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Police Brutality Can Be Prevented

This month, New York City police officer Justin A. Volpe pleaded guilty to sodomizing Abner Louima with a broken broom handle. Later, a jury found another white officer guilty of assaulting and restraining Louima. Three other white policemen were acquitted of related crimes, but will be tried on conspiracy charges.

This was one of the rare instances when the brutalization of a person of color by the police made headlines and generated sufficient public outrage to force authorities to investigate and prosecute the crime. Typically, high profile violations of human rights by the police are labeled by law enforcement officials as exceptions or the behavior of "rogue" officers.

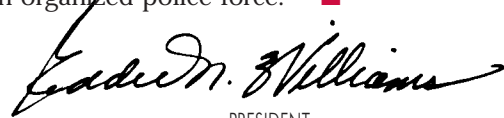
Despite this state of denial by law enforcement authorities, civil rights organizations have documented thousands of incidents of excessive force, including unjustified shootings, fatal chokings, and beatings. The overwhelming majority of them go unreported and unpunished. All too often the officers involved in brutality cases are white and their victims are black or Latino.

Some of the blame for these abuses must fall on law enforcement officials for their faulty recruiting, inadequate training, and lax supervision. Police departments have been less than thorough in conducting background checks of new recruits. In some cases, officers transferring from police departments in other jurisdictions may leave behind them records with numerous complaints of brutality, while the recruiting departments hiring these officers either disregard or do not check their records. Similarly, the records of officers who rack up dozens of brutality complaints are often ignored even when they are being considered for commendations and promotions. However, victims of brutality seeking redress through administrative remedies or lawsuits have difficulty getting police officers to come forward as witnesses because they can't pierce the so-called "blue wall of silence"—the unspoken agreement among police officers to protect one another.

The good news is that organizations like the Police Foundation and the American Police Association, which develop police management strategies, have found that human rights violations by the police can be prevented. Police departments can institute better use-of-force training and policies. They can also do a better job of identifying early the potentially abusive officer who finds personal restraint difficult or allows emotions to intrude in his or her duties. The Police Foundation has developed a computerized Risk Analysis Management System (RAMS), to help identify officers "on the edge" or at-risk of committing abuses. RAMS tracks critical characteristics at various stages of an officer's professional development. Incidents such as use-of-force events, vehicle pursuits, sick leave, and disciplinary actions against an officer are compiled. From a lap top computer, supervisors or other officials are able to identify police officers who are unstable and pose a risk to themselves and the community.

In addition, police departments can turn away from the "us vs. them," "tough cop" attitudes toward the public and embrace effective community policing. Patrick Murphy, former public safety director of Washington, D.C., and New York City police commissioner, calls for professionalizing policing and recommends that more departments require a college degree for entering recruits to law enforcement agencies. These recommendations, coupled with an openness to greater civilian review, will go a long way toward making our police departments truly part of the community instead of a force of domination.

As former chief Murphy is fond of saying, "It is a cardinal principle of democratic societies that ultimate responsibility for peace, good order, and law observance rests with the community of citizens of that society, not with an organized police force." ■



PRESIDENT



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It's Time for Corporate Welfare Reform

As States Give Corporations Billions in Tax Breaks and Other Economic Development Incentives, Taxpayers See Poor Returns on Their Investments

by Greg LeRoy

Each year, states and cities spend between \$50 billion and \$100 billion for economic development in incentives to attract corporate projects such as the construction of auto plants, microchip factories, and sports stadiums. These subsidies come in many forms, including property-tax abatements, low-interest loans, corporate income-tax credits, grants for training workers, and infrastructure improvements such as building access roads and extending water, sewer, and utility lines. Now this "corporate welfare" has become the target of a widespread but little known public backlash. Brewing for a decade, this wave of reform had been ignored by the national media until *Time* magazine's series last November, "What Corporate Welfare Costs You."

Taxpayer giveaways in the name of economic development have ballooned in the last 20 years. But too often states, local jurisdictions, and taxpayers, who ultimately foot the bill, are not receiving a fair return on their investments in job creation, expansion of tax bases, and economic ripple effects. In too many cases, arrangements made with corporations yield too few jobs or yield only low-wage jobs and give corporations a virtual free ride on taxes, sometimes lasting for decades. Despite the fact that deals worth more than \$100,000 per job are now common, few subsidies mandate job quality standards, such as wage floors, health benefits, or full-time work.

While corporations have profited handsomely from this public largess, real wages for average working people have declined about 15 percent since the late 1970s, and the number of people working for poverty wages has risen. Because of booming corporate welfare, state and local tax burdens have shifted away from large corporations and onto small businesses and wage earners. While taxes on working Americans have increased, education and public services have been disinvested, undermining public confidence in government. What is more, some subsidized companies violate environmental and antidiscrimination regulations.

Desperately Seeking Bang for the Buck

Many remain puzzled as to how taxpayers spend so much and get so little. One explanation is that most development agreements between corporations and municipalities lack basic accountability safeguards or fail to contain money-back guarantee language (known as a

"clawback") for protection if a deal fails to create or retain jobs or generate new capital investment. Few agreements are monitored to ensure that outcomes measure up to projections.

