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Review paper

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THE RELATION BETWEEN TRUMPISM AND COMPLIANCE WITH THE RULES DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: THE PROCEDURAL JUSTICE PERSPECTIVE

The COVID-19 pandemic is undoubtedly one of the more significant events that marked the 21st century and changed the world. Also, the 21st century was marked by the peculiar rule of USA President Donald Trump. Trumpism as a concept has influenced many aspects of people's lives around the world. Drawing on statements by former USA President Donald Trump regarding the global pandemic, the question arises as to whether trumpism could have had a global scale to spread the virus. As procedural fairness is one of the essential factors for compliance, this paper relates the concepts of procedural justice, compliance, and trumpism. The paper offers a unique review of literature and research, providing practical implications and suggestions for future international comparative research of these concepts.

Keywords: COVID-19 pandemic, trumpism, procedural justice, compliance with the rules

INTRODUCTION

The COVID-19 pandemic has stopped the world and changed the way people function in their daily lives. The COVID-19 pandemic is an event that is sure to mark the 21st century. In addition to the pandemic, the 21st century will be remembered for the rule of USA President Donald Trump. Donald Trump was remembered for many peculiarities in his power and based on his acts, and a scientific and widely researched con-

cept was created - trumpism. Trump's policy has underestimated or even ignored the risk of the COVID-19 pandemic and called into question the need for epidemiological measures (Albertoni & Wise 2021; Demsky 2020; Kaushal 2021; Lluch 2021; Shepherd, MacKendrick & Mora 2020; Westermeyer 2021). Therefore, it seems necessary to relate this concept to procedural justice, which, according to research, is a prerequisite for compliance with the rules. In the context of a pandemic, it is a prerequisite for compliance with epidemiological measures.

Trumpism has its origin in the USA and affected the way the USA coped with the COVID-19 pandemic from its beginning in 2020 till the end of Trump's presidency in January 2021. However, due to the effects of globalization, trumpism has spread across the world and provided support for actions against anti-COVID measures in many countries.

This paper explains the concepts of trumpism and procedural justice and provides a literature review concerning procedural justice as a mechanism behind the influence of trumpism on combating the COVID-19 pandemic. Likewise, the authors elaborate and give a perspective of future research that will comparatively and internationally relate these three concepts: trumpism, combating the COVID-19 pandemic and procedural justice.

1. MAIN CONCEPTS

1.1. Trumpism

The rise to power of Donald Trump in 2016 represents one of the turning points in American history. Although Donald Trump's rule as President of the United States ended, his legacy in voters and followers remained, trumpism. Trump has shown that it is possible to come to power democratically, undermine state authority, and retain control by placing lies, fake news, blaming the media for bias, and mobilizing paramilitary groups (Baker 2020; Aguirre 2020).

Trumpism, according to *Cambridge Dictionary* (2021), is "the policies and political ideas of the US President Donald Trump". According to *Cyber definition* (2021), trumpism is "typically a controversial (or even outrageous) statement, but it can also be a controversial challenge to the current political establishment or the controversial pursuit of a strategy in the American national interests". Tabachnick (2021) lists four essential components of trumpism: celebrity, nativism, the outsider and populism. Saramo (2017) defines Trumpism as populism, strongman politics, and identitarian-

ism, where it employs emotional evocations of violence—fear, threats, hatred, and division—which at times erupts into physical displays of aggression.

Trumpism, although still an unexplored phenomenon, has shown a significant impact on all levels of society. Mollan and Geesin (2019) explored Donald Trump's business career and his turning into a politician. According to the authors, Donald Trump was a decisive and successful business leader who combined marginal right-wing conservative ideas to solve troubling American politics.

