Chapter Three

Guilt and Innocence:
Broadcast Arrest and the Absent Presence of Schooling

Personal Background

Urban schools and news media have a symbiotic relationship. I became aware of this during my experience as a teacher in a low income, high percentage African American and Appalachian, urban high school. Prior to teaching I had little interest in television news; however, as I regularly interacted with my students inside my school culture, I found my perception changed. I wanted to watch the news. My students and our particular school were often in the news. Stories such as: a student responsible for a series of car fire-bombs; a student who saved a little girl from a burning building; a student's brothers responsible for a failed bank robbery; students filmed after walking off school to stage a peaceful protest about budget cuts which curtailed extracurricular sports and reduced counselors, librarians and other personnel; a student, a well known drug dealer shot down in a drive-by shooting; the school's track being closed off after finding hypodermic needles and other medical wastes in the cinders; an incorrect police code transmitted across police scanners during a cafeteria fight, instead of "officer needs back-up" the code came across as "officer down" and 24 police cars and attendant media descended upon the school; a sting operation in which tax evaders were rounded up resulting in the father of one of my students going to jail; a student being held at gunpoint in the hallway for a Starter jacket; and of course, a focal point of this study, 18 year old Pharon Crosby struggling and being maced and handcuffed by police, are etched in my memory.

Although Crosby was never my student, he was our school's student, and his story affected the entire school. As the daily and evening news showed the Crosby incident, teachers began sharing firsthand accounts of him, mostly linking moments of interaction in the classroom (disciplinary and otherwise) to conjectures about whether he was right or
wrong. The video footage was eerily reminiscent and thus linked historically to the Rodney King beating which had been a nationally televised videotape news spectacle a few years earlier. During the Rodney King incident teachers were encouraged by the administration on the morning announcements to talk openly about race in the classroom. No such recommendation trickled down on the morning announcements during the spectacle of Crosby's arrest. It might have been suggested that we respect his rights and be courteous to the media, but there was an official silence about issues of race. Race, when it threatens to expose the very marrow of the bone, is a silenced discourse.

If public education is going to be useful for those whom it has traditionally marginalized along racial, cultural and socioeconomic lines, marrow-exposing topics must be broached in context. The broadcast arrest of Pharon Crosby serves as a symbol for the city of Cincinnati—his name continues to be evoked in discussions about civil rights, youth, and police brutality. It serves as a marker of a moment when viewers were called upon to judge on the guilt or innocence of an urban student. Much like Jameson’s discussion of the symbolic power of the shark in *Jaws* (See Chapter Two), the arrest represents a myriad of public anxieties all folded into one image. This image, though not speaking directly to issues of urban schooling creates a certain space for thought and action concerning urban schools. Therefore, it is an important moment to utilize as a base for theorizing the relationship between news media and education within the context of trying to create a quality, democratizing, urban education.

**Overview**

On April 25 of 1995, the violent, downtown arrest of Pharon Crosby an eighteen-year-old African American public high school student was videotaped by a Cincinnati news crew and shown repeatedly on television. As was typical for a school day, large numbers of teenage students from the city school system congregated by the public bus stops at Sixth and Vine. Approximately 700-2000 students, mostly African American, passed
through this area on any given school day (Weintraub, 1995, April 27, A4), and according to police accounts about 50 teenagers were present during the time of the arrest (Delguzzi, 1995, August 19, B1). Students waited for buses, waited in line for fast food, waited to see someone, and waited to be seen. Being near Sixth and Vine was a prerequisite of public transportation, as well as the thing to do. As a former Cincinnati Public School (CPS) student enthusiastically explained, “We always hang downtown...you just get on the metro [bus] and go downtown” (Parks, Interview 10-13-98). What made this scene unusual was not the crowd of onlookers or the interaction between police and teenagers, but the presence of a local news camera.

Many of the details leading up to the arrest were blurry. Apparently the police action was precipitated by a 911 phone call from a woman who complained that teenage students blocked the doorway to her office building.

CALLER: There are a whole bunch of teen-agers out front blocking the door. I had to say, “Excuse me” like, 10 times, and, like, pretty much scream it in order for them to move for myself to get out. And then they start cussing me out. I just wanted you to know that.
(Weintraub, 1995, May 4, p. A8)

The time of the call was 2:56 and within four minutes police arrived on the scene.

(Weintraub, 1995, May 4, A1). According to Officer Hall, the arresting officer who suffered a separated shoulder during the arrest, “he asked Crosby at least three times to wait for a bus at the bus stop because Crosby was blocking the entrance to the Taco Bell” (Delguzzi, 1995, August 19, B1). In Hall’s version, students were beginning to disperse, then Crosby said, “F--- you! You can’t make me move. You have to put a charge on me” (Delguzzi, 1995, August 19, B1). Hall later explained, “I was very low key, calm and deliberate. In my mind, I was very systematic about how I approached that crowd because I come from that background. I went to Aiken High School, I grew up in Northside, and I know what I would want to hear” (Delguzzi, 1995, August 19, B1). According to Angelique Thomas, one of Crosby’s roommates, “she was standing in a group of five high school students at Sixth and Vine streets, waiting for a bus, when Hall told the group to
move along. “Pharon asked, ‘Why do we have to move if we’re just waiting for a bus?’...She said Hall then grabbed Crosby as the officer repeated his order. ‘He said, ‘C’mon or I’m going to ---- you up,’”... After he said that, Pharon said, “What did I do?” (Delguzzi, 1995, October 24). In both versions, one fact stands out, Crosby’s body did not comply with official authority to move from “Commerce Center property on Sixth street near Vine” (Kaufman, 1998, January 2).

After the arrest nine different civil rights groups formed a coalition and voiced their displeasure at the physical restraint of the student which they believed was both excessive and racially motivated. They demanded the arrest of three of the officers (Curnutte, 1995, June 7, A4; Irwin, 1995 May 14, A1). The framework of this reading linked the violent arrest historically to images of black males being beaten by law enforcement officials, a particularly strong image in the wake of the Rodney King incident. For example, one man compared the Crosby arrest footage to 1963 Alabama, “the only thing you didn’t see was the dogs” (Weintraub, May 2, 1995, p. A4). A contrasting view (articulated by one of the police officer’s wives) was, “this is not about race, it’s about law an order. It’s about hoodlums” (Goldberg, 1995, May 17, A1). A community advocate from a low income neighborhood summarized the story this way,

It seemed pretty obvious that the kid was sort of you know, he was like, well my sense was that he probably was what I call a typical teenager. He was probably , maybe being a little sarcastic or something, but I felt that the response was extreme. And I did feel that he did not intentionally try to hurt the policeman from the way it looked on the video. It looked to me like it was an accident. They fell and that’s what happened. But it seemed like afterwards the whole issue was these teenagers being down there and frightening customers and everything. I just didn’t buy into that and I thought, if they were white kids that would not have been an issue, but again, we’re so racist that you see black teenagers and you immediately think you’re going to be mugged or something…like that these kids were just an unruly mob. (Lyons, Interview 12-8-98)

For some, youth was the predominant signifier, though it could never be wholly extricated from race or ethnicity.

