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Case study of a female juvenile offender: a social ecological analysis.

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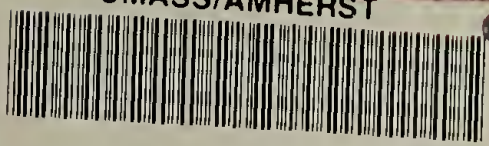
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CASE STUDY OF A FEMALE JUVENILE OFFENDER:
A SOCIAL ECOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

A Thesis Presented

By

Maureen M. McAndrews

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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Psychology

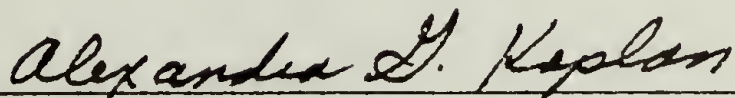
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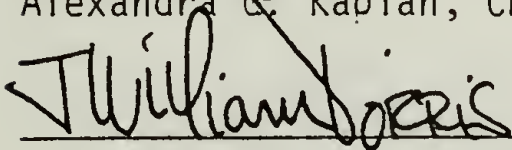
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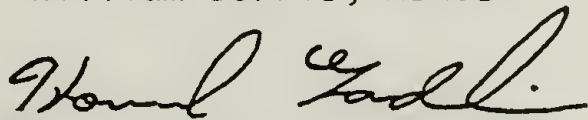
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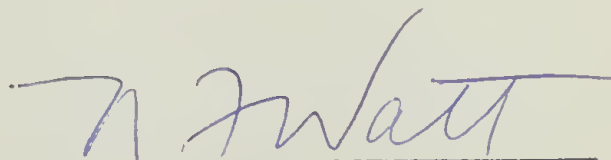
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Finally, I thank "Christy Ronstadt" whose life has moved me deeply. I wish her good fortune.

PREFACE

This eye is not for weeping
its vision
must be unblurred
though tears are on my face
its intent is clarity
it must forget
nothing.

--Adrienne Rich

"From the Prison House"

in Diving into the Wreck

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This paper documents the experience of a juvenile offender. Although the experiences reported are unique and irreplicable, the circumstances of this young woman are not unusual among juvenile offenders. Nor are aspects of her experience uncommon among adolescents, among court-involved persons, among persons with limited resources, among persons whose lives are governed by social service agencies. Violence, destitution, impotence and fury pervade the life of this female juvenile offender. To paraphrase Dostoevsky in his preface to Notes from Underground,

Personages such as these not only can, but must exist in our society, if one takes into consideration the circumstances under which our society was formed. I want to present to the public, in a more conspicuous way than usual, one of the personalities of the recent past. She is one of the representatives of the generation still living out its life.

Events reported herein furnish comment on social circumstances which permit their occurrence.

A series of events in the life of a juvenile offender are organized and examined from a social ecological perspective. The purpose of this paper is both to understand the behavior of the juvenile offender and to demonstrate social ecological analysis. Ecology is the study of the dynamic interdependence between organisms and their environments. The study of the dynamic

interdependence between an individual and the organization of multiple social systems in which the individual has membership, is social ecology. The term "social ecology" is defined here in a manner consistent with definitions used by Aponte (1976) with respect to families, Trickett and Todd (1972) with respect to high schools, Bronfenbrenner (1977) with respect to human development, Sells (1968), Williams and Raush (1968) and Kelly (1968) with respect to naturalistic investigations of human behavior.

Each social system, and the social ecology which the organization of these constitutes, comply to principles of general system theory.

General system theory pertains to principles that apply to systems in general. A system is defined as a complex of components in mutual interaction. General system theory contends that there are principles of systems in general or in defined subclasses of systems, irrespective of the nature of the systems, of their components, or of the relations or 'forces' between them.

(Bertalanffy, 1974)

One general system principle identifies three parts common to systems in general: 1) constitutional elements; 2) integrative elements; and 3) determinants (Grinker, 1974). Structures and functions internal to a system are constitutional elements of a system. A system's function determines the nature of relationships between members of that system. A system carries out certain operations to fulfill its functions. Members of systems are organized so as to perform these operations. The system has

certain structures which help organize members to carry out the operations necessary to fulfill the system's functions. As such, structure and function are interdependent within a system. Among structures which help organize members in social systems are boundaries, roles, rules and resources. Boundaries define "who is in and who is out" of a particular social system (Aponte, 1976). Roles prescribe the activities a particular member performs to contribute to system operations. Roles are invested with authority, power and responsibilities. Rules are guidelines for how members relate to each other so that the functions of the system are fulfilled. Resources are what the members and the system have to work with to fulfill the functions of the system.

Integrative elements permit a system to coordinate members within it and to relate to systems that interface it. Communication permits integration within and between social systems. Determinants are limits imposed by larger systems in which a particular social system is embedded. Determinants define the domain of a social system, delimit or influence the operations of a social system, and affect the extent to which a particular social system can fulfill its functions. Constitutional, integrative and determinant elements of the multiple social systems with which the juvenile offender is engaged are examined in this report.

The dynamic interdependence between juvenile offender and her social ecology is explored to illuminate the behavior of the

behavior of the juvenile offender during the period of the study. Many of her behaviors are recorded as "incidents" in a state agency file, as "charges" on a court docket, as "disruptions" on a record in a mental hospital. Divorced from context, certain behaviors in which this young woman engaged appear irrational, dangerous, or at best, very stupid.

A phenomenon remains unexplainable as long as the range of observation is not wide enough to include the context in which the phenomenon occurs. Failure to realize the intricacies of the relationship between an event and the matrix in which it takes place, between an organism and its environment, either confronts the observer with something 'mysterious' or induces him to attribute to his object of study certain properties the object may not possess.

(Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson, 1967)

Apparently "irrational," "dangerous," "stupid," and/or "mysterious" actions by the female juvenile offender are formulated in relation to the social ecology in which these occur. While such formulation does not excuse nor comprehensively explain all events reported, examination of social ecology does render more discernible the meaning and complexity of the young woman's behavior.

By locating the juvenile offender amidst her social ecology, we find that the range of her behavior is governed by social system processes that command and curtail the range of behavior in which she as member can engage. The juvenile offender occupies roles, and conducts herself in accordance with rules specified by each social system in which she is engaged. She adapts to these demand

characteristics to ensure membership, and to secure membership benefits from each social system comprising her social ecology. The process of adaptation to norms is not unilateral, that is, the exclusive burden of the juvenile offender to change herself to comply to the norms of her social systems. Interdependence between the juvenile offender and social systems suggests that she participates in generating and maintaining norms along with other members of each social system with which she is engaged. As member, the juvenile offender can prompt changes in standards of normative behavior in her social ecology. Interdependence and adaptation allow for modifications of social systems to accommodate changing demands by members.

Constitutional, integrative and determinant elements of social systems limit the range and rate of changes a social system can accommodate. A limit to the resiliency of a social system is reached if a social system cannot adapt to fulfill new needs of a member, and/or if a member cannot adapt to fulfill new requirements of the social system. Under such circumstances, a social system can extrude a member; a member can disengage from a social system; and/or a member can generate a new social system more suited to fulfilling the ascendant needs of the member. The last case accounts for membership in multiple social systems for individuals whose needs are sufficiently diverse to require a diversity of contexts in which to fulfill these. The juvenile offender of this

case study meets a variety of needs in a variety of social systems.

Holding membership in multiple, diverse social systems, her social ecology, that is the organization of these social systems, is heterogeneous. Multiple membership requires diversity in her behavioral repertoire to operate in her heterogeneous social ecology. Behaviors in which she engages in one social system may not be in accord with the membership requirements of another social system. Membership in a heterogeneous social ecology requires discrimination and differentiation of the characteristics of each social system, the capacity to change behavior in accord with the norms of each social system, and the ability to learn behaviors required by a range of social systems. These requirements must be met to ensure and protect membership standing and benefits in multiple social systems.

The juvenile offender studied in this report holds membership in social systems having some overlapping and some disparate membership requirements. At times when the juvenile offender complies to the membership requirements of one social system, she violates norms of membership for another of her social systems. During the events described herein, competing or contradictory membership requirements become irreconcilable. On such occasions, her membership in each of the competing systems is at risk, and the integrity of her heterogeneous social ecology is jeopardized. Increased acting out by the juvenile offender accompanies such periods of social system

incompatibility.

The multiple social systems with which the juvenile offender is engaged are organized in accordance with the general system principle of anamorphis. Anamorphis is "the trend toward higher order or organization" in living systems (Bertalauffy, 1974). Anamorphis differs from the concept of entropy which refers to the tendency of physical, non-living systems to move toward lower levels of complexity and organization over time. The integrity of the social ecology of the juvenile offender at any point in time, reflects the degree to which that system or systems complies to the principle of anamorphis. A higher level of organization in a living system is achieved when components of that system are highly differentiated, well elaborated, well integrated and are performing their functions effectively and with constancy (Aponte, 1976). Each social system within the social ecology of the juvenile offender is itself a system, and as such, has a level of organization that approaches the characteristics of systems at high levels of organizations.

A social ecology can move toward a lower level of organization in a number of ways. Constitutional elements within a social system of the social ecology may break down. Structural underpinnings of the functions of a social system may no longer contribute to, or be suitable for the operations of the social system. Boundaries may become overly rigid or overly permeable. Roles may become ambiguous

or diffuse. Authority, power and responsibilities that attach to roles may be abdicated or abused. Rules may be violated or may no longer be appropriate. Resources upon which the social system depends may become depleted or may be withheld.

Similarly, integrative elements within and between social systems may fail to coordinate communications with boundary systems. The interface between social systems may become conflicted, disengaged, or may merge. Determinants activated by superordinate systems may encroach upon or inhibit the capacity of social systems to perform their functions. Any change in constitutional, integrative or determinant elements of a social system has repercussions for the entire social ecology of which it is a member. Recall that "the principle of interdependence asserts that the basic elements of a system...are dynamically interrelated and that alterations in one part will induce change or reverberations in other parts" (Trickett and Todd, 1972). Such changes do occur within the social ecology of the juvenile offender, and obtain in a lower level of organization for her social ecology.

Given the dynamic interdependence between individuals and their social ecology, what is the impact upon individual members of movement toward a lower level of organization in a social ecology? The efficiency with which a social ecology fulfills its functions falters as the system moves toward a lower level of organization. As a particular social system becomes unable to

fulfill the needs of a member, that member may relocate his or her demand to another social system within his or her social ecology. These demands may or may not be absorbed by alternative social systems. Inasmuch as all social systems are affected by the movement toward a lower level of organization, the capacity of these systems to absorb new functions may be reduced. Depending upon the magnitude of the shift from higher to lower levels of organization, the fit between member and the social ecology may become disjointed. A disjuncture between an individual and his or her social ecology may obtain when the social ecology is no longer functional for the individual and the individual is no longer functional for the social ecology.

Again, in accordance with principles of interdependence and adaptation, movement toward a lower level of organization in a social ecology will be paralleled by movement toward a lower level of organization in the behavior of an individual member. As the fit between an individual and his or her social ecology becomes disjointed an individual will make efforts to preserve his or her social ecology. An individual may need to adapt to the social ecology now organized at a lower level. Or, if an irreconcilable disjuncture has been reached between the individual and his or her social ecology, the individual must acquire membership in and make necessary adaptations to new social systems. Movement toward a lower level of organization in a social ecology may require a member

to seek or reconstruct a new social ecology.

Social ecologies vary with respect to the ease with which they will move toward a lower level of organization. For some, constitutional, integrative and determinant elements are sufficiently robust and flexible to change without reducing the level of organization of the social ecology. Other social ecologies are sufficiently fragile that alterations in constitutional, integrative and/or determinant elements obtain in a lower level of organization for the social ecology. Similarly, certain individuals hold membership in sufficiently diverse and flexible social systems, that functions can be relocated and new functions absorbed without considerable disturbance to the individual's entire social ecology. These individuals can adapt to the requirements of new social systems, and can coordinate and integrate these readily. Other individuals are less able to adapt to new membership requirements in their social ecologies. Such individuals have neither the skills nor the options to generate alternative social systems as new needs emerge. Some individuals do not have the mobility to relinquish membership in a social system operating at a low level of organization. Such persons have no choice but to operate at a level of organization commensurate with, and required by, their social ecology.

The social ecology of the juvenile offender moves toward a lower level of organization during the period under study. The

behavior of the juvenile offender moves toward a lower level of organization as well. The interdependence between these patterns is examined in this case study. In the context of a social ecology moving toward lower levels of organization, she engages in certain behaviors that may raise questions about her characterological or personality dynamics. In this case study, personality is viewed as "a set of predispositions more or less responsive to differences in the behavior requirements of settings" (Trinkett and Todd, 1972). Among predispositions which preceded the membership of the juvenile offender in the social ecology examined in this case study are: a behavioral repertoire which she applied to meet the demands of her social ecology; her capacity to discern and discriminate among the demand characteristics of her multiple social systems; her capacity to learn new behaviors; her capacity to integrate multiple membership requirements; her capacity to generate new social systems as new needs emerged during the period under study; her capacity to change as her social ecology changed. The kinds of needs that she tried to have fulfilled are likely to have preceded, and to endure after her association with the particular social ecology examined.

Information about the juvenile offender's family of origin is not examined in this case study. This material, in conjunction with material about her intrapsychic functioning would contribute clarity to the kinds of predispositions the juvenile offender brought to her social ecology. The social ecological analysis conducted in this

paper illuminates the behavior of the young woman in relation to her social ecology during the period under study. A comprehensive understanding of the juvenile offender, including her characterological predispositions, is beyond the scope of this endeavor.

Methodology

Data. The analysis addresses a series of events in the life of a juvenile offender with whom I had considerable contact between November 1975 and October 1976. Recall and material from a personal journal are primary sources for the data presented. These data have been corroborated by verbal and written reports from other participants in these events. An archive search of agency files and court dockets furnished and corroborated placement and legal information employed in this study. The case study embarks from the assumption that data are as complete and accurate as presently possible. An effort is made throughout this paper to identify sources of information, to estimate degree and kind of distortion surrounding certain information and to explicitly differentiate speculation from report whenever possible.

Identities. Confidentiality strictures prohibit public release of a juvenile offender's name. She and members of social systems with which she was associated are identified by pseudonyms. Only the author's name is unchanged. Details about the setting in which events occur are deliberately altered to further conceal the

identities of persons associated with the juvenile offender. Among extralegal activities in which the juvenile offender engaged during the period under study, only those which obtained in formal action implicating the juvenile offender are discussed.

Organization. Social systems and members are introduced. Following this specification of the social ecology of the juvenile offender, events occurring in or affecting the life of the juvenile offender are arranged in temporal progression from November 1975 through October 1976. This chronology is structured into eight phases which demarcate and associate major event sequences with changes in the social system membership of the young woman. Diagrams of the social ecology of the juvenile offender which locate the juvenile offender in relation to social systems, and which illustrate the nature of her relationships to members of these systems, are prepared for each phase. Each phase represents a chapter in the social ecological analysis of events. Chapters begin with a diagram of the social ecology and with an enumeration of significant events which occur in each phase. Events are described and then formulated with reference to the context in which these appear. Each phase closes with a summary of events focusing on the interdependence between the behavior of the juvenile offender and her social ecology.

Following the formulation of events for each phase, concluding remarks address patterns in the behavior of the juvenile offender

and in her social ecology across phases. Characteristics of social ecological analysis are summarized, and implications of this perspective for work with juvenile offenders are discussed.

C H A P T E R I I
SPECIFICATIONS OF THE SOCIAL ECOLOGY

Five primary social systems comprise the juvenile offender's social ecology during the period under study:

1. Foster Parents/Youth Project
2. Department of Youth Services (DYS) Region X
3. Fernwood street community
 - a. Police
 - b. Alpha Nu crew
4. Informal Professionals
5. Mental Health Professionals

The structure, membership and interrelationship of these social systems are described.

Foster Parents/Youth Project

The Youth Project is a community based, long term foster care program associated with the Department of Criminology of a New England university. The program provides services for 30 to 35 youths, male and female, who are in the custody of DYS or the Department of Public Welfare. The program had been in operation for about five years during the period under study.

Joe Founder. Joe Founder finds both the fulfillment and the frustration of his political sensibilities in his job as director of

the Youth Project. He must work within the system to which the Youth Project attempts to be an alternative, in order to ensure the fiscal survival of the program. While not reconciled to the paradoxes of being a Marxist working in corrections, one of capitalism's most necessary and noxious institutions, Joe performs his job with resolve. He navigates the bureaucratic labyrinth of phone calls and paperwork which links the Youth Project to DYS at large, steadied by a dose of Robert J. Lurtsema and the New York Times each morning. Although his political incisiveness is pitted against the monolithic muddle of administrative details that dominate his job, his perseverance and humor never abate.

Role. Joe is the director of the Youth Project. He reports to the director of the Department of Criminology, Charles Porter. Joe is in his first year as director during the period under study. He supervises four supervisors, program consultants and foster parents for 30 to 35 youths.

Responsibilities. Joe solicits referrals from seven DYS regional offices across the state. He supervises case management of youth. He negotiates contracts with DYS and with program staff. He is on call for crisis situations. He is liaison to community groups such as the police, newspapers and town officials.

Authority and power. Joe is accountable for all programmatic, personnel and service decisions in the Youth Project. He hires and fires. He initiates and implements policies for new directions in

the program.

Resources. Joe works with staff of the Department of Criminology in securing a budget for Youth Project operations. During the period under study, Joe has inherited a deficit which curtails his fiscal resources.

Cookie Tyler. Cookie Tyler could be anywhere between the ages of 25 and 40, depending on her mood, attire, and the amount of sleep she's had the night before. She has short, dark hair, compelling eyes, and a presence that suggests incipient flurry. She moves sharply, abruptly, deliberately and with strength. She intimidated me at first--no amenities--just frank casing: Who are you? What do you want? Where do you stand with kids? Two wrinkles in V formation are stamped between her eyes. Her tough street history energizes her resolve, her determination, her tireless hustling for kids. She's unorthodox--again, no amenities. She swears, demands and bumps up against DYS bosses; hassles, confronts and bad mouths kids on her caseload; hugs, gurgles with, winks at and cuddles her baby girl Laura. I've seen her eyes fill up when talking about her husband Mike--some part devotion, some pain. She uses heavy cream in her coffee--I always thought to myself, "Good for you, honey, live it up."

Role. Cookie worked for the Youth Project in paid capacities as field supervisor and as a foster parent. Christy Ronstadt was on Cookie's field supervisor caseload, and lived with Cookie, Mike

and Laura in the program's standard foster care arrangement.

Responsibilities. Field supervisor and foster parent role overlap are most apparent in scanning Cookie's responsibilities regarding Christy. Primary foster parent responsibilities include the provision of food, clothing and shelter to Christy. Field supervisor responsibilities include intensive supervision of Christy, daily monitoring, case work related to the goals and objectives of Christy's service plan (vocational, educational, etc.) and advocacy for Christy in court involved matters (e.g., police interrogations, arraignments, trials and/or dispositions, hearings, etc.).

Authority and power. Cookie is dependent upon DYS and the Youth Project for the inflow of funds for Christy. In her roles as field supervisor and foster parent she is fairly autonomous regarding expenditures of this money. She has the authority as foster parent to establish and enforce rules pertaining to Christy's immediate existence at home (e.g., grounding, curfews, etc.). Cookie's authority in these matters is recognized and approved by the Youth Project and, by extension, DYS. As field supervisor, Cookie has the power to call for Christy's termination from the program. In short, Cookie has authority over a considerable portion of Christy's life, ranging from her immediate living situation, to her DYS standing.

Resources. Cookie gets less than \$100.00/week as a foster

parent to pay for Christy's living expenses. Her role as field supervisor gives her direct access to DYS for payment vouches for extra clothes, bus tickets, etc. that Christy might need. Her dual role gives Cookie close access to Youth Project supportive services, and information from other staff members (e.g., regarding regional policy, Christy's school progress, resources for kids, etc.). Her dual roles equip Cookie with a good deal of exposure to and experience with the court system, the Fernwood community and people in DYS. Her resources then, are primarily money, information, and daily contact with people in networks that affect Christy.

Activities. Cookie has many duties and demands beyond those concerning Christy. She has a heavy work load at the Youth Project, takes university courses, and assumes major family responsibilities. Her Youth Project work requires considerable mobility, irregular hours, and a good deal of informal hustling.

Background and values. Cookie talked to me about her background. A picture of a fragmented family, early street life and early hustling emerges. She indicated involvement in extralegal activities, primarily prostitution and gambling. Cookie is into making money and pursuing her education as "up by your boot straps" mobility strategies.

Language and topics. Cookie has a street style of communication: lots of swearing, slang, vivid stories, fast pace, etc. She is physical with the kids as far as playing "slap" games and

confronting them, but expressed discomfort to me about being physically demonstrative of her affection for Christy. She talks shop most of the time: about kids, their histories, troubles, etc. She talks about crime and knows how to do most of the things her kids are into (breaking locks, stealing cars, etc.). She talks about law and courts cynically--mostly about how to con these systems.

Interactive patterns with Christy. Reciprocity characterizes Christy's position in Cookie's house. Christy had chores that Cookie didn't have time to do, and she helped care for Laura, the baby. Christy could see that although her relationship with Cookie was contractual and formal, Cookie was not getting rich off of her foster parent income. Christy told me about her respect and admiration for Cookie--she was very hooked into Cookie's approval. Cookie talked to me at length about her caring for Christy, and her identification with Christy's background, style and behavior.

Mike Tyler. Mike can change in front of your eyes, from a charming enchanting kid to a bitter, confused man who hasn't decided whether to be a con or to go straight. He is slick and handsome: light brown skin, curly hair, mocking eyes and a great smile. I've seen him play a range of parts: from a passionate mechanic loving his custom 'vette, to three-piece suit court liaison for kids from the

Youth Project, picking up subtly illegal procedures and having cases thrown out of court. He talks a constant, funny, vivid rap--full of stories, not much showing about himself. Laura amazes him. He reads people as OK or as sucker. I was somewhere in between I think.

Role. Cookie is listed as Christy's foster parent; she gets the checks. Mike is along for, or tolerates, the ride. He acted on Christy's behalf as court liaison for the Youth Project.

Resources. Informal.

Authority and power. Informal, yet considerable, in terms of his personal influence on Christy. Also, he affects Cookie and her ability to establish and enforce rules pertaining to Christy in the home.

Activities. He takes some courses, fixes cars and sells them. He often cares for Laura during the day.

Background and values. I know from Cookie that Mike is an ex-junkie/pusher and small time con; that she "saved" him and that he's into schemes for making lots of money. He is Portuguese and black, and grew up as a minority in Provincetown.

Language and topics. Mike talks crime and scheming. He is into plans that border on white-collar crime. He talks about having fast cars, a nice house and possessions (he owns a Doberman Pinscher and a fish tank with baby piranha). Whenever I've been with him, he talked about leaving Fernwood, heading for Florida or California. He boasts about Laura and delights in her.

Interactive patterns with Christy. Mike likes Christy. He has helped her with transportation and extra cash. Christy likes Mike; she admires his style, his flair. She must balance her attention between Cookie and Mike because Mike is seductive and Cookie is very possessive.

Department of Youth Services (DYS) Region X

Region X is one of seven offices of the Department of Youth Services across the state. The Massachusetts State Legislature has appropriated nearly \$17,600,000 for DYS in fiscal year 1978. With this money, DYS provides detention, group care, foster care, non-residential and casework services for approximately 9,000 court involved youth, twelve to fifteen percent of whom are female. Despite the controversial and well publicized efforts of Commissioner Jerome Miller to deinstitutionalize corrections facilities for juvenile offenders seven years ago, more than two thirds of DYS kids are held in detention today, and the most recent DYS budget reveals increased allocations for secure facilities. Projected enrollment in community based programs (among which is the Youth Project) for fiscal year 1978 is substantially reduced in contrast to previous years. Community based programs now absorb but thirteen percent of the budget of the ostensibly "deinstitutionalized" DYS. Legislators, judges and community leaders continue to prefer isolation rather than integration of juvenile offenders in communities; the

budget which these groups influence, reflects their resistance to deinstitutionalization.

Region X must service juveniles adjudicated delinquent who reside within its geographical boundaries. Resources and placement priorities of Region X follow from and correspond to the political and fiscal climate of DYS central office. Whatever the climate, Region X must respond to needs of the youth in its jurisdiction. Caseworkers are assigned 30 to 35 kids for monitoring, placement and processing. Region X must deal with these kids and the parents, schools, probation officers, police, judges, vendor personnel and public who interlace with lives of these kids. Region X is a complex system charged with complex tasks, operating in a very complex context.

Bonnie "the Squirrel" Russell. Bonnie is a thin, wiry black woman in her mid-twenties. Every time I've seen her, she's had her coat on, pocketbook in hand, as if about to leave. She doesn't talk much, but then again, she may not have much to say about Christy, at least not in public.

Role. Caseworker for Christy at Region X.

Responsibilities. Bonnie has a caseload of approximately 30 kids. She is supposed to supervise and monitor kids on placement to regional vendors, to visit them on placements, and to ensure that service plan contracts are being fulfilled. She must accompany youth on her caseload to court, as a representative of DYS. In

addition, she is expected to maintain communication with the parents and family of youth on her caseload.

Resources. Bonnie depends on region economics and bureaucracy to process vouchers for youth, and she had no autonomy over distribution of these funds. Her information about kids comes primarily through monthly reports and progress summaries that placements are required to send to the region.

Authority and power. Bonnie can recommend placement and termination, but final decisions regarding these matters are determined by consensus at regional staffings, or by approval of the regional director.

Activities. Bonnie is on the road alot, traveling to region placements or court. She must process considerable paper work (records, vouchers, court charges, dispositions, etc.) for kids on her caseload.

Interactive patterns with Christy. Christy and Bonnie have a very conflictual relationship. I've heard Christy call Bonnie "nigger," "stupid" and essentially demolished Bonnie with verbal abuse. Bonnie "inherited" Christy from Lisa Gerhart, Christy's former case worker, an experienced, competent DYS worker. As a novice case worker, Bonnie can't compete. Christy would certainly be among the most demanding kids on Bonnie's caseload: the frequency of her court appearances alone would try Bonnie's patience.

Fernwood Street Community

Despite its seasonal swell of 20,000 students who attend the university adjacent to the town, Fernwood is an inveterate small town, unyieldingly loyal to its agricultural heritage. Fernwood, languid in summer, is the setting for the events described in this report.

Sergeant Kennedy and Company. Sergeant Kennedy and Company at the Fernwood Police Station at times resembled a Sergeant Bilko remake and at other times looked like Mayor Daley's Gorillas at the '68 Democratic Convention.

Sergeant Kennedy himself is a very sympathetic character. In uniform, he is the classic cop on the beat who helps old ladies at street crossings. Out of uniform, he looks like his wife dresses him. He would appear more comfortable at an American Legion Hall or Knights of Columbus than in the Washington County District Court. Among "Company" I include an assortment of regulars, rookies, and traffic control trainees. The police station is located in the basement of Fernwood's Gothic-roccoco Town Hall. Bordering the town green, close to assorted package and ice cream stores, its steps provide a convenient hang-out for Fernwood youth, an interesting commentary on Fernwood's formidable police force.

Role. Police.

Responsibilities. Police enforce the law, apprehend offenders,

press charges, present evidence to the court, and investigate criminal activities in Fernwood.

Resources. Money, equipment, staff and community status. Access to a pervasive community information network.

Authority and power. Police have considerable power, both mandated and attributed. They can monitor activities of community members (within limits), ask questions, draw up charges, make arrests, and authorize incarcerations.

Activities. Police are on the streets of Fernwood all hours of the day. They patrol, by car and on foot, the town center and key hang-out places for kids: Jake's Smoke Shop, and the cemetery. They know town businessmen, and share space with town officials. The police interact with court personnel, judges, DYS workers, all influential people in the lives of juveniles.

Language and topics. Police have daily commerce with the Fernwood community. Town rumors, gossip, events are all accessible to them. Crime information, about events and people, flows through the force and constitutes most of the shop talk.

Interactive patterns with Christy. Sergeant Kennedy had two distinct interactive modes in relation to Christy, corresponding to his formal and informal roles respectively. Formally, he presented evidence against her in court, authorized her arrest for disturbing the peace, had her incarcerated, and actively investigated her involvement in criminal activity in Fernwood. Informally, he

chatted with her for hours at the station house, he gave her advice, gave her rides in his patrol car, soothed her when she was upset, and was by in large, very fatherly in relation to her. Christy responded to Sergeant Kennedy in two ways as well. She kicked, scratched and bit him the night he arrested her, and yet ran to him for advice and protection when the heat was on her. Similarly, the regulars, rookies, and traffic control trainees would hang out with Christy, chat and gossip on the streets, often sharing personal material (e.g., romance, career objectives, etc.). On the other hand, the same folks participated in graveyard chase scenes after Christy, and helped stuff her into the patrol car that took her to jail.

Street Folks/the Alpha Nu Crew:

Wanda, Reggie, Turk, and Frank

Wanda always looked like it was her first cigarette, her first swear word, her first bra. Reggie--a Mel Brooks satire on Neanderthal man. Turk--never met him, but his room is very tacky. Frank--the '60s Beach Boys flicks passed him by. Such an honest face, replete with blonde hair, cleft chin, even teeth, and social graces.

Alpha Nu: rated minus eight stars. This attractive three story dwelling is centrally located in downtown Fernwood. An assortment of psychedelic posters, broken bottles and suspiciously stained mattresses go along with the sale. A perfect milieu for young persons

wishing to degenerate.

Wanda.

Role. Christy's best friend in Fernwood.

Responsibilities. Not applicable.

Resources. Minimal. Pertaining to Christy, Wanda provided companionship and occasionally, a place to crash.

Authority and power. Power to influence Christy in the context of their relationship.

Activities. Hangs out at Jake's Smoke Shop and the cemetery. Interacts with Fernwood townies, drinks, does and deals small amounts of grass.

Background and values. Wanda comes from a fragmented family in Fernwood. She has no police record during the period under study, although she recently received probationary status and is placed with a program for girls not far from Fernwood.

Language and topics. As a member of the street community, Wanda is into the local drug and petty crime scene. Themes of the scene pertain primarily to police activities and the legal status of other street folks in the network.

Interactive patterns with Christy. As Christy's "best friend," Wanda follows Christy around, obeys Christy's orders, imitates Christy's wardrobe and activities. She affects Christy, who is very vigilant of and possessive about Wanda's loyalty. Christy

disdains Wanda's "middle-class Fernwood" background, her naivete, and lack of courage, but Christy certainly loves to command Wanda.

Reggie and Turk.

Roles. Friends, associates in drug dealing and petty crimes.

Resources. Money, drugs and excitement. These two have information that Christy needs to stay on top of the local scene.

Authority and power. All power is informal and derived from status in street networks. They have the power to influence the reputation and standing of the street members, and the capacity to use physical violence in the course of controlling peers.

Activities. Drug dealing, local B & Es (breaking and entering). During the period under study, Fernwood police are investigating the possible involvement of these two in a homicide that occurred at the Dump, Spring of 1976.

Background and values. Reggie and Turk are well known to Fernwood police. I would guess both had juvenile records and their adult records are burgeoning during the period under study.

Language and topics. Crime related.

Interactive patterns with Christy. Reggie and Turk are central figures in the Fernwood street scene. Christy depended upon them for money and shelter at times during the period under study (e.g., she sold bogus THC through them and crashed in Turk's room at Alpha Nu). I know that Christy hung out with Reggie and Turk and spent

much of her time keeping abreast of their activities. I observed physical and verbal abuse exchanged between Reggie and Christy.

Frank.

Role. Landlord at Alpha Nu.

Resources. A cheap crash pad for Fernwood street poor and transients.

Authority and power. As landlord, Frank had formal power to admit people into Alpha Nu and to discharge tenants. Informally, he is as respected as he is needed by the street network.

Activities. Hangs out at the house.

Background and values. Frank is a university student. He appears somewhat peripheral to the street network, although I always detected some deliberateness in his effort to dissociate himself from them. In a letter he wrote to Christy, Frank makes some reference to high level crime connections in the mob of a nearby large city.

Language and topics. Frank is formal, polite, educated and articulate. He appears vigilant and knowing regarding the street network, tight-lipped and restrained about active engagements with the street folks.

Interactive patterns with Christy. Frank engages Christy primarily around a range of concerns related to his role as landlord. On occasions of property damage (broken windows, etc.), his immediate goal is to stop it and then ascertain who will pay.

Secondarily, and only secondarily, he expresses concerns about Christy's various dilemmas and seems genuine in his wish to help. Christy seems to hold Frank at a distance. They are both guarded in releasing information about each other to me.

Peter Munson. Peter is as careful as his manicured Mercedes 280: in attire, presentation, in moving into things. His eyes constantly scan the faces of people formally and informally assembled. I'd bet that he reflexively feels his pants to see if his wallet has been pick-pocketed. His good intention raps have an interesting momentum: fixed eye contact, accelerated speech, promises "slipping" out and rapidly retrieved.

Role. Owner of Lucky's Market. Complainant against Christy for her breaking and entering there. Subsequently he became a temporary foster parent for Christy.

Responsibilities. As complainant, Peter testified in court against Christy regarding the breaking and entering incident at Lucky's. As foster parent, Peter is expected to provide Christy with room, board and supervision.

Resources. Money and job opportunities in his business.

Activities. Runs Lucky's; has real estate holdings in the Fernwood area.

Background and values. Peter pushed a steady Horatio Alger rap about "a job and money would give Christy a decent existence and independence." Peter apparently worked himself up from being a

butcher at Stop and Shop--his Mercedes is a testimonial to free enterprise.

Language and topics. Peter talked incessantly about his "climb to the top," and his plans to make money hand over fist.

Interactive patterns with Christy. Peter is completely absorbed by Christy's dilemma and is intrigued by the street drama she brings to him. He lectures to her about her crooked life and urges her to start over, clean slate, and work for a decent existence. Christy seems almost convinced by Peter's rap, yet she tells me she thinks "he's a little weird, probably a faggot." Christy would prefer to think of him as her knight on a white horse, her champion, especially since he gives her free sixes of Labatts Ale and all the Dorito's she can eat. Peter is inconsistent, however; he misses appointments and is impossible to reach at the assorted telephone numbers he distributes.

Informal Professionals

Two women in search of solutions comprise the "informal professionals." Renee and Katie met at the Youth Project and were developing a friendship during the period under study. Common concerns about kids and the inadequacy of systems intended to serve kids, provided the foundation of their relationship, which later embraced mutual respect and fondness. Renee offered energy and good intentions which Katie's pragmatic brilliance salvaged from inertia. Katie's scheming

and Renee's dreaming combined in their joint persistence to stick with Christy even as their endeavor reached the point of diminishing returns.

Katie Miller.

Role. Title I educator, supplementing educational services of the Youth project; consultant for education and girl's programming for DYS central office.

Responsibilities. Formal responsibilities include direct educational planning and tutoring for youth in settings eligible for federal Title I educational services. Katie supplies such services to DYS settings in Western Massachusetts.

Resources. Experience with juveniles and with Massachusetts DYS system in particular, equips Katie with extensive information regarding DYS politics, pragmatics of DYS, legal rights of kids, court proceedings, placement options in the state, corrections models in other states, etc. Katie has access to street level information about kids, knows their families and home communities across the state.

Authority and power. Formal authority in educational domain (to request records, funds, hiring, firing and supervising Title I staff, etc.). As a state level DYS employee Katie holds considerable informal power derived from her state wide DYS contacts, and her understanding of the system as a whole. She transforms these

connections into personal power to pressure local regions through central office, to go over the heads of DYS to contacts in the state legislature, connections with the press and within state agencies associated with DYS.

Activities. Beyond the teaching activities associated with her Title I role, Katie spends a good deal of time pursuing her personal commitment to quality care for juveniles, particularly with respect to aftercare and to girl's programming in the state. Her state wide travels to DYS facilities, and her hang out time on the streets, provide her considerable contact with kids. She spends time hustling jobs for kids, helping them with transportation and places to crash, and contacting their families. In addition, she sits on state and local committees pertaining to kids, education and corrections services.

Background and values. Katie has a personal history of independence from her family, and extensive experience with, and skills pertaining to, making it on your own. She has pursued her graduate education in agriculture concurrent with her full-time jobs with juveniles in Massachusetts and Wisconsin. Katie has an explicit priority: "Keep kids out of jail." From that priority follows her insistence that the state deliver services it is paid and mandated to deliver. Katie values education as a means of equipping kids with skills, information and power to cope within and outside of DYS.

Language and topics. Katie is skilled at two languages:

professional DYS-ese, and street talk. Her tone of voice, expression and pace alter, depending upon which vernacular she's using. Most of Katie's informal talk merges into shop talk: humor, anecdotes, gossip that are DYS related. She tells wonderful stories about her own family, and is quite talented in conveying personal characterizations of kids. Her life space, time and personal relationships are dominated by DYS and kid related people and activities.

Interactive patterns with Christy. Katie and Christy had established a basis of familiarity and trust during their tutor/student relationship within her context of the Youth Project. In addition, Katie and Christy connected up around common referents in state-wide DYS: people, policy, gossip, etc. Katie had access to extensive information about Christy's family and DYS history, from records, previous caseworkers, etc. Christy treated Katie as a powerful ally: Katie had contacts and information that could affect Christy (court, placement, rights, DYS obligations, etc.). Beyond liking Christy, Katie seemed to take Christy as a demonstration case for the inadequacy of DYS aftercare services. Katie took on the role of critic surrounding DYS management of Christy's situation. Katie was a capable and informed advocate for Christy.

Renee McAndrews.

Role. Psychological consultant to the Youth Project.