According to Pham et al. (2018), the US stock market was highly responsive to the Trump election, while the life insurance sector was one of the most negatively affected. Trumpism also impacted gender roles, so according to Pascoe (2017), trumpism deploys dominance over women and power over other, less masculine men. Also, influence can be noticed in administrative doctrine. According to Moynihan & Roberts (2021), the administration of Donald Trump caused widespread damage to the executive and organizational capabilities of the American federal government. Trumpism manifests itself in the USA and countries worldwide, such as the United Kingdom. According to Hozic & True (2017), Brexit is a lens that can be used to interrogate the spread of trumpism elsewhere.

Furthermore, trumpism has impacted other rulers of the right spectrum, such as Victor Orban. So we get the term Orbanism Wodek & Krzyanowski (2017) point out that unpredictable successes of populists in the USA and Europe have transformed anxieties into legitimate apprehension and fear. Roy (2019) explores trumpism through the concept of the city as a sanctuary. The author states that in the age of trumpism, cities no longer provide shelter to the illegal and placeless. Lieberman et al. (2017) identify three streams in American politics that were affected by Trump's election as polarized two-party presidentialism, a polity fundamentally divided over membership and status in the political community and the erosion of democratic norms the elite and mass levels.

1.2. Procedural justice theory

In most cases, justice refers to the fair distribution of goods or rights (so-called distributive justice) or the outcome. Recently, more attention has been paid to the procedure and fairness of the decision-making process. This form of justice is called procedural justice. Already the first studies of procedural justice have shown that people are more satisfied with the outcome if they perceive that the procedure is fair. Ultimately, procedural justice is a more significant predictor of overall satisfaction than distributive justice.

The theory of procedural justice is developing in the context of social psychology. Thibaut and Walker (1975) developed a theoretical model of procedural justice through the so-called self-interest model. According to this model, people participating in procedures must have a sense of control over the process, that is, over decisions. In the modern model of procedural regularity, this model represents the ‘voice’ in procedures. Folger (1977) also dealt with ‘voice’ in procedures, according to which an individual needs to express their point of view over the process, although it does not give him formal power in making a final decision. Leventhal’s Theoretical Model (1980), which has never been fully empirically validated, predicts six conditions for procedural fairness: consistency, impartiality, precision, correctability, representativeness, and ethics.

One of the most prominent theoreticians of Procedural justice theory is T. R. Tyler, who initially developed this theoretical perspective while answering why people obey the law (Tyler 1988). Lind and Tyler (1988) develop a group value model as an alternative to the self-interest model, which deals with an individual member’s position, affiliation, and values within a group. The group procedure refers to the relationship between group attitudes towards members. According to this model, the assessment of procedural fairness within a group can impact group attitudes, such as the evaluation of an institution or leader (Lind & Tyler 1988: 232).

Van den Bos and Lind (2002) study the theory of procedural justice in the context of security or uncertainty. According to these authors, in a modern society marked by various risks, it is vital to reduce the uncertainty to a minimum. Van den Bos and Lind (2002) see the solution in the individual’s belief that the procedures are fair since the individual cannot have insight and knowledge about each situation due to lack of time. Thus, ignorance of all available facts increases uncertainty, while uncertainty decreases, believing that the procedures are fair. It is essential that the person in charge of the process and the position of authority explains the procedure as much as possible (although he cannot convey all the facts related to the situation due to lack of time) instil confidence in the person.

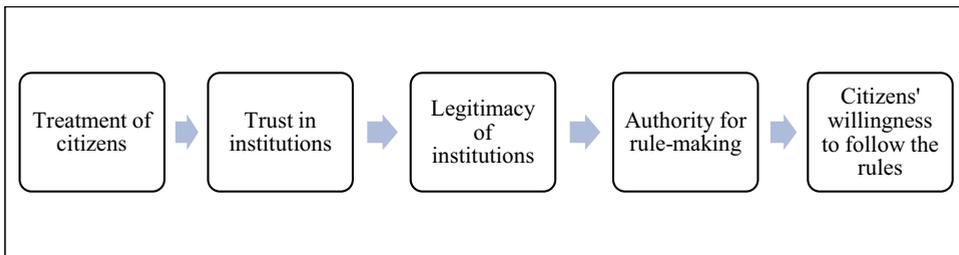
Tyler and Gonzalez (2007: 91) define procedural justice as “the level of fair treatment of a person in a given situation”. Vermont and Steensma (2016), in a review of theoretical settings as the main components of procedural justice state: decision control, voice, consistency, bias suppression, representativity, accuracy, correctability, ethicality, high quality of interaction, and information.

