

Original Papers

Polish Psychological Bulletin
 2020, vol. 51(2) 126–138
 DOI –10.24425/ppb.2020.133770

Tomasz Prusiński*

What Motivates People to Comply With the Law and Regard It as Legitimate in the Polish System of Justice? The Identification and Analysis of the Construct of Procedural Justice

Abstract: People appear in the courtroom when they engage in various disputes with others and have diverse problems of their own. The courts are supposed to provide them with a space where they can obtain justice, in accordance with the law. It is no less important, however, that while pursuing this goal the courts should deal with people's problems in a way that makes the people willing to accept and comply with their decisions. The central issue defining the scope of this empirical study was the question of what element of the construct of procedural justice promotes behaviors associated with legitimacy and compliance with the law in the Polish judicial system. The author set out to investigate what identified procedural justice in Polish legal culture and what variables pertaining to the context of legal proceedings it was related to. The sample consisted of 115 individuals taking part in civil court proceedings conducted in civil divisions of district courts. Based on analyses performed on research results it can be concluded that behaviors associated with legitimacy and compliance with the law in the Polish judicial system is determined by the sense of fairness experienced in the courtroom, whose structure is built by experiences such as being given the opportunity to speak, being treated with respect, the judge's impartiality, the comprehensibility of the language used and procedures applied in the courtroom, and the sense of influence on the final outcome of the proceedings.

Keywords: procedural justice, judicial system, courts, civil cases, compliance with decision

Introduction

The distribution of mankind's resources extends across all levels and domains of human life. The greatest amount of attention is devoted to those resources that, for various reasons, are scarce or rare. Family, friendship relations, work, sports, politics, as well as social, economic, and national organizations—in each of these domains the distribution of limited resources is an important issue, but also a problematic one. Particularly if something is in short supply or if access to it is limited, people evaluate the way it is distributed, assessing the subjective benefits of outcomes and decisions. At the level of individual expectations and the consequences of contact with the allocating institution, the process of exchange is evaluated against the criteria of fairness and justice. The estimation and appraisal of social experiences in these terms is considered part of human social nature (Lind & Tyler, 1988).

A number researchers focus their empirical explorations and theoretical findings around the concept of

procedural justice. Many of them reflect on the importance of this construct by engaging in its in-depth analysis and identifying its potentially important dimensions. Others ask questions about how cognition and emotions shape the perception of justice (Barsky & Kaplan, 2007; Folger & Cropanzano, 2001; Lind, 2001) and about how these observations affect subsequent attitudes and behaviors (Blader & Tyler, 2003; Lind, 2001). Many studies have shown that the perception of fairness explains unique variance in key human social behaviors, including organizational commitment, trust in management and authority, civic behaviors, counterproductive behaviors, and task performance (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Colquitt et al., 2001).

Each successive study expands the picture of the concept of justice, though neither the structure of the construct nor the model of its relationships to other psychological variables, particularly those from the context of personality metatrait, has been precisely established. Generally speaking, the main institutional

* Institute of Psychology, The Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw

Corresponding author: Tomasz Prusiński, tomasz.prusinski@op.pl

areas in which institutional justice is investigated are associated with the work environment (Rousseau et al., 2009); some of the empirical studies are focused on a narrow social group: the police (Sunshine & Tyler 2003; Tyler & Huo 2002) or patients in the health care system (Mentovich, Rhee, & Tyler, 2014). There are also studies devoted to the issue of institutional fairness in the judicial system (Blader & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2007). This last area—or, more precisely, the institution of legal proceedings—is what the author of this paper has been interested in. The contribution of Polish psychologists to empirical research into this area conducted to date can still be called marginal.

The aim of the empirical research presented in this article was to measure institutional justice in the Polish judicial system—more specifically, in the courtroom. As it turns out, subjective satisfaction derived from contact with the court consists in something more than merely the achievement of favorable outcomes. The judicial system is subjectively evaluated (Lind & Tyler, 1988). It is the analysis of this particular dimension of institutional fairness—i.e., procedural justice—that the present article is devoted to. It transpires that procedural justice increases the perceived legitimacy of authority and encourages people to comply with the decisions and rulings issued in court (Murphy, Tyler, & Curtis, 2009).

The Model of Procedural Justice

The earliest studies on justice were focused on distinguishing between distributive and procedural justice (Colquitt, 2012). Homans (1961) and Adams (1963) drew attention to the issue of individuals' share in the limited pool of resources that an institution has at its disposal—that is, to distributive justice. The term “procedural justice,” proposed by Thibaut and Walker (1975), emerged from analyses of legal proceedings.

Researchers have been debating what exactly procedural justice is since the study by Thibaut and Walker (1975). By distinguishing process control and outcome control and by arguing that these forms of control influenced the perceived fairness of procedures, these authors opened the theoretical debate on many different elements of procedural justice, which continues to this day. Many models of procedural justice have been proposed (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tomkins & Applequist, 2008; Törnblom & Vermunt, 2016).

An important contribution to this debate was made by Leventhal (1980; see also Jackson & Colquitt, 2006). He stressed that high perceived procedural justice, built both in conditions of allocation of goods and in conditions of dispute, is determined by several elements: consistency and accuracy of information obtained by the decision maker, temporal and interpersonal equality (meaning that everyone goes through the same procedures, which work in the same way each time), compliance of the institution's functioning with moral standards, the existence of a mechanism of appeal (making it possible to correct erroneous analyses and wrong decisions), decision maker's independence, and equal representation of the parties (which

means that each party has the same opportunity to present their stance). These characteristics, however, did not emerge from a strong theoretical tradition (Lind & Tyler, 1988), and they have been subject to little empirical analysis (Blader & Tyler, 2003). It is believed that they do not represent the full model of procedural justice (Cropanzano & Greenberg, 1997; Lind & Tyler, 1988), and they did not have a fundamental influence on subsequent studies seeking a model of procedural justice (Tyler et al., 1997). In this model, too much attention is devoted to formal issues involved in the functioning of institutions.

In further studies, researchers paid attention to the highly important variable of voice as a key element of procedural justice. It was pointed out that those institutional decisions which the organization's members take part in constructing and possibly modifying are evaluated as more just (Greenberg & Folger, 1983). This factor would prove to be valid and permanently remained part of what is probably one of the most important theoretical proposals modeling the structure of justice—the Tylerian model of procedural justice (Tyler, 2007).

A parallel debate concerned the dimensions of procedural justice itself. What enabled a major step forward was Greenberg's (1986) research on institutional justice. After an analysis, he confirmed the two-factor solution in which, apart from the distributive factor, also a separate procedural factor manifested itself. Importantly, the procedural factor largely overlapped with the institutional justice dimension that Thibaut and Walker (1975) identified in their theory.

The studies by Bies (1986) and, later, by Moorman (1991), which were attempts to revise to the two-factor model of justice, introduced one more dimension: interactional justice. Although authors cited the results of factor analyses to argue that the third dimension differed from the other two, it was debated for the next several years whether or not this form of justice could really be distinguished from procedural justice. Some researchers decided that it was a dimension of procedural justice (Greenberg, Bies, & Eskew, 1991). Sufficient agreement on these issues has not been reached, however (Bobocel & Holmvall, 2001).

The 1980s saw the publication of Tyler's (1988) key studies, too. Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, the model proposed by Tyler and colleagues was tested many times, and their last studies suggest that it attained a relatively stable form (Blader & Tyler 2003; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler, 2007), although there are also studies that modify it (Burdziej, 2018). This model has been used to assess the relationship between fair procedures and people's evaluations in areas such as law enforcement bodies, legal institutions (Murphy, 2005; Tyler, 2007), interactions between authority and individuals in environments such as the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), young offenders' institutions, health service (Mentovich, Rhee, & Tyler, 2014), and work places. The value of this model has been confirmed many times (Blader & Tyler, 2003; Farley, Jensen, & Rempel; 2014; Tyler, 2007). In Poland, so far,

research on Tyler's model has been conducted by Burdziej, who worked on his own (Burdziej, 2018) and with a team of collaborators (Burdziej, Guzik, & Pilitowski, 2018).

