



Ethnic identity and attitudes toward the police among African American juvenile offenders[☆]

Joanna M. Lee^{a,*}, Laurence Steinberg^b, Alex R. Piquero^c

^a University of Virginia, Educational Psychology, Ruffner Hall 290, Charlottesville, Virginia 22904-4261, United States

^b Temple University, Department of Psychology, Weiss Hall, Berks Street, Philadelphia, PA. 19122, United States

^c Florida State University, College of Criminology & Criminal Justice, 634 W. Call Street, Hecht House, Tallahassee, FL. 32306-1127, United States

A B S T R A C T

Although there is a knowledge base regarding theoretical and empirical research on attitudes toward the police, this line of research has not fully examined the sources of such attitudes, and in particular the extent to which attitudes toward the police are influenced by ethnic identity. The present study examined the role of ethnic identity in African American adolescent offenders' perceptions of general police discrimination, direct police contact, procedural justice, and police legitimacy. Analyses showed that youth with a stronger sense of ethnic identity perceived more police discrimination but reported more positive beliefs about police legitimacy. The findings underscore the importance of considering processes that may make legal socialization experiences more salient for adolescents, and demonstrate the complex role that ethnic identity plays in relation to discrimination.

© 2010 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

Introduction

There is a voluminous literature with respect to public attitudes about and toward the criminal justice system (Roberts & Stalans, 1997), and especially regarding the police. Much of this literature had focused on whether citizens held generally favorable views about the police (Brandl, Frank, Worden, & Bynum, 1994), the extent to which the public supported the police across the dimensions of efficacy and image (Worrall, 1999), and the extent to which there were race/ethnic differences in citizen perceptions about the police (Reitzel & Piquero, 2006). At the same time, this literature had been limited largely because it had focused on more general attitudes and perceptions and only recently had it explored how experiences help to shape and form perceptions about the police. Importantly, these recent studies have integrated the social-psychological research emerging from the procedural justice arena with its focus on the treatment of citizens by police within police-citizen encounters.

The perception of fair treatment by the police fosters the belief that the police are a legitimate authority; legitimacy is in turn tied to increased compliance with that authority (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Folger, 1980; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Because individuals who believe that the police treat people fairly are less likely to commit crimes and encounters with the police may affect future compliance with the law (Fagan & Tyler, 2005; Mulvey et al., 2004), it is important to understand the origins of these beliefs. Although the knowledge

base regarding the sources of these attitudes is emerging, a consistent set of findings indicate that perceptions of fair treatment (or procedural justice) vary by ethnicity and age, with adolescents and African Americans generally having more negative views of the police than adults or members of other ethnic groups (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005).

Given the prevalence of youths' interactions with the criminal justice system it is useful to consider individual and developmental factors that might influence individual differences in perceptions of procedural justice and of police legitimacy. While much of the literature on procedural justice and police legitimacy focuses on demographic and contextual factors such as race, age, gender and socioeconomic status, the present study extends this line of research by examining the influence of ethnic identity, i.e., the process of exploring and making meaning out of belonging to a particular ethnic group, which may make ethnicity-linked information more salient (Fiske & Taylor, 1991), as it links to both procedural justice and police legitimacy in a sample of African American juvenile offenders.

A specific focus on African American juvenile offenders is especially important considering their experience(s) with the criminal justice system. For example, in 2003, over two million youth under age eighteen, or about 12% of the underage population, were arrested; overall, minors accounted for 15% of all male arrests and 20% of all female arrests (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006; U.S. Census Bureau, 2006). African American youth made up only 16% of the American youth population in 2003, but they accounted for 27% of all juvenile arrests that year (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Although it is difficult to discern how much of this over-representation is due to differential offending involvement and how much is related to

[☆] This paper was accepted under the Editorship of Kent Joscelyn.

* Corresponding author. Tel.: +1 434 924 7841.

E-mail address: jml4bw@virginia.edu (J.M. Lee).

differential treatment by the police (Piquero, 2008; Piquero & Brame, 2008), Bishop (2005, p.37) notes, “there are strong theoretical grounds for believing that the impact of race and ethnicity on police handling of juveniles is potentially quite large”.

With this background in hand, the next section presents a brief overview of the literature on perceptions of police legitimacy, considers the importance of ethnic identity in shaping such perceptions, and then presents an empirical investigation of the relationship between ethnic identity and perceptions of police discrimination and police legitimacy.

Police legitimacy

As a social value distinct from self-interest, legitimacy can be conceived as a feeling of obligation to obey the law and to defer to the decisions made by legal authorities (Tyler & Fagan, 2008, p.235). The level of legitimacy that an authority or an institution holds is a function of an individual's perception that the authority is just or appropriate and entitled to be obeyed (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 1997, 2006). Although the outcome of experiences with authorities is important in predicting evaluations of legitimacy, even more important is how people are treated during their interactions with authorities. Specifically, trustworthiness, respect, and neutrality of decision-making are critical components in the relational aspects of legitimacy (Tyler, 1997). When people view an authority as legitimate, they are more likely to comply with the rules of that authority (Tyler, 1997, 2006). The role of legitimacy in individuals' willingness to support and cooperate with the police is very important as it relates to their compliance with the law as well as their motivation in assisting police with crime reduction. As Tyler (2006, p.393) writes, “leaders have legitimacy when people view their authority as being appropriate and proper, with the consequence that they feel obligated to defer to the decisions made by the leaders with legitimacy and the policies and rules they create”. In this light it becomes critical to examine and identify factors that play a role in people's assessments of police legitimacy. As such, the current investigation uses two aspects of procedural justice to examine police legitimacy perceptions: (1) youths' views on whether the police treat people differently based on racial/ethnic background, age, gender or other factors, and (2) personal and legal treatment during the adolescent's most recent police encounter.¹

Within the context of attitudes toward the police generally, and police-citizen interactions in particular, researchers have devoted much attention to the influence of race/ethnicity (Rice & White, 2010) and its relation to law enforcement perceptions (Brandl et al., 1994). Although the evidence is mixed, researchers have found that African Americans tend to have more negative experiences with – and views of – the police than people from other racial/ethnic groups (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Warren, 2008). Below, several studies that inform the current investigation are reviewed.

