

Residential Environments for the Juvenile Justice System

A Deinstitutionalization Perspective

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RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENTS FOR THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

A Deinstitutionalization Perspective

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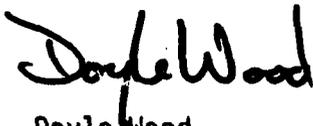
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FOREWORD

With the passage of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act in 1974, the United States Congress established a major piece of legislation. The subsequent amendments in 1977 extended the Act, which was designed to help agencies and citizen groups to develop and conduct effective delinquency programs and to provide urgently needed alternatives to detention and correctional facilities. The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, charged with implementing the Act, continuously supports efforts to provide alternative placements for youth who do not need to be detained or incarcerated in jails, detention facilities, state farms, camps and training schools. A juvenile justice system that resorts to incarceration masquerading as rehabilitation serves only to increase the already critical juvenile crime problem. Traditional, time worn, antiquated and unimaginative approaches to the problem of crime and delinquency must be rigorously reexamined and restructured.

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act places an emphasis on keeping juveniles in their own home or community to ensure maximum family involvement and to maintain community ties. Thus, there is an increase in the number of community-based residential alternatives being established to provide a viable alternative to the typical custodial approach which have traditionally characterized the facilities in which juveniles have been placed. With this increase and awareness of the need for humane, cost effective and home-like environment, the physical design of facilities is becoming increasingly important. The topics covered within this manual provides a basic foundation which should be used in a comprehensive planning effort to ensure the "new directions" being taken in the development of community-based alternatives will lead to the design of a facility suited for both the juvenile and the local community.



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INTRODUCTION

"We shape our buildings, and afterwards our buildings shape us."

Winston Churchill urging the restoration of the bomb-ruined House of Commons.

The architecture and design of facilities for juveniles have become important issues in the total scheme of juvenile justice planning. No longer can buildings be viewed simply as practical expedients for keeping the rain and wind out, the juveniles in. Besides accommodating the functions enclosed within them, buildings are capable of evoking profound human response. We will continue to shape buildings to suit our purposes, and these buildings will continue to shape us. If we expect them to fulfill the functions assigned to them and the greater purposes of human development, the burden now rests with those of us concerned with juvenile justice planning to establish the goals and values which, reflected in the built environment, will benefit the youth and society served. The physical attributes of space such as light, color and materials, the interrelationships of spaces and elements, even the size and location of spaces, all play a role in determining not only how efficiently a building functions, but also how lives will be shaped.

The philosophy underlying the design and planning of juvenile residential facilities is dominated by traditional custodial responses to children experiencing adolescent, family, and legal problems. In spite of continuing evidence of the often inappropriate and destructive nature of custodial responses, these facilities have changed little in the last 50 years. At best, efforts by the juvenile justice system have resulted in a modern version of the traditional institutional facility, which is characterized by security and capacity far in excess of community needs. While this direction is clearly contrary to

emerging national standards, it is nonetheless the prevailing attitude of those who plan and design juvenile residential facilities at the state and local levels.

The growth of the situation is vividly reflected in national estimates that serious crime rose 17 percent in 1974 and juveniles arrested for serious criminal acts increased 1600 percent in the past 20 years.¹ A disturbing aspect of this increase, however, is the seemingly unrestricted use of incarceration to deal with all types of serious and non-serious delinquent activity. The National Council on Crime and Delinquency estimates that of the one million juveniles under 18 who will become involved with the nation's juvenile courts each year, 600,000 will be held in secure detention pending court hearings. One hundred thousand will be committed to correctional institutions for indeterminate sentences.²

Even more disturbing is the predominance of status offenders held in an estimated 16,000 juvenile detention and correctional facilities, county jails and municipals lockups in this country. Status offenses are defined as offenses which would not constitute a crime if committed by an adult. These socially undesirable acts include intoxication, disobedience, truancy, sexual promiscuity, running away from home, and a host of others.

The disparity in response to status offenders is reflected in the estimate that of the 100,000 juveniles committed to correctional institutions 23% of the boys and 70% of the girls were there on status offenses.³

However, nine out of every ten children incarcerated at any given time are held in local detention facilities awaiting further court hearing. The National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections indicated that up to 500,000 youths are held in adult jails and municipal lockups each year. In addition, 494,286 youths were held in 303 juvenile detention facilities. "This total of nearly one million youth in jails and detention vastly exceeds the yearly total of youth held in all public training schools, halfway houses, camps, group houses, and so forth in the United States."⁴

The pioneering work conducted in this area by the Children's Defense Fund has documented the disproportionate representation of lower socio-economic and minority populations in secure detention, and dispelled the myth that these youths are detained for serious offenses. To the contrary, the Children's Defense Fund survey of 449 jails and lockups in nine states found only 8% to be charged with crimes to the person and over 17% charged with status or non-offenses.⁵ While the consequences of the social and emotional effect of incarceration on the growth and development of youth need further examination, we know that the vast majority of juvenile detention and correctional facilities, county jails, and municipal lockups are in deplorable condition. They provide inadequate program, procedural, and environmental situations for the juveniles currently in residence. Further, we know that detention begets commitment, and that once held in a secure setting the likelihood of continued incarceration is disproportionately increased.

We are continuously jolted by the increasing suicide rate of incarcerated youth, and the repeated occurrence of physical harm and sexual abuse which can only be considered as the tip of the iceberg, in view of the cloak of secrecy that surrounds the secure and obscure confines of facilities.

