

"FOR HER OWN PROTECTION . . .": CONDITIONS OF INCARCERATION FOR FEMALE JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

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Connecticut presents a perfect case study of differential correctional treatment for young male and female offenders. The state controls two juvenile correctional institutions: the Long Lane School (LLS) in Middletown for girls and the Connecticut School for Boys (CSB) in Meriden. Both facilities have existed practically side-by-side for over a century under state management, yet they have evolved in markedly different ways. The boys' school has been in the throes of constant turmoil and consequently under severe public scrutiny throughout most of its operation. The administrators of the "farm for girls," on the other hand, have run a very tight ship and take pride in their undisrupted tradition. As a result, the Connecticut School for Boys has bungled its way (albeit ineptly) into the twentieth century while the Long Lane School still prepares women to re-enter the community as nineteenth century domestics.¹

A legacy of stereotypic "old maid" administrators and a "female-only" staff policy at Long Lane until 1971 has compounded the institutional inbreeding. In a recent report issued by the superintendent describing the development of the school, Long Lane was cited as providing "for girls in need of protection, education and training." It will become apparent as this paper unfolds, that very little of the latter two processes occur for the girls, except in the most negative fashion. Incarceration of young females for "protective" reasons emerges as the paramount purpose of these juvenile authorities.

The literature in the field is full of such benevolent ra-

tionales, coupled with blatant expressions of the archaic presumptions which the administrators foist upon the individuals committed to their care. For instance, in a brochure boasting of the institution's treatment orientation, the former superintendent writes:

— pre-vocational training with special emphasis on homemaking since the girls will eventually be homemakers, religious training, extra-curricular activities through Girl Scouts, Tri-Hi-Y, Garden Club, 4-H Club, Acrobatics Club, etc., all continue to give youngsters an opportunity to taste success and raise their usually low self-esteem.²

The following study is based on a year's experience (from June, 1970 to May, 1971) in the Connecticut Department of Children and Youth Services as Special Assistant in the Commissioner's office; interviews with judges and other officials of the "Juvenile Justice System"; juvenile court and departmental records and other relevant official documents, and discussions with myriads of the state's "wayward girls." On the basis of continuing contacts with some of these sources, it appears that most of the conditions described herein persist, perpetuated by the personnel with primary responsibility for the daily operation of the institutions — both judicial and correctional — despite equally determined administrative efforts to effectuate dramatic changes in direction.

GROUNDS FOR COMMITMENT

"It is recommended that X be committed to Long Lane School for her protection." — excerpt from probation report, Hartford Juvenile Court Records.

National reports reveal basic differences in rationales for incarceration of females as opposed to males. In 1967, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice cited statistics from the Children's Bureau indicating that "more than half of the girls referred to juvenile court in 1965 were referred for conduct that would not be criminal if committed by adults; only one-fifth of the boys were referred for such conduct." A similar profile done at Long Lane in the fall of 1970 of 64 girls then in residence disclosed that 71% of the delinquencies for which girls were committed by the Connecticut Juvenile Courts found no comparison in the adult criminal code. The most common "offenses" in order of frequency were: runaway, truancy, missing overnight and "sex (UM's)" (Unmarried Mothers in LLS notation).

Briefly summarized, the results of a survey of these two in-

stitutions in April, 1971 (based on 75% of the CSB population = 94 boys and 83% of the LLS population = 66 girls) are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1: RATIONALES FOR INCARCERATION FOR MALES AND FEMALES (APRIL 1971)

Reasons Cited for Commitment	Conn. School for Boys	Long Lane School
Assault	5	4
Breaking and Entering ^a	31 (33%)	
Car theft	18 (20%)	
Drugs		1
Incorrigibility	6	4 (6%)
Neglect	5	7 (11%)
Pregnancy		11 (16%)
Runaway	2	20 (30%)
Sexual Misconduct		10 (15%)
Shoplifting	2	8
Theft	21 (22%)	
Truancy	4	1
TOTAL	94 males	66 females

^a Four females were involved in breaking and entering with their boy-friends, but were not charged.

To explain the data, several observations are in order. First of all, juvenile court records being what they are, it was often difficult to determine exactly the immediate cause of commitment. For instance, the reason why the runaway figure for boys is so low is not because boys stay at home, but because boys usually commit far worse acts in the course of absconding (car theft, breaking and entering, etc.). Drug offenses are usually incorporated in shoplifting or theft charges. Incorrigibility is an obvious catchall, and for the girls, sexual misconduct, pregnancy, runaway and incorrigibility fuse together. The neglect heading covers those where no specific offenses were described, but where the child had no place else to go, and the authorities decided that they were vagrants.

Certain overall patterns are still clear. The boys' ratio of comparable adult crimes holds close to the national average as cited above: only 18 percent of their commitment papers list reasons for strictly juvenile offenses. Exactly the opposite is true for their female peers: 80 percent of their incarcerations were rationalized by behavior histories which would have no legal weight in an adult criminal court.³ This four-fifths percentage is even well above the national estimate of "more than half."

Since for the most part, girls are in for far less serious delinquencies, this should be logically reflected in their length of institutionalization. Contrary to this assumption, national

statistics over the last decade reveal an average of two months' longer terms of confinement for female juvenile offenders (Children's Bureau, 1960-1971; Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, 1970; Gold, 1970: 18-20). This difference is likewise evident in Connecticut practices as demonstrated by Table 2.

TABLE 2: VARIATIONS IN LENGTH OF STAY BETWEEN MALES AND FEMALES (APRIL, 1971)

Number of Months in Institution	Conn. School for Boys	Long Lane School
One	9	2
Two	9	2
Three	9	8
Four	12	6
Five	9 ^a	7
Six	3	7
Seven	4	10
Eight	3	3
Nine	2	3
Ten		1
Eleven		1
Twelve	4	1
Thirteen	1	1
Fourteen	4	2
Fifteen	7	1
Sixteen		
Seventeen	2	
Eighteen	1	1
Over eighteen	15	6
TOTAL	94 males	66 females

^a Fifty-one percent of the boys were in for five months or less.