Weitzer and Tuch (1999) used nationally representative survey data to examine perceptions of racial discrimination by the police and found race to be a significant predictor, with Blacks perceiving higher levels of police discrimination than Whites. When the effects of well-publicized accounts of police brutality were examined, Tuch and Weitzer (1997) reported that police approval ratings generally dropped regardless of race, but the negative impact of the events lasted longer for Blacks in comparison to people from other racial/ethnic backgrounds. Using Police–Public Contact Survey (PPCS) data, Engel and Calnon (2004) demonstrated that non-White drivers were stopped, cited, searched and arrested more than White drivers. Specifically, young Black and Hispanic males had the highest probabilities of being cited, searched and arrested and being the targets of force by the police. To examine the argument often used to legitimize profiling practices that people of color are more likely to be carrying drugs and/or weapons, the researchers analyzed data on search success rates and found that significantly fewer non-White

drivers were carrying contraband than White drivers (see also Petrocelli, Piquero, & Smith, 2003).

In a study of police biases, Weitzer and Tuch (2005) surveyed a nationally representative sample of adults and found that a larger percentage of Blacks as compared to Whites and Hispanics believed that racially biased policing occurred in their city and that Black and Hispanic residents received worse treatment and fewer services from the police. Black respondents were also more likely to believe that police prejudice was a problem and reported more personal experiences of unfair treatment by the police.

In a recent set of studies based on responses to a New York Times poll, Reitzel and Piquero (2006) reported that non-White New Yorkers were more likely to believe that racial profiling was widespread, and were more likely to report that they had been racially profiled by the police. Focusing specifically on African Americans, Rice and Piquero (2005) found that they were three times more likely than non-Blacks to perceive that racially biased policing was widespread, unjustified, and personally experienced, and this finding held after controlling for demographic and attitudinal variables suggesting that the ‘Black effect’ operated independently of income and education. Finally, Rice, Reitzel, and Piquero (2005) explored the intra-ethnic perspective, presenting an analysis of Black-and non-Black Hispanics' perceptions of racial profiling. Results suggested that Black Hispanics were more likely than non-Black Hispanics to believe that racial profiling was widespread, justified, and that they had been racially profiled, suggesting that intra-ethnic self-identification may play an important role in shaping perceptions toward authority relations.

Overall, there is evidence to support the view that African Americans perceive and receive worse treatment by the police than members of other racial/ethnic groups (Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005), and that personal experience with the police shape attitudes about police legitimacy. At the same time, much of this research has been conducted using adult samples, leaving a gap in the literature on youths' experiences with law enforcement (Piquero, Fagan, Mulvey, Steinberg, & Odgers, 2005). This is an important oversight as Fagan and Tyler (2005) proposed that the process of legal socialization, or the development of beliefs about the law, begins in childhood and over time shapes youths' perceptions of and compliance with legal authorities (Fagan & Piquero, 2007). A few juvenile-based studies are especially noteworthy.

In a cross-sectional study of youth ages 10 to 16, Fagan and Tyler examined predictors of police legitimacy, legal cynicism, moral disengagement, and a composite measure of legal socialization encompassing all three of these outcomes. They found that perceptions of police legitimacy were more negative and legal cynicism was higher in older youth. The perception of fair procedural justice was a significant predictor of increased police legitimacy, lower legal cynicism, and more positive legal socialization. In contrast, none of the variables related to deviance—aggression, deviant peers, low self-control and high impulsivity—predicted perceptions of police legitimacy or legal cynicism. Their findings lend support to the critical role of procedural justice in shaping the views of police legitimacy held by adolescents. Additional support for this mechanism was reported by Rusinko, Johnson, and Hornung (1978). Using self-report data from 1,200 ninth grade students, they found that positive contact with the police predicted positive attitudes towards the police; the reverse was also true. Most relevant to the present study was their finding that the effects of positive contact with the police were strongest in a subsample of highly delinquent youth. Hagan and his colleagues (2005) collected data from over 18,000 Chicago public school students to examine youth perceptions of criminal injustice. Although a number of important findings emerged from their micro/macro-level investigation, a critical result was that minority (African-American and Latino) youth perceptions of criminal injustice were more similar to one another but distinct from those of White youth. Using a sample of Jamaican high school students, Reisig and Lloyd (2008) evaluated a process-based model of policing and found that the relationship between procedural justice judgments and police legitimacy was

positive and significant. Further, those who rated police practices more favorably in terms of procedural justice also reported a greater willingness to help the police fight crime.

Although much of the literature on procedural justice addresses differential treatment between groups and has certainly furthered the theoretical understanding of attitudes toward the police—especially the extent to which race/ethnicity influences perceptions of police legitimacy, it does not paint a full portrait of such perceptions. The present study shifts this focus to examine the perspectives of adolescent offenders by drawing on previous research linking ethnic identity with perceptions of discrimination. Such an extension of previous research is important as it moves beyond the common ‘add race and stir’ approach that has characterized much of the race-based criminological research (Peterson, Krivo, & Hagan, 2006). The next section turns to an exposition of ethnic identity and its relevance for understanding attitudes toward the police.

Ethnic identity

Identity development is a fluid process that occurs throughout adolescence and well into adulthood; however, the increasing metacognitive abilities that result from cognitive maturation in adolescence cause this process to be particularly salient for adolescents (Dupree, Spencer, & Bell, 1997; Spencer, 1995). One aspect of identity development that is important for adolescents, and particularly for adolescents of color, is the integration of a sense of ethnic identity into their larger personal identity (French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006; Phinney, 1989, 1990; Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990). The developmental approach to the formation of an ethnic identity is largely based on Erikson’s theory of identity development, which asserts that identity is established after a period of exploration that occurs during adolescence (Phinney, 1989; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Roberts et al., 1999; Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian, & Bámaca-Gómez, 2004). Ethnic identity formation also incorporates social identity theory, which emphasizes the importance of group membership as a source of self-esteem (Phinney et al., 1990; Roberts et al., 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

Ethnic identity is thought to be related to perceptions of discrimination; however, the nature of this relationship is not always straightforward. First, there is evidence that a stronger ethnic identification is related to a heightened sense of discrimination as an increase in the personal salience of race affects the extent to which discrimination is perceived (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). For example, Romero and Roberts (1998) found that youth with higher scores on the exploration scale of the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) also reported higher perceived discrimination. Sellers and Shelton (2003) and Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, and Zimmerman (2003) investigated the relationship between racial identity and discrimination in African American young adults using the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). The results of their analyses also provide support for this relationship: youth for whom race was highly significant also reported more perceived discrimination.