What is important, Tyler and Lind underscored the link between procedural justice and the individual's status in the group. This resulted in a modification of Tyler and Lind's early proposals (1992; Tyler, Degoey, & Smith, 1996), which consisted in taking account of a more general, relational model of institutional authority. It was pointed out that in hierarchical contacts with authority people were particularly sensitive to those aspects of the decision making process that reflected their status in the group, especially the lowering of that status. A more recent study by Tyler and Blader (2000) shows, for instance, that the nature of procedural justice is both formal and interactional (informal), associated with actions performed by a specific decision maker and with the person whom the decision concerns being given a chance to speak (the expressive-symbolic dimension). Earlier research, whose pioneers were Thibaut and Walker (1975), frequently underestimated this issue, focusing on the formal aspects of decision making processes (Burdziej, 2018).

Thanks to the results obtained by Tyler (2007), the dominant view is that people value the just decision making process as such. This also refers to those people who are not satisfied with the decision. As already mentioned, procedure is understood as encompassing not only the formal features of a given decision making process but also informal and subjective issues (such as the way of treating the people whom decisions concern; Burdziej, 2018; Tyler, Degoey, & Smith, 1996). What people regard as a just way of making decisions has been reconstructed in the form of a four-component model.

In the courtroom, the model comprises: voice, respect, neutrality, and understanding. High perceived procedural justice manifests itself in the fact that the person whose case is decided in court feels that they have been treated with attention and respect, that they have been given sufficient opportunity to present their position, that the language in the courtroom was clear and comprehensible and so is the content of the decision, and that the decision maker was fair and neutral.

In Polish sociological studies (Burdziej, 2018; Burdziej, Guzik, & Pilitowski, 2018), the structure of procedural justice based on the Tylerian model is composed of five factors. Apart from voice, understanding, neutrality, and respect, a clearly distinct factor is influence—meaning the sense of influence on court proceedings and on the judge's decision.

Sometimes trust is added as one more dimension, which seems to be a complex one in itself and partly related, for instance, to the decision maker's neutrality (Burdziej, 2018). The feeling that the decision making process is fair and that the decision maker maintains impartiality, as well as other courtroom experiences, result in a feeling that the judge is trustworthy. Occasionally, there also appears a dimension referred to as friendliness, understood as a feeling that the decision maker shows interest in the needs of the individual whose case he or

she is to decide, and a dimension referred to as influence, understood as the belief that the individual's words can influence the judge's decisions, that his or her expectations can potentially be met, and that they will be reflected in the judge's decision and words (Cattaneo & Goodman, 2010; Burdziej, 2018).

Considering the above comments concerning the diligence of previous research, the temporal stability of the model (which was subject to numerous modifications made by Tyler himself), and the diversity of institutions in which it was tested, I assumed that Tyler's model, which organizes procedural justice into a five-factor structure (I also take account of the results of the latest research conducted by my Polish colleague; Burdziej, 2018), provides the most appropriate theoretical framework that can and should be further verified, for example in the present study. This model has been tested many times in the context of the functioning of the judicial system, and it is this institution that the present paper is also devoted to. What is more, using the model of procedural justice that has been tested several times before offers one other advantage: the possibility of making direct comparisons between the existing results, based on the so far small empirical material obtained in the context of the Polish judicial system.

Procedural Justice in the Courtroom and Compliance With the Law

Tyler (2007) underscores that the institution of court is an arena of constant tensions. People come to the courts about problems and unresolved disputes. The increasingly broad spectrum of unresolved problems and fears defines the area of their current personal helplessness, lack of resources, and lack of coping skills. The resources distributed in legal proceedings are considerable, the burdens distributed are considerable too, and the distribution time is of crucial importance for the individual and his or her mental as well as social functioning. The people who bring their problems to court are diverse in terms of social background and, nowadays, sometimes also in terms of ethnicity. Most of them come from backgrounds where trust in the institutions of authority is not high. Procedural justice relating to the fairness of legal proceedings, through which individuals evaluate how optimally the decision has been made, is of key importance here (Calton & Cattaneo, 2014; Tomkins & Applequist, 2008; Tyler, 2010).

Procedural justice is an important factor in the courtroom, because one of the essential purposes of the law is to resolve a conflict. The resolution, however, must be carried out in such a way as to remove tensions and develop the social tissue, encouraging further productive exchange between individuals. Therefore, since the resources to be distributed by the court are limited, and since, by their very nature, the restrictions imposed inspire aversion to the institution that imposes them, authors note that what can build subjective satisfaction of the parties to legal proceedings and reduce the tension generated by the conflict is not only the outcome of the proceedings but also

the manner in which the outcome has been brought about (Lind & Tyler, 1988).

Moreover, many of the individual's contacts with the institution of court are unintended, and those that are intentionally initiated often involve having decisions and rulings imposed on you. Thus, the authority of the institution of court is constantly at risk of being evaluated by the person who comes into contact with the judicial system. Fair procedures therefore enhance the stability of the institutional process in two ways (Tyler, 1997): they not only induce the individual's satisfaction associated with the experience of legal institutions but also protect the institution of legal proceedings against hostility if the decision made is unacceptable to one of the parties.

Procedural justice is a factor that motivates people to develop attitudes and behaviors involved in compliance with legal regulations (Winter & May, 2001; Murphy, 2005; Tyler, 2006). Research shows that a high level of procedural fairness enhances an authority's legitimacy and encourages people to comply with an authority's decisions and rules (Murphy, Tyler, & Curtis, 2009). This is an important and empirically justified view, which the present article addresses. The individual's experience of justice in legal proceedings can induce him or her to voluntarily comply with the decisions in the long-term perspective and to use support from this institution in the future (Zweig & Burt, 2003).

Research on the construct of procedural justice has contributed to the conclusion that between the deterrence view, according to which what motivates people to obey the law is severe sanctions and high penalties, and the accommodative view, pointing to delicate persuasion as the motivator (Ayres & Braithwaite, 1992), there is one other solution, whose core is the procedural justice discussed here.

The value of the deterrence approach has been challenged by researchers, who have demonstrated that the use of threat and legal authority, particularly when it is perceived as unreasonable, can be counterproductive (Bardach & Kagan, 1982; Fehr & Rockenbach, 2003; Murphy, 2004; Unnever, Colvin, & Cullen, 2004). The basic motivation behind the accommodative view is not to punish evil but to repair the harm done by noncompliance with regulations (Black, 2001). Murphy and colleagues (Murphy, Tyler, & Curtis, 2009) stress that behavior associated with obeying the law and the attitude of trust in the court as an institution are strongly related to what view of justice and injustice a given individual holds. Individual judgment concerning the justice experienced in the courtroom plays an important role in making decisions about compliance with the obligations imposed by the judicial system and about obeying its rulings.

As demonstrated in the sociological research conducted by Pilitowski and Burdziej (2016), from the perspective of people's evaluations of contact with "the third power" it is equally important, and in some cases even more important, how they have been treated. Even those who lose leave the courtroom with a sense of justice and with unshaken trust in the court as an institution if they

have been treated with respect (Clawson, Kegler, & Waltenberg, 2001; Reisig, Bratton, & Gertz, 2007).