2. COMPLIANCE WITH THE RULES

2.1. *Procedural justice and compliance with the rules*

The theory of procedural justice is mainly used in police research. Folger and Tyler (1980) argue that procedural fairness affects satisfaction with the outcome, police legitimacy, and citizens' trust in the police. Hough et al. (2010) highlight procedural fairness as a first step towards compliance with the rules (Graph 1). According to the authors, procedural fairness leads to trust in institutions, which in turn provides legitimacy to these institutions. The institution's legitimacy ensures the authority to make the rules, and the citizens are ready to respect the adopted rules (Tyler & Fagan 2006).

Legitimacy is the most frequently researched concept concerning procedural justice (Mazerolle et al. 2013; Murphy, Hinds & Fleming 2008; Murphy & Chereney 2011; Myhill & Bradford 2012; Reisig & Lloyd 2009; Reisig, Tankebe & Meško 2012; Hinds 2007; Murphy, Madon & Chereney 2017).



Graph 1 – *Citizens' willingness to follow by the rules in the context of procedural fairness* (Hough et al. 2010: 206)

Research conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Muratbegović, Vujović & Fazlić 2014) shows that procedural justice is linked to compliance. On the other hand, the same research did not show a significant link between police legitimacy and cooperation with the police. Similarly, research among Polish students has revealed that those who perceive the police as procedurally fairer will be more willing to comply with the law and cooperate with the police (Czapska, Radomska & Wojcik 2016). A similar study in Slovenia showed a link between procedural fairness and legitimacy and compliance (Reisig, Tankebe & Mesko 2013). Bradford et al. (2015) investigated compliance with traffic rules. According to their findings, social identity is a bridge that connects the perception of procedural justice and respect for rules, combined with a sense of obligation and moral endorsement.

Bayissa Gobena and Van Dijke (2017) investigated voluntary tax compliance. Another study found that attempts to coerce and threaten taxpayers will not affect greater compliance with the rules and undermine institutions' legitimacy (Murphy 2005). This study showed a strong link between procedural justice and voluntary tax compliance, with significant trust in tax authorities and identification with the nation (Bayissa Gobena & Van Dijke 2017). Murphy (2015) also explores compliance with rules related to the payment of taxes in relation to procedural justice. His research showed that the mediators of procedural justice and respect for the rules are legitimacy, social identity and the perceived risk of sanctions.

Compliance with the rules among young people was investigated by Liu and Liu (2017), according to whom common values and procedural justice are significant predictors. According to Murphy and Cherney (2011), procedural justice will have a weaker effect on compliance and cooperation among ethnic minorities than among majority group members. In addition, young people are a group in which procedural justice is a more significant factor in cooperation and compliance than in adults (Murphy 2015).

Research has shown that procedural fairness is a significant factor in citizen-police cooperation. Thus, fans at football matches will be less likely to respect the rules of conduct if they do not perceive police behaviour as procedurally fair (Stott, Hoggett & Pearson 2012). Likewise, procedural fairness has proven to be a significant variable in Muslim cooperation in the fight against terrorism (Tyler, Schullhofer & Hug 2010; Murphy, Madon & Cherney 2017).

2.2. Compliance with COVID-19 rules

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the whole world encountered a new way of life marked by new rules - wearing masks, disinfecting, maintaining physical distance, a limited number of people at events and the like. In most countries, police officers or COVID wardens were in charge of ensuring the implementation of epidemiological measures. According to Bradford et al. (2020), the most common reasons for respecting the law and rules are moral judgments, group solidarity, legitimacy of the rule maker, habits, deterrence and self-interest.

