.[4] The clarity and readability of the eventual set of items was piloted among all subgroups of respondents (i.e., politicians, civil servants, civil society, and citizens).

TABLE 1. Multifaceted measurement of perceived legitimacy.

Concept	Item
Favorability	I find this is a good way to decide (…).
Legitimacy	This way of deciding:
Input	1. Allows as many points of view and interests as possible to be taken into account (In1)
	2. Gives citizens from all walks of life the opportunity to be heard (In2)
Throughput	3. Gives everyone a clear view on how the decision is made (Tr1)
	4. Is a fair way of decision-making (Tr2)
Output	5. Provides a solution that will work (Ou1)
	6. Provides an efficient solution (Ou2)

Note. The items were preceded by the following question: "To what extent do you agree with the following statement(s)" (0 = *completely disagree*; 10 = *completely agree*).

5. Method

Our operationalization of legitimacy (see Table 1 above) was tested in a large-scale vignette survey in Flanders (Belgium), which was conducted among four different types of respondents (total N = 4,583): politicians (including mayors, aldermen, and local councilors), civil servants, representatives of local civil society organizations, and lay citizens.[5,6] All of these respondents are important actors in (local) governance processes. They each may hold distinct

[4] This is a case in point for the trade-off between accuracy and accessibility (in particular when concepts grounded in academic English travel abroad and in the field). Whereas (a variant of) *'fair'* is often used in the existing literature and also has a literal equivalent in Dutch, respondents in the pilots indicated difficulties in interpreting the formulation in our research context. Therefore, we discussed an alternative more easily understood by native speakers (*'eerlijk'*). This was also based on the advice of Jan Beyers (University of Antwerp) and Jenny de Fine Licht (University of Gothenburg). In this article, the English equivalent evidently remains.

[5] Politicians, civil servants, and citizens answered the survey from their perspective as an individual, representative of civil society organizations answered the survey from the perspective of their organization.

[6] For politicians, civil servants, and civil society organizations the response rates ranged from 15.8% to 22.8%.

legitimacy perceptions and potentially demonstrate alternative patterns in these perceptions, which provides an encompassing test among different actors for the measurement that we propose. The survey was conducted in the period February-April 2022. Table 2 presents the basic demographic characteristics of each subsample and of the total, aggregated sample.

TABLE 2. Demographics of the four subsamples and the total sample.

	N	Age	Gender			Education	
			Male	Female	Other	Low	High
Politicians	1156	50.57 (13.00)	61.4%	38.2%	0.4%	19.7%	80.3%
Civil servants	949	45.81 (9.92)	47.1%	52.2%	0.7%	5.9%	94.1%
Civil society	273	-	-	-	-	-	-
Citizens	2205	48.58 (17.55)	49.4%	50.3%	0.2%	54.6%	45.4%
Total sample	**4583**	**48.51 (15.07)**	**52.1%**	**47.5%**	**0.3%**	**34.5%**	**65.5%**

Note. For age, the means (and standard deviations) are reported. Low education = did not graduate, primary education, or secondary education. High education = university college or university. The representatives of the civil society organizations did not answer these demographical variables. These variables are less relevant for them, as they answered on behalf of their organization.

All respondents were presented with four variations of a local policy decision case: The repurposing of an abandoned building. They first received a vignette describing the decision being made through the traditional ways of representative democracy, in which the local government makes plans, discusses these in the city council, and then makes a decision (labeled *representative mode*). Next they received three variations of the case in random order, reflecting different modes of participatory decision-making. These variations included citizens providing direct advice to the local government (*consultative mode*), citizens and local government making the decision together *(co-decisive mode*), and citizens having full control and deciding

themselves (*decisive mode*).[7] Appendix A illustrates how this information was communicated to the respondents.

Respondents were asked to rate each of these four policy decision-making modes (i.e., representative, consultative, co-decisive, and decisive) on the newly developed legitimacy measure (see Table 1 above), using Likert scales ranging from 0 (*completely disagree*) to 10 (*completely agree*). Also, for each of the policy decision-making modes, respondents were asked to give a general evaluation (which we labelled above 'favorability'), answering the statement: "I find this a good way to decide what happens with the building" (0 = *completely disagree*; 10 = *completely agree*).