Responsibilities. To consult with Youth Project on case management, organizational structure and process; crisis intervention and

and referral for Youth Project kids, foster parent/youth interventions, therapy referral; conduct and submit psychological evaluations for regional and court dispositions.

Resources. Psychological training as a graduate student in clinical psychology. Renee had access to information and contacts pertaining to adolescent placements in the mental health domain. Renee had little knowledge about, and contacts with DYS outside of Youth Project.

Authority and power. No formal power following directly from job role. Power to influence case management, court and regional dispositions.

Activities. Active involvement with Youth Project staff and kids. Social and work related contact with Katie Miller, and through her association with kids and DYS folks.

Language and topics. Renee talked and employed a psychological perspective in her job as staff consultant. In relation to Katie Miller and Christy Ronstadt, Renee began to learn and employ street talk. Much of this street talk was new to Renee, yet oddly compatible with her pre-psychology background. During the period under study, Renee had had one and one-half years experience as consultant to the Youth Project, and by that time, had become convinced that DYS hurts kids more than it helps kids. She perceived the system as unwieldy, insensitive and politically motivated.

Interactive patterns with Christy. Renee and Christy first

came together around a psychological evaluation Renee prepared regarding Christy's placement options. Early during the period under study, they related in a manner congruent with initial roles: Christy called Renee "her psychologist," while Renee regarded Christy as an exemplary enigma, the prototypical DYS girl--about whom Renee needed to learn in order to work effectively in DYS. As their relationship progressed, Renee began to view Christy as a "lost soul," someone to regard as a fellow human being to help, comfort and care for as best she could. Christy, in turn, began to see Renee more as a person than as a "psychologist," someone to depend on and someone to come to when there's trouble.

Mental Health Professionals

Scott Dorsey. Scott Dorsey knows his domain. He usually looks a little ruffled--but his eyes are clear, steady and patient. He'll neither rush nor dally--he listens and acts, both purposely and decisively. His calm authority and kindness come through loud and clear--no need for images, props/amplification.

Role. Psychiatrist on-call at University Health Services, College Infirmary.

Responsibilities. Having admitted Christy to the University Health Services on an emergency basis, Scott assumed two primary responsibilities: 1) to supervise and monitor her care at that facility and 2) to prescribe medication for her during her stay.

Resources. Scott had access to two principal resources in his dealings with Christy: 1) the staff on the in-patient unit of UHS and 2) his professional expertise regarding medication, crisis intervention with adolescents and his knowledge about commitment proceedings and referral options for Christy.

Authority and power. In his capacity of physician on-call, Scott had the authority to design and mandate a treatment strategy for Christy. In addition, Massachusetts law confers him with the power to initiate and authorize 10-day involuntary commitment procedures.

Activities. Scott conducted the emergency intake of Christy. He talked with Christy and consulted with Katie Miller and Renee McAndrews regarding her situation and placement.

Language and topics. Scott demonstrated and acted in accordance with a mental health perspective. He talked in psychological and psychiatric treatment terms about Christy's situation. In addition, Scott represented the UHS in our interactions, such that he presented the limitations and boundaries of that facility regarding clientele, services and treatment constraints.

Interactive pattern with Christy. Scott acted within his role as psychiatrist in relation to Christy during his brief (one day) interaction with her. As his concern was not to establish a client/therapist relationship with her, he primarily kept her informed about what was happening to her, his rationale for prescribing

certain medications, his prediction about how she would react to the medication and about his next steps regarding her treatment at UHS. Christy was mostly drugged out during her contact with Scott, hence there were few occasions to observe active interaction between them. She was primarily compliant in relation to him.

Mildred Rose. Mildred Rose has a small office located on a minor corridor of Regional State Hospital. Her desk carries precisely arranged piles of forms, an assortment of carefully sharpened Ticonderoga #2 pencils and a small Hummel figurine/planter in which is contained three plastic sprigs of mountain periwinkles. I noticed as strangely out of character, the fact that Mildred is a chain-smoker (Virginia Slims, Menthol 100s). Her basic white blouse with Peter Pan collar rotated above an assortment of pastel pin-striped A-line skirts. She is punctual, composed and professional.

Role. Social worker at Regional State Hospital. Christy is on her case load.

Responsibilities. Mildred is responsible for the design and implementation of treatment plans for patients admitted to RSH for short term care. As social worker, she is primarily concerned about generating and providing for after-care arrangements to follow patient discharge from RSH.

Resources. Mildred may enlist the services of ward staff, psychiatric consultants and community referral contacts. She may

call upon her training as a diagnostician, therapist and community liaison. With respect to Christy, Mildred's experience did not equip her with familiarity with adolescents nor DYS in this state (e.g., "D.Y. what?").

Authority and power. Mildred has the authority to recommend patient discharge, to contact significant persons concerning patient aftercare arrangements, and to establish conditions surrounding the short term residency of patients on the ward (visitor regulations and restrictions, privileges, etc.).

Activities. Mildred interviewed/talked with Christy daily during her twelve-day stay at RSH. Mildred arranged and directed staffings about Christy, for both RSH staff and for people associated with Christy outside the hospital. Mildred collected and reviewed staff records of Christy's behavior on the ward, and recommended staff strategies for handling Christy, particularly regarding Christy's violent behavior. Mildred initiated contact with Katie Miller and Renee McAndrews, and made herself available to them when they needed to talk to her.

Background and values. (Inferred on the basis of frequent contact during Christy's twelve-day stay at RSH). Mildred is European--in origin and training. Her use of diagnostic labels regarding Christy ("psychopathic deviate") indicates that she employs a traditional, psychiatric/psychodynamic model for understanding and treating her patients. Her posture in relation to patients, staff

and people associated with patients, is formal, task oriented and very deliberate, all of which are consonant with traditional, European training and background.

Language and topics. Mildred repeatedly employed individual centered, psychiatric/diagnostic terms in her characterizations of Christy ("psychopathic deviate," "manipulative," "antisocial," etc.). She used these terms precisely, thoughtfully and with obvious conviction regarding their accuracy, potency and professional credulity. Mildred conveyed concern for Christy, commitment to her professional responsibilities, and desire to truly help, throughout my contact with her. Mildred admitted feeling frustrated and angry at Christy, particularly following the two occasions Christy ripped up the ward.

Interactive patterns with Christy. (I did not observe interactions between Mildred and Christy. My perceptions here are based on reports from each). Initially, Mildred apparently found Christy charming, engaging and beguiling. Later, Mildred construed these aspects of Christy's interpersonal style as primary evidence of Christy's "psychopathic manipulateness," Christy's self-serving "need" to seduce people into helping her. In the course of her stay at RSH Christy changed her characterization of Mildred from an initial "She's a nice lady" to a final "Get me out of this place, that witch is trying to keep me here forever."

CHAPTER III

CHRONOLOGY

Events which affect Christy and her social ecology are arranged in temporal progression. The trajectory of events is punctuated by phases which associate major event sequences with changes in Christy's social system affiliations. An overview of events examined in this report is presented for each of the eight phases.

Phase I.

Dates: November, 1975 - March, 1976

Social system affiliations: Foster parents, Youth Project, Fernwood street community, DYS Region X

Events:

- residing with Cookie and Mike
- employed at the Subcity
- preparing for the GED

Social ecology: operating at a high level of organization.

Behavior: no acting out.

Phase II.

Dates: April, 1976 - May, 1976

Social system affiliations: Foster parents, Youth Project, Fernwood street community, DYS Region X, Washington County District Court

Events:

- conflict between Cookie and Mike Tyler
- conflict between Cookie and the Youth Project

Events (continued):

- California dreaming
- Subcity breaking and entering
- conflict between Christy and Cookie
- intensification of conflict between Cookie and the Youth Project
- California dream equivocated
- Christy rips up her room
- triangulation of Renee McAndrews, Joe Founder and Cookie
- triangulation of Renee McAndrews, Joe Founder and Charles Porter
- Christy takes \$40 from Mike Tyler
- Cookie quits the Youth Project/Joe Founder decides to fire Cookie
- California dream withdrawn
- Renee McAndrews prepares psychological evaluation of Christy
- Christy terminated from the Youth Project
- Christy in court for Subcity breaking and entering disposition
- Christy returned to jurisdiction of Bonnie Russell, DYS Region X caseworker.

Social ecology: moves rapidly to a lower level of organization; dissolution of primary social system.

Behavior: first appearance of extra-legal activity after five month period of stability.

Phase III.

Dates: May 4, 1976 - June 1, 1976

Social system affiliations: temporary foster parent, Youth Project, CSIA emergency foster care, short term foster care in Warrentville, Alpha Nu, DYS Region X, Fernwood street community

Events:

- Christy returned to the jurisdiction of DYS by order of Judge Davis
- DYS fails to receive Christy in custody
- temporary foster placement blows up
- Joe Founder sends Christy to CSIA emergency foster care
- Christy arranges her own placement in Warrentville

Events (continued):

--Christy moves into Alpha Nu, DYS authorizes "independent living situation"

Social ecology: in flux; DYS providing minimal coordination of placement changes during this month.

Behavior: drug and alcohol abuse, assaultive behavior, stealing.

Phase IV.

Dates: June, 1976 - July, 1976

Social system affiliations: Fernwood street community, informal professionals

Events:

--Christy fully installed in Alpha Nu
--DYS TERMINATES Christy

Social ecology: shaky, but standing; Christy manages by herself.

Behavior: no acting out.

Phase V.

Dates: July 1, 1976 - July 22, 1976

Social system affiliations: Fernwood street community, informal professionals

Events:

--Christy does breaking and entering at Lucky's Market
--released on bail on three charges: breaking and entering, assault with a deadly weapon, disturbing the peace
--contact with informal professionals intensifies
--police investigation of Dump homicide triggers conflict within the Fernwood street community
--Christy bound between factions of the Fernwood street community

Social ecology: moves toward a lower level of organization with onset of schism in Fernwood street community.

Behavior: extra-legal acting out

Phase VI.

Dates: July 23, 1976 - August 6, 1976

Social system affiliations: Fernwood street community, informal professionals, Peter Munson, University Health Services

Events:

- Christy calls Renee: "trouble in Danport"
- broken window at Subcity
- fight with rookie
- police chase and search in the graveyard
- homicide attempt on Christy
- Christy to Renee's house
- Christy to University Health Services
- Christy to court for arraignment on Lucky's breaking and entering
- threatening note from Frank at Alpha Nu
- Renee and Katie request protective custody for Christy
- knife in wall at Alpha Nu
- search for Christy
- police put Christy in protective custody
- Christy unconscious at Alpha Nu
- Christy to court on Lucky's charges
- Christy to Middlesex hideout
- Renee has car accident
- Christy has conflict with Frank
- money missing at Katie's house
- Christy has conflict with Wanda
- breaking and entering at Renee's house
- Christy arrives drunk and drugged at Renee's house
- Christy to UHS
- attempts three window jumps
- Christy transferred to Regional State Hospital

Social ecology: deteriorated

Behavior: desperate; fights and flights abound; drug and alcohol abuse.

Phase VII.

Dates: August 6, 1976 - August 16, 1976

Social system affiliations: University Health Services,
Regional State Hospital, informal professionals, Peter
Munson, DYS Region X

Events:

- Christy transferred from UHS to RSH on ten day involuntary commitment
- Mrs. Rose presses DYS to resume responsibilities to Christy
- conflict between Christy and Renee
- Renee and Katie barred from RSH
- RSH/DYS staffing
- Christy released to Peter Munson, foster parent

Social ecology: formal systems stabilized but not integrated.

Behavior: aggressive, self-destructive.

Phase VIII.

Dates: August 16, 1976 - October 15, 1976

Social system affiliations: old partners in crime

Events:

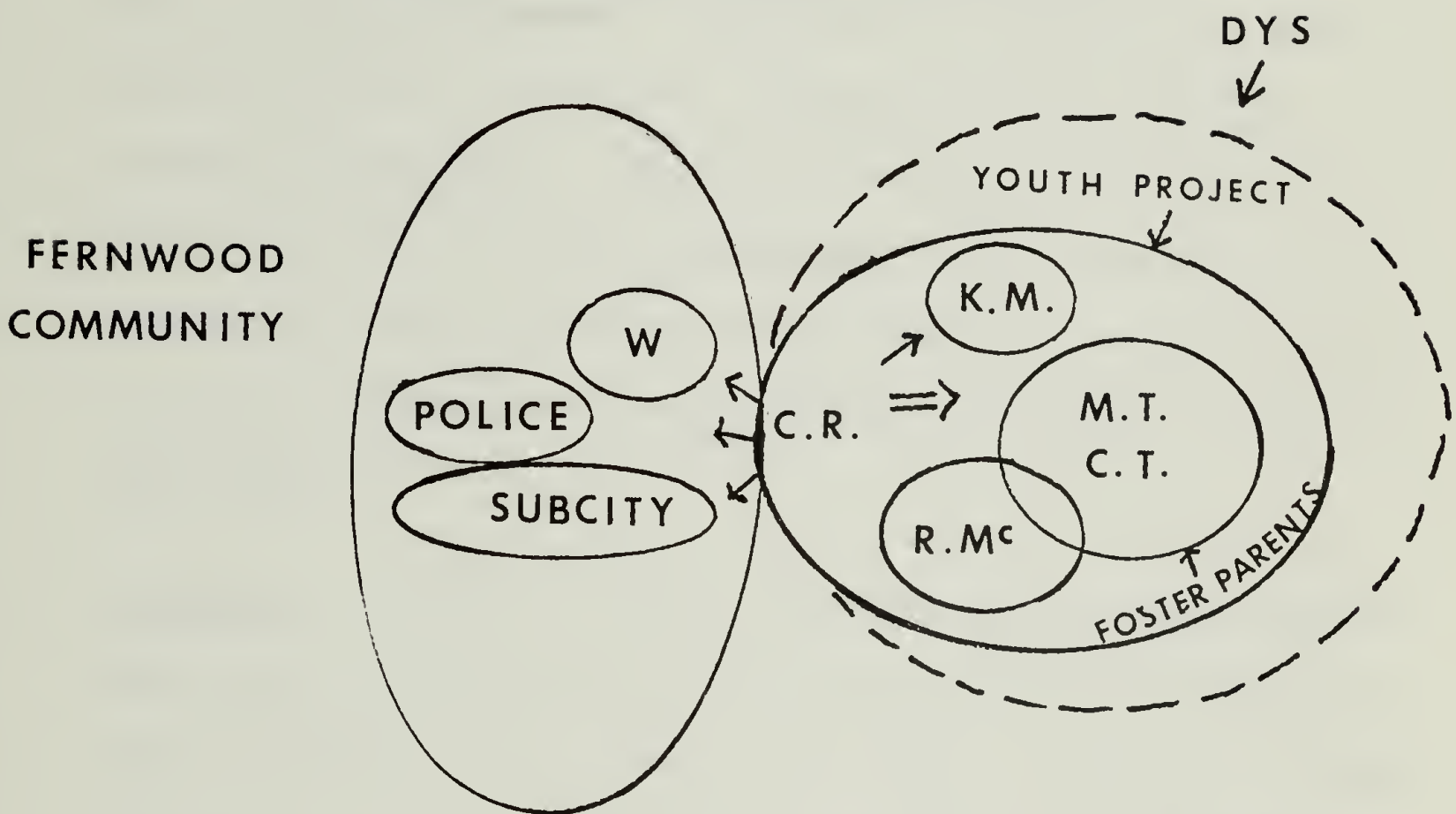
- Christy splits from Peter Munson upon release from RSH
- Christy sent home by DYS
- Christy reviewed for placement with Sojourn, Northampton
- Christy arrested on arson and weapons charges
- Christy escapes Greenfield jail
- Christy apprehended and sent to MCI, Framingham, women's prison

Social ecology: status unknown.

Behavior: felonious extra-legal activity

CHAPTER IV
FORMULATION OF EVENTS

PHASE I: NOVEMBER, 1975 to MARCH, 1976








Key to Diagram of Social Ecology:

Social systems:

1. DYS
2. Youth Project
 - K.M. = Katie Miller
 - R.Mc. = Renee McAndrews
 - C.T. = Cookie Tyler
 - M.T. = Mike Tyler

3. Fernwood community:
 - W = Wanda
 - Police
 - Subcity

Symbols:

-  boundary of social system with which Christy is having contact
-  boundary of network with which Christy is having minimal contact
-  interaction
-  intensive interaction
-  conflictual interaction

Phase I: Stable Period, November 1975 - March 1976

Relative to Christy's record in DYS placements ranging from straight foster homes (least supervised) to secure detention centers, Christy's association with the Youth Project represents her most stable, enduring placement. "Stability" here is defined in terms consonant with DYS criteria (e.g. minimal extra-legal activity, longevity of placement). What specific characteristics of her placement at the Youth Project contributed to her stability? Her behavior in the context of her foster home, within the Youth Project at large, and within the Fernwood community is examined in light of this question.

Foster home. Christy is living with Cookie, Mike and their daughter Laura. She is working on her GED at the Youth Project alternative school, working as counter help and sub maker at Subcity in Fernwood center, and in general, following a consistent structured schedule each week. What specific strengths in her placement with Cookie and Mike can be discerned, and may contribute to Christy's "stability" during this period?

First, a striking cultural compatibility exists between Christy and her foster parents. Both Cookie and Mike have background histories of considerable extra-legal activity and street life. Their respective social class and family of origin backgrounds are not markedly different characterizations of Christy's family and social class. (Note: Information about Christy's family is

based primarily on her report. I have no data from direct observations and/or encounters with her family). Beyond background similarities, Cookie and Mike have in common with Christy certain stylistic modes of interaction and conversational interests. Cookie, in particular, talks in anecdotes, using vivid, fast-action images in a very animated, space-filling manner. Christy has the same style.

Cookie and Mike, as a couple, present a complementary constellation along certain dimensions that are particularly salient to Christy. A balance between legal and extra-legal standards is represented in the dyad they comprise. Cookie, as field supervisor and foster parent, comes out on the legal, law enforcement side of the coin. (The "coin" here pertains to a cultural domain, defined in terms of language, topics, skills, activities and concerns that both lawbreakers and law enforcers have in common). Mike, in many ways, comes out on the lawbreaker side. He still has drug charges pending against him out on the Cape. He designs and dabbles in money-making schemes that border on white collar crime: real estate deals, hustling hefty profit margins on car repairs, etc. His personal habits and preferences are reminiscent of his former, more flamboyant street days: he goes on weekend drunks, sees prostitutes and generally lives it up. With respect to his role as court liaison for kids in the Youth Project, he conveys a message that courts represent a system to con, more than a system to respect. Laws are to be evaded and dodged, rather than obeyed;

it's more fun that way, you have to be sharper. Essentially, Mike can teach Christy new ways to be smart, inside and outside the law. Taken in conjunction, then, Cookie and Mike can offer Christy an algebraic summation of law breaking and law enforcing proclivities. Collectively, they can teach her how to con and sleaze the system without incurring the penalties that attach to blatant violations of the law. Cookie and Mike provide a context in which Christy's history of crime can be acknowledged, her skills in committing crime validated, and her "criminal" talents refined and redirected to activities just short of crime.

Christy serves several important functions in the Tyler household. She performs some explicit and concrete tasks that are needed and valued by her foster parents. As she takes care of Laura, the baby; Christy is charged with responsibility for Cookie's most precious concern. Christy knows not only that she is providing some relief for Cookie from the major demands of child care, Christy also knows that Cookie trusts her to care responsibly for Laura. Trust and responsibility are typically major issues to adolescents, DYS kids, and particularly Christy, as I learned much later on. One DYS kid wrote, in relation to these issues:

I want to be considered an adult eager to think and capable of thought. I want to be able to express my thoughts without having anything to fear and I want also, to be listened to.

(from Katie Miller, personal communication, Summer, 1976)

In short, Christy is needed in the household, and she makes a significant and valued contribution, all surrounding her task of caring for Laura. This establishes a basis of reciprocity and interdependence between Christy and her foster parents: she needs them for immediate survival (food, shelter, etc.) and they, in turn, need her. Note that this interactive pattern is a radical departure from Christy's history of interactive patterns in DYS. DYS can be characterized as a vertical, hierarchical service delivery system in which persons are cast, explicitly, rigidly and irreversibly, into clear roles that spell out helper/helpee distinctions. For DYS to survive as a system, kids designated as "needy" must come through in a steady flow. The vertical service delivery model requires, and ensures, that kids need: they only need, they don't give, they don't contribute-- there can never be reciprocity based on explicit competency exchange between kids and their "helpers." Again, Christy's responsibilities in the Tyler household stand out as a striking departure from her role history as DYS "helpee."

We might speculate about Christy's family systems role in relation to Cookie and Mike. I develop an analysis of a particular event below with reference to Christy's possible triangulation in relation to conflicts between Cookie and Mike. For the present, however, it is sufficient to note that as a member of a household, Christy is certainly likely to assume a role in relation to systems

dynamics present in the family and between the couple. Again, I present evidence below that suggests Christy performed principally a mediating function between Cookie and Mike.

Christy's placement with Cookie and Mike, November 1975 to March 1976, has been described with reference to certain characteristics contributory to her stability during that period.

Salient among the strengths of her placement there are:

1. cultural and historical compatibility
2. functional reciprocity and interdependence

Cookie and Mike provided a context in which Christy could view and pursue behavioral options neither discontinuous from, nor disconfirming of, the skills and background she brought to the placement. Christy entered a context which presented a major value to which she could easily relate: money. Cookie and Mike value and enjoy money. Cookie in particular, values education, as a means of acquiring more money, achieving status and assuring independence. All of the above contributed to the ease with which Christy became integrated in the placement, and furnished a firm foundation upon which Christy could build her respective relationships with Cookie and Mike.

Youth Project placement. The subnetwork of Cookie, Mike, Laura and Christy is embedded in the larger context of the Youth Project, a community based, long term foster care program associated with Department of Criminology of Fernwood College. Aspects of the

Youth Project in general, beyond the particular foster parent characteristics of Cookie and Mike, may have contributed to Christy's stability. Three dimensions of the Youth Project, its design, location and personnel, are examined.

As a community based, long term foster care program, the Youth Project offered Christy definite structural improvements over her DYS placement history, which had ranged from straight foster care to locked settings. The Youth Project is an aggregate of foster care settings, servicing approximately thirty kids. The program provides monitoring and support services to this network of foster care settings, which is in contrast to the isolated, one family to one kid foster care arrangements Christy had experienced previously. Families, couples and individuals who take in Youth Project kids occupy private residences throughout the Fernwood area. Thusly distributed through the community, these foster care placements have the community relations benefits of low profile and low density of kids. Monitoring and support services disseminated in outreach fashion to these foster settings contribute to the stability of placements within homes, and to the consistency of placements across homes.

Given the hybrid origins of and intentions of the Youth Project which follows from its association with the Department of Criminology, the Youth Project is both a training and a service organization. As such, it is not strictly reliant on, nor vulnerable

to the fiscal vagaries of DYS. Certain liberties, with respect to youth intake, programming and staffing patterns accompany the Youth Project's standing as a relatively independent vendor for DYS. For example, many staff in state-wide correctional settings are civil service employees, guaranteed life time tenure with the corrections systems. Options to fire, train and monitor the competencies of such personnel are certainly constrained by the tenure status of staff. In contrast, the Youth Project is designed for training, and structured to accommodate an anticipated rotating staff of persons moving through the degree programs in Criminology (B.A., M.S., and Ph.D.). The Youth Project then, has considerable leverage and latitude with respect to service personnel, in striking contrast to most state placements. Christy, in her placement with the Youth Project, encountered a staff unusually cognizant of and reflective about correctional systems and strategies--certainly in contrast to staff she encountered in other placements throughout the state.

In addition to design and personnel characteristics of the Youth Project, the location of the program in Fernwood may have contributed to Christy's stability from October 1975 to March 1976. Fernwood is close enough to Christy's home community, Danport, to permit her opportunity for weekend visits to her family. These visits were closely monitored by Cookie Tyler, who managed for bus tickets, traveling schedules and who, by way of informal

contacts in Danport, arranged for reports on Christy's activities at home. When Christy's previous DYS placements were too far from home, Christy was essentially exiled from her basic family and community networks. When previous placements were too close to Danport, Christy rekindled associations with former "partners in crime" and was also exposed to her family's chaos more frequently. That the Youth Project is located in Fernwood in particular afforded Christy access to the college community. The benefits of the college community for Christy meant, at least, guaranteed access to college-based drug traffic, and at best, residence in a community tending to scrutinize the activities of the college students more than those of the town's adolescents.

Fernwood community. Christy's associations with the Fernwood police and Subcity people may have contributed to her stability from November 1975 to March 1976. Christy's job at Subcity in Fernwood center provided her with an opportunity to receive pay for the execution of explicit, concrete tasks. The pay is particularly important given the respect for money and work articulated by Christy's foster parents. Her pay is not excessive either; excessive pay typically makes kids targets for an easy fleece, and likely to spend extra money on drugs. Also, Christy's pay gives Cookie an index of Christy's expenditures such that the appearance of new clothes, records, etc. beyond Christy's resources would justify suspicions of drug trafficking and extralegal activity.

Subcity gives Christy access to a portion of the Fernwood street community ("townies") within a structured, task oriented context. Christy's job role gives her an identity alternative to her DYS-kid role: Fernwood "townies" (local high school kids, etc.) offer Christy an alternative juvenile culture. DYS kids often get caught in a reputation cycle. They "are" what they've "done", and these identities are tested and pressured to escalate. For Fernwood "townies" Christy's vivid past would hold little meaning with respect to their status norms. For Christy, she knows that "townies" are "punks": they couldn't survive on the street like she can. She can therefore assume a posture of quiet superiority in relation to them, and be relieved of peer pressure to outdo her criminal record.

Police walking beats through Fernwood center often check in at Subcity. As a worker there, Christy had an opportunity to encounter police outside of a context which would define their relationship as adversaries. Rookies and trainees tend to walk beats while regulars drive patrol cars. Christy therefore had access to young people just beginning law enforcement careers. From November 1975 to March 1976, Christy often talked about joining a police preparation program. Her skills in doing crime could be redirected toward investigating crime. Her association with the rookies showed her that such plans could materialize. These young police also had little information regarding Christy's

DYS reputation. Essentially, Subcity gave her an identity to these folks that was sufficient to establish a basis for relationships.

Summary of Phase I November 1975 to March 1976. Christy is actively engaged with three social systems: her foster parents, her job site, and the Fernwood street community. Her foster parents are embedded in the larger social system of the Youth Project, which is in turn, embedded in a still larger system, DYS. Christy is having positive relationships with all of these social systems.

The foster parents and Christy are functioning well as a social system. Christy has adapted to the rules of the family, e.g., meal schedules, expectations about going to school, having a job, etc. The family has adapted to fulfill functions serving their new member, e.g., providing transportation for Christy, providing basic needs such as food and shelter, providing a context in which Christy can feel competent, valued and cared for. Cookie and Mike have multiple roles in the household, and are coordinating these successfully, e.g., husband-wife, mother-father and foster mother-father. Cultural compatibility and interdependence contribute to the "fit" between Christy and her foster parents.

The foster parents obtain resources needed to accommodate Christy in their home from the Youth Project. Cookie, with dual roles as foster parent and as field supervisor, is gatekeeper at the boundary between the foster home and the Youth Project. Cookie is able to coordinate resources and to facilitate communication

between the two systems. The Youth Project is associated with DYS. Cookie, as field supervisor, communicates with Christy's DYS caseworker and ensures that DYS resources come to Christy. Christy's job at Subcity provides a context in which Christy can relate amicably with the Fernwood police.

In sum, Phase I represents a period during which Christy's social ecology is operating at a high level of organization. Christy has adapted to the demands of a variety of social systems which fulfill her needs for food, shelter, money, activity, competence, responsibility and membership. The social ecology is well integrated and highly differentiated. Communication channels are in place which ensure coordination of social systems. Phase I represents the longest period of stability for Christy in her DYS history--no extralegal behavior, no placement changes.

Phase II: April, 1976 to May 1, 1976

Diagram of Social Ecology (A)

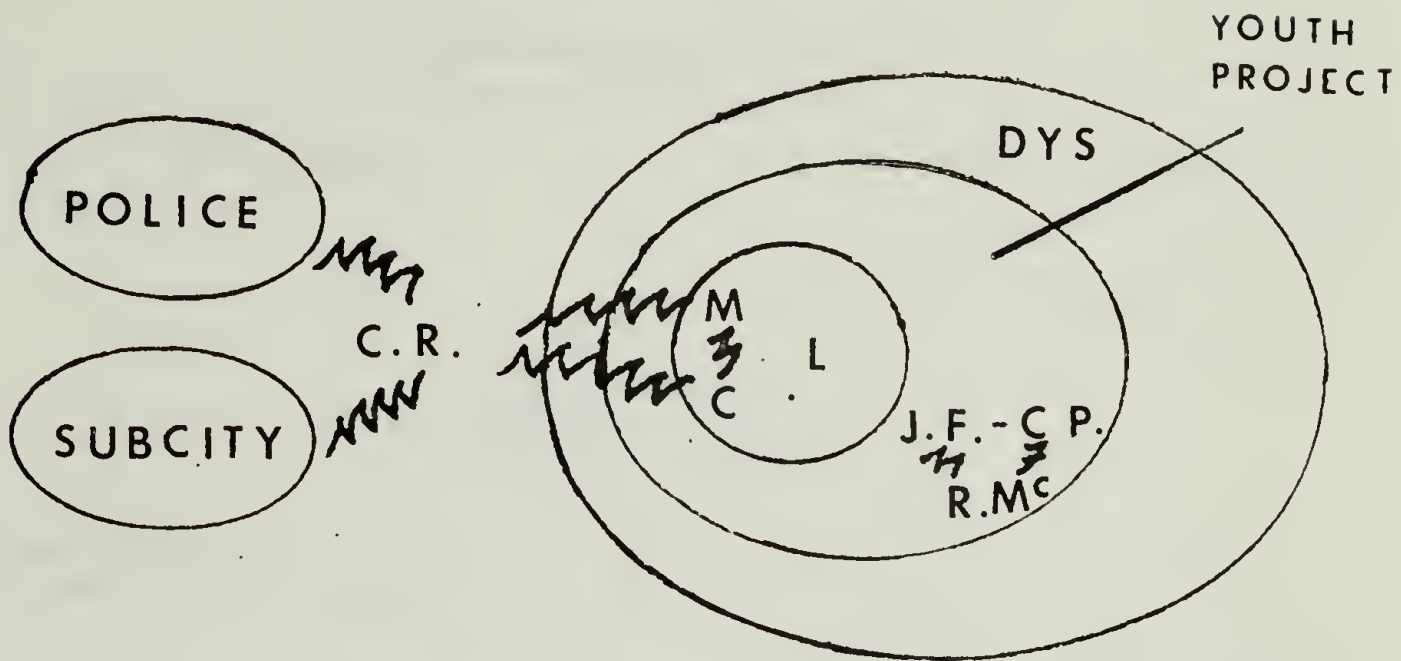
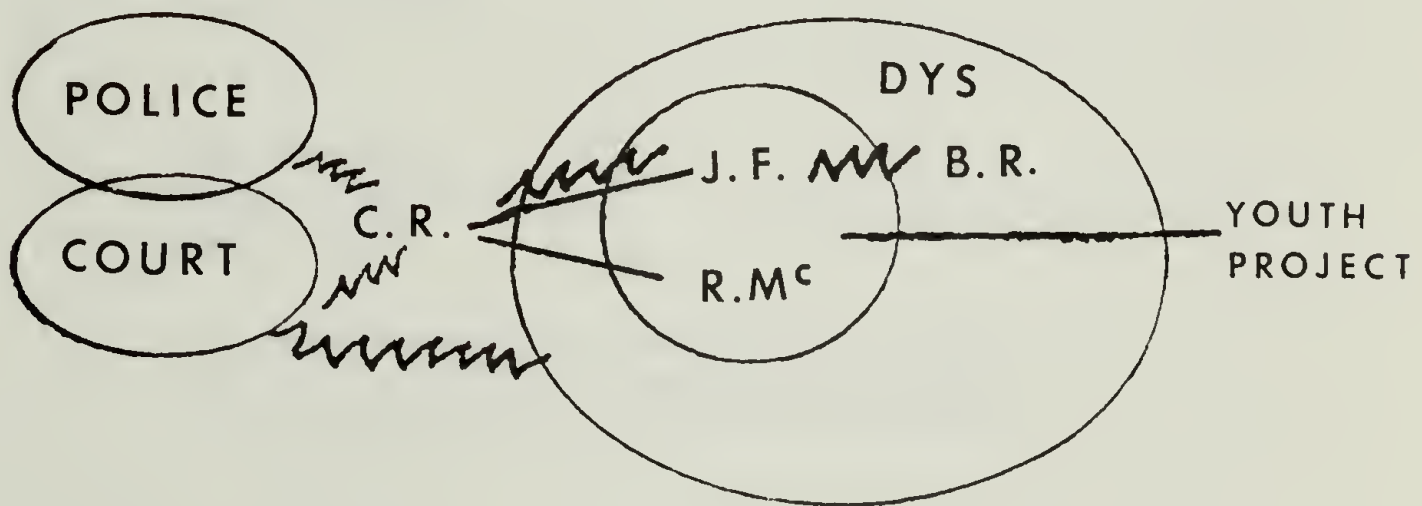


Diagram of Social Ecology (B)



Phase II April 1976 to May 1, 1976

Chronology

April 1976

C.T. *MW* M.T.

C.T. vs. Youth Project

M.T. → Cape for court charges

--California dreaming

Subcity B & E

intensification
C.T. *MW* Youth Project

--C.R. C.T.

△ R.Mc, C.P., J.F.

California dream equivocated

C.T. quits--J.F. decides to fire C.T.

C.R. rips up her room

R.Mc psychological evaluation of C.R.

C.R. takes \$40.00 from M.T.

California dream withdrawn

C.R. terminated from Youth Project

C.T. & L.T. to California--
M.T. in Fernwood selling house

C.R. in court for B & E disposition

R.Mc recommendations → Judge Davis → DYS

C.R. → B.R. (DYS)

May 1, 1976

Key to ChronologyMembers:

C.T. = Cookie Tyler

M.T. = Mike Tyler

C.R. = Christy Ronstadt

R.Mc = Renee McAndrews

J.F. = Joe Founder, Director of Youth Project

C.P. = Charles Porter, Director of Department of Criminology,
university in Fernwood

Judge Davis = Presiding judge for WCDC (Washington County District
Court)

B.R. = Bonnie Russell (DYS case worker)

Symbols:

time



entrance of event on time line



conflict



triangulation

Conflict between Cookie and Mike Tyler. All hell breaks loose between Cookie and Mike upon Cookie's discovery of indisputable sexual infidelity by Mike. The effects more than content, of their conflict have bearing on Christy's standing in the foster home. Thier conflict pervaded and disturbed Christy's immediate living environment. The dissention between Cookie and Mike was of sufficient intensity to threaten the integrity of Christy's central social system. Amidst their conflict, Mike was required to leave Fernwood for the Cape, to deal with drug charges pending against him. Speculations may be put forward about Christy's participation in the conflict between Cookie and Mike, and her reactions to Mike's subsequent departure for the Cape.

The conflict between Cookie and Mike can be construed as a replication of "parental conflict" in relation to Christy. The particular conflict between Cookie and Mike consequated in two very immediate, structural changes that affected Christy: 1) the household schedule regarding meal preparation and serving, waking and sleeping, going to and coming from work, dissolved. A major change from temporal consistency to inconsistency occurred; 2) Christy received increased demands to do household work. Christy's function in the household shifted from contributions, welcomed, valued and needed, to services fundamental to the maintenance of the household. Pressure and urgency surrounded her performance of an increased work load which included tasks for which she had not previously been solely responsible.

Moreover, consider the triangulation potential of Christy's presence in the household. First, a possibility of displacement exists. Christy may have been in a position to be the target for flack more appropriately directed between Cookie and Mike. Secondly, Christy may have been in a loyalty bind that typically accompanies parental conflict: "Who's side am I on?" Pressures to enter and support alliance with either Cookie or Mike are likely to appear in this situation. The "parental conflict" paradigm is especially salient to Christy's relationship with Cookie and Mike, in particular. Following from the "loyalty bind" above, the issue of parental identification comes into question. When Christy asks, "Who's side am I on?" she's also asking, "Who am I like?", "Whom do I need?", "Whom can I not afford to lose?" If, as discussed above, Cookie and Mike present a unit characterized by peaceful coexistence of law breaking and law enforcing proclivities, and if, as discussed above, Christy finds in them a resolution of her own tensions between these poles then the couple's conflict jeopardizes Christy's resolutions of these issues. The threat of dissolution of the couple, under conditions of high anxiety and intensive conflict, may provoke a splitting of Christy's polarities between law breaking and law abiding dispositions. It may be that when Christy allies with either Cookie or Mike amidst their conflict, Christy expressly elects a primary identification with either a law-abider (Cookie) or a law-breaker (Mike). She may be in the position of needing

to decide, precipitously and under pressure, between two opposing polarities in herself: 1) the wish for stability, peace, security ("Cookie") or 2) the wish for excitement defiance and street life ("Mike").

Mike's departure for the Cape similarly has meaning for Christy at many levels. His absence certainly contributed to an increase in demands upon Christy to absorb his functions in household maintenance and child care. Moreover, the departure of Mike as father, Mike as primary male in the household, may be construed along the line of prototypical family dynamics related to Christy's family of origin. Mr. Ronstadt left Christy's household amidst a longstanding and escalating family conflict. In a family drawing submitted to Renee McAndrews, Christy depicts Mr. Ronstadt as a big "R" with feet on. This drawing alone draws attention to the salience of "father leaving" as an issue for Christy, which warrants consideration as this source of anxiety for her amidst the recreation of this scene played out in the foster placement.