Though one’s ethnic identification may make experiences with discrimination more salient, there is also evidence that it can buffer the negative effects of perceived discrimination (Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006). Wong, Eccles, and Sameroff (2003) assessed African American adolescents’ sense of being positively connected to their ethnic group and found that stronger ethnic identification predicted positive mental health outcomes and lessened the negative effects of peer and teacher discrimination on psychological well-being. In a recent study, Greene, Way, and Pahl (2006) found that higher ‘affirmation and belonging’ scores as measured by the MEIM buffered youth from the negative effects of peer discrimination on self-esteem, while higher scores on the achievement scale heightened these negative effects. Finally, in a study of

racial identity and academic attainment, researchers identified a group of Black youth who had positive group affiliation and for whom race was very important, but who also believed that society held negative views about African Americans (Chavous et al., 2003). This group, labeled as ‘buffering/defensive’ had the lowest high school dropout rate and was most likely to be enrolled in college two years after graduating from high school, while youth who felt positive about being Black but also believed that the public held African Americans in high regard (the ‘idealized’ group) had higher rates of high school dropout and lower college enrollment. The authors speculated that although the buffering/defensive group was very aware of racial inequities, this knowledge, along with their positive beliefs about their group, may have empowered them to persist in achieving their goals.

An adolescent’s level of ethnic identification makes acts of discrimination more salient while at the same time serves as a protective factor against the negative psychological effects of discrimination. Further, the different underlying dimensions of racial/ethnic identity may also play different roles in these processes. Greene et al. (2006) assessed ethnic identity using the ‘affirmation and belonging’ and ‘achievement’ scales of the MEIM. They asserted that the first subscale represented more of the emotional or affective side of ethnic identity, while the second tapped into the cognitive dimension. The authors found support for the differential relationship between each dimension of ethnic identity and discrimination; ethnic affirmation and belonging protected against the negative effects of discrimination, while ethnic identity achievement worsened the effects. The authors explained this finding by noting that during the exploration process leading to ‘identity achievement’, in-group/out-group distinctions, and subsequently discrimination, may be more salient, while attachment to one’s group may make it easier to disregard discrimination. Romero and Roberts (1998) reported similar findings: higher levels of identity exploration, but not higher affirmation scores, predicted more perceived discrimination.

In sum, much of the literature on ethnic identity and its impact on perceived discrimination is based on in-school samples of youth and generally addresses peer or teacher discrimination. It is important to examine this relationship in other domains using under-studied samples, and more importantly to explore whether they are differentially related to perceptions of police treatment, as such perceptions are likely to lead to future compliance with the law.

Current focus

Given that African Americans and young people rate the police more negatively than other groups, and that views of the police may impact future compliance with the law, it is necessary to examine potential underlying factors in this process that are especially salient during adolescence. This study examined whether ethnic identity played a role in African American adolescent offenders’ perceptions of general police discrimination and direct police contact as well as police legitimacy. Specifically, it hypothesized that stronger ethnic identification will predict higher perceived discrimination by the police. Two measures of perceived police behavior were examined: one that addressed differential treatment in general and one that focused on procedural justice during a specific encounter with the police. It was expected that an adolescent’s ethnic identification played a role in global perceptions of police discrimination; however, ethnic identity was not expected to predict youths’ assessments of police behavior (e.g., consideration of evidence, neutral decision-making, etc.) for a specific event.

It was possible that ethnic identity would have been either negatively or positively related to perceptions of legitimacy based on two distinct possibilities. The first anticipated a negative association because extant findings showed that negative attitudes towards the police were common in Black communities, especially among young

people (Anderson, 1999) and particularly among delinquent youth (Leiber, Nalla, & Farnworth, 1998). On the other hand, ethnic identity could have been positively associated with legitimacy because prior research indicated that ethnic identity was positively associated to prosocial attitudes, cognitive maturity, and optimal psychosocial functioning. Thus, viewing the police as a legitimate authority may have been a function of the maturity that came with age.

Data & methods

The data were from the first wave of the Pathways to Desistance project, an on-going longitudinal study of juvenile offenders in two cities designed to examine persistence in and desistance from criminal activity over time (Schubert et al., 2004).² A total of 1,354 adjudicated youth ages fourteen to eighteen were recruited from the juvenile and adult court system in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Philadelphia County) and Phoenix, Arizona (Maricopa County); the present analysis only used data from the African American youth in the sample ($n = 561$), who were largely from the Philadelphia sample. Eligible youth were those who had been adjudicated delinquent or found guilty of a serious offense, and eligible crimes for enrollment into the study were overwhelmingly felony offenses with a small proportion of misdemeanor weapons and sexual assault offenses. Due to the high number of male offenders with drug law violations, the proportion of male juveniles in the sample whose enrolling charge was a drug offense was limited to 15% in order to maintain a heterogeneous sample of offenders; however, all females meeting eligibility criteria were enrolled in the study regardless of their offense (many of the participants whose enrolling charge was a drug offense had prior adjudications for non-drug offenses, and vice-versa). The participation rate was 67%, which is comparable to participation rates reported in other studies of high-risk populations. To assess participation bias, we compared characteristics of those adjudicated of eligible charges who did/did not enroll in the study using data from official court records. Enrolled participants were somewhat younger at adjudication (15.9 years vs. 16.1 for non-participants), had more prior petitions (2.1 vs. 1.5 for non-participants), were somewhat younger at first petition (13.9 years vs. 14.2 for non-participants) and were somewhat more likely to be non-Hispanic Caucasian (25% vs. 20% for non-participants).

Once the appropriate consents had been obtained from eligible youth and parents or guardians, baseline interviews for confined juveniles were conducted in facilities, while the rest were conducted in the juvenile's home or another community location agreed upon by the participant and the interviewer; all interviews were conducted by trained interviewers. The interview covered six domains: background characteristics, indicators of individual functioning, psychosocial development and attitudes, family context, personal relationships, and community context. The baseline interview was administered over two days in two, two-hour sessions. Interviewers and participants sat side-by-side facing a computer, and questions were read aloud to avoid any problems caused by reading difficulties. Respondents could answer the questions out loud; for questions about sensitive topics, respondents had the option to enter their responses on a keypad out of the interviewer's range of vision. All attempts were made to maintain privacy during the interview. Participants were encouraged to reply honestly, and were reminded throughout the interview that their responses were confidential under legal restrictions governing the U.S. Department of Justice. All recruitment and assessment procedures were approved by the Institutional Review Boards of the participating universities, and adolescents were paid \$50 for their participation (when allowed by facility rules).

The analytic sample in the present study included 556 African American youth. Five subjects were excluded because of missing data on the ethnic identity measure; however, one-way ANOVAs showed that these subjects did not differ significantly from the rest of the sample on

any of the demographic characteristics or outcome measures. Listwise deletion was used to address any other missing data in all analyses. The overall sample was predominantly male ($n = 489$; Female $n = 67$), with an average age of sixteen. Subjects were asked about the number of adults living in their home; 47% reported having only one adult in the home, while 52% had more than one adult present in the home (generally, an unmarried partner of the subject's biological mother or a member of the extended family; few participants lived with their biological father). Youth reported on their parent or guardian's level of education, and mother's level of education was used in this analysis as a covariate; 39% had less than a high school diploma, 36% had a high school diploma, and 19% had some post-high school education. Due to the large amount of missing data on father's education, only mother's level of education was used in this analysis.