If the most disturbing aspect of the American practice of incarcerating juveniles is their increased admissions during the last decade, its most frustrating aspect is reflected in the continued administrative preoccupation with the inclusion of juvenile quarters within newly constructed jails. This is a clear indication that this trend, unabated, will continue for some time. For instance, over 40% of the 317 adult jails seeking funds under the recent public works legislation sought to include juvenile quarters.⁶

The major catalyst for change in this area has been the passage of the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. The President of the United States, in signing the reauthorization of the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, stressed that "...in many communities of our country two kinds of crimes, the serious and one not very serious, are treated the same, and young people have been incarcerated for long periods of time...

for committed offenses which would not even be a crime at all if they were adults...This Act very wisely draws a sharp distinction between these two kinds of crimes. It also encourages local administrators, states, and local government to deinstitutionalize those young people who have not committed serious crimes.⁷

The requirements of the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act with respect to children in juvenile residential facilities are unequivocal and embodied in section 223 a (12) (13):

(12) (A) provide within three years after submission of the initial plan that juveniles who are charged with or who have committed offenses that would not be criminal if committed by an adult, or such nonoffenders as dependent or neglected children, shall not be placed in juvenile detention or correctional facilities; and

(b) provide that the State shall submit annual reports to the Associate Administrator containing a review of the progress made by the State to achieve the deinstitutionalization of juveniles described in subparagraph (A) and a review of the progress made by the State to provide that such juveniles, if placed in facilities, are placed in facilities which (i) are the least restrictive alternatives appropriate to the needs of the child and the community; (ii) are in reasonable proximity to the family and the home communities of such juveniles; and (iii) provide the services described in section 103(1);

(13) provide that juveniles alleged to be or found to be delinquent and youths within the purview of paragraph (12) shall not be detained or confined in any institution in which they have regular contact with adult persons incarcerated because they have been convicted of a crime or are awaiting trial on criminal charges.⁸

The administrative guidelines issued by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention clearly interpret the Congressional mandate and establish acceptable levels of compliance for participation in the formula grants program of the Act.⁹

The movement of legislation to remedy the problems of juvenile delinquency has been principally directed toward changing the traditional response

of institutionalization overkill. Schools, parents, police, and the community at large have been required to examine their perception of juvenile delinquency, and their methods of dealing with "socially undesirable" behavior by youth in trouble. Recent standards set by the American Bar Association, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, the American Correctional Association, and the National Advisory Commission for Criminal Justice Standards and Goals have commented upon new directions for juvenile residential facilities, significantly expanding upon the existing literature in this area.¹⁰ Research documentation, interwoven with legal concepts and informed opinion by national leaders in the field, has provided a sound basis for this re-examination.

The purpose of this document is to consolidate, compare, and where appropriate, expand upon this milieu of information concerning juvenile residential facilities. It is generally directed to those communities which have closely examined their current court practices and implemented a range of non-residential alternatives to residential placement. It is specifically directed to the architectural profession which has and will continue to play a major role in the renovation and construction of juvenile residential facilities across the country.

Attention must be given to three major concerns in considering this information. First, it is important that the decision to place a juvenile in a residential program be determined by clear and objective criteria. This is particularly significant for youth awaiting court appearance, where historically the release decision has been contingent upon the non-legal biases of individual intake workers. Survey experience has indicated that youths with similar legal profiles will be detained at highly disparate rates, depending on individual perceptions of what personal characteristics constitute "likely to commit another offense", "likely to run", and "likely to harm himself".¹¹

Both the IJA-ABA Juvenile Justice Standards Project and the National Advisory Committee Report to the Administrator on Standards for the Administration

of Juvenile Justice recommend objective criteria based on offense, legal status, and legal history.¹² Experience has indicated that the use of objective criteria dramatically reduces the need for secure detention. Evaluative research currently underway will determine the effectiveness of these criteria in measuring the principal objectives of protecting the community and the court process.

Second, the residential program must be viewed within the context of a network of alternative programs directed toward the use of the least restrictive setting for each youth. Solely considering construction of a community-based shelter care facility for youths awaiting court appearances, for example, and excluding other options such as emergency foster care and home detention would severely limit flexibility. Such a monolithic approach would also inhibit response to rapidly-developing program innovations which meet the needs of youth on both a residential and non-residential scale.

Finally, and perhaps most important, it is essential to view the development of residential programs from the perspective of the young persons who will be living there albeit on a temporary basis. Traditionally, the views of police, youth workers, the courts and correctional officials, as well as the taxpayers and architects, have been most strongly represented in the development of juvenile residential facilities. It is clear that from an operational, financial, and design perspective, traditional interpretations of residential needs would be the most expedient, most convenient, and least costly alternative. However, this is not what the Act intended. Throughout, the Act mandates an advocacy posture on behalf of youth on all relevant issues, and seeks to provide a voice, or representation of their interests, in the planning and operation of all facets of the juvenile justice system. Therefore, considerations of size, security, location, and population have been sought from the young people who will potentially live in the facilities. This

approach has caused considerable disruption and inconvenience to those who traditionally plan, finance, design and operate juvenile residential facilities. While recent indications suggest that the trend toward large institutional facilities continues to prevail in many states, the Act has provided a basis for change where none previously existed.

The text of our analysis is directed toward an examination of various issues and ideas which significantly affect the development of juvenile residential facilities. In attempting to create change in the way in which these facilities are planned and implemented, the analysis will provide a comparison of research and standards in such areas as population, psychological and social needs, security, spatial utility and perception, and size and location. Viewed within the context of the principles stated above, the analysis will provide a resource of information well-suited to the deinstitutionalization mandates of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act.