There are few anti-piracy rules to prevent taxpayers from simply subsidizing the movement of jobs from one city to another, often within the same state. Furthermore, high-polluting industries such as the petrochemical, paper manufacturing, microchip, auto making, and steel industries, are very large beneficiaries of such incentives.

The trend has accelerated. Twenty years ago, only 21 states granted corporate income-tax credits; today 37 do. Only nine states granted tax credits for research and development; today, 36 do that. Only 13 states made long-term, low-interest loans to companies for machinery and equipment; today 43 do. Only 20 states provided low-interest, tax-exempt bond financing; today 44 do.

With the federal government's laissez-faire attitude, states are left to compete against one another, resulting in inflated bids for specific corporate investments in what has been dubbed the "civil war for jobs." Because of the soft economy of the 1980s and the anti-incumbency fever of the 1990s, mayors and governors have become increasingly anxious to claim credit for new jobs. The result has been a ruinous spiral of no-strings-attached spending on incentives, seldom targeted and poorly evaluated.

Today's robust economy has temporarily cooled the smokestack-chasing frenzy, typified by the \$168,000-per-job package of incentives Alabama presented to Mercedes Benz in 1993. But another form of corporate welfare has become more common: "job blackmail," in which companies demand subsidies by threatening to relocate existing jobs to other cities or out of state. The issue was featured by CFO ("The Magazine for Senior Financial Executives") in its January 1996 cover article, "There's No Place Like Home: How Companies Are Cashing in by Staying Put."

The CFO article led with a 1995 episode in which Raytheon Company, a Massachusetts-based defense contractor, threatened to move jobs out of the state unless the state rewrote its tax code, saving the company an estimated \$20 million a year. Intent on preserving jobs, the Bay State complied. But this concession prompted another company headquartered there, Fidelity Investments, to demand (and win) a similar tax concession for financial service companies. The Raytheon deal has soured, however. The company has reportedly reduced its hourly Massachusetts work force by about one-fourth.

Mr. LeRoy, director of Good Jobs First, a new project of the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy in Washington, D.C., is the 1998 winner of the Public Interest Pioneer Award of the Stern Family Fund. He is author of *No More Candy Store: States and Cities Making Job Subsidies Accountable*, published by ITEP.

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Even states with an image of frugality are making big giveaways. The Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy's Good Jobs First project recently analyzed more than 500 Minnesota development deals, and found that 38 deals were approved with subsidies of \$100,000 or more per job. Almost a fourth of the deals exceeded federal subsidy limits of \$35,000 per job. Yet despite such large subsidies, two-thirds of the deals had been authorized at wage levels of 20 percent or more below local market rates for the same industry. At least eight deals involved intrastate corporate relocations: taxpayers subsidizing the movement of companies from one location to another within the state.

Unfortunately, almost half of the states don't provide a tally of all the tax credits and exemptions claimed by companies on their state tax returns, so many taxpayers are unaware of the amount their states are actually spending for development. When the Louisiana Coalition for Tax Justice investigated that state's industrial tax exemptions for the 1980s, it found they had cost the state's schools \$941 million. (Louisiana has one of the nation's lowest high school graduation rates.) Almost three-fourths of the Louisiana projects exempted had created no new jobs, and 87 percent of the exemptions were applied to the state's highest-pollution industries.

Subsidizing Discrimination

Because economic development deals are usually concluded behind closed doors, the potential for race and gender discrimination is high. While there is no summary research on the subject, there is disturbing anecdotal evidence. In 1984, Hasbro subsidiary Playskool announced the closure of a Chicago factory which it was moving to New England, dislocating 700 workers, mostly black and Hispanic women. Public outrage ensued when it was revealed that earlier the company had received a \$1 million industrial revenue bond (IRB) from Chicago to upgrade the equipment in the factory.

A regional analysis of IRBs, which are low-interest loans based on tax-free bonds, found an adverse effect not only on workers but also on minority entrepreneurs. In 1984, the Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights examined 104 IRBs in the Chicago metropolitan area between 1977 and 1983. It found that only three of them went to African American-owned firms, one to an Asian-owned firm, and none to Hispanic-owned firms. The committee also found that one-third of the recipient companies had cut back their work forces since receiving IRBs. For one-third of the companies, the black portion of their work forces was much smaller than that of the area's overall labor market. Two-thirds of the companies also had disproportionately small Hispanic work forces, and more than half the companies had disproportionately small female work forces. In fully one-fifth of the deals, either the recipient company or the bank that bought the bond

had recently violated the federal fair employment rules of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The overall situation regarding subsidies and race is also troubling in the auto industry. Since the mid-1980s, there have been massive auto investments in the U.S. by foreign car makers, especially Japanese firms. Foreign auto makers have built more than 300 plants in the United States with multiple state and local development subsidies, such as tax-exempt financing, infrastructure improvements, training grants, tax abatements, and various income tax credits. (A Honda plant, expected to begin car production in Alabama in 2002, is slated to receive at least \$158 million in subsidies. A General Motors plant to be built in Michigan will also be heavily subsidized).