The Rev. Damon Lynch Jr., president of the ministers conference, said both police and young people have to show more respect. “The mood in the police department is that you have some people who are ready to pounce on African Americans,” Lynch said. “But our youth, both black and white, must learn to do what they’re
told. We know this stuff happens every day. It happens down in Price Hill, [a primarily white Appalachian neighborhood] too, to long-haired white boys.” (Curnette & Hopkins, 1995, p. A6)

Race, gender and youth were the predominant identity categories used to make sense of the arrest.

Two committees, one civilian, the Office of Contract Compliance Investigation (OCCI), the other, the police internal investigation section (IIS) investigated the struggle to determine whether the police exerted inappropriate force. Despite existence of video footage along with testimony from witnesses, both committees yielded completely different findings about the actions of the police officers, as well as the “facts” of the case (Weintraub, 1995, April 28, B1). The police internal affairs exonerated the officers, and the civilian committee recommended suspensions and or re-training for three of the officers. Shirey, the city manager, was called upon to mediate between the two reports, and present a new set of findings. The city manager’s reported stated,

It is clear to me that the incident at Sixth and Vine need not have occurred...We must work to understand how we can address underlying problems of community-police relations so similar incidents will not occur in the future” (Goldberg et. al., 1995, June 7, p. A1).

Shirey suspended two of the officers, reassigned one officer and ordered counseling for another officer. Police protested the punishment as too harsh, while a “coalition of civil rights groups argued that three police officers in the Crosby case should be fired” (Weintraub & Curnutte, 1995, June 10, A4).

Crosby was indicted by a grand jury on five counts: two felony charges of assaulting an officer and charges of inducing panic, resisting arrest and disorderly conduct (Delguzzi, 1995, June 7, p. A1). He was tried in October 1995 and the defense used the videotape and several stills from the video as part of its case” (Delguzzi, 1995, October 23, p. A9). Crosby was convicted of all counts except assault. He spent time in a correctional facility (boot camp) and then a half-way house. In February of 1998 he filed a civil suit against the police and he was awarded $32,500. A civil suit filed by the Eric Hall, the arresting officer, was dropped.
During the time of the arrest Crosby was eighteen years old residing in the cultural space between young adulthood and adulthood. It is significant that he was a teenage, public school student, surrounded primarily by other teenage students. As a filmed adolescent, standing in a location where students wait to travel to and from school, he carries the representation of urban high school student with him in this non school setting. His representation as a student makes this story important to look at as a “school story;” a story with strong implications for urban public schooling. Many people disagreed.

According to Jim Fields, the reporter who "broke" the story,

School is a stretch. I don’t see a connection to the school. Kids waiting for the bus - that idea was picked up for a day or two and then dropped pretty quickly. (Fieldnote 8-31-98) It was a public safety – political, racial story. The school component was discussed at the beginning when it was sort of alluded to in the reforms that came out of the Pharon Crosby situation where I think the school system did reroute some of the buses, or metro did, or something like that …But that was clearly one of the lesser issues once this thing got rolling. At the very beginning the issue was raised, how come there’s so many people down there? It’s a problem, the businesses had complained that was part of it, but then it took on a much bigger life than just that issue…so it was a small part of that story. (Interview 12-30-98)

Others echoed Fields’s assertion by saying, “School? No, it was a police-racial thing, not school.” (Cape, Interview 11-24-98 ). “News produces meaning by associating one event with other familiar narratives, stories or events that already make sense to us” (Acland, 1995, 46). In the post Rodney King, O.J. Simpson era, the “common sense,” “natural” reading of the situation did not include “school” as the focus, however, the connections to the schooling are tremendous, even if they are not transparent. This is my argument as I analyze the “text” of the television broadcast news coverage. Although the arrest had a specific material reality for Crosby and the officers involved, the guilt, innocence, intention, physical actions of the “actors” on the video footage are not the focus of this analysis; instead I concentrate on the discursive understandings evoked through their representation, and the implications this representation has for the ways in which the public thinks about urban schooling.
Text Analysis

A frame is that which is attended to, it is a term for “the organization of experience” (Goffman, 1974, 11). The media dominantly frames the Crosby arrest story as a case of race and police-community relations. The videotape “fuel[ed] public outcry over use of force, racial attitudes, respect for authority and order on the streets” (Weintraub & Curnutte, 1995, June 10, p. A4). These discourses overlap with discourses of urban secondary schools. Instead of looking at different readings available to cultural groups about police and race, which is the dominant frame presented by the media from which to construct these readings, I re-frame the story to focus on the relationship of urban public secondary schools and the “community,” which incorporates signifiers of race and police in a new matrix of understandings. Goffman uses the terminology “frame analysis” to refer to a method of examining how situations become subjectively defined (11).

Frames are “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual.” (Gitlin, 1980, 6-7, paraphrased in Pedelty, 1995, p. 7)

This project of re-framing allows more access to understanding underlying “effects” of power (Foucault, 1977). For example in March 1998 there was a student who shot and killed four schoolgirls and a female teacher in Jonesboro, Arkansas (Perlstein, 1998). The dominant frame of this story and other shooting stories in the same vein, were discussions of school safety, gun control and individual motivations of “evil.” Yet, Perlstein (1998) has argued that the school was nothing more than a setting for this violence; its roots lay elsewhere in gender relations and the sociocultural patterns of the community. This re-framing creates a space for agency that restrictions, law and invocations of “evil” deny. In the Jonesboro shootings the school is the setting of the story, and it is easy to construct the school as the major lens from which to refract meaning. In the Crosby story the police were the object of the gaze, not the public schools. The overarching question in the news became: “Was it over-reaction or proper police procedure?” (Morford, 1995, April 25). However, despite their location on the periphery
of the story, I argue that secondary schools mark a very important space for public understanding. Discourses which construct understandings of urban youth-police relations overlap with discourses of urban youth-school relations. Official authority over youth is still in question. As much as the arrest of Crosby is a police story, it is also a school story.