6. Results

6.1 Legitimacy as a Reliable, Unitary Measure

First, for each of the four policy decision-making modes, we ran an exploratory factor analysis (using the Principal Axis Factoring method) on the legitimacy measure for the total sample. This analysis demonstrated that a single factor emerged. As shown in Table 3, this single factor had an Eigenvalue ranging between 4.28 and 4.58, explaining between 71.3% and 76.3% of the variance. All item factor loadings were larger than .78. In the total sample, for none of the policy decision-making modes a possible second factor reached the Eigenvalue threshold of 1.00. Similar results were also obtained for the four different subsamples.

We subsequently computed Cronbach's alpha of the total six-item legitimacy measure for each of the four policy decision-making modes. Here too, analyses were conducted for the total sample as well as for the different subsamples. The legitimacy measure displayed excellent internal consistency, with reliability indexes ranging between .89 and .95 (see Table 3).

[7] We additionally also manipulated whether these three variations were initiated by either the government or citizens. Because this additional two-level between-subjects manipulation did not reveal any substantial effects, we decided to collapse the data across these two initiators in all reported analyses.

TABLE 3. Percentage explained variance and alphas of the subsamples and the total sample.

		Representative	Consultative	Co-decisive	Decisive
Politicians	% explained var	74.63	73.49	75.43	70.14
	Alpha	.93	.93	.93	.91
Civil servants	% explained var	65.31	69.46	71.54	65.07
	Alpha	.89	.91	.92	.89
Civil society	% explained var	81.13	76.48	80.98	72.77
	Alpha	.95	.94	.95	.92
Citizens	% explained var	71.15	73.54	77.35	72.22
	Alpha	.92	.93	.94	.92
Total sample	**% explained var**	**71.79**	**72.75**	**76.34**	**71.27**
	Alpha	**.92**	**.92**	**.94**	**.92**

Note. For civil servants, arguably a second factor emerged for the decisive mode (Eigenvalue = 1.21; % explained variance = 18.67). Yet, after rotation the Eigenvalue of this second factor fell below the 1.00 threshold (Eigenvalue = 0.92; % explained variance = 15.27).

Based on the exploratory factor analyses and the Cronbach's alpha values in both the individual subsamples and the total sample—and across all policy decision-making modes—we can conclude that the newly developed legitimacy measure is a reliable and empirically one-dimensional scale. In other words, in light of our first research question (**RQ1**), it can be concluded that the three components (input, throughput, and output legitimacy) form part of a unitary factor of perceived legitimacy. However, as we demonstrate in the following section, this does not imply that the scale and construct can be reduced to a single meaning or item.

6.2 Predictive Validity of the Legitimacy Scale Compared to Single Item Approaches

We next tested the predictive validity of the legitimacy scale (i.e., the average score of the six legitimacy items), compared to that of its individual items. Given that past research has often relied on one-item measures of legitimacy, mostly about how 'fair' a decision-making process is (De Fine Licht et al., 2014), the comparison with Item 4 of the scale ("Is a fair way of decision-making") is particularly interesting, exactly because this item taps into fairness. As a

dependent variable for our predictive power test, we used the overall favorability item ("I think this is a good way to decide what happens with the building") that was also assessed for each of the four policy decision-making modes.

Table 4 presents the standardized Beta-values in the total sample for the six-item scale, as well as for each of its individual items, signaling their predictive value as single-item measurement in explaining overall favorability. With the exception of two comparisons (out of 24), the legitimacy scale showed to be significantly more predictive for the overall favorability assessment of the different policy decision-making modes, compared to any individual item. Notably, this was also consistently the case for the fairness item (Item 4), which has often been used in the literature as a single-item measure of legitimacy, as well as for the items of effectiveness and efficiency (Items 5 and 6). It is noteworthy that in general the differences in effect between the legitimacy scale and the individual items are smaller for the output items and for the fairness item (respectively, Items 5 and 6, and Item 4). This seems to suggest that respondents' overall favorability assessment is more strongly guided by considerations of 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness' as well as 'fairness', than by 'people inclusiveness' and 'inclusiveness of interests', or, in other words, more by output and throughput considerations than by input considerations, which corresponds with the claim made by Werner and Marien (2022).

Similar analyses were also conducted for the four different subsamples. These analyses (of which the results are summarized in Appendix B) revealed that in 81 (out of 96) comparisons the legitimacy scale was significantly more predictive than the individual items. Importantly, in none of the 96 comparisons the individual items were significantly more predictive than the legitimacy scale.

TABLE 4. Predictive value of the individual items compared to the full scale (based on the total sample).