However, a 1988 study by University of Michigan professors Robert Cole and Donald Deskins of three early "transplants" (Honda, Nissan, and Mazda) along with 51 Japanese auto parts plants, found that African American workers were significantly underrepresented at almost all of the 54 plants. For example, the study found that blacks comprised 2.8 percent of those employed at Honda's Marysville, Ohio, plant, whereas they made up 10.5 percent of that area's available work force. Several foreign auto firms have settled race and/or sex discrimination lawsuits in the United States.

The Time Is Ripe for Reform

A movement to make corporations accountable has taken hold across the nation. States and cities have begun to craft agreements that seek to balance their need for development with an imperative to negotiate in a more business-like fashion for hard concessions like employment standards. In 1989, only two states and three cities had any safeguards such as clawbacks, wage standards, anti-piracy policies, or disclosure of benefits the project intends to create. By 1994, at least 27 states and 10 cities had such regulations. Indianapolis, Fort Worth, and New York City have used their clawback rules to require numerous poor-performance companies to pay refunds with no apparent harm to their business climates.

It is evident that the "corporate welfare" accountability revolution is still underway. For example, in just the last five years, 29 cities have enacted "living wage" ordinances that typically require certain companies to pay wages of \$8 an hour or more. Some include health care requirements as well. While most of these laws only relate to private contractors providing public services (such as janitorial, landscaping, or maintenance services), at least eight jurisdictions also apply wage and/or benefit rules to companies receiving local development incentives.

Other jurisdictions are making shrewd judgments based on their local economies. Three townships in the Indianapolis area now require firms seeking tax abatements to pay their employees an average wage of \$14 an hour. Austin, Texas, and Gary, Indiana, compel such employers to provide their workers with health care. In California, Santa Clara County has imposed a \$10 an hour wage floor and health care.

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Needed: Hispanic American Army Officers

Poor Exposure to the Military and Inadequate Mentoring Programs Are Among the Reasons Hispanics Are Seriously Underrepresented

by Hector E. Topete

“The future ain’t what it used to be!”

—Yogi Berra

As America becomes more and more a multiethnic and multiracial society, demographers forecast that minorities will approach 50 percent of the U.S. population by the year 2050. By 2035, it is projected that one out of every five Americans will be Hispanic. Indeed, Hispanic Americans are the nation’s fastest growing minority, and Hispanics are already more numerous than any other minority group in the 18-and-under age group.

Despite this trend, Hispanic Americans are drastically underrepresented in the military. This is especially true for the corps of Hispanic officers in the Army, which is disproportionately small compared with the population. Leaders within the Department of Defense (DoD) have voiced the military’s goal of “looking” like the nation it defends. But that goal is far from being fulfilled.

While current Census Bureau and Department of Defense data reveal that Hispanic Americans comprise about 11.4 percent (12.8 percent if Puerto Rico is included) of the country’s population, they comprise only 3.5 percent of the officers in the Army. This disparity, coupled with strong indicators that many Hispanic Americans have the potential and desire to serve in the armed forces and have a long history of serving with distinction, presents us with an “inverse dynamic.” Hispanic Americans demonstrate the highest propensity (expressed willingness) for military service, have the most Medal of Honor recipients, proportionately, of any single group, have some of the highest retention rates of those in the Army, and comprise 28 percent of all the names on the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C., yet they are conspicuously absent from the Army’s officer corps.

The Army can expand its Hispanic officer corps by drawing from its experience with African American officers. Black officers faced a similar degree of underrepresentation 30 years ago, but they have made dramatic gains through effective use of Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) programs at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and through an effective outreach and mentoring organization called The ROCKS, an association of black active duty and retired officers. The Hispanic American community now stands to gain from the successes of this African American experience.

This article summarizes the results of a year-long study I conducted to examine the causes of Hispanic underrepresentation and identify remedies. The study was undertaken with the sponsorship of the U.S. Army as a senior military fellow at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies in Washington, D.C. The full report of the study’s findings and recommendations, entitled, *Underrepresentation of Hispanic American Officers in the Army’s Officer Corps: A Study of an Inverse Dynamic*, was released by the Joint Center in May. Both individual interviews and focus groups were used in the study. Interviews were conducted with 24 national leaders, both civilian and military, including the Secretary of the Army, members of Congress, heads of Hispanic American organizations, educators, and other key figures. Eighteen focus groups were conducted with Hispanic American high school and college students in California and Texas, junior Army officers, cadets at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, and instructors of military science.