Since 2020, a series of studies on compliance with COVID-19 disease control measures have been conducted. Research has shown that the measures against the COVID-19 pandemic will be more respected by women, the elderly and better-educated people (Solomou and Constantinidou 2020; Almutairi et al. 2020; Zhao et al.

2020; Nivette et al. 2020; Papageorge et al. 2020; Farias et Pilati 2020). Also, people who will compliance the measures to a greater extent believe that it is their moral obligation (Kooistra et al. 2020), and people for whom important values are related to conservation (conformism, security and tradition) (Cajner Mraović, Pavičić Vukičević & Pavlović Vinogradac 2021). Research has shown that the measures will be compliance by those who are at higher risk of the disease, the elderly as well as employed people (Franzen & Wohner 2020; Geana 2020; Akesson et al. 2020), as well as people who have more knowledge about the virus (Reuben et al. 2021). However, people who are less compliant with measures also have some common features. According to Ančić and Cepić (2021), such people are more likely to believe in conspiracy theories. They also have lower socioeconomic status and do not work in the public sector (Ančić & Cepić 2021). Finally, people who are less compliant with the COVID-19 measures are more afraid of the virus (Kooistra et al. 2020) and spend more time on social media services (Caplanova, Sivak & Szakadatova 2020).

2.3. Procedural justice and COVID-19

Nakazawa, Ino and Akabayashi (2020: 510) label procedural justice in the context of a pandemic as an ethical minimum through which to ensure “maximum happiness for the maximum number of people”.

Research conducted in Nigeria (Aborisade 2021) reveals that police officers were not procedurally fair during the pandemic. Misuse of force, threats of physical violence, hostility, intimidation, extortion and punishment resulted in profound divisions between the police and the community and further compliance with epidemiological measures and the control of SARS-CoV-2 infection (Aborisade 2021). Reicher and Stott (2020) investigated the conditions under which the COVID-19 pandemic would lead to social order or disorder. The conditions tested by the authors were: historical context of state-public relations, the nature of leadership during the pandemic and procedural justice (Reicher & Stott 2020). However, several studies have shown that procedural justice is significantly associated with adherence to COVID-19 measures (Rooij et al. 2020; Kuiper et al. 2020; de Bruijn et al. 2020; McCarthy et al. 2021).

According to research (Magnavita, Tripepi & Di Prinzio 2020), procedural justice was a significant factor in the level of anxiety and depression associated with the COVID-19 pandemic. Also, concerning the mental health of frontline workers, a lack of procedural justice is associated with workload, isolation at work, and lack of time for meditation and relaxation (Magnavita, Soave & Antonelli 2021). On the other

hand, the perception of procedural justice is significant for reducing insomnia in workers (Magnavita, Soave & Antonelli 2021). Research on medical staff in Portugal was conducted by Correia and Almeida (2020). According to the results, internal procedural justice has proven to be the most significant factor in burnout during a pandemic among medical staff and physicians (Correia & Almeida 2020).

3. DISCUSSION

Although the concept of trumpism is primarily related to political action, various authors identify the influence or traces of Trumpism in many other spheres of social life and even in those commonly perceived as very distant from politics.

The common issue these studies reveal, regardless of the diversity of the areas they initially deal with, is the mechanism they recognize in terms of the effects of trumpism, i.e. the consequences that it equally leaves in these different areas of activity. The theory of procedural justice most accurately describes this mechanism. In all the reviewed literature in this study, trumpism is mentioned in the context of the violation of the normative system in a specific area of human activity, i.e. within a particular segment of social life. Trumpism is proving to be a factor in weakening self-control mechanisms at the level of individuals and informal and formal social control mechanisms at social groups, organizations, or even institutions. As a result, behaviours that do not comply with applicable standards are more likely to occur. It happens because trumpism denies everything that the theory of procedural justice identifies as crucial components of motivating people to adhere to norms.