		β	Δβ	Z_H
Representative	**SCALE**	**.824**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.674	-.150	-30.84***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.641	-.183	-35.91***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.586	-.238	-40.59***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.791	-.033	-7.93***
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.781	-.043	-9.91***
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.735	-.089	-17.15***
Consultative	**SCALE**	**.831**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.626	-.205	-37.35***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.567	-.264	-42.97***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.656	-.175	-35.07***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.812	-.019	-4.94***
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.808	-.023	-5.92***
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.798	-.033	-7.94***
Co-decisive	**SCALE**	**.831**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.676	-.155	-33.78***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.636	-.195	-39.70***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.677	-.154	-35.60***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.797	-.034	-9.69***
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.801	-.030	-7.25***
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.784	-.047	-10.28***
Decisive	**SCALE**	**.809**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.599	-.210	-38.33***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.524	-.285	-45.06***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.591	-.218	-40.82***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.784	-.025	-6.44***
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.801	-.008	-1.72†
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.806	-.003	-0.63

Note. Δβ = βitem minus βscale. Z_H = An updated version of Steiger's *Z* test (for testing the statistical significance of the difference between dependent correlations). † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, **, $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

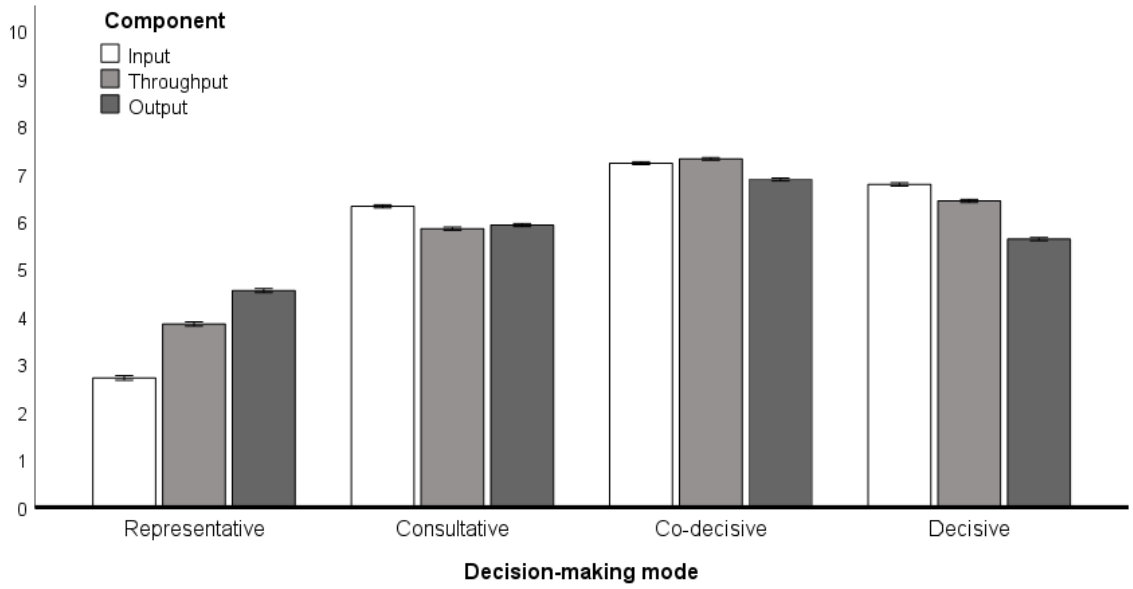
In sum, with regard to our second research question (**RQ2**), we can conclude that there is clear confirmation that a composed indicator (i.e., the average score of the six legitimacy items) provides more explanatory power than the individual legitimacy items for the overall favorability of each of the different modes of policy decision-making.

6.3 Meaningful Differences in Item Scores Across the Policy Decision-Making Modes

Although the newly developed scale (based on the average score of the six legitimacy items) can be considered as a reliable, one-dimensional instrument with significantly higher predictive power compared to the individual items, we argue that this does not mean that the item content and the theoretical distinction between input, throughput, and output legitimacy is irrelevant. In fact, nothing about the one-dimensional nature of the scale prevents particular items to be more sensitive than others for particular characteristics of the different policy decision-making modes under scrutiny.