RESIDENTIAL POPULATION CONSIDERATIONS

The population aspects of juvenile residential facilities have been the focus of considerable attention since 1974 due largely to the requirements of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. Certain characteristics of the residential population in juvenile facilities have been at issue for some time and include the propriety of commingling residents by offense, legal status, and age. Recently, specific positions have been advanced in favor of a prohibition on the commingling of criminal-type offenders and status or non-offenders, as well as the commingling of non-adjudicated youth awaiting court appearance and adjudicated youth placed in a residential treatment program.

Arguments against the commingling of criminal-type offenders and status or non-offenders may be summarized as follows:

- As the size of a facility increases, the quantity and quality of individualized attention will decrease and leave much of the "rule making" to peer pressure and dominant subcultures in the group.
- The negative self-image and stigma perceived by the community increases when the facility is identified primarily with criminal-type offenders.
- The norm established for program and supervision aspects of the facility is largely defined by the most difficult residents.

Arguments supporting a separation by legal status include:

- the pre-adjudicated detainees' presumed innocence, and the post-disposition groups' probability of being sophisticated delinquents who are not at present candidates for probation.
- the problems inherent in the mixture of a post-disposition population involved in on-going treatment programs and a short-term pre-adjudication population not eligible for these programs, and
- the disruptive effects of the crisis circumstances under which the pre-adjudication population is detained upon the juveniles involved in the treatment program.

With respect to comingling prohibitions in the Act, the area of most specific concerns is the widespread practice of comingling juveniles and adult offenders. The destructive nature of this practice is recognized in the two principle requirements of the Act:

- Section 223 a (12) prohibits the placement of status and non-offenders in facilities which also have adult offenders.
- Section 223 a (13) prohibits the placement of status and non-offenders in secure confinement facilities which house adult offenders and requires complete separation of juvenile criminal-type offenders from adult offenders in these types of facilities.¹³

In 1973, the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency heard clear and convincing testimony concerning the harmful effects of comingling juvenile and adult offenders:

Regardless of the reasons that might be brought forth to justify jailing juveniles, the practice is destructive for the child who is incarcerated and dangerous for the community that permits youth to be handled in harmful ways.

Despite frequent and tragic stories of suicide, rape, and abuses, the placement of juveniles in jails has not abated in recent years. A significant change in spite of these circumstances has not occurred in the vast majority of states. An accurate estimate of the extent of juvenile jailing in the United States does not exist. There is, however, ample evidence to show that the volume of juveniles detained has increased in recent years. The National Council on Crime and Delinquency in 1965 reported an estimate of 87,591 juveniles jailed in that year. Sarri found some knowledgeable persons estimate this has increased to today's high of 300,000 minors in one year. Approximately 66 percent of those juveniles detained in jail were awaiting trial. The lack of any alternative has been most frequently cited as a reason for detaining more and more youngsters in adult jails.¹⁴

Numerous examples of research, standards, state legislation, and court litigation provide a foundation for these observations by the Senate Subcommittee.

From two recent studies, insights may be derived in establishing a philosophical foundation for the consideration of "separation" of juveniles and adult offenders.

It is significant that the principle source of information used below was formulated by the Children's Defense Fund in their study, Children in Adult Jails, which includes on-site surveys of nearly 500 jails and lockups in 126 counties in nine states.¹⁵ This is an important consideration, given the historical controversy which exists between those conducting applied research and the practitioners who operate the facilities. One other major study relied upon in this discussion was the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections' Under Lock and Key: Children in Jails and Detention, which did not include on-site evaluation, but provides an exhaustive survey of the existing literature on the subject of juveniles in adult jails and lockups.¹⁶

These studies found that in this country, the placement of children in adult jails and lockups has long been a moral issue which has been characterized by sporadic public concern, and minimal action toward its resolution. It is suspected that the general lack of public awareness of this problem, and the low level of official action, is exacerbated by the absence of meaningful information as to its extent, and the low visibility of juveniles in jails and lockups. This situation is perpetuated by official rhetoric which cloaks the practice of jailing juveniles in a variety of poorly-conceived rationales. In fact, the time-honored, but unsubstantiated "rationales" of public safety, protection from themselves or their environments, and lack of alternatives break down under close scrutiny. In reality, the aggressive, unpredictable threat to public safety perceived by the community is often small, shy, and frightened. The Children's Defense Fund indicates that 18 percent of the juveniles in jails, in a nine-state area, have not even been charged with an act which would be a crime if committed by an adult; four percent have committed no offense at all. Of those jailed on criminal-type offenses, a full 88 percent are there on property and minor offenses. As is the case with all public institutions, minorities and the poor are disproportionately represented.¹⁷

Not until 1971, with the completion of the National Jail Census, did a clear and comprehensive picture of jails surface. By its own admission,

the Census showed only a snapshot of American jails and the people who live in them. Significantly, the Census excluded those facilities holding persons less than 48 hours. This is critical with respect to juveniles in that it is the police lockup and the drunk tank to which juveniles are so often relegated under the guise of "separation." The Census did, however, give us the first clear indication of the number of juveniles held in jail. On March 15, 1970, 7,800 juveniles were living in 4,037 jails.¹⁸ A comparable census in 1974 estimated that the number had grown to 12,744.¹⁹ The inadequacy of the data is compounded when a determination of the number of juveniles admitted to adult jails and lockups each year is sought. Surveys conducted by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency and the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections indicate that this figure ranges from 90,000 to 500,000.²⁰ The Children's Defense Fund, in its study of children in adult jails, indicates that even the half million figure is "grossly understated" and that "there is an appalling vacuum of information...when it comes to children in jails." Regardless of the true figure, it is clear that the practice of jailing juveniles has not diminished during the last decade.²¹