Measures

Means and standard deviations for all variables are reported in Table 1.

Procedural justice

This measure assessed several dimensions of fair treatment: correctability, ethicality, representativeness and consistency (Tyler & Huo, 2002) and was adapted from the approach taken by Tyler (1997). The subscales included direct experiences with procedural justice, others' experiences with procedural justice (e.g., general discrimination), police legitimacy, as well as other dimensions not addressed in the present study.

General discrimination

Procedural justice refers to the manner in which people are treated during their encounters with law enforcement. Participants responded to several items to assess their perception of fairness and equity connected with arrest and court processing. The mean of five items from this larger inventory was used to measure participants' perceptions of how the police treat people in general. One of the items tapped into procedural rights ("Of the people you know who have had contact with the police in terms of crime accusation, how much of their story did the police let them tell?"), while the other four items gauged overall equity ("Police treat people differently depending on their [gender, race or ethnicity, age, neighborhood]") and were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'; responses to these items were reverse-coded. The scale evinced moderate reliability ($\alpha = .57$), but confirmatory factor analysis supported the construction of a composite score that averaged these items and provided a good fit to the data (CFI = 0.97, RMSEA = .06). The mean score was used to reflect youths' views on police discrimination, and higher scores indicated lower perceived discrimination (i.e., greater perceptions of procedural justice). Given previous research on ethnic identity, it was hypothesized that youth who had higher scores on the ethnic identity measure would have also reported higher perceptions of police discrimination.

Direct contact

The mean of fourteen items was used to assess individuals' direct experiences with the police; overall reliability was good ($\alpha = .74$). These items tapped into perceptions of treatment (e.g., "During my last encounter with the police, they treated me in the way that I expected they would treat me"), use of evidence (e.g., "Police considered the evidence/viewpoints in this incident fairly"), and perceptions of the finality of police decisions (e.g., "Even after the police make a decision about arresting me, there is nothing I can do to appeal it") during the youth's most recent police encounter, and higher scores indicated a more positive experience. The direct contact scale in the procedural justice inventory was very specific to the

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics of Variables Used in the Analyses^a

Variables	Scale	Descriptive statistics	
		Mean (std. dev)	Range
<i>Dependent variables</i>			
Procedural justice- general discrimination	Higher scores reflect less perceived police discrimination	2.65 (.69)	1.00–5.00
Procedural justice- direct contact	Higher scores indicate more positive treatment by the police	2.73 (.53)	1.15–4.20
Police legitimacy	Higher scores indicate more positive perceptions of legitimacy	1.82 (.65)	1.00–4.00
<i>Predictors</i>			
Age	Continuous	16.09 (1.19)	14–19
Gender	0 = female, 1 = male	0.88 (.33)	0–1
Maternal education level	0 = some HS or less, 1 = high school diploma, 2 = post-high school experience	0.79 (.76)	0–2
Family structure	0 = single adult in home, 1 = more than one adult in home	0.52 (.49)	0–1
Self-reported offending	Proportion of variety of offenses endorsed in the past 6 months	0.31 (.19)	0.00–0.91
Ethnic identity overall	Mean score on twelve items; higher score indicates stronger ethnic identification	2.79 (.40)	1.00–4.00
Ethnic identity- affirmation and belonging	Mean score on six items; higher score reflects stronger ethnic group attachment	3.01 (.46)	1.00–4.00
Ethnic identity- achievement	Mean score on six items; higher score reflects higher identity achievement	2.58 (.44)	1.00–4.00

^a The total sample size is 556 youth.

process of the event, and while it reflected a youth's sense of injustice, it did not necessarily tap into (more general) perceptions of police discrimination per se. It was hypothesized that ethnic identification would not have predicted scores on the direct contact scale.

Police legitimacy

The legitimacy scale contained six items to which participants responded on a 4-point scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree', with higher scores indicating more positive perceptions of legitimacy. The mean of these items was used in this analysis (e.g., "I have a great deal of respect for the police", "Overall, the police are honest", "People should support the police"). Reliability was good ($\alpha = .77$). Extant research indicated that when people were treated unfairly or in a negative manner, they more likely expressed decreased support for the police; therefore, it was expected that low ratings of procedural justice (both direct contact and general discrimination) would have predicted lower scores on the legitimacy scale. It was also hypothesized that ethnic identity would have moderated this relationship: youth with stronger ethnic identification would have reported greater levels of police discrimination, leading to more negative ratings of police legitimacy.

Independent variables

Respondent characteristics

Participants' gender, age, adults present in the home (one/more than one), and level of mother's education, were used as covariates in the analysis.

Offending

The Self-Report of Offending (SRO; Huizinga, Esbensen, & Weiher, 1991) was adapted for this study to measure the adolescent's account of involvement in antisocial and illegal activities. There was disagreement in the literature over whether criminal behavior was related to perceptions of police legitimacy. Leiber, Nalla, and Farnworth (1998) found that delinquent subculture, as measured by self-reported delinquency and endorsement of delinquent attitudes was the best predictor of respect for the police, while Fagan and Tyler (2005) reported that none of the variables related to offending in their study predicted perceptions of police legitimacy. It is plausible that more offending was related to more contact with the police, which could have led to negative evaluations of the police. Thus, given the target population in this study, SRO scores were included to control for their possible effects on police legitimacy ratings.

Here, the SRO was composed of twenty-two items which elicited subject involvement in different types of crime, including destroying

property, stealing, selling drugs, carjacking, shooting, homicide, physical attacks, etc. The items reflected the more serious acts included in previous uses of self-report measures. Subjects were asked to report on their participation in any of these behaviors during the six months prior to their interview; follow-up questions assessed the frequency and time frame in which they occurred. Self-reported offending can be indicated by a variety score (number of different types of acts endorsed) or a frequency score (total number of unique acts committed); given that frequency and variety scores are highly correlated ($r > .90$) and that youth are unlikely to be 'specialized' criminals, the variety score was used (cf. Monahan & Piquero, 2009).