Mike's departure for the Cape can be taken as an illustration of flight as a mode of conflict resolution that appears repeatedly in the trajectory of events formulated further below in this paper. While Mike's departure was certainly precipitated by and required by a concrete, realistic necessity (i.e., he had to go to court on the Cape), his departure from this situation, amidst the emotional climate, at this particular time, could be perceived by Christy as

flight, and/or abandonment. Certainly Christy's DYS placement history illustrates a pattern of flight from conflict that constitutes a systemic and cultural pattern as well as an individual pattern for members of DYS. In DYS, conflicts within settings mean placement shifts, not conflict resolution with settings and between people within these contexts. If there is "acting out", it is attributed to the kid, and the kid moves--the setting remains unexamined and unmodified. In DYS, dynamics within settings are not changed, rather, whole settings are shifted. For a DYS youth, like Christy, relationship conflict jeopardizes placement and portends an inevitable shift in setting. Flight, as a mode of conflict resolution, is a systemic characteristic of DYS, a characteristic of persons having long-standing socialization histories with that system (Christy) and it is suggested, a mode of conflict resolution customarily exercised by members of street life subcultures (Cookie and Mike). The significance of Mike's departure then, may be taken from its potency as an event that reified for Christy, a long-standing mode of conflict resolution.

Conflict between Cookie and the Youth Project. Concurrent with the conflict between Cookie and Mike described above, a conflict between Cookie and the staff at the Youth Project begins. As field supervisor, she is, during this time, embroiled in an intense and complicated situation involving two kids on her caseload. She is investigating and intervening in the activities of these kids

surrounding an incipient prostitution ring occurring within the Youth Project, and merging into prostitution networks flourishing in a neighboring city. A therapy referral to Renee McAndrews, a foster parent/youth confrontation and intervention, and investigation/collection of evidence pertaining to the prostitution ring are engineered and choreographed by Cookie. These measures prove insufficient to arrest and remediate the situation. Cookie recommends termination for one youth involved. Cookie's recommendation is considered controversial, given certain political circumstances surrounding the youth in question. This youth had entered the Youth Project by special arrangement with DYS Region X which had received political pressure from the child's family and associated contacts, to place the child in the Youth Project. Joe Founder, Cookie's boss, and director of the Youth Project, received pressure from Region X to maintain the youth's placement in the Youth Project. Joe superceded Cookie's recommendation regarding termination, reversed her decision, and permitted the youth to stay. While this process may be construed as "pulling rank" and/or "buckling under political pressure", note that the merit of Cookie's recommendation for termination was under question as well. Other options for handling the prostitution situation beyond termination, existed. Considerations of these influenced Joe's decision in addition to the politics surrounding the case.

The situation described had several consequences for the Youth

Project:

1. Understandings (implicit--not in writing) about domain, authority and procedure between the Youth Project and DYS Region X are challenged. Understandings (implicit--not in writing) about domain, authority and procedure between staff roles within the Youth Project are challenged.
2. Role definitions are adjusted. Joe's authority and autonomy regarding Youth Project census is superceded by DYS Region X. Cookie's authority and autonomy regarding termination decisions is superceded by Joe.
3. Tensions surrounding and following from these adjustments are retained within the Youth Project and are located principally between Joe and Cookie. With respect to Cookie's role as field supervisor, the events obtained in 1) her disempowerment and 2) her "deskilling" to the extent the case put her judgement in question.

The conflict between Cookie and the Youth Project exacerbates further along the time line April 1976 to May 1, 1976.

California dreaming. Mike has returned from the Cape: intensive, explicit conflict between he and Cookie has subsided. A plan to move to California is introduced (I don't know who initiated this

proposal). Christy is included in discussions pertaining to the move. Cookie promises to take Christy with them. The plan to move to California can be examined with reference to three questions: 1) Why California? 2) Why does this plan appear now? and 3) Why is Christy included in these plans?

Why California? Cookie was born in California, lived in the streets of L.A., worked there in a juvenile program sometime before coming to the Youth Project and has important relationships with two people who live there. Cookie's former social worker lives in L.A. Cookie's father lives not far from L.A. Cookie reestablished contact with her father during early winter 1976, after many years of neither communication nor knowledge of his whereabouts. A hypothesis may be put forward regarding the desirability of a plan to move to California in particular, in light of conflicts between Cookie and Mike described above. Under conditions of personal stress and threats to couple solidarity, a wish on Cookie's part to return to a context affording access to primary support systems (social worker and father) would be plausible. Under conditions of job stress, as described above, a wish to return to a city where occupational contacts exist, both by way of Cookie's former job and by way of contacts her former social worker may supply, is again, plausible. Mike's motivation for going to California in particular, are unknown.

Why does the plan appear now? Several hypotheses follow from

a construction of the California plan as illustrative of flight as a mode of conflict resolution. If the conflict between Cookie and Mike can be externalized beyond the dyad, and displaced to the setting of Fernwood (and certainly the conflicts between Cookie and the Youth Project make the program a convenient target in this vein), then a plan to change settings is in keeping with the historical, cultural and personal resolution patterns of both Cookie and Mike. Moreover, the plan to move to California allows the couple to employ a unification strategy to reduce their conflicts and to stabilize their relationship. The fantasy of California generates options for them; options that are predicated upon and validating of, an assumption that they, as a unit, exist. Planning a move requires that Cookie and Mike interact jointly and cooperatively, around an idea that pulls for pleasant and optimistic fantasies. The plan gives the couple a task that can absorb, diffuse and supercede their previous conflicts. Unification under conditions of couple stress is particularly important for Cookie and Mike, given the presence of their daughter Laura. If the couple had employed a strategy of separating, or "time out" during previous conflicts, invoking this strategy for resolving the couple conflict would jeopardize family cohesion. Unification between Cookie and Mike may be appearing now as an entirely new strategy of conflict resolution for them in light of their additional, and relatively recent, roles as parents to Laura.

Why is Christy included in these plans? Christy's role as

mediator between Cookie and Mike prior to and during his departure to the Cape must have gone well. She did succeed in contributing to the maintenance of the household's integrity. With the onset of a plan to move to California portending a period of uncertainty and disturbance in the family, a move to include Christy, as a person who has demonstrated success in contributing to the integrity of the family system, would be a logical maneuver in the course of ensuring the consolidation of the family.

The California plan is secret at this point along the time line of events. Cookie and Mike must enlist Christy's collusion to protect the secrecy of the plan. As members of systems are drawn into collusion around a secret, the boundary around persons privy to the secret becomes distinct and protected. To the extent that Christy is permitted access to the secret, her membership and standing within the boundary of her foster placement is affirmed and assured. Christy's inclusion in the California plan is necessary to protect the secret, and is desirable from her perspective, inasmuch as secret-keeping conveys to her that she really does belong in the family.

The content of the secret, the California plan itself, is consistent with 1) Christy's use of flight as a mode of conflict resolution and 2) Christy's skills at fantasy. If Christy did have any reasons to question the credibility of the plan, if she were inclined to take any stance other than supporting and going

along with the plan, Christy certainly had no precedent for assuming the role of rational critic, neither in the foster household, nor anywhere throughout her DYS placement history. Further, if Christy opposed the idea, she would tacitly oppose Cookie and Mike. Given her placement history, opposition to significant people in placements jeopardizes those relationships and placements: Cookie and Mike are too important for Christy to lose.

Cookie's invitation to Christy for her to join them in California was patently illegal. Cookie could not take Christy, a DYS kid, out of the state unless these procedures were followed:

1. an out-of-state placement secured for Christy through DYS; or
2. Christy's status changed from DYS ward of the state to adoptee of Cookie and Mike.

In issuing that invitation to Christy, Cookie

1. supercedes and violates her role as Christy's foster parent. Youth Project procedure provides for the transfer of youth from one foster parent to another when one leaves.
2. supercedes and violates her role as Christy's field supervisor. As field supervisor Cookie has the responsibility to monitor and ensure the stability of Christy's placement within the boundary of the Youth Project. If such place-

ment status cannot be secured or maintained, field supervisors and the Youth Project are expected to, and are obliged under the law, to terminate a youth from the program and to return the youth to the jurisdiction of his or her DYS region.

Including Christy in the California plan had other effects with respect to Christy's relationship with her superordinate network, the Youth Project. Her need to protect the secret required that she collude in its concealment from the Youth Project. Such concealment deprived Christy of placement recourse and/or termination preparation that would have otherwise been available to her from the project. The California plan as proposed and its subsequent protection, deprived Christy of Youth Project resources to which she was entitled. In short, the California plan leaves Christy caught and bound between two social systems--foster home and the Youth Project.

Subcity breaking and entering. Christy's breaking and entering at Subcity is examined in detail, given the incident's import as Christy's first blatant violation of the law, and overt disruption of her six month stable period. The incident was ostensibly precipitated by a disagreement between Christy and her boss at Subcity. The idea that the breaking and entering represented Christy's vengeance campaign against her boss was widely held by

persons involved in Christy's apprehension, arrest and prosecution regarding the breaking and entering charge. While vengeance may have been among Christy's motives, the analysis to follow identifies other conditions and dynamics which may have contributed to the particular nature of, and timing of this event. Following a description of the breaking and entering the event will be examined with reference to the meaning and consequences of Christy's breaking and entering upon the social systems with which she was associated at the time of the act.

The breaking and entering was sloppily executed. Christy stole the keys for Subcity from the manager, and waltzed in after hours on a night she knew the evening's receipts would be in the cash register awaiting a morning deposit. She deftly applied the register key to the appropriate lock, stuffed the bills in her pocket and relocked the door on her exit. She indulged in conspicuous consumption in Fernwood shops as soon as the doors opened the following morning. Although the breaking and entering was a set up for Christy's detection, she vehemently denied doing it. Evidence was gathered with dispatch by Fernwood police, and charges levied against Christy within two days of the incident. Her indictment and prosecution followed.

Considering the singular and uncharacteristic blatancy of Christy's breaking and entering, one could propose that Christy intended and expected to be apprehended. What would culpability

for a breaking and entering mean for Christy given her legal placement and social system status when the event occurred? With respect to her foster placement, Christy had just spent considerable time amidst intense conflict between Cookie and Mike, punctuated by Mike's departure and return, and has most recently been engaged in California dreaming. Christy saw Mike leave at the height of her foster parents' dissension. An identification framework would suggest that Christy followed through on her primary identification with Mike, to do what she knew how to do to test the probability of her departure from the home as well. Christy saw Mike leave, and return, welcomed back into the fold by Cookie. Perhaps the breaking and entering served to restage this pattern. Cookie's tolerance would be tested, Christy's membership in the household jeopardized, her departure mobilized, all to set up retrieval, rescue and reaffirmation by Cookie.

Reference to Christy's aforementioned use of flight as a mode of conflict resolution, may further illuminate the meaning of Christy's breaking and entering. While California dreaming may have reduced overt conflict between Cookie and Mike, perhaps the plan to move to California, and the inclusion of Christy in this plan, set off a special conflict of Christy's own. Suppose Christy felt ambivalent about going to California with Cookie and Mike? I have discussed reasons why Christy might favor the plan,

the positive side of her ambivalence, above. Speaking to the negative side however, suppose the intimacy and commitment issues which would accompany the family's consolidation around a move to California, scared the pants off of Christy? If in fact, Christy went to California with Cookie and Mike, she would have no recourse to support systems besides them. If a conflict emerged between Christy and the Tylers, she would have no recourse to a superordinate system that provided alternative placements. Christy's DYS socialization history leaves her with few conflict resolution skills other than a capacity to adjust to new settings guaranteed and arranged by DYS. In California, Christy would be a fish out of water.

Christy's DYS history certainly equipped her to predict likely ramifications of her breaking and entering. If the breaking and entering provoked a placement change for her, the breaking and entering and DYS would effectively remove her from the Tylers, the site and source of her ambivalence regarding the California plan. DYS would preclude and protect Christy from coming to terms with her ambivalence about intimacy and commitment in relation to the Tylers.

With respect to the Youth Project, Christy's breaking and entering precipitated an emergence of Cookie in her role as Christy's field supervisor. The breaking and entering consequated in a series of police interrogations, an arraignment, a hearing and

a court disposition. These activities required Cookie's participation in keeping with the stated responsibilities of field supervisor in relation to kids on their caseload. If Christy's relationship with Cookie as foster parent was shaky; if Christy has some doubts about the credibility of the California plan and by extension, implications of that plan upon her relationship with Cookie, the breaking and entering precipitated a role shift from youth/foster parent to youth/field supervisor that reaffirmed other grounds for Christy's relationship with Cookie. The breaking and entering invoked the structure of formal relationship roles between Cookie and Christy. Tasks needed to be done. The relationship between them could proceed on more explicit, procedural and familiar grounds than along the lines of the conflictual, emotional and intense dynamics being played out at home. The breaking and entering brings Cookie closer to Christy, yet within a formal, structured relationship: helper to helpee, caseworker to juvenile offender.

The Subcity breaking and entering affected Christy's standing in her Fernwood community network as well. These effects include:

1. Dissolution of the Subcity network. Christy was fired following the breaking and entering, and thereby forfeited the benefits of that structured setting as discussed above.
2. Identification by police and Fernwood townies

as "delinquent"--Christy's reputation is out. The breaking and entering jeopardized the trust Christy had established with the Fernwood community. Perhaps the breaking and entering precipitated or accompanied distrust of herself. Recall that a five month period of relative stability preceded the breaking and entering. I have noted an "it's too good to be true" phenomenon among many DYS kids. As time without incidents accumulates, kids often begin to wonder "when is something going to go wrong?" Stability is new and unusual, if not ego dystonic, for kids with lengthy histories of criminal activities. Apprehension about maintaining stability often triggers a self-fulfilling prophecy, such that relief from "success tension" requires return to extralegal activity.

Once the breaking and entering occurred, Christy could capitalize on her audacity to reestablish herself in the Fernwood community network, within a redefined role. Formerly "countergirl at Subcity", Christy could return to a more familiar and well rehearsed identity as "B & E artist." I have observed above that lawbreakers and law enforcers share a cultural domain. The currency of interactions within that cultural domain is coined principally in the form of stories, gossip, language related to criminal activity. The content of communications exchanged by members of that culture is, basically good material: exciting, vivid, dramatic stories. Christy is particularly skilled as a story teller.

Her rendition of the breaking and entering story secured her a hospitable audience among Fernwood townies for whom the vicarious appeal of such a story provided respite from their own boring, "Fernwood middle-class" lives. And the police, while Christy's adversaries within their formal roles, would find in Christy's story, another tale to tell their wives and the "fellas" at the station house.

The significance of Christy's breaking and entering at Subcity can be summarized as follows:

1. the event triggered increased contact between Christy and persons delegated formal roles and responsibilities pertaining to Christy's legal status (e.g., Cookie as field supervisor, police, court personnel).
2. Christy returns to active role status as juvenile offender in the Fernwood community.
3. Breaking and entering representative of Christy's use of a problem-solving mode congruent with her DYS history, her skills, and her options at the time.
4. Breaking and entering appears as the first incident of an escalating series of overt acts entering public record.

Conflict between Christy and Cookie. A period of strain and tension between Cookie and Christy follows the Subcity breaking and entering. Christy is staying away from home more. Perhaps her avoidance of home follows directly from guilt, projections about distrust, or anticipation of punishment from Cookie and Mike, all in connection with the breaking and entering. Or, in the context of hypotheses surrounding motives for the breaking and entering, her avoidance of home represents avoidance of her ambivalence about the California plan. The breaking and entering did bring Cookie closer to Christy in the role of field supervisor. Staying away from home reduces contact between Christy and Cookie such that increased contact as field supervisor/case, is balanced by a distance between foster parent and youth.

If Christy isn't at home, and she no longer goes to work at Subcity, how and where is she spending her time? She is still attending school, being tutored by Katie Miller in preparation for the GED. Beyond that, the Fernwood street community is Christy's only social option. Hanging out on the street, conferring with police and "townies" has likely increased. Recall that "hanging out" has been affected by the Subcity incident. Conversations about criminal activity now include Christy specifically: her reputation, her past, her talents, etc. At this point, then, we find an intensification of Christy's membership in the Fernwood street community, both as a topical concern, and as a more

frequent and visible member.

Concurrent with, and associated to, Christy's avoidance of home, Cookie is bad-mouthing Christy at work. Her comments about Christy are critical, abrasive. For Cookie, increased reference to Christy is different than the general shop talk phenomenon described above, wherein a kid's criminal activity coins an amusing, appealing currency of stories, etc. for exchange between members of the subculture. Cookie is obviously irritated with Christy.

Cookie's irritation at Christy can be examined with reference to the contextual significance of these remarks, for she is expressing these feelings at work. Recall that Cookie's position in the Youth Project had been disturbed surrounding dispositions of the prostitution episode, described above. Residual conflict between Cookie and Joe Founder has been posited. If such tension exists between them, and if, metacommunication regarding such tension was as rare in the organization then, as it is now, then a construction of Cookie's hostile comments about Christy taken to be displaced hostility intended for Joe, is plausible.

Recall that the prostitution case introduced considerable stress on Cookie's role in the organization. It has been proposed that competency issues were raised in relation to that incident, and further, the disposition of this matter obtained in the deskilling and/or disempowerment of Cookie in her role as field supervisor. With respect to competency issues, is Cookie culpable for Christy's

breaking and entering perceived as evidence for Cookie's incompetence as a foster parent? I have observed foster parents experience depressions and competency crises surrounding busts and burn outs of kids before. In a system characterized by vague and/or absent criteria of competence, in conjunction with vague and/or absent structure for staff evaluation and feedback, a dependence upon the success rate of kids is fostered and invoked as the principle and sole index of competence. Kids carry not only the burden of their own "success" or "failure" in a setting, but also the burden of proof for "success" or "failure" of staff efforts in respective placements. In a work climate recently charged with competency questions, Cookie may indeed have been perceived as an incompetent foster parent in relation to Christy. Expressions of hostility toward Christy issued at work, may have followed then, as Cookie's attempt to dissociate herself from Christy. These expressions may have had a retaliatory character as well, consistent with the anger and frustration accompanying "Task" failure as construed above.

Returning to the notions of deskilling and disempowerment, recall that Christy's breaking and entering generated new tasks for Cookie as field supervisor. Cookie had to manage and orchestrate the complex process of Christy's court disposition regarding these charges. As Cookie's first big task following the prostitution incident, her conduct surrounding Christy's

court disposition is likely to have had high visibility, and to have been subject to heightened scrutiny, by Youth Project staff. Residual effects of Cookie's recent deskilling and disempowerment, may have obtained in concerns by Cookie, again, under conditions of high visibility, about whether she would have access to a full range of skills, options, authority and power in relation to her management of Christy's court disposition. Anger and frustration, with respect to the threat of another episode of deskilling and disempowerment, may have fueled Cookie's hostility toward Christy.

To summarize, conflict between Christy and Cookie following the breaking and entering, may have derived from, been indicative of, and/or contributed to, the following systemic dynamics:

1. slow disengagement of Christy from her primary social system--the foster placement
2. intensification of Christy's contact with Fernwood community
3. intensification of tension between Cookie and the Youth Project.

Intensification of the conflict between Cookie and the Youth Project.

Beyond bad-mouthing Christy at work, Cookie has increased the frequency with which she misses staff meetings (note parallel to Christy's avoidance of home) and has increased the volatility and abrasiveness of her communications with staff members. It is

reported that she behaved in a particularly disruptive manner at the full staff meeting of the Department of Criminology of Fernwood's University. The Youth Project is a member of this superordinate network. Three systemic consequences may have obtained from Cookie's disruption of this meeting:

1. The boundary around Cookie's conflict with the Youth Project is superceded, as her hostility relocates to the domain of the superordinate system;
2. Cookie's membership and role in the superordinate network (student in the Department of Criminology degree program), concurrent with her membership and role in the Youth Project, is given heightened scrutiny amidst a conflictual climate; and
3. Personnel conflicts within the boundary of the Youth Project, are brought to the attention of the superordinate network; specifically to Charles Porter, Director of the Department of Criminology.

California dream equivocated. Cookie begins to intensify expressions to leave Fernwood, while withdrawing focus on California as the target destination--an emphasis on leaving, escaping, more than "on going to". "I don't care where we go; I just want to get out of here." Again, given the intensification of conflicts

in multiple and concurrent networks, we find an invocation of flight fantasies as a mode of conflict resolution. As the destination of the departure becomes ambiguous, so too, does Christy's position in relation to the move. As the urgency to move, to escape, exacerbates, deliberate and careful planning in relation to the move, and by extension, in relation to Christy's role in the move, diminishes. As the conflicts with the Youth Project intensify, as "they" become more of an enemy, the need for secrecy regarding the California plan intensifies as well. Here Christy's position between networks, her foster placement and the Youth Project, becomes increasingly perilous. Equivocation and ambiguity surrounding the California plan, in conjunction with conflicts between Christy and Cookie, portend an extrusion of Christy from her primary social system (Cookie and Mike). Yet given the secrecy stricture, and the construction of the Youth Project as "enemy", Christy is precluded recourse to a superordinate system that would otherwise offer and arrange placement options for her. Fantasies regarding Christy's contributions to Cookie's work stress (from the breaking and entering), in conjunction with the preclusion of and binding around Christy's recourse through the Youth Project system, may leave Christy totally paralyzed and optionless amidst this intensely conflictual and anxiety-provoking situation.

Christy rips up her room. Following a verbal altercation with Cookie (content unknown), Christy tears apart her room and smashes a guitar she had purchased with earnings she had saved from the Subcity job. Cookie reports this incident at the Youth Project staff meeting, deleting reference to the altercation, and conveys bewilderment and consternation about Christy's "irrational behavior" (e.g., "she loved that guitar so much"). In the context of the gathering tensions described above, we find the first illustration of a mode of conflict resolution/expression elected by Christy under conditions where flight is precluded. Notice too, the temporal and stylistic parallels between Christy's behavior in the home, and Cookie's disruption of the Department of Criminology's staff meeting. Both Cookie and Christy share crises of membership in their respective primary social systems. Note further, that by Cookie's report of this incident to the staff meeting, the following systemic effects obtained:

1. The boundary of the foster home as locus for conflict resolution is superceded and relocated to the domain of the superordinate system (Youth Project);
2. Cookie invokes her role of field supervisor, in lieu of her role as foster parent, by bringing this issue to a meeting whose membership is defined by persons holding roles as field supervisors;

3. The incident enters public record (through the public forum of the staff meeting, and through recording as an "incident" in Christy's regional monthly report), as an "acting out" incident on Christy's part, explicitly devoid of reference to the network context in which the behavior occurred. Christy's behavior is reified as characterological and "strange";
4. Another incident with the potential of adding to questions about Cookie's competence as a foster parent, enters the information bank of the Youth Project.

Triangulation of Renee McAndrews with Joe Founder and Cookie Tyler.

Joe Founder calls Renee McAndrews to solicit her opinions about, and request advice regarding, Cookie's behavior at work. At this time, Renee is aware of 1) the content of the personal conflicts between Mike and Cookie and 2) the California plan. Given the confidentiality contract surrounding Cookie's disclosure of this material, Renee is not free to refer to these issues in her communications with Joe. Renee suggests to Joe that a variety of personal issues may surround and contribute to the volatile and increasingly erratic behavior of Cookie at work. Renee does not offer specific recommendations to Joe regarding ways he can deal

with the situation. She tells Joe that as director of the Youth Project, he'll have to do what he sees fit to ameliorate the situation. Joe listens to Renee's comments, and assumes a "wait and see" posture in relation to Cookie.

Renee's entrance into the sequence of events may be examined from two points of view. First, what is the network effect of her appearances? Secondly, how is her appearance here, in the context of Joe's call, a commentary on her role in the Youth Project? Recall that residual conflict exists between Joe and Cookie from the prostitution case discussed above. Joe's call to Renee serves to draw Renee into their conflict, perhaps diffusing and/or stabilizing their tensions temporarily. Such triangulation effectively forestalls metacommunication and/or confrontation between Joe and Cookie. In addition, such triangulation generates yet another system to which Joe and Cookie's conflict may be relocated. Again, the boundary around Joe and Cookie, program director/field supervisor, is superceded. We have seen instances of conflict relocation and boundary supercession with respect to Joe and Cookie, above. This particular variation, Renee's triangulation, introduces a new dimension to these dynamics.

Renee is enlisted by Joe to supply a psychological construction of Cookie's behavior at work. Renee is not asked, "What is going on between Cookie and me," nor, "What is going on in the

work context that Cookie may be expressing?" His question, "What is going on with Cookie?" circumscribes for examination Cookie's behavior, to the exclusion of the interpersonal and social context in which it occurs. His question removes and effectively absolves those contexts from consideration as contributors to the problems at hand. Renee's reply, that certain personal issues may be fueling some of Cookie's volatility at work, supports an individual-centered construction of the work tension. Joe and Renee collude in and effectively accomplish the construction of Cookie as "identified patient" in the system. As social and interpersonal contexts are collapsed to an individual-centered context in which to locate and with which to explain work tensions; as specific tensions are attributed to and understood with reference to Cookie's individual dynamics; as Joe, the Youth Project, and the work context elude scrutiny for their participation in work tensions; the pivotal transformation of personnel issues into personal issues occurs.

A process by which group tensions are attributed to, and defined as residing in, a particular member has been identified. Certain characteristics of Cookie as person, and as occupant of a role in the Youth Project may have made her eligible for and vulnerable to, attributions that permitted the conversion of personnel to personal issues. What allowed Cookie to be cast as, and to function as "carrier" of group tensions in the manner described above? Given that extensive analysis of this process

is beyond the scope of this report, only two characteristics of Cookie, her gender and role as supervisor, are examined here.

Recall that speculations concerning Cookie's "stability" preceded the calcification of her cast as "identified patient" described above. These initial suspicions followed incidents of angry outbursts issued by Cookie. We find, then, a sequence of anger, questions about stability, consequating in a consensual group construction of Cookie as "unstable". This sequence is congruent with patterns identified in a substantial body of literature pertaining to reception of and interpretations of women's anger in many contexts. This literature supports as virtually axiomatic, that anger from women is taken to be characterological, evidence for "hysteria," and essentially seen as leakage from some constitutional (physical/emotional) fissure. Cookie's anger has been transformed precisely in this fashion (divorced from context, credibility dismissed, located in the individual, and treated as irrational). Hence, hypotheses about gender susceptibility to the particular "carrier" role occupied by Cookie in this context, are certainly plausible. (The reader may be reminded of parallel processes of attribution that left Christy called "irrational" in the guitar-smashing episode above).

What hypotheses may be generated pertaining to Cookie's role susceptibility to the conversion from personnel to personal issues as described above? Why didn't other field supervisors mobilize

to her defense? Why didn't other staff members recognize their jeopardy to procedures similar to those which fell upon Cookie? Why, in short, did others fail to recognize the extent to which Cookie's situation furnished comment upon the Youth Project as an organization? These questions direct attention to the role of field supervisor in the Youth Project. These questions highlight organizational obstacles to the formation of coalitions in the Youth Project, and to the use of coalitions for conflict resolution and organizational review.

With respect to field supervisors, their tasks and the management structure in which these tasks are executed, militate against the formation of a field supervisor coalition which might have responded to Cookie's situation. Interdependence fosters the kind of role identification coalitions require. Fragmentation, rather than interdependence, begins with caseload assignments of kids to field supervisors. Field supervisors have exclusive authority over, and responsibility for, management of kids on their caseloads. Although the Youth Project has moved to a more collaborative case management approach recently, during the period of this report, the modus operandi of case management was strictly solo. The extent to which field supervisor tasks are performed away from Youth Project offices; the extent to which these tasks are invisible to the eyes of fellow workers, contribute to and compound

solo role performance. With field supervisors off taking a kid to the doctor, to a job site, to court, running down to the police station at 2:00 AM after a kid has been busted, troubleshooting an altercation at a foster home, attending a regional staffing on a kid in Boston, New Bedford, or Worcester, we find that field supervisors have between them a nexus of interdependence defined by accidental greetings in the hall, or an occasional overlapping interest in a kid.

Beyond task contributions to field supervisor fragmentation, organizational structure obstructs role identification and solidarity. Field supervisors report to, and are directly responsible to Joe Founder. The vertical management model here preempts collaboration among field supervisors. The logic behind caseload assignments erects another barrier to collaboration. The woman field supervisor is assigned girls; the black field supervisor is assigned black males; the Spanish speaking field supervisor is assigned Spanish speaking youth and the white male field supervisor is assigned white males. The message comes across that you and your kids are different from me and my kids, so why work together? To return to the vertical management model, in Cookie's case, custom and structure contained the disagreements between Cookie and Joe to a conflict between boss and particular staff person. Their conflict was not visible to other staff members in a public forum, nor were the programmatic, personnel issues

which interlaced their conflict. Hence these could not be addressed as such by the staff.

The final obstacle to a field supervisor coalition is the fact that no forum or procedure exists within the Youth Project to accommodate collective staff grievances. What good is a staff coalition, if it has no recognized power, and no place to exercise that power? The Youth Project not only employs a vertical management model, it is a unilateral model to boot. The contrast between the professed ideology of the organization ("alternative juvenile justice program"--laden with progressive connotations) and the design of the organization is ironic to say the least. In short, Cookie was solo through the end. The absence of coalition support and collective protest to the transformation of personnel issues into attributions about Cookie's stability, are consonant with the organizational realities of the Youth Project.

To summarize, Renee's appearance in the context of Joe's call, has the following effects:

1. A triangulation of Renee between Joe and Cookie diffuses and stabilizes their conflict;
2. The boundary around Joe and Cookie, as program director/field supervisor, is superceded; and
3. Personnel issues in the Youth Project are redefined as personal issues residing in Cookie.

Joe's phone call to Renee provides a point of departure for

commentary on Renee's role in the Youth Project. Her role is examined in detail here, to identify role characteristics and dimensions which appear in, and contribute to, events explored further below.

Joe calls Renee at night, at her home. The phone call, outside the physical and temporal structures of the Youth Project, reflects and grows out of central ambiguities in Renee's role as staff consultant. Boundaries between formal and informal relationships, formal and informal authority, formal and informal communications (as in this phone call) are indistinct to the point of being absent in Renee's role as staff consultant. For example, is Joe calling as a friend, off the record? Is Renee responding in kind, as a friend, off the record? Or is Joe, as director of the Youth Project, calling the program staff consultant for information intended for the record, which will appear in and affect the work situation? That the phone call occurred as described, and that neither Renee nor Joe clarified their respective roles in the conversation, nor the implications of their communication, indicate that Renee's role ambiguity is deeply entrenched at this point, maintained by, and probably out of the awareness of, both parties.

Why is Renee's role so ambiguous? What factors contribute to, and are indicative of such ambiguity? First, neither Renee nor the Youth Project had experienced the role of staff consultant before--

no precedents existed to furnish guidelines for, and expectations surrounding the role. At base, no structural signets existed for the role: Renee had no office, no telephone, no set working schedule at the Youth Project. Her tasks were defined on an ad hoc basis, and were performed away from the setting (e.g., foster parent/youth crisis interventions in the home). The relative invisibility and diffuseness of Renee's tasks contributed to the enigmatic character of her role.

In addition, Renee's background as a training psychologist gave her a language and perspective very different from those employed by Youth Project personnel. She was often perceived as "the shrink with big glasses." Renee was without specific, explicit responsibilities, tasks, authority, etc. to present as counterpoint to perceptions about, and attributions to her role as staff consultant. With respect to authority in particular, Renee's role as staff consultant allowed, and in fact, called for her participation in a range of programmatic and youth related decisions. Yet in the absence of role precedents, explicit responsibilities and specified power, her authority was largely ex officio in nature, following from the presumed competencies of "psychologists." These presumed competencies were often projective in nature, projections to which Renee contributed by not articulating explicitly, her role, functions, skills, and the limits of these, in the organization. Taken in conjunction then, these aspects of

Renee's role yield a very ambiguous, quicksilverish boundary about Renee's position in the Youth Project. Her position--a position without precedent, without explicit purpose, without public visibility, functioned as a floating vacuum for tasks, functions, needs, etc. which the Youth Project and/or personnel cast to her. Under such conditions, some functions Renee was called upon to perform, may be viewed as functions not accommodated by the formal structure of the Youth Project. If Renee is seen as a peripheral member of the Youth Project staff, her tasks and functions jettisoned out to her, relocated from core concerns and processes in the organization. Such extrusions may be indicative of functions for which core program procedures and personnel are unable to handle. Renee's use in the Youth Project as described so far, and as elaborated below, may be indicative of considerable organizational deficiencies with respect to provisions for staff processing, conflict resolution and role clarity.

Triangulation of Renee McAndrews, Joe Founder and Charles Porter.

Renee arrives at the Youth Project offices for a Friday morning staff meeting. Joe and Charles have been talking, Renee enters, the three exchange greeting. Joe asks Renee to shut the door, Joe tells Renee that he and Charles have been discussing Cookie. He asks Renee again, this time in front of Charles, "What's going on with Cookie?" Renee is taken aback by the question. Charles' presence signals that her response has formal implications.

Renee tells Joe and Charles that she considers their question to her highly inappropriate if its purpose is to secure information for evidence for, support for a personnel decision concerning Cookie's position in the Youth Project. Renee says she will not participate in their line of inquiry regarding Cookie's psychological/personal state, and further, that their request of her represents an abuse of her function as staff consultant. She leaves with a firm statement to Joe and Charles that they have a personnel issue that should be circumscribed to, and addressed at, that level.

This interaction, as those above, may be examined for network effects obtained. First, the presence of Charles signals the active engagement of the Department of Criminology network, superordinate to the Youth Project, in the conflict between Joe and Cookie. With Cookie as topic, and Charles and Joe as discussants, we see a calcification of Cookie's cast as "identified patient" of the Youth Project, and contagion of this cast to her role in the superordinate network as student in the degree program of the Department of Criminology. Charles' presence raises questions about Joe's authority as director of the Youth Project, to make and execute personnel decisions. Has Joe abdicated, or has Charles encroached upon, personnel management responsibilities? Who between them, will make and enforce the final personnel decision? Where does the buck stop?

These questions identify boundary confusions between the Youth Project and the Department of Criminology. The interaction illustrates further the kind of information which is sought and used to make personnel decisions in the Youth Project. Given a construction of Cookie's behavior as individual-centered, questions about her "stability" follow. An assessment by a psychologically trained staff consultant would presumably furnish information commensurate with and supportive of such a construction. The process of information acquisition, illustrated by this interaction (behind closed doors; information speculative in nature), can be taken as a statement about the invisibility of organizational process and issues at the Youth Project. In the absence of clear channels for staff evaluation, review and feedback, we see that these issues are attended to only under crisis and in a manner that keeps these matters submerged.

Renee aborts the triangulation attempt by Joe and Charles. In this interaction, unlike the phone call episode discussed above, the formal roles and implications of the transactions between she, Joe and Charles, are clear. She avoids triangulation by metacommunicating about, and refusing to participate in the discussion they arrange. We find here the first of several examples to follow, which show that consultation requires specification of tasks that will not be performed, as well as functions that will be served. As Renee presents the distinction between personnel and

and personal issues, and as she refuses to speculate about the latter, she contains and shuts down further proliferation of the construction of Cookie's behavior as characterologically "unstable." The hot potato is thereby tossed back to Joe and Charles for disposition as a programmatic personnel issue.

Christy takes forty dollars from Mike Tyler. We left Christy above, having ripped up her room and having entered a period of building stress in her relationship with Cookie. Now Mike is missing forty dollars from his wallet. All signs point to Christy as culprit: 1) the rip off is an inside job--there is no evidence of a breaking and entering; 2) Christy, at home, had access and opportunity to steal money; and further, 3) she is found with a fresh supply of reefer, market value at approximately forty dollars. As with the Subcity breaking and entering above, we may examine Christy's rip off of Mike with respect to the functional sensibility of the act and its consequences.

I have characterized Mike as a sympathizer of, if not participant in, law breaking behavior. While Mike did enforce sanctions (curfews, grounding, etc.) that followed from certain transgressions committed by Christy, these sanctions and infractions typically pertained to Christy's activities within the foster placement, in the home Mike shared with Christy. Mike could and did play the "heavy" when Christy's behavior affected him in his home. With

respect to Christy's behavior outside of the home, however, Mike had a laissez-faire attitude. Indeed, he may have even encouraged Christy's exploits outside of the home for their vicarious appeal and entertainment value. Essentially, up to this point, Christy could do most anything to anyone without jeopardizing Mike's approval. Why then, did Christy rip off Mike? Is there any logic beneath the surface of this apparently idiotic act, that could have made the rip off functional for Christy?

During the conflicts between Mike and Cookie described above, Christy had no doubt observed that even under conditions of a marriage contract, Mike is not the kind of person to weather stormy relationships. Christy had heard Cookie's fears about, and she had seen demonstrations of, Mike's capacity to cut out of relationships. Given that Christy's relationship with Mike is informal (unlike her relationship with Cookie, which is contractual); given further that her relationship with Mike rests on the grounds of good will between them (tenuous grounds considering the recent tempestuous climate of the foster home), anything Christy did that made him angry would surely jeopardize their relationship. Christy stole his money and that made him angry. What did Christy have to gain by jeopardizing her relationship with Mike? A break with Mike certainly put her standing in the foster placement in jeopardy. Christy is already engaged in conflict with Cookie. Cookie is thusly precluded as an ally who could intercede on Christy's behalf in this conflict with

Mike. Mike and Cookie now stand together as a "them," adversaries united against Christy. Recall the DYS pattern noted above about relationship conflicts precipitating placement shifts. Christy's behavior makes sense, then, if taken to be an instrumental act intended to precipitate a placement change.