At this point, it would be nice to replay the videotape and explain what happened in an “objective” manner. But in the words of broadcast journalist Jim Fields (pseudonym), who seamlessly sifts into the same tone he uses to deliver the closing punch to a story:

If you were to ask me what happened that day, I’d have to tell you, I don’t know. I lived and breathed this thing for a year, sat through the trial. I was there, and to this day, I still don’t know what happened. I really don’t know. (Fieldnote 9-14-98)

This is a story of multiple witnesses, where right and wrong, moral truths are both at the center of the story and yet ineluctably beyond its grasp. The Crosby video footage screams at the viewer to place it in some pattern of sensemaking. It is the story of struggle of a black teenager and an apparently white cop, and then the story of one being beaten down by many when several more police officers assist the first officer. The underlying assumption, within Western culture, is that “the eye” (seeing) is often assumed to bring access to reality (Jenks 1995; Trinh T. Min Ha, 1991). This is the age of the image and we as sensemakers are often at its mercy. Immersed in a culture guided by sight metaphors, where seeing is believing, the seduction of a “true life videotape” on the public imagination is easy to imagine. However, as Jenks (1995, 4) reminds us “vision should be re-aligned with interpretation rather than mere perception.” There is no direct avenue to experience in this text, only layers of meaning building. The camera itself ascribes the viewers attention on the screen in a specific way. Beyond point of view, audience members are “focalized” through sight and sound to engage the videographic text in specific ways (Shohat & Stam, 1994). My “objective” description of the news is merely a fabrication based, to the best of my ability on my senses. Bearing this in mind, I constructed a context for the story as it is told the first time through the visual image and its companion broadcast verbiage.
Music and large graphics cue the viewer that she is watching Channel 5’s “Top Story” at six ‘o’clock. Next appears the “cold open” which is the tease of a story before its introduction follows: A yellow taxi is in the foreground. An Anglo-looking police officer, Eric Hall, stands behind Pharon Crosby, sandwiching him against the trunk of the taxi. Miscellaneous shouts of teenagers can be heard in the background. Crosby appears to be chewing gum, possibly smiling. His black knit cap is low down on his forehead. He leans on his elbows. He places his hands over his face. His hands move from his face and his arms appear to drop to his sides. Hall’s words are difficult to hear on tape, but appear to be a command to “put your arms behind your back!” Officer Hall pulls the knit cap off of Crosby’s head and throws it down. A struggle begins. Crosby’s arms are still at his sides. It is difficult to discern if he is complying or resisting. Crosby’s body and the body of Officer Hall begin to sway. Crosby’s yell, “Get outta my face, man!” can be mutely heard. Hall appears to thrust Crosby over the edge of the taxi. A thud sounds loudly as Crosby’s legs hit the rear side of the taxi heard, as he and the officer both plummet to the street and out of view of the camera.

We are told by the anchors that “Trouble erupts on the streets of Cincinnati. A wild scene turns scary as Channel 5’s News cameras catch the entire incident on tape.”

As the police officer and Crosby are hidden behind the car, the camera turns down the street, to capture the speedy arrival of two police cars, sirens and flashers on. The camera has maneuvered around the front of the taxi to see the struggle on the ground. The police officer is on top of Crosby, but still struggling with him. A white male police officer runs up, and kicks the young man, and then proceeds to punch him. Two other police officers, a white male and female run on to the scene as well.

The anchors tell us this is a “wild melee at Sixth and Vine.” Jim Fields and Charles Laud were first on the scene and right in the middle of it all. Here are their exclusive pictures. (Morford, 1995, April 25)
Pictures are primarily what tell the story. In the words of broadcast journalist Fields,

The challenge of a broadcast news story is that it has to be visual. You can’t stand there for two minutes saying yatta, yatta, yatta, and expect people to watch.” (Fieldnote 10-9-98)

There must be images to accompany the narrative, in fact in a story such as this, the image is the narrative. Although Jim Fields composes the spoken text, what is available to be said is already shaped by the flow of pictures he has at his disposal. A fire makes a better story if there are pictures of flames, just like an arrest makes a more compelling story if it can be seen. In written form, I cannot duplicate the merging of pictures and words that inevitably happens in broadcast news. Nor can I present the urgency of the student shouts and screams entwining with the police siren sound as they inhabit viewer’s perceptions. Therefore I will represent them as a script of couplets, in which “V” stands for visual and “A” stand for Jim Fields’s audio. This artificial dissection both dilutes the intense reality provided by the video footage and expands it by slowing the pace. Either way, it is not the same effect. Keeping this in mind, here is a description of Fields’s first broadcast report on April 25, 1995.

A: It started when police tried to arrest one man after a fight, but quickly got worse
V: Shows Crosby being pushed forward over the trunk of the yellow taxi. Officer Hall pulls Crosby’s knit cap off of his head and tosses it down. (Replay of “cold open” footage). A yellow taxi is in the foreground. Officer Hall stands behind Crosby, sandwiching him against the trunk of the taxi. Miscellaneous shouts of teenagers can be heard in the background. Crosby appears to be chewing gum, possibly smiling. His black knit cap is low down on his forehead. He leans on his elbows. He places his hands over his face. His hands move from his face and his arms appear to drop to his sides. Officer Hall’s words are difficult to hear on tape, but appear to be a command to “put your arms behind your back!” The officer pulls the knit cap off of Crosby’s head and throws it
down. A struggle begins. Crosby’s arms are still at his sides. It is impossible to tell if there is any compliance. His body and the body of the police officer begin to sway. Crosby’s yell, “Get outta my face, man!” can be mutely heard. The officer appears to thrust Crosby over the edge of the taxi. A thud sounds loudly as Crosby’s legs hit the rear side of the taxi heard, as he and the officer both plummet to the street and out of view of the camera.