Prior to January 1969 and the creation of the Department of Children and Youth Services,⁴ children were committed by the Juvenile Court directly to one of the institutions until they reached the age of majority or were discharged by the institution's board of trustees. Girls at Long Lane were almost always assured of spending eighteen months as a fixed period of stay—boys could expect about six to seven months at Meriden. Both were subject to return to the schools until they were twenty-one. With the development of the new state agency in Hartford to oversee public programming for children in trouble, judges were only empowered to commit a child to the custody of the Commissioner for two years. The Commissioner is required by statute to review their commitments every six months, may discharge them at any time, or may apply to the Juvenile Court for another two-year extension if necessary.⁵

In the one and one-half years the Department has been in existence, the average length of stay at the boys' school has

worked out to be five months, at Long Lane seven months. The major reason of persisting inequality in confinement periods between the two institutions lies in the attitudes of the staff who prepare the six-month case summaries for the Commissioner to review. The staff at Meriden is often anxious to see boys return to the community and tends to have plans worked out at the five-month "progress meetings" at the school. At Long Lane, staff often insists that a girl finish an academic term even though her behavior would warrant release, or they may fear "summer temptations" if a girl is released over the summer with nothing to "keep her occupied," or they may keep a girl through a pregnancy and for two months afterwards until she is "medically cleared." Other reasons go to visiting regulations and disciplinary practices which will be discussed later in this paper. Hopefully, the staff at both schools will soon be pressed to "plan for placement" from the day a juvenile is committed to the Department, and return to the community will be effected as soon as practical.

Blame for detention by default can often be assigned to juvenile court judges who too freely commit children to the Department who really don't belong in a traditional correctional setting, but who have no readily available placement alternative in the community. Witness some comments made by juvenile court personnel in the course of considering these cases:

1. I asked one of the judges about sending a pregnant girl to Long Lane. The response: "Why, most of the girls I commit are for status offenses. I figure if a girl is about to get pregnant, we'll keep her until she's sixteen and then ADC (Aid for Dependent Children) will pick her up!"
2. ". . . it is not that Diane has committed a crime, but in Juvenile Court she is found to need the protection of the State . . . the Court does not want to put you in another situation where you might get pregnant or where you would fail. It is my feeling you might be better at Long Lane."
3. "Judge X said he was not worried about how she got along with girls, but it was the boys that worried him . . . he thought that for her own sake and security, he would enter a finding of delinquency and commit her to the Department of Children and Youth Services to be placed at the Long Lane School."
4. "Judge X advised Cynthia that of the girls that leave Long Lane, about half do something for themselves, perhaps. . . . He advised her not to get herself involved with the drug addicts and the other runaways at Long Lane as it would only give her more grief. . . . He said he was forced to send her to Long Lane in order to help her. She said she didn't feel this was any help."

Perhaps saddest of all are the case summaries written by the staff at the Long Lane School for the Commissioner's six-

month review. They not only depict wretched situations of young women who could only be hopelessly harmed by "treatment" at Long Lane, but they also give clear expression to the insensitivity of their counselors who present their case for them. The following are four such summaries which came up for review by the Commissioner in the last year:

HISTORY: Doris was referred to the Court by the Youth Bureau, who indicated that Doris had been missing several times in August, 1970 and was an habitual runaway. At least three foster home placements were tried but failed because of her inability to get along with others and her late hours, as well as longer absences from home. Doris was pregnant when she was committed to the School.

ADJUSTMENT: Doris has had a difficult time adjusting to Long Lane. She cannot relate to her peers and resents most adult authority figures. She demands constant attention and has received numerous discipline reports. Doris projects the blame for her behavior onto others. She has a dull normal awareness of social nuances which may cause one to rate her overall abilities somewhat higher than is the case. Actually, Doris has a meager fund of general background information on which to rely, and she may frequently place herself in situations that confuse her. Emotionally she displays much childishness and she may act much like a ten-year-old, which is also the mental age displayed in much of her intellectual production. Doris may feel that she has to play at being an adult because of her pregnancy. Projective responses suggest that she has identified with her mother in having a baby. She wants to have a baby need her, be dependent upon her, to be a good mother who cares for her child. She reveals many of these same feelings in her relationship with her mother, in that she wants to be dependent upon her, and would like her mother to show her more attention. Doris has a fiance whom she plans to marry. This may be good for Doris as she receives little attention at home. Doris was referred to Division of Child Welfare in planning for the baby. She gave birth to a baby boy on March 29, 1971 and the baby will be placed in a foster home.

RECOMMENDATION: It is recommended that Doris be placed as soon as she is medically cleared from the birth of her baby. The other girls have spared Doris only because she was pregnant, but several of them have made threats about what they will do to her when she returns from the hospital. Because of Doris' obnoxious behavior it is feared that these threats may be carried out if Doris is not placed as soon as possible.

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HISTORY: Pat became known to Juvenile Court because of several runaways from the home of her father and step-mother as well as for sexual promiscuity. At the time of her commitment we were informed that Pat was three months pregnant, but upon examination it was found this was not so. Pat's own mother reportedly left father to go South, but he claims not to know her whereabouts. Apparently a succession of women cared for Pat before father remarried, though it is felt that step-mother is not particularly interested in Pat.

ADJUSTMENT: Pat's overall adjustment in her cottage is fair. She appears as a particularly lazy girl and seems to need prodding to do what is expected. Personal hygiene is fair, but care of room is poor. The cottage report indicates that it is felt family problems hinder her relationships at the School. Her behavior in the cottage is described as scheming, instigating, aggressive, demanding, immature, and lethargic. Pat has runaway from the School on three occasions.

RECOMMENDATION: Since Pat's home visits at Christmas time and in January, she has become increasingly concerned about returning home, as it is difficult for her to accept the rejection of her step-mother. She claims she wants to live with her mother, although mother's whereabouts is unknown, and from the father's description of her mother, the placement would not be realistic. It is therefore recommended that Pat remain at the School as she is not ready to cope with community living and more time will be needed to explore possible placement.