While the arguments for placing juveniles in jails are fragile and founded on incomplete and contradictory information, the arguments against holding juveniles in jails are concrete and well-researched. These arguments are summarized below:

...the "criminal" label creates a stigma which will exist far longer than the period of incarceration. This stigma increases as the size of the community decreases and affects the availability of social, educational, and employment opportunities available to youth. Farther, it is doubtful that the community's perception of the juvenile quarters in the county jails is any different than that of the jail itself.

...The negative self-image which a youth often adopts when processed by the juvenile system is aggravated by the impersonal and destructive nature of adult jails and lockups. Research continues to document the deleterious effects of incarceration and the conclusion that this experience, in and of itself, may be a contributing factor to continued delinquent activity.

...The practice of holding juveniles in adult jails is contrary to developments in juvenile law, and the juvenile justice system, which during the past 79 years have emphasized adamantly the separation of the juvenile and adult systems.

...The occurrence of physical harm and sexual abuse of juveniles by adults is well-documented and greatly increased within the confines of an adult jail or lockup.

In 1974, the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections assumed and defended the position that 'placing juveniles in adult jails and lockups should be entirely eliminated.'²² Similarly, the Children's Defense Fund advocated, 'To achieve the goal of ending jail incarceration of children, states should review their laws to prohibit absolutely the holding of children of juvenile court age in jails or lockups used for adult offenders.'²³

As early as 1961, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency stated that:

The answer to the problem is to be found neither in 'writing off' the sophisticated youth by jailing him nor in building separate and better designed juvenile quarters in jails and police lockups. The treatment of youthful offenders must be divorced from the jail and other expensive 'money saving' methods of handling adults.²⁴

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice established that "adequate and appropriate separate detention facilities for juveniles should be provided."²⁵

Subsequent national standards in the area of juvenile justice and delinquency prevention reaffirmed this position.

The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals states that "jails should not be used for the detention of juveniles."²⁶

The American Bar Association and the Institute for Judicial Administration affirmed that "the interim detention of accused juveniles in any facility or part thereof also used to detain adults is prohibited."²⁷

The National Sheriff's Association stated that "in the case of juveniles when jail detention cannot possibly be avoided, it is the responsibility of the jail to provide full segregation from adult inmates, constant supervision, a well-balanced diet, and a constructive program of wholesome activities. The detention period should be kept to a minimum, and every effort made to expedite the disposition of the juvenile's case."²⁸

The American Correctional Association stipulates that "juveniles in custody are provided living quarters separate from adult inmates, although these may be in the same structure."²⁹

While the statements by the NSA and ACA fall short of requiring the removal of juveniles from adult facilities, it is clear that anything less than sight and sound separation would not meet their requirements.

Virtually all the states allow juveniles to be detained in jails as long as they are separated from adult offenders. In addition, all states but Alabama, California, Colorado, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nevada, New York, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and Washington adhere to the Interstate Compact on Juveniles, Article IX of which deals with detention practices:

...to every extent possible, it shall be the policy of the states party to this compact that no juvenile or delinquent juvenile shall be placed or detained in any prison, jail or lockup not be detained or transported in association with criminal, vicious or dissolute persons.³⁰

In Children in Adult Jails, the Children's Defense Fund outlines issues which states face when they sanction the placement of juveniles in jail. One standard approach is to require that children be separated from adult prisoners. Separation, however, is not always defined in precise terms--sometimes a statute may specify that a different room, dormitory or section is necessary; in other cases statutes provide that no visual, auditory or physical contact will be permitted. In still other states, the language is unclear.³¹ We have seen that one response to implementing this separation requirement is to place children in solitary confinement. Legislatures are unaware of this consequence, however, and a separation requirement is usually not accompanied by a prohibition on placing children in isolation. In fact, none of the state statutes considered in Children in Adult Jails prohibits isolating children in jail.

It should be emphasized that a clear and strongly worded separation requirement is no guarantee that children held in jails will receive services

particularly geared to their special needs, i.e., educational programs, counseling, medical examinations, and so on. While many separate juvenile detention facilities are required by state statute to have a full range of such services, including sufficient personnel trained in working with children, in some states there are no requirements for providing children in adult jails with similar services.

Several states at least appear to recognize that the longer a child is detained in jail, the greater the possibility of harm. As a consequence, their statutes establish limitations on the period that children can be held in jail; in some states a time limit is tied to a detention hearing. Even where time limitations exist, however, extensions of indefinite duration are often sanctioned upon court order.

An analysis of national policies with respect to detaining juveniles in jails presented problems, since many state statutes are ambiguous. From the face of the statute, it was often difficult to determine whether juveniles were prohibited from detention in jails, or if it was acceptable as long as they were kept separate from adults. Ohio, for example, has a statute which says that in counties where no detention home is available, the board of county commissioners shall provide funds for the boarding of juveniles in private homes; but the statute also deals with the separation of juveniles and adults in jail.