Ethnic identity

Sections of the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) were used to measure participants' overall sense of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992). The scale contains twelve items to which participants responded on a 4-point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree," and higher scores indicated greater ethnic identification. Items from the measure assessed feelings of *Affirmation and Belonging* (e.g., "I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to"), and *Identity Achievement* (e.g., "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs"); a confirmatory factor analyses confirmed that the 2-factor solution fit the data well (CFI=0.94). The scales were also found to have good internal consistency (Affirmation & Belonging $\alpha = .86$; Identity Achievement $\alpha = .77$; Ethnic Identity Overall $\alpha = .88$). It was expected that youth with higher scores on the MEIM would have reported higher perceived discrimination by the police. Additionally, researchers have found that the affirmation/belonging and achievement scales might be differentially related to discrimination (Greene et al., 2006; Romero & Roberts, 1998). The overall MEIM scores as well as the scores on the two subscales were examined separately.

Plan of analysis

All variables were examined to ensure that they were normally distributed; no variable had a skewness statistic greater than ± 0.65 , so no data transformation was required. Bivariate correlations between key predictors and outcome variables are reported in Table 2.

The first set of stepwise regressions examined the impact of ethnic identity on perceptions of general police discrimination. Demographic variables were entered first followed by the overall, affirmation/belonging, or achievement scores on the MEIM. In the second set of analyses, variables were entered in the same order, with direct contact as the outcome variable. Next, regression models were

Table 2
Zero-Order Correlations Among Key Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Ethnic identity overall	-	.89**	.88**	-.15**	-.05	.05	.01
2. Ethnic identity- affirmation and belonging		-	.58**	-.15**	-.05	.03	.02
3. Ethnic identity achievement			-	-.12	-.03	.07	.00
4. Procedural justice- police discrimination				-	.38**	.23**	-.11**
5. Procedural justice- direct contact					-	.40**	-.10*
6. Police legitimacy						-	-.25**
7. Self-reported offending							-

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

estimated to examine whether an adolescent's ethnic identification impacted the relation between procedural justice and police legitimacy ratings. Again, demographic variables were entered first, followed by the procedural justice discrimination variable and SRO scores, an ethnic identity overall or subscale score, and a procedural justice x ethnic identity interaction term. As ethnic identity was only expected to predict police discrimination and not direct police contact experiences, analyses were only conducted using the global discrimination score.

Results

The first set of models examined the role of overall ethnic identity, affirmation and belonging, and identity achievement on perceptions of global police discrimination while controlling for age, gender, maternal education and adults in the household (Table 3). In general, males, older youth and youth whose mothers had higher levels of education reported greater police discrimination (Model 1, Table 3). The overall MEIM score as well as the scores on both subscales significantly predicted ratings of general police discrimination in the expected direction – youth with higher levels of ethnic identification gave police more unfavorable ratings on the discrimination scale, reflecting their perception of more police discrimination (Models 2, 3, and 4, Table 3). In the second set of models (not shown), the outcome variable was the youths' ratings of their direct experiences with procedural justice. As expected, ethnic identity was not related to this outcome.

The final set of models tested the impact of ethnic identity on ratings of police legitimacy, after taking into account experiences with procedural justice (using the general discrimination scale) and offending (Table 4). Youth who were male, older, had only one adult present at home and had mothers with higher levels of education had more negative perceptions of police legitimacy

(Model 1, Table 4). Main effects were found for self-reported offending ($t(512) = -5.531, p < .001$) and for police discrimination ($t(512) = 4.050, p < .001$). Adolescents who engaged in a diverse set of offenses and those who felt the police practiced discriminatory behavior also reported more negative perceptions of police legitimacy (Model 2, Table 4). There was also a main effect for the overall ethnic identity score ($t(511) = 2.392, p = .017$); youth who scored higher on the MEIM actually reported more positive perceptions of police legitimacy (Model 3, Table 4). Finally, the discrimination x ethnic identity interaction term was insignificant, indicating that ethnic identity did not moderate the effects of perceived police discrimination on ratings of police legitimacy.

A similar pattern emerged when the ethnic identity achievement subscale score was used in the analysis (Model 4, Table 4). Youth who scored higher on the achievement scale reported more positive perceptions of police legitimacy ($t(511) = 2.333, p = .020$); once again, the interaction term was insignificant. Finally, in analyses not shown, the affirmation/belonging score was only marginally significant in predicting police legitimacy ($t(511) = 1.939, p = .053$).

Discussion

The primary interest of this study was to move beyond the traditional investigations of attitudes toward the police by considering adolescents' ethnic identity and how it related to perceptions of police legitimacy. The investigation furthered the extant knowledge base as it conducted this investigation among a sample of serious youthful offenders, for whom contact with the criminal justice system was a common occurrence and whose experiences influenced resultant perceptions and affiliated potential compliance with the law.

Four key findings emerged from this study. First, a stronger sense of ethnic identity was related to higher perceived discrimination by the police. Second, using two different measures of procedural justice (perceptions of general discrimination and event-specific legal processes) made it clear that the salience of race affected perceptions of global police prejudice towards others rather than specific inequities during legal processing. Both the affective (i.e., feelings of belongingness) and cognitive (i.e., feelings of identity achievement) components of ethnic identity were significant in predicting perceived police biases. Third, with respect to youths' views of the police as a legitimate authority, as expected, both procedural justice experiences and offending affected perceptions of police legitimacy. Youth who felt the police treated groups of people in a more equitable manner also rated them more positively on the legitimacy scale, while youth who reported a greater variety of offending gave the police more negative legitimacy ratings. Also, the

Table 3
Stepwise Regression Results of Ethnic Identity Overall (Model 2), Affirmation & Belonging (Model 3), and Ethnic Identity Achievement (Model 4) Scores on Perceived Police Discrimination

Variables	Demographics		Ethnic identity- overall score		Affirmation and belonging		Ethnic identity achievement	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	B(SE)	β	B(SE)	β	B(SE)	β	B(SE)	β
Gender	-.19 (.09)*	-.09	-.19 (.09)*	-.09	-.19 (.09)*	-.09	-.19 (.09)*	-.09
Maternal education	-.13 (.04)***	-.14	-.12 (.04)**	-.13	-.12 (.04)**	-.13	-.12 (.04)**	-.13
Age	-.09 (.03)***	-.05	-.09 (.03)***	-.15	-.09 (.03)***	-.15	-.09 (.03)***	-.15
Adults in home	-.08 (.06)	-.06	-.08 (.06)	-.06	-.08 (.06)	-.06	-.09 (.06)	-.06
Ethnic identity dimension			-.21 (.07)**	-.12	-.16 (.07)*	-.11	-.17 (.07)*	-.11
R ²	.06		.08		.07		.07	
Adjusted R ²	.05		.07		.06		.06	
ΔR^2	.01		.01		.01		.01	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
ΔF	F (4, 514) = 8.38***		F (1, 513) = 7.88**		F (1, 513) = 6.11*		F (1, 513) = 6.425*	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 4
Stepwise Regression Results of Ethnic Identity Overall (Model 3) and Achievement (Model 4) on Perceptions of Police Legitimacy