The view that procedural justice is an important factor motivating individuals to recognize and obey the law in the judicial system is supported by the research and theoretical findings reported by Burdziej (2018), who points out that legitimacy is not merely an objective outcome of an authority fulfilling certain objective conditions. The recognition of legal decisions as legitimate is an outcome of the subjective feeling experienced by people who are subject to the authority. This feeling leads to the belief that one should comply with the authority's decisions or that the authority has the right to expect voluntary compliance with its orders. But the central condition of this feeling is the prior experience of fairness and justice of the procedures as applied by those who manage the legal process.

Procedural Justice in the Polish Courts: The Problem and Aim of the Present Study

So far, there has been little empirical material provided by systematic research on the experience of contact with courts and on the evaluation of this experience using the theory of procedural justice in Polish legal culture from a social science perspective.

The majority of the existing studies were conducted by sociologists of law and by lawyers (Burdziej, Guzik, & Pilitowski, 2018; Kurczewski, 1982; Kurczewski & Fuszara, 2004). What dominates in the understanding of procedural justice is philosophical and legal perspectives; the conceptualization of institutional justice in accordance with the strategies adopted in the social sciences is only marginally present. Burdziej (2018) notes that in the legal perspective the procedural effect is equated with the guarantees specified in the codes and with legal regulations. But the formal features of courtroom proceedings are insufficient, because they lose the subjective evaluation made by the individual whom decisions concern (Tyler, 2007).

Tankebe (2013) observes that geographical as well as historical and institutional circumstances are significant for the perception of procedural justice. The law is not universal; there are significant differences in legal proceedings between the *common law* environment, characteristic of Anglo-Saxon countries, and the *civil law* environment, which exists also in Poland. The Poles have experienced a few different judicial systems, too. Due to the numerous historical experiences, the initial level of citizens' trust in the third power still remains relatively low.

Also, in view of the diversity of types of proceedings conducted in court, the existing empirical material concerning procedural justice seems to be incomplete. Most people appear in court in the course of civil proceedings, and their experience differs from that which one gets in criminal proceedings (Sifrer, Mesko, & Bren, 2015). Empirical studies predominantly concern criminal cases and focus on women and children as victims of violence and rape (Ptacek, 1999). The aim of the present study is to fill this gap by investigating individuals taking

part in civil proceedings. Civil cases are highly important for deliberations on the justice and injustice of legal proceedings, since the resources and burdens distributed in these proceedings are considerably large. As a result, the contribution of the subjectively perceived fairness of the trial and the subjectively perceived justice of procedures and individuals seems to be high (Rottman & Tyler, 2014).

To sum up, different models of the judicial system and legal proceedings may generate different expectations in the beneficiaries of the court, which is not without influence on the experience of procedural justice (Burdziej, Guzik, & Pilitowski, 2018). These and other circumstances described above justify undertaking empirical research.

Therefore, since procedural justice encourages attitudes and behaviors legitimizing an authority and motivates people to comply with the court's decisions and rulings (Winter & May, 2001; Murphy, 2005; Murphy, Tyler, & Curtis, 2009), the analysis and identification of those of its dimensions that play an important role in the Polish judicial system is a valuable objective and needs to be accomplished. The central issue defining the scope of this empirical study was the question of what element of the construct of procedural justice shapes behaviors related to legitimacy and compliance with the law in the Polish judicial system. I decided to check what identified procedural justice in Polish legal culture. I hypothesized (H1) that being given an opportunity to speak (Voice), being treated with respect (Respect) and impartiality (Neutrality), as well as the sense of understanding (Understanding) and having an influence on the course of court proceedings (Influence) identified the structure of procedural justice.

An additional aim allowing for a more complete analysis of procedural justice was to establish what variables from the context of legal proceedings procedural justice was related to.

The need to establish this kind of relations is justified by the results of earlier studies. Tyler points out that the social expectation of procedural justice is universal and that this type of justice is expected to an equal degree by people who vary in terms of education level, age, and income (Tyler & Lind, 1988; Tyler, 1994; Tyler, 2007; Tyler, 2010). Likewise, the meta-analyses by Cohen-Charash and Spector (2001) provide little evidence that men and women differ in their evaluations of procedural justice.

However, more recent analyses by Fine and Cauffman (2015) and by McLean and colleagues (2019) indicate that evaluations concerning procedural justice (e.g., in the context of police–youth relations) change over time when individuals make a transition from youth to adulthood. Some studies reported in the criminological literature highlight that procedural justice differs depending on the characteristics of the neighborhood (e.g., social disorganization), which would suggest that place of residence does influence the evaluation of procedural justice.

Also the results of analyses concerning selected demographic variables, presented in a Polish study by

Burdziej (2018), lead to conclusions that are different from Tyler's. A significant variable is sex: men tend to judge procedural justice more critically than women do. The same study provides an analysis of correlations between procedural justice and control variables, such as age or education. The analyses show that there is no correlation between age and procedural justice; the same is the case for the education variable. Other research results, however, indicate that the variables related to procedural justice are sex, education, and financial situation (Burdziej, Guzik, & Pilitowski, 2018). Those who are wealthier and better educated evaluate the institution higher in terms of procedural justice. Earlier studies McFarlin and Sweeney (1992) reveal low correlations of sex and age with perceived procedural justice too. The links between gender and procedural justice are also mentioned by Frazer (2006).

The already mentioned results of the research conducted by Burdziej's team (Burdziej, 2018; Burdziej, Guzik, & Pilitowski, 2018) indicate that many variables describing the context of the lawsuit may be significant for procedural justice evaluations. It is nevertheless emphasized, of course, that particularly the instrumental factors, which are often seen as explaining the relatively high degree of dissatisfaction with the functioning of courts among the Polish people, may be of secondary importance. What turned out to be significant was, for instance, the relationship between time investment and procedural justice (negative correlation). It is noted that the type of proceedings an individual is taking part in or the role he or she has in court may be significant. It may make a difference whether the proceedings are criminal or civil, or whether the individual is a plaintiff or a defendant. The results of public opinion polls in Polish society draw attention to the fact that, according to the Poles, the lengthiness of legal proceedings is one of the main factors decreasing their evaluation of the Polish judicial system.

All these issues are important; based on the studies cited above it is difficult to unambiguously determine the presence and strength of these links. These issues require further research, which is why in the present study I decided to investigate these relations.

I formulated two hypotheses. One of them (H2) concerned the differentiation of procedural justice according to demographic variables and read as follows: sex, age, education, and place of residence differentiate procedural justice evaluations. The other hypothesis (H3) concerned the relationship the variables from the context of the current lawsuit (type of participation in the proceedings; which case in court—first or other—this has been for the subject to take part in as a party to the proceedings; whether the trial concluded in a decision or ruling; the significance of the decision; the number of visits to the court in connection with the current case; the duration of the case; financial expenses incurred in connection with the case) to perceived procedural justice and read: variables pertaining to the context of legal proceedings determine procedural justice evaluations. Figure 1 presents a graphic illustration of the hypotheses tested.