Why does Christy want to provoke and ensure a placement change? We can refer to the waning feasibility of the California plan and to the increasing fragility of Cookie's position at work, to provide a context for Christy's behavior. Whether Christy perceives Cookie and Mike as a sailing ship (off to California), or as a sinking ship (endangered by tensions between them, or by tensions between them and the Youth Project), Christy may be impelled to abandon ship. Christy denied taking the money from Mike, despite the evidence against her. Mike and Cookie are now accusers, enemies. Once Mike and Cookie are cast as enemies, Christy is released from a loyalty bond to them; she is a free agent once again. Suppose Christy anticipated their rejection of her around the California plan. If she expected them to back out on her, she is beating them to the punch by provoking a placement change. She is protecting herself from a frontal rejection and, at the same time, slipping in a retaliatory parting shot. By ripping off Mike, Christy secures control over her disengagement from the foster placement. In addition, she generates and seizes an opportunity to take control of the construction of her departure from Mike

and Cookie. Again, if she expects to be dumped from the California caravan, she may now refer to a concrete controversy ("they say I stole it, I say I didn't"), rather than a more painful, distressing reason--"they don't want me anymore." Christy sets up a controversy now, which she can leave behind as she walks into another placement, replicating a longstanding and perhaps comfortable, DYS placement sequence pattern. She does not wait to be abandoned by Mike and Cookie.

The rip off of Mike may be understood further, as a statement of Christy's position in relation to the conflicts between Cookie and the Youth Project. If the rip off was intended to provide a placement change for Christy, Christy must trust that the Youth Project will come through with another placement to back up her maneuver. Quality of placements aside, DYS must, by law, and will, in practice, find its kids someplace to go somewhere in the state. Christy had certainly experienced this level of "reliability" in DYS through the years of her placement history. By provoking the dissolution of her foster placement, and by invoking the legal mandate of DYS, and by extension, the Youth Project to provide services for juveniles, Christy effectively elects the bird in hand over the two in the bush Mike and Cookie offer. Her alliance with the Youth Project over Cookie is implicit in, and required for, her strategy to secure another placement.

The network effects of Christy's rip off of Mike are

as follows:

1. With the rip off, Christy's removal from the Tyler's is virtually assured. The dissolution of her primary and immediate interpersonal context becomes fait accompli.
2. Christy steals to accomplish her disengagement from Cookie and Mike. To cut rather than untie the bonds; to act so as to jeopardize, violate, disqualify relationships will emerge as a pattern for Christy in situations in which her abandonment appears imminent. Better to leave than to be left.
3. Christy sets the stage for her return to the jurisdiction of the next level superordinate system, the Youth Project.

Cookie quits the Youth Project/Joe Founder decides to fire Cookie.

Joe Founder decides to fire Cookie. The method of her discharge is to be in the form of suspension without pay through June, 1976, whereupon her contract will expire with no renewal for fiscal year 1977. I don't know if Joe told Cookie his decision explicitly, or if she saw the writing on the wall. In any case, she submitted her resignation prior to the suspension date. She cleaned off her desk, turned in her keys and disappeared for good within a week of resignation.

Recall that Cookie held two roles at the Youth Project, field supervisor and foster parent for Christy. The discharge process above grew out of, and was directed at Cookie's role as field supervisor. As field supervisor, Cookie was one of a small, select group, having considerable authority, responsibility and respect at the Youth Project. Her departure had repercussions through the ranks from the kids on her caseload, their respective foster parents, other field supervisors, and eventually, for youth case workers in DYS regions throughout the state. Discharge of a field supervisor is a big event, in contrast to the hiring/firing procedures pertaining to foster parents. Foster parents have a fairly circumscribed sphere of influence and impact range, such that the departure of foster parent from the Youth Project makes ripples not waves. Accordingly, Cookie's firing created a void in the Youth Project, more visible and palpable with respect to her role as field supervisor, than in her role as foster parent. As such, Cookie's termination activities included first and foremost, field supervisor obligations: clean off her desk, finish paperwork, turn in her kid, Christy. The transfer of Christy was a minor consideration compared to the disposition and absorption of Cookie's duties as field supervisor. Cookie, in her fashion, certainly didn't help in the complex process of divesting her responsibilities and transferring these to her replacement. Cookie didn't wait around for a transition to happen. She resigned, promptly split,

and never appeared again at the Youth Project, even though she lived five minutes away. In short, the status and destination of Christy amounted to backwash in the wake of Cookie's stormy and precipitous departure. The absence of lead time prior to Cookie's departure left Christy high and dry without assistance in terminating her long, intense relationship with Cookie, and without preparation for her transfer to replacement foster parents.

Cookie's departure had considerable impact on Youth Project staff. An implicit rule not to mention her name or talk about her discharge directly, appeared at the first staff meeting the week of her departure. Staff members seemed to strain to be oblique in discussing reassignments of youth from her caseload. Inasmuch as Joe Founder presides over staff meetings, one could speculate that censoring efforts were related to his presence. Perhaps field supervisors were expressing anger at Joe, the authority who "killed off" one of their peers. Signs of a low level informal insurrection by field supervisors against Joe and the Youth Project appeared in the form of suspicions that Cookie got shafted, and declarations by several that they couldn't wait to quit the program. One could speculate that common role designations prompted some identification with Cookie on the part of the remaining field supervisors, such that they felt at risk in the organization (e.g., "If it happened to her, it could happen to me.").

How did the process of Cookie's discharge contribute to a

Youth Project atmosphere charged with vibrations of Cookie as corpus delecti? Her precipitous departure precluded an organizational termination process: she said no goodbyes. The invisibility of the case building process and eventual discharge procedure certainly contributed to the mysteriousness of Cookie's departure. A formal memorandum regarding the discharge decision was never issued to relevant staff in the program; as mentioned above, Joe did not communicate the news directly in the formal forum of the staff meeting. Needless to say, the Youth Project had no personnel dispute provisions by which a formal complaint against Cookie may have been lodged, evidence gathered, disposition decided and appeal recourse exercised formally and in public.

The protracted discharge procedure Joe designed, suspension without pay and contract expiration, could have bought time to allow for an appeal by Cookie, or at least termination preparation and transition processes. Cookie pulled the rug out from under Joe's plan with her resignation and departure. Cookie's move here is stylistically congruent for her. Her behavior parallels Christy's rip off of Mike in that Cookie arranges to leave and not be left. She quits to save face, to control the disengagement process, and to issue a final retort to Joe: "I'm leaving as I choose, and I'm going to leave a mess behind that you have to deal with." Again parallel to Christy, Cookie does not wait around to be rejected and abandoned around contract renewal time. If Joe had left contract

renewal subject to review at the end of a probationary period, Cookie might have hung in, and acted to appeal through and/or vindicate herself in the organization. Joe's discharge plan gave Cookie no options but to escalate their struggle to the point of walking out.

The effects of Cookie's departure can be summarized as follows:

1. Accomplished in final, formal and most literal manner the dissolution of Christy's foster placement. Christy gets the message unequivocally, that her relationship with Cookie has been contractual. With the termination of Cookie's contract, their relationship dissolves.
2. Accomplishes the dissolution of the field supervisor/youth relationship between Cookie and Christy. Christy's most solid connection to the Youth Project network, through her field supervisor, is disturbed until Christy is reassigned.
3. Cookie's precipitous departure sets Christy up for transfer, under time pressure and conditions of resource scarcity, to new foster parents and a new field supervisor.
4. The fact and manner of Cookie's discharge

affects the morale of other field supervisors and disturbs within-program trust between staff and Joe Founder.

5. Cookie's precipitous departure sets up a Youth Project scramble to absorb her duties as field supervisor.

California dream withdrawn. In tandem with Cookie's departure from the Youth Project, Christy's departure from Cookie and Mike is mobilized. The California dream, by now threadbare of reality with respect to Christy's inclusion, is dealt its final blow. As Christy embarks on another ride on the placement shuttle, she relinquishes present and fantasied connections with Cookie and Mike. They disengage. Months later when telling the story, Christy emphasized the dream, her inclusion in it and her affection for and loyalty to Cookie. Christy explained that the dream was aborted because the Youth Project, specifically Joe Founder, gave Cookie the shaft. As discussed above, Christy assumes the power of definition to construe disappointing and/or rejecting events more palatably. In this case, she employs a construction that casts Joe as Bad Guy and exonerates Cookie, and allows Christy to retain and protect a good memory of Cookie.

Renee McAndrews prepares psychological evaluation for Christy. Joe Founder asks Renee to conduct a psychological evaluation of Christy

to indentify her placement needs. The fact of and implications of the evaluation are examined for impact within the Youth Project, DYS and eventually, Washington County District Court.

While Renee is conducting the evaluation, Joe has pursued his "foster placement pool" to discover, as usual, that the pool is stone dry, depleted. No placement options exist for Christy within the Youth Project. Recruitment drought is a recurrent problem for the Youth Project, particularly as the summer exodus approaches for the university community, upon which the program relies for prospective foster parents. In this instance, Christy is the youth to feel the crunch; she is set up for termination from the program now, on top of her termination from Cookie and Mike.

While she continues to stay with Cookie, and support checks continue to pass onto Cookie, the gears are in motion to return Christy to the jurisdiction of DYS Region X. Renee realizes that her placement evaluation has potential for imminent application with respect to Christy's next living situation. Vagueness won't do. So Renee begins to investigate and hustle available placement sites corresponding to her general recommendations regarding living environments that would impair, maintain and/or improve Christy's adjustment. Renee finds an appropriate and available placement site for Christy. This site happens to be quite expensive relative to placement facilities typically used by DYS. In rebuttal to an anticipated rejection of her recommendation on the grounds of cost,

Renee has searched for information regarding supplemental funding and cost sharing arrangements that could be made to finance this placement. In the course of the preparation of her evaluation, Renee has discussed placement options with Christy, and has secured Christy's agreement about the desirability of the prospective site.

Note that the energies of Renee and Joe, and the attention of Christy are all directed toward arrangements for Christy's next placement. No effort is made to address or facilitate Christy's termination from the Youth Project and from her placement with Cookie and Mike. Rather, energies are invested in hustling activities; these being activities to which Joe is accustomed and for which he is skilled, and activities into which Renee has been drawn. The more sedentary, ponderous and painful tasks of confronting feelings accompanying Christy's disengagement from a place where, and from people with whom Christy has been invested for eight months, are being ignored. Efforts are being directed toward securing a placement site, such that a termination date can be established, whereupon the transfer may be effected. We see here a replication in the Youth Project, of a pattern apparent in DYS at large: "termination" means a date, a destination, not a process.

What systemic properties and dynamics contribute to the placement termination/transfer pattern just described? Resource scarcity and inadequacy spawn systemic absurdities of which Christy's situation is only a minor example. Scarcity of placement sites in

the state sets up the basic youth transfer rule: "If there's a slot, grab it." Access to placement transfer sites is contingent not only upon availability (or "slots,"), but also upon cost and receptivity of the next setting. By receptivity, I mean the extent to which staff of the next setting are willing to accept a strange kid on short notice. Such cooperation is really quite unusual among DYS sites, given the level of scrutiny/paranoia toward screening out "heavy" kids that I have observed throughout the state. Placement site, or vendor prerogative with respect to youth intake and screening is typically among the more volatile issues hashed out at contract time with DYS. If placement sites do not have sovereignty over youth intake, the site becomes vulnerable to disruptions and its youth subject to blow outs. In such a situation, the word spreads about DYS that "X placement site is having trouble, hold referrals," or "X placement site can't hold our kids--there's a revolving door going on out there, hold referrals." This is the story of fiscal suffocation that programs fear and take precautions against. Intake scrutiny and "slot" withholding are among such precautions. These precautions are warranted in my view, given certain sleazy practices of DYS which include purging the files of youth to edit out reports of "heavy" acting out and previous placement blow outs. If a placement site is given scanty untrustworthy information about kids, a tight, conservative intake posture is a setting's only protection.

The preceding comments about resource scarcity, pertain most centrally to placement sites intended to provide relatively long term services to youth referred. While these comments hold true for short term detention, or "holding" placements as well, the notion of resource inadequacy is most relevant to critique of the latter settings. In the case of Christy, the only short term holding placement available for her, would have been a slot in CSIA, a foster home program in a neighboring major city. Time to investigate, secure and prepare for Christy's transfer to a long term setting, could have been one benefit of placing Christy with CSIA for an interim period. Unfortunately, Christy had a record of previous placements with, and runs from CSIA open, non-structured, unsupervised foster settings. While the CSIA temporary holding placement was a referral option for Christy, her history in that setting made it a risky and inadequate option.

In reviewing the DYS placement characteristics of resource scarcity and inadequacy, a context has been provided in which to understand systemic attention to termination dates and destinations over and above termination preparation and processing. The consequences of the former emphasis is readily apparent in the attitudes of DYS youth. Kids are left waiting to be told where they're headed next. A youth recently expressed his frustration regarding placement transfer this way: "Why don't you all put me in a box and just ship me away?" If securing placements requires all the

energy, ingenuity and political savvy of adult DYS staff, how can a kid contribute to, not to mention manage, his or her own placement destiny within DYS? It is around placement termination and transfer that kid helplessness, systemically imposed, is exposed most nakedly.

Christy terminated from the Youth Project. DYS Region X is put on notice that Christy will soon return to their primary jurisdiction. The Youth Project agrees to hold Christy until her rapidly approaching court appearance surrounding the Subcity breaking and entering. Note that this transfer arrangement departs from customary procedure in that transfers of youth between placements within DYS are usually accomplished in DYS offices, not in court. In Christy's case, three advantages accrued by stalling her transfer from the Youth Project until after the disposition of the breaking and entering charges. As her most recent, long term and most stable placement, statements made on her behalf by the Youth Project would have favorable impact on the disposition of the breaking and entering charges. Renee McAndrews would have a role affiliation from a current placement from which to present her recommendations for Christy. Finally, the decision of the judge regarding the breaking and entering would circumscribe placement options for Christy. DYS would need to comply to a judgement on these charges, which could range from disposition to a locked facility, to dismissal of charges. The judge's decision would have bearing on DYS latitude in placing

Christy subsequently. For these reasons, then, the Youth Project retained Christy until and through the day of her court hearing.

Christy in court for breaking and entering disposition (May 4, 1976).

Christy's appearance before Judge Davis in Washington County District Court for disposition of the Subcity breaking and entering charges is examined in detail. Extensive attention is given to this event because:

1. This court appearance consequences in a pivotal shift in systems principally responsible for Christy (from Youth Project to DYS); and
2. This court appearance provides illustration of, and commentary upon, the operative legal system which superintends juvenile offenders in this state.

As a matter of review and orientation for the reader, a capsule summary of general juvenile court procedure follows. In addition, an enumeration of some key considerations about juvenile court is presented, again, to inform the reader about the context in which Christy's appearance takes place. In keeping with the general format of this report, the event is then described and assessed with respect to system effects obtained.

While juvenile hearings are always unique with respect to particular changes and particular youth, procedures typically

correspond to the following form. A youth is apprehended for extralegal activity, charged (by either the police or the complainant), arraigned, and scheduled for a disposition hearing before the juvenile court judge. At the disposition hearing, the prosecutor presents evidence pertinent to the charges. The defense attorney (usually a public defender) may declare "sufficiency of fact," which the judge would interpret as an "admission." Disposition would typically proceed with an order to remand the youth to the custody of DYS (an adjudication of the youth as "delinquent"), or an order to return the youth to the custody of DYS for placement (in cases where the youth has previously been adjudicated delinquent). Alternatively, the defense attorney could deny the prosecutor "sufficiency of fact" by presenting opposing evidence, by disqualifying the prosecutor's evidence, or by citing illegal procedure. The judge would either order a continuance (with the exception that the prosecutor and/or defense attorney present new evidence at a subsequent hearing), or order a dismissal of charges. For youth already adjudicated delinquent, a dismissal of charges eventuates in the same disposition as if the youth had issued an "admission": the fate here being a return to DYS custody for placement.

In addition to the standard scenario summarized above, the reader may wish to keep in mind these general considerations

surrounding juvenile court:

1. A juvenile court hearing is taken to be a civil proceeding, not a criminal proceeding.
2. A juvenile court hearing is construed to be an inquiry into the affairs of a youth, by the state as an interested party. Juvenile court, DYS, and vendors of DYS are charged with, and act from, a mandate to supervise and rehabilitate offending youth. This mandate does not expressly include (among stated objectives) intentions or actions to punish offenders, nor intentions or actions to protect society (persons and property) from youthful offenders.
3. Court personnel by and large occupy dual roles in both juvenile and adult court.
4. Considerable parallels in procedure exist between juvenile and adult court.
5. The juvenile court judge has the power to order modes of disposition for cases. While the court may order services and/or resources for youth, the court district in which Christy was tried does not own resources. For example, the court may remand a youth to the custody

of DYS, and issue specifications as to placement services for the youth. However, the court neither owns, finances nor manages such resources, nor does the court have procedures by which disposition directives may be monitored, evaluated and followed up.

6. For youth already adjudicated delinquent, outcome of most dispositions is an order of "return to custody" of DYS. Upon occasion of particularly heavy charges, court may issue a "bind over motion" to transfer case from juvenile to adult court. All youth fourteen years or older may be treated as adult offenders if a bind over motion is accepted. (Five conditions, as per Rule 85A District Court, the state's law, 119, Section 61, must be met for a bind over motion to pass).
7. Court action on charges for DYS youth is invariably in the form of placement action. An equation is thusly constructed: placement is penalty for extralegal behavior. This equation fosters a perception on the part of DYS youth, that all placements are for "doing time." Placement staff respond, in great

consternation, that their programs, their efforts are "to help" youth. These differences in perceptions about placement purpose derive directly from a central controversy in the philosophy of law: corrections for retribution versus corrections for rehabilitation.

8. Note that with juvenile court defined as a civil proceeding, youth are not afforded protections that accompany criminal proceedings. For example, we find indeterminate sentencing, a violation of the "let the punishment fit the crime" credo, in juvenile court. Suppose two youth are brought to court for stealing cars. Youth A, age 16, will spend (or be "sentenced to") one to two years in the custody of DYS. Youth B, age 11, will spend (or be "sentenced to") six to seven years in the custody of DYS, for the same behavior. We find that in juvenile court, one's right to speak in one's own defense, right to a speedy trial, right to initiate appeal, are at best, recognized only at the discretion of the presiding judge, and at worst, unacknowledged.

(Eligibility of juveniles to constitutional rights and protections is currently being argued in test cases across the country).

We proceed now to Christy's day in court. Christy is driven to court by Doug Poletti, a field supervisor from the Youth Project. A representative from current placement is expected to be present at all court-related proceedings, as is the DYS caseworker for each youth. In the context of this court appearance, Doug is the first of a series of people who are in attendance, who are invested with some authority/role during the hearing, and who are assumed to have some knowledge about Christy. In fact, he and others, have had minimal contact with Christy, and have virtually no useful information to contribute. Doug is the first figurehead we encounter this day in court.

As usual, the lobby of the Washington District Court is filled to brimming with youth, caseworkers, parents, police, attorneys and court personnel. Juvenile Court meets two mornings a week, during which all arraignments, hearings, continuances, CHINS petitions, etc. are to be conducted. As usual, the docket is so full today that a summons to appear at 10:00 AM will actually mean you'll see the judge at 2:00 PM, with luck. The wait begins, as do Christy's paces and wanderings.

Renee McAndrews, Bonnie Russell, Doug and Christy cluster in one corner of the lobby. Attorney Paul Mitchell approaches. Among

public defenders, Attorney Mitchell has a fine reputation; Christy's "chorus" feels collective relief at the sight of him. Although Attorney Mitchell and Christy have not met to discuss today's proceeding, it is apparent that they've met each other before. Mitchell, Christy, et. al. commence to plan hearing strategy. Renee McAndrews gives Mitchell a copy of her report, which he reads and sends to Judge Davis by messenger. Mitchell proposes a strategy: to submit for a continuance on the breaking and entering charges, awaiting confirmation of placement for Christy as per the recommendations of Renee McAndrews. Renee, Doug, Bonnie and Christy nod assent to this plan and Mitchell wanders off. Of course, none of them know enough about law to evaluate the sensibility of Mitchell's plan. And, in the context of a hurried huddle in the lobby of the court house, a deliberate discussion and review of alternative options is not even considered.

Christy begins to balk at the placement recommendation put forward by Renee. "I'm not going there; I want to stay in Fernwood. If the judge says I have to go there, I'll run. Get away from me. I'm not talking about it." Renee responds with information about the new placement, moving to persuade Christy to go even though the prospective site has not yet been confirmed. Bonnie Russell enters the discussion with an ultimatum, "either you go there, or it's a lock-up for you." Christy escalates her balking (voices are raised now; Christy darts across the lobby and we follow). Sergeant

Kennedy, in business suit, pursues Christy to settle her down. We watch them chat, fearing that Christy will get angrier, split, and default her hearing. Sergeant Kennedy returns to our group, announcing that Christy has bought into the plan. Kennedy shakes his head, muttering that Christy "is a nice kid; all she needs is a friend."

The court clerk calls, "Ronstadt;" we file into the court room. This court room undoubtedly corresponds to any fantasy or stereotype of "court" that the reader imagines: Duly robed, Judge Davis sits aloft and at center stage; court recorder is stationed left, one tier down; prosecutor and defense attorney are symmetrically arranged at left and right flank, respectively. Christy, with the savoir faire of an experienced defendant, assumes her position front row center of the spectator pews, directly in front and below Judge Davis. Her "chorus" disperses through the pews, to the side and rear of the court floor. Once we're seated and the court recorder has announced the charges, the prosecutor presents his evidence, which includes a reading of the police report by Sergeant Kennedy. Attorney Mitchell does not respond to the prosecutor's material; rather, he proceeds directly to a request for continuance pending placement confirmation. The prosecutor rumbles some protest, while Mitchell directs Judge Davis to the psychological evaluation prepared by Renee McAndrews. Judge Davis asks Renee if she knows of a placement for Christy in the state corresponding to

the general recommendations contained in the report. Renee replies that several such settings have been identified, and that placement at the most appropriate of these awaits outcome of this disposition, and payment negotiations with DYS Region X. Judge Davis thinks a moment, asks Christy if she agrees with the proposal. She nods. He then asks the prosecutor if he will accept a continuance pending placement confirmation. The prosecutor balks a bit, and finally assents. Judge Davis then declares it so: Christy is to return to the custody of DYS; DYS Region X caseworker Bonnie Russell is instructed to secure the placement recommended by Renee McAndrews; and Christy's breaking and entering charges are continued. We exit happily. Best wishes and platitudes are exchanged between Christy and Attorney Mitchell. Renee McAndrews gives pertinent placement information to Bonnie Russell, who agrees to stay in touch. We adjourn to Bootsies for coffee, after two hours in the lobby and ten minutes before the judge.

Christy's court appearance provides grounds for some general observations and comments about juvenile court:

1. The extent of crowding and delay obvious in the lobby of Washington County District Court speaks to the degree juvenile court operations are overburdened, understaffed and inefficient. If the court holds a mandate to supervise and rehabilitate youthful offenders, court personnel certainly would need time to assess the needs

of youth, to generate and to evaluate intervention strategies. The scene the morning of Christy's appearance attests to the difficulties the court system is having carrying out its mandate.

2. Christy's appearance reveals a conspicuous hiatus between legal and service personnel engaged in the care of DYS youth. Attorney Mitchell meets Christy and her support staff on the spot the morning of the hearing. Discussion with Attorney Mitchell revolves around getting through the hearing, not any consideration of what would be best for Christy on a long term basis. The time frame of the court appearance is so truncated as to exclude determination of where Christy is to sleep the night of the hearing.
3. Christy's bolt and balk in the lobby are interesting comments on the court situation from her point of view. In the absence of provisions for her inclusion in pre-hearing deliberations, not to mention in the hearing itself, Christy's only opportunity for participation in the hearing is as detractor.

She has no formal recourse through which to appeal court decisions. In addition, considerable pressure comes down on her to be compliant during the hearing, as if to bolster court confidence in legal and service personnel, whose role performance is under the spotlight in court.

4. This court appearance provides our first view of the "Sergeant Kennedy paradox." He comforts Christy in the lobby, and then presents evidence against her in the court room. He says that "all she needs is a friend," and minutes later, is allied with the prosecutor, who wants Christy locked up.
5. We see in some embarrassment, the extent to which formal court operations depart from useful rational procedure, lapsing instead, into high drama and empty ritual. The setting, wardrobe, formal roles and esoteric language contribute more to the theatrics of the hearing than to the efficiency with which court tasks are dispatched. These trappings not only distract and detract from the purpose at hand (again, to supervise and rehabilitate youth),

but also prevent the full participation of interested parties.

6. As opposed to impressions of rigidity and/or imperviousness on the part of the court in entertaining mitigating and supportive information about kids in hearing, we find an almost naive receptivity to Renee's psychological evaluation of Christy. I might mention here that such documentation seldom supplements defense materials for DYS kids. Programs and attorneys rarely invest time and money in preparations for hearing, unless the case, the kid, or the complainants are politically "hot." Mitchell uses the fact of the evaluation, more than its content (no one has spent time reading it), to buttress his defense strategy. Judge Davis is clearly persuaded by the evaluation, in reaction either to the novelty of such material appearing in a relatively low-grade hearing, or in deference to some presumed expertise following ex officio from Renee's role as psychological consultant.
7. Note well that Bonnie Russell is left holding the bag at the end of the hearing. Judge

Davis has the authority to order the direction of this disposition; Renee, Attorney Mitchell, Sergeant Kennedy, et. al. have had their say with respect to the disposition; yet Bonnie has the responsibility of implementing the court mandate. I might mention here that Judge Davis has but nominal authority over Christy's disposition. In fact, Bonnie will make or break the hearing outcome for Christy. Judge Davis agreed to a placement he knows only in name; Bonnie will have to secure it and arrange for Christy's transfer there. Further, Judge Davis has no recourse to an accountability to Bonnie. Judge Davis will never know if Christy ends up where he sends her, unless, of course, she returns to his court on another charge. In such an instance, the reappearance of Christy would be taken as a statement about her recidivism, rather than a statement about DYS efforts to follow court directives with respect to placement. (As it happens, Bonnie does fail to secure the recommended and mandated placement for Christy, and Christy does return to Judge Davis on another charge).

Summary of Phase II April 1976 to May 1976. In one month, Christy's life has turned upside down. We have seen the dissolution of a five month relationship with Cookie and Mike, site of the most stable placement in Christy's DYS history; Cookie's discharge from the Youth Project; a breaking and entering by Christy; her termination from the Youth Project; and her return to the jurisdiction of Bonnie Russell, DYS Region X caseworker. Foci for examination in the exceedingly complex series of events in Phase II have included:

- conflict between Cookie and Mike Tyler
- conflict between Cookie and the Youth Project
- California dreaming
- Subcity breaking and entering
- conflict between Christy and Cookie
- intensification of conflict between Cookie and the Youth Project
- California dream equivocated
- Christy rips up her room
- triangulation of Renee McAndrews, Joe Founder and Cookie
- triangulation of Renee McAndrews, Joe Founder and Charles Porter
- Christy takes forty dollars from Mike Tyler
- Cookie quits the Youth Project/Joe Founder decides to fire Cookie
- California dream withdrawn
- Renee McAndrews prepares psychological evaluation of Christy

- Christy terminated from the Youth Project
- Christy in court for Subcity breaking and entering disposition
- Christy returned to jurisdiction of Bonnie Russell, DYS Region X caseworker.

The events contribute to, and illustrate a movement toward a lower level of organization in Christy's social ecology.

Alterations in constitutional elements of several social systems impair the capacity of these systems to fulfill functions served during Phase I. Within the foster placement, marital conflict between Cookie and Mike is not contained within the boundary of the husband-wife subsystem. Their conflict precipitates a realignment of relationships, and induces role adjustments that place new demands upon Christy, at the same time that functions previously served by the foster home falter. Basic temporal and physical structure in the household give way to improvised meals, disarray and confusion. Resources formerly invested in family development are now required for maintenance of the family amidst crisis. Upon Mike's return and with the onset of California dreaming, the family retrenches within boundaries made rigid in relation to the Youth Project. The invitation for Christy to accompany the Tylers to California violates procedures within the Youth Project and DYS. The foster family thusly withdraws from its superordinate social systems, and stands in opposition to rules governing these systems. As Christy elects to ally with the Tylers

and thereby protect the membership benefits, however diminished, afforded by that primary social system, she becomes estranged from the Youth Project and DYS. Christy also inherits repercussions of Cookie's conflict with the Youth Project, obtaining in yet greater distance between Christy and these social systems.

Cookie's conflict with the Youth Project calls attention to, and contributes to alterations in constitutional elements of that social system. Boundaries surrounding conflicts between staff members and surrounding operations of the Youth Project are breeched repeatedly. Matters most properly internal to the Youth Project are influenced by, and are often relocated to superordinate systems. For example, Renee McAndrews and Charles Porter are eventually drawn into a conflict which originates between Cookie and Joe. Roles of members within the Youth Project become diffused, ambiguous and violated. Joe's sovereignty over youth census is encroached upon by DYS Region X in the prostitution case. Renee's role as staff consultant is abused as she is induced to provide a psychological assessment of Cookie's job performance. Cookie abdicates her responsibilities as field supervisor when she quits without providing for deliberate transfer of her duties to her replacement. Rules of operation in the Youth Project are violated or found lacking. Procedures for personnel action and employee grievances are not in place to guide the process of Cookie's dismissal. Resource scarcity constricts placement options

for Christy within the Youth Project, and prohibits thorough preparation for her termination and transfer.

Communication channels within and between social systems collapse during Phase II. Christy's social ecology strains to embrace opposing factions, e.g., Cookie versus Mike; Cookie versus Joe; the foster placement versus the Youth Project. Cookie's precipitous departure from the Youth Project puts an end to her function as "switchboard," upon which the integration of Christy's social ecology had depended during Phase I. The former choreography of social systems is reduced to a burlesque of systems working at cross purposes at the end of Phase II.

Determinants, dormant during Phase I, are roused by Christy's breaking and entering and ascend to a dominant position during Phase II. Most prominent among these activated social systems which arch over Christy's social ecology, is the legal system represented by Washington County District Court. Christy's breaking and entering calls her to the attention of, and puts her in the command of WCDC, a system which was beyond the boundaries of her world during the five months of Phase I. Her return to the custody of DYS by order of Judge Davis, places Christy in the command of yet another social system with which she has had only nominal affiliation during Phase I.

In the context of the dissolution of her primary social system, the foster home, Christy acts out. Her behavior parallels and

contributes to the movement of her social ecology toward a lower level of organization. Her extralegal behavior, for example, activates the legal system which superintends the Youth Project and DYS. Her status as "offender" in relation to the legal system alters her membership standing in social systems subordinate to Washington County District Court. Her behavior thereby interacts with other events concurrently affecting these social systems, obtaining in major changes in her social ecology.

In the month spanning Phase II, Christy has moved from a stable setting with relationships, a history and a future, to the care of an impersonal system, with which Christy has had a long-standing and difficult history, and which offers her a future of more transience, powerlessness and stigmatization. The magnitude of this shift becomes more appreciable when we examine the contrasts between Christy's relationships with Cookie and with Bonnie Russell. As a basis of elaboration of this contrast, and to provide a context in which to understand subsequent references to Bonnie, examination of Bonnie's role as DYS caseworker is required.

First, Bonnie is a former DYS youth herself. We may assume that she has experienced as much of the quality services, education, placements, care, consistency and concern that have yet to be provided a DYS youth that I've encountered so far. Further, she is new to the job of caseworker, a job having low status and low pay in the context of her DYS regional office. Her tasks call

for mobility, and hence, invisibility in her work context. She is expected to supervise and monitor all the kids on her caseload (approximately thirty), with a ratio of contact hours of at least one visit per month at each kid's placement site. Thirty kids, thirty contact hours, perhaps thirty placements--that's a lot of work for twenty work days per month. In addition, Bonnie must appear at all court hearings pertaining to youths on her caseload; and she must handle all their paperwork (clothing vouchers, admission/termination reports, monthly reports, Chapter 766 materials, etc.).

We can now return to a contrast between Cookie and Bonnie Russell. Whereas Cookie, in her dual roles as foster parent and field supervisor, is a visible, present, well-informed, influential, active, explicit and respectable authority figure for Christy, with whom Christy has had occasion to develop and test trust, Bonnie is amorphous, invisible and unknown as a person. In the absence of day-to-day contact, Christy has no basis of predictability, no reservoir of trust with which to construct and with which to gauge her perceptions of Bonnie. Bonnie becomes an awesome, unbounded power over Christy. Whereas Cookie had access to a broad, comprehensive data base pertaining to Christy's activities and progress, Bonnie is limited to information gleaned from monthly reports. Unlike Cookie, Bonnie has no connections to networks which overlap, intersect and embrace Christy's world. Whereas Christy and Cookie

have a relationship characterized by concrete task interdependence, Christy and Bonnie have only an abstract interdependence. For sure, Bonnie's competence as a caseworker is contingent upon the success of her efforts with Christy. Yet this contingency is invisible to Christy; Christy can't witness nor experience, nor be aware of this level of impact she has on Bonnie. Parenthetically, the use of Christy's success/failure as a criterion for Bonnie's competence, is a precarious criterion at best. Christy has a "heavy rep" in DYS Region X. As a new caseworker, of course, Bonnie is assigned kids other caseworkers discard. Bonnie inherited the caseload of Lisa Gerhart upon Lisa's promotion to an administrative position in DYS Region X. Lisa was an experienced caseworker of reputed and demonstrated competence. Bonnie had some big shoes to fill when she took on Lisa's job. Bonnie, as a newcomer, carries the weight of her predecessor's reputation, as well as the weight of the least desirable caseload of the region. So, whereas Cookie is top dog in her working context, the Youth Project, Bonnie is a neonate, the second-string substitute of the graduated star, in hers.

With respect to power and management of contingencies having immediacy and impact on Christy, Cookie, again in dual roles as field supervisor and foster parent, has considerable control over Christy. Bonnie, in contrast, occupies a role whose authority is largely dependent upon a host of variables over which she has no

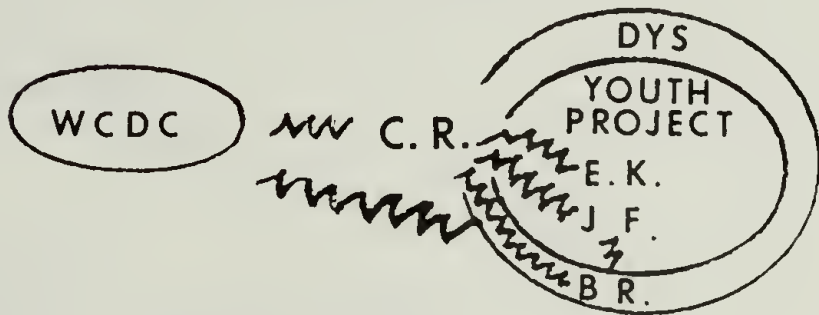
control, e.g., regional vendor resources, placement availability, finances of region. Finally, Bonnie is black, Cookie is white, and Christy is white. While difficult to estimate, racial differences here must have contributed to differences in relationships between Christy and Cookie, and Christy and Bonnie. In point of fact, I witnessed several occasions of Christy's verbal abuse of Bonnie along racial lines.