A: “Police came from everywhere.”
V: Shows the speedy arrival of two police cars, sirens and flashers on. (The picture audio is almost completely subsumed now by the sounds of the police siren.) The camera has maneuvered around the front of the taxi to see the struggle on the ground. In the background, a group of people, primarily African American teenagers are shown running forward. The police officer is on top of Crosby, but still struggling with him. An Anglo male police officer runs up, and kicks Crosby in the side, and then proceeds to punch him. Two other white police officers, a female and then a male, run on to the scene as well, and lean into Crosby’s body. The male officer begins hitting Crosby while the female police officer, standing between the camera and the rest of the action, pulls out mace and begins spraying it. A young African American male, Seph Bruwn, puts his arm into the middle of the pile of police officers, presumably toward Crosby on the ground. Officer Pickens yells at Bruwn. The camera follows Picken’s as he yells and pushes Bruwn off the street. Officer Pickens pushes Bruwn a second time, and Bruwn lands in a large planter on the sidewalk. During Pickens second push of Bruwn, an African American police Officer, Howard Fields, can be seen on the side of the frame, pulling out a cannister of mace.

A: The crowd got bigger and angrier.
V: Close up of four African American teenagers, two boys and two girls. The girls are yelling and one is shaking her hand in the air.
A: The suspect was maced

V: Close-up of Crosby’s face, being pressed down against the front of the yellow taxi. Officer Fields’s hand (his body is out of frame) holds up a mace can to Crosby’s face and sprays primarily in the nose and mouth area. Something white, possibly gum and or mace, is spit out of Crosby’s mouth. He can be heard yelling, “I can’t breathe, I can’t breathe.”

A: “One man was chased away by an officer”

V: The back of a young African American male, Leon Jones, as he runs down the sidewalk, with another police officer, Officer Traine, chasing him. (Morford, 1995, April 25).

This is a crude chronology of the edited videotape that was shown repeatedly on Channel 5, though the audio narrative changed. In this first airing of the story, Jim Fields followed the dramatic video coverage by interviewing a police sergeant who supported the actions of the arrest; Seph Bruwn, a friend of Crosby’s; and a woman who worked in the area. The police described the incident in terms of “appropriate action.” The teenage friend emphatically exclaimed, “Pharon didn’t do nothing but wait for the bus.” And the office worker, who appears to be a young white woman “blames the school system for dumping kids downtown all at once who have nothing to do but get into trouble.” The last visual image the viewer has of the arrest is a silhouette of Crosby’s head as he sits, framed within the rearview window of the police cruiser. At the end of the story, the suspect, the teenager we have seen, is identified as 18-year-old Pharon Crosby (Morford, 1995, April 25).

The story from that day on did not remain idle, instead had to be “searched” for and constructed following the journalistic credo of remaining objective and “representing all important points of view” (Curran, 1996, 122). The video footage remained central, but
how it was interpreted and who said what about it changed. Jim Fields, like many
journalists strove to be fair and keep his personal feelings out of stories. In his words,

> Some people may say they see through it, but absolutely, without a doubt you
> should try and stay neutral. Absolutely, that’s critical. You’re supposed to be
> objective. You’re not supposed to let your particular viewpoints shine through.
> Sometimes it might seem that your viewpoint is there, but it may be exactly the
> opposite. Your particular viewpoint shouldn’t be in the story. It should not, it’s a
> big no, no. (Interview 12-30-98)

All the journalists I spoke to for this study, expressed a strong sense of duty toward a
broader public interest and a desire to keep their own opinions out of the story. As well
intentioned as reporters may attempt to be, it is worth noting that objectivity is a contested
terrain.

The positivistic pretenses of U.S. news media have created a set of irresolvable
contradictions for working journalists. While the rules of objective journalism
prohibit reporters from making subjective interpretations, their task demands it. A
“fact” itself a cultural construct, can only be communicated through placement in a
system of meaning, shared by reporter and reader. (Pedelty, 1995, p. 7)

In this first segment, the three voices generically mapped out are: the police, teenage
students and a local office worker. A perceptual grid is laid out that all sides are being
given a chance to air their opinion. But how are these “sides” chosen to be portrayed?
Early on the community member implicates the public schools for warehousing students
downtown. There is a warning that the public schools may become the heart of the story.
One can almost imagine the resounding collective sigh of relief from administrative school
personnel as this voice, which implicates the school system, begins to fade away, and in
succeeding stories the police versus African American youth becomes the dominant frame
for understanding. The school system is attached and summarily detached from the story.
Perhaps this detachment came because of the difficulty of affixing a personifying element to
the school. It is not visually represented during the arrest video itself, but only tangentially
acknowledged as a reason for the congregation of students in the downtown areas. As an
administrator succinctly stated, “Because it didn’t happen at school, it wasn’t school
related” (Maxwell, Interview 12-17-98). Another reason for the silence about schools and
schooling is evident in this dismissive excerpt from a newspaper article:
“The problem is that the only place where most routes come together is downtown,” said Sallie Hilvers, spokeswoman for Metro. Cincinnati Public Schools use Metro for transportation of middle and high school students. The cash-strapped district, already making $31 million in cuts, would have to pay even more to add more special student routes that stay out of downtown. (Weintraub, 1995, April 28, p. B4)

A logic of economic rationalism prevented a more a direct interrogation about the role of schooling, and the “managing” of school bodies in this affair. Despite an overarching frame of police-race-youth, the concept “urban school” never leaves the arena of meaning making, but instead continues to be brought up indirectly.

One avenue of implying the schools, is the frequent identification of Pharon Crosby as a student, and more specifically an Aiken High School student. This persistent school identification by broadcast as well as print media is not lost on the audience. Invocation of specific urban schools links negative connotation upon negative connotation. As one educator stated:

[Y]ou know every time there's a mugging or something's going wrong, it's a student from Western Hills, or a student from Aiken High School. All of a sudden it's the school that's inferred, this is where the criminals are coming from. And I've always said, "no, that's the son or the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. ______ or Mr. and Mrs. ______, you know, lay it where it is , and put it back to the house. This is this person's son or grandson or whatever. But no one's ever picked up on that idea. It's more fun to blame the school. (Cape, Interview 11-24-98)

The behavior of the student is reflected upon by the school and the school in turn feels the weight of the student’s public persona. In the words of one previous CPS administrator,

I know that when Aiken’s name was placed in the newspaper along side of his, again it was a combination of some sort against the kids that attend public schools and this one example of a kid was taken to be universal, seemingly of all the kids in the CPS System. (Lewis, Interview 11-30-98)

Having attended a neighborhood school that already had a reputation as an inner city school, a neighborhood school without a magnet program, Crosby’s actions are read through a different grid than if he had attended a school perceived as more suburban or more solidly middle class. Unfortunately, the school’s inner city reputation becomes further entrenched. The school and the entire school district are indirectly pulled into the public’s understanding through this casual identificationii.
Crosby’s representativeness as an urban high school student and the possible effects this might have, although not overtly developed as part of the larger story, were not ignored either as this news article illustrates.