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HISTORY: In November of 1969 Brenda was referred to the Court as she had been missing from home for three days. Upon investigation it was learned that Brenda had been having *difficulty in the home with her relationship to her mother* and step-father, and was consequently unhappy. She was placed on probation, but in December it became known that Brenda had been sexually involved with several young men, and was therefore charged with violation of her probation. It seemed apparent that Brenda was using every means at her disposal to effect removal from the home.

ADJUSTMENT: In the past three months, Brenda has displayed *much less control* than she did her first three months at the School. During this past three months she has received eleven conduct reports. These have ranged from talking in class to refusing to go to her room to running away. About two months ago Brenda's cottage assignment was changed, and since that time she has shown some improvement. She seems to go through stages of feeling she "has to do something." It is felt that she needs to gain self-control in order to cope with her moods.

RECOMMENDATIONS WITH OBJECTIVES: There is not a definite placement plan at this time. Brenda's family have been somewhat rejecting of her and have only visited occasionally. Brenda has a great deal of ambivalence concerning her family, and this will have to be worked out more before plans can be made for Brenda's return home. The family has appeared cooperative but has shown little interest.

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HISTORY: Parents were married after the birth of several children, and mother left him to come to Norwalk ostensibly because they could not get along. She did confide in a social worker that she left because he treated the older girls as wives. Inez is fourth in the family of ten children, and her relationship with mother is one of discord. Intellectually limited, mother is employed full time, does the housework, and cares for her blind mother as well. Inez found her companionship on the street, and was missing from home on many occasions. She was truant from school despite concerted effort to involve her in special

programs. On admission to the School she was seven months pregnant.

ADJUSTMENT: Inez did well during her first three months at the School and up until her baby was born on March 13, 1970. Since that time she has had several conduct reports and it has been noted that it seems to be her immaturity that gets her into difficulty.

RECOMMENDATIONS WITH OBJECTIVES: In all probability the placement plan will be for Inez to return home. Inez can still benefit from the structure of the School; she needs to learn control and think before she acts. It is recommended that Inez remain at the School.

In order to understand the "structure" from which these girls are supposedly benefiting and the atmosphere to which they have difficulty adjusting, we will next turn to a description of the programming at Long Lane School with corresponding portions of the CSB operation for contrast.

COTTAGE LIFE ENVIRONMENT

The appearance of the Long Lane School in Middletown is much like a nineteenth century girls' finishing school. A low hedge surrounds the "campus" and the grounds are well landscaped with manicured flower beds and low shrubbery. Planting and grazing fields surround most of the farm which lies on the outskirts of Wesleyan University campus. Several small brick "cottages" are used as residential buildings which have a homey enough atmosphere until one notes the bars on the windows. Normal capacity is 200. Current population is about 80.

Cottages are staffed by housemothers (usually elderly) who live in a small suite on the main floor on a five days on, five days off shift. There are no male cottage personnel at Long Lane, the official reason being that the girls would be embarrassed to cross the hallways to the bathrooms if they were not fully clothed. At Meriden, cottage "parents" staff all living units full time, so that the boys are able to relate to both male and female adult figures. Several studies have shown that many girls' delinquency problems stem from poor rapport with their fathers (Johnson and Szurek, 1952; Michlin, 1970). Yet at Long Lane they are expected to resolve these difficulties in an all-female living situation.

Girls are assigned to small individual rooms furnished with a bed and a bureau which they may decorate within limits. When girls are in the rooms, the doors are closed and "belled." (A main signal board downstairs will sound a bell for any room when the door is opened.)

As opposed to the boys' school where the residents' biggest

complaint is "no privacy" because of their large dormitory arrangements, at Long Lane the girls spend extraordinary amounts of time locked in these rather cramped quarters. Because of the shift arrangement for staff working hours at the girls' school, all girls must be in their rooms for 8:30 p.m. bedtime. (Some go even earlier for disciplinary reasons. See section on Disciplinary System, *infra*.) Since the boys' school has round-the-clock coverage, boys at Meriden are allowed to stay up later and watch television or participate in recreational activities until eleven o'clock or so.

Since the cottage staff at Long Lane is not officially on duty from 8:30 p.m. to 6:00 a.m., girls are "belled in," given a bottle to urinate in, and expected not to bother the staff again until early morning wake-up. Girls are then lined up in the doorways and "excused" to go to the bathroom, one at a time, under close supervision, supposedly to cut down on "chicking" behavior (an undeveloped form of adolescent homosexual activity). The girls resent this whole procedure and find it degrading. The American Correctional Association Consultants' study, done at the request of Commissioner Wayne R. Mucci almost a year ago, recommended that "girls should have complete privacy in the use of the bathroom area." (American Correctional Association, 1970: 25).

The cottages at Long Lane also contain two isolation rooms, which are solitary confinement cells, usually poorly heated and barren. A housemother was once reprimanded for giving a *staff* mattress pad to a girl for warmth, when she noticed her shivering during isolation during the winter. The ACA report remarks that these rooms are "inappropriate to have in the cottage setting," and cited them as "extremely disruptive and threatening to the other girls" (American Correctional Association, 1970: 34). No such rooms exist at CSB within the cottages.

Other discrepancies in daily living regulations include restrictions on: home newspapers (girls not allowed to receive any "upsetting" literature); mail (girls' mail is closely guarded both in terms of approved addresses and contents, to be written twice a week to "parents or approved relatives"—the boys have no such restrictions); smoking (due to the lack of a "sprinkler system at Long Lane to safeguard against fires," girls are forbidden to smoke, but staff can and are given careful instructions about flushing their butts "so as not to tempt the girls who clean up," and of course boys can at Meriden

and are even encouraged to smoke to relieve their tensions); gum chewing is prohibited for girls at Long Lane.