Phase III May 1976 to June 1976

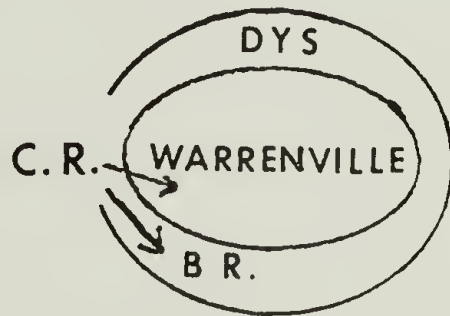
Diagram of Social Ecology (Begins)



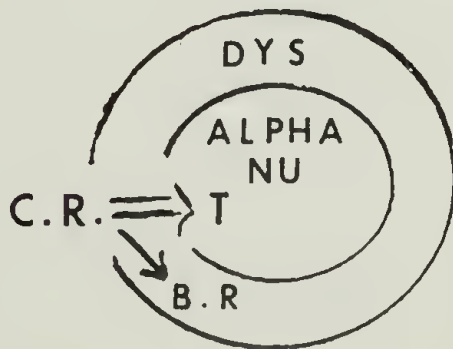
Transition A



Transition B



Ends



Key to Diagram of Social Ecology

Phase III: Begins

Police
 Washington County District Court
 DYS Region X, Bonnie Russell
 Youth Project
 Joe Founder
 Renee McAndrews

Transition A

Washington County District Court
 DYS Region X, Bonnie Russell
 Youth Project
 Joe Founder
 Renee McAndrews

Transition B

DYS Region X, Bonnie Russell
 Warrenville placement

Phase III: Ends

DYS Region X, Bonnie Russell
 Alpha Nu, Turk

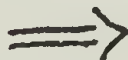
Symbols:



boundary of social system
 with which Christy is
 engaged



interaction



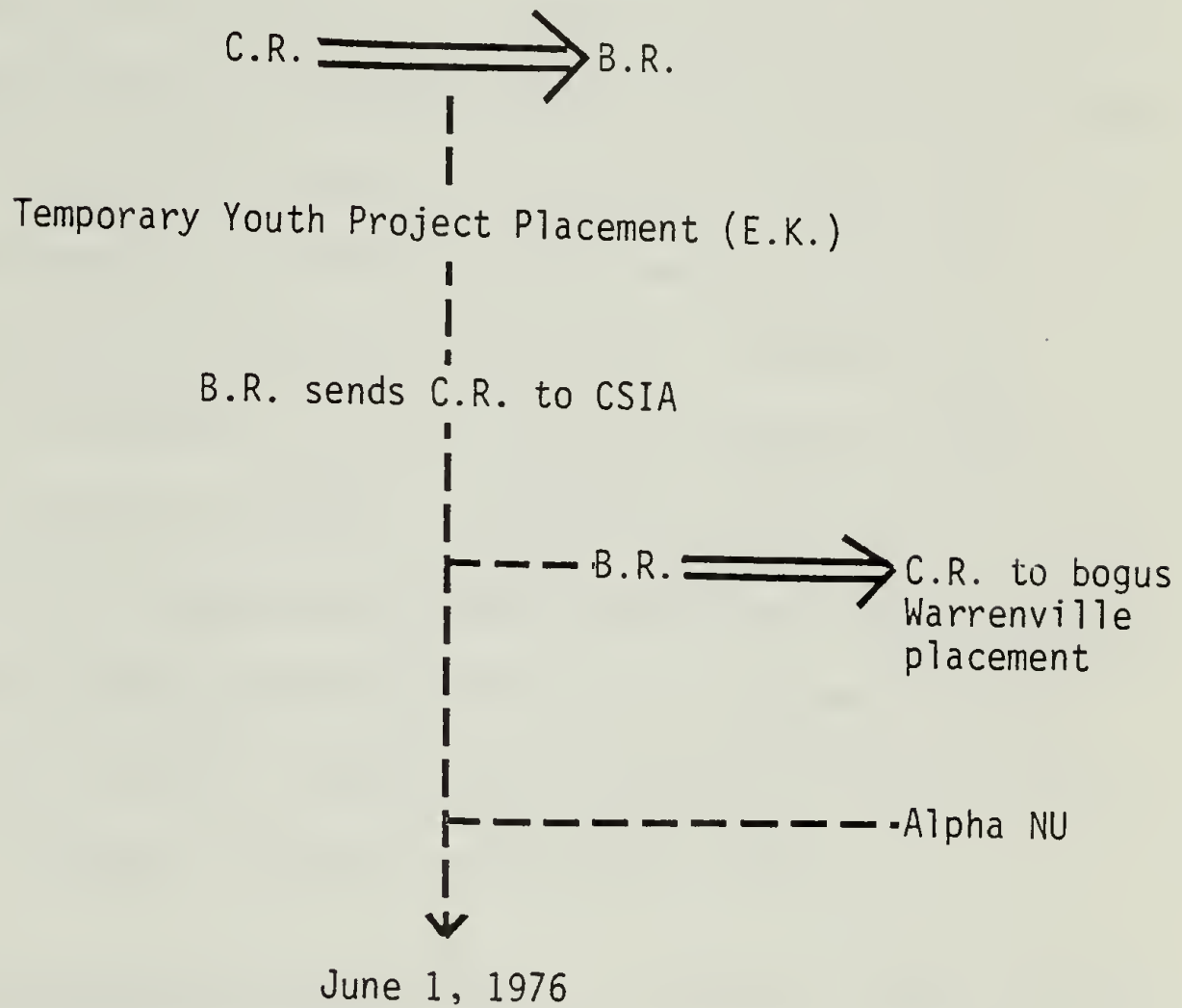
intensive interaction



conflictual interaction

Phase III May 4, 1976 to June 1, 1976

Chronology



Members:

C.R. = Christy Ronstadt

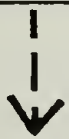
E.K. = Emily Kaufman

J.F. = Joe Founder

B.R. = Bonnie Russell, DYS Region X caseworker

CSIA = Center for the Study of Institutional Alternatives--temporary foster care program in neighboring large city

Symbols:



time



entrance of event on time line

Christy returned to the jurisdiction of DYS Region X caseworker Bonnie Russell. (You won't believe this one). We left Christy at the conclusion of her hearing on the Subcity breaking and entering charges. Judge Davis has ordered that Christy is to return to the custody of DYS; that DYS Region X caseworker is to secure the placement recommended by Renee McAndrews, and that Christy's breaking and entering charges are continued. The reader will recall that a celebration of sorts follows at Bootsie's coffee shop across from the courthouse. As those gathered rise to resume the day's duties, conspicuously absent among them is Bonnie Russell, the caseworker whose jurisdiction Christy has just been ordered. "Jeezus, where the hell is Bonnie, and what do we do with Christy if we can't find her? So much for that court order."

Christy goes back to the Youth Project. A motion to bring Christy to Joe Founder is proposed and carried out, despite a minority opinion (Christy's) advocating free release on the streets. Joe is furious that Christy is back. He has to dig up a short term placement for her (where does she sleep tonight?) with no notice, and no resources. No one can find Bonnie, and the secretary at DYS Region X keeps disconnecting Joe. Christy, meanwhile, is waltzing up and down the halls of Hills South, doing her ambassador-of-good-will routine, recounting the morning's drama, and lambasting Bonnie Russell. Joe somehow cajoles a bed from Emily Kaufman, a former and close-to-burned-out foster parent. Emily is a student

living on campus at, yes, the worst, Hillside dormitories.

Let's pause here to comment on the systems dynamics apparent so far:

1. departures from, violations of policy/procedures:
The mandate from Judge Davis is violated within minutes of its determination. Note that Judge Davis issued a dictum in the form of "this will be done." We were dismissed from the courtroom without having considered how his mandate would be implemented. Roles were not clarified; duties were not assigned explicitly, nor was a time frame established to guide and ensure implementation of his order. In the Youth Project, no placement staffing/assessment is held to determine Christy's placement needs.
2. Role diffusion, ambiguity and/or violation:
Bonnie violates her role as DYS caseworker in failing to receive Christy in the custody of DYS Region X. Joe's role is uncertain--does he have legal responsibility for Christy even though she has been terminated from the Youth Project?
3. Abdications of and/or abuses of authority/power/responsibility: Bonnie literally walks out on Christy--an abdication of responsibility at the least.

4. System tension: Christy sees her "custodians," professionals in the system, totally bewildered, angry and agitated. Christy sees chaos shatter through the pretense of order, rationality and deliberateness in placement decisions. Christy hears telephone slamming, and resource hustling/begging/bargaining. Christy likely feels "this is my fault," as do Joe et. al., probably feel "when will this kid be out of my hair?" Christy is the target for anger and frustration, clearly attributable to systemic flaws.
5. Resource scarcity: The power of resource scarcity to drive workers crazy, to reek havoc on procedure, to deprive youth of circumspect and deliberate service delivery, is flagrantly visible in this example. Joe has to scratch up a placement for Christy, without time or options to permit consideration of what would be best for her.

Short term placement with Emily Kaufman. Christy's first placement after five months with Cookie and Mike, is in a college dormitory, sharing a single room with a senior education major. Such a placement would have been contraindicated, even apart from the

haste, tension and confusion that attached to its arrangement. First, Emily Kaufman is straight, softspoken, and small--all completely opposite from Cookie. Secondly, Christy is in the middle of reefer city, the Times Square of Fernwood's drug traffic--Hillside. Thirdly, Emily and Christy have no opportunity to meet each other, nor to iron out rules and regulations about the living situation prior to Christy's arrival; Christy appears bag-in-hand. In short, the placement is primed to blow before it begins.

Meanwhile, Joe Founder has located Bonnie Russell, who pleads no holding resources for Christy and hard times in securing the long term placement ordered by Judge Davis. With her pressure and ostensible quiet on the Hillside front, Joe's ambivalence about retaining Christy swings to reluctant consent ("SHORT TERM!"). Within days, allegations start rolling in: several students on Emily's floor report picked locks, missing money, dope, etc. Emily confronts Christy about these reports. Unfortunately, Emily waits to confront a very wrecked Christy Ronstadt. Christy denies the accusations, becomes abusive, agitated and assaultive; she threatens Emily with a broken beer bottle. Several Hillside jocks intervene to restrain Christy until Joe Founder arrives on the scene. Joe immediately calls the neighboring major city where placement had been recommended, drives Christy to an emergency CSIA placement, and, no doubt, wipes Christy off the books first thing the next morning. He sends Renee McAndrews over to Emily Kaufman to help

cool her out. Emily agrees not to press charges against Christy for the assault; and finally, requests that her name be withdrawn from the foster parent roster. Burn out is fait accompli.

As this scene speaks for itself, commentary will be abbreviated. I would like to emphasize the extent to which this placement was stacked for disaster, the extent to which all parties were set up for the painful and potentially tragic altercation described. Christy's history spells out clearly behavior that can be expected from her under conditions of stress, anxiety and lack of structure. The recent and largely ignored dissolution of Christy's attachment to Cookie and Mike must have contributed substantially to Christy's distress at this point. Short term or not, all parties might have realized that a judiciously selected transitional placement was as important for Christy as her eventual long term setting. An effort to secure a stabilizing situation for Christy might have structured out the likelihood that Christy would exercise her stylistic mode of conflict resolution and anxiety modulation (i.e., extralegal acting out, drugs, drinking).

As a postscript, please note that this episode goes down on Christy's public record. Another "violent" incident, reported without reference to context, adds to DYS rumors that Christy is Satan incarnate.

Note: Upon this final termination of Christy Ronstadt from the Youth Project, Renee McAndrews' formal role affiliation with

Christy ends. From this point on, Renee is involved as a member of the so-called "informal professional system." Information is obtained by Renee firsthand in her capacity as informal helper and/or from reconstructed material contributed by informants.

Bogus Warrenville placement. A week or so after the Hillside incident, Christy reappears on the streets of Fernwood. She reports that she is living in Warrenville with a former co-worker from Sub-city. Subsequent investigation shows record of support payments issued by DYS Region X to this person in Warrenville, at a straight foster care rate. Bonnie Russell must have authorized this placement--her signature is needed for this disbursement of checks. DYS youth are permitted placement in only those foster care settings that have Office for Children approval. There is no record of an on-site investigation of the Warrenville placement. We can assume that no attempt was made to determine if this setting was in compliance with OFC regulations. I conclude that this placement was in compliance with the exigencies of expediency and economy. The question arises: What is Bonnie Russell, and by extension, DYS Region X, doing to service Christy Ronstadt? And, what happened to the order of Judge Davis?

Christy in Alpha Nu. By the month's end, Christy is installed in Alpha Nu, the scene of many events yet to come. She is sharing a room with Turk, a member of the Fernwood street network. Christy's

DYS record identifies Alpha Nu as an "independent living situation," presumably authorized by Bonnie Russell. Nevermind compliance with OFC, I doubt that Alpha Nu is in compliance with ASPCA regulations. The implications of Christy's move to Alpha Nu is explored in depth below. For now, again I ask, "What is Bonnie Russell, and by extension, DYS Region X, doing? And again, what became of efforts to secure for Christy the placement recommended by Renee McAndrews and ordered by Judge Davis?"

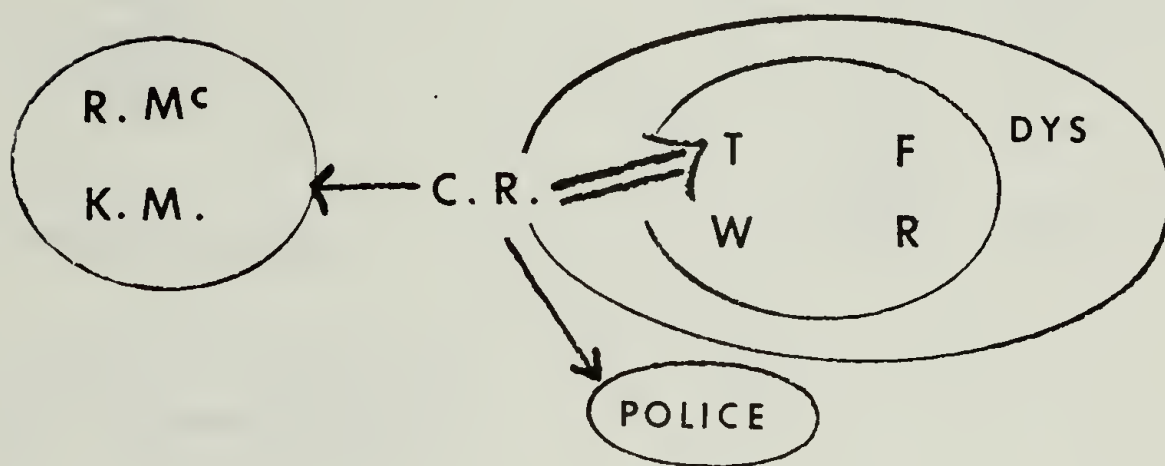
Summary of Phase III May 1976 to June 1976. In one month, Christy has had four living situations: with Emily Kaufman, CSIA, the bogus Warrenville placement, and finally, Alpha Nu. She has begun to act out in a manner potentially harmful to herself and others. Her social ecology is plunging to a lower level of organization. With the pass of Christy from the Youth Project to the care of DYS Region X hopelessly fumbled minutes after the order of Judge Davis, a frantic placement scramble begins. Time pressure, added to the ever-present constraints of resource scarcity within the Youth Project, yields a most untenable placement of Christy with Emily Kaufman in a college dormitory. When this loaded placement explodes, Christy is unceremoniously terminated from the Youth Project, and dropped on the steps of a CSIA emergency foster home. Again resource scarcity within DYS effectively legitimizes an ad hoc placement in Warrenville which Christy arranges for herself. By the

end of Phase III, resource scarcity compounded by unspecifiable degrees of irresponsibility and laxity, produces and legitimizes Alpha Nu as a DYS-authorized "independent living situation" for Christy.

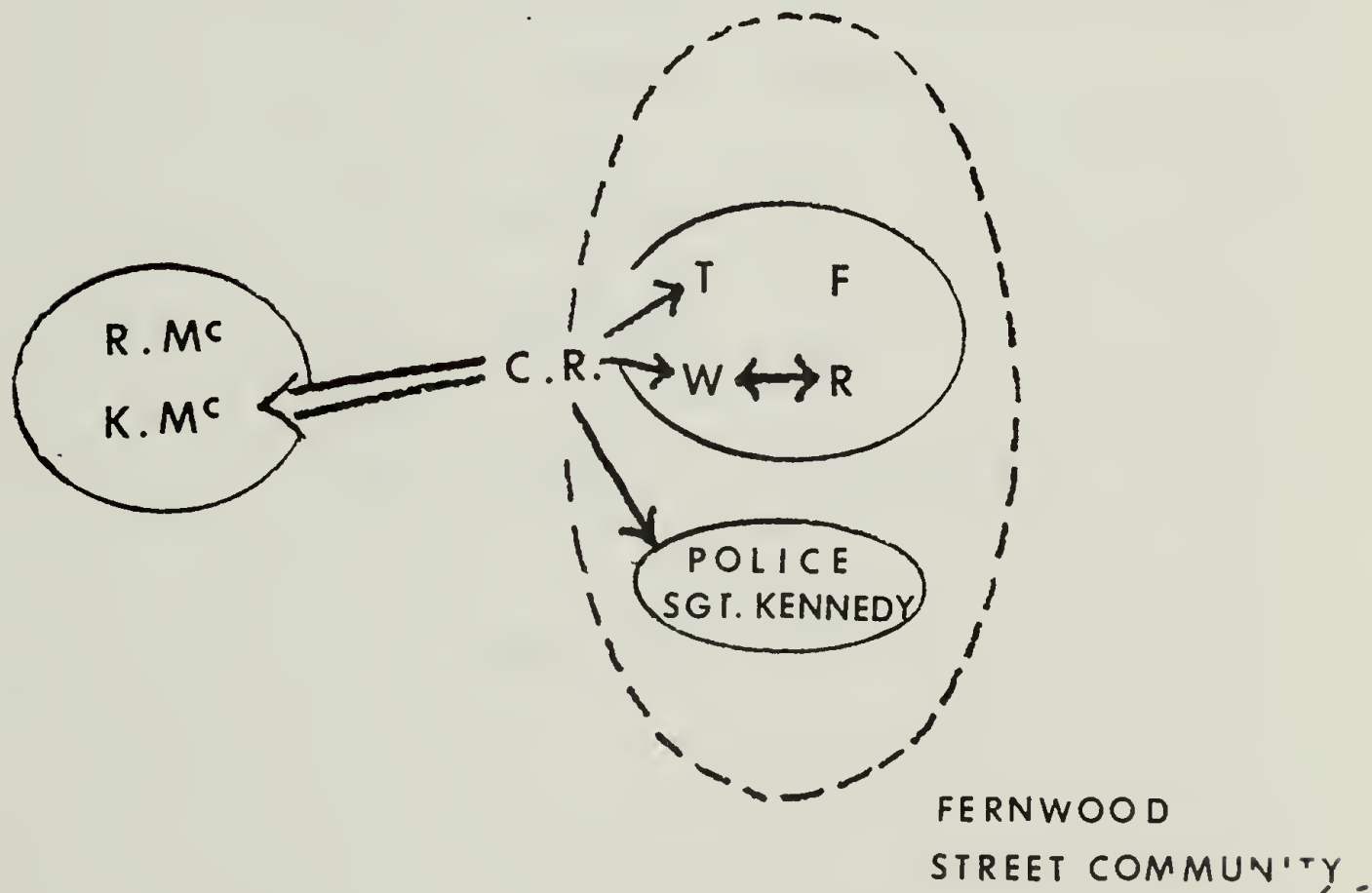
Phase III contains innumerable instances of constitutional, integrative and determinant chaos in Christy's social ecology. The systems with which she is associated are failing to fulfill basic functions such as room and board. This period occasions drug and alcohol use by Christy, stealing, and the first appearance of assaultive behavior during the period under study. At the close of Phase III, she is on the streets of Fernwood, residing at Alpha Nu, with no counterbalancing activity in structured, supervised settings, e.g., job or school.

Phase IV June, 1976 to July, 1976

Diagram of Social Ecology (Begins)



Phase IV Ends



Key to Diagram of Social Ecology

Members:

1. Fernwood street community

- T = Turk
- R = Reggie
- W = Wanda
- F = Frank

Police
Sergeant Kennedy

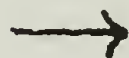
2. Informal professionals

- R.Mc = Renee McAndrews
- K.M. = Katie Miller

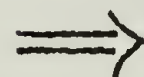
Symbols:



boundary of social system with which Christy is having active contact

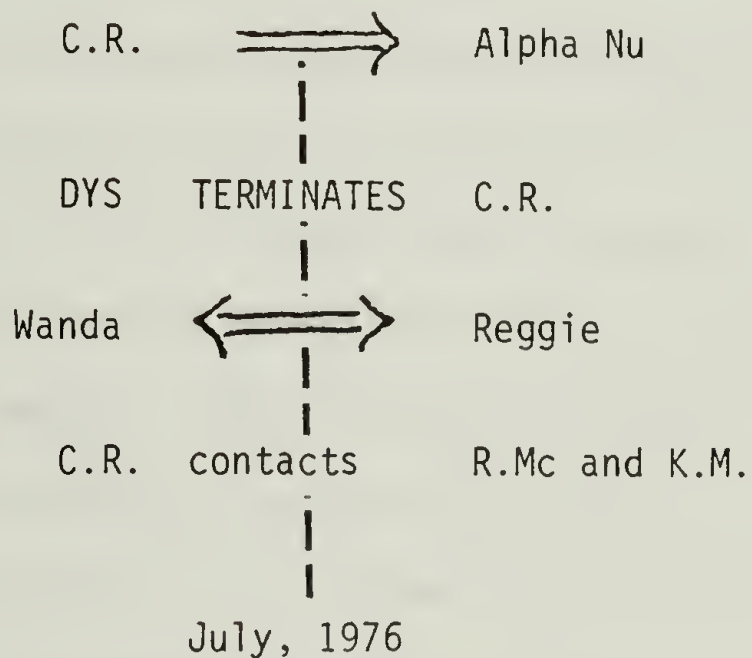


interaction



intensive interaction

Chronology of Phase IV: June, 1976 to July, 1976



Christy at Alpha Nu. We left Christy above, having secured the approval of Bonnie Russell for a move into Alpha Nu. Christy is crashing on the floor of a room rented by Turk. Frank enters Christy's life at this point, as landlord of Alpha Nu. Christy is spending most of her time on the street, hanging out with rookies on the beat (Jonesy, Clarissa) and with the Alpha Nu crew in front of Jake's Smoke Shop, at the cemetery, and at Reggie's house on Smith Street (clearing house for considerable drug trade in Fernwood). Christy is not in school; she does not have a job; nor does she appear to be receiving supervision from Bonnie Russell. She wears a new color-coordinated gym-shorts/gym socks/T-shirt outfit each day. Where is the money coming from?

The Alpha Nu arrangement has already raised questions about the function or dysfunction of Bonnie Russell and DYS in relation to Christy. Examination of this context also provides a point of departure for comment on the relationship between Christy and the Fernwood street community. Most concretely, we might wonder about the experience for Christy of rooming with Turk. He is the first male with whom Christy has lived without the presence of at least one other woman. Speculations about sexual pressure are in order given the demand characteristics of this situation. Such sexual pressure would seem to be particularly anxiety-provoking for Christy, given indications of considerable confusion surrounding sexuality as appeared in the psychological evaluation conducted by Renee McAndrews.

Moreover, reports of instances of sexualized interactions, if not overt sexual pressure in relation to Mike Tyler, have been included among the hypotheses about dynamics which contributed to the dissolution of the foster placement. Additional information discussed below bolsters the credibility of speculations about sexual pressure on Christy in the context of Alpha Nu, and about the likely impact of such pressure on her behavior.

Beyond the rooming arrangement with Turk, we might examine the effects of Alpha Nu as a sub-cultural context, upon Christy. Structurally, Alpha Nu is a collection of rooms, arranged around and above two large rooms emptied of furniture and window glass, and filled with garbage. There are no provisions for cooking at Alpha Nu. The outside steps appear to be the only common convocation place for residents. Structurally, then, we see no common concerns with respect to the living situation per se; no cause or occasion for interdependence among the residents.

Opportunity for interpersonal interdependence and connectedness based on resident similarity, proximity and/or long term contact is also foreclosed at Alpha Nu. Residents are low income, transient people, having suspended or peripheral relationships to the university. Rooms are rented by week; residents don't plan on staying long. In short, Christy finds herself among an unstable noncommunity of people, with whom she has little in common, and among whom relationship building is a low priority.

"Little" in common does not mean "nothing" in common. The common denominator among the residents of Alpha Nu surrounds drug use and dealing. Frank's connections to principal drug suppliers to Fernwood's university will be discussed below. For now, and for the purpose of describing the cultural climate of Alpha Nu, suffice it to say that if there is talk, it is drug talk; if there is interaction among residents, it is drug-related interaction. If Christy is to "belong" in this setting, her only mode of entrée is via the principal and, in this case, sole binding dimension: drugs. This sub-cultural imperative, in conjunction with the fact that Christy has no other means of financial support, obtains in a given: if Christy is to make it at Alpha Nu, she has to do or sell drugs. In fact, later it comes out that she makes drugs while living at Alpha Nu; Christy is said to have capsuled up the remnants of an old Gilbert's chemistry set, passing off the product as THC. We'll return to the aftermath of this entrepreneurial venture below.

The social system characteristics and dynamics of Alpha Nu may be summarized as follows:

1. no formal organization of residents, ambiguous roles;
2. no structure, no formal authority;
3. implicit rules shaped by the demand characteristics of a context which is new to Christy,

- relative to her DYS placement history; and
4. drug-related and dominated subculture.

DYS terminates Christy. Christy's birth date is June 6, 1959. DYS may terminate upon the seventeenth birthday of a youth. Bonnie Russell tells Christy that she is terminated as of the first week of June, prior to the actual date of birth, and prior to the initiation of, not to mention completion of, DYS termination processing procedures. In fact, an inquiry by Katie Miller to DYS central office in mid-June found that Christy was still on the books, and that support checks were still being disbursed. To whom, and upon whose authorization, is unknown. I charge that termination by DYS Region X and by Bonnie Russell at this time, and in this form, was patently illegal, as well as negligent, irresponsible and unprofessional. If we take the date of Bonnie's verbal notification to Christy as the date of termination, this action stands as illegal, for it occurs prior to Christy's seventeenth birthday. Even if we take the date of termination as on or after Christy's birthday, the action is reprehensibly irresponsible. The action amounts to an unannounced unilateral and total withdrawal of support from Christy, leaving her with:

1. no visible means of support
2. no guarantee of housing
3. no option to continue her education
4. no legal services (with charges over her head)

5. no potential for family support
6. no support services whatsoever.¹

Why did DYS violate its legal mandate to supervise and service Christy Ronstadt? Why did DYS Region X circumvent and violate its own procedure for termination, i.e., regional staffing, termination preparation by caseworker, and aftercare planning/preparation? Add to these questions the prior questions: "What happened to the court order issued by Judge Davis to secure the placement recommended by Renee McAndrews on May 4, 1976?" "What is Bonnie Russell, and by extension, DYS Region X doing?"

In the absence of evidence to the contrary, I conclude that DYS Region X and Bonnie Russell acted on economic expediency in their termination of Christy Ronstadt. (Material corroborative of this allegation is presented further below). I believe that no effort was made to secure the expensive placement recommended by Renee McAndrews. I believe that DYS engaged in stalling maneuvers and pretense with regard to pursuit of this placement and compliance with the court order. I believe that DYS anticipated the earliest date for Christy's discharge from their custody, weighed that fact against the effort and expense that pursuit of the recommended placement would entail, and elected to withhold such efforts until such time as they could be relieved of responsibility from Christy entirely.

¹List is from journal, Katie Miller, June 1976.

Wanda and Reggie. Wanda and Reggie start sleeping together. Wanda is Christy's closest girlfriend in Fernwood. Contact between them has intensified as Christy's time on the street has multiplied, following her termination from the Youth Project and upon the move to Alpha Nu. Reggie is reportedly a "partner in crime" with Turk. The onset of a sexual relationship between Wanda and Reggie precipitates certain alterations in the constellation of relationships within the Fernwood street community. These alterations affect Christy's standing in, and experience of, the Fernwood system.

First, Christy is drawn closer into the social system of Turk, Reggie and their drug-dealing associates. We may assume that increased contact with these folks obtains in increased absorption in, if not actual complicity in, drug-dealing activities by Christy. Further, Christy, Wanda, Reggie and Turk are seen about town as a foursome. We may speculate about the appearances of pressures, likely given the structure and membership of this foursome, for Christy to become sexually involved with Turk (she's still crashing with him at Alpha Nu). Moreover, a triangle consisting of Christy, Wanda and Reggie emerges as Wanda and Reggie become lovers. Christy may experience feelings of dislocation, exclusion and/or jealousy as third wheel in relation to Wanda and Reggie. Speculations about and appearance of tension between Christy and Wanda following from the relationship between Wanda and Reggie, are warranted, particularly in light of subsequent events. The appearance of such tension is

quite salient with respect to Christy's world at this point in time given her increased dependence upon the street network and the likelihood of a corresponding increase in her reliance upon Wanda.

Again, Wanda is the only female in this system with whom Christy can relate, and, is the person with whom Christy has had the longest history of contact. Remember that the street community is Christy's only pertinent network at this point, and Wanda is a key link to that network for Christy. Tension between Wanda and Christy could jeopardize Christy's membership in the only system operative for and available to her.

The affair between Wanda and Reggie becomes a focal event in the Fernwood street community, and for Christy. Christy vigilantly monitors the development of this affair and participates in its vagaries. Such participation consumes a good deal of Christy's literal and psychological time. For example, Christy functions as screen, foil and antagonist in relation to Wanda's mother's attempts to sabotage the affair, e.g., Christy lies for Wanda and lets Wanda crash with her when Wanda gets ejected from home. Wanda's mother is so upset about the interracial nature of her daughter's affair with Reggie, that she storms into the police station with demands that Sergeant Kennedy stop it! Of course, Sergeant Kennedy declines. But note that this affair has repercussions throughout the street community, police included.

Christy contacts Renee McAndrews and Katie Miller. Renee emerges from the supermarket as Christy turns up the street from Jake's Smoke Shop. "Hey, Christy, how're you doin'?" "Not bad Reen. Do you need a hand with those bags?" "Thanks anyway, they're not heavy--just a couple of chickens in here." "Chickens?" "Yeah, fried chicken tonight." (Pause). "Well, how about you come over for supper tonight?" "Far out, thanks. See you later." And so Renee and Christy reestablish contact after Christy's final Youth Project termination. Katie Miller (also invited for dinner) had resumed contact with Christy in similar fashion--accidental meeting on the street. (Lesson here: STAY OFF THE STREETS!). Ensuing conversations between Renee and Christy, Renee and Katie, and the three together, alert Renee to Christy's situation, which alarms and concerns Renee. Katie reacts the same way. Renee and Katie begin meeting, initially to try to understand Christy's situation, and later, to try to rectify it.

Renee and Katie each meet and engage Christy outside of their respective work settings and roles: hence their designations as "informal professionals." They are called "professional" in that their subsequent interactions with Christy and with members of other systems, are shaped by and depend upon their professional skills, ideologies and resources: Renee as psychologist, Katie as teacher. Note that while their respective relationships with Christy had origins in, and were defined by, formal role affiliation, Renee

and Katie resume contact with Christy on the basis of interest in her which supercedes the boundary of their work settings.

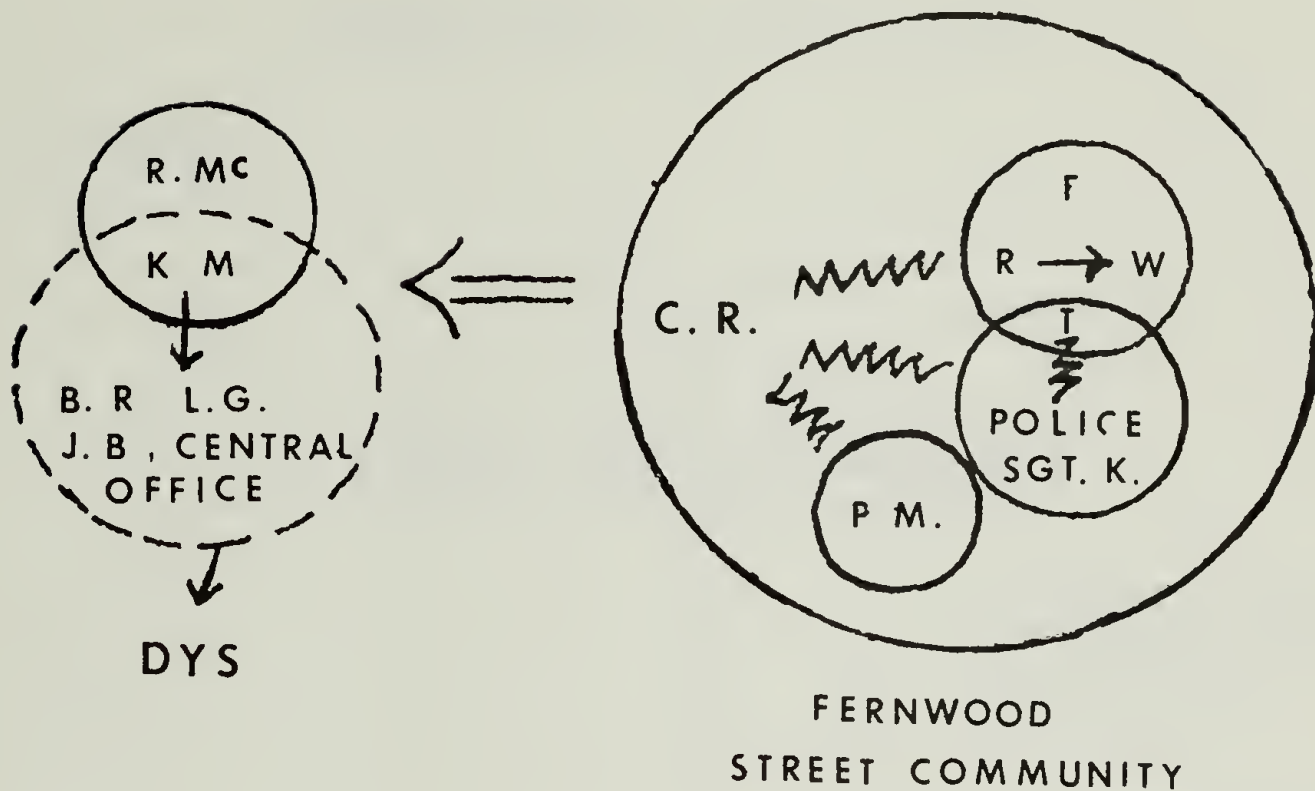
Christy starts calling and visiting Renee and Katie just as the last vestiges of formal DYS support disappears. Renee and Katie are providing very fundamental supports to Christy: food, adult contact, attention and concern. Christy seems to be coming down from her initial "freedom high" following Bonnie's notification of termination. While termination did release Christy from the purview of DYS, this "freedom" was administrative, not real. Real freedom in Christy's case would have meant opportunity to exercise skills in independent living under conditions hospitable to, and contributory to the success of such efforts. The mode of Christy's discharge from DYS, and perhaps her entire DYS history, did not provide for the acquisition of independent living skills, nor for a circumstance in which these could be developed, and tested without high stakes. Christy is in the position of having to scratch to live--basic survival is high stakes to pay if she doesn't make it in this, her first attempt to live independently. We may speculate about the renewal of relationships with Renee and Katie, both of whom are connected in some way to the DYS system from which Christy has just been released. Perhaps Christy is gravitating back to semblances of a structure that did provide her food and shelter for many years. Perhaps Christy is exhibiting a healthy tropism toward people who might offer her some support and protection as she enters a very

new, frightening future of living solo.

Summary of Phase IV June 1976 to July 1976. Christy's social ecology is relatively stable during Phase IV. Christy now depends on the Alpha Nu crew for fundamental supports ranging from shelter to identity. The police and the informal professionals are available to her for adult contact. In this, her first month on her own, Christy demonstrates her capacity to construct relationships and to adapt to membership requirements in several new social systems. She is not acting out.

The withdrawal of DYS from Christy's life is the major event of Phase IV. The manner and timing of her discharge from DYS violates the formal mandate of that social system. Ramifications of this major violation of procedure do not appear until after Phase IV.

Phase V: July 1 to July 22, 1976



Key to Diagram of Social Ecology:

Social Systems:

1. Fernwood street community

F = Frank
R = Reggie
W = Wanda
T = Turk
Sgt. K. = Sergeant Kennedy

2. Informal professionals

R. Mc = Renee McAndrews
K.M. = Katie Miller

3. DYS Region X

B.R. = Bonnie Russell, caseworker
L.G. = Lisa Gerhart (former caseworker for Christy)
J.B. = Jack Bilecki (director of Region X)

Symbols:



boundary of social system with which Christy is having active contact



boundary of social system with which Christy is having minimal contact



interaction



conflictual interaction

Phase V: July 1 to July 22, 1976Chronology

July 1, 1976

Lucky's breaking and entering

--intensification of contact
with Renee McAndrews and
Katie Miller

Inquiries to DYS

--Christy on streets of
Fernwood and a large
neighboring city

--conflict within Fernwood
street community: Police
versus Turk

--Christy bound between
factions of Fernwood
street community

July 22, 1976

Lucky's breaking and entering. On the evening of July 5, 1976, Christy, with an urge for beer, arrives at Lucky's Market, just around the corner from Reggie's house. Although the sign on the door says "OPEN," the store has closed for Independence Day. By her account, Christy takes great offense at the contradiction between the sign and the locked door. Righteous indignation, in conjunction with mighty thirst, moves her to bust through the window and grab a six of Labatt's. Peter Munson, proprietor, takes offense in turn, at the sound of broken glass and the sight of Christy beating it quick down Main Street. He gives chase and apprehends her. Whereupon Christy whips out a bottle of Labatt's, with which she persuades him to release her. Peter calls the police; they greet her at the crest of Main Street, and Christy is charged with 1) breaking and entering; 2) assault with a deadly weapon; and 3) disturbing the peace. She is released on \$500.00 bail, put up by George Prentice, a philatelist from Rye, New York.

This incident contains the seeds for several important subsequent developments:

1. Christy meets Peter Munson. The breaking and entering marks his entrance into the Fernwood street community.
2. Christy adds three counts to charges awaiting decision in Washington County District Court.
(Recall that the disposition for the Subcity

breaking and entering was continued).

3. Christy is out on bail. Additional charges filed while on bail status would be taken as violation of conditions of bail. Such violations would call for the placement of Christy in detention awaiting trial. In short, it's bail or jail for Christy; she must stay cool through her court hearing.
4. Bail violation would call for forfeit of the \$500.00 put up by George Prentice. Failure to appear in court for hearing, or default, would obtain in forfeit of bail as well.

Two features of this incident deserve further elaboration:

1) Christy's motivation and 2) Christy's relationship with George Prentice, the stamp collector from Rye, New York. In the absence of information regarding the antecedents of Christy's trip to Lucky's we are without reference to a context with which to understand the meaning and/or function of this breaking and entering. Out of context, her behavior ipso facto raises questions about her frustration tolerance and sensibility at the very least. Out of context, then, her behavior stimulates speculations about Christy's character. In the absence of information about the particular context surrounding the Lucky's breaking and entering, we invoke and employ an individual-centered model of analysis with which to understand this

event. Yet perhaps we can reconstruct or hypothesize context dynamics for this event. Perhaps this event may be treated as parallel to the Subcity breaking and entering reviewed above. Perhaps, speculations about context dynamics extrapolated from the Subcity breaking and entering may be employed to illuminate the meaning and/or function of the Lucky's breaking and entering.

The significance of the Subcity breaking and entering has been summarized as follows:

1. the event triggered increased contact between Christy and persons delegated formal roles and responsibilities pertaining to Christy's legal status.
2. Christy returns to active role status as juvenile offender in the Fernwood community.
3. breaking and entering is representative of Christy's use of a problem-solving mode congruent with her DYS history, her skills and her options at the time.

Recall that on July 5th, Christy no longer has formal affiliation with DYS, and, given processes of realignment within the Fernwood street community, her affiliation with that system is in transition. We find that indeed, to the extent that membership is at issue, Christy's system situation on July 5th parallels and is commensurate with her situation at the time of the Subcity breaking and entering.