While some states had enacted legislative restrictions prior to the passage of the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, most legislative activity in this area occurred in response to the mandates of the Act. Significantly, the legislation enacted since 1974 has removed many of the ambiguities which plagued earlier legislation. In addition, states have moved increasingly to an outright prohibition on the jailing of juveniles, rather than the traditional response of mere separation within the facility. These recent trends are especially evident in the states of Maryland,

Washington, and Pennsylvania, all of which have legislated outright prohibition on the jailing of juveniles on January 1, 1978, July 1, 1978, and December 31, 1979, respectively.

While court litigation in this area has fallen short of an outright prohibition on the placement of juveniles in adult jails and lockups, several cases have addressed the issue on a facility-by-facility basis. Further, many courts have provided injunctive relief where a statute requiring complete separation has not been enforced.³²

A recent federal court ruling held that although the Constitution does not forbid all jailing of juveniles in adult facilities, a statute of Puerto Rico violates due process. This statute permits the indefinite jailing of juveniles in adult facilities without some form of notice and hearing prior to the confinement decision, and violates equal protection by permitting a child to be punished indistinguishably from an adult, without the same procedural safeguards. The court refused to hold that custody of juveniles in adult jails is, in and of itself, cruel and unusual punishment under the Eighth Amendment. Significantly, however, the court noted the "disturbing evidence that conditions in these adult institutions may not, in fact, be minimally human," and that had the case before them been directed toward the adequacy of the conditions in the particular institution, rather than the statute authorizing such incarceration, they may have found for the plaintiff on the grounds of cruel and unusual punishment.³³

On the subject of separation of juveniles and adult offenders in correctional facilities, the court has stated that juvenile offenders who present serious disciplinary problems may be transferred to and housed within the geographical confines of an adult institution, "provided they are sufficiently segregated from other inmates and are provided a specially-prepared treatment program appropriate to their needs."³⁴ Several other state level cases have stated this requirement, emphasizing that this separation must be sufficient to protect the minors from the adverse influence which adult prisoners might

have upon them. This practice of administrative transfer has been vigorously attacked on the grounds that it violates the juveniles' right to due process, particularly the right to trial by jury which is guaranteed to those tried under the adult justice system but not those adjudicated by the juvenile courts. 5

The courts have given strong and continuing indications that they will no longer defer to administrative know-how with respect to the conditions and operations of adult jails and prisons. Their willingness to intervene is clear where juveniles have been placed in physical conditions which do not meet the Eighth Amendment protections against cruel and unusual punishment. They have been equally as responsive to situations where procedures are so lacking as to violate due process guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment. Most notable, however, is the recent history of the courts' vigorous injunctive action where statutes requiring separation of juveniles and adult offenders have not been enforced. These actions, along with the emerging national standards and state legislation prohibiting the jailing of juveniles, give rise to the notion that a complete prohibition may be the logical extension in the courts' decade old pursuit of the rights of young people.

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL NEEDS

A discussion of facilities for juveniles necessitates the examination of the purpose of such facilities and their impact. Residential or not, any facility expressly geared to youths, if it is to be effective, must be responsive to their needs. Of primary concern, then, are the effects of the physical environment on the psychological and social needs of young people.

Bruno Bettelheim, Professor of Psychology and Psychiatry at the University of Chicago, emphasizes the role of public buildings and their spaces in the development of children's expectations, perceptions and behaviors. Referring to institutions created by society, schools in particular, he explains:

'They' will shape his view of society and his behavior within it. Spatial arrangements are part of how society speaks to the individual. To him they represent society's view of him and all those who are expected to use them. Society creates them in the shape of what it thinks will best serve him, or at least is good enough for him.³⁶

This is especially true of residential facilities which assume the additional responsibilities of care and supervision of juveniles. As basic material needs are met, so also must emotional needs be considered and satisfied, for this contact with societal institutions can play a large part in portraying society's concern for the juvenile's well-being and worth.

Material well-being in a residential setting cannot compensate for any deficiency of emotional and sensory content. A standard of living based on an allotted number of square feet per individual for sleeping and recreation, or of indifferently processing the greatest number of people with the least effort, falls far short of the mark of acting in the individual's best interests and re-integrating him with society. Young people need privacy as well as space. They need the potential for intellectual, emotional and physical stimulation.

Contact with juvenile justice services need not be a demoralizing force, provided a youth has the opportunity to experience a spirit and interaction which bespeak his worth as an individual. Along with programs and services, the built environment can provide this opportunity by positively reinforcing society's concern for the juvenile's needs above and beyond any physical requirements. The following discussion will describe some of the variables which must be considered to this end.

In the course of daily experience, young people learn the processes of social behavior, including the roles they must play in adult society. Dr. Willard Gaylin, Professor of Psychiatry at New York's Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center states that:

In the teens, problems of identification are probably most acute, and teenagers are enormously vulnerable. Their sense of their goodness, badness, conscience, social identity, psychological identities...are still in a great state of flux. You have a very vulnerable group in terms of precisely some of those things that are going to decide whether a person is going to be a good citizen or an offender.³⁷

The concept of social learning entails one-to-one conversation, and group discussions and other social exchange between peers, along with more formal contact with adults. It also entails an increasing need for privacy. By privacy, we are referring to the individual's ability to control the level of interchange he experiences with others, to his satisfaction.

Westin defines privacy as "the claim of individuals, groups or institutions to determine for themselves when, how and to what extent information about them is communicated to others."³⁸ It is a primary factor, especially in teenage development, which permits the individual to satisfy emotional requirements such as 1) establishing psychological and personal spaces and distances conducive to the formation of role relationships and performance, and 2) protecting the individual's need for individuality through control

of his environment, as well as the need to carry out bodily function satisfactorily.