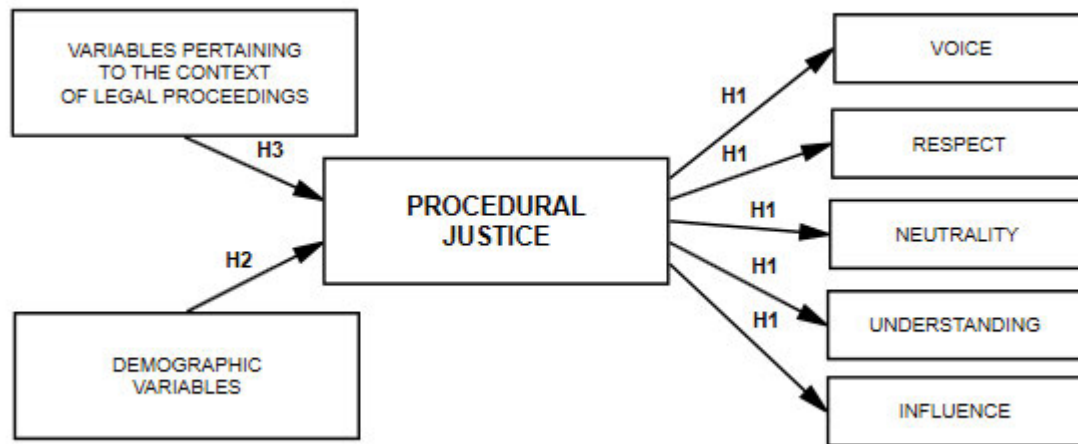


Figure 1. Graphic model of the relationships between procedural justice, its dimensions, demographic variables, and variables pertaining to the context of legal proceedings.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 115 subjects (63 women and 52 men) aged between 20 and 75 ($M = 43.94$, $SD = 15.13$) taking part in civil proceedings in civil divisions of district courts. The condition the subjects had to meet was taking part in a lawsuit as a party to the proceedings, in the capacity of a plaintiff or defendant. As far as education level is concerned, the largest group were subjects with higher education (41.7%) and secondary education (34.7%). Approximately a half of the sample—51.3% of the subjects—did not use an attorney in the course of the proceedings. Of those who did, 34.8% had hired an attorney on their own. For 58.3% of the subjects, the object of evaluation was their first participation in civil litigation as a party to the proceedings; 62.6% of the subjects took part in the lawsuit as plaintiffs bringing a civil action, while the remaining ones (37.4%) were those against whom an action had been brought. The sample did not include individuals who had filed a counterclaim against the plaintiff. In 70% of civil cases, the judge did not adjudicate on the case and did not announce the decision after the sitting.

Procedure

Procedural justice measurement was performed after the end of the court sitting during which the subject was given an opportunity to speak. I made sure that the subjects had just experienced taking part in a court session during which basic interactions with the judge enabled them to form an opinion about the fairness of the proceedings and the honesty of the judge's work and to experience courtroom reality.

Before the study, each participant was informed about its purpose and asked for consent to take part in it. After giving such consent, the participant completed the measure—i.e., the Procedural Justice Scale—and a respondents' particulars survey, with questions about sociodemographic data and about variables pertaining to the context of court proceedings.

The participant received no remuneration for taking part in the study. Prior to conducting the study, I obtained permission from the presidents of the district courts on whose premises research was to be conducted.

Measures

Procedural Justice Scale (PJS)

Procedural justice was measured with the Procedural Justice Scale (PJS). This measure operationalizes Tyler's (2007) model of procedural justice, which was adapted to the Polish conditions by Burdziej and colleagues (Burdziej, 2018; Burdziej, Guzik, & Pilitowski, 2018). In the Polish version of the scale, the operationalized model is a five-factor one; apart from the four subscales suggested by Tyler, it also includes the Influence subscale. The PJS consists of 22 items; seven of them are reverse-coded and the remaining ones are positively keyed. It is a self-report measure with a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The reliability of the PJS is $\alpha = .89$. Scores can be computed for five subscales: Voice, Neutrality, Respect, Influence, and Understanding.

Demographic variables and lawsuit context variables survey

In the research presented in this paper, PJS was supplemented by an elaborate survey, enabling control for demographic variables and variables pertaining to the context of the current lawsuit. The survey contained questions about standard sociodemographic data, such as: sex, age, education, and place of residence; it also contained questions about variables significant from the point of view of the investigated issues: type of participation in the proceedings (plaintiff/defendant); which case in court—first or other—this has been for the subject, whether the proceedings concluded in a decision or ruling, the significance of the decision, the number of visits to the court in connection with the current case, the duration of the case, and financial expenses incurred in connection with the case.

Results

Procedural Justice Identification:

The Results of Confirmatory Factor Analysis

The confirmatory factor analysis testing the difference between the theoretical variance-covariance matrix arising from the assessed model and the empirical matrix in the sample that was used to test the first hypothesis (H1). I tested whether the hypothesized components of procedural justice indeed represented the way in which people experience procedural justice in the courtroom in the Polish judicial system.

Four models were tested. Their graphic illustration is presented in Figure 2

The value of the proposed model was tested both based on the overall fit of the five-factor model and through the comparison of this model with alternative ones in terms of fit in order to establish if other structures of procedural justice dimensions yield better or equally good descriptions of how people organize their beliefs about the justice of court proceedings. This course of action is recommended in the literature (Bartholomew et al., 2008; Blader & Tyler, 2003).

Apart from the main model, I also tested a simplified five-factor model, not affected by small sample size bias and making it possible to avoid the risk of increasing the likelihood of the first type of error: rejecting a correct model (Szymańska, 2017). This model does not lose the multidimensionality of the construct of procedural justice in any way. The five dimensions of procedural justice were retained, and only the observable variables were summed up into one value, as one variable.

I also tested a one-factor model that suggests the existence of a homogeneous construct of procedural justice, not made up of specific variables (Blader & Tyler, 2003), as well as a hierarchical model. The latter is discussed by Tyler (2007), who suggests that voice indirectly influences justice because it shapes its remaining dimensions. This last model postulates the existence of direct and indirect influences.

It must be noted, however, that the available results of empirical studies suggest stronger support for distinguishing between different sources of procedural justice (Tyler, 2007). The results of the analyses are summarized in Table 1. The table presents several fit indices, because it is

advisable to rely on a number of fit measures when assessing a model (Reise, Widaman, & Pugh, 1993).

Having compared the fit indices of the theoretical model with those of the measurement model, and having tested and interpreted the values of path parameters and variance, I found that the simplified version of the five-factor model demonstrated the best fit to the dataset ($\chi^2/df = 1.71$, $p > .05$, GFI = .97, CFI = .99); also the root mean square error of approximation for this model is on the border of acceptability (RMSEA = .08).

The value of the simplified five-factor model is also supported by the values of fit indices obtained for its full five-factor version, which are either good or slightly below the border of acceptability. The value of the most often used fit estimator, RMSEA, is .053; the bounds of its 90% confidence interval are [.034, .070]. These figures are below the value of .08, which has been commonly adopted as the criterion (Konarski, 2016). Only the comparative fit index and explained variance reached values slightly below the norm suggested in the literature.

The full version of the model supports the result obtained for its simplified version, making it legitimate to conclude that the experiences behind the feelings associated with the perceived fairness of court proceedings should be identified in five dimensions.

I also compared the fit of the five-factor model to two alternative models identifying the construct of procedural justice. The first of these—the one-factor model—was poorly fitted to the dataset ($\chi^2/df = 2.10$, $p < .01$, GFI = .73, CFI = .77, RMSEA = .098). The other one, distinguishing direct and indirect effects, did not show good fit to the dataset, either ($\chi^2/df = 2.08$, $p < .01$, GFI = .74, CFI = .78, RMSEA = .097).

A formal comparison of the analyzed models can be accomplished by comparing the values of RMSEA and model fit statistics. The values of these statistics are presented in Table 2; these are ECVI and MECVI tests. The model identified as the best one is that for which the values of these tests are the lowest.

The formal comparison of the four models points to the five-factor model—both simplified and complete—as the one ensuring the best fit to the dataset. The five-factor model affords relatively the best description of how people perceive the elements of procedural justice.