“There’s a segment of the community that’s really upset,” said Arzell Nelson, executive director of the Cincinnati Human Relations Commission. Nelson wrote a message, read in the city’s public high schools Thursday morning, that said, in part, “It is extremely important that in a crisis situation such as this...the collective community remain strong.” (Weintraub, 1995, April 28, A1)

As a high school teacher during the Rodney King beating through the O.J. Simpson trial, I remember quite clearly the aura of concern radiated by the school system over how students might react to mediated racial incidents. Violence was never discussed, but it was always implied. During the televised beating of Rodney King we were openly encouraged to allow class time for students to discuss their reactions to the video. I hastily organized a lesson around the terms “Fact” and “Opinion” (a ninth grade proficiency test concept) for my ninth grade English class as a framework of discussion about the case. Although I do not remember the specifics of what was said, what remains in my memory is that “Fact” and “Opinion” commingled, rather than stood alone as separate categories; and that the representation spoke strongly to many of the students, igniting their own stories to spill forth. In the words of a former Cincinnati Public School student from another high school, “I know a lot of people at my school took it [violent arrest] personally” (Parks, Interview 10-13-98). Her stories about being an African American teenager hanging out downtown were similar to many that I heard:

[I]t started to be a real problem when a lot of police officers started going down there after us chasing us with these horses, and that was just ridiculous. That started to come up because we were all hanging out downtown...If we didn’t break the crowd when they wanted us to break the crowd, they’d spray mace over us. I’ve been caught a coupla times, sprayed mace in the face by the police...It got to the point that we couldn’t even talk loud at the bus stop. Stuff like that. I got like c’mon, gollee, this is public. (Parks, Interview 10-13-98)

Many urban high school students definitely had a strong experiential context from which to situate their own readings of the Pharon Crosby video arrest.
In the Crosby story, the question presented through the dominant frame was: Did the police exert too much force? Although this question appears to be aimed at the actions of the police, in order to answer it, the viewer has to make a judgment on a high school student’s behavior, his character. What level of bodily action does a teenager have to commit before society says it is justifiable for him to be beaten and maced? When does this become considered “appropriate”? In one story, Jim Fields tells the audience that, “Friends and teachers at Aiken say Pharon is a good student, a good athlete, a good kid...he’s not the type of kid to do something so stupid he could spend years and years in jail” (Morford, 1995, April 26). Crosby’s “character” is always tangentially important to the story. “The offender becomes an individual to know” (Foucault, 1977, 251). During an interview with the news, Officer Hall’s sister, clearly articulates the assumed circular connection between the perception of the body of an urban student and moral character.

...the police officer doesn’t have time to ask this youth, “Are you a honor student, have you been in trouble?”... while he’s struggling with his gun available. You don’t know what type of student’s on the ground. He can’t be a perfect student if he’s already on the ground with the police officer to begin with. (Morford, 1995, April 25)

Being "on the ground" already negates the possibility of Crosby being an exemplary student. Character inferences are also projected based on the social geography of the school Crosby attended, his address and neighborhood. The offender becomes a delinquent “by the fact that it is not so much his act as his life that is relevant in characterizing him” (Foucault, 1977, 251). In a local news setting “the neighborhood” must speak. The article “Reaction on the Street also Sharply Split” (5-25-95) illustrates this aspect of media representation quite clearly. Five people were interviewed, each offering differing responses, and mapped out by his or her social geography.

“When I look at that tape, I have to look away,” said Dominica Wallace, 32 of Evanston... “Police harass people all the time, especially African-Americans. If Channel 5 hadn’t filmed that, “Pharon Crosby) would have gone to court and not a judge in the world would have believed him,” said William Long of North Avondale. “I think people are making too much of this. I think you really have to back police on these matters,” said Bob Ballman,48, of Villa Hills, Ky...Added Greg Hall, 22, of Clifton as he walked on the elevated pathway to Riverfront Stadium, “I feel like the policemen were just doing their jobs.”...One officer spoke
on the condition of anonymity. “If I’m on the ground and there’s a gentleman pulling on my gun belt, I want that threat to be removed as soon as possible. If that means he’s going to get maced and his arm struck a couple of times, that’s what needs to happen.” The report and the whole investigative process are “a bunch of crap,” said Minister Mikal Ali of the Lost-found Nation of Islam Inc. He said the citizen panel was made up of “hired people and the police are guilty of ‘Gestapo tactics’ in black neighborhoods on a continuing basis, not just an incident or two. (p. A6)

In the news, a sense of social identity is constructed through place, age, name, and affiliation. Officer Hall’s comment, as reported earlier, “I come from that background...” illustrates a specific understanding of social geography, based on a perception of lower income urbanness. Apparently, through the action of waiting for the bus downtown, teenagers carry this social geography with them.

According to a newspaper article, “[l]ocal businesses have complained about the loitering teens for years” (Weintraub, 1995, April 27, A4). As one former CPS student, a senior at the time of the arrest stated:

[T]o be honest, a lot of businesses down on Sixth and Vine, that’s when they do their business, between eleven to one for lunch, and then from three to six. So it wasn’t all businesses downtown complaining. It might’ve been one or two complaints, but it wasn’t all. Some of them like having students down there...the mall, the foodcourt, that’s how they make their money. (Steele, Interview 10-23-98)

This quote illustrates the murky space that teenagers occupy between legitimate consumption and loitering. The imagery of teenagers with nothing to do has very strong negative connotations in American society. The “very presence of seemingly idle teenagers makes adults uneasy, for they symbolize the lack of order and discipline that most people believe should characterize the lives of the young people” (Wadsworth, 1998, 62). In a Public Agenda study conducted on behalf of the Advertising Council, two in three (67%) of those surveyed, when asked to describe the first thing that comes to their minds about teens responded with negative impressions” (Wadsworth, 1998, 62, paraphrase Farkas, 1997). A Newsweek poll released in April 1997 asked people, “Which of the following is a bigger threat to the U.S.? Only 18% responded ‘foreign nations working against us,’ whereas a resounding 74% said, ‘Young Americans without education, job prospects, or
connections to mainstream American life’” (Wadsworth, 1998, p.63). Fear of teenagers, especially ethnic, low income (non mainstream) teenagers is encoded in the public imaginary.