The mechanism of emotional release from daily tensions and stress may also be served. James S. Plant comments on:

The mental strain from constantly having to 'get along' with people... in the strain of having to constantly adapt to others there is a continuous challenge to the integrity of (the person's defenses).³⁹

An equally important function associated with the attainment of privacy is the individual's ability to evaluate himself. He must have a time and place which permits him to view himself in relation to his world, his surroundings.

Under normal circumstances, juveniles can achieve satisfactory levels of privacy by having rooms or spaces to which they can retreat, by preserving supportive, helpful relationships with different groups of people at various times, by maintaining only those intimate contacts they consider necessary, and by disseminating as little information as is necessary about themselves in more public situations. It can be seen, then, that social interaction and the amount of control the individual is able to exert over such social contacts is in large measure a component of privacy, and vice versa. The achievement of privacy is also of inestimable value to the individual in establishing a personal identity.

Residential facilities which neglect these aspects of the juvenile's needs cannot but hinder the juvenile's development as an individual. Much evidence supports the conclusion that, in these formative years, young people are learning to evaluate the demands made on them by society and the extent to which they have a place in that society. If public institutions of the juvenile justice system convey to them, in the silent language of spaces and things, that they as individuals are not subject to society's concern and solicitude, and that their needs cannot be fulfilled within the system, juveniles may come to believe that society considers them expendable. It will be difficult under such circumstances for the individual to fulfill a viable role in a society which, in his perception, is imminently harmful.

Contact with juvenile justice services need not be a demoralizing force, provided a youth has the opportunity to experience a spirit and interaction which bespeak his worth as an individual. Along with programs and services, the built environment can provide this opportunity by positively reinforcing society's concern for the juvenile's needs above and beyond any physical requirements. The following discussion will describe some of the variables which must be considered to this end.

In the course of daily experience, young people learn the processes of social behavior, including the roles they must play in adult society. Dr. Willard Gaylin, Professor of Psychiatry at New York's Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center states that:

In the teens, problems of identification are probably most acute, and teenagers are enormously vulnerable. Their sense of their goodness, badness, conscience, social identity, psychological identities...are still in a great state of flux. You have a very vulnerable group in terms of precisely some of those things that are going to decide whether a person is going to be a good citizen or an offender.³⁷

The concept of social learning entails one-to-one conversation, and group discussions and other social exchange between peers, along with more formal contact with adults. It also entails an increasing need for privacy. By privacy, we are referring to the individual's ability to control the level of interchange he experiences with others, to his satisfaction.

Westin defines privacy as "the claim of individuals, groups or institutions to determine for themselves when, how and to what extent information about them is communicated to others."³⁸ It is a primary factor, especially in teenage development, which permits the individual to satisfy emotional requirements such as 1) establishing psychological and personal spaces and distances conducive to the formation of role relationships and performance, and 2) protecting the individual's need for individuality through control

of his environment, as well as the need to carry out bodily functions satisfactorily.

The mechanism of emotional release from daily tensions and stress may also be served. James S. Plant comments on:

The mental strain from constantly having to 'get along' with people... in the strain of having to constantly adapt to others there is a continuous challenge to the integrity of (the person's defenses).³⁹

An equally important function associated with the attainment of privacy is the individual's ability to evaluate himself. He must have a time and place which permits him to view himself in relation to his world, his surroundings.

Under normal circumstances, juveniles can achieve satisfactory levels of privacy by having rooms or spaces to which they can retreat, by preserving supportive, helpful relationships with different groups of people at various times, by maintaining only those intimate contacts they consider necessary, and by disseminating as little information as is necessary about themselves in more public situations. It can be seen, then, that social interaction and the amount of control the individual is able to exert over such social contacts is in large measure a component of privacy, and vice versa. The achievement of privacy is also of inestimable value to the individual in establishing a personal identity.

Residential facilities which neglect these aspects of the juvenile's needs cannot but hinder the juvenile's development as an individual. Much evidence supports the conclusion that, in these formative years, young people are learning to evaluate the demands made on them by society and the extent to which they have a place in that society. If public institutions of the juvenile justice system convey to them, in the silent language of spaces and things, that they as individuals are not subject to society's concern and solicitude, and that their needs cannot be fulfilled within the system, juveniles may come to believe that society considers them expendable. It will be difficult under such circumstances for the individual to fulfill a viable role in a society which, in his perception, is imminently harmful.

The IJA-ABA Juvenile Justice Standards Project (ABA) recognizes the necessity for meeting the complex needs of youths even in secure settings. In the Architecture of Facilities standards, specific reference is made to the physical needs of juveniles under the heading of "Normalization." It lists among the responsibilities which judicial agencies must assume the following:

- developing individuality and self-respect, which enable youths to project positive self-images rather than those suggesting deviance
- respecting the right of privacy
- providing opportunities for socializing with peers of both sexes.