To test this, we examined whether substantial differences in input, throughput, and output legitimacy items could be observed, depending on the policy decision-making mode that was judged. As can be seen in Figure 1, the most apparent differences occur in the two extreme modes: In the representative mode (no input from citizens), output legitimacy (‘effectiveness’ and ‘efficiency’) was judged significantly higher (all *p*s < .001) compared to throughput legitimacy (‘transparency’ and ‘fairness’) and especially input legitimacy (‘inclusion of interests’ and ‘people inclusiveness’); whereas the exact opposite is found at the other end of the participation spectrum, for the decisive mode in which citizens take the decision themselves (see Appendix C for more detailed statistics). As shown in Appendix D, this pattern of results emerged in each of the different subsamples of stakeholders.

FIGURE 1. Legitimacy scores in function of the different policy decision-making modes (based on the total sample). Error bars represent standard errors. The two items per component were averaged for visualization purposes.



These findings indicate that, even within the one-dimensional scale, respondents differentially appraise distinct aspect of legitimacy across different policy decision-making modes. In light of our third research question (**RQ3**), we can conclude that some legitimacy components are indeed more sensitive than others for particular characteristics of the different policy decision-making modes. As such, at the component level (input, throughput, output), valuable information about people's appreciation for different policy decision-making modes can be obtained, which would be lost when using only a single item (or one component) to measure legitimacy.

7. Discussion

The starting point of our research was the observation that there is a mismatch between the theoretical conceptualization of legitimacy in three components (input, throughput, and output) and its empirical operationalization (in which often one single item, frequently referring to 'fairness', is used). We argued and demonstrated, based on our analysis of over 4500

respondents, that legitimacy perceptions can best be measured with multiple items (in our case, six items; two of them always covering one component of the concept). Our approach allows the construction of a scale to measure the overall legitimacy perception, acknowledging the multifaceted nature of legitimacy and allowing to detect specific patterns of legitimacy according to the type of policy decision-making mode. As such, empirical and theoretical endeavors about legitimacy perceptions can be brought more in line with each other. We also emphasize here that the internal consistency, factor structure, and predictive power of the legitimacy measure we developed, as well as the assessment patterns at the item and component level for the policy decision-making modes, are nearly identical for politicians, civil servants, civil society, and citizens. This demonstrates that the four democratic stakeholders share a remarkably similar view on the *meaning* of legitimacy, which speaks for the generalizability of our approach. Evidently, this does not preclude that stakeholders differ in their legitimacy assessment of particular modes of policy decision-making.

In light of the first research question (**RQ1**), it can be concluded that the three legitimacy components form a unitary factor of perceived legitimacy. This one-dimensional structure emerged across the different policy decision-making modes and the different democratic stakeholders, attesting to its generalizability. From a purely conceptual perspective, this might be a surprising result, given that theoretically the three proposed components of legitimacy each capture a distinct and independent aspect of legitimacy. In the perception and assessment of respondents, however, there is a remarkable coherence in judging these different components of legitimacy. Indeed, people who score a particular policy decision-making mode *relatively* high on one component, are also more likely to score it *relatively* highly on the other components. It may indeed be sensible that people (implicitly) make a connection between different components, and that those who consider a policy decision-making mode as high in input legitimacy are more likely to also judge that mode higher in throughput and outcome legitimacy (compared to those who consider it low on input legitimacy). As such, people consider the

overall legitimacy concept more holistically than what theoretical approaches may predict. Strikingly, although one might expect such a holistic perception primarily to be present among lay people (i.e., ordinary citizens), the same pattern emerges for stakeholders that can be assumed politically more literate (i.e., politicians, civil servants, and civil society actors). This seems to indicate that even those who may be assumed to have more experience and professional affinity with policy-making, also approach the legitimacy issue in a similar holistic way. We can therefore conclude that when it comes to perceptions of legitimacy, across the board, the three components empirically form a multifaceted but one-dimensional construct. However, the findings related to our other two research questions immediately warn against an ill-advised simplification of the construct merely based on its one-dimensional factor structure.

Addressing the second research question (**RQ2**), the analyses demonstrate that the composed legitimacy scale provides significantly more explanatory power compared to the individual items, including the frequently-used ‘fairness’ item. Although our test of the predictive power was limited to only the overall favorability of each policy decision-making mode, the empirical results were again highly consistent across the four different democratic stakeholders (although with a few instances where the difference did not reach statistical significance). This consistently superior predictive power of the full scale compared to its individual items not only attests to the generalizability of the effect, but also clearly indicates that a multifaceted approach and measurement of legitimacy is warranted. A closer look at the predictive power of the individual items provides more insight into their respective relationships with the overall favorability assessment, showing consistent differences between the items, most noticeable between the input and the output items. In particular, the observed relationships seem to indicate that when democratic actors assess a certain process of policy decision-making as good on the overall favorability item, their judgment is more strongly guided by considerations of ‘efficiency’ and ‘effectiveness‘, as well as ‘fairness’ of the policy decision-making mode. This assertion, which was recently also put forward by Werner and Marien (2022), may be most

relevant for further empirical testing, to gain a better understanding of what 'good' policy decision making means for citizens and other political actors, and which role different legitimacy perceptions play in this judgment.