The public sidewalk of Sixth Street is surrounded by banks and other “higher end” types of commerce. As one community member suggested, the space of downtown Cincinnati is a factor contributing to the intensity in which primarily African American teenagers are read there as a problem.

Downtown is a direct square. Every angle has a linear view. You can see everything that is going on. It is simple, bounded, contained. There is no visual complexity. Therefore youth hanging out tend to look like a solid mass. A bus stop is a ton of people around a pole. Shop fronts are low to the ground...It cuts off the visual line of sight when a shop front is covered by people. People look like a barrier. This creates confusion. (Lamb, Interview, 7-23-99)

In the affluent business district teenage students, particularly African American male students, become visualized as a “barrier.” “Youth or people who do not represent the ideal tend to be thought of as being in the wrong place” (Lamb, Interview, 7-23-99).

The race, social class, and age of the students creates a perception of “character” between having been legitimately waiting and consuming near the bus stop, and loitering.

Many teachers who had taught Crosby in class and purported to “know his character,” often felt as if they had insider information on whether or not his actions precipitated being arrested. The “character information” was considered as important by the court because it ruled that the jury could hear testimony about Crosby’s school record, which according to the prosecution included, “truancy, verbal altercations with teachers and physical contact with school officials...” (Delguzzi, 1995, October 16, A4). Also, considered important by the news and the courts in order to understand the case more fully was that Crosby was arrested twice more within the month after his videotaped arrest. His subsequent arrests were for driving without a license, and a charge of falsification for having a friend take his drivers license test (Delguzzi, 1995, October 7, B2). A representation of character becomes essential for making a judgment about Crosby’s body.
Regardless of whether the viewer was positioned to see Pharon as a “sacrificial lamb” (Curnette & Hopkins, 1995, May 6, A1), a “hoodlum,” (Goldberg, 1995, May 17, A6) or somewhere on the continuum in between, the stake was authority, and the viewer was positioned to see him in relation to it. In the words of Chief Snowden “The outrage is that we have young people in this community black and white, who have so little respect for authority that they resist lawful arrest” (Weintraub, 1995, May 2, A4). Questions about police authority over a teenage body overlap with discussions of school authority. The police on the screen could be viewed as stand-ins for school authority. Didn’t school personnel know what it was like to ask a teenage body to move, sit, stand, walk on by, stop, quiet down, write, speak, answer, read, come up to the desk, go to the chalkboard, move to the corner often bracing for the possible steely eyed confrontation of resistance? Even though the violence sickened me, and I was acutely aware of the racist implications of desensitizing myself to a violence directed toward an African American youth, I remember paying rapt attention in 1995 whenever the video appeared on the screen. I hoped I would be able to see some clue, some aspect of Pharon’s demeanor which would tell me his responsibility in the affair. Pinned to the trunk of the yellow taxi with several officers leaning over him, maced in the face, I watched carefully to see what he spit out. What was that white object? At the school, I had heard it was a tooth, mace or gum. At the time, I could never draw a satisfactory conclusion from watching TV. However, now, four years later, watching the video over and over, I am inclined to believe that gum does come out of his mouth, followed by mace and saliva. How does whether it is gum or a tooth make a difference in my viewing?

As the Crosby story illustrates, urban students are routinely subjected to interrogations over their goodness or badness, worth or not worth, within a system that is already stacked against them.

The unemployment rate for young black men in Cincinnati – 45 percent—is twice as high as it is for the city’s white youths…Median black household income in Cincinnati is about half that of whites’ – $18,876 compared to $34,485 …Almost three times as many black Cincinnatians as whites—39.4 percent of blacks and
14.7 percent of whites – live in poverty. (Curnette & Hopkins, 1995, May 6, p. A3)

Prisons are core sites of this system. The size of the penal system in the U.S. has increased dramatically in the past twenty years, with the proportion of the American population incarcerated quadrupling since 1971 (Elliott, 1998, 13). Even in comparison to other nations around the world, particularly industrial democracies, the U.S. has a significantly larger prison population (Mauer, 1992, Elliott, 1998). And the rates of incarceration for African American males, are by far the highest (Mauer, 1992; Elliott, 1998). By the mid-1990’s roughly one in three young black men were under the “supervision” of the criminal justice system -- that is, in a jail or prison, on probation or parole, or under pretrial release” (Elliot, 1998, 13). African American males and females are more likely to be imprisoned than any other group, with rates for the Hispanic population not far behind (Elliott, 1998, 14).

Black people in Cincinnati are four time more likely to be arrested on drug charges than whites, according to a 1993 national analysis by USA Today; law enforcement officials say blacks and whites use drugs at nearly the same rate. (Curnette & Hopkins, 1995, May 6, p. A3)

Although an interrogation of these statistics and their possible meanings is beyond the scope of this study, they serve to illustrate that the representation of Crosby as “criminal” exists within a backdrop of racial inequity.

The question of punishment, of appropriate force, is a question that is inextricably part of a larger system of effects of power (Foucault, 1977), which (particularly in the case of a teenage student) unavoidably speaks toward issues of schooling. Schooling is enacted upon bodies. Repeated videotape footage of Crosby’s arrest can be viewed as a microcosmic “theater of punishment” (Foucault, 1977, 106) in which the representation of crime comes to speak for more than it’s corporeal reality; it comes to speak as a “representation of public morality” (Foucault, 1977, 110). The line between the body and state sanctioned official power is visually represented by this display. As the City Manager Shirey stated,
What we all need to understand...is that our society has sanctioned police to use force when necessary. There will be times when that use of force will not be pleasant for anyone. (Incident need not have occurred, 1995, June 7, p. A5) The question becomes, under what conditions does the “use of force” apply? How is guilt and innocence perceived? What control does the state have over the bodies of citizens, especially youthful citizens? “The question...treats the regulation of force, its constitution and performance in terms of an ethics of dosage” (Ronell, 1995, 115).