Extrapolating then, the significance of the Lucky's breaking and entering can be estimated as follows:

1. the event triggers increased contact between Christy and persons delegated formal roles and responsibilities pertaining to Christy's legal status. In the case, these persons are the Fernwood police, Sergeant Kennedy in particular, and court personnel whose involvement will commence with the disposition of charges from the Lucky's incident.
2. Christy returns to active role status as juvenile offender in the Fernwood community. Lucky's breaking and entering obtains in the first legal status change for Christy since the Subcity breaking and entering. Whereas the latter was most visible to Christy's foster parent, Youth Project and DYS networks, with the dissolution of these contexts, the Lucky's incident is most visible to her contemporary context: the Fernwood street community. In the context of her burgeoning and sole identification with the Alpha Nu crew (drug dealing and petty crime), the time and climate may be auspicious for a reassertion,

a current statement by Christy to her peers, that she is indeed like them. She too must participate in her most relevant system, in the manner and vernacular of the members of that system. It will become clear further below, that some pressure is coming to bear on Christy to renew her allegiance to the Fernwood street community.

3. breaking and entering is representative of Christy's use of a problem-solving mode congruent with her DYS history, her skills and options at the time. The Lucky's breaking and entering escalated into a three-count incident. The assault with a deadly weapon and disturbing the peace charges were incurred during the aftermath of the breaking and entering. Chased and cornered, Christy Ronstadt will strike out and put up a fuss. Notice here that a bottle of Labatt's doesn't quite match up to the submachine gun that the language of the charge ("deadly weapon") might lead one to imagine. Similarly, the context of her yelling and screaming increased the probability of the disturbing the peace charge, even though

she was surely less "disturbing to the peace"

than Hillside on a Saturday night, for example.

Essentially, though the immediate context surrounding the Lucky's breaking and entering is fertile to, or hospitable to individual-centered constructions of the incident, an expansion of context to permit reference to network precedents and prototypes of such incidents, provides grounds for network speculations for our understanding of the Lucky's breaking and entering.

I promised to elaborate on the appearance of George Prentice, the philatelist from Rye, New York, who put up the \$500.00 bail. That's "philatelist," stamp collector, not philanthropist. Why did this man invest \$500.00 in Christy Ronstadt? An imaginative, if not altogether verifiable reconstruction follows. George's son Dennis is an occasional and peripheral member of the Fernwood street community. Dennis is very clean, in appearance, reputation and manner, compared to other members of the system. (He seized my hand when we were introduced, and almost smothered me with amenities). Dennis' dad is rich. Dennis is dealing dope in Fernwood. Christy knows Dennis and, presumably, about his activities. Perhaps Christy has something on Dennis. Perhaps her silence and good favor are worth \$500.00 to Dennis. Perhaps dad, accustomed to substantial financial supplements, is asked to send up \$500.00 to his kid up in college. Or, perhaps dad is more than exchequer for Dennis's exploits. Perhaps Christy's silence is more immediately protective of George Prentice.

In any case, George's five bills bought more than silence from Christy. He got himself a full-fledged devotee. Christy developed quite a relationship with the information operator in Rye, New York, in the course of frequent attempts to talk to George, get his advice, reassure him about his investment, etc. She frequently pulled herself back from participation in activities likely to obtain in bail violation, and hence forfeit of George's money. Her restraint was expressed as "I can't do this because then George will get stuck for \$500.00. And he's a nice guy. He helped me even though he doesn't know me."

Two mysteries remain about Christy's relationship with George Prentice. On one level, we might wonder about her attachment and commitment to a largely fictitious male figure. And at another level, we may still wonder about George's investment in the Fernwood street network.

Intensification of contact with Renee McAndrews and Katie Miller.

Christy is now in daily contact with both Renee and Katie. The Lucky's breaking and entering prompts the involvement of Renee and Katie in the legal backwash of the incident. They absorb functions previously performed by DYS personnel, such as information gathering about the charges, transportation and guidance with respect to court appearances, and counsel to Christy regarding her bail status. These tasks add to and interlace with previous

support provided in the form of basic food, shelter and adult contact. Their support of Christy is becoming far more directive, active, and time-consuming than previous support which was on the order of laissez-faire availability. Renee and Katie are now participants more than observers. They are assuming more responsibility for Christy, and are beginning to carry this responsibility beyond the boundaries of discrete interactions with Christy.

Most notable among these extensions of responsibility and action, is the initiation of DYS inquiries by Katie Miller. Katie contacts and informs DYS Region X, in the persons of Bonnie Russell, Lisa Gerhart and Jack Bilecki, about the Lucky's breaking and entering. Katie alerts them to her concerns about Christy's living situation, and suggests to Region X that Christy's situation could fuel a persuasive test case regarding the DYS mandate to ensure aftercare services. Katie essentially informs DYS Region X that their actions in relation to Christy Ronstadt are known and under scrutiny by persons acquainted with, yet outside of, DYS.

Christy on the streets of Fernwood and a neighboring city. The seventeen days following the Lucky's breaking and entering and prior to the onset of Phase V (July 23rd), consolidate into a pattern of behavior by Christy that can be viewed as a sample of "business as usual" for a member of the Fernwood street community. Christy emerges from Alpha Nu about noon each day, after

lengthy and elaborate hygiene ritual. This ritual includes a thirty minute shower and shampoo (Fabergé Organic Milk and Honey), a blow dry and pick of her natural Afro-esque curls, and the meticulous assemblage of a color coordinate T-shirt-gym shorts-gym socks ensemble. Christy's absorption with her appearance stands out as preeminent among her personal habits observed through the summer of 1976. In the context of virtual destitution (no money, no job, no school, barely a home in Alpha Nu), her absorption is reminiscent of behavior patterns cited by Goffman in his studies of residents in total institutions. Christy trenches into hygiene to find, and to communicate, her person. We find hygiene as signature, in the absence of alternative expressive media. We find appearance as barometer, as well, for if Christy doesn't look good, the chances were high that she's feeling real low.

The day would proceed with mandatory search and find of Wanda, the rookies and Sergeant Kennedy. Sometimes bike rides would follow, or else "business" trips to cities in the area. Early evening would find Christy dropping in on Renee or Katie, right around supper. Nightfall would find Christy stationed at Jake's, on the steps of the Unitarian Church, Alpha Nu, Reggie's house or at the cemetery. Summaries of daily activities would be in the form of "I had to go _____ to check out _____ and to see _____." As the third week of July approached, Christy began to mention daily contacts with Peter Munson, the proprietor of Lucky's Market, and the complainant

on the three counts that followed from Christy's activities on July 5th. She alluded to the possibility of his dropping the charges against her, and further, to the possibility of working for him, and yet further, to the possibility of living with him. These "possibilities" were reported to Renee and Katie in the form of, "I saw Peter today. He said he's thinking about dropping the charges. He says he wants to help me. He says that good hard work would straighten me out. He says maybe I can run a leather shop with him, or an antique store he wants to buy. Hey, have you seen the Buddha necklace he wears? Real gold and jade. He's super rich; he has three houses!"

Katie and Renee were quite puzzled by Christy's Peter-litany. Excerpts from a journal entry by Katie Miller provide a context in which to locate Christy's reports of Peter's "promises"; (Katie is recalling outstanding phrases from her conversation with Peter this day).

- I go home, sick at heart, to an eight room house.
- I need something--thought of getting a dog or something.
- She could live in my house, I'd put up the money.
- I want to help her.
- I know with a few choice words, I could get her off.
- I wanted to help her but then I realized how much time it took and that I couldn't trust her.
- I told her she's a crook (looked her right in the eye).

--My stereo and jewelry are not safe. I have \$10,000 worth of leather goods she and her friends might steal.

--I don't trust her. I drove around the country to get her lost before showing her my house.

--I asked her to tell me three wishes, but she couldn't even come up with one!

--I think she should be taught a lesson--get a taste of it. It wouldn't hurt.

This sequence of statements does not represent a train of thought whose conclusion yields a firm, decisive, consistent change of mind with respect to Peter's attitudes about Christy. On Katie's report, and from corroborative observations by Renee, Peter communicates incredible ambivalence about Christy, and persists with the expression of transparently mixed messages to her. Christy's report to Katie and Renee, and by extension, her beliefs about Peter and her confidence in him, are based on her selective perception of the positive side of this ambivalence. Or perhaps it is not merely a matter of selective perception by Christy. Perhaps Peter selectively edits his messages to Christy, such that she is told only the promises. We will return to Peter's participation in, and impact on Christy's life.

Finally, Christy is seen in a neighboring large city with Tracy Stack during these seventeen days in July. Tracy Stack appears at the end of this report as Christy's companion in Framingham's Women's Prison. For the present, suffice it to say that the renewal of acquaintance between Tracy and Christy revives a "partnership

in crime" dating before Christy's entrance into the Youth Project. They are accused, though never convicted, of a string of breaking and enterings at an apartment complex during the spring of 1975. Cookie Tyler found the combination of Ronstadt-Stack so potentiating of trouble, that she expressly prohibited contact between them during Christy's placement with the Youth Project. Christy is now free on the streets; no one has the authority to issue nor enforce a ban on contact between Christy and Tracy. So, by mid-July, the folie á deux resumes.

Conflict with the Fernwood street community: police versus Turk.

A homicide occurred at the Dump in spring 1976. Charges have not been levied as of mid-July, 1976. Turk is suspected of some involvement in this incident by Fernwood police. The simmering investigation of this incident, and of drug trafficking associated with it, intensified to a boil by mid-July. Christy has information about the murder. Later she names names to Renee McAndrews, and describes circumstances eventuating in the murder, with far more precision, coherence and plausibility than could have otherwise been confabulated. For now, however, social system implications of the investigations are examined.

The Alpha Nu crew, now operates around, and in protection of, a secret. Police scrutiny of Turk brings heat down on all system members. A polarization of the Fernwood street community accompanies,

and follows from heightened police scrutiny. Whereas previously "street community" included two factions coexisting in sub-cultural compatibility and harmony (discussed above), now the police and the Alpha Nu crew are set apart as adversaries. The police (detectives right down to rookies on the beat) now activate formal roles in the course of a formal investigation, in relation to the Alpha Nu folks. The factions are polarized and set in opposition.

Christy bound between factions of the Fernwood street community.

As the momentum of the police investigation mounts, Christy finds herself in a most untenable position, relative to the police and to the Alpha Nu crew. Recall first, that these people constitute her primary social world. She depends upon the Alpha Nu crew for fundamentals: shelter, money (by way of drug dealing) and interpersonal relationships. Her present status as on bail for the Lucky's breaking and entering charges leaves her vulnerable to, and thusly dependent upon, the tone of her relationship with Fernwood police. One charge from one infraction, no matter how minor, will be construed as violation of bail. And, as mentioned above, it's bail or jail for Christy Ronstadt at this point. In short, Christy finds herself dependent upon a network currently moving toward schism. She is straddling the factions.

As July 23rd approaches, we find Christy in an increasingly perilous position between the factions of the Fernwood street

community. The police press her to turn informant. "What are they doing" on one side of the street from the police, to "what are you doing with them and what do they know" on the other side of the street from Turk, Reggie, Wanda, et. al. Phase V closes with this exacerbating pressure on Christy.

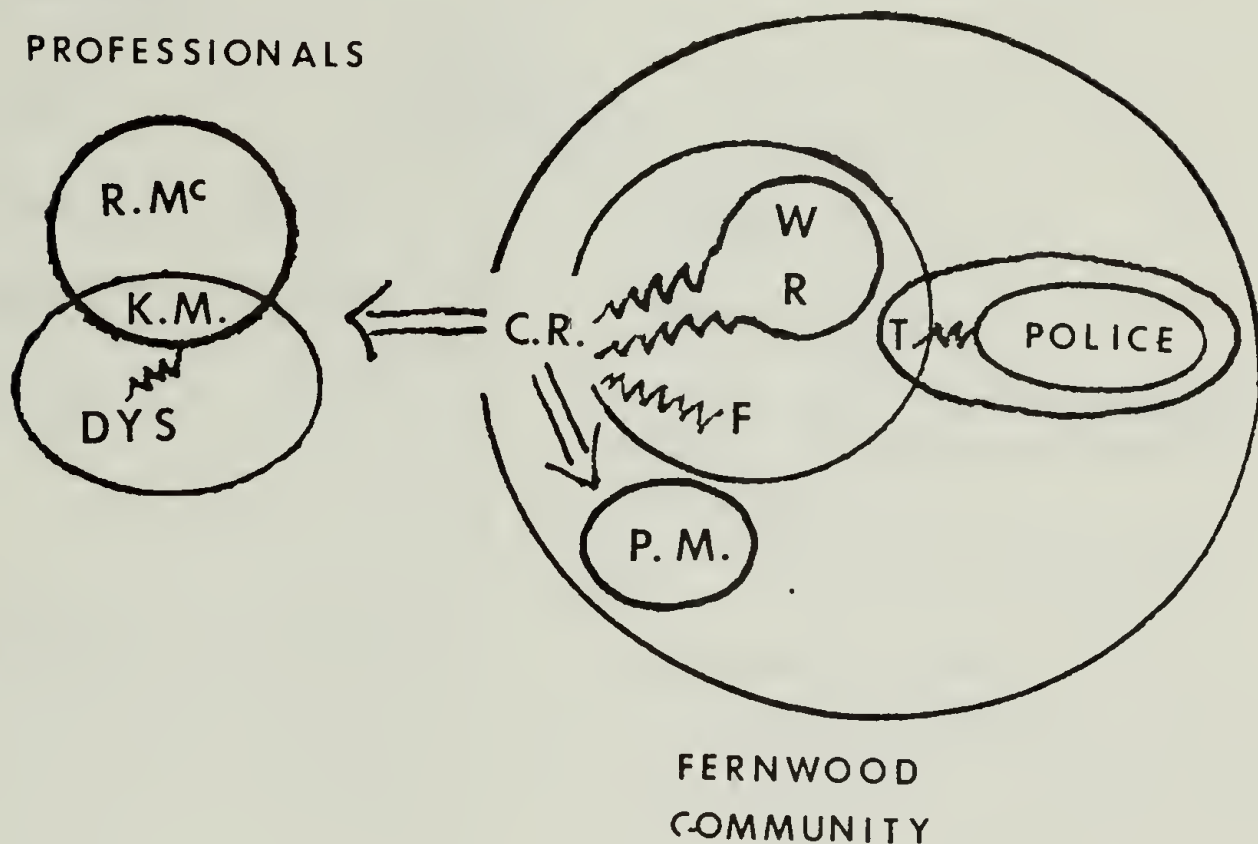
Summary of Phase V July 1 to July 22. Christy's social ecology is once again moving toward a lower level of organization. With the onset of the Dump homicide investigation, the Alpha Nu crew and the police become polarized factions of the Fernwood street community. The boundary around the Alpha Nu crew becomes rigid in relation to the police, and Christy is pressed to declare her loyalty to that social system. At the same time, her bail status from the Lucky's breaking and entering requires her to maintain cordial relationships with the police. Christy must walk a delicate line between two social systems upon which she is highly dependent. She has the impossible task of integrating two social systems that are opposed to each other.

Concurrently, she increases contact with the informal professionals. Renee and Katie are accumulating responsibilities for Christy, without clear roles and without commensurate resources. The informal professionals try to enlist the assistance of DYS, the formal social system mandated and most equipped to help Christy. The informal professionals cannot establish communication with DYS.

Christy's breaking and entering at Lucky's may endear her to the Alpha Nu crew, but paradoxically, her subsequent bail status draws her closer to the police. The breaking and entering introduces Peter Munson into the Fernwood street community, both as complainant against Christy, and later, as her foster parent. Christy's relationships with members of her social ecology become increasingly labile and confused. She spends most of her time monitoring her standing in the web of social systems with which she is associated.

Phase VI July 23 to August 6 (16 days)

INFORMAL
PROFESSIONALS



Key to Diagram of Social Ecology:

Social systems:

1. Fernwood street community

- W = Wanda
- R = Reggie
- T = Turk
- F = Frank
- P.M. = Peter Munson
- Police

2. Informal Professionals

- R. Mc = Renee McAndrews
- K.M. = Katie Miller

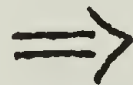
3. DYS Region X:

Bonnie Russell, Lisa Gerhart, Jack Bilecki, central office

Symbols:



boundary of social system with which Christy is having active contact



intensive interaction



conflictual interaction

Phase VI July 23 to August 6 (16 days)

Chronology

		<u>July 23</u>	
Friday		C.R. →	R.Mc. telephone call
Sunday	July 25		--graveyard chase
Monday	July 26		--homicide attempt
Tuesday	July 27		--C.R. to court for arraignment for Lucky's breaking and entering --B.R. at hearing --C.R. finds note at Alpha Nu
Wednesday	July 28		--B.R. and K.M. meet --K.M. and R.Mc. ask for police protection --C.R. finds knife in wall at Alpha Nu --K.M. and R.Mc. search for C.R. --C.R. in protective custody, police station
Thursday	July 29		--K.M. and L.G. talk
Friday	July 30		--C.R. unconscious at Alpha Nu --C.R. to court --C.R. to Belchertown --R.Mc. car accident
Sunday	August 2		--C.R. versus Frank --money gone at K.M.'s house
Monday	August 3		--K.M., R.Mc., P.M., C.R. plan --C.R. versus Wanda
Wednesday	August 5		--breaking and entering at R.Mc.'s house
Thursday	August 6		--C.R. to UHS
		<u>August 6</u>	

Friday, July 23rd. Renee has left town for the weekend. Her roommate, Patti, records a message from Christy to the effect that Christy is in trouble with the Danport police. She needs help. Katie Miller hears about this and begins to search for Christy. In the course of her search, she encounters members of the Alpha Nu crew. They respond to her inquiries with stolid silence. Katie understands their message: "We won't help you."

Christy has resumed contact with Tracy Stack in a neighboring large city. The message to Renee, "In trouble with Danport police," suggests that the connection between Tracy and Christy obtained in difficulties predicted by Cookie Tyler above. The telephone call to Renee follows from and is indicative of Christy's perception of Renee as "helper," "ally." The interaction between Katie and the Alpha Nu crew suggests that the boundary surrounding the Fernwood street people has tightened and is now impermeable to outsiders. The calcification of the street network boundary is perhaps catalyzed by, and congruent with, the reactions predicted by the intensification of police heat on Turk. Trenching in, and paranoia now set the tone for interaction between the Alpha Nu crew and boundary social systems. Katie's inquiries about Christy alert the Alpha Nu crew to the presence of, and possible scrutiny of, yet another person having some unspecified authority in relation to Christy Ronstadt, and perhaps, over them.

Sunday, July 25th. Early Sunday evening, a brick is hurled through the window of Subcity. Clarissa, a rookie on duty, confronts Christy on the street about this. An altercation ensues between them: Clarissa accuses Christy, Christy denies the allegation; Christy pushes Clarissa and runs. Clarissa calls for assistance in chasing down Christy. Meanwhile, Katie has found out about this, and joins the search for Christy. Renee returns home from her weekend away, greeted with two messages from her roommate: 1) Christy just dropped by and ran out; 2) Katie just dropped by and ran out. Renee heads for the cemetery behind her house, looking for either of them. Shouts, footsteps, police walkie-talkies, flashlights, etc. raise the dead out there. After about an hour, Renee returns home to find both Katie and Christy in the kitchen. The police have apparently stopped the chase, or Christy has successfully ducked them by going to Renee's house. After the story is recounted, Christy heads for Alpha Nu and Katie heads home.

The culprit for the Subcity scene is undetermined to this day. Clarissa's confrontation of Christy stands as a statement about police readiness to suspect Christy. Christy's reaction stands as a statement in turn, about her vulnerability to such suspicion, and about the volatility of her behavior under such circumstances. Recall that Christy is out on bail this evening. Any infraction will be construed as violation of bail, and Christy will be off to jail awaiting trial. Christy quite reasonably then, finds Clarissa's

accusation threatening beyond the measure of threat commensurate with the relatively low-scale charge for vandalism at the Subcity.

We find that under circumstances of confrontation, Christy's first impulse is to deny. Moreover, she will fight in the course of her insistence of innocence. Paradoxically, the manner of her defense for the original and precipitating conflict with Clarissa escalates into, and obtains in a more jeopardizing physical conflict. The sequence of events described in the course of the Lucky's incident corresponds to the pattern displayed here, and repeatedly below. Christy's mode of resolution for conflict at one level may or may not successfully accomplish resolution at that level. But invariably, her mode of conflict resolution precipitates yet another, and yet a more serious derivative conflict at another level.

Clarissa's call to the troops, and the subsequent chase in the cemetery are of overkill proportions, considering the magnitude of the initial issue: a broken window for which Christy may or may not have been responsible. The police are reacting here to the derivative or secondary effects of Clarissa's interaction with Christy. Their response serves to sustain engagement of all parties at the level of the escalated derivative conflict. Their response does nothing to resolve the issue at hand--the broken window. We find that with Clarissa's call for assistance, Christy is now opposing the entire Fernwood police night force. We find, then, an

escalation of conflict content (from window to shoving match), an expansion of boundary surrounding the original conflict (from Clarissa to the entire force), and an intensification in the mode of conflict (from a verbal argument to a full-scale search).

The participation of Renee and Katie amidst this event is consonant with, and contributory to, their emerging roles in relation to Christy. They each go out to find Christy. Each having received information to the effect that Christy is in trouble, they each independently decide it appropriate and incumbent upon them to search for Christy. We find emerging between Renee and Katie, a mutually reinforcing consensus about appropriate functions to perform. Moreover, Renee's house has acquired a designation as sanctuary, asylum by this point. Renee's roommate is now involved as gatekeeper and dispatcher in relation to those of Christy's activities for which Renee's house is setting or depot.

Monday, July 26th. Renee comes home about 10:00 PM Monday night. She looks beyond the unusually pale face of her roommate to find Christy laid out on the living room floor. Christy is bruised, scraped and has rope burns around her neck. "He tried to kill me, Renee. I was cutting through the graveyard and then felt this rope thrown around my neck from behind. It got tighter and tighter. I was rolling around on the ground, and just when I thought I was going to die, it loosened and he ran away. I know it was Reggie.

And he's gonna keep trying to off me."

Christy is flipping rapid action in and out of the two modes: panic and stupor. She starts pacing around Renee's living room and kitchen while telling the story, darting in and out of the bathroom to look at her neck. She gets increasingly agitated as she talks. Renee tries to calm her down, checks her neck, washes the scrapes. As Christy settles down, cycles of agitated ruminations set off by blank space-cadet, glazed stares appear. Renee tries to contact a nurse friend, and when this fails, calls Katie to see if she knows someone who can tend to Christy. When Katie's contact doesn't come through, Renee decides to take Christy to the University Health Services emergency room.

At first, Christy refuses to go. She starts in with all the people she has to see, how she has to find Reggie, how she has to figure out what's going on. She jumps up and says she has to go out to settle this stuff. Renee blocks the door and offers a bargain. Renee will take Christy to Alpha Nu to get her things, take Christy to UHS, and then Christy will sleep at Renee's house for the night. Christy agrees.

Once in the car, Christy persuades Renee to go to Reggie's house on Gray Street, ostensibly to find Wanda. "I gotta talk to Wanda, have to see her. If you don't take me, I'm gonna run." Christy is very agitated, so Renee complies. They both enter the house on Gray Street. It's after midnight, but the house is full of people,

children, noise and activity. Christy finds Wanda. They enter a bedroom and close the door. Renee is waiting outside of the door. Various people, including Turk and Reggie, ask her who she is. Renee replies, "A friend of Christy's." Renee is obviously out of place here--in appearance, age, etc. People are checking her out and seem very wary. Renee is worried about what's happening with Christy. Christy and Wanda come out of the bedroom. Reggie pushes up to Christy, saying, "Hey, I want to talk to you." Christy steps back from him, then agrees. Renee gets worried about the two of them behind closed doors. She tells Christy, "Five minutes and then we're leaving." Christy agrees. After five minutes, Renee knocks on the door and enters. Christy is standing in a narrow aisle beside the bed. Reggie is standing in front of her, about twelve inches away. Tension is in the room. Renee cuts through it, saying, "OK Christy, let's go." Christy says, "Yeah, OK, be right out."

Finally, Renee and Christy leave the house. Christy tells Renee that Reggie denies having tried to kill her. Further, he says he will kill her if he hears that she tells the police he did it. Christy says, "I knew he did it. And now he's really going to get me." Renee says, "Let's worry about that tomorrow. For now, we've got to get that neck looked at." On the way to UHS, Christy insists that we stop at Alpha Nu to pick up some overnight supplies. Renee accompanies Christy upstairs to her room. (Mattress on the

floor, David Bowie posters, clothes strewn about). Once in the room, Christy resumes the agitated mode present earlier at Renee's house. She gathers up clothes, tossing them down again. She gets progressively upset during the course of a rap about Reggie, her situation. She dramatizes the homicide attempt, recreating and calling forward her feeling of panic, strangulation and danger. Renee keeps trying to get Christy to be concrete, to proceed with gathering her things, and to get over to the Health Services. Renee presses Christy to get going. A tension builds up between them. Finally, Christy bolts for the window. Renee pulls her away (the window is two stories off the ground). Renee holds Christy, tells her to settle down. Christy struggles against Renee, and strikes out her arm through the window. Glass flies all over her bed. Renee is now holding Christy down on the bed saying, "I'm going to hold you until you settle down. I'm going to hold you until I see that you are calming down. I don't want you to hurt yourself. You've had a very heavy night. I know you're upset, but you don't have to hurt yourself more. We're just going to sit here until you relax some." After a few minutes, Christy's breathing becomes regular; she's not crying, sweating or struggling anymore. Renee eases her hold on Christy. They are quiet for a while. Then Renee says, "OK, Christy, let's go now." They head for the door, whereupon Christy dashes down the stairs, running full tilt boogie uptown. Renee goes home, finding Katie there. Renee and Katie hit the

street to find Christy. They walk up to the police station and find Christy inside. The nigh-shift dispatcher is talking to Christy. Christy is calm. She explains to Renee and Katie that she just had to talk to Sergeant Kennedy about the homicide attempt. Katie, Renee and the dispatcher assure her that Sergeant Kennedy will be there in the morning. Christy then agrees to go to the Health Services.

On the way out of the police station, we run into Reggie. He is angry and looks real scared. He tells Christy that she better not accuse him of the graveyard incident. He tells Renee and Katie that Christy hurt her own neck--that she set the whole thing up so as to set him up. Just as Christy and Reggie begin to argue, and as a few shoves are exchanged, Renee and Katie interceded, herding Christy toward the car.

Finally they get to University Health Services. The admitting nurse is very calm and cooperative. She takes Christy to a treatment room. Before long, Christy is telling her the whole story. The nurse dresses Christy's neck, the abrasions, and the cuts that came from the broken glass at Alpha Nu. Katie takes care of the paper work by signing Christy in as a DYS youth, and with vague references to the Youth Project. UHS still has a file for Christy from her stay with the Youth Project, so the red tape moves smoothly. Fast approaching 2:00 AM, Katie, Christy and Renee go to Renee's house. Renee urges Christy to spend the night. Christy refuses--she

wants to sleep at Alpha Nu. Katie agrees to take Christy back there, clean up the room, and to check with Christy early the next morning. The evening ends.

The homicide attempt on Christy makes a qualitative shift in the magnitude and seriousness of events in Christy's life. Her activities and associations now obtain in circumstances which put her life in very real, immediate and palpable danger. Her accusation of Reggie as assailant marks Christy's jeopardy in and estrangement from the Fernwood street people.

Christy runs to Renee's house after the homicide attempt. Again we see Renee's house used as sanctuary, and Renee in the role of "helper." Renee begins the evening as a fundamental helper-- offering shelter, concern, attending Christy's physical wounds. As the night proceeds, Renee calls upon her skills as a psychologist to deal with Christy's crisis behavior. Renee acts on certain ex officio prerogatives in the course of exercising some power and authority over Christy. Up until this evening, emphasis might have been given to the word "informal" with respect to Renee's membership in the informal professional network. Hereafter, she behaves more in accordance with her professional skills and background in relating to Christy. We may suppose that Christy perceives this change in Renee's role, perhaps as a shift from informal friend toward a more formal adult or authority figure.

Christy insists upon going to Reggie's house and to Alpha Nu.

Her need to move closer to the person who tried to kill her, and to the people who are expelling her from their social system, is a bit reminiscent of Faulkner's descriptions of horses who move deeper into the burning barn, rather than running for the door. The homicide attempt portends the dissolution of Christy's membership in the Fernwood street community. This evening we see her hurl herself back into the thick of the Alpha Nu crew. She must see Wanda, she must find out what's going on, she must have vengeance or vindication in relation to the street people. Christy and Reggie may very well have had a physical battle at his house, had Renee not interceded. By going to Reggie's house, Christy may have occasioned the resolution of the homicide attempt conflict, yet again as seen above, the mode of conflict resolution she elects (confrontation of Reggie, at his home, the night of the incident), could have precipitated an escalation of their conflict (e.g., a fight, another homicide attempt, etc.). Instances of membership crisis have been reviewed above with respect to Christy's affiliation with foster parent, Youth Project and DYS social systems. If we assume that the homicide attempt does portend the dissolution of Christy's street network, her behavior in relation to Reggie this evening is in keeping with last-ditch, parting-shot, face-saving final gestures she exhibited previously (e.g., stealing from Mike Tyler, blow-up at Hillside). Her behavior departs from these precedents, however, in one crucial difference. Whereas

previously she could leave with a flourish, having established and secured the next context, here, in relation to Fernwood street community, she has no alternative, no backup context ensured. We find here, that without options, she tenaciously clings to her most primary and immediate context, even when this context is falling apart, even when this context endangers her life.

Beyond needing to "take care of business," Christy may have demanded to go to Reggie's house and later to Alpha Nu, as a response to Renee's acquisition of power over Christy. No sooner than Renee makes a decision about Christy (taking her to the University Health Services) does Christy begin to bargain around this decision. Christy may be exhibiting a reluctance to entrust herself to Renee, and/or a resistance to a perceived encroachment of her independence by Renee. Christy may be testing Renee's capacity to impose and enforce limits. In fact, Christy may very well have tuned into Renee's ambivalence/uncertainty about assuming responsibility for, and authority over, Christy. Renee's move into an authority role is strictly ad hoc, a response to a crisis situation. Renee is without affiliation to a context that would support and sanction her authority over Christy. In short, Renee is out on the limb now in relation to Christy, and Christy may be testing the strength and/or flexibility of that limb. Note that Renee acquiesces to Christy's demands to go to Reggie's and to Zeta Nu. For this round anyway, the limits are set, enforcement falters, and Christy gets

her way.

Christy's agitation in her room at Alpha Nu is quite appropriate for someone whose life has just been threatened. The visit to Reggie's house exacerbates, does not diffuse, Christy's anxieties about her safety and about her membership in the Fernwood street community. Gathering her things for an overnight at Renee's may have evoked Christy's feelings of flight, and added to her sense of dislocation as she prepares to leave her only personal space, her room, her fortress. Christy reacts against Renee. If fear, panic, flight dominate her feeling, she attributes these to, and directs these against Renee, the only available, visible and tangible target. Renee responds to Christy with physical restraint, obtaining in another statement of authority and power over Christy. Christy's dash uptown away from Renee expresses both her feelings of flight, and her resistance to Renee's control. In running to the police station, Christy shows that she perceives the police, and Sergeant Kennedy in particular, to be her protectors. Perhaps she feels so vulnerable that only the police (in number, visible and attributed power, etc.) can offer her protection commensurate with her sense of danger. Recall also, that Christy's relationship history with the police dates back to her days as counter help at Subcity. She has a reservoir of trust and familiarity with the police that is greater than with any members of any of her other social systems at this time. Christy's visit to the police station

does calm her more than her visits to Renee, Reggie's or Alpha Nu did. Note however, that just 24 hours before, the police and Christy were adversaries. We see clearly here, that relationships between and among members of the Fernwood street community are labile and at times paradoxical.

Reggie is waiting for Christy outside of the police station. His presence there is consistent with his fears that Christy is an informant to the police, and more specifically, that she will accuse him of attempted homicide. Reggie is covering his ass as he does--with yet more threats against Christy. He sees Christy surrounded by her allies--the police, Renee and Katie. Although the power of Renee and Katie is ambiguous, he knows quite well what the police can do to him. The interaction between Reggie and Christy outside of the police station again escalates rather than reduces the tension between them.

The University Health Services enters the series of events as a very valuable back-up resource for Renee and Katie in their dealings with Christy. The authorization for Christy's admission at the facility is totally bogus. Katie and Renee mumble about the Youth Project and DYS, which, had Christy been under either's jurisdiction, would have made her eligible for medical services at UHS. The nursing staff at UHS accept Renee and Katie as legitimate professionals and in the context of a night emergency intake, suspend

efforts to confirm Christy's eligibility.

Tuesday, July 27th. Katie takes Christy to court for her arraignment on the three charges from the Lucky's incident. Christy pleads not guilty, which follows in a postponement of the trial and which ensures her legal counsel. She is promised Attorney Paul Mitchell, who handled the Subcity charges in May. Christy sees Sergeant Kennedy at the court house. He takes her into the District Attorney's office for a deposition on the homicide attempt. Photographs are taken of her neck and abrasions. Renee arrives at the court. Kennedy tells Renee that he believes Christy's story, and that the police have been after Reggie for a long time. He promises a full investigation of the homicide attempt.

Most unexpectedly, Bonnie Russell, DYS Region X caseworker, comes to Christy's arraignment. Renee and Katie corner Bonnie, relate the events of the past few days, and press for DYS responsibility. Bonnie intimates that Christy may indeed still be a DYS youth, that she may not have been officially terminated.

Christy stays close to Katie the remainder of the day. When Christy gets back to Alpha Nu, she finds a note from Frank under her door. The note reads:

What the hell is wrong with you anyway?
Of course I have to suspect you, especially
since Wanda now claims you did it. I didn't
even accuse you this afternoon. I merely
reiterated that I wanted my wallet back; I

already told Reggie exactly what I told you today. If my wallet is returned (car registration, permit, scuba certification, life-saving card, IDs, etc.), I'll forget the whole thing. Otherwise, there are going to be some heads cracking. At this point I'd like to believe Wanda has turned against you for one or two reasons: 1) Reggie is threatening her or 2) revenge against Turk's ordeal. If you are innocent, which I sincerely hope you are, then you must remain civilized and we'll put our minds together.

Do you know my last name? I've got some powerful uncles. You don't realize the power I have behind me. I could have you all just wiped off the face of the map.

Christy later reports trouble sleeping Tuesday night. She hears prowlers. Somehow she obtains a large kitchen knife which she keeps under her pillow the rest of the night.

Following a very heavy night, the light of day finds Christy amidst adults in a formal setting, where her interests are being protected. First, she is fortunate to have been assigned Paul Mitchell as her public defender. As mentioned above, Paul Mitchell has a fine reputation, and following from the disposition of the Subcity charges in May, he knows Christy and has earned her respect. Secondly, Sergeant Kennedy demonstrates his concern about Christy. He believes her and shows her that he will act on her behalf regarding the homicide attempt. Thirdly, Bonnie Russell has resurfaced. Her appearance at Christy's arraignment suggests that Katie's pressure on DYS is beginning to pay off. Bonnie's admission that Christy may not have been formally terminated, opens up the

possibility that Christy could have options beyond the Fernwood street scene. Particularly on the heels of the homicide attempt, Bonnie's presence reassures and gives hope to Renee, Katie, and Christy.

The day's optimism finds a grim counterpoint at Alpha Nu. Frank's note reveals that Christy is in even more trouble with the street people. Apparently, she is suspected to have ripped off Frank's wallet. Recall that Frank is her landlord at Alpha Nu. Trouble with him jeopardizes her meager existence there. Further, Frank's note alludes to an even greater power he may have over her. Following some street investigations in a neighboring large city by Katie, it is determined that the "powerful uncles" to which Frank refers and his last name are directly connected to kingpins of the city's Mafia. Frank's position in the Fernwood street community becomes clearer in the context of this information. Speculations about Frank's function in Fernwood drug trade operations are now warranted. And we may suppose that his wallet recovery motivations include more than concern about his scuba and lifesaving certifications. And, finally, we might note the intensity and form of Frank's indignation as injured party: "I could have you all just wiped off the face of the map."

Wednesday, July 28th. Christy splits her morning half time with Katie, half with Sergeant Kennedy at the police station taking more

photographs of her neck. Katie meets Bonnie Russell early in the afternoon, Bonnie tells Katie that she has heard street-level rumors about Christy's life being in danger, particularly after Christy is seen talking with Kennedy at her Tuesday arraignment. Bonnie reports having seen Reggie, Turk, Frank, and Wanda at Washington County District Court on Tuesday. Bonnie and Katie share concerns that the Fernwood police will use Christy's situation to milk her informant potential, and that the police will protract their investigation of Reggie around the homicide attempt until enough information comes out to round up the entire Alpha Nu crew. Bonnie again agrees to find out where Christy stands in relation to DYS.

The lawn of Fernwood Funeral Home in the middle of Fernwood is brimming with blue on Wednesday evening. A former Fernwood police chief died and his wake is proceeding in legendary Irish form. Renee and Katie see Christy mixing with the cops and rookies. Around 7:00 PM, Christy drops by her room at Alpha Nu. She finds the padlock broken, her room rifled and a large knife sticking in the wall above her bed. She freaks, and runs up the street to find Kennedy at the wake. Sergeant Kennedy convinces Christy to get out of town immediately. He arranges to have a rookie named Rick drive her down to Danport, where her mother lives. Rick and Christy head for the patrol car, whereupon Christy ducks out on Rick and beats it quick up the street. Renee and Katie see Kennedy

cruising around in search of Christy, about two hours later. Everyone who knows about the events of the past four days is worried about Christy's safety.