The results concerning the third research question (**RQ3**) additionally provide an important argument to avoid a too simplistic view on the legitimacy concept and measurement merely based on its one-dimensional structure. In particular, nothing about the one-dimensional nature of the scale prevents particular components to be more sensitive than others for particular characteristics of the different policy decision modes under scrutiny. Indeed, for all stakeholders, we found that judgments for the policy decision-making modes at the 'extremes' of the democratic participation range (the representative mode on the hand, and the decisive mode on the other hand) showed particular patterns that attest to the importance of considering the theoretical distinction between input, throughput, and output legitimacy, even in a one-dimensional scale. In particular, decision-making within a purely representative mode is judged more poorly in terms of input legitimacy compared to its assessment in terms of output legitimacy. The exact opposite pattern is found for a decision-making mode in which citizens have maximal autonomy in deciding on policies. Hence, although people clearly adopt a rather holistic assessment of legitimacy (as evidenced by the one-dimensional nature of the measure), they do not consider input, output, and throughput legitimacy as interchangeable, but evaluate particular policy decision-making modes on their merits for each of these components, resulting in distinctive 'legitimacy patterns'. In other words, they do appreciate that different policy decision-making modes can derive their legitimacy from different sources to different degrees. Whereas modes purely dependent on representation derive their (modest) perceived legitimacy more from output characteristics, modes that let citizens decide autonomously derive their legitimacy relatively more strongly from their input characteristics. For consultative and co-decisive modes, however, the sources of legitimacy are more balanced between input, throughput, and output characteristics.

Finally, some suggestions for further research can be formulated. First, we tested this approach through a vignette survey about the repurposing of an abandoned building, which is an important but not necessarily a highly contested or salient local policy issue. It would be good if our approach could also be tested in real-life cases (as a vignette survey always remains artificial) and on issues which are highly politically contested or salient. Secondly, our results suggest that there might be a difference in the relative importance of the three components, with input legitimacy being less important and output legitimacy and fairness being more important for the general evaluation (in terms of its overall favorability) of the policy decision-making modes. Future research could further explore how important each of the components of legitimacy are. This is especially relevant for policy-makers as it can inform them about which aspects they should prioritize when designing participatory projects when aiming to maximize perceptions of legitimacy across the different stakeholders: Should they first and foremost try to ensure that as many different layers of society as possible are heard, or should their priority rather be that policy output can be realized (in an effective and efficient way)?

8. Conclusion

Keeping in mind its purpose, a six-item scale was developed to reliably measure overall perceived legitimacy as an overarching construct, while seeking a balance between parsimony, and the content richness and multifaceted nature of the broad construct. The scale demonstrated excellent internal consistency and predictive power as an encompassing measure, but also still allowed a meaningful, more fine-grained analysis on difference patterns in the input, throughput, and output components of legitimacy. Moreover, given that the measure performed equally well capturing the perceptions of citizens, politicians, civil servants, and civil society actors alike, we believe the scale can provide a most relevant tool for future research that requires a relatively parsimonious, but multifaceted and versatile measurement of perceived legitimacy of different policy decision-making modes in governance contexts that are increasingly participatory.

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APPENDIX A

Local policy decision case (translated from Dutch)

Case Description

Please imagine this fictional situation:

"In the center of your community, a former high school has been vacant for several years. The building is owned by the municipality. Currently, it is unclear what should be done with this building. There are many possibilities, for example: a library, office spaces, a meeting center, a shopping center, a youth center, a residential care home, housing facilities, etc. Local government funds are available to realize this repurposing. The decision as to what will happen to the vacant school building can come about in several ways."

Case Variations

Please imagine that this decision is made as follows:

1. Representative mode

"The local government takes the initiative to think about the repurposing: They develop a plan themselves. Afterwards, the local government itself also decides what will happen with the school building."