Seeing Themselves in the Army

The key barriers preventing Hispanic American youth from pursuing careers as Army officers are the lack of exposure to the Army and an inability to envision the Army as a career possibility. One of the most basic findings from the interviews and focus groups is that Hispanic American youth have little knowledge of the officer side of the Army and do not “see” themselves in it. The lack of senior Hispanic American officers as role models (there are currently only three active duty Hispanic generals) is compounded in California by recent base closures there. Most of the youth in the focus groups said they had never seen Hispanic Americans who had “made it” in the Army or were part of “the brass.”

Although they have some knowledge about enlisting, very few high school and even college students realize that they do not have to put off college to become an officer. They do not know that they can pursue a college degree through an ROTC program or as a West Point cadet. And the shortage of Hispanic American officers and non-commissioned officers (NCOs) running ROTC programs means that those who do pursue military science courses do so under instructors who don’t “look” like them.

Focus group participants who have had experience with Army recruiters said that the recruiters do not appear to have enough information (or are hesitant to provide it) on these officer programs. For their part, recruiters anxious to fill their

Army Colonel Topete, a West Point graduate, was the 1998-99 senior military fellow at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. He is the commander of the Army’s 3rd ROTC Brigade in charge of ROTC programs in California, Arizona, Nevada, and Utah.

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Hispanic Officers

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quotas of new enlisted soldiers are reluctant to help a prospective recruit enter an ROTC program or West Point.

The lack of veterans in Hispanic families is also a factor. The overwhelming majority of participants in the non-ROTC and non-officer focus groups did not grow up with any veteran family members. Conversely, the majority of focus group participants who were ROTC cadets, West Point cadets, or officers in the Army had immediate family members who were veterans.

Related to the issue of exposure is the matter of cultural attitudes, which may enhance or hinder the ability of the Army to bring Hispanic Americans into the Army's officer corps. For example, the Army should take advantage of the high value that Hispanic Americans place on patriotism. The vast majority of focus groups and interviewees made it clear that Hispanic Americans are thankful for what this country has done for them, consider it *their* country, and have a genuine intent to fight for this country if needed.

On the other hand, the tendency among both first- and second-generation Hispanic American youth to stay near home and help out with the family deters military participation. Another problem is the high percentage of Hispanic youth who drop out of high school and enter the work force at an early age. This often precludes pursuing careers which require a college education, such as becoming officers in the Army. According to 1997 Census data, Hispanic men age 16 and over had the highest labor force participation of any group of American male workers. There also appears to be a cultural block, within Hispanic families, to the idea of women going into the Army.

Since the overwhelming majority of Army officers are commissioned through either the ROTC (70 percent) or West Point (20 percent), the Army should enhance its recruitment and scholarship efforts regarding these programs. It should also formalize relationships with the colleges affiliated with the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU). The majority of Hispanic American undergraduates are enrolled in these colleges, yet the Army does not have a formal relationship with them that would facilitate the allocation of resources, such as ROTC scholarships.

Similarly, the West Point admissions goal of 4 to 6 percent for Hispanic Americans needs to be reexamined. This goal is partially based on the current percentage of Hispanic officers in the Army. Pegging an admissions goal to such a low base for Hispanic American West Point cadets will only perpetuate underrepresentation. Another reason that the growth in West Point admissions are limited is that Hispanic members of Congress do not use all of their allotted nominations to the academy.

How to Overcome the Barriers

While the barriers to recruiting Hispanic Americans into the Army's officer corps are significant, many of them can

be overcome. In some cases, the Army could merely replicate existing successful programs. A variety of approaches can be taken to address the exposure problem. Campaigns to advertise opportunities offered by West Point and ROTC programs should first of all be targeted at California and Texas, which have the largest Hispanic populations. An important element of such campaigns should be to emphasize that those who attend West Point receive a free university education.

In the absence of a large pool of senior Hispanic officers, the Army should use junior officers as role models. Along these lines, the ROTC Gold Bar recruiter program, in which recently commissioned ROTC lieutenants recruit candidates in the same localities where they went to school, has proven to be highly successful. In addition, just as the Marines have succeeded in attracting recruits looking for a challenge, Hispanic youth could be targeted for recruitment into Airborne, Ranger, Green Berets, and Special Forces units. Strategies may also be devised to address cultural impediments to serve. For example, Hispanic Americans who want to remain close to their families may be offered Reserve and National Guard commissions through ROTC programs so they can serve as officers and stay near home. To overcome the bias against women serving, the Army could highlight successful female cadets and officers in ads emphasizing the college aspect of officer-producing programs.

A great deal can be accomplished through the Army's existing officer training programs. As a first step, the Army should adapt the ROTC programs operating at historically black colleges and universities in the nation's nearly 200 Hispanic-serving institutions. But because most Hispanic youth who pursue post-secondary educations are in junior colleges and state schools, the Army should continue to extend its ROTC program to these institutions.

On a positive note, West Point's Funded Visitation Program is extremely effective. It brings highly qualified minority high school students to the academy for a visit, which culminates in an offer to apply for admission. Since the program began, 85 percent of the visiting students have been admitted as cadets. However, the number of Hispanic cadets at West Point would increase significantly if Hispanic members of Congress used all of the nominations to West Point allotted to them. Some members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus have been made aware of this problem and are committed to make better use of this constituent benefit.