Table 1. Fit Indices for the Tested Models

	CMIN	df	p	CMIN/df	RMSEA	GFI	CFI
PJ five-factor	270.23	204	< .01	1.32	.053	.78	.78
PJ five-factor simplified	8.56	5	.128	1.71	.079	.97	.99
PJ one-factor	438.52	209	< .01	2.10	.098	.73	.77
PJ hierarchical	428.16	206	< .01	2.08	.097	.74	.78

Note. PJ – Procedural Justice, CMIN – χ^2 model fit statistic, df – the number of degrees of freedom, CMIN/df – χ^2 statistic divided by the number of degrees of freedom, RMSEA – root mean square error of approximation, GFI – variance explained by the path model, CFI – comparative fit index.

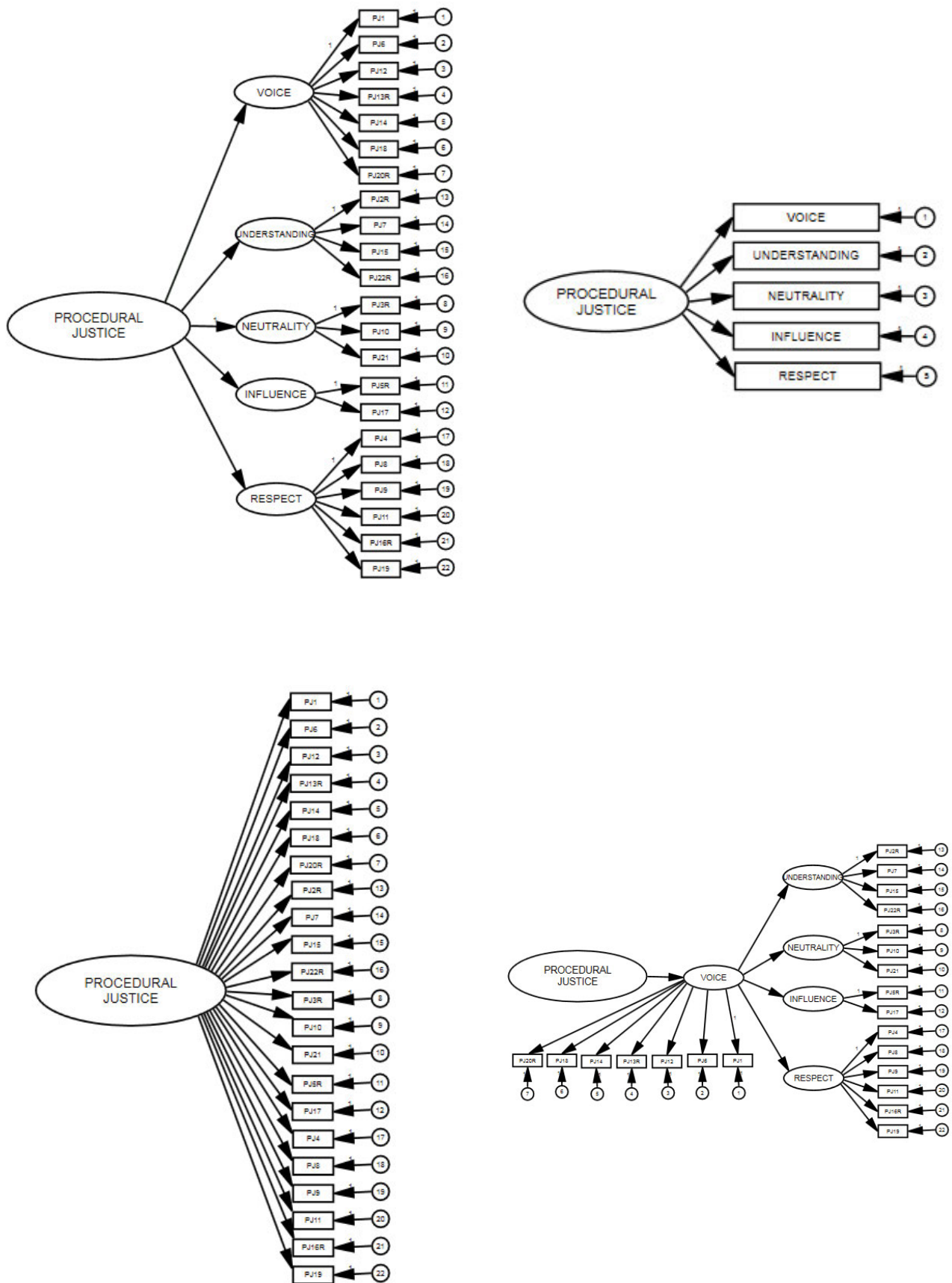


Figure 2. Theoretical models tested by means of confirmatory factor analysis. Beginning from the top right: the five-factor model, the simplified five-factor model, the one-factor model, and the hierarchical model.

Table 2. Model Quality Assessment: Model Fit Statistics

Fit statistics	PJ five-factor	PJ five-factor simplified	PJ one-factor	PJ two-level
RMSEA	.053	.079	.098	.097
ECVI	3.23	0.25	4.62	4.58
MECVI	3.45	0.26	4.81	4.79

Note. RMSEA – root mean square error of approximation, ECVI and MECVI – information criteria for model comparison

Regression Analysis

As CFA showed that the five-factor solution provided a good representation of how subjects identify procedural justice, regression analysis was supposed to reveal whether each element uniquely contributed to the overall evaluation of procedural justice. This course of action is recommended in the literature (Blader & Tyler, 2003). The results of the analyses are presented in Table 3.

The results of the analyses have revealed significant effects for each of the five components. Each dimension is related to overall procedural justice ratings and ensures good prediction of overall procedural justice evaluation. The results indicate that the factors with relatively the strongest impact on overall procedural justice evaluation are Voice ($\beta = 0.918$, $R^2 = .842$) and Respect ($\beta = 0.889$, $R^2 = .791$); the impact of Neutrality is somewhat weaker ($\beta = 0.831$, $R^2 = .690$).

To sum up, the basis for the verification of H1 was the results of CFA and regression analyses. These results supported hypothesis H1, postulating that being given an opportunity to speak (Voice), being treated with respect (Respect) and impartiality (Neutrality), as well as the sense of understanding (Understanding) and having an influence on the course of legal proceedings (Influence) identify the structure of procedural justice.

Procedural Justice, Important Demographic Variables, and Variables From the Context of Civil Proceedings

The Results of Structural Equation Modeling and Difference Tests

In order to test the second (H2) and the third (H3) hypotheses, concerning the relations between the overall evaluation of procedural justice and other variables that may potentially modify it, I performed an analysis of structural equation modeling (SEM), difference tests, and correlation analyses.

First of all, I performed an analysis of the structural equation model for four variables from the context of court proceedings: the significance of decision, presence in court, duration of current case, and financial expenses incurred, in order to check if these variables could explain the variance in the explained variable: procedural justice.

Having analyzed the fit indices, I found that the constructed model demonstrated varied fit to the dataset. The value of root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA = .045) as well as the value the χ^2 statistics divided by the number of degrees of freedom

Table 3. Regression Analysis for the Dimensions of Overall Procedural Justice Evaluation

Variable	β	R^2
Voice	0.918*	.842
Respect	0.889*	.791
Neutrality	0.831*	.690
Understanding	0.631*	.398
Influence	0.635*	.404

Note. * $p < .001$

(CMIN/df = 1.23) both meet the criteria, whereas the index of variance explained by the path model (GFI = .76) and the comparative fit index (CFI = .364) are below the acceptable values. The values of standard β estimators could not be interpreted either, because they were not statistically significant for the variables of the significance of decision ($\beta = -0.18$, $p = .10$), current case duration ($\beta = 0.29$, $p = .10$), and financial expenses incurred ($\beta = 0.03$, $p = .80$). Only the relationship between procedural justice and the number of visits to court in connection with the current civil case turned out to be statistically significant ($\beta = -0.35$, $p = .04$). In view of the above results, I decided to additionally perform correlation analyses for these variables.