Although the dominant frame was a question of police brutality or justified action, at stake through understanding the gradations of force was: “How does society treat urban, (in this city primarily) African American, youth?” Other important school stories reported at the time were about: racial discrepancy in discipline records, teenage curfews, intense budget cuts, police community sweeps for truant students, daycare for students, linking the privilege of a driver’s licenses to grades. All these stories signify the contested space for urban education, urban students. Many of these “school” stories existed side by side with stories about the Pharon Crosby case. Some examples can be found by glancing through Cincinnati’s most largely distributed newspaper, The Cincinnati Enquirer. Situated directly above the article “Arrest Outcry of Tape Unabated” (Weintraub, 1995, April 28, B1) was the article, “No Contracts for 150 more in Public Schools (Skertic, 1995, April 28, B1) which described budget cuts that reduced librarians, counselors and teachers for the upcoming school year. The story “Officer’s Defenders Chide City for Lack of Support” (Goldberg, 1995, May 17, A1) is next to “High School Academic Standards in Jeopardy” (Skertic, 1995, May 17, A1) a story about the possible loss of accreditation by schools due to budget cuts. “Questions Still Not Answered: Shirey Asks More About Crosby” (Goldberg, 1995, May 31, C1) is paralleled with “Doors Close on Hopes” (Skertic, 1995, May 31, C1) a story about the closing of a daycare for student mothers at the alternative school for over-age students, Clark Academy. A photograph of an 18-year-old African American mother placing shoes on her 4 month old son, laying prone between the bars of a baby crib, is the central visual of the page. These are only a few examples that serve to illustrate the narrowing sense of public space for urban students. What factors map out
appropriate force? This question interweaves itself amongst similar discourses which increasingly are constricting themselves around urban, public schooling. These discourses insert themselves materially on the bodies of urban, teenage students. As discussed in the introductory chapter, urban schools are often fictionalized as dangerous high schools: *Blackboard Jungle* (1955), *Stand and Deliver* (1987), *Lean on Me* (1989), *Dangerous Minds* (1995), *The Substitute* (1996) *The Substitute 2* (1998), and *187* (1997). Danger is not portrayed in the guise of young children on the elementary playground. In fact, elementary school students are often highlighted through media during levy campaigns, as one campaign organizer suggested, “they’re just somehow easier for the public to wrap their arms around (Gaines, Interview 11-23-98). Danger is the teenager from a low income neighborhood, whose skin color or ethnicity can be easily demonized by mainstream stereotypes. The fact that the viewer of the Crosby arrest tape was placed in the position to speculate on his deservedness or lack of deservedness to be beaten, that this was a hot topic for the city of Cincinnati to debate, has important implications for schooling at the secondary level. A strong discourse of “adolescence as deviance to be controlled” (Acland, 1995, 27) or even more strongly put, a discourse of bodies that are uncared for and unvalued in society runs through these cultural debates.

Two committees, one civilian, the Office of Contract Compliance Investigation (OCCI), the other, the police internal investigation section (IIS), investigated the struggle to determine whether or not inappropriate force was exerted by the police. Despite the existence of the video along with testimony from witnesses, both committees yielded completely different findings about the actions of the police officers, as well as the “facts” of the case. (Curnette, Weintraub, and Goldberg, 1995, May 25). The City Manager, John Shirey, was called upon to mediate between the two reports, and present a new set of findings. His mediation was directed toward developing a stronger relationship between the police and the community. In his own words he sought to “bridge the gaps that exist between police and citizens, youth and adults, black and white” (Incident need not have
occurred, 1995, June 7, A5). A complex combination of training, rewards, discipline, psychological counseling, and increased visibility of police policies and practices to community members were advised. Through the strategic deployment of police reform the relationship between police and youth became further naturalized. Suggestions that police officers become better versed in “methods of dealing with and understanding youth”; that officers should be paired with “School Resource Officers who have been able to establish excellent rapport with youth”; and that the Police Chief’s apprenticeship program should be expanded “each year to recruit police officers from Cincinnati schools with an emphasis on African American individuals” (Incident need not have occurred, 1995, June 7, A5) helped further cement the indirect connection between the school and the police.

Interestingly, Shirey’s direct comment about the schools was somewhat ambiguous:

As many have pointed out, there have been problems at the bus stop at Sixth Street and Vine for many years. The Police Division has pointed out that a disproportionately high number of incidents occur at that location. While steps were taken last year to reduce the number of youth who have to use the stop as a transfer point the fact remains that about 700 young people transfer there each school day. I understand the situation is being reviewed, and I am calling on officials at Metro and Cincinnati Public Schools to find creative ways to reduce the number again. (Incident need not have occurred, 1995, June 7, p. A5)

The term “creative” suggests a lack of funding will be provided for the endeavor, whereas funds for training, increased psychological counseling, police reform in general do not, in this quote, appear to be questioned. For example, Shirey discusses the process of national accreditation as something “relatively few agencies have gone through...partially because of the time and expense involved,” however he suggests that the Safety Director and Police Chief explore the accreditation process and make a suggestion about whether or not it should be pursued (Incident need not have occurred, 1995, June 7, A5). That the bus stop is contested public space, structurally related to urban schools is ignored as a site of interrogation.

Underlying Shirey’s comments that because of the high number of students, the bus stop is the site of “a disproportionately high number of incidents” is an insinuation that if the students were “re-routed”, the problem (which seems to be the students themselves)
would disappear. As a friend of Crosby’s stated, “[T]hey tried to make it seem like it was his fault for being downtown catching a bus” (Steele, Interview 10 - 23-98). Questions about students’ needs of being mobile, social, and independent are left unasked. A former CPS administrator sums it up this way:

I know that the end result is that he was another kid who happened to also attend Cincinnati Public Schools, who while downtown was very very rowdy and it was an example of the kinds of rowdiness that the merchants in that community were fed up with because it was drawing their business away, and if we could make them go away, then maybe our problems would be solved. (Lewis, Interview 11-30-98)

Shirey suggests that the community should “commit to working together to repair those underlying basic flaws in our system which allow such incidents to ever occur” (Incident need not have occurred, 1995, June 7, A5). Indeed, through reform suggestions, the system becomes more tightly woven creating a more intricate and indelible web between police relations with youth. Public schooling is the absent presence that facilitates this relationship. Rather than filling the gaps between police and youth with schooling initiatives, schooling becomes the gap that is filled with policing initiatives. It should be the other way around.