2. Consultative mode

Government initiative:

"The local government takes the initiative to think about the repurposing: They ask residents of the municipality to give advice. Afterwards, the local government itself decides what will happen with the school building."

Citizens' initiative:

"Residents of the municipality take the initiative to approach the local government with an idea for the repurposing of the building. The local government receives the advice of the residents. Afterwards, the local government itself decides what will happen with the school building."

3. Co-decisive mode

Government initiative:

"The local government takes the initiative to think about the repurposing: They invite the residents of the municipality to develop concrete plans. Afterwards, these residents decide together with the local government what will happen with the school building."

Citizens' initiative:

"Residents of the municipality take the initiative to approach the local government with an idea for the repurposing of the building. These residents are given the opportunity to develop concrete plans. Afterwards, these residents decide together with the local government what will happen with the school building."

4. Decisive mode

Government initiative:

"The local government takes the initiative to think about the repurposing: They invite the residents of the municipality to develop concrete plans. Afterwards, the residents themselves decide what will happen with the school building. The local government then formally approves the decision."

Citizens' initiative:

"Residents of the municipality take the initiative to approach the local government with an idea for the repurposing of the building. These residents are given the opportunity to develop concrete plans. Afterwards, these residents themselves decide what will happen with the school building. The local government then formally approves the decision."

APPENDIX B

Predictive value of the individual items compared to the full scale (for each subsample)

TABLE B1. Politicians (*N* = 1156).

		β	Δβ	Z_H
Representative	**SCALE**	**.874**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.779	-.095	-13.42***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.734	-.140	-17.32***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.642	-.232	-22.13***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.822	-.052	-7.48***
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.807	-.067	-9.30***
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.759	-.115	-12.92***
Consultative	**SCALE**	**.833**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.629	-.204	-18.94***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.582	-.251	-21.00***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.664	-.169	-17.71***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.805	-.028	-3.65***
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.811	-.022	-2.83*
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.812	-.021	-2.66*
Co-decisive	**SCALE**	**.804**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.613	-.191	-19.07***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.602	-.202	-19.73***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.634	-.170	-17.89***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.753	-.051	-6.49***
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.815	.011	1.29
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.795	-.009	-0.94
Decisive	**SCALE**	**.771**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.551	-.220	-18.91***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.499	-.272	-20.59***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.537	-.234	-20.14***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.743	-.028	-3.24**
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.781	.010	0.97
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.786	.015	1.39

Note. † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

TABLE B2. Civil servants (*N* = 949).

		β	Δβ	Z_H
Representative	**SCALE**	**.790**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.626	-.164	-12.73***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.572	-.218	-15.50***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.482	-.308	-18.81***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.710	-.080	-6.79***
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.778	-.012	-1.15
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.689	-.101	-7.46***
Consultative	**SCALE**	**.823**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.637	-.186	-15.51***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.574	-.249	-18.89***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.581	-.242	-18.86***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.783	-.040	-4.17***
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.806	-.017	-1.76†
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.776	-.047	-4.37***
Co-decisive	**SCALE**	**.801**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.639	-.162	-14.01***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.551	-.250	-19.83***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.599	-.202	-17.66***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.787	-.014	-1.59
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.781	-.020	-1.84†
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.748	-.053	-4.33***
Decisive	**SCALE**	**.775**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.542	-.233	-17.53***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.429	-.346	-21.15***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.511	-.264	-19.05***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.766	-.009	-0.90
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.781	.006	0.48
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.780	.005	0.38

Note. † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

TABLE B3. Civil society (*N* = 273).

		β	Δβ	Z_H
Representative	**SCALE**	**.847**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.774	-.073	-4.80***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.760	-.087	-8.13***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.686	-.161	-9.15***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.824	-.023	-4.10***
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.781	-.066	-6.69***
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.756	-.091	-7.49***
Consultative	**SCALE**	**.855**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.691	-.164	-7.96***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.651	-.204	-9.30***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.736	-.119	-6.82***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.802	-.053	-3.84***
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.816	-.039	-3.00**
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.786	-.069	-4.65***
Co-decisive	**SCALE**	**.866**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.755	-.111	-7.62***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.716	-.150	-9.22***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.806	-.060	-5.06***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.837	-.029	-2.62**
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.804	-.062	-4.28***
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.767	-.099	-5.53***
Decisive	**SCALE**	**.809**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.614	-.195	-8.98***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.544	-.265	-10.66***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.601	-.208	-9.95***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.768	-.041	-2.86**
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.811	.002	0.11
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.799	-.010	-0.52

† $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

TABLE B4. Citizens (*N* = 2205).