Girls at Long Lane quickly lose interest in their appearances, which they blame on the absence of men, the institutional laundry and clothing service (baggy pants and house frocks)⁶ and the high starch diet which is prepared in each cottage's kitchen. The food, incidentally, is excellent and was cited by the boys as CSB as the *only* part of the girls' school which they'd like to adopt.

In sum, then, girls are kept in the cottages by a staff whose primary concern seems to be with their own comfort. Individual rooms serve to keep these charges "out of sight, out of mind." The present emphasis on "cleanliness next to godliness" at Long Lane could most profitably be abandoned by giving the girls a hand in creating an atmosphere they would want to maintain. For instance, the ACA report "strongly recommended" that immediate efforts go to making the cottages "more casual, warm, inviting and non-threatening" (ACA, 1970: 24). Other aspects of life at Long Lane will be discussed in future sections of this paper.

DISCIPLINARY SYSTEM

Discipline plays a prominent role at Long Lane. The girls' school, for instance, has a special category of counselors whose sole responsibility is meting out discipline and counseling the girls about proper behavior.⁷ One counselor is assigned to each cottage at Long Lane and runs the weekly house council meetings there. These meetings are the school's answer to the student government concept. They begin by a recitation of the Long Lane pledge and the counselor's calling on a girl to enumerate the Seven Ideals. An indication of the esteem in which the girls hold this ceremony is evident in the device they've found to remember the Ideals: **Appreciation, Self-Respect, Self-Control, Honor, Obedience, Loyalty and (Courtesy).**

Disciplinary reports are then read about individual girls in the cottage. Written reports submitted by the cottage staff to the counselors are grounds for loss of "status" at Long Lane. Status is determined by the following stages: (1) "New Girl" for the first month; (2) "Trial Citizen" after one month if no serious disciplinary problems; (3) "Citizen" after two months (if she has been clear of discipline, she then becomes eligible to go on a monthly visit home); (4) "Honor Girl" after one good month on Citizenship Status (then can be elected vice-president of her cottage and go off-grounds for church; (5) "Honorable

Mention" after four months if she has been a Citizen and an Honor Girl for one full month each. These girls may get a three-hour pass to go off-grounds once a month and may be elected House President. Finally, there is Loss of Privilege Status where girls may get knocked down to the bottom rung and have to start all over again earning "privileges."

A detailed description of the rules and regulations governing the girls is unnecessary here. Suffice it to say that there are many; that there is considerable latitude for staff to interpret them; that they are often picayune and present an invitation to the girls to violate them. Disciplinary action for these infractions can be "lock," 5:30 bedtime, 7:30 bedtime, loss of privileges (seeing movies, going off-grounds with staff, etc.) or loss of Status.

"Lock" has been a serious bone of contention at the school for some time. The former Commissioner considered abolishing it altogether and met with adamant opposition from the institutional staff. The most he was able to do was see the mandatory discipline for "runaway" lowered from one week in "lock" for the first run and two weeks for the second to three days for the first run and six days for the second. This also applies to "planning runaway."

This form of discipline is carried out in the so-called DP rooms located in the Kimball Infirmary at the School. DP rooms have wire fences for doors and steel cots. They are also used for girls with behavioral problems. Often, if the Connecticut Valley Mental Hospital will not accept a transfer from Long Lane, a girl will have to be forcibly detained in one of these cages. Girls attempting suicide have been handcuffed to the cots. Pregnant girls who "act out" have been similarly restrained. Last year a campaign against "lock" was initiated by a small group of girls writing in a mimeographed school paper called *Like It Is*. That paper no longer exists and the teacher who sponsored it is no longer on the staff.

Until summer, 1970 a system also existed wherein non-citizens wore black knee socks. Citizens wore white. When Commissioner Mucci expressed his horror at this practice, one of the administrators replied, "Well, we have to tell them apart somehow. What do you want us to do — shave their heads?" It is difficult at best to reverse these processes which have been firmly entrenched for years in the institutions. Even directives issued straight from the Commissioner's Office are subtly sabotaged or met with a myriad of rationales for non-enforcement.

Hopefully with the installation of the new administration at Long Lane, some sweeping changes will be made.

Discipline at the boys' school is far less harsh, at least structurally. Connecticut School for Boys has been in a state of constant turmoil since the new Department took over, and the institutional staff is generally confused and disjointed — not sure *which* rules to follow or enforce any more. The school was the subject of a brutality investigation conducted by the Hartford office based on complaints by the boys of corporal punishment. Because there is very little supervisory control at CSB, chaos has reigned supreme with staff and boys doing pretty much as they like. There have been incidents of staff striking boys and boys assaulting staff, but it has been said that practically no disciplinary *system* of any kind exists at the boys' school.

Recently, with the help of the Yale Psycho-Educational Clinic, a modified form of "token economy" based on earning points for specific privileges and having them taken away for misbehavior has been instituted in two "experimental" cottages at Meriden. Efforts are now being made to develop a new approach to discipline at CSB which will be uniformly enacted and will be far less repressive than that at Long Lane.

Usually the damage done to the girls is a more covert psychic brutality, with the more aggressive, non-institutionalized individuals being systematically squelched and a passive, obedient girl emerging as the finished product.

TREATMENT

Clinical services at Long Lane are minimal. The social workers handle mostly parole cases and put out the fires of immediate institutional crisis. The counselors handle discipline. There is one full-time psychologist who spends much time administering tests and one part-time psychiatrist who is at the school on Saturday mornings. There is little coordination or cooperation with local mental health facilities, which either accept Long Lane girls and sedate them until they are practically catatonic, or reject them and leave them to try new and imaginative suicides in the School's DP rooms. Two common forms of self-destructive activity with delinquent girls are "cutting up" (wrist-slashing) or tattooing (which often leads to blood poisoning and other infections).