Finally, successful existing mentoring models should be adapted to benefit prospective Hispanic officers. Perhaps the most effective among these is the ROCKS, which conducts outreach, mentoring, and officer development programs focused on African American youth, ROTC cadets, and officers. The Association of Naval Service Officers is a similar organization that focuses on Hispanic Americans. The Army should also encourage Hispanic American military retirees to take advantage of the Troops to Teachers program and become teachers in areas where Hispanics are concentrated.

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Reconciliation and Democracy in South Africa

As the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy Continues, South Africa's New President Holds a Mandate to Address a Welter of Social Ills

by Carole Henderson Tyson

Tyson On June 2, a massive turnout of the citizens of South Africa participated in that nation's second free, nonracial democratic election. Nelson Mandela, now 80 years old and one of the great men of this century, had voluntarily declined to run for a second term as president. During his five-year term, he presided over a transitional process in which that country moved from a brutal apartheid regime based on white supremacy to a democracy in which all races participate. With this election, the nation has reaffirmed its commitment to the peaceful transfer of the reins of power.

Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) party walked away with an overwhelming majority of the seats in the South African parliament, but came up just shy of the two-thirds required to unilaterally rewrite the post-apartheid Constitution. The new head of state, British educated economist Thabo Mbeki, who served the last five years as deputy president, is Mandela's anointed successor. Mbeki faces the challenge of continuing to build national unity and economic growth while addressing the more prosaic but equally daunting aspects of governance high black unemployment, inadequate housing, and crime.

Nelson Mandela can truly be called the father of South African democracy. Imprisoned for 27 years of a life term for his opposition to apartheid, he had the character and strength to forgive his enemies. His example of grace and forgiveness offers a model of reconciliation, not only to his countrymen but to peoples locked in civil strife around the world. Mandela now passes the baton to Mbeki, who at 56 represents the next generation of ANC leadership.

Mbeki started his life as an activist at an early age. Expelled in his senior year of high school for leading a student strike, he slipped out of the country bound for England where he later received a degree in economics at the University of Sussex. In London, Mbeki began his long association with Oliver Tambo, the exiled president of the ANC. Mbeki was given important assignments, which included setting up ANC offices in Zambia, Nigeria, Botswana, Swaziland, and Mozambique.

He eventually became Tambo's chief aide and accompanied him on high-level missions to Washington, Moscow, and other major capitals in the campaign to build international pressure against apartheid in the 1980s. As deputy president since 1994, Mbeki was a key figure in mapping

out the current strategy for economic growth and has managed the day-to-day operation of the government.

The huge turnout of South Africa voters, in excess of 80 percent, delivered Mbeki and the ANC an even stronger mandate than they received in the landmark 1994 election. That mandate will be needed to deal with the continuing legacy of crushing poverty, a black unemployment rate approaching 40 percent, and the deep vestiges of racial division. These inequities, combined with joblessness, have fed rampant crime, and the poor continue to struggle with widespread illiteracy and severe health problems such as AIDS. Over the past five years, the Mandela-Mbeki administration has made thousands of new housing starts, created jobs, and provided water and electricity hookups to rural areas. However, aside from the financial limits and logistical barriers to delivering social and economic programs, Mbeki must combat the centuries-old legacy in which only the interest of whites were accommodated.

The Democratic Party, which is the new chief opposition party, and the much diminished New National Party have launched a general attack on ANC programs. But as the constitutionally elected president of South Africa, Mbeki is determined to proceed with his programs as the head of a pluralistic African democracy where opposition is now tolerated. In this way, like his predecessor, Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki is setting an example for others to follow. ■

Over the past six years, the Joint Center has helped prepare grassroots organizations to participate in the democratic process. The Joint Center's South Africa Office is currently implementing two projects designed to strengthen that country's new democracy. The South Africa Democracy Support Project (SADSP), funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), is working with community-based organizations, historically disadvantaged institutions/universities, and Transitional Local Councils to help them engage more fully in democratization and public policy within their own communities and organizations. This project has pioneered the use of audio cassettes to pass the messages of the elected community leaders and their constituents via the radio and transportation systems in the region. Such technology does not replace face to face dialogue, but it does strengthen it by assuring wide dissemination of well thought-out and articulated issues. Another Joint Center project, also funded by USAID, is strengthening the capacity of research institutes and think tanks to conduct and disseminate information relevant to South Africa's macroeconomic policies.

Dr. Tyson is the new Vice President for Program Related Initiatives at the Joint Center. She holds a Ph.D. in anthropology from Harvard University and recently completed a 20-year career as an official at the United States Agency for International Development, most recently as the director of foreign aid programs in Jamaica and the Caribbean Region.

Corporate Welfare

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A significant grassroots effort for reform made some progress in Alabama in 1995. Hoping to create jobs in 1993, the state had enacted a lavish corporate income tax credit dubbed the "Mercedes law" because it was drafted to help entice German car maker Mercedes Benz to build a plant in the state. The value of the incentive package totaled \$253 million or \$168,000 per job. In and of itself, the investment tax credit was so lucrative that in just one year, 86 more companies applied for the same deal.