		β	Δβ	Z_H
Representative	**SCALE**	**.800**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.612	-.188	-23.93***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.591	-.209	-26.71***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.572	-.228	-26.84***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.806	.006	0.99
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.765	-.035	-5.05***
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.731	-.069	-8.75***
Consultative	**SCALE**	**.830**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.616	-.214	-26.65***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.559	-.271	-30.31***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.665	-.165	-23.29***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.828	-.002	-0.38
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.805	-.025	-4.59***
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.799	-.031	-5.36***
Co-decisive	**SCALE**	**.843**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.705	-.138	-21.93***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.654	-.189	-27.13***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.702	-.141	-23.79***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.809	-.034	-7.03***
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.796	-.047	-8.35***
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.779	-.064	-10.35***
Decisive	**SCALE**	**.821**		
	Item 1 (inclusiveness of interests)	.620	-.201	-25.73***
	Item 2 (people inclusiveness)	.522	-.299	-32.70***
	Item 3 (transparency)	.618	-.203	-27.48***
	Item 4 (fairness)	.793	-.028	-5.09***
	Item 5 (effectiveness)	.805	-.016	-2.60**
	Item 6 (efficiency)	.808	-.013	-2.02*

Note. † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

APPENDIX C

Differences between the six legitimacy items

TABLE C1. Results of pairwise comparisons (based on the total sample).

	I	J	Δ*M*	*SE*	*p*	95% CI	
Representative	Item 1	Item 2	.384	.024	<.001	.337	.431
		Item 3	-.913	.042	<.001	-.995	-.831
		Item 4	-.961	.041	<.001	-1.042	-.880
		Item 5	-1.450	.041	<.001	-1.530	-1.370
		Item 6	-1.830	.045	.000	-1.917	-1.742
	Item 2	Item 3	-1.297	.041	<.001	-1.376	-1.217
		Item 4	-1.345	.043	<.001	-1.429	-1.261
		Item 5	-1.834	.043	.000	-1.917	-1.750
		Item 6	-2.214	.046	.000	-2.304	-2.123
	Item 3	Item 4	-.048	.043	.256	-.132	.035
		Item 5	-.537	.044	<.001	-.622	-.452
		Item 6	-.917	.046	<.001	-1.008	-.826
	Item 4	Item 5	-.489	.031	<.001	-.549	-.428
		Item 6	-.869	.033	<.001	-.933	-.804
	Item 5	Item 6	-.380	.022	<.001	-.424	-.337
Consultative	Item 1	Item 2	.136	.021	<.001	.094	.178
		Item 3	.591	.030	<.001	.532	.649
		Item 4	.481	.031	<.001	.421	.541
		Item 5	.484	.030	<.001	.426	.543
		Item 6	.436	.030	<.001	.376	.495
	Item 2	Item 3	.455	.032	<.001	.393	.516
		Item 4	.345	.034	<.001	.278	.412
		Item 5	.348	.033	<.001	.283	.413
		Item 6	.300	.034	<.001	.234	.366
	Item 3	Item 4	-.110	.026	<.001	-.160	-.059
		Item 5	-.106	.028	<.001	-.161	-.052
		Item 6	-.155	.029	<.001	-.211	-.098
	Item 4	Item 5	.003	.019	.875	-.035	.041
		Item 6	-.045	.021	.034	-.087	-.003
	Item 5	Item 6	-.048	.014	<.001	-.076	-.021