The medical services are poor at best. Treatment by an aging doctor and two nurses often consists of aspirin or "a shot

to quiet her down." Very little dietary help is available to girls who have weight problems. Sex education is forbidden by law.⁸

However, a great deal of interest is taken in a girl's sexual history and habits. A girl is subjected to several interrogations upon entrance to Long Lane about her past sexual relations, her menses, any vaginal discharges, etc. If a girl is pregnant upon commitment by the Juvenile Court (several more become pregnant on runaway), she is allowed to remain in a cottage until the seventh month of her pregnancy at which time she must move into the infirmary. Girls are taken to Middlesex Hospital in Middletown for delivery, kept in a ward overnight, then returned to Long Lane for six more weeks to be "medically cleared." Babies are usually given up for adoption.

The prevailing attitude at the school is very much a "pay to the piper" one. Pregnancy is seen as "getting what she deserves" and staff hope that if girls are made to live through one in such a punitive surrounding, then perhaps "it" won't happen again. Consider the comments of the following young unwed mother, who had been committed to Long Lane because she couldn't get along with her step-father, ran away from the school, got pregnant and was returned to "live out her pregnancy," and was finally released two years later to a foster home after turning the mirrors away so that she wouldn't even see the baby in the delivery room.

I am presently in this "unmentionable" [a twist on the staff's designation of "UM" for unmarried] situation. Maybe if we don't talk about it it will go away. Unfortunately this is not so. People say that motherhood is such a beautiful thing. Don't you believe it. Why is it looked down upon here? It isn't the baby's fault. Some people might say it isn't my fault. The Bible says: "He who is without sin may cast the first stone." It is too late to look in the past, now we should look to the future.

Citizenship is an honor. How does an "unmentionable" feel about this? What privileges of Citizenship are retained when she is in this condition? Off campus privileges are denied. Reasons are given. The school is responsible for the girl's health. Some girls feel that the true reason is that people are ashamed of their condition. It is hard to understand this denial of privileges. Each "unmentionable" girl is an individual, and should be treated as such. It would be a tremendous uplift for pregnant girls to enjoy the full benefits of Citizenship.

Abortions are anathema to the staff at Long Lane. Many girls have done serious damage to themselves trying to induce miscarriages. This whole area of treatment for young pregnant women is coming under review by the new Commissioner. Any new policy, however, is subject to political approval.

The American Correctional Association's Consultant Report (1970: 61) decried the "complete lack of a professional approach in the child care program at the Long Lane School." Services provided at the boys' school, however, are not that much better. There are three psychologists and two part-time psychiatrists at the Connecticut School for Boys (when the positions are filled). Theoretically this should allow for much more therapy, both group and individual, than at Long Lane. Nevertheless in the past the clinical staff at CSB has spent more time consulting with other staff and instigating and resolving staff in-fighting than working with the boys. The boys' school also has the supportive services of the Yale Psycho-Educational Clinic, and under their auspices, a new training program is beginning in Meriden for institutional personnel.

EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL "REHABILITATION"

Compared to CSB, the girls at Long Lane are better off in their academic program, although it still has serious shortcomings. There are girls at Long Lane Cady School (accredited) who have received high school diplomas—something unheard of at the boys' school. Yet the relative effectiveness of the LLS academic program may work an extra hardship on the girls in terms of opportunities to return home. Since the academic program at Meriden is so poor, the staff feels no hesitation in letting boys have extended vacations, trips and early home placements. Girls are often kept at Long Lane, not because of behavioral problems, but "to complete a successful academic program." Very little effort is made to arrange special academic programming in the community for Long Lane girls whose behavior warrants their release.

Plans are currently under consideration in the Commissioner's office to close down the school building in Meriden and to make the LLS Cady School co-educational. Multi-media reading lab equipment from the boys' school would then be moved to Middletown and other departmental resources could be concentrated on that one facility. Better teachers could be recruited and the physical plant renovated. A new curriculum could be developed and experimental reorganization attempted. Perhaps only such a dramatic shift could serve as a catalyst to more than incremental change at either institution. Otherwise the LLS staff will continue running their well-ordered classrooms while CSB demands all the attention because of constant crises in the classrooms.

The most blatant forms of sexual stereotyping are evidenced in vocational programming at each institution. The ACA consultants indicated that "vocational and work assignments at both schools are . . . pretty much of the conventional type." (American Correctional Association, 1970: 48). Their report did not even comment on the obvious discrepancies *between the types* of training and work programs at CSB and Long Lane.

In the section of the report on vocation education, the following trades are listed for the girls: sewing, cooking, cosmology (grooming), laundry work, home economics, janitorial, storeroom, gardening and horticulture; side-by-side with the boys' list: print shop, woodworking, small engines, auto mechanics, bakery, electronics. A forestry training program is also underway and boys assist carpenters and painters at CSB on local jobs. As usual the boys have a good paper program which falls somewhat short of its potential in practice—the girls don't even have that.

Changing the LLS vocational offerings entails changing the philosophies and expectations of the female staff there. They take pride in their mission to turn out good homemakers. All their reports emphasize this role. In a state progress report under the heading of "Industries or Work Program," Long Lane has simply written "not applicable." The Commissioner's office continually receives memos from LLS describing their "vocational programs" which would be a great source of amusement (at the author's obvious obliviousness) were it not for the young female "trainees" involved:

Sewing, cooking, waitress training, housekeeping, horticulture and beauty culture are some of the areas offered for training. . . . In depth training is not possible but it is hoped that some experience in one or two of these areas may prove beneficial in selecting an area of vocational interest.

Furthermore, boys are paid for their work at CSB (albeit 15¢/hour), girls are not. It apparently never occurred to anyone to rectify this inequity until the girls starting complaining to the former Commissioner. A request has been submitted to the 1971 Connecticut Legislature to provide funding for this purpose (allow higher wages for *both* schools) as of July, 1971, the new fiscal year.

When vocational programming for young women is viewed in conjunction with female unemployment statistics, its importance takes on additional weight. As Sarah Gold stressed in her study of similar conditions in New York: "Unemployment has been shown to be a significant factor in the occurrence

of juvenile delinquency. . . . Girls consistently have a higher rate of unemployment than boys, and non-white girls have the highest unemployment rate of any group in the country" (Gold, unpublished paper, 1970; Eldefonso, 1967: 41). Young girls often leave Long Lane and turn to prostitution or premature marriage because they are simply not prepared to do anything else.