For the remaining variables, I performed difference tests. I tested whether the character of the subjects' participation in the legal proceedings or the very fact of appearing in court for the first time differentiated experiences associated with procedural fairness. When analyzing the procedural effect size, I also investigated if receiving the court's decision differentiated participants' ratings of justice from those made before the court's ruling. The results of the analyses are presented in Table 4.

The data presented in Table 4 show that procedural justice is not differentiated by demographic variables or by some of the variables pertaining to the context of civil proceedings, and that its evaluation is not related to most of the variables from the lawsuit context.

What is important, it transpired that the type of participation in the civil case did not differentiate procedural justice evaluations. Mean procedural justice ratings among the subjects who had filed a lawsuit were similar to those among the subjects against whom the

Table 4. Correlations Between and Differences in Procedural Justice Evaluation and the Analyzed Variables

Variable	Procedural justice					
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>rho</i>	<i>p</i>
Type of participation	plaintiff (<i>n</i> = 72)	79.54	14.29	0.62		.54
	defendant (<i>n</i> = 43)	81.16	12.26			
Case	yes (<i>n</i> = 67)	82.43	12.57	2.17		.03
	no (<i>n</i> = 48)	79.96	14.31			
Decision	no (<i>n</i> = 80)	78.81	12.98	-1.61		.11
	yes (<i>n</i> = 35)	83.29	14.46			
Sex	F (<i>n</i> = 63)	80.87	14.42	0.63		.53
	M (<i>n</i> = 52)	79.27	12.47			
Age	20 to 40 years (<i>n</i> = 46)	82.98	10.80	1.97		.42
	41 to 75 years (<i>n</i> = 69)	78.26	14.86			
Education	secondary (<i>n</i> = 50)	80.14	10.95	-0.58		.46
	higher (<i>n</i> = 38)	81.89	16.14			
Place of residence	village (<i>n</i> = 31)	78.65	13.55	-0.72		.47
	city/town (<i>n</i> = 84)	80.70	13.75			
Significance of decision					-.04	.64
Presence in court					-0.26	.01
Duration of current case					.01	.88
Financial expenses incurred					-.05	.57

Note. Type of participation – the capacity in which the subject participated in civil proceedings; Case – the first case in court in which the subject was a party to the proceedings; Decision – the trial ended in a decision or ruling; Significance of decision – the significance of the decision or ruling to the subject who was a party to the proceedings; Presence in court – the number of visits to the court in connection with the civil case in question; Financial expenses incurred – the financial expenses incurred in connection with participation in the legal proceedings.

lawsuit had been filed. It was not significant for procedural justice evaluations, either, if the court sitting ended in the final decision or not.

Interestingly, the analyses revealed no significant differences depending on demographic variables. Procedural justice evaluation did not change depending on whether it was made by a man or by a woman. There were no significant differences according to age, education, or place of residence, either.

Correlation analyses showed that neither the significance of the court's decision concluding the proceedings to which the subject was a party, nor the expenses incurred, nor the duration of the legal proceedings determined the perceived fairness of court proceedings.

Interestingly, only two of the analyzed variables occurred as statistically significant circumstances for procedural fairness evaluation. Those participants who were obliged to make more frequent appearances in the courtroom in connection with the current proceedings rated procedural justice as lower. Likewise, those for whom the civil case was not the first one assessed procedural justice as lower too.

To sum up, the basis for the verification of H2 and H3 were the results of SEM analyses, correlation analyses, and

difference tests. Based on the results presented, hypothesis H2, postulating that age, sex, education, and place of residence would differentiate procedural justice ratings, has been rejected. Hypotheses H3, postulating that the variables pertaining to the context of legal proceedings would determine procedural justice ratings has been confirmed only to a small degree.

Discussion

The empirical study presented above, investigating procedural justice in the Polish judicial system from a psychological perspective, is one of the first in Poland. Procedural justice evaluation performed on the basis of ongoing civil proceedings have been rare. It therefore seems that the analyses and the findings they yielded concerning the identification of procedural justice may be valuable and inspiring.

In the first step, I decided to check if the postulated structure of procedural justice was valid in confrontation with actual data. This was done on the basis of subjective evaluations made by people experiencing it in the courtroom. I tested whether the evaluation of the fairness of civil proceedings was convergent with the models

proposed in the literature to identify this construct. Procedural justice as it emerged from the study was consistent with the model discussed in the literature.

If the previous findings concerning the relations between procedural justice and the legitimacy of authority are assumed to be valid (Burdziej, Guzik, & Pilitowski, 2018; Murphy, Tyler, & Curtis, 2009; Tyler, 2007; Zweig & Burt, 2003)—and if, accordingly, behaviors related to regarding the law as legitimate and to compliance with it in the Polish judicial system are assumed to be determined by the sense of fairness experienced in the courtroom—then, based on the analyses performed on the results of the present empirical study, it can be concluded that the valid structure of procedural justice comprises the following experiences: being given an opportunity to speak, being treated with respect, the impartiality of the judge, the comprehensibility of the language used and the procedure applied in the courtroom, and the sense of influence on the final outcome of the proceedings.

Although everyone likes to win, particularly in lawsuits, where resources in short supply are often at stake, people understand that in a situation of conflict with others it is not always possible to win (Tyler, 2007). It transpires, however, that if one has been treated with respect and deference by the decision maker, and if the decision maker has given the impression of being independent and impartial, one is more willing to accept “defeat” because one can see that the procedures applied to handle their case have been fair.

Importantly, the regression analyses reported in this paper, which were supposed to answer the question of whether each identified element contributed to the overall evaluation of procedural justice in a unique way, clearly show that what enhances trust in the fairness of judicial proceedings is the opportunity to express one’s opinion, the decision maker’s impartiality, and his or her respect, reflected in deferential behavior and in the way of addressing the conflicting parties. The factors that contribute to perceived procedural justice to a smaller though also significant degree are the sense of understanding the proceedings and the sense of influence on the judge’s behavior.

The current findings should be compared with those of the existing sociological studies on procedural justice (Burdziej, 2018; Burdziej, Guzik, & Pilitowski, 2018). What is interesting, the existing empirical material obtained in studies concerning criminal proceedings also reveals the five dimensions of procedural justice discussed above and indicates that the sense of influence on and understanding of the proceedings are dimensions extracted as the last ones in factor analyses and explaining the smallest percentage of total variance in the key construct.

To sum up this part of the findings, it seems accurate to conclude that procedural justice is essentially a universal construct. It is universal both as regards the type of judicial proceedings and as regards what legal culture the lawsuit is taking place in. It transpires that even though, in certain respects, Polish people undoubtedly have a more turbulent history of the judicial system than other nations, procedural

justice is identified in a similar way as in other societies (Blader & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2007, 2010). As it turns out, although the geographical and historical circumstances of the functioning of beneficiaries of the Polish judicial system appear to be basically unprecedented, this fact does not affect the structure of procedural justice.

Perhaps the explanation of why procedural justice can be a universal construct lies in the findings concerning its nature and sources (Blader & Tyler 2003; Tyler, Degoe, & Smith 1996). Fair treatment is an autotelic value for a person because it attests to that person being accepted in the group. High procedural justice towards a person is a symbolic acknowledgment of his or her status, which constitutes an essential component of identity. Dickerson and Kemeny (2004) observe that the decision maker’s unjust treatment of or lack of interest in the expectation of the person subject to decision is a serious threat to the person and his or her social self.

Another important aim was to establish if there are factors that can differentiate or determine perceived procedural justice. Many such factors have been defined on the basis of previous research concerning the analysis of the main construct.

Based on the results of the analyses performed as part of the present study, it should be noted that few variables significant for procedural justice have been identified. Sex, age, education, or place of residence are not variables differentiating procedural justice ratings.