The Mercedes law created the potential for a massive state budget crisis. The Alabama Education Association considered filing a lawsuit arguing that the Mercedes law would cause the state to abrogate its constitutional obligation to educate the state's children. Alabama Arise, a statewide coalition of religious, community, labor, and environmental groups, angrily demanded a rollback. The state legislature heeded the call, freezing the 86 applications and trimming future incentives available to corporations. Despite the fact that the state adopted these reforms in 1995, critics within the state complain that the state's investment tax credit program is still too costly.

Alabama's experience provides an object lesson that many states are embracing. More and more jurisdictions are drawing the line on giving tax breaks and other incentives to corporations without firm commitments that the investment will yield good jobs at good wages, enhanced tax bases, and other development results. But since the majority of development giveaways still lack even the most basic safeguards, advocates for change face a long struggle. One factor on their side is the strong public support for reform. A Peter Hart/Ethel Klein public opinion poll conducted in 1996 found three-to-one "yes" majorities when Americans were asked if companies getting corporate welfare should pay a living wage and if they should pay the money back if they fail to deliver jobs. ■

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Finally, the establishment of Senior Service College fellowships at premier Hispanic American think-tanks, modeled on the Joint Center's senior military fellows program, should be established at places like the Tomas Rivera Policy Institute in California and the National Council of La Raza in Washington, D.C.

Reducing the underrepresentation of Hispanic Americans in the Army's officer corps is not an insurmountable goal. A concerned and committed Army leadership is beginning to allocate resources to deal with the problem. Several Army commands, including the U.S. Army ROTC Cadet Command and West Point, have already initiated and implemented programs that will certainly make a difference. Nevertheless, the Army should develop a comprehensive plan to address the drastic underrepresentation of Hispanic American officers. Furthermore, the Army should set, as a priority, the implementation of such a plan.

We now know how to fix the problem of underrepresentation among Hispanic American officers. We have the talent and resources to do it. All that is required is the will. Based on all the positive support I received during the course of this study, I believe we will succeed. ■

The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. government.

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JUNE 1999

TRENDLETTER

POLITICAL REPORT

Supreme Court Overturns Anti-Loitering Ordinance

On June 10, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the police do not have the discretion to prevent suspected gang members from assembling in public. The decision overturns a Chicago anti-loitering ordinance designed to make neighborhood streets safe. In the *City of Chicago v. Morales* case, the justices decided, 6 to 3, that the city's 1992 ordinance was too vague, failing to provide police with any guidance on how to distinguish between innocent assembly and sinister lingering. It also gave officers too much power to arbitrarily decide who was a gang member.

Police were required to order anyone "reasonably believed" to be a gang member and standing around in public with someone else to move on. Those who refused to comply could be arrested and fined \$500 or sentenced to six months in prison. Police officers were instructed to rely on their own experience to identify likely gang members. During the three years the ordinance was in force, from 1992 to 1995, more than 42,000 people who refused to move on were arrested, most of them young men of color.

Writing the majority opinion, Justice John Paul Stevens said, "It matters not [under the ordinance] whether the reason that a gang member and his father . . . might loiter near Wrigley Field is to rob an unsuspecting fan or just to get a glimpse of Sammy Sosa leaving the ballpark." Stevens was joined in his decision by justices Sandra Day O'Connor, Anthony M. Kennedy, David H. Souter, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, and Stephen G. Breyer. Justices Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas and Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist dissented.

The American Civil Liberties Union opposed the ordinance, which many consider an attempt to turn the clock back to the 1950s and '60s when police had license to target minorities and scoop up "suspicious looking characters" standing on street corners.

President Clinton Condemns Racial Profiling

In a June 9 statement, President Bill Clinton called for the collection of data to determine if police are targeting minorities. Following are excerpts from his speech.

"We . . . must stop the morally indefensible, deeply corrosive practice of racial profiling. No person of color is immune from such humiliating experiences. Racial profiling is, in fact, the opposite of good police work, where actions are based on hard facts, not stereotypes. It is wrong; it is destructive; and it must stop.

"As a necessary step to combat it, we . . . need hard facts. Today, I am directing my cabinet agencies to begin gathering detailed information on their law enforcement activities. The Justice Department will then analyze this data to assess whether and where law enforcement engage in racial profiling and what concrete steps we need to take at the national level to eliminate it anywhere it exists.

"Of course, we must also recognize that only a fraction of our law enforcement officers work under the jurisdiction of the federal government. So today, I ask all state and local police forces and their agencies to make the same commitment to collecting the same data. And I ask Congress to provide them with the resources they need to take this vital step as the bill [H.R.1443, the Traffic Stops Statistics Study Act of 1999] sponsored by Representative Conyers would do.

"We all have an obligation to move beyond anecdotes to find out exactly who is being stopped and why. We all have an obligation to do whatever is necessary to ensure equal protection under the law.