RELIGION AND RECREATION

Although a strange pairing, recreation and religion go hand in hand at Long Lane. As a matter of fact, often the girls' *only* recreation is a religious activity and then it boils down to a choice between staying in one's small room or joining the flock. For example, Long Lane submitted the following schedule of their *Events for the Week* to the Commissioner's office:

FRIDAY, JANUARY 15

7:00 p.m. Movie: "Sail a Crooked Ship"

[Girls in lock or confined to their rooms or on 5:00 or 7:30 bedtime cannot attend.]

SATURDAY, JANUARY 16

10:00 a.m. Confession

10:00 a.m. Protestant Religious Education

1:00-4:30 Mosaic Workshop in the Chapel

[Girls spend the rest of this time in their rooms due to staffing shortage on weekends, unless their parents come to visit. (See Visiting Regulations and Privileges, *infra*.)]

SUNDAY, JANUARY 17

8:30 a.m. Catholic Mass

9:30 a.m. Catholic Religious Education Classes

4:00 p.m. Choir

4:45 p.m. Vespers

MONDAY, JANUARY 18

1:30 p.m. Choir rehearsal

TUESDAY, JANUARY 19

8:30 a.m. No School, Sewing Classes or Greenhouse

8:15 a.m. Store

12:30 p.m. Choir rehearsal

[Girls may go in their cottage groups once a month to purchase small articles in the School Store.]

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20

1:30 p.m. Choir rehearsal

7:00 p.m. Recreation (Pratt and Kimball)

[Two cottages at a time will either be matched in some sport or will listen to records or some other group activity. Once again, only girls not in lock or confined to their rooms or on 5:00 or 7:30 bedtime can participate.]

THURSDAY, JANUARY 21

12:30 p.m. Choir rehearsal

7:00 p.m. Recreation (Briggs and Browning)

As the Long Lane administration freely admits, "no overall, structured recreation program exists." The boys' school has had recreational personnel on the staff who have been more or

less active over the years. CSB has a pool (which a few girls were allowed to use periodically last summer) and baseball and basketball teams. Most boys in Meriden spend their free time clustered around pool tables in the basement of every cottage. This winter some fifty volunteers from the University of Connecticut have started coming to Meriden in the evenings to engage the boys in a greater variety of activities. (At least the boys have this time available at night—by the time such volunteers could get to Long Lane, the girls would probably have to go to bed!)

The girls look forward to the summer, when an influx of young “summer staff” come to the school and beach trips, picnics and more energetic events are arranged. This summer, the wife of the CSB recreational supervisor has been hired to develop a similar program at Long Lane. Hopefully, several aides will be assigned to work with her. In the past summers, cottage groups have been able to go to the beach only once every three weeks, and then they are so closely monitored (must cluster on blankets around staff, only go to the water when accompanied by staff, ask the staff to buy them ice cream, because girls aren’t allowed to carry their own money, etc.) that much of the fun is undercut. Some girls may also attend a Girl Scouts’ Summer Camp for a few weeks. Occasionally girls will be taken on field trips or to an arranged social event with some men at Fairfield University. But all of these activities involve only a select group of girls (usually those on Honor Status). Otherwise, girls must make special requests of staff to take them off grounds.

For the most part, “recreation” at Long Lane consists of a few unstructured hours in the cottages when girls may watch TV, listen to records or the radio, read, play table games, etc. Movies are shown once a week and have traditionally been of such poor quality that girls either sleep, talk, or ask to be excused from the auditorium to return to their room. Trips to movies in the surrounding community are usually impossible to schedule due to the 8:30 bedtime. Plans are to set up a joint entertainment committee for both schools under the direction of the new recreation supervisors so the residents may choose their own activities in the future.

VISITING REGULATIONS AND PRIVILEGES

Perhaps the most indefensible differences between the boys’ and girls’ schools exist in the realm of visiting regulations. Girls at Long Lane were understandably upset when they heard that

their male peers were allowed a seven-day Easter vacation while girls' parents were not even allowed to visit their daughters *at the school* on Easter. The visiting regulations for Long Lane girls are numerous and restrictive (which does not at all facilitate the stated purpose of strengthening or rebuilding family relationships). Parents of boys at CSB, on the other hand, have virtually unlimited access to their sons and are encouraged to visit them often, in the hopes that this might cut down on the number of runaways.⁹

Because of the complicated status and disciplinary structure at Long Lane, girls released at the end of six months have usually been unable to make more than a couple of visits to their homes. If a girl was committd because of difficulties in the home to begin with, this is one sure way to lessen the possibility of those difficulties being resolved. The stark visitor's room at the school is hardly conducive to private personal discussions.

Parents often have to travel a long way to see their daughters at Long Lane and are somewhat discouraged from making the trip when they receive notice that visits may only be from two to three hours, accompanied by a long list of confusing rules governing that time. Although the school supposedly offers counseling in "family services," this rarely occurs, and little attempt is made to bridge the gap between parents and child. Since such contact is minimal prior to a girl's release, a valuable source for evaluating readiness for placement is lost.

Furthermore, eligibility for visits has very little to do with a girl's *good* behavior (although if she receives a disciplinary report, she will lose her visiting rights). For girls with no serious conduct reports at the school, visits are still a matter of waiting for the allotted times. When asked why a girl whose behavior (or family situation) warrants it couldn't go home more often, the staff responded that it would create jealousies and strife among the residents — yet this is done in other institutions all the time.