Variables	Demographics		Legal variables- offending and discrimination		Ethnic identity- overall score		Ethnic identity achievement	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	B(SE)	β	B(SE)	β	B(SE)	β	B(SE)	β
Gender	-.17 (.09) [†]	-.09	-.09 (.08)	-.05	-.09 (.08)	-.04	-.09 (.08)	-.04
Maternal education	-.12 (.04)**	-.13	-.09 (.04)*	-.11	-.10 (.04)**	-.11	-.10 (.04)**	-.11
Age	-.07 (.02)**	-.13	-.05 (.02)*	-.10	-.05 (.02)*	-.10	-.05 (.02)*	-.10
Adults in home	.11 (.06) [†]	.08	.14 (.05)*	.10	.14 (.05)*	.10	.14 (.05)*	.10
Self-reported offending			-1.17 (.21)***	-.23	-1.16 (.21)***	-.23	-1.16 (.21)***	-.23
Procedural justice- general discrimination			.16 (.04)***	.17	.17 (.04)***	.18	.17 (.04)***	.18
Ethnic identity dimension					.16 (.07)*	.10	.14 (.06)*	.10
R ²	.06		.14		.15		.15	
Adjusted R ²	.05		.13		.14		.14	
ΔR ²	.06		.09		.01		.01	
ΔF	F (4, 514) = 7.77***		F (2, 512) = 26.16***		F (1, 511) = 5.72*		F (1, 511) = 5.46*	

[†] $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

effects of ethnic identity on police legitimacy were significant above and beyond the impact of youths' sense of procedural justice and offending involvement. After controlling for these factors, a stronger sense of ethnic identity predicted more positive ratings of police legitimacy. Finally, although ethnic identity predicted perceptions of police discrimination, it did not moderate the effects of discrimination on police legitimacy as expected. Not only were the main effects of ethnic identity on legitimacy independent of procedural justice experiences, the direction of the effect was also unexpected: after controlling for perceptions of police discrimination, youth with higher ethnic identity actually rated police authority as more legitimate.

Although it may seem counterintuitive that youth with a stronger sense of ethnic identity are more likely to believe that the police discriminate but also have more respect for the police as a legitimate authority, this specific finding became more plausible if ethnic identity development was conceived of as a proxy for cognitive and psychosocial maturity. The increasing metacognitive abilities that make ethnic identity more salient for youth led them to be more aware of racial discrimination; at the same time, these abilities also made them mature enough to develop an understanding that the police were a necessary and legitimate institution for maintaining social order. In this regard, it was worth noting that the identity achievement subscale of the MEIM, which tapped into the cognitive dimensions of ethnic identity, was significantly related to police legitimacy, while the affective dimension (the affirmation/belonging subscale) was insignificant. Although youth may be very aware of discrimination—especially if it was believed to be commonplace, for which there is ample evidence to suggest this was the case among African Americans, they were able to make cognitive assessments about the police that were independent of emotional assessments, once procedural justice had been considered. Thus, while adolescents held the perception, formed via personal and vicarious experiences, that police discriminate, they still held the view that the police and the laws they uphold were legitimate in theory and as an ideal, and this was especially the case as both age and experience increase.

Several limitations of the present study must be addressed. First, given the multi-ethnic sample in the larger study, the MEIM was selected as a tool to assess ethnic identity that could have been used across ethnic groups. Unlike the MIBI developed by Sellers et al. (1997) however, the MEIM did not provide insight into the personal meaning and significance that individuals placed on race, which had been shown to be related to perceptions of discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Second, although the procedural justice scales addressed global police discrimination and personal experiences with law enforcement

processing, neither scale asked participants directly whether they felt the police personally discriminated against them because of their race. Future research should consider unpacking these experiences in further detail so as to permit an exploration of which types of personal or vicarious experiences are most salient to adolescents in forming their views about the police.

Third, while investigating the linkage of ethnic identity to police discrimination and legitimacy was important insofar as it represents one of the first empirical investigations in this area, the analyses were cross-sectional. As such, the analyses did not investigate how ethnic identity, procedural justice, and legitimacy inter-relate over time as adolescents transition out of adolescence and enter early adulthood. Further developmentally-informed analyses would be beneficial. In this regard, as adolescents age and mature they may come to further solidify their ethnic identity and at the same time alter their views of the police as more legitimate. Related analyses could also explore bidirectional links between ethnic identity dimensions and legitimacy, as well as how group-based trajectories of ethnic identity dimensions relate to various policing outcomes, including general and specific perceptions associated with police performance, experience, and their over-arching role as social control agents chartered to uphold the law.

Fourth, the study's focus on race/ethnicity precluded additional analyses regarding potential gender differences in police perceptions. Given prior research findings that boys and girls have different expectations for police authority (Brunson & Miller, 2006), it would be interesting to examine how gender moderates the pattern of inter-relationships assessed in the current study.

Finally, the use of a serious juvenile offender sample may limit the generalizability of the results to other youth, especially given their more frequent contact with the police than adolescents drawn from a community sample. Yet, this type of sample and their perceptions of procedural justice and police legitimacy are perhaps more critical than among more normative, law-abiding youths. Serious juvenile offenders have all come into contact with the police and have had specific encounters that potentially influenced their views about the police. Understanding their ethnic identity, delinquency involvement, and other demographic factors allowed for the use of multiple predictors that have theoretical, conceptual, and practical relevance in their relation to attitudes towards the police. Nevertheless, replication of study measures and findings using other samples is necessary.

In closing, it is useful to bear in mind that the over-representation of African American youth in the juvenile justice system is the result of a larger number of direct and indirect factors that cannot be explained by differential involvement in crime alone (Bishop, 2005; Piquero, 2008). Increased police presence in low-income, non-White

neighborhoods likely makes Black youth feel like targets of unjust policing. Bishop (2005, p.42) writes that 'a hostile attitude may be a response to real or perceived police prejudice, especially if police concentrate surveillance on underclass areas and differentially stop minority youths'. This study showed that the salience of ethnic identity, which is part of an important developmental process for adolescents of color, can exacerbate this perception of prejudice. The process leading to a more coherent sense of identity becomes a double-edged sword for many youth of color. Although some may internalize the negative effect of discrimination or employ maladaptive strategies to deal with it, for others, the cognitive maturity necessary for the development of a stronger ethnic identity can provide them with more positive coping strategies and ultimately serve as a protective factor against the adverse effects of racial discrimination.