"Some say police misconduct is an inevitable byproduct of the crack-down on crime. I don't believe that is so. As a society, we don't have to choose between keeping safe and treating people right, between enforcing the law and upholding civil rights. We can do both. ■



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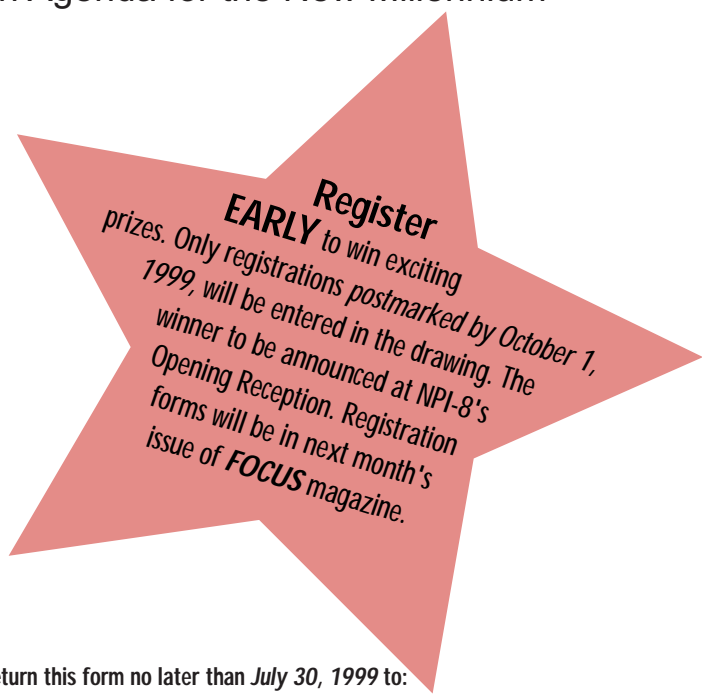
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ECONOMIC REPORT

by Roderick J. Harrison

Working on the Education Gap

Public attention to the notoriously high dropout rates in some inner city schools—and to the serious problems that dropouts encounter in an economy that increasingly demands more highly educated workers—has sometimes left the impression that growing percentages of African American students are failing to complete high school. On the contrary, the percentage of dropouts among young (non-Hispanic) African Americans (ages 16 to 24) is less than half of what it was in 1967, when about 27 percent of young black women, 31 percent of young black men, and about 15 percent of young non-Hispanic white men and women were dropouts.

By 1996, the percentage of dropouts had declined to about 13 percent of young black men and women. It must be noted that the white rates declined similarly, so that these black dropout rates are still nearly twice as high as the comparable white ones (7 percent in 1996).

Gains in High School Completion

This has produced corresponding gains in the percentages of African Americans who have completed high school. Among those ages 25 to 29, these percentages grew from about 39 percent in 1960 to 86 percent in 1996. During the same period, high school completion among whites in this age group grew from about 64 percent to near universality (93 percent). This has meant an historic

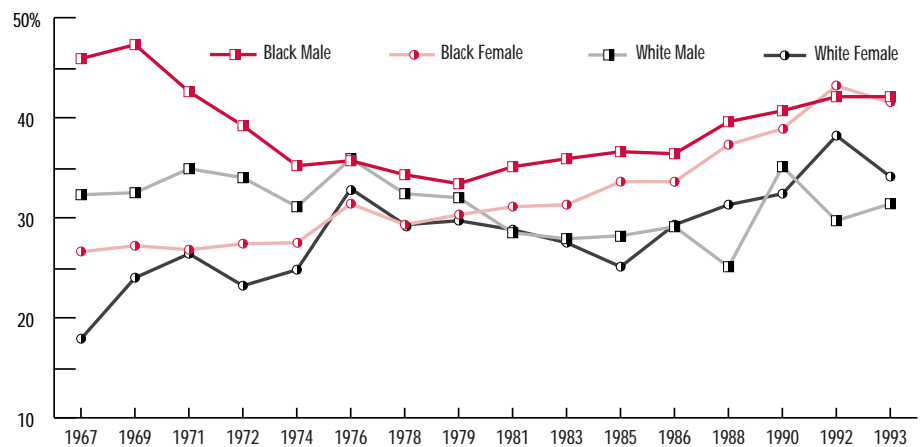
closing of the gap between the two races.

The differential was in fact about as small in 1986 and 1987 as in 1996, but small declines in black completion rates from 1987 to 1991 widened the gap until increases after 1991 again narrowed it.

African Americans who do graduate from high school are increasingly likely to enroll in college the following fall: about 36 percent did so in 1996, up from about 23 percent in 1967 (these measures apply to the 18-24 age group). The comparable rates for young white high school

The gains in high school completion rates among African Americans suggest that while the need for public attention to high school dropouts continues, greater attention must also be devoted to challenges confronting the overwhelming majority of African American students who do complete high school and the sizable percentage who continue on to college. Even in the 3,360 public schools where the student body was 50 or more percent minority (about 18.9 percent of all public schools), 90 percent of all students who enter the 12th grade graduate and 54 percent

Percent of High School Graduates Enrolled in College



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

graduates were 45 percent in 1996 and 35 percent in 1967, leaving the racial gap about as large as it was three decades before.