Renee and Katie join in the search for Christy. Renee covers the Dump (roof, upstairs room, closets suitable for the storage of bodies); Katie covers the cemetery, Reggie's house, etc. By now Renee and Katie have formally requested police protective custody for Christy. Several patrol cars and rookies on foot are looking for Christy to bring her in for such custody. About 12:30 AM, Kennedy picks up Renee and Katie, saying they've found Christy.

Christy is fully installed in the passenger seat of Peter Munson's Mercedes 280 convertible, swinging and aswiggling a bottle of Labatt's. Peter is parked, diagonally across from the Fernwood police station. Spectators are gathered on the sidewalk, including a substantial contingent from the Alpha Nu crew. Six to eight cops form a group on the green between the Mercedes and the police station. Katie and Renee approach Christy. When Christy catches sight of Renee and Katie, she starts yelling, "Get out of here, get away from me! I don't need your help! Get the fuck out of my life!" Nonplussed, Renee and Katie do a halt and backstep real quick, whereupon Christy leaps from the car onto the sidewalk yelling and swearing at Renee and Katie, while weaving back in the opposite direction.

As if on cue, the troops across the street move in on Christy.

About eight police surround her. Christy is screaming bloody murder, scratching, biting, kicking her escorts. The police herd her across the street, and press her through the police station door. Shortly she is dragged back out onto the street, where a patrol car stands in idle, lights flashing. Renee counts eleven cops, now, trying to stuff Christy into the patrol car. Her struggle is quite impressive, at the very least in terms of casualties (Kennedy gets a kick this night that has him limping days after). Finally, the biggest (and surliest) cop slams Christy's chest against the hood of the patrol car, cuffing her hands back behind her. Once inside the car, Christy continues to fight. Renee sees Christy's enraged face dive for the door one last time before her head sounds a thud against the window. The car takes off.

Aftermath includes swears and sweat from the cops, anguish and horror as the paralysis loosens from Renee and Katie, and the gradual dispersal of spectators. Sergeant Kennedy tells Renee and Katie that Christy is headed to the House of Corrections or the state hospital, depending on her behavior. He says that she'll go to one of these places for protective custody at least, although she may get charged for disturbing the peace and/or resisting arrest as well.

Christy begins and ends this very long day with Sergeant Kennedy at the police station. More photographs of her neck, more testimony in formal deposition about the homicide attempt, indicate

that police heat is mounting against Reggie. When Bonnie tells Katie that Christy's life is in danger, the content per se is not news. But the fact that Bonnie gets this information from the street, and that Bonnie gets it from the streets in neighboring cities, suggests that Christy's situation is no longer localized to the Fernwood street community. Connections between Fernwood street community and the neighboring city's street people are becoming more discernable, particularly following Frank's note. Christy has helped draw attention to these connections, hence the speculations by Bonnie and Katie that the police may be stringing Christy out in hopes for a catch more prizeworthy than merely her assailant.

Certainly this day finds Christy predominantly in the company of the police. And the police are surely more visible today than usual, considering their show of force at the Fernwood Funeral Home. We might suppose that the Alpha Nu crew, already primed for paranoia, is apoplectic with fear. The business with the knife speared above Christy's bed speaks to the deperate, albeit crude, expression of panic by some member/members of the Alpha Nu crew. The Alpha Nu crew apparently believes that Christy is its primary source of trouble. Eradicate her, eradicate the problem. Once again, Christy is "identified patient" in a system. This time the mislabeling is lethal as well as incorrect. Christy's flight to Kennedy repeats her pattern of Monday night, after the homicide attempt. And her dash away from Rick repeats the pattern of her

Monday night run from Renee between Alpha Nu and University Health Services. The search of Wednesday night stands in contrast to the ostensibly similar search for Christy four night before, following the Clarissa altercation. The searches are ostensibly similar with respect to person power, location and purpose--to find Christy. Yet Wednesday night's search has none of the comedic features of a bunch of tubby cops squawking about with walkie-talkies in "stealthy" pursuit of a buoyant Christy Ronstadt. On Wednesday night, Christy's survival is in question. This grim fact prompts Renee and others to search for a body as well as her person.

Christy's appearance on Main Street at 1:00 AM in Peter Munson's car is truly incredible. The personnel, setting and plot of this scene are right out of Baretta. I don't know how this scene got staged--how Christy hooked up with Peter, how she got drunk, how the showdown with the police was poised. That the sight of Renee and Katie triggered the reaction from Christy described above, and catalyzed subsequent events, is not understood fully. Speculations depend principally on the fact that Renee and Katie issued the formal request for protective custody of Christy, and that they had not encountered Christy to tell her about this before the police moved on their request. Christy may have quite reasonably construed their action to be ultimate betrayal. Christy may have been approached by a cop who said, "OK, let's go. I'm taking you in." Katie and Renee certainly did not envision a Main Street massacre when they

asked for protective custody. They wanted police protection, not lock-up for Christy. Christy was not sober; she was surely strung out after four days of life threats; and she was uninformed about police intentions when they moved to place her in custody.

As for the behavior of the Fernwood police in their apprehension of Christy, suffice it to say that the force used more brawn than brains. Granted that Christy's behavior lacked finesse in turn. Yet Renee observed a degree of violence in police behavior that appeared more commensurate with their anger than with situational demands for force. The cop who slammed her face down on the patrol car hood, had received a kick to the groin earlier in the struggle with Christy. He swore at her ("You rotten little bitch") with an anger, and creamed her on the car hood with a relish, that could have only come up from his groin. "Protective" custody?

Thursday, July 29th. Katie looks for Christy at Regional State Hospital, the town's police station and the House of Corrections. Finally she sees Christy on the lawn of the Fernwood Funeral Home, again brimming in blue with police attending the big funeral. Christy avoids Katie, ducking behind policemen. Christy reluctantly comes forward, carrying a billy club (twelve inch shaft of steel embraced by two sheafs of mahogany). Katie tells Christy that she has some news from DYS and they have to talk. They talk some in the afternoon, and later through the night at Renee's house.

The news to which Katie refers follows from her conversations with Lisa Gerhart, assistant director of DYS Region X and Christy's former caseworker, a former director of girl's programming in DYS central office; and the acting director of girl's programming in DYS central office. Katie obtains a promise of assistance from Lisa Gerhart, who also offers to talk to Christy. Lisa says further that placement decisions regarding Christy are now in the hands of Katie and Renee. The informal professionals have formal authority at last.

Katie, Renee and Christy talk through the night, now that DYS backing has been assured. Two special transactions occur in the course of this nocturnal marathon. Elaboration of these is appropriate here to convey the tone of the threesome, and also to glimpse into Christy's head amidst the traumata of the past several days.

Katie and Renee are talking about placement available to and suitable for Christy. Christy abruptly goes from the couch to the stereo, selecting Cat Steven's Tea for the Tillerman. The three are all drinking beer, sort of sloshing around for solutions. Renee feels somewhat indignant that Christy puts on music during an intense discussion of her life--after all, it's her ass. After some time, Renee notices that Christy has been playing "Father and Son" over and over. Christy's head is sagging; she's rocking in time to the music. Renee reaches for the album cover to read the

F: It's not time to make a change, just relax, take it easy. You're still young, that's your fault, there's so much you have to know. Find a girl, settle down. If you want, you can marry, look at me, I am old but I'm happy. I was once like you are now, and I know that it's not easy to be calm when you've found something goin' on, but take your time, think a lot, why think of everything you've got. For you will still be here tomorrow but your dreams may not.

S: How can I try to explain, 'cause when I do he turns away again. It's always been the same old story. From the moment I could talk I was ordered to listen, now there's a way and I know I have to go. Away, I know I have to go.

<p>F: It's not time to make a change just sit down take it slowly, you're still young that's your fault there's so much you have to go through. Find a girl settle down if you want you can marry, look at me I'm old but I'm happy.</p>	<p>S: Away, away, away, I know I have to make this decision alone--no.</p>
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<p>S: All the times that I cried keeping all the things I knew inside it's hard but it's harder to ignore it. If they were right I'd agree but it's they they know not me now there's a way, and I know that I have to go away, I know I have to go.</p>	<p>F: Stay, Stay, Stay, why must you go and make this decision alone?</p>
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Soon both Renee and Christy are humming and rocking side by side on the couch. Renee realizes that the song is Christy's response to the discussion about her future. Katie and Renee have been generating options that they hope fit her. Christy listens and knows, "it's they they know, not me now."

Later in the evening, Renee and Christy talk alone. Christy says:

He's trying to kill me. And if he has convinced

Michael that I work for the police, Michael will just come after me, I know it. I like Michael and we've had some good times this summer, but I know he's fucking crazy, man. Like I seen him laugh about killing that guy at the Dump. Michael is into dealing and if he thinks I can fuck with that, he'll just bash me on the head one night, that's all. And Reggie is just a stupid junkie, man, but in the graveyard the other night, I know if he didn't let the rope go when he did, a couple of seconds later I'd be dead. I don't know what to do.

The cops aren't gonna move on Reggie, no matter what the D.A. said. They're waiting to send him up with that string of B & Es last spring, and the drug shit. And besides, if Reggie or Turk or Wanda see me talking with Kennedy, they'll think for sure that I'm working for the cops. I know what I have to do. I gotta get some money and a gun. I could do a couple of B & Es, nobody would know it was me. I could pay off Frank so at least the Mob or whoever they are, wouldn't be after me. Then I could just carry that gun around with me and if Reggie messes with me again, I'll just have to shoot him. But man, I don't want to kill anyone--I know that would be on my conscience the rest of my life. And if I killed Reggie, I'd go to jail for sure. And I know Michael has friends all over, man. They'd kill me in jail in three days.

This discourse presents most transparently Christy's concerns, her mode of processing these, and of generating solutions to these concerns. Note that Christy tells these things to Renee, who but twenty-four hours before, was an enemy in Christy's eyes. Again we see that Christy's relationships with significant people are labile if not paradoxical in the context of her current life crisis.

Friday, July 30th. Katie has arranged to pick up Christy from Alpha Nu early Friday morning to take her to court for Christy's hearing

on the Lucky's charges. Renee is to meet Katie and Christy there, and accompany them to court. Katie arrives at Alpha Nu about 7:30 AM. She finds Christy in bed, seemingly unconscious. Katie cannot get Christy to come to. Katie calls the police, who arrive at the scene with a respirator. Renee comes up the stairs just as the police are leaving. Christy has awakened with the assistance of the respirator, but she remains quite groggy. Christy appears very hung over and/or drugged out. She flops over in bed, muttering, "Shit, get out of here. I'm not going anywhere. I'm not going to court. It doesn't matter. Just leave me alone." Katie has to leave for a few minutes. Renee stays to get Christy up for court.

Renee starts shaking Christy out of her sleep. Renee tells Christy that if she misses this court appearance, bail will be forfeited and she'll go to jail for sure. Christy must go to court or else she'll open the door for more legal trouble. "Jesus, my head is wasted. Get out of here, Renee, I want to sleep. Bullshit, I'm not going to no court. Get out--how the hell did you get in anyway? Just get the fuck out and leave me alone. Alright, alright, I'll get up--don't touch me. I have to take a shower. I don't care if there's no time. Fuck all of you--I know I going to jail." Christy rises from the bed; Renee backs away. Christy moves for the door, heading for the shower. She stumbles a bit, and then dashes down the stairs, out the door of Alpha Nu.

Renee runs after her. Christy heads up and over the hill of the University Motel, running very fast through back yards and around houses in the area. After a ten minute run, Renee tackles Christy, throwing her down on the grass. "Get the fuck off me, Renee. I swear to God I'll kill you. No, I'm not going to no court. They're just going to send me to jail. I've got a better chance just splitting. Get off of me you fat bitch. I don't care if you do know that karate crap--I'll kill you. Alright, alright--let go of me, I'll come back with you."

After about fifteen minutes, Renee lifts Christy from the grass, keeping Christy in an arm lock. Christy struggles some on the way back to Alpha Nu, but Renee keeps her in control. Renee hasn't been saying much beyond, "You're going to court, Christy, if I have to drag you every step of the way. I'm not going to let you blow it this way. I know you have to fight me. Do what you want to do, but I'm going to sit here until you settle down. We're going to court."

Back in Christy's room at Alpha Nu, Christy starts to gather stuff for her shower. Suddenly she reaches for a beer mug off the floor, smashes it against the window frame, and waves the jagged remnants at Renee. "Renee, I swear to God, if you touch me again I'm gonna kill you. I'm not going to court. It doesn't matter. I'm gonna die anyway. Get back--don't you come near me. I'll have

to hurt you." Renee steps back from Christy. She says, "You got me, Christy. I'm not going to let myself get hurt by you. Here's where I stop. I don't care about you enough to let you cut me up." Christy is standing on her bed. She backs up toward the window, still holding the broken glass between herself and Renee. She smashes the window with the hand that's holding the mug. Window glass shatters and flies all over her bed. Christy's arm is bleeding. Suddenly Christy dives head first out the window. Renee rushes for her waist, drags her back in, and tackles Christy spread-eagle on the bed. Renee pries the broken mug from Christy's fingers, and throws it on the other side of the room. Christy is struggling against Renee, swearing, biting, sweating and crying. She is yelling, "Get the fuck off of me you fucking bitch. I'll kill you I swear it. I'm going to die, I know it. Let me go, let me run. I have to get out of here. I'm not going to court." Renee and Christy continue to wrestle amidst the broken glass until Renee finally has a firm hold on Christy. Renee keeps the hold on Christy for several minutes; the breathing of both settles down. Katie returns to Christy's room just as Renee is relaxing her hold on Christy. Katie catches on real quick to what has been going on. She kneels down next to Christy, talking very softly, stroking Christy's head, calming her down. Renee slowly backs off from Christy. Finally Katie helps Christy up from the bed, and takes Christy to wash her face in the bathroom. They return to the

room--Christy has cooled down. Christy, Katie and Renee get in the car to go to court.

Turk, Reggie, Frank and Wanda are waiting for Christy in the lobby of Washington County District Court. Fortunately, the court clerk calls, "Ronstadt" shortly after the arrival of Christy, Katie and Renee. The Alpha Nu crew follows Christy into the courtroom, occupying the spectator pew directly behind her. Disposition of Christy's Lucky's charges is postponed, continued on the basis of a defense petition for more time to prepare the case. Bail status is maintained and Christy is released on her own recognizance. Renee, Katie and Christy file out of the courtroom.

Frank approaches Christy as soon as she is out of the courtroom. He demands that she return his wallet. An argument develops between them. Renee intervenes. She advises Frank to press charges against Christy if he thinks he can sustain a stolen property case. Renee says further that she will file a complaint against Frank if his threats against Christy continue. Frank backs off. Renee, Katie and Christy adjourn to Bootsies to discuss plans for Christy's future.

Christy is afraid to return to Fernwood. Katie, Renee and Peter Munson have been in contact, initially to discuss the possibility that he would drop the Lucky's charges against Christy. Although Peter does not make a decision about the charges, he does offer to provide shelter and job options for Christy outside of Fernwood.

Most of his offers pertain to long-range opportunities for Christy. More immediately, however, Peter agrees to allow Christy to live in an apartment in a house he owns in Belchertown. The house is being refurbished. Peter sees the apartment as a solution to a number of short term problems for Christy: 1) she could get out of Fernwood, 2) she could occupy her time by helping out with the refurbishing of the apartment and 3) construction employees on the site could supervise Christy for most of the day. Katie and Renee have some misgivings about Peter's invitations. His motivations are still in question, and his capacity to produce more than promises has yet to be demonstrated. However, given the escalating tensions between Christy and the Alpha Nu crew, the Belchertown apartment provides respite from, if not resolution of, Christy's crisis situation. The Bootsies convocation ends with a decision to move Christy to the Belchertown hideout forthwith.

In the course of transport of Christy and her possessions between Fernwood and Belchertown, Renee has a car accident. No injuries are incurred, but her car is effectively totalled. Ten seconds after impact, Christy bolts from the car, saying, "Holy shit, let me out of here. I'm in enough trouble with the cops already." Renee sees her a few minutes later kicking the bumper of the other driver's car, swearing at him and otherwise contributing more tension to an already aggravating situation. Katie arrives at the scene and takes Christy away. Katie and Christy are waiting

for Renee when she finally returns home. Given Renee's overwrought condition, Katie arranges to take Christy away for the weekend.

Friday, July 30th begins with an unconscious Christy at Alpha Nu, and ends with a car accident. Events have transpired which obtain in considerable relationship changes, principally between Christy and the informal professionals, Renee and Katie. The struggles at Alpha Nu prior to Christy's court appearance have Renee and Katie engaged in physical conflict around very serious matters, ranging from an issue having serious legal implications (Christy's failure to appear in court would follow in bail forfeiture and a warrant for her arrest), to issues having literal life and death implications (Christy hurling herself through the second story window at Alpha Nu). Relationship terms between Renee and Christy now include a precedent for physical struggle, with Renee having displayed the capacity to restrain Christy. Christy has displayed the capacity to attack Renee, and to risk considerable injury to herself. Christy has displayed an extreme of behavior of which she is capable under conditions of profound despair (e.g., "I'm going to die anyway. I'm going to jail anyway."). And, Renee has displayed an extreme of behavior of which she is capable amidst volatile interactions with Christy. Katie acts as mediator in the course of a situation which has Renee cast as "the heavy" in relation to Christy.

The court appearance has significance beyond the implications of continuance with bail status, as discussed above. The Alpha Nu crew has initiated an aggressive pursuit of Christy, right into the public forum of the courthouse. The informal professionals have moved into the position of buffer zone between Christy and the Fernwood street people, primarily by way of Renee's comments to Frank. Christy's allies, and their apparent and/or attributed power, are now quite visible to the Alpha Nu crew.

Hours later, Renee and Katie have expanded their roles beyond serving as protectors/buffers for Christy. As the Belchertown hideout plans materialize, Renee and Katie become instrumental in the literal disengagement of Christy from the Alpha Nu crew. By the day's end, Renee and Katie have activated plans that have literal, visible and palpable impact on Christy. By the day's end Christy feels the effects of the prerogative invested in Renee and Katie by Lisa Gerhart the day before: "Christy is in your hands." And perhaps Renee and Katie feel the effects of that prerogative as well. Suddenly they do have primary responsibility for Christy. They assume responsibility for her transport to court, for her removal from Alpha Nu, for her placement in Belchertown, and for her protection and supervision during the weekend. The parameters and requirements of their responsibility begin to be recognized and felt this day. The struggle at Alpha Nu in the morning, the scramble for and resignation to grossly inadequate facilities at

Belchertown, the division of labor between Katie and Renee for weekend supervision, are tasks which eventuate from, and which are requirements of, the expanded roles of Renee and Katie. While responsibilities have multiplied, the resources and authority of the informal professionals remain negligible. The skewed ratio of high responsibility to low resources and authority seriously hampers Katie and Renee. Evidence mounts from this day forward as to the impotence of the informal professionals to provide substantive help to Christy.

Sunday, August 1st. By late Sunday afternoon, Renee has returned to Fernwood from a weekend away, and Katie has departed for a few days in Maine. Christy is on the street during the "changing of the guard." While out there, she encounters Frank, who demands his wallet back, rent for her room at Alpha Nu, and payment for damages there (broken window, etc.). A verbal battle ensues between them, which Christy terminates in her fashion--she runs. Katie discovers later that Christy appears at her house, converses with Katie's roommates, and apparently steals money while she's there. Refusing to go back to Belchertown ("it's scary and lonely out there"), Christy spends the night at Renee's house.

By Sunday, the demands of comprehensive supervision of Christy are obviously beyond the capacity of the informal professionals, who are by now exhibiting many signs of "burn out." Christy's inter-

actions with Frank remind us that the street people have not forgotten about her. Her debts to Frank have multiplied, and his pursuit of her has intensified in turn. The theft at Katie's house may have been an attempt to secure funds for the pacification of Frank. If so, Christy's strategy for conflict resolution in one system (Alpha Nu crew) jeopardizes her standing in another system (vis à vis the informal professionals), a pattern we've seen before. Christy's criticisms of Belchertown, in conjunction with her encounter with Frank suggest that she may have lost faith in the hideout solution. The Frank interaction attests to the fact that running away from problems does not solve them. Even though Christy has had a low profile in town for the past few days, Frank is still after her. Moreover, Christy's feelings of panic following the homicide attempt, etc., may have been dispelled or at least minimized in contrast to acute and present feelings of loneliness and abandonment, crashing in a vacant building in Belchertown. She may now prefer some company, some sense of being wanted, even if in Fernwood it could be "wanted dead or alive."

Monday, August 2nd. Wanda has disclosed the location of the Belchertown hideout to the Alpha Nu crew. With this knowledge, Katie, Renee, Christy and Peter Munson meet at Renee's house to discuss alternatives. (Renee calls her brother in Hartford who suggests placement in the Foreign Legion). Christy confronts Wanda about her betrayal. They are seen on the roof of a hair dresser's in

Fernwood. Wanda reports later that Christy threatened to push her off.

Resource scarcity persists relentlessly. Katie and Renee spend the day hustling. Renee mobilizes around her contacts at area mental health facilities, while Katie pursues negotiations with DYS for placement and/or cost-sharing responsibilities. Options are so depleted that Renee and Katie enlist the assistance of Peter Munson once again. Under these circumstances, Peter's idea to set Christy up in Connecticut with an apartment, as an apprentice butcher for a large grocery store chain, is seriously entertained. Peter agrees to check out these possibilities later in the week.

Wanda "dimes" on Christy. Her betrayal infuriates Christy, who feels both the insult of her friend's disloyalty as well as the peril of the repercussions of Wanda's disclosure. A threat to kill Wanda would seem stylistically consistent for Christy and commensurate with the rage she felt. Christy's confrontation of Wanda was pursued more for an occasion that would permit vindication of Wanda, than for an opportunity for revenge. Christy wanted Wanda to deny the allegation. Christy was broken hearted to learn that Christy had in fact betrayed her.

Tuesday, August 3rd. Katie calls Lisa Gerhart. Lisa tells Katie that "there's no hope." DYS is still equivocating on responsibility

for Christy Ronstadt. Despair sets in during the course of late night discussions between Katie, Renee and Christy. They are reduced to the faint hope that Peter Munson can come through, even though he has been impossible to reach.

Thursday, August 5th. Renee stops by her apartment during the day. While there, she hears someone enter. Christy and Sleazy (an ex-Youth Project youth and current street person) are in the kitchen. Renee asks Christy how she got in. Christy says the apartment "is cake" to break into, and proceeds to demonstrate dexterity with a butter knife. Renee tells Christy that she is very angry that Christy waltzed into her apartment, with company, without Renee's permission. Christy becomes very indignant, infers that Renee is accusing her of something, that Renee doesn't trust her, that Renee is crucifying Christy with her old reputation. Christy storms out.

Later, Renee comes home to find that a very important letter containing a certified check for a large sum of money has been opened and slipped under the apartment door. While the check is intact (the check could not have been cashed without authorized signatures), Renee is outraged that her mail has been tampered with. Renee's roommate reports that her wedding band and a camera have been missing. Renee tells Katie on Wednesday night that her patience has been pushed to the limit. Renee plans to confront Christy on these things the next day.

Friday, August 6th. Christy lays low from Renee all day. Meanwhile, she has called Katie. Katie and Christy spend most of the day together, looking for jobs and apartments in a neighboring town. Katie has received word from Bonnie Russell, DYS Region X caseworker, that Bonnie is pursuing a placement for Christy at NASHNA, a day program for adolescents in that town. Christy and Katie are happy about these new prospects.

At 10:30 PM, Christy tumbles through the door of Renee's apartment, collapsing on the kitchen table. Renee checks Christy's eyes, which are rolling to the back of her head. Christy is semi-conscious, either very drunk or very drugged. Renee and Katie decide that Christy must go to the University Health Services. They lift Christy from the table, telling her that she's going to the infirmary. Whereupon Christy marshalls energy from somewhere, enough to get her to say, "No, I'm not going there. I want to die," and to start a run out of the apartment. Renee, Katie and Renee's roommate pursue Christy. They catch her on the grass outside. A struggle ensues to stuff Christy into Katie's car. All three women are needed to control Christy. They drive off to the Health Services.

Summary of Phase VI July 23rd to August 6th. Phase VI begins with Christy's call to Renee, "I'm in trouble," and ends with Christy collapsing drunk and drugged in Renee's kitchen. The sixteen days

comprising Phase VI carry forward from the opening line, "I'm in trouble," which stands as a harbinger, as constant refrain throughout this period. Given the density of events in Phase VI, Christy's behavior will be sorted into two general categories, fight and flight. Fights include: trouble with Danport police, altercation with Clarissa, conflict with Reggie (from the homicide attempt and in subsequent interactions), physical struggles with Renee (two at Alpha Nu), physical struggle with the Fernwood police the night of the protective custody pickup, conflict with Wanda on the roof, and the struggle with Renee, Katie and Renee's roommate during the final transit to University Health Services. Flights include: the opening graveyard chase with the Fernwood police, two window jumping attempts at Alpha Nu, runs from Renee, Sergeant Kennedy and Rick the rookie. Two robberies may have been committed by Christy during this time (money from Katie's roommate, breaking and entering at Renee's house). Finally, Christy is drunk or drugged at least four days during Phase VI.

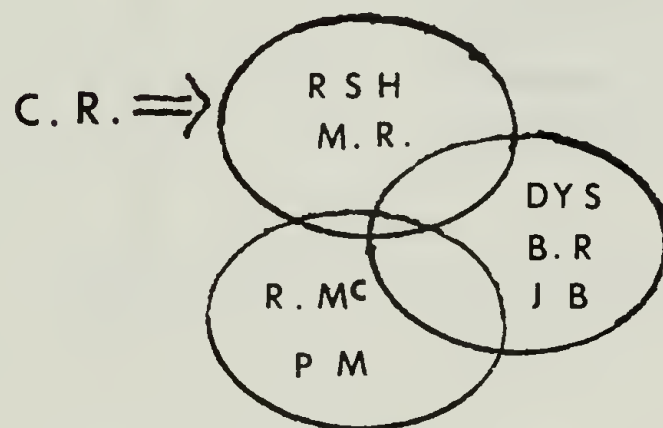
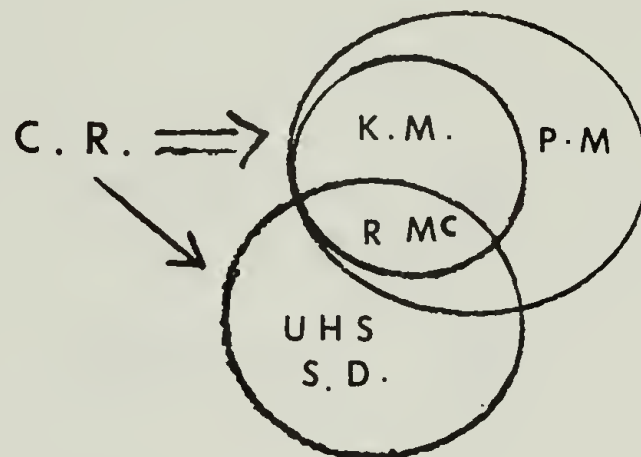
All social systems are geared up and behaving in crisis mode. Fights and flights are unresolved: events snowball off of residue from preceding events. Social systems are bouncing into each other, as Christy hurls herself and gets hurled from one social system to another. Boundary problems abound within and between social systems. For example, the Alpha Nu crew is becoming distended to the point of blowing apart as Christy and Reggie fight, Christy and

Wanda have conflict, Christy and Frank blow up. The Alpha Nu crew is also moving toward dissolution upon pressure from the Fernwood police. Information that was once safely protected within the Alpha Nu crew is now leaking out, e.g., Frank's connection to the Mob, etc. The informal professionals are experiencing pressure within as their responsibilities increase and their resources remain negligible. And the Fernwood police are trying to control the streets, under conditions approaching full tilt boogie battle between street factions. The interface between the informal professionals and the Fernwood police is very ambiguous. Renee and Katie help conceal Christy from the police during the first graveyard chase. Yet later, Renee and Katie work with the police in searching for Christy. Communication between the informal professionals and the police falls apart the night of the Main Street massacre. Beyond the confusing boundary relationship, the informal professionals wedge between Christy and the Alpha Nu crew, eventually moving to disengage Christy completely from the street people with the Belchertown hideout plan.

Roles run amuck during Phase VI. In the context of rapidly changing events, allegiances, etc., the casts of social system members in relation to Christy swing back and forth between antagonist and protagonist roles. For example, at times Christy runs to the police, and at other times she runs away from them. At times she runs to Renee and Katie, and at other times, she fights them. Peter

Munson is both complainant against and defender of Christy. Wanda is both friend and betrayer. Rules governing the operations of social systems are violated within systems, and are contradictory between systems. For example, the police violate rules concerning interrogation when they press Christy to turn informant without a subpoena and without legal counsel. Resources remain negligible for all social systems during Phase VI. With the legality of the DYS "termination" of Christy still in question, that social system is still withholding resources from Christy during Phase VI. Without DYS support, Christy is reduced to crashing in a vacant room/hideout in Belchertown. Christy's social ecology cannot even fulfill her basic needs during Phase VI.

Phase VII: August 6 to August 16 (ten days)



Key to Diagram of Social Ecology:

Social systems:

1. Informal Professionals

R.Mc = Renee McAndrews

K.M. = Katie Miller

2. P.M. = Peter Munson

3. Mental health network

S.D. = Scott Dorsey

UHS = University Health Services

RSH = Regional State Hospital

M.R. = Mildred Rose

4. DYS

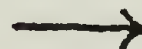
B.R. = Bonnie Russell

J.B. = Jack Bilecki

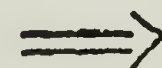
Symbols:



boundary of social system with which Christy is having contact



interaction



intensive interaction

Phase VII August 6 to August 16 (ten days)

Chronology

Friday	August 6	UHS
Saturday	August 7	RSH
Wednesday	August 11	---Renee McAndrews meets with Mildred Rose
		---Renee McAndrews, Christy Ronstadt meet; conflict between Christy Ronstadt and Renee McAndrews
Thursday	August 12	---RSH staffing
Monday	August 15	---RSH/DYS staffing

Key to Chronology

UHS = University Health Services

RHS = Regional State Hospital

DYS = Bonnie Russell, Jack Bilecki

Friday, August 6th, University Health Services. Renee, Katie and Renee's roommate are struggling with Christy outside of Renee's apartment, trying to get Christy to the University Health Services. Christy is saying over and over, "I want to die. Leave me alone. I'd rather be dead." Christy mutters about pills and Tequilla. While Renee and her roommate in the emergency room of the University Health Services, Katie cruises the streets to find someone who might have been Christy's companion earlier this evening. Katie finds a kid known to be the street alcoholic. From him, and from Sleazy, she learns that Christy had eaten a handful of pills, washed down with a pint of Tequilla. Katie brings this information back to the University Health Services.

Back in the emergency room, Christy proceeded to fight the intake nurse, Renee and her roommate; and she is tearing the place apart. Once again Renee sits on her. Scott Dorsey, psychiatrist on call arrives at the scene. Renee and Katie tell him what they know about Christy's drug and alcohol intake. Scott is reluctant to prescribe a standard sedative for Christy, given the uncertainty about the nature of the drugs she has already taken. He prescribes Thorazine, usually an anti-psychotic, with the understanding that at low dosages, Thorazine will act as a sedative. Christy gets a shot of Thorazine in her behind, only with four people holding her down on the floor. She settles down immediately after the shot, much sooner than could be attributed to the drug--as if in surrender

to hospitalization. Two nurses take Christy upstairs to the third floor inpatient unit at University Health Services. Scott Dorsey asks Renee and Katie to stay with Christy through the night. He says he will assume Christy had overdosed. If Christy were to wake up during the night, needing to be talked down, that would be better done by someone Christy knows. Renee and Katie agree to stay; Renee's roommate goes home.

Christy is sleeping soundly on an otherwise unoccupied suite of rooms on the third floor of UHS. Renee and Katie alternate hour shifts of napping and watching Christy. Two nurses are on duty on the third floor. At 1:00 AM Christy abruptly leaps out of bed, shouting, "What the hell am I doing in this place? I'm getting the hell out." Renee approaches Christy's bed, telling her to calm down, she's at the Health Services, etc. Christy says, "Fuck, I'm not staying here," and bolts head first for the window. She gets wracked up on the screen, and by this time, Renee has grabbed her around the waist, pulling her away from the window. One of the night nurses rushes into the room. She tries to hold Christy down. Christy punches the nurse in the eye. Renee and Katie are holding Christy down on the bed, while the injured nurse goes out for more help. A male nurse comes into the room, and helps contain Christy. Scott Dorsey has been called at home. He prescribes another dose of Thorazine. Renee, Katie and the male nurse hold Christy down while the injured nurse gives her

the shot. After about five minutes Christy falls asleep. This scene is repeated at 3:00 AM and 4:00 AM. Each time Christy dives for the window, each time Renee and/or Katie wrestle her down, each time more medication is issued, each time some person in attendance gets injured.

Saturday, August 7th, Regional State Hospital. Scott Dorsey comes in about 7:00 AM. He tells Renee and Katie that the facilities of UHS are obviously insufficient for the care Christy requires. Renee and Scott go over the details of Christy's behavior over the past week. They agree that she has demonstrated the capacity to injure herself. They speculate on suicidal intent, taking Christy's verbal and overt behavior as evidence in support of such a construction, weighing against this, the fact that Christy's behavior is understandable as an acute reaction to conditions of extreme stress. Meanwhile, Katie has called Lisa Gerhart and Bonnie Russell at their homes. Katie and Renee need to place Christy somewhere; Scott Dorsey is saying she can't stay at UHS. Katie comes back to Renee and Scott with the word that DYS will support a placement at NASHNA, an adolescent day treatment facility on the grounds of the Regional State Hospital. NASHNA is not open on Saturday, as Renee learns upon calling the state hospital. Scott Dorsey suggests a ten-day involuntary commitment at Regional State Hospital. This would provide immediate containment of Christy, an option for her transfer to NASHNA from within Regional State, and an option to get her out

of there when the "pink paper" elapses after ten days, if NASHNA does not provide suitable services for Christy. Scott Dorsey is among the list of area psychiatrists certified to authorize involuntary commitments. In the absence of alternatives, Renee and Katie agree to this plan, only under the condition that Christy is admitted to NASHNA first thing Monday morning.

Scott calls the University Police who typically transport UHS patients to Regional State Hospital under such circumstances. Scott tells Christy about her transfer to Regional State Hospital. Katie and Renee see Christy afterward. Christy is quiet, almost stuporous. She glares at Katie and Renee. She says, "I knew you were going to send me to the nut house." That's all she says. The police officer arrives. Scott Dorsey gives him the "pink paper." Christy refuses to let Renee accompany her to the hospital. Katie rides in the police car with Christy. Renee follows.

Renee, Christy, Katie and the policeman arrive at Regional State Hospital. Renee asks the switchboard operator to call a staff person affiliated with NASHNA. The switchboard operator says, "NASHNA? I never heard of it." Renee informs her that NASHNA is supposed to be located on the grounds of RSH. The switchboard operator looks confused, and then calls an intake psychiatrist. A middle-aged, dishevelled man emerges from a corridor. He is wearing a white jacket, replete with stethoscope. He has a heavy German accent. Renee and Katie explain the situation to him very

slowly. The policeman hands him the commitment papers. The psychiatrist examines these very carefully. Scott Dorsey has spelled out in capitals, "CHRISTY RONSTADT IS TO BE ASSIGNED TO THE ADOLESCENT TREATMENT UNIT, NASHNA." The psychiatrist looks up, "NASHNA? D.Y. what?" Katie and Renee try to explain DYS, Christy's life of the past few weeks, her needs for proper services, and their concern that Christy may fall between the cracks at RSH. The psychiatrist nods, and proceeds with the routine paperwork for Christy's admission in the Washington County Unit. Katie and Renee leave quite dismayed at Christy's prospects at Regional State Hospital.

Friday, August 6th, marks a critical and extraordinary shift in Christy's social system affiliations. Friday morning has Christy making plans with Katie for living and working in the neighboring town. Late Friday night has her being passed from the custody of the informal professionals to Scott Dorsey at the University Health Services, leading finally to a Saturday morning transfer of complete custody to Regional State Hospital, by way of the ten day involuntary commitment papers. These social system changes are dramatic and significant in several respects:

1. The shifts obtain in Christy's disengagement from the informal professionals, the social system upon which she has been most recently, and almost exclusively, reliant;

2. The shifts divorce Christy from the context surrounding and contributing to her problems; and
3. The shift obtains in, and requires Christy's reliance upon the mental health network, a network with which she has had no prior experience, and a network whose ideology departs considerably from the ideologies characteristic of Christy's previous networks --DYS, the Fernwood street community, the informal professional, etc.

Repercussions from these shifts are apparent in subsequent events during Christy's stay at Regional State Hospital.

Sunday, August 8th through Wednesday, August 11th. Christy is admitted to the women's wing of the Washington County ward at Regional State Hospital. She is one among approximately twenty women, ranging in age from twenty to eighty years old. She is strikingly un-institutionalized in comparison to other residents. For example, Christy is the only person on the ward to wear "civilian" pajamas, whereas everyone else wears RHS-issued white night shirts. Christy is the only person on the ward who changes from pajamas to street clothes during the day. Her verbal and interpersonal skills far surpass those of her "peers." Christy engages the

staff, greets people, takes notice of ward activities, and plans a day for herself that includes more than TV and meals. Christy is new to the ward. Her novelty alone, not to mention her youth and vitality, pull for staff attention and interest. By two days on the ward, staff call Christy "dear" and Christy has established staff alliances deployed to secure her the maximum liberties available to residents at RSH. Further, she has convinced the staff that she doesn't belong at RSH, and has enlisted their sympathy if not their assistance for quick discharge.