First, according to procedural justice theory, people will be more willing to adhere to norms if they know that they apply equally to all or that there is no decency or privilege for some individuals or worse treatment for others. Trumpism is synonymous with just the opposite approach that divides people into obedient and uncritical supporters on the one hand and those who are not on the other. The former should not adhere to the norms or be sanctioned for violating them. At the same time, the latter will be hindered or even disabled for any activity, even though they respect all applicable rules.

Second, according to procedural justice theory, people are willing to abide by the norm when they know that the system is fair to all. The rules apply equally to all but that their application is consistent in all situations and transparent. Here, too, trumpism implies an entirely opposite attitude, which is understandable because the biased and inconsistent application of the rules must never be visible as such.

Third, theory of procedural justice claims that people will also be more willing to adhere to norms if they know that their voice is always heard, both in creating these norms and in their implementation. It is also the basic idea of democracy, but trumpism does not imply or represent a genuinely democratic system. Trumpism is a kind of clientelism that is incompatible with respecting the opinion of each individual.

Finally, the theory of procedural justice says that adherence to norms means responsibility. Then it can be expected more when the undoubted responsibility of those who adopt norms, especially those in charge of controlling the application of norms or implementing norms. Trumpism denies responsibility because privileged individuals need not be held accountable for anything while others take on their personal and others' responsibilities.

Based on the concept of trumpism through the prism of the procedural justice theory, it becomes clear how political action penetrates deep into all pores of social life and potentially damages them by demotivating people to adhere to norms fundamental prerequisite for proper functioning. Thus, it is understandable when authors who study workplace violence (Hodgins, Lewis, MacCurtain, McNamara, Hogan, & Pursell 2020), student mobility (Kim 2017), or dance education (Rowe, Martin, Buck, & Anttila 2018) explain negative trends through the concept of trumpism. The same has happened with epidemiological measures and rules in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. That is why the concept of trumpism shouldn't be neglected when thinking about the origin of revolt against them.

Of course, Trumpism is not the only mechanism based on procedural justice theory. Equally, it would be wrong to view Trumpism as the sole or the main generator of non-compliance with measures to combat the COVID-19 pandemic. It can be assumed with great certainty that non-compliance with the measures in the pandemic situation would have occurred if Trump had never been President of the United States and if the phenomenon of Trumpism had not occurred. However, having in mind the global position of the USA in the world, it is worth paying attention to the possible relations between Trumpism and non-compliance with measures to suppress the COVID-19 pandemic.

4. CONCLUSION

As the notion of Trumpism emerges when the largest pandemic in modern history rules the world, it certainly seems necessary to study the extent to which Trumpism has impacted how societies have tried to cope with the COVID-19 pandemic. As com-

pliance with epidemiological rules and guidelines is most important for combating the spread of the virus in general, it seems essential to investigate the extent to which trumpism has impacted compliance. Procedural justice theory explains what motivates people to obey the rules. It says that procedural fairness is critical for compliance with the rules in general, including epidemiological ones. Based on the fact that trumpism is almost the opposite concept to the concept of procedural justice, it is easy to understand its threat to successfully combating the COVID-19 pandemic.

Understanding (un)compliance with anti-COVID-19 pandemic measures in the framework of the procedural justice theory has substantial practical implications. We have to be aware of the type and amount of power associated with former US President Donald Trump. That power is based on manipulations and prejudices, but that is why it does not allow trumpist views to be questioned, nor does it allow them to confront different ideas. There are no rational arguments behind trumpist opinions, so the decisions made based on them are necessarily non-transparent and undemocratic. As such, they are potentially more or less harmful to society. But despite this, blinded or self-motivated followers will fiercely defend them. That is why it is necessary to consistently and persistently place the truth and its arguments. In the COVID-19 pandemic, this means the need for quality and synergistic cooperation between government institutions, especially those in charge of preventing the spread of the COVID-19 virus and the media. Currently, the population in Croatia, and many other countries around the world, is exposed to an opposite trend of mutual disagreement among these public institutions and media highlighting such disputes, which makes people confused and less confident about the decisions made by these institutions.