An example of the increase of police-type initiatives is the proliferation over the past few years of metal detector usage in large urban districts. In the CPS district response teams and a search and seizure policy were put into place in February 1994 (Griggs, 1998, July 14). As a teacher, I remember the concept of “community sweeps” in which the response team would go through the neighborhood and bring truant students back to school. The original response team consisted of 4 officers, and has increased to approximately 13 (Griggs, 1998, July 14). Also, random searches are now conducted at all CPS middle schools, high schools and sometimes elementary schools. “Not only guns, but all contraband including drugs and other kinds of weapons, pagers, cell phones, and cigarettes are targeted during the searches” (Griggs, 1998, July 14). CPS has school resource officers at all secondary schools, and 105 security staff spread out through all the high schools, middle schools and some elementary schools” (Griggs, 1998, July 14).
Similar policies exist in other districts such as Cleveland and Columbus (Griggs, 1998, July 14). “Columbus now has police officers in schools, video cameras on buses and in hallways and a zero tolerance policy toward weapons” (Griggs, July 14, 1998). However, “[s]uburban districts like Sycamore don’t search for weapons despite a recent rash of school shootings nationally in mostly suburban and rural districts’ (Griggs, 1998, July 14). According to the superintendent of an affluent Cincinnati suburb,

Generally violence is likely to stem from needs not being met in students...The fact is I think that in the city there are more needs going unmet than in the suburbs largely because their are more impoverished students in the city than in the suburbs. Poverty often serves as a catalyst for violence. (Griggs, 1998, July 14)

With the recent (April 1999) school killings at Columbine High School, located in the affluent suburb of Littleton, Colorado, it is likely that there will be an increase in police and surveillance techniques in suburban schools as well. Policing strategies become further wedded to the concept of youth through school. Although there is a definite trend linking policing to the concept of adolescent education, it is doubtful that a counterhegemonic discourse in which middle and upper middle class white male youth are automatically perceived as pathologized agents of crime will become sedimented on their bodies. As illustrated through the superintendent’s comments, poverty and urban youth are automatically linked to associations of violence. An employee of Paducah’s Educational Service Center stated after the student shootings there, “The scary thing is we are seeing more of the things the city sees” (Griggs, 1997, December 3). Apparently, “the city,” is the naturalized sight of teenage crime and murder, and it is only to be considered an aberration elsewhere.

Conclusion

I examined the Crosby arrest story because it serves as an intensified moment in the public imaginary about the role of urban public schools and society. It invokes a complex chain of representations of the guilt and innocence of urban students without ever directly focusing on schooling. On a material level, “incidents” between the police and urban youth happen frequently on the streets. However, they are seldom captured in such a way (the
video image) that almost the entire community must, at some level, bear witness.

Approximately a year after the arrest, the police suggested creating a “Youth Advisory Council” to meet monthly with the chief of police (Radel, 1996, July 10), in order to increase the information exchange between police and teenagers. (Although it was unclear from my reading of the newspaper article, what exact information the police would be passing on to the teenagers). A council member sharply criticized the idea calling it a “feel good solution” that didn’t fit the idea of a society where “adults set the rules and kids follow them” (Radel, 1996, July 10). The Vice Mayor described it as another instance when kids “suffer from too much democracy” (Radel, 1996, July 10). Whether these responses were earnest or political rhetoric, it is obvious that the conceptualization of adolescents as passive objects to be controlled and managed remains at the fore. What is urgently needed is the creation of a public space, a voice, in which urban students are shown care and inclusiveness as part of a democratic project. Urban teenagers should not be positioned as somehow outside the concept of democracy. The public space allotted to them in terms of the sidewalk, the bus stop, the school, should not be increasingly overshadowed by the looming specter of the prison.

In Chapter Four the relationship between journalism and urban education is analyzed in regards to how this relationship both operates within and reconstructs notions of public space about urban schooling.

Notes

1 During the time of the arrest, Aiken High School was a “neighborhood school” which meant that it did not offer a magnet program. Neighborhood high schools are intended to provide comprehensive programs without a focus specialty. Students are not selectively admitted, but attend based on their geographic location. However, besides drawing students from the local neighborhoods, Aiken also busses students from many, primarily low income neighborhoods throughout the city “Magnet schools are used in Cincinnati, as in many other urban school districts in the United States, as a primary tool for achieving desegregation goals and encouraging innovation. Magnet school enrolment is regulated to ensure that attendance is racially balanced. …In the Cincinnati system, magnet programmes [sic] are differentiated by curriculum or special interest areas, as well as by instructional approach (e.g. Montessori, Paideia). Acceptance into magnet programmes is based primarily on the application date (first-come, first-served) and race. Transportation is provided for students in grades K-8 who live more than a mile from their alternative school. Transportation assistance is provided for all student in grades 9-12” (Goldring, 1997, 92).
Secondary students use special bus cards to ride the Cincinnati Metro buses. Many students must make multiple transfers in order to arrive at their school. “Total district enrolment in 1993-1994 was approximately 51,000 (66 per cent African-American, 32 per cent white, 2 per cent other)” (Goldring, 1997, 92). (This is in contrast to the total population of Cincinnati which according to the U.S. Census & Bureau of Labor Statistics is 39% black and 61% white and other [Curnutte & Hopkins, 1995, A6]).

This representation has an effect on students and teachers who work in these settings. Despite her own affirmation that Aiken was a “good school”, according to former students the representations acted as a currency within the broader culture. “[I]f I were to meet someone on the street and tell them I went to Aiken, they would’ve been like, ‘Oh, Aiken, weren’t you guys just in the news about such and such.’ It was like I would have to defend my school. That’s what’s different about [the university]. I don’t really have to defend [the university]. When I say I go to [the university] eyes light up, ‘oh you go to [the university], that’s a hard school to get into, you must be smart or something like that.’ Whereas when I told them Aiken, they’d look at me like, ‘oh, okay…’ They only knew what the media had portrayed to happen. (Rowan, Interview, 10 – 2 – 98)

“A nationwide study of high school disciplinary practices shows that in the two years since “zero tolerance” policies were popularized, black students at the schools surveyed have been expelled or suspended at a rate that is disproportionate to their numbers” Tony Keleher, program Director of the Applied Research Center which conducted the study said the study’s preliminary figures “seem to reinforce what we have been hearing anecdotally – that when white students get in trouble they get the benefit of the doubt, whereas black students are presumed guilty.” According to Jesse Jackson, “Increasingly, school districts are choosing penal remedies over educational remedies when it comes to disciplining students” (Claiborne, 1999, 10A)