An announcement concerning Long Lane's privilege system, billed by the superintendent as revolutionary or at least a sweeping reform, was recently handed down to the girls in Long Lane's Chapel. The superintendent may soon subject herself to a revolution of rising expectations. After expecting so much, and hearing all of the changes which the new superintendent had made at CSB, the girls were told they would be:

- 1) "entitled to attend House Council Meetings" as new girls (but not have their parents visit them more than two times that first month nor write more than two letters per week to them nor go off grounds nor walk unescorted on grounds);
- 2) eligible to be Trial Citizens after one month and go off grounds with a staff member and escort herself (but not escort another girl, "carry the mail bag"¹⁰ nor run errands nor go off grounds to church nor attend school-sponsored activities off grounds);
- 3) eligible for "Citizenship" status after another month, able to visit with her family off grounds for three hours on Saturday and participate in off campus school events, "escort New Girls and girls on Loss of Privilege Status," carry the mailbag, run errands and run for election as secretary of her cottage. "A full citizen may have a two-day weekend visit as soon as she earns full citizenship. Visits may begin after 4:00 p.m. on Friday, and girls must return by 7:00 p.m. Sunday. If a Citizen does not earn Honor Girl Status one month after becoming a Citizen, she will not be entitled to another visit until she does become an Honor Girl."¹¹
- 4) eligible to become Honor Girls if "she has been clear of all disciplinary reports for one month" and able to go off grounds all day Saturday with their family, visit home every four weeks, go off grounds to church, write three letters a week to family members.
- 5) after four months, eligible to receive Honorable Mention if she has been an Honor Girl for one month and clear of disciplinary reports for two months [a pretty difficult task]. These girls will then be permitted two off-grounds trips in one week, a three hour pass once a month to go off grounds either escorted or unescorted between the hours of 8:30 and 4:30 on Saturday and Sunday. No more than two girls may go together.

It is most difficult to move in any sort of liberalizing direction at Long Lane without meeting strong resistance from the staff. The administration at the school obviously thought they had made a huge concession in making this announcement and expected the girls to show the Appreciation recited in their Seven Ideals. The Commissioner is anxious to get Long Lane moving into the twentieth century, but has also got to cope with staff grievances (backed by a strong union) and the kind of subtle staff malingering which evidences a concerted effort towards progress prevention.

GROUNDS FOR PLACEMENT AND RETURN

It is extraordinarily difficult to find placement alternatives for adolescent girls unable to return to their own homes. Many foster home families have several children of their own and tend to use ex-Long Lane girls as mother's helpers or domestics. Most other agencies, public and private, concentrate on males who present the most (to them) pressing problem. There are

currently two half-way houses for young women in the state, each with a small capacity and long waiting list.

As might be expected, several of the prevailing attitudes of Long Lane administrators discussed earlier in this paper influence placement decisions in a similar fashion (*i.e.*, "summer temptations" have been cited by concerned disciplinary counselors as the cause for delayed placement). Also, since girls are carried longer on parole than their male counterparts at CSB ("for their own protection"), there is a greater chance of their being returned for violation of parole.

Comparable concerns were documented in a case study of female juvenile offenders in Kentucky (Fine and Fishman, 1968) where the researchers found it very difficult to assemble recidivism statistics because of the vagueness in the recorded reasons for return and the differing time periods.¹²

The following are excerpts from requests for return which the Long Lane staff has submitted to the Commissioner:

- 1) On April 26, 1971, Policewoman advised she believed Cynthia was living with a black family in Meriden and may be in danger of becoming pregnant. . . . [returned by social worker April 29]
- 2) Crystal's aunt reports that Crystal has been keeping late hours and is often seen in the company of older men. [Aunt] has been very tolerant of Crystal, but now feels she can no longer keep her in her home. . . .
- 3) Adele's unhappiness at home was increasingly interfering with her school performance and her mid-year marks were indicative of the possibility that she would fail the school year and would be unable to graduate . . . [Mother] has been quite uncooperative with the School and has not informed Adele of appointments that Worker has scheduled to see Adele. Adele's attitude toward the entire situation seems apathetic. Worker feels that Adele should return to the School and remain here until placement is located for her where she will receive the encouragement to complete high school and the guidance necessary for her future. [Returned January 5, 1971] [A later entry in this record reveals that Commissioner Maloney had Adele enrolled in a special distributive education program in Middletown on January 11, 1971.]

According to Public Act No. 664 (1969), a juvenile may be returned to the institutions by the Commissioner or his designee at any time for violation of parole but the statute also requires a two-year custodial limit, unless the Commissioner petitions the Juvenile Court for another two-year extension. When the new Department of Children and Youth Services first began reviewing the institution's parole caseloads, it was discovered that Long Lane had kept some women under their control for as long as seven years (until they were twenty-one). The fol-

lowing are requests for discharge of girls finally submitted to the Commissioner for approval in April 1970:

- 1) Committed: January 19, 1965
Placed: July 6, 1966
"Daisy has three out-of-wedlock children and is expecting a fourth. She lives in her own apartment and provides good physical care for her children. She is supported by A.D.C. and manages very well."
- 2) Committed: July 22, 1965
Placed: August 31, 1967
"Linda spent two years in a placement where she worked as a mother's helper. She then moved and is presently living with her grandparents in Norwich. She is presently unemployed."
- 3) Committed: January 29, 1965
Replaced: August 29, 1969
"Paula is presently living with a friend and is unemployed. Paula does not get into any serious difficulty, but is extremely lazy and will let other people take care of her as long as possible."

Massive lists were sent up to the Hartford office, all about 20- and 21-year-old former Long Lane residents with similar stories. It became obvious that the school had not done very much for their wards¹³ other than to keep them out of circulation. Girls on "after-care" status were often blamed for not "contacting" the school, and their names were submitted for discharge four years after the school had last known of their whereabouts. Rather than follow through on their responsibilities for parole supervision, then, the school had again adopted a sort of "out of sight, out of mind" mentality until the request for discharge was required.

Very few follow-up studies have been done on institutionalized female juveniles. As is obvious from the above summaries, just because a girl is not returned to Long Lane does not necessarily mean she has made a good adjustment to the community. As the Kentucky researchers remark: "An unanswered question here is: do the girls who follow a pattern of borderline adjustment as adults represent a success or failure on the part of the institution? On the one hand it may be argued that they represent a success in that they do not officially become adult offenders; on the other hand some certainly may be said to represent a failure inasmuch as they are dependent upon society for their needs, because of their inability to maintain themselves as individuals" (Fine and Fishman, 1968: 21).