Understanding non-compliance with epidemiological measures as a kind of trumpism and applying the theory of procedural justice in explaining the connection between these two current social phenomena provides some other important practical implications. These implications could be identified through four key components of procedural justice theory.

First of all, people value impartiality and consistency in applying the rules, so public institutions should act in the same way in all cases of violation of epidemiological measures. However, we are witnessing opposite practices. Trying not to provoke even greater revolt, the public institutions are inconsistent in sanctioning violations of epidemiological measures. By doing so, they create an atmosphere that favours trumpist attitudes and instead of encouraging adherence to measures, they achieve a counter-effect.

Furthermore, people need to have their voices heard. In practice, this means that opponents of epidemiological measures should be allowed to express their beliefs, but at the same time, they should be faced with specific requirements that must be adhered to. These requirements relate to the valid argumentation of their views. It means that it is not enough to oppose or make vague arguments but to allow for an evidence-based voice, just as epidemiological measures are grounded.

Finally, people appreciate the transparency of public bodies that regulate critical situations in society, such as the COVID-19 pandemic. No one is comfortable being the mere object of rules or even epidemiological measures to preserve health and life. It is therefore essential to communicate unequivocally and transparently all information related to the COVID-19 pandemic. In this sense, no objection could be made to public institutions in Croatia, and the same is true for most modern democracies. However, the problem arises when that communication is not simple enough to be clear to everyone. Such a situation promptly opens up opportunities to fill gaps in understanding with various untruths and confabulations, which is a typical modus operandi of trumpism.

In addition to the practical implications, the described approach to the violation of epidemiological measures also provides particular new research perspectives.

Despite the potentially far-reaching detrimental effects of Trumpism, this phenomenon has not yet been sufficiently investigated. One of the reasons for this is that a certain time lag is needed to use scientific methods to see all its dimensions objectively. But the COVID-19 pandemic poses a massive threat to human lives and requires the involvement of all forces of society, including social scientists.

As a perspective for future research, we see research on both citizens and the public authorities (creators and implementers of measures) and a comparison of the perception of procedural justice, trumpism and compliance with epidemiological measures between these two samples. It would be interesting to research whether trumpism, as a concept of global influence (such as the worldwide pandemic), and to what extent it was a mediator for procedural justice, i.e. the behaviour of the authorities that implemented epidemiological measures. We also consider it worthwhile to explore the relation of these concepts not only in the American environment but also in other cultural and national contexts, and we especially emphasize the need for comparative international research. Both trumpism and the COVID-19 pandemic are worldwide phenomena, so they should be studied and treated internationally.

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ODNOS IZMEĐU TRAMPIZMA I PRIDRŽAVANJA PRAVILA TIJEKOM PANDEMIJE COVID-19: PERSPEKTIVA PROCEDURALNE PRAVIČNOSTI

Sažetak:

Pandemija COVID-19 nesumnjivo je jedan od značajnijih događaja koji je obilježio 21. stoljeće i promijenio svijet. Također, 21. stoljeće obilježila je osebujna vladavina američkog predsjednika Donalda Trumpa. Trampizam kao koncept utjecao je na mnoge aspekte života ljudi diljem svijeta. Oslanjajući se na izjave bivšeg predsjednika SAD Donalda Trumpa o globalnoj pandemiji, postavlja se pitanje je li trampizam mogao imati uticaj globalnih razmjera za širenje virusa. Budući da je proceduralna pravičnost jedan od bitnih čimbenika pridržavanja normi, ovaj rad povezuje koncepte proceduralne pravičnosti, poštivanja epidemioloških mjera i trampizma. Rad nudi jedinstven pregled literature i istraživanja, pružajući praktične implikacije kao i prijedloge za buduća međunarodna komparativna istraživanja ovih koncepata.

Ključne riječi: pandemija COVID-19; trampizam; proceduralna pravičnost; pridržavanje pravila

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