Christy is on "suicidal precaution" on the ward. This designation operationalizes into a requirement for twenty-four hour supervision by staff. This status guarantees Christy opportunity for staff interaction. Such interaction proves to be a saving grace for Christy, in light of the interaction possibilities afforded by fellow residents (e.g., her "roommate" talks to Jesus). The designation "suicidal precaution" speaks quite directly to processes of labelling and label reification in mental health settings. On the line ward staff are directed to implement "suicidal precaution" procedures. By this directive, staff come to construe Christy as a suicidal person, and treat her as such. Staff are heard to say, "What's a nice girl like you doing in a place like this? You don't really want to kill yourself, do you? You have so much to live for, etc." Christy is put in the position of having to respond to this construction of her "problem." She entered RSH

riding the crest of a range of problems from homicide attempt to destitution. Yet here at RSH, these problems are reduced to, are substituted by, a "problem" that the context of RSH manufactures and reifies. Not only do Christy's more immediate and central concerns escape notice, she is beset by the ramifications of a pseudoproblem.

Recall that conversations between Renee McAndrews and Scott Dorsey contained first mention of the hypothesis of suicidal intent with reference to Christy's window-jumping attempts at the University Health Services in conjunction with her verbal behavior prior to and during her stay at UHS. The intake psychiatrist at RSH was told about Christy's crisis situation, embedded in which was some mention of her window-jumping and her statements, "I want to die." This intake information, with Scott Dorsey's "pink paper" report with respect to the inadequacy of UHS facilities to hold Christy, was taken as evidence for suicidal dispositions in Christy. The intake psychiatrist prescribed "suicidal precaution" as an intervention following from this assessment. Notice that the "assessment" was conducted, and conclusions reached, on the basis of report, not observation of, nor examination of, Christy's behavior at RSH. Note further that his inference obtained in an order to institute an established treatment procedure by ward staff, "suicidal precaution." At RSH, this treatment procedure consists of twenty-four hour supervision. Perhaps at

another facility, placement in seclusion or administration of medication may have routinely followed assessment of "suicidal potential." The point here is that the phrase "suicidal intention" operates as a high valence term likely to trigger routine "precautions" quite often before behavioral data are examined, before assessments are conducted to ascertain "suicidal potential," and before precaution procedures are reviewed for applicability to particular persons. It appears that Regional State Hospital elects a conservative posture in relation to speculations about suicidal intent, perhaps preferring to risk error in the direction of over-reaction than to risk underreaction. The latter, of course, could be quite messy for RSH, given the institution's vulnerability to charges of negligence, incompetence, etc. (Recall that RSH was subject to an extensive media exposure in spring of 1975, obtaining in a class action suit currently under litigation for one million dollars in damages).

Christy is assigned to the caseload of Mildred Rose, social worker for the Washington County ward. During these first days of Christy's stay at RSH, Mrs. Rose is assessing Christy's needs and attempting to generate a treatment/discharge plan for Christy. Christy has also had the perfunctory thirty minute interview by the ward psychiatrist. He prescribes medication. "Perfunctory" because, true to the form of traditional mental hospital design, the psychiatrist is invested with most formal authority and

responsibility for resident treatment, although he operates with least information and with least direct resident contact. Mildred Rose has the operative, functional authority, and responsibility for, treatment decisions pertaining to Christy.

Renee and Katie confer with Mildred Rose. Mrs. Rose listens to their accounts of Christy's current life crisis. During these early days of Christy's hospitalization, Mrs. Rose conveys a fondness for Christy, and an appreciation of Christy's reported behavior as circumstantial, an acute reaction to a highly stressful situation. Mrs. Rose meets with Christy daily, finding Christy to be engaging and cooperative. She pursues the NASHNA referral, finding that there will be no openings for Christy in the foreseeable future. Mrs. Rose understands that RSH cannot offer Christy services that will address and remediate her pressing problems. Mrs. Rose must generate a discharge plan for Christy when Christy has no viable community into which to be discharged. Therefore, Mrs. Rose contacts Bonnie Russell, DYS Region X caseworker, and begins negotiations with DYS to secure a discharge destination. The tactic of DYS pressure had been tried repeatedly by the informal professionals--to no avail. Yet Mrs. Rose does get DYS to move. Why do her inquiries produce action, whereas similar efforts by Renee and Katie fail? Mrs. Rose is acting out of a role within a formal institution. Her inquiries to DYS are explicitly interagency communications. Renee

and Katie have no role affiliations to formal organizations in their relationship to Christy. They had petitioned DYS as individuals --no letterhead. We find that DYS is singularly more responsive to pressure issued through formal channels in the course of interagency communication, than to the pleas of "interested parties" having no bureaucratic clout. Moreover, Mrs. Rose alerts DYS to the involvement of yet another network involved with Christy Ronstadt. Christy's story, and those parts of her story that expose DYS irresponsibility, enter the information bank of RSH. At the time of Christy's commitment to RSH, extensive media coverage of the suicide of a female juvenile offender provokes public outcry to the point that the Connecticut state legislature launches a full investigation of Connecticut Youth Services. Massachusetts DYS cannot be unaffected by the grilling of its sister agency. DYS must keep its act either clean or quiet. DYS may move into negotiations with Mrs. Rose to contain potential proliferation of Christy's story to networks beyond RSH, perhaps to networks having direct fiscal power over DYS (e.g., Massachusetts state legislature).

Renee and Katie visit Christy daily. They bring Christy Doritos, meatball grinders (extra cheese) and personal articles (special shampoo and toothpaste) upon her request. They address the ever-present question, "When are you guys gonna get me out of this place?" They counsel Christy with respect to decisions which affect her standing at RSH. For example, Christy is asked to change her

admission status from involuntary commitment (a ten day paper) to voluntary commitment. Of course, Christy hears "voluntary" to mean that she can leave any time: Renee and Katie have to tell Christy that release from voluntary commitment is not as easy as it sounds, and in her case, it would be advisable to hold on to the involuntary status. While voluntary commitment status would enable Christy to submit a three day notice for her departure, her discharge request would then be subject to review by the hospital release board, which could withhold permission at the discretion of Christy's ward psychiatrist. The involuntary commitment expires automatically and irreversibly at the end of ten days--no strings attached. After talking with Renee and Katie, Christy agrees to hang in on the ten day paper.

Christy displays her skills at discerning the demand characteristics of a given situation, accommodating to these, and at the same time, mobilizing her resources to get out of Regional State Hospital. She has struck up allegiances with persons having power over her on the ward and in the hospital (e.g., ward nurses, attendants and Mrs. Rose). She revives her relationship with Renee and Katie within twenty four hours of the "you guys sold me out to the nuthouse" standoff. She reconstructs a familiar world for herself as much as possible within the alien environment of RSH (e.g., the Doritos, meatball grinders and clothes). She uses her limited telephone privileges to call people who have helped her in the past and who

may help her out of the current situation (e.g., Peter Munson, Bonnie Russell, Sergeant Kennedy, Renee and Katie). Essentially, Christy rides with her resiliency without surrendering to the institutionalization pressures of RSH. Her DYS history of multiple and rapidly shifting placements has apparently equipped her with skills with which to cope and to con RSH.

Wednesday, August 11th. Renee meets with Mildred Rose at Regional State Hospital. Renee and Katie visit Christy on the ward after this meeting. In the course of this visit, Renee and Christy have an argument. The argument escalates to the point that Christy punches Renee. Ward staff intercede; Renee and Katie leave. Christy subsequently rips up the ward. She is put into seclusion.

Commentary

Renee and Mrs. Rose meet to share psychological impressions of Christy, with the purpose of clarifying service needs to generate appropriate placements for Christy upon her discharge from Regional State Hospital. Renee gives a copy of her psychological evaluation to Mrs. Rose. Renee adds to the placement profile recommendations on this report, an emphasis on educational and vocational resources over and above therapeutic attention for Christy. Renee stresses that the placement should be away from Fernwood, and should offer structure and supervision. Mrs. Rose uses diagnostic phrases such as

"psychopathic deviate," implying a preference on her part for a rigorously therapeutic placement for Christy. Mrs. Rose is beginning to show signs of wear and tear. Christy and she had had a strained meeting this morning, during which Christy only wanted to hear the date for her discharge. Mrs. Rose has yet to hear from DYS about progress on securing a placement for Christy. In short, Mrs. Rose is moving into the resource squeeze, as had Renee and Katie before her.

Renee and Mrs. Rose also discuss Christy's status on "suicidal precaution." Renee suggests that in the absence of evidence to the contrary the suicidal precaution appears unwarranted. Mrs. Rose agrees. Christy is to be discussed at a RSH staff meeting the next day. Mrs. Rose invites Renee and Katie to attend. Further, she promises that she will recommend withdrawal of suicidal precaution and will support maximum privileges for Christy for the duration of her ten day commitment.

Katie has arrived at the hospital. She and Renee go upstairs to visit Christy. Christy will no longer be consoled with a bag of Doritos. She wants answers: "I hate this place. Just a bunch of weirdos around here, I don't belong here. If I stay any longer, I will go crazy." Renee and Katie calm her down somewhat, tell her about the staffing in the morning, the possibility of ground privileges, etc. After a few minutes, they are all a bit more relaxed, and Christy is telling them stories (e.g., how she played

crazy for the psychiatrist today, etc.). Katie drops her pocketbook during this conversation. A piece of paper falls out of her journal as it drops to the floor. Christy picks up the paper and starts to read it. Katie tries to get it back. The note reads: "Renee finds her mail ripped open today. Good thing the check was still intact. Christy is pushing for trouble." Christy's eyes widen as she reads this. She starts yelling, "Fuck you Renee, I didn't steal your mail. That's why you have me in this place, isn't it? God damn you, fuck you, fuck Katie, you both tried to trick me. I'm never gonna get out of here." Renee and Katie try to calm Christy down. Renee tells Christy that she never had a chance to talk to her about the letter. Renee says, "Sure, I was pissed about the mail being opened, but that's not why you're here. And we are trying to get you out." By this time, Christy is throwing pillows around in the room, and Renee and Katie are moving toward her to calm her down. Once Renee is within range, Christy throws a punch at her. Renee steps back, Christy misses, and comes back with another that catches Renee hard. Renee and Christy glare at each other. Renee says, "That's it, Christy. I've taken a lot of crap from you, but I draw the line at this." Christy starts yelling and swearing, "Get out. I don't need you. Leave me alone. I don't want to see you here again." Two nurses rush in. Christy is still yelling as Renee and Katie leave the ward. Early the next morning, Renee gets a call from Mrs. Rose.

Mrs. Rose reports that Christy ripped up the ward after Renee and Katie left, that four male attendants were needed to get her to the seclusion room. Finally, Mrs. Rose asks that neither Renee nor Katie visit Christy again. She withdraws the invitation to them to attend the staffing later in the day.

Obviously, Renee would not have elected to confront Christy about the mail under these circumstances. The incident was completely accidental. Christy's attack on Renee was preceded by the day's building anxiety about her discharge. Of all times, Christy certainly needed to feel confident about her trust in Renee and Katie, for she counted on them to get her out of RSH. The note introduced an issue that revealed a breach of trust between Christy and Renee. Christy's reaction, to fight, was stylistically congruent for her, consonant with the terms of her relationship with Renee which had included precedents for physical interactions between them, and finally, consistent with behavior predicted under conditions which preclude flight. Renee's response to Christy was different from previous episodes of physical interaction between them. This time, Renee walked out on Christy. Christy's subsequent rip up of the ward might have added fuel from her perception of abandonment by Renee and Katie.

Mrs. Rose exercises her prerogative to prohibit Renee and Katie from visiting Christy. Her rule effectively precludes resolution of the conflict between Renee and Christy. Further, her rule cuts off

input from the informal professionals in the staffing whose purpose is to make discharge decisions about Christy. A very important source of information is thereby excluded from this decision-making forum. Discharge decisions are now in the hands of people who have only known Christy for six days, who are unfamiliar with her DYS and street contexts, and who have only observed her behavior at RSH. Further, the staffing occurs the day after the outburst described above. Mrs. Rose is very much influenced by staff reports of this incident. She tells Renee that Christy is not only a psychopathic deviate, but an assaultive, aggressive, anti-social personality to boot--an intractable character disorder. Here we see the fruition of Mrs. Rose's theoretical propensities, in conjunction with the medical model ideology of RSH at large, in a context which ipso facto views individuals apart from their natural environments. Mrs. Rose concludes that Christy needs a major character overhaul, but that RSH can't do it, because of Christy's demonstrated capacity to be violent. Mrs. Rose ends her conversation with Renee with some mention of Bridgewater Hospital for the criminally insane as an appropriate setting for Christy.

Monday, August 16th. Bonnie Russell, Jack Bilecki, Peter Munson and Mrs. Rose meet for a joint RSH/DYS staffing on the day Christy's ten day involuntary commitment expires. Renee and Katie dress up and walk into the meeting as if they had been invited too. The purpose of the meeting is to decide to whom Christy will be released the next

morning. Peter Munson is elected. Apparently Bonnie and Peter have talked prior to the meeting, and Peter has agreed to sign on as Christy's DYS authorized foster parent. Jack Bilecki, director of Region X is in attendance, as if to add some credibility to the plan even though he shakes his head throughout the meeting as Peter winds into a lengthy, convoluted rap about "these kids." Renee and Katie press Peter to be specific about the terms of his commitment to Christy. He evades these questions. Mrs. Rose watches the clock, eager to close this chapter of her RSH career. The meeting ends with all parties, except perhaps Peter, fully yet silently aware of the absurdity of the placement decision.

Jack Bilecki calls to Renee and Katie outside in the parking lot. He thanks "the girls" for their work with Christy.² He admits that he thinks Peter Munson is crazy, predicting that Christy will be in MCI, Framingham women's prison within a month. Bonnie and Mrs. Rose have faded away in different directions; Peter speeds out of the lot in his Mercedes.

²In August 1976, Renee finds an extra three hundred dollars in her Youth Project check. As initial jubilation subsided, suspicion started to build. Renee asks Joe Founder about the money. He explains that Jack Bilecki wanted "to thank" Renee for her work with Christy, and that he routed the money through fiscal channels already established in the Youth Project. Renee is confused about the meaning of this payoff. She cashes the check and divides it with Katie Miller. Upon reflection, Renee regrets having accepted the money. The money may have been a contrivance used by DYS Region X to establish that DYS funded services were being provided for Christy following her questionable "termination" in June. With Renee's check registered on the Youth Project books, DYS Region X could claim such funding of services should Christy's situation ever come under investigation.

Clearly this meeting is a farce. Resource scarcity in conjunction with the depletion of energy and erosion of good faith of all persons present makes for a hollow ritual at best. Peter Munson, owner of Lucky's Market, is set up to fail. He has no experience with juveniles, no familiarity with DYS. Essentially, all informed persons at this meeting collude in the protection of, and exploitation of, Peter's naivete. The proposal to put Christy in Peter's custody amounts to shipping her off like so much trash barging out to sea.

Summary Phase VII August 6 to August 16 (10 days). Phase VII begins with a drunk and drugged Christy Ronstadt in Renee's kitchen. This follows with three window jumping attempts through the night of her stay at UHS, accompanied by fights which obtain in injuries to UHS staff. At RSH, Christy rips up the ward twice, once following a physical altercation with Renee McAndrews. Phase VII marks the time of Christy's transfer to the context of mental health systems (UHS, RSH), and to the dissolution of her membership in former significant social systems (e.g., the Alpha Nu crew, Fernwood police, and the informal professionals). Previous disjunctions between Christy and her social ecology have been the result of gradual erosion over time in constitutional, integrative and/or determinant elements of her social ecology. During Phase VII, the exigencies of an emergency situation provoke an abrupt disengagement of Christy from her prior social ecology and transfer to a system with which she has had no previous

acquaintance. Whereas her association with former social systems was based upon relationships developed over time, Christy's association with the mental health systems is exclusively formal. The relationship and informational vacuum which surrounds Christy's membership in the mental health systems does not curtail the formal power these agencies have over Christy. Her membership status, activities, immediate environment and role in relation to members of the mental health systems are defined de facto and unilaterally upon her admission to these systems as "patient." Given the extraordinary discontinuity between the mental health systems and Christy's social ecology prior to her commitment, and given the formidable impediments to integration between the mental health systems and Christy's previous social ecology, Christy's stay at RSH accomplishes little but to provide time out, respite from, escape and exile from her world.

Constitutional elements of the mental health systems contribute to the inability of these systems to respond to Christy's needs more effectively. The physical setting of the University Health Services does not accommodate Christy's acting out. Regional State Hospital is virtually a fortress within boundaries sufficiently rigid to militate against commerce with other agencies (DYS), not to mention with persons without membership in formal organizations (Renee and Katie). Rules within RSH set into motion standardized rather than

individualized treatment procedures (e.g., "suicidal precaution") which divert staff energies and skills from endeavors more relevant and potentially beneficial to recipients of their services. Roles in RSH are sufficiently entrenched to work against coordination of services. For example, the psychiatrist and ward staff at RSH respond to Christy with medication and custodial care respectively, while only Mrs. Rose attends to the weighty problems that follow Christy's discharge from RSH.

Mrs. Rose arranges the RSH/DYS staffing to prepare for Christy's discharge. This meeting reveals the fragility of the integration between RSH and Christy's social ecology. DYS reappears, having most authority over and least information about, Christy. Peter Munson has little authority, little information, few skills and ends up with the most responsibility for Christy. Katie and Renee who have no authority and most information about Christy, must sneak into the meeting. The meeting accomplishes only the withdrawal of RSH from Christy's social ecology; provisions are not made for her transfer to a new and viable social ecology.

Phase VIII September and October, 1976Chronology

September 1, 1976

- Christy splits from Peter Munson.
- Christy reviewed for placement with Sojourn, Northampton.
- Christy arrested on arson and weapons charges.
- Christy escapes Greenfield jail.
- Christy sent to MCI, Framingham, women's prison.

October 15, 1976

Christy splits from Peter Munson. Peter Munson signs Christy out of Regional State Hospital upon the expiration of her ten day involuntary commitment. Christy splits from him immediately, destination unknown. Information about circumstances surrounding this event is lacking.

Christy reviewed for placement with Sojourn, Northampton. Renee McAndrews receives a written request and release form signed by Christy, for the psychological evaluation she prepared in May. Renee calls Sojourn, agreeing to send in the evaluation on the condition that she can meet with Sojourn staff to discuss it and Christy. Sojourn is a non-residential tracking-style program for young women, operating out of Northampton. Sojourn accepts DPW and DYS referrals, so we may assume that DYS is aware of this placement possibility, and is prepared to pay for it. Renee supports the Sojourn placement, figuring that the services it provides are better than nothing for Christy. Renee sees Christy at Sojourn. Christy is distant, perhaps apprehensive about Renee's statements which could possibly jeopardize her placement at Sojourn.

Christy arrested on arson and weapons charges. Christy and her old buddy, Tracy Stack, are apprehended at the house of Fernwood chief of police. They have spilled gasoline here and about at the house, and have gathered up guns found in the chief's home. The fire is not ignited; the young women are apprehended just as they sit down to eat

a steak dinner at the chief's kitchen table (they had checked out the refrigerator).

Christy escapes Greenfield jail. Christy and Tracy Stack are held in the Greenfield jail awaiting trial for the arson and weapons charges. Christy explained to Renee later that the young women were watching "The Rookies" on TV one night at the jail. The program contained a segment presenting in living color, the escape of a couple from an MGM jail set. These cons created a tunnel by picking away at chinks of brick constructing the jail wall. Christy and Tracy follow suit at the Greenfield jail, finding it quite easy to dismantle a section of size sufficient for their exit. Christy and Tracy are caught and sent to lock up at the State Correction Institution, Framingham-- women's prison.

Summary of Phase VIII: September and October, 1976. Detailed information about the events of Phase VIII is lacking. We may take note of certain characteristics of these events that are consistent with the analysis undertaken so far. Christy's departure from Peter Munson was surely predictable given the circumstances of her custody to him, as outlined above. Peter served adequately as a means to get Christy out of Regional State Hospital. Her appearance at Sojourn reflects some involvement by DYS after the dissolution of the Munson placement. Again, information is lacking as to the outcome of Christy's intake at Sojourn, as it is regarding the apparent

dissolution of this placement. Christy appears at the Fernwood Chief of Police's house in the company of Tracy Stack. We may assume that Christy followed the pattern present upon her ostensible termination from DYS in June, which saw her hook up with Tracy immediately. Their motives for attempting to burn down the chief's house are unknown. The steak dinner suggests that neither was in a hurry the night of the arson attempt, and perhaps, neither was particularly apprehensive about the high likelihood of being caught at the chief's house. Nor, it would appear, was neither particularly concerned about the repercussions of being caught at the chief's house, of all people. Christy and Tracy are pressing their audacity here.

Christy's rendition of the Greenfield jail escape may stand as either a testimony to the power of media influence on impressionable young minds, or to Christy's capacity to tell a good story. Again, lack of information precludes our knowing much about the motivations of Christy and Tracy, nor about the actual circumstances of their break. MCI, Framingham is the logical and sole destination for young women for whom local jails are inadequate. Christy is currently doing five to eight years at MCI, eligible for parole in three years. Tracy rooms down the hall from her. Both partake in the MCI vocational training program, which consists of sewing American flags from 1:00 to 4:00 PM each day. Christy has secured a television set for her room, by way of questionable intra-prison politics. She

is reaping demerits by the day, each of which contributes to the postponement of her consideration for parole. She includes Susan Saxe and Ella Allison among her illustrious friends at MCI. Her hair is cut short these days; she still uses Faberge's Milk and Honey Organic Shampoo. In inviting Renee to visit in April, 1977, Christy said, "Come on out Renee, I'd like to see you. Besides, you'll learn something."

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The social ecological analysis conducted in this case study provides a retrospective assessment of processes contributing to, and repercussions of a broadening disjuncture between a juvenile offender and her social ecology. Concluding remarks consolidate observations made about social system processes that contributed to the movement toward a lower level of organization in the social ecology of the juvenile offender. Patterns in the behavior of the juvenile offender in the context of her deteriorating social ecology are summarized. Following a review of elements of social ecological analysis which transcend this particular case study, potential applications of the perspective for work with juvenile offenders are discussed.

Alterations in constitutional, integrative and determinant elements within and between social systems combined and interacted to move the social ecology of the juvenile offender to a lower level of organization during the period studied. Among the constitutional elements of social systems considered in this report are boundaries, roles, rules and resources. Patterns in the operations of these system structures reduced the capacity of social systems with which the juvenile offender was associated, to fulfill functions accorded to them. Boundaries became either rigid or overly permeable.

For example, experiential and ideological distance and disparity between Regional State Hospital and the informal professionals contributed to a relatively rigid boundary at the interface of these systems. Relative to the Department of Criminology Programs, the Youth Project had an overly permeable boundary, permitting the transport of personnel issues most properly internal to the Youth Project, to its adjacent and superordinate system. The high proportion of persons having dual membership in both the Youth Project and in the Department of Criminology, contributed to the diffuse boundary between these systems.

Endogenous or exogenous stress may alter the status of a system's boundary on the dimension "rigid-permeable." Under conditions of perceived and actual attack, the boundary surrounding the Alpha Nu crew calcified. Similarly, upon the onset of California dreaming and the exacerbation of conflict between Cookie and the Youth Project, the boundary about Christy's foster family tightened and thickened to the extent that Christy's membership standing in the Youth Project and in DYS was jeopardized. While the boundary about the foster home calcified in relation to exogenous stress, tension between Cookie and Mike within the foster home obtained in the dissolution of the husband-wife boundary and subsequent proliferation of their tension throughout the household.

Ambiguous and diffuse member roles impaired the capacity of systems to fulfill their functions during the period studied.

Authority, power and responsibilities attached to roles are abused or abdicated. Interpersonal conflicts undermine and obfuscate role relationships. For example, hostile interactions blossoming into shoving matches, interfered with Bonnie's execution of her responsibilities as caseworker, and with Christy's reception of Bonnie in role. Unaddressed conflict between Joe and Cookie following the prostitution case furnished a residue of tension which impeded resolution of subsequent conflicts. Systemic developments within one social system impacting interdependent systems provoked proliferation of role dysfunction across systems. For example, the failure of Bonnie Russell to receive Christy into the custody of DYS as ordered by Judge Davis, was set up by the ambiguity of the judge's order and by confusion at the interface between the Youth Project, DYS and Washington County District Court.

Persons peripheral to Christy's social ecology and lacking a context in which to locate their functions in relation to others, were especially vulnerable to role ambiguity. For example, Peter Munson operated with an informational set that was solely supplied by and doubtlessly manipulated by Christy. Renee and Katie had similar problems during their initial involvement with Christy. Persons having multiple roles in relation to Christy were vulnerable to role ambiguity and diffusion. At times, contradictions between informal and formal role requirements contributed to Sergeant Kennedy's paradoxical and highly labile relationship with Christy.

Finally, considerable ambiguity and diffusion surrounded roles of persons whose established skills and functions in relation to Christy proved unsuitable for absorbing new functions as Christy's circumstances changed over time. Mrs. Rose, whose role was grounded in and most effective in mental health systems, could barely straddle the experiential and ideological gap between Christy's role as patient in RSH and her role as juvenile offender in the community. Similarly, functions performed by the informal professionals were rapidly outstripped by new demands for which neither Renee nor Katie was equipped to handle.

The violation, circumvention and adjustment of rules governing operations within and between social systems, added to the alterations in boundaries and roles which helped move Christy's social ecology toward a lower level of organization. At times, rules between different social systems conflicted. For example, relationship rules of the Alpha Nu crew required Christy to demonstrate her loyalty to that system in a manner that had her violate rules of other systems (e.g., Lucky's breaking and entering versus the legal system). Compliance to rules was affected by conditions that prevailed within and surrounding systems. The DYS termination of Christy in June, 1976 violated the agency's own rules. This action, which had major repercussions for Christy, may have followed from Christy's personal conflict with her caseworker, fiscal vagaries of DYS Region X, resource scarcity or irresponsibility of the agency in general.

Numerous examples of discontinuity between principles and pragmatics, theory and practice with respect to rule compliance, appeared in the case study. For example, Renee and Katie violated rules about admission eligibility in taking Christy to the University Health Services. On these occasions, the exigencies of emergency situations took precedence over the admission rule at UHS. Emergency conditions surrounding Christy's temporary placement with Emily Kaufman in Hillside short circuited Youth Project rules about placement procedures and preparation. Rules proved insufficient or were found lacking several times during the case study. For example, the absence of procedures for staff evaluation, of criteria for staff performance, of a grievance procedure, of contractual provisions for deliberate and responsible termination of duties, all contributed to Cookie's calamitous discharge from the Youth Project.

Resource scarcity and withholding applied the fatal blow to Christy's social ecology at key points in the case study. Under conditions of scarcity, competition for existent resources erected distribution priorities which often left Christy out in the cold. For example, scarcity and inadequacy of emergency placements in DYS obtained in the certification of placements of the caliber of Alpha Nu, the bogus Warrenville placement, the emergency placement with Emily Kaufman, and the designation of Peter Munson as foster parent. Optimal deployment of resources required the ability to assemble, categorize and evaluate placement alternatives for Christy.

Persons coordinating resources needed a broad information base to execute this task effectively. Renee had neither the time nor the skills to research Christy's options for mental health placement, as evident in the ill-fated referral of Christy to NAJNAH. When Christy needed emergency shelter and protection amidst the life endangering circumstances of the street community, the only option known and available at the time was police protective custody. This measure proved to have serious iatrogenic effects.

Disintegration within and between social systems accompanied and contributed to the movement toward a lower level of organization in the social ecology of the juvenile offender. Communication channels essential for the integration of a social ecology, broke down repeatedly during the period studied. Degeneration of channels occurred subtly as when Cookie stopped talking to Mike, and quite blatantly, as when secrecy strictures in the foster home and in the Alpha.Nu crew cut off these systems from adjacent systems. In addition to stress-induced collapse of communication channels, structures in service of integration eroded, obtaining in the pervasive fragmentation of Christy's social ecology. For example, Cookie's precipitous departure from the Youth Project left vacant the "switchboard" role for coordination of Christy's social systems, which Cookie had occupied so effectively during Phase I. Extensive and exacerbating fragmentation of Christy's social ecology so dominated the period studied, that the single occasion upon which

representatives from her social systems convened (the RSH/DYS staffing) proved absurdly and sadly "too little, too late." Communication underpinnings as fundamental as language, constructs and world view were incompatible between social systems. Such discrepancy was quite pronounced and evident in conversations between Renee and Mrs. Rose with respect to Christy's experience as a juvenile offender. Conversely, congruence in basic communication underpinnings contributed to integration of members within systems, most notably in the case of Christy in her foster home.

Determinants, or the overarching systemic processes that embrace and affect particular social ecologies, certainly came to bear on Christy's social ecology, although the identities, nature and operations of these have not been examined in this report. The discussion about juvenile court which accompanied analysis of Christy's hearing on the Subcity charges, is one illustration of the presence and power of determinants upon Christy's social ecology. Conjectures about determinants associated with the legal system at large could be entertained in considering broad systemic processes that affected Christy's social ecology.

For example, how did the central philosophical controversy about rehabilitative versus retributive purposes of corrections influence the conduct and outcome of Christy's court hearings? Further, how did the legal system, as an instrument of a capitalistic society, move to protect property above civil liberties during

Christy's year (consider Clarissa's pursuit of Christy upon the vandalism at Subcity)? How did social and cultural preference for containment and isolation of offenders delimit the number, kind and quality of placements available to Christy as a juvenile offender? How did fiscal priorities, in concert with vested interests, prohibit the funding of preventive corrections programs, which may or may not have averted circumstances through which Christy achieved her status as juvenile offender? To this point, I might mention the action of the Nixon Administration to impound funds destined for the design, implementation and evaluation of preventive programs for youth in the Commonwealth.

Among other determinants or overarching systemic processes that may have had bearing, albeit indirect, on Christy's social ecology, we may consider:

1. the proportion of Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) funds allocated for the detection and apprehension of juvenile offenders, compared to expenditures for preventive and/or treatment programs;
2. the Holyoke City Council's allocation of urban renewal funds for the expansion of the police station and parking lot located in the heart of Holyoke flats, for fiscal year 1978; and
3. the selective perception evident in data compilation and interpretation of the FBI monthly report on eight index crimes. This report omits mention of white collar, organized, sexism, imperialism, corporate crime, etc.), while propagating the notion that heinous crimes are committed by a small virulent group of anti-social deviants. Selective enforcement of law and prosecution of offenders is most blatantly

revealed in inmate demographic data, from which we find that the proportion of poor, non-white inmates far exceeds the number of white inmates. Offenders with means and with desirable social standing have many opportunities during the course of a court disposition to plea bargain away the possibility of doing time in prison. These comments pertain to Christy inasmuch as she experienced a legal system whose practices appear more in accord with the requirements of social regulation than with principles of justice.

In short, Christy's social ecology could not have been impervious to pervasive political, social and economic forces whose examination is beyond the scope of this paper.

In the context of a deteriorating social ecology set in motion by the systemic processes reviewed above, Christy acted out. She displayed the capacity to engage in extra-legal activity (principally property crimes), to fight, to run, to abuse alcohol and drugs, to become self-destructive (window jumping at UHS and Alpha Nu), to behave erratically in the context of close relationships (e.g., with Cookie and Mike, Wanda) and to employ a mode of conflict resolution which produced higher order derivative conflicts (e.g., fight with Clarissa, pursuit of Reggie the night of the homicide attempt, resisting placement in police protective custody). She also demonstrated considerable competence in discerning the demand characteristics of situations, adapting her behavior in accordance with membership requirements of a heterogenous social ecology, in fulfilling successfully functions assigned to her by various social systems (e.g., child care, working as counter help). Information

from the social ecological analysis is insufficient to support hypotheses about Christy's personality. Presence of significant character disturbance is neither affirmed nor denied by this case study. In view of her reactions to and participation in the disorganization of her social ecology, Christy's suitability for placement in community settings is an issue whose consideration can be informed by material from the social ecological analysis.

Christy's five month period of stability, the longest in her DYS history, was achieved in a circumstance of unusual structure, integration and good luck, relative to her previous placements. In retrospect, Cookie Tyler appears to have served as the cornerstone and sine qua non for Christy's stability. Cookie's dual roles as foster parent and field supervisor for Christy provided for comprehensive supervision of Christy's behavior. Cultural compatibility, augmented by opportunities for positive interdependence, fostered the development of a genuine relationship between Cookie and Christy. Deterioration in Christy's behavior began with, and accelerated after the abrupt and precipitous termination of the relationship between Christy and Cookie. Without Cookie, and by extension, without a "Cookie," Christy's likelihood of success in a community setting is diminished. Christy's attempt at independent living, on her own at Alpha Nu, proved hopelessly and harmfully abortive. With the benefit of hindsight, a transfer to a structured, closely supervised setting should have effected after the

dissolution of Christy's placement with the Tylers', particularly after the disastrous emergency placement with Emily Kaufman, thereby breaking the interdependent and synergistic movement toward a lower level of organization in both Christy's behavior and in her social ecology.

We depart company with Christy now to review the elements of social ecological analysis that transcend her particular story, and to discuss implications of this perspective for work with juvenile offenders. Social ecological analysis is conducted from a vantage point that holds both an individual and the social systems with which the individual is affiliated, in view. Such a scope permits a focus on the dynamic interdependence between an individual and his or her social ecology. Patterns of interaction over time reflect this dynamic interdependence. Patterns in systemic processes operating in a social ecology may be organized with reference to constitutional, integrative and determinant elements within and between social systems comprising a social ecology. Patterns in the behavior of an individual may be organized with reference to membership requirements and benefits of social systems with which an individual is affiliated, congruence with and functions of individual behavior in relation to systemic processes, and expression of personality predispositions which an individual brings to his or her social ecology. Interdependence between an individual and his or her social ecology is displayed in repercussions from alterations

in the level of organization of social ecologies and of the behavior of the individual. Disjunctures can develop between an individual and his or her social ecology. Changes in individual behavior and in the composition and status of his or her social ecology typically accompany occasions of disjuncture. Social ecological analysis requires examination of individuals and contexts and their inter-relationship, over time and with minimal interference by the examiner.

Implications of social ecological analysis for work with juvenile offenders are discussed in the context of the applications possible within the Department of Youth Services as it presently stands. Although suggested applications do imply some changes in DYS priorities and procedures, these applications need not await "the best of all possible worlds" for implementation. DYS has the authority and means to manipulate the environments of juvenile offenders. The case study demonstrates the magnitude of impact environmental changes have upon individuals. In light of the importance and potential of the environmental manipulations DYS can effect, social ecological analysis provides a perspective which can inform and guide deliberate, circumspect placement decisions for youth among DYS sites. Placement options within DYS could be assessed from a social ecological perspective, and characterized with respect to functions served in different placements, membership requirements and benefits, opportunities and provisions for the integration of placement sites

with social systems with which youth are affiliated external to the particular placement. Such an enterprise has a precedent in the work of Rudolf Moos (1974) who has developed procedures for the social ecological assessment of psychiatric wards. The endeavor would provide data required for determinations of "fit" between youth and placements.

Intake screening for program placements can be informed by a social ecological perspective. Intake interviewers can ascertain the capacity of a referred youth to discern the demand characteristics of social systems, to adapt to these and to expand his or her behavioral repertoire in accordance with membership requirements of multiple social systems. Careful review of a youth's placement history, supplementing an intake interview, would yield indications of a youth's capabilities on these dimensions. Persons authorized to admit referred youth could reconcile intake information with social ecological characteristics of placements, and determine "fit" between referred youth and placement site accordingly. To secure a stabilizing environment for an acting out youth could be a priority for placement decisions. A social ecological perspective could inform predictions about placement environments likely to stabilize such youth. Congruence between characteristics of placements which coincide with recent periods of stability, and characteristics of prospective sites, would increase the likelihood of replicating constructive ecologies for a youth. Having secured a stabilizing

placement site for a youth, attention then turns toward the cultivation of positive and the remediation of negative behavior patterns of youth. Once again, social ecological analysis could inform the identification of enriching environments among placement options for juveniles. Essentially, determination of "fit" between juvenile offender and placement sites requires an estimation of a placement's tolerance range with respect to the "worst" behavior predicted by a juvenile's history, a placement's capacity to furnish either a stabilizing or enriching environment for a youth, and an evaluation of a youth's capacity to adapt to and benefit from a particular placement site.

In directing attention to the repercussions of alterations in constitutional, integrative and determinant elements of social ecologies, social ecological analysis alerts placement personnel to the interrelationship between program operations and the behavior of youth within placements. Changes in staff, policy, resources would be expected to impact youth. If such changes reduced the level of organization within a program, a corresponding reduction in the organization of a youth's behavior would be predicted. Sensitivity to interdependence between program operations and behavior of youth implies circumspection and care in program management. Similarly, changes in social systems with which a youth is affiliated external to the placement site, would be expected to have repercussions for the behavior of the youth at the placement. For example, alterations

in a youth's peer or family social systems could place new demands, which may or may not be absorbed, upon the placement. The social ecological analysis presented in this report does not approach the sophistication of method that is required for understanding interdependent relationships between personality structure, family dynamics, peer status, and standing in a DYS placement site. Exploration of these relationships is the challenge and frontier of social ecological analysis. Lastly, all recommendations for possible and fruitful applications of social ecological analysis for work with juveniles in DYS, are viable only with the grace of determinants that supercede the DYS. This means that these recommendations, and any recommendations for the change of service delivery to kids in DYS, are subject to the ceiling of reform imposed by dominant political, economic and social forces surrounding DYS.

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