As the graph here shows, among African Americans, women have been more likely than men to enroll in college in most years since 1980; a similar pattern may be emerging among whites in this decade.

It is noteworthy that by 1976, Hispanics (35 percent) and blacks (32 percent) were just as likely to enter college as their white peers (32 percent). Exactly why this racial parity in college entrance was lost again after the mid 1970's is not well understood.

apply to college. These are very close to the corresponding percentages—94 and 52 percent—for schools with less than 5 percent minority students. However, their ability to earn bachelors degrees is hampered by two major obstacles, graphically posed by statistics presented in "Changing America" as part of the President's Initiative on Race.

The first of these challenges is posed by the striking differentials on reading and mathematics proficiency tests: the average scores of black and Hispanic 17-year-olds on these tests are roughly comparable to those of white 13-year-olds. The differentials

are just as large on the tests of proficiency in writing, science, history, and geography. The socioeconomic differences between these groups certainly contribute heavily to these differences in measured proficiency, and biases in tests and test-taking skills might contribute as well. Nevertheless, inequalities in school quality may also be involved, as well as differential access to or enrollment in tracks and courses important to developing these proficiencies.

In 1992, blacks (36 percent) and Hispanics (31 percent) were much less likely than whites (46 percent) to be enrolled in college preparatory programs, and they were more likely to be enrolled in general or vocational tracks. Likewise, in 1994, only about 20 percent of black high school graduates had completed the combination of English, social science, math, computer, and foreign language courses recommended for college-bound students, compared to about 27 percent of whites and Hispanics and 36 percent of Asians.

These gaps are not easily attributed to differences in values or aspirations: among 12th graders, the percentage who indicated that their current mathematics courses were important to their future educational or job prospects was actually higher among blacks than among whites, and a higher percentage of black students than white students (55 percent versus 50 percent) also aspired to professional, business, or managerial occupations. There is therefore much to suggest that equality in the measured skills that students graduate with will be as important to struggles for educational opportunity as parity in graduation rates.

Several priorities that the Clinton administration has established for education might help in addressing these differentials, but probably only if

states and local school districts explicitly adopt them as objectives in their own programs. The Clinton initiative: (1) sets as goals that all students should “read independently and well by the end of 3rd grade” and should “master challenging mathematics, including the foundations of algebra and geometry, by the end of 8th grade;” (2) asks states to voluntarily implement national proficiency tests in reading and mathematics to help identify students and schools needing improvements; and (3) allocates \$1.2 billion for the first year of a seven-year \$12.4 billion program proposed to help schools hire 100,000 new teachers and reduce early-grade class size to a nationwide average of 18 students.

An important point seemingly overlooked in discussions of vouchers as a solution to school quality problems is that the fraction of students who attend private schools is quite small. In 1996, only 6 percent of black students attended private elementary schools and only 4 percent attended private high schools.

Even with a doubling of private school capacity, with the threats to quality that often accompany overly rapid expansion of institutions, it is difficult to see private schools educating more than one in ten black students at the primary and secondary school levels in the next decade or so. This suggests that while vouchers might be an important component of efforts to improve school quality, the vast majority of African Americans, and of students generally, will still have to rely upon improvements in their public schools.

Barriers to Earning BAs

The second challenge arises from the lower percentages of African Americans (58 percent in 1995) than of whites (63 percent) enrolled in four-year rather than two-year institutions,

and their much higher attrition rates. The percentage of African Americans in four-year colleges is about the same as it was in 1976, but the percentage for whites has declined from about 66 percent, so the gap has narrowed slightly, and is much smaller than the gaps between whites and American Indians (50 percent) and Hispanics (44 percent).

While blacks and Hispanics have thus made some progress in attending college and earning associate of arts degrees, the gap in college completion rates between black and white 25 to 29 year olds grew wider between 1970 (10 percent versus 17 percent) and 1996 (15 percent versus 32 percent), and the percentage of whites completing bachelors degrees has consistently remained at least twice that of blacks. Attrition certainly contributes to this: in 1995, African Americans represented nearly 13 percent of all first-year students seeking degrees, but only 9 percent of those in their fourth or fifth year.

The battle for equal educational opportunity at the turn of the next century is clearly shifting from rates of high school completion to rates of college completion.

The trends cited here suggest a need for better understanding of policy elements that may have supported greater educational opportunity up to the mid-1970's, including financial aid, funding for institutions of higher education, and programs to increase the preparedness of students in the educational pipeline.

The trends suggest we need to pay particular attention to increasing the percentages of black (and Hispanic and American Indian) high school graduates academically and financially capable of attending four-year instead of two-year institutions, or of transferring from two- to four-year institutions to complete bachelors degrees. ■