The type of participation in judicial proceedings proved not to be a differentiating variable, either. This can be understood as meaning that, since adversarial civil proceedings require that both parties actively present their arguments, acquiring the feeling that they have been given the opportunity to do so is equally important to the plaintiff as it is to the defendant.

Procedural justice evaluation was not associated with the expenses incurred in the course of the lawsuit, with the duration of the proceedings, or with the significance of decision itself to the participant. The absence of differences or relationships revealed in the course of the analyses confirms the findings reported by Lind and Tyler (1988), who point out the lack of relationship between perceived procedural justice and many sociodemographic variables. It therefore seems that the expectation of procedural justice is common; this kind of justice is expected to an equal degree by people of different ages and with different levels of education, regardless of where they live.

It should be noted, however, that the research conducted by Burdziej’s team (Burdziej, Guzik, & Pilitowski, 2018) revealed, for instance, that men were more critical of procedural justice.

Only frequent visits to court and the large number of judicial proceedings that a person has taken part in decrease procedural justice evaluations. This is an interesting finding, suggesting that perceived lawsuit fairness is related to the efficiency of court proceedings. These relations, though statistically significant, are nevertheless rather weak.

Limitations of the Present Study

The presented study has significant limitations. Let me mention a few of them below.

The main limitation is the fact that the study relied on questionnaire-based measurement, which means typical problems attributed to this form of measurement can be expected (e.g., the problem of the validity of self-report provided by subjects themselves). What is needed in research on these issues is the use of alternative methods that could ensure better support for the relations investigated.

The findings concerning causal directions and the proposed structures of the phenomena discussed in this paper (e.g., procedural justice) should be approached with caution. This is due to the method used and to the theoretical model adopted in the study. I have presented a specific conceptual model of procedural justice and its relations with legitimacy, backed up by numerous empirical studies, which does not have to be—and probably is not—the only model distributing this phenomenon. It is worth checking if the results of the current empirical study will be replicated in the future. The replication of the results also includes checking if similar results will be obtained when different scales are used to perform the measurement. Such other scales are still lacking among Polish measures operationalizing procedural justice.

I take a normative approach to procedural justice assessment, imposing a certain meaning on the elements of procedural justice and confirming their presence on the basis of the collected empirical data rather than determining their meaning afresh using exploratory techniques. This stems from the acknowledgment of earlier studies and the long history of the model proposed by Tyler and his numerous collaborators; it also stems from the belief that, apart from the usual Popperian suspicion prescribing constant distrust towards the theoretical models used in studies, there is also a different approach, according to which the existing findings have been arrived at on the basis of reliable empirical studies, that the theoretical models revealed in this way are valuable, and that it can also be investigated whether or not they will be confirmed in rarely examined human populations. Nevertheless, the exploratory approach is equally important, and using it in further research may bring interesting and valuable results.

The study does not take account of important variables regarded as significant to the relations discussed in this paper. One of these is distributive justice. Its contribution to the procedural effect investigated here is an issue that requires further research in the context of the Polish judicial system.

Further studies require increasing the sample size. Confirming the structure of and relations between the latent variables entered into SEM requires large samples. The costs and difficulties that the researcher is faced with include, for example, the values of important indices being near the border of acceptability, which may stem from the small size of the samples that the analysis is performed on rather than from the adoption of a wrong model.

For all these reasons, the findings of the present study should be regarded as preliminary.

References

- Adams, J. S. (1963). Towards an understanding of inequity. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 67*, 422–436.
- Ayres, I., & Braithwaite, J. (1992). *Responsible regulation: Transcending the deregulation debate*. New York, NY, US: Oxford University Press.
- Bardach, E., & Kagan, R. (1982). *Going by the book: The problem of regulatory unreasonableness*. Philadelphia, PA, US: Temple University Press.
- Barsky, A., & Kaplan, S. A. (2007). If you feel bad, it's unfair: A quantitative synthesis of affect and organizational justice perceptions. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*, 286–295.
- Bartholomew, D. J., Steele, F., Moustaki, I., & Galbraith, J. I. (2008). *Analysis of multivariate social science data*. Boca Raton, FL, US: Chapman & Hall/CRC Press.
- Bies, R. J. (1986). Interactional justice: Communication criteria of fairness. *Research on Negotiation in Organizations, 1*, 43–55.
- Black, J. (2001). *Managing discretion*. Paper presented at the Australian Law Commission Conference on "Penalties: Policies and Practice in Government Regulation," Sydney.
- Blader, S. L., & Tyler, T. R. (2003). A Four-component model of procedural justice: Defining the meaning of a "fair" process. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29*(6), 747–758.
- Bobocel, D. R., & Holmvall, C. M. (2001). Are interactional and procedural justice different? Framing the debate. In S. Gilliland, D. Steiner, & D. Skarlicki (Eds.), *Research on social issues in management* (Vol. 1). Greenwich, CT, US: Information Age Publishing.
- Burdziej, S. (2018). *Sprawiedliwość i prawomocność* [Justice and legitimacy]. Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK.
- Burdziej, S., Guzik, K., & Pilitowski, B. (2018). Fairness at trial: The impact of procedural justice and other experiential factors on criminal defendants' perceptions of court legitimacy in Poland. *Law & Social Inquiry, 1*–32.
- Calton, J., & Cattaneo, L. B. (2014). The effects of procedural and distributive justice on intimate partner violence victims' mental health and likelihood of future help-seeking. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 84*, 329–340.
- Cattaneo, L. B., & Goodman, L. A. (2010). Through the lens of therapeutic jurisprudence: The relationship between empowerment in the court system and well-being for intimate partner violence victims. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 25*(3), 481–502.
- Clawson, R., Kegler, E., & Waltenberg, E. (2001). The legitimacy-conferring authority of the US Supreme Court. *American Political Research, 29*, 566–651.
- Cohen-Charash, Y., & Spector, P. E. (2001). The role of justice in organizations: A meta-analysis. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 86*, 278–324.
- Colquitt, J. A. (2012). Organizational justice. In S. W. J. Kozlowski (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of organizational psychology* (pp. 526–547). New York, NY, US: Oxford University Press.
- Colquitt, J. A., Conlon, D. E., Wesson, M. J., Porter, C. O. L. H., & Ng, K. Y. (2001). Justice at the millennium: A meta-analytic review of 25 years of organizational justice research. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*, 425–445.
- Colquitt, J. A., & Christine L. J. (2006). Justice in teams: The context sensitivity of justice rules across individual and team contexts. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 36*(4), 868–899.
- Cropanzano, R., & Greenberg, J. (1997). Progress in organizational justice. *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology, 12*, 319–372.
- Dickerson, S. S., & Kemeny, M. E. (2004). Acute stressors and cortisol responses: A theoretical integration and synthesis of laboratory research. *Psychological Bulletin, 130*(3), 355–391.
- Farley, E., Jensen, E., & Rempel, M. (2014). *Improving courtroom communication: A procedural justice experiment in Milwaukee*. New York, NY, US: Center for Court Innovation.