CONCLUSION

Several remedies suggest themselves after studying the conditions of incarceration for female juvenile offenders in the State of Connecticut. However, an understanding of the causes of those conditions and the practical obstacles to change leads to a rejection of most traditional approaches, namely litigation which is often effectively mooted,¹⁴ and legislative action (short of lobbying for placement funds). Even an able and committed Commissioner with ultimate control over his Department has experienced great difficulty in effecting some of the reforms he so clearly wishes to see accomplished. Nonetheless with concentrated and supportive action with an enlightened administrator, the greatest possibility exists for forward movement.

It is conceivable that the Commissioner might welcome litigation in some instances to force legislative appropriations for new resources and facilities. Press coverage might also be encouraged if inspired by reporters concerned with arousing public interest and involvement in the correctional process and not with sporadic sensationalist exposés which only serve to kindle public fear and anger. The needs of the Department are: (1) recruitment of newly trained and sensitive staff; (2) political support for innovative programs; (3) financial and professional resources; (4) a public educated about the causes and possible treatment of juvenile delinquency; and (5) self-critical, energetic, and highly qualified Juvenile Court and law enforcement personnel. The corresponding obstacles the Commissioner has to surmount are: (1) a defensive, inbred civil-service correctional staff; (2) political apathy or cross-firing; (3) budget cutbacks and a general hiring freeze imposed by a frugal new administration committed to a stringency campaign; (4) public ignorance and fear of "uncontrollable" youth, inflamed by stories of training school jungles and runaways from the Connecticut School for Boys stealing citizens' cars and burglarizing their homes; and (5) other personnel of the Juvenile Justice System who have traditionally viewed delinquency commitments as a means of ridding themselves of troublesome cases.

In light of the above needs and obstacles a number of procedures need to be investigated to correct the current situation: litigation, legislation, mass media "white papers" and administrative action. However, whatever the eventual correctional procedures used, it is nevertheless clear that perhaps the best service which any state could offer its delinquent girls is to refrain from "doing them good." Ironically, even most of the

young females interviewed for this study prefer punishment to protection, because then “they can’t give you any more than you deserve.” In summing up the whole situation, one is tempted to paraphrase Kris Kristofferson’s song “Law is for Protection of the People” as follows:

*Law is for protection of the people
Rules are rules and any fool can see
We don’t need no pregnant girls and deviants
Shocking decent folks like you and me
No siree*

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Although the recently appointed LLS Superintendent Dr. Santori has wrought some changes in the institution since this writing, until there is a major influx of new staff and new attitudes, conditions are destined to remain virtually unchanged.
- ² Statement by Superintendent of the Long Lane School, September 16, 1969.
- ³ With the exception of Connecticut’s anachronistic “manifest danger” statute (Connecticut General Statutes Section 17-379) which is a female offense for girls between sixteen and twenty-one. Even though the new Model Penal Code went into effect in Connecticut on October 1, 1971, the “manifest danger” provisions were kept intact. The only “progressive” change made was that a “girl” is able to request the court to expunge her record for conviction on manifest danger charges and subsequent incarceration after she is 21 and a certain period of time has elapsed with no further involvement with the law.
- ⁴ See Public Act No. 664 (1969).
- ⁵ See Public Act No. 664 (1969), Section 15.
- ⁶ The following is an excerpt from a LLS resident’s comments about their “dress code”:

“Everything’s in style, but we at LLS are denied the privilege to wear these. What’s wrong with us? What is it? The minis might show our voluptuous bodies; the pants, our fat ugly shapes; the sandals, our stinky feet smothered by socks. . . . The girls at LLS are no different than any other girls. They enjoy fashion just as well as anyone else. We should be allowed to dress as we please . . . the regulations shouldn’t be so severe and binding.”
- ⁷ Although these counselors are usually women in their mid-twenties, they are quickly swept up into the punitive mentality which pervades the staff at the school. I have seen these women take on an almost split personality, leading normal social lives on the “outside” and yet becoming repressive “school marms” in the house council settings.
- ⁸ Connecticut General Statutes 53-32 was recently repealed, effective October 1, 1971. After that date, information on contraception will be available at the school, although no formal educational program is currently contemplated.
- ⁹ Approximately 90 percent of the runaways head for home, according to a study done by this writer during a six-month period from June 1970-November 1970 at both Long Lane School and the Connecticut School for Boys. Girls often run, too, to see their boyfriends who are not allowed to write or visit except under very special circumstances.
- ¹⁰ Carrying the mail bag is viewed as a real honor and mark of ultimate responsibility at Long Lane.
- ¹¹ Memorandum to the Commissioner from the Superintendent of Long Lane School, April 7, 1971. Page 2. (These new rules on visiting are more restrictive than the former system, both in terms of the length of the time allowed at home and the insistence that a girl achieve Honor Girl Status before going on another visit.)
- ¹² “Certainly, a girl who was sent from the institution to the only place which would have her, a very strict denominational school, and was

returned two days later to the institution because she walked off grounds against rules, could hardly be a recidivist, but she is counted so statistically. On the other hand, a girl who after as long as eighteen months of apparently conforming to community behavior reverts to old patterns or becomes involved in more serious legal difficulties than originally, is certainly a recidivist. In most instances the reason for return is merely indicated as parole violation and the significant details never become apparent" (Fine and Fishman, 1968: 21).

¹⁸ Prior to January, 1970 when the new Department came into existence, Long Lane had guardianship rights over all its committed girls — necessitating their approval for girls to marry, contract, etc. These "strings" were often held until a girl reached the age of majority. The Commissioner now has custody only for the two-year statutory commitment.

¹⁴ For a description of the frequent futility of juvenile court practice, see Kolker, "The Test Case and Law Reform in the Juvenile Justice System," *Yale Review of Law and Social Action*, Vol. 1, Nos. 1 and 2, Winter, 1970.

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