On this score, research on discrimination shows that it can have a negative impact on mental health and psychosocial functioning (Fisher et al., 2000; Greene et al., 2006; Sellers et al., 2006; Szalacha et al., 2003; Wong et al., 2003). It is possible that since experiences with discrimination are very salient stressors for youth of color, they can potentially lead to reactive and maladaptive coping (Spencer, 1995). On one hand, if Black youth believe that as a group they are discriminated against by the police, and if stronger ethnic identification heightens the salience of this discrimination, then this could potentially lead to negative outcomes like increased offending. In fact, previous research has demonstrated a link between racial discrimination and violence in African American adolescents (Caldwell, Kohn-Wood, Schmeelk-Cone, Chavous, & Zimmerman, 2004; Stewart & Simons, 2006). On the other hand, stronger ethnic identification has also been shown to act as a buffer against the negative impact of discrimination, so increased awareness of racial prejudice might also be associated with increased maturity and more adaptive coping skills (Chavous et al., 2003). It is hoped that the current study served as a catalyst for a continued and expanded research agenda that furthers the knowledge base regarding attitudes toward the police and how conceptualizations beyond a simple race/ethnic dichotomy help reveal novel and important findings.

Acknowledgements

The project described was supported by funds from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, National Institute of Justice, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, William T. Grant Foundation, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, William Penn Foundation, Centers for Disease Control, National Institute on Drug Abuse Grant R01DA019697, Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency, and the Arizona Governor's Justice Commission. We are grateful for their support. The content of this paper, however, is solely the responsibility of the authors and does not necessarily represent the official views of these agencies.

Appendix

The following twelve items were adapted from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992) to determine youths' overall sense of ethnic group identification. The "affirmation and belonging" subscale included items 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, and 12, while the "identity achievement" subscale included items 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, and 10.

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.

4. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
5. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
6. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
7. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
8. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
9. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.
10. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.
11. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
12. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

Notes

1. The focus on adolescents is important because age is a factor that consistently predicts treatment by the police, with young people being more disrespected than older people (Mastrofski, Reisig, & McCluskey, 2002). It is possible that youth, particularly delinquent youth that may have multiple contacts with the police, are being disrespected during their encounters with the police, thereby further shaping their unfavorable perceptions of the police.

2. In one sense, the use of an adjudicated sample presents a limiting factor since it yields a set of individuals who have offended and been processed through the criminal justice system; hence, their perceptions and experiences may be quite different from the general population. At the same time, knowledge about adolescent offenders' attitudes toward the police is especially pertinent since they represent a highly policy-relevant sample—active offenders—for whom there is critical interest in altering future criminal activity. To the extent that particular attitudes toward the police are related to offending and its covariates, then this may signal important points for intervention that can be focused in on by the criminal justice and social service systems.

References

- Anderson, E. (1999). *Code of the street: Decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Bishop, D. M. (2005). The role of race and ethnicity in juvenile justice processing. In D. F. Hawkins & K. Kempf-Leonard (Eds.), *Our children, their children: Confronting racial and ethnic differences in American juvenile justice* (pp. 23–82). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brandl, S., Frank, J., Worden, R., & Bynum, T. (1994). Global and specific attitudes toward the police: disentangling the relationship. *Justice Quarterly*, 11, 119–134.
- Brown, B., & Benedict, W. R. (2002). Perceptions of the police: Past findings, methodological issues, conceptual issues and policy implications. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 25, 543–580.
- Brunson, R. K., & Miller, J. (2006). Gender, race, and urban policing: The experience of African American youth. *Gender & Society*, 20, 531–552.
- Caldwell, C. H., Kohn-Wood, L. P., Schmeelk-Cone, K. H., Chavous, T. M., & Zimmerman, M. A. (2004). Racial discrimination and racial identity as risk or protective factors for violent behaviors in African American young adults. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 33, 91–105.
- Chavous, T. M., Bernat, D. H., Schmeelk-Cone, K., Caldwell, C. H., Kohn-Wood, L., & Zimmerman, M. (2003). Racial identity and academic attainment among African American adolescents. *Child Development*, 74, 1076–1090.
- Dupree, D., Spencer, M. B., & Bell, S. (1997). African American children. In G. Johnson-Powell & J. Yamamoto (Eds.), *Transcultural child development* (pp. 237–268). New York: Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Engel, R. S., & Calnon, J. M. (2004). Examining the influence of drivers' characteristics during traffic stops with the police: Results from a national survey. *Justice Quarterly*, 21, 49–90.
- Fagan, J., & Piquero, A. R. (2007). Rational choice and developmental influences on recidivism among adolescent felony offenders. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 4, 715–748.
- Fagan, J., & Tyler, T. R. (2005). Legal socialization of children and adolescents. *Social Justice Research*, 18, 217–242.
- Fisher, C. B., Wallace, S. A., & Fenton, R. E. (2000). Discrimination distress during adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 29, 679–695.
- Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social cognition* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw Hill.
- French, S. E., Seidman, E., Allen, L., & Aber, J. L. (2006). The development of ethnic identity during adolescence. *Developmental Psychology*, 42, 1–10.
- Greene, M. L., Way, N., & Pahl, K. (2006). Trajectories of perceived adult and peer discrimination among Black, Latino and Asian American adolescents: Patterns and psychological correlates. *Developmental Psychology*, 42, 218–238.
- Hagan, J., Shedd, C., & Payne, M. R. (2005). Race, ethnicity, and perceptions of criminal injustice. *American Sociological Review*, 70, 381–407.
- Huizinga, D., Esbensen, F., & Weiher, A. (1991). Are there multiple paths to delinquency? *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 82, 83–118.