- Fehr, E., & Rockenbach, B. (2003). Detrimental effects of sanctions on human altruism. *Nature*, *422*, 137–140.
- Fine, A., & Cauffman, E. (2015). Race and justice system attitude formation during the transition to adulthood. *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology*, *1*(4), 325–349.
- Folger, R., & Cropanzano, R. (2001). Fairness theory: Justice as accountability. In J. Greenberg & R. Cropanzano (Eds.), *Advances in organizational justice* (pp. 89–118). Stanford, CA, US: Stanford University Press.
- Frazer, M. S. (2006). The impact of the community court model in defendant perceptions of fairness. A case study at the Red Hook Community Justice Center. Retrieved from: http://courtinnovation.org/uploads/documents/Procedural_Fairness.pdf.
- Greenberg, J. (1986). Determinants of perceived fairness of performance evaluations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *71*, 340–342.
- Greenberg, J., Bies, R. J., & Skew, D. E. (1991). Establishing fairness in the eye of the beholder: Managing impressions of organizational justice. In R. Giacalone & P. Rosenfeld (Eds.), *Applied impression management: How image making affects managerial decisions* (pp. 111–132). Newbury Park, CA, US: Sage.
- Greenberg, J., & Folger, R. (1983). Procedural justice, participation, and the fair process effect in groups and organizations. In *Basic group processes* (pp. 235–256). New York, NY, US: Springer.
- Homans, G. C. (1961). *Social behavior: Its elementary forms*. New York, NY, US: Harcourt, Brace, & World.
- Konarski, R. (2016). *Modele równań strukturalnych* [Structural equation models]. Warsaw, Poland: PWN.
- Kurczewski, J. (1982). *Spór i sądy* [Dispute and the courts]. Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo UW.
- Kurczewski, J., & Fuszara, M. (Eds.) (2004). *Polskie sądy i spory* [Polish courts and disputes]. Warsaw, Poland: Ośrodek Badań Społecznych ISNS UW.
- Leventhal, G. S. (1980). What should be done with equity theory? New approaches to the study of fairness in social relationships. In K. Gergen, M. Greenberg, & R. Willis (Eds.), *Social exchange: Advances in theory and research* (pp. 27–55). New York, NY, US: Plenum Press.
- Lind, E. A. (2001). Fairness heuristic theory: Justice judgments as pivotal cognitions in organizational relations. In J. Greenberg & R. Cropanzano (Eds.), *Advances in organizational justice* (pp. 56–88). Stanford, CA, US: Stanford University Press.
- Lind, E. A., & Tyler, T. R. (1988). *The social psychology of procedural justice*. New York, NY, US: Springer Science and Business Media.
- McFarlin, D. B., & Sweeney, P. D., (1992). Distributive and procedural justice as predictors of satisfaction with personal and organizational outcomes. *Academy of Management Journal*, *3*(35), 626–637.
- McLean, K., Wolfe, S. E., & Pratt, T. C. (2019). Legitimacy and the life course: An age-graded examination of changes in legitimacy attitudes over time. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *56*(1), 42–83.
- Mentovich, A., Rhee, E., & Tyler, T. R. (2014). My life for a voice: The influence of voice on health-care decisions. *Social Justice Research*, *27*(1), 99–117.
- Moorman, R. H. (1991). Relationship between organizational justice and organizational citizenship behaviors: Do fairness perceptions influence employee citizenship? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *76*, 845–855.
- Murphy, K. (2004). The role of trust in nurturing compliance: A study of accused tax avoiders. *Law and Human Behavior*, *28*, 187–210.
- Murphy, K. (2005). Regulating more effectively: The relationship between procedural justice, legitimacy, and tax non-compliance. *Journal of Law and Society*, *32*, 562–589.
- Murphy, K., Tyler, T. R., & Curtis, A. (2009). Nurturing regulatory compliance: Is procedural justice effective when people question the legitimacy of the law? *Regulation & Governance*, *3*, 1–26.
- Pilitowski, B., & Burdziej, S. (2016). *Obywatelski monitoring sądów* [Citizen court monitoring]. Toruń, Poland: Fundacja Court Watch Polska.
- Ptacek, J. (1999). *Battered women in the courtroom: The power of judicial responses*. Boston, MA, US: Northeastern University Press.
- Reise, S. P., Widaman, K. F., & Pugh, R. H. (1993). Confirmatory factor analysis and item response theory. *Psychological Bulletin*, *114*, 552–566.
- Reisig, M. D., Bratton, J., & Gertz, M. (2007). The construct validity and refinement of process-based policing measures. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, *34*, 1005–1028.
- Rottman, D. B., & Tyler, T. (2014). Thinking about judges and judicial performance: Perspective of the public and court users. *Onati Socio-Legal*, Series 4, 5, 1046–1070.
- Rousseau, V., Salek, S., Aube, C., & Morin, E. M. (2009). Distributive justice, procedural justice, and psychological distress: The moderating effect of coworker support and work autonomy. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *14*, 305–317.
- Sifrer, J., Mesko, G., & Bren, M. (2015). Assessing validity of different legitimacy constructs applying structural equation modeling. In G. Mesko & J. Tankebe (Eds.), *Trust and legitimacy in criminal justice* (pp. 161–187). London: Springer International.
- Sunshine, J., & Tyler, T. R. (2003). The role of procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping public support for policing. *Law & Society Review*, *37*(3), 513–548.
- Szymańska, A. (2017). Problematykahierarchiczności. Wprowadzenia metacech w modelach SEM [The problems of hierarchy: The introduction of metatraits in SEM models]. *Studia Psychologica*, *1*(17), 65–84.
- Tankebe, J. (2013). Viewing things differently: The dimensions of public perceptions of police legitimacy. *Criminology*, *51*(1), 103–135.
- Thibaut, J., & Walker, L. (1975). *Procedural justice: A psychological analysis*. New York, NY, US: Erlbaum.
- Tomkins, A., & Applequist, K. (2008). Constructs of justice: Beyond civil litigation. In B. H. Bornstein, R. L. Wiener, R. Schopp, & S. L. Willborn (Eds.), *Civil juries and civil justice* (pp. 257–272). New York, NY, US: Springer.
- Törnblom, K., & Vermunt, R. (Eds.) (2016). *Distributive and procedural justice: Research and social applications*. Routledge.
- Tyler, T. R. (1984). The role of perceived injustice in defendant's evaluations of their courtroom experience. *Law and Society Review*, *18*, 51–74.
- Tyler, T.R. (1988). What is procedural justice - criteria used by citizens to assess the fairness of legal procedures. *Law and Society Review*, *22*, 103.
- Tyler, T.R. (1994). Governing amid diversity: The effect of fairdecision-making procedures on the legitimacy of government. *Law and Society Review*, *28*, 809-831.
- Tyler, T. R. (1997). The psychology of legitimacy: A relational perspective on voluntary deference to authorities. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *1*, 323–345.
- Tyler, T. R. (2007). Procedural justice and the courts. *Court Review*, *44* (1/2), 26–31.
- Tyler, T. R. (2010). Social justice: Outcome and procedure. *International Journal of Psychology*, *35*(2), 117–125.
- Tyler, T. R., & Huo, Y. J. (2002). *Trust in the law: Encouraging public cooperation with the police and courts through*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Tyler, T. R., & Blader S. L. (2000). *Cooperation in groups: Procedural justice, social identity, and behavioral engagement*. Philadelphia, PA, US: Psychology Press.
- Tyler, T. R., Boeckmann, R. J., Smith, H. J., & Huo, Y. J. (1997). *Social justice in a diverse society*. Boulder, CO, US: Westview.
- Tyler, T. R., DeGoey, P., & Smith, H. (1996). Understanding why the justice of group procedures matters: A test of the psychological dynamics of the group-value model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *70*(5), 913–930.
- Tyler, T. R., & Lind, E. A. (1992). A relational model of authority in groups. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *25*, 115–191.
- Unnever, J. D., Colvin, M., & Cullen, F. T. (2004). Crime and coercion: A test of core theoretical propositions. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *41*, 244–268.
- Winter, S. C., & May, P. J. (2001). Motivation for compliance with environmental regulations. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, *20*, 675–698.
- Zweig, J. M., & Burt, M. R. (2003). Effects of interactions among community agencies on legal system responses to domestic violence and sexual assault in STOP-funded communities. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, *14*, 249–272.