Table C1 continued

	I	J	Δ*M*	*SE*	*p*	95% CI	
Co-decisive	Item 1	Item 2	.400	.020	<.001	.362	.439
		Item 3	.173	.021	<.001	.132	.214
		Item 4	.049	.021	.019	.008	.090
		Item 5	.426	.025	<.001	.377	.475
		Item 6	.655	.028	<.001	.601	.709
	Item 2	Item 3	-.227	.022	<.001	-.270	-.185
		Item 4	-.351	.025	<.001	-.400	-.303
		Item 5	.026	.029	.373	-.031	.083
		Item 6	.255	.030	<.001	.196	.315
	Item 3	Item 4	-.124	.019	<.001	-.162	-.086
		Item 5	.253	.025	<.001	.205	.302
		Item 6	.482	.026	<.001	.431	.534
	Item 4	Item 5	.377	.020	<.001	.338	.417
		Item 6	.606	.023	<.001	.562	.651
	Item 5	Item 6	.229	.015	<.001	.200	.258
Decisive	Item 1	Item 2	.008	.025	.749	-.041	.058
		Item 3	.120	.026	<.001	.068	.171
		Item 4	.580	.028	<.001	.526	.635
		Item 5	1.024	.033	<.001	.959	1.088
		Item 6	1.273	.035	<.001	1.205	1.341
	Item 2	Item 3	.111	.026	<.001	.060	.163
		Item 4	.572	.031	<.001	.511	.633
		Item 5	1.015	.037	<.001	.943	1.088
		Item 6	1.265	.038	<.001	1.191	1.339
	Item 3	Item 4	.461	.027	<.001	.409	.513
		Item 5	.904	.032	<.001	.840	.968
		Item 6	1.154	.034	<.001	1.088	1.219
	Item 4	Item 5	.443	.025	<.001	.394	.493
		Item 6	.693	.027	<.001	.640	.745
	Item 5	Item 6	.250	.016	<.001	.218	.282

Note. ΔM = I minus J. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (LSD).

APPENDIX D

Legitimacy scores in function of the different policy decision-making modes (for each subsample)

FIGURE D1. Politicians

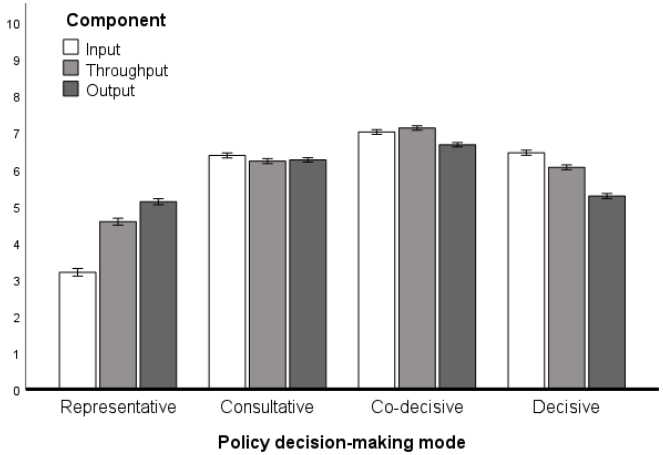

FIGURE D2. Civil servants

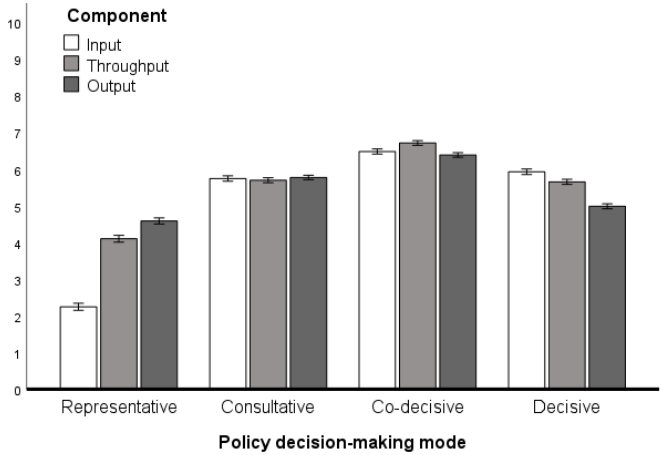

FIGURE D3. Civil society

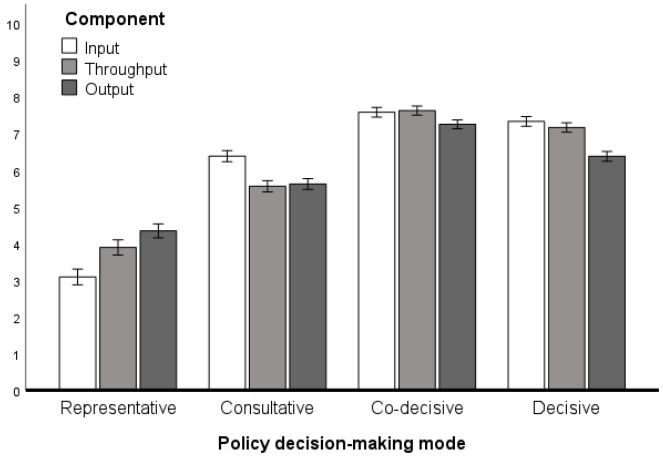

FIGURE D4. Citizens