- Leiber, M. J., Nalla, M. K., & Farnworth, M. (1998). Explaining juveniles' attitudes toward the police. *Justice Quarterly*, 15, 151–174.
- Mastrofski, S. D., Reisig, M. D., & McCluskey, J. D. (2002). Police disrespect toward the public: An encounter-based analysis. *Criminology*, 40, 519–551.
- Monahan, K., & Piquero, A. R. (2009). Investigating the longitudinal relation between offending frequency and offending variety. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 36, 653–673.
- Mulvey, E. P., Steinberg, L., Fagan, J., Cauffman, E., Piquero, A. R., Chassin, L., et al. (2004). Theory and research on desistance from antisocial activity among serious adolescent offenders. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 2, 213–236.
- Peterson, R. D., Krivo, L. J., & Hagan, J. (Eds.). (2006). *The many colors of crime: Inequalities of race, ethnicity and crime in America*. New York: New York University Press.
- Petrocelli, M., Piquero, A. R., & Smith, M. (2003). Conflict theory and racial profiling: An empirical analysis of police traffic stop data. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 31, 1–12.
- Phinney, J. S. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 9, 34–49.
- Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 499–514.
- Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7, 156–176.
- Phinney, J. S., Cantu, C. L., & Kurtz, D. (1997). Ethnic and American identity as predictors of self-esteem among African American, Latino and White adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 26, 165–185.
- Phinney, J. S., Lochner, B. T., & Murphy, R. (1990). Ethnic identity development and psychological adjustment in adolescence. In A. R. Stiffman & L.E. Davis (Eds.), *Ethnic issues in adolescent mental health* (pp. 53–72). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Piquero, A. R. (2008). Disproportionate minority contact. *The Future of Children*, 18, 59–79.
- Piquero, A. R., & Brame, R. (2008). Assessing the race-/ethnicity-crime relationship in a sample of serious adolescent delinquents. *Crime and Delinquency*, 54, 390–422.
- Piquero, A. R., Fagan, J., Mulvey, E. P., Steinberg, L., & Odgers, C. (2005). Developmental trajectories of legal socialization among serious adolescent offenders. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 96, 267–298.
- Reisig, M. D., & Lloyd, C. (2008). Procedural justice, police legitimacy, and helping the police fight crime: Results from a survey of Jamaican adolescents. *Police Quarterly*, 12, 42–62.
- Reitzel, J., & Piquero, A. R. (2006). Does it exist? Studying citizens' attitudes of racial profiling. *Police Quarterly*, 9, 161–183.
- Rice, S. K., & White, M. D. (2010). *Race, ethnicity, and policing: New and essential readings*. New York: New York University Press.
- Rice, S. K., Reitzel, J. D., & Piquero, A. R. (2005). Shades of brown: Perceptions of racial profiling and the intra-ethnic differential. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, 3, 47–70.
- Rice, S. K., & Piquero, A. R. (2005). Perceptions of discrimination and justice in New York City. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 28, 98–117.
- Roberts, J. V., & Stalans, L. J. (1997). *Public opinion, crime, and criminal justice*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Roberts, R. E., Phinney, J. S., Masse, L. C., Chen, Y. R., Roberts, C. R., & Romero, A. (1999). The structure of ethnic identity of young adolescents from diverse ethnocultural groups. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 19, 301–322.
- Romero, A. J., & Roberts, R. E. (1998). Perception of discrimination and ethnocultural variables in a diverse group of adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence*, 21, 641–656.
- Rusinko, W. T., Johnson, K. W., & Hornung, C. A. (1978). The importance of police contact in the formulation of youths' attitudes toward police. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 6, 53–67.
- Schubert, C., Mulvey, E. P., Steinberg, L., Cauffman, E., Losoya, S. H., Hecker, T., et al. (2004). Operational lessons from the Pathways to Desistance project. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 2, 237–255.
- Sellers, R. M., Caldwell, C. H., Schmeelk-Cone, K. H., & Zimmerman, M. A. (2003). Racial identity, racial discrimination, perceived stress, and psychological distress among African American young adults. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 43, 302–317.
- Sellers, R. M., Copeland-Linder, N., Martin, P. P., & Lewis, R. L. (2006). Racial identity matters: The relationship between racial discrimination and psychological functioning in African American adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 16, 187–216.
- Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. J., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. (1997). Multidimensional inventory of Black identity: Preliminary investigation of reliability and construct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 805–815.
- Sellers, R. M., & Shelton, J. N. (2003). The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 1079–1092.
- Snyder, H. N., & Sickmund, M. (2006). *Juvenile offenders and victims: 2006 national report*. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- Spencer, M. B. (1995). Old issues and new theorizing about African American youth: A phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory. In R. L. Taylor (Ed.), *Black youth: Perspectives on their status in the United States* (pp. 37–70). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Stewart, E. A., & Simons, R. L. (2006). Structure and culture in African American adolescent violence: A partial test of the “code of the street” thesis. *Justice Quarterly*, 32, 1–33.
- Sunshine, J., & Tyler, T. R. (2003). The role of procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping public support for policing. *Law and Society Review*, 37, 513–547.
- Szalacha, L. A., Erkut, S., García Coll, C., Alarcón, O., Fields, J. P., & Ceder, I. (2003). Discrimination and Puerto Rican children's and adolescents' mental health. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 9, 141–155.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (2004). The social identity theory of group behavior. In J. T. Jost & J. Sidanius (Eds.), *Political psychology: Key readings* (pp. 276–293). New York: Psychology Press.
- Tuch, S. A., & Weitzer, R. (1997). Racial differences in attitudes toward the police. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61, 642–663.
- 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. (2006). Psychological perspectives on legitimacy and legitimation. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 57, 375–400.
- Tyler, T. R., & Fagan, J. (2008). Legitimacy and cooperation: Why do people help the police fight crime in their communities? *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law*, 6, 231–275.
- Tyler, T. R., & Folger, R. (1980). Distributional and procedural aspects of satisfaction with citizen-police encounters. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 1, 281–292.
- Tyler, T. R., & Huo, Y. J. (2002). *Trust in the law*. New York: Russell-Sage.
- Tyler, T. R., & Wakslak, C. J. (2004). Profiling and police legitimacy: Procedural justice, attributions of motive, and acceptance of police authority. *Criminology*, 42, 253–281.
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Yazedjian, A., & Bámaca-Gómez, M. (2004). Developing the ethnic identity scale using Eriksonian and social identity perspectives. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 4, 9–38.
- U.S. Census Bureau; Population Division. (2006). *National sex and age: 2000 to 2004, Table 2: Annual estimates of the population by selected age groups and sex for the United States: April 1, 2000 to July 1, 2004* (NC-EST2004-02); Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/popest/national/asrh/NC-EST2004-sa.html>
- Warren, P. Y. (2008). Perceptions of police disrespect during vehicle stops: A race-based analysis. *Crime and Delinquency*, doi:10.1177/0011128708316177.
- Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. A. (1999). Race, class, and perceptions of discrimination by the police. *Crime and Delinquency*, 45, 494–507.
- Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. A. (2005). Racially biased policing: Determinants of citizen perceptions. *Social Forces*, 83, 1009–1030.
- Wong, C. A., Eccles, J. S., & Sameroff, A. (2003). The influence of ethnic discrimination and ethnic identification on African American adolescents' school and socio-emotional adjustment. *Journal of Personality*, 71, 1197–1232.
- Worrall, J. L. (1999). Public perceptions of police efficacy and image: The ‘fuzziness’ of support for the police. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 24, 47–66.