These goals are reflected elsewhere in this volume.⁴⁰ For example, in Part II, Values and Purposes, facilities are called upon to "protect and promote the emotional and social well-being of youths and their families."⁴¹ Under item 2.7, "Personal Spaces," the standards state the legitimate needs for security must be balanced against the individual's needs concerning:

1. information about oneself
2. social intercourse with others, and
3. entrance of unwanted stimuli such as noise, smells or draft.⁴²

In Part IV, Group Homes, item 4.15, General Physical Requirements, the standards state: "It is important that each resident have a space that is private and not available to others. The pressures of group living...may be more severe than in a home setting and the need for private space more important."⁴³

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency Guidelines for the Detention of Children and Youth (NCCD) do not treat the psychological needs of youths in such general terms, that is, they do not categorically state the necessity for privacy and social interaction. However, in outlining the proposal that

detention facilities incorporate toilets into individual sleeping rooms, the following observations are made:

- Children in detention need to be alone at times to come to terms with themselves and to cry, if need be, without fear of ridicule...
- Children who may fear to sleep alone should be allowed to have their door open...encouraged to tell of their fears or otherwise handled individually.
- Dormitories do not meet the special needs of the detained child. ...Late retirers and early risers, whose habits cannot be changed abruptly, prevent others from sleeping.
- Open toilets are embarrassing.⁴⁴

All these statements support the notion that facilities for children should not induce debilitating experiences. They recognize that individual and personal needs vary, that individuals must cope with situations according to their needs.

The National Advisory Commission's Report on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (NAC) addresses the matter from a different perspective. Taking the position that certain obligations to youth and the community should be met by juvenile justice agencies, it affirms the moral imperative of considering the juvenile's welfare above and beyond simple physical requirements. Standard 19.1, the Purpose of Juvenile Corrections begins with the statement that:

The purposes of juvenile correction (to protect society, etc.) should be carried out through means that are fair and just; that recognize the unique physical, psychological and social characteristics and needs of juveniles; and that give juveniles access to opportunities for normal growth and development.⁴⁵

Standard 11.4, Consideration of Cultural Values, also notes the importance of psychological considerations:

...Maximum efforts should be made to preserve the child's cultural heritage and identity...Discontinuities of language or of the culturally based dynamics of family relationships can prove very traumatic to the child.⁴⁶

Other sections focus on individual needs in educational and recreational activities. Section 24.2, Secure Residential Facilities, calls for attention to privacy requirements, with individual sleeping rooms cited as a way to achieve this end.⁴⁷

There is a consensus, we see, that juvenile residential facilities be capable of meeting a variety of psychological and emotional needs. To this end, the designed environment should encourage juveniles to influence their own situation, and to determine an optimum level of interaction.

All the standards discussed above have stated preferences for single occupancy bedrooms, to increase the potential for a measure of individual control and privacy. The ABA calls for 100 sq. ft. for single rooms in juvenile facilities.⁴⁸ NCCD Standards recommend 80 sq. ft. for individual rooms.⁴⁹ These square foot space allocations, somewhat higher than many standards which call for between 63 to 70 sq. ft., respond to the increased need for personal space experience by juveniles whose freedom of movement and choice have been restricted, and whose placement in a residential setting dictates continual contact with unfamiliar people. It should be made clear that the physical dimensions of the bedroom space in terms of privacy and personalization, are not as important as the utility of the space, i.e., the ability to use the space to satisfy personal needs. The design must consider, therefore, personal grooming and sanitary facilities, furnishings and arrangement, the effects of color and light, security, temperature and acoustic levels, and the need for personalization of spaces.

Several passages in the ABA Standards call for a number of double sleeping rooms, or rooms with more than one occupant, for use by juveniles who require companionship, or where emotional stress results from children being alone.⁵⁰ This proposition, seemingly reasonable at first, does not consider the responsibility placed on youths unwilling to accept it. It also fails to recognize

the potential for interference which the juvenile may thus experience. And as Maxine Wolfe notes in her article "Room Size, Group Size, and Density," in a normal setting, a person who seeks to be alone often chooses a place which will not be potentially available to others. Wolfe has found that:

Within the context of institutional life, where most of the day is spent in programmed activities and in space shared by all of children, the bedroom is the child's only personal space. Yet the room may not belong to only one child. Usually, the sharing of a bedroom by two children is seen as a way of promoting interaction and intimate relationships. However, the sharing of a bedroom by children who have difficulty in interpersonal relationships, within the context of entire days of programmed interaction, may create more withdrawal than interaction.⁵¹

Interrelated with elements of the physical environment are many emotional needs, including privacy in the use of sanitary facilities, and other personal concerns. At home, a youth can close the door when bathing, possibly when dressing avoiding embarrassment, and thereby maintaining a sense of dignity and personal security. Removal from the home setting does not alter these requirements, even though certain limitations must be imposed. The standards point out, furthermore, that where single occupancy bedrooms are used, supervision of such personal activities can be minimized in that the potential for residents interfering with each other is lessened.⁵²

Individual bedrooms also provide an opportunity for personalization. When individuals can make decisions concerning the appearance of personal spaces and implement those feelings, the sense of control increases. Spaces which bear a mark of individuality and define one's territory can contribute greatly to a sense of well-being, and the perception of normality. Nowhere is the potential for unhindered personal expression so easily realized as

in the private sleeping area. Section 3.4 of the ABA Standards, Building Expectations, calls for the opportunity for space personalization of bedrooms and other areas.⁵³ This may be accomplished by designing spaces which permit various furniture arrangements and the use of moveable rugs, wall hangings and posters, tackboard, draperies and other wall surface elements; devices to hold posters and other personal possessions can also prove helpful in this regard. Design elements such as these avoid the restrictions of static architectural spaces and provide the juveniles with the opportunity to overcome any institutional effects perceived. The purposes of intellectual stimulation, a necessary ingredient of the normalized setting, are also served through the use of private bedrooms which permit independent thinking, study, and reflection when other space is unavailable.

The normalized setting, while allowing for the individual needs of youths, must also take into account the value of group experience, neither detracting from nor discouraging beneficial involvement in such experience. However, table games and casual conversation require a more intimate atmosphere than activities such as ping-pong or ball games. Living areas must be able to accommodate each. Spatial formulations which adhere purely to physical-dimension-per-person requirements can result in large, multi-purpose rooms where one ongoing activity interferes with participation in another. The inability of residents to engage in desired activities can lead to a feeling of helplessness followed by an unwillingness to become involved.

Juveniles, like adults, tend to engage in a wide range of activities. Because deprivation of desired activity can encourage counter-productive attitudes and behavior, the removal of a youth from his home should entail more than a baby-sitting service. It is important, then, that the living areas of residential facilities accommodate activities diversified enough to encourage a youth's active participation.

Thus far we have touched upon a few of the significant issues in spatial planning and development, related to the emotional and social needs of youths in residential facilities. It is possible to delineate specific physical arrangements for a multitude of activities, including visiting, dining, private interviews, counseling, etc. But requirements vary according to facility size, location, funding, and types of service. Rather than patent solutions, therefore, an overall appreciation of the needs of youth which can be applied to physical forms is suggested, to ensure a high degree of flexibility. A discussion of the design possibilities of a dining area may clarify this approach.

Dining may occur in one eating area specifically designed for this function. It may also take place in a multi-purpose room used for other activities. It may be prepared on-site or brought in, served en masse or separately during certain hours. Depending on the circumstances, any of these combinations may be considered appropriate. But initially, a designer ought to consider the total scheme of functions to be served. A multi-purpose room used for dining may be totally inadequate if ongoing recreational activities are interrupted for extended periods. A separate dining area may be more satisfactory; but it, too, may be a source of problems if residents, pushed together as a group to eat at specified times, perceive the experience as an institutional "feeding time," rather than communal dining. The dining space unused for other activities may also prove to be a cost liability.

We see, then, that regardless of the issue, the most appropriate solution will often be a compromise. The need for design sensitivity to a total spatial use plan is implicit. It is a general overview based on concern for

the youth's welfare and the effectiveness of program and functional operations. Let us consider further some environmental characteristics which can substantially affect the individual's perception of space, and its meaning.

The principles for the design of juvenile residential facilities presented in this text are based on physical requirements for non-physical needs. This approach to juvenile justice facilities planning embodies the concept of "normalization," which recognizes the importance of psychological necessity, in addition to strictly physical needs. A policy of normalization demands an understanding of the effects of the physical environment on perception. In a normal setting, where freedom of movement is unimpaired, a youth may encounter a wide range of spaces and material surfaces as well as light, color, temperature and noise levels. This phenomenon is referred to as sensory stimulation. A non-normative or institutional setting would tend to be more consistent, less controllable. The lack of variety in such perceptual elements promotes a condition commonly called sensory deprivation. Much of the current research into this aspect of the physical environment indicates that where sensory deprivation exists, surroundings come to be less comprehensible. The ability to identify pattern and coherence deteriorate, and individuals are thwarted in their efforts to order their surroundings. The absence of variegated materials, colors, forms, spaces and undifferentiated surfaces suggests a relative disregard for individuality and personal identity, in favor of an institutional or fortress-like bearing. The work of Professor J. Vernon of Princeton University indicates that "the human cannot long endure a homogeneous situation no matter how good and desirable" it may appear to be.⁵⁴ Where environmental clues and labels suggest "an abnormal and deviant identity," a person may choose a self-image and behavior compatible with the perceptions and expectations of those in authority.

We see, then, the necessity of striking a balance between the function of the body and the function of the mind. The ABA Standard 3.4, Building Expectations, states:

Building design should not present an expectation of abusive behavior and vandalism and invite challenge by residents, nor should it be assumed that every juvenile behaves in a violent and destructive manner.⁵⁵

The purpose of this standard, and its supportive commentary, is to demonstrate that a normalized setting must include physical elements which convey to each juvenile a message of well-meaning concern from society and those in positions of authority.

Though current research demonstrates the importance of environmental phenomena in the emotional and intellectual well-being and development of young people, very few of the current standards for planning juvenile justice residential facilities reflect these findings. Most are derived from security and maintenance performance standards and their cost effectiveness. Notable exceptions are the ABA standards which specifically address this issue. Recommending that facilities should not present the expectation of abusive behavior, the ABA describes several items which can be useful in facility design. These include:

1. Accenting differences among the parts of the building through varying spatial characteristics, room shape, lighting, floor level, ceiling height, etc.
2. Allowing for changing furniture layout. Furniture need not be of uniform color and type but should vary from room to room.
3. Using a variety of textiles, colors and patterns for walls, floors, furniture, drapes, shades and finishes.⁵⁶

These standards recognize that "soft architecture" can lead to higher maintenance costs, but also note that initial construction costs and the costs of reconstruction to suit changing programs may be lowered significantly.⁵⁷ Additionally, the soft architecture approach to juvenile facilities implies

an increased use of staff supervision and open communication between staff and residents, rather than more institutional physical barriers and devices. The arrangement of spaces must accommodate this function.

Floor and wall surfaces in juvenile justice facilities are traditionally of the impervious, indestructable variety for security and maintenance reasons. The concept of normalization through soft spaces argues, with support in the literature, that materials used in this fashion challenge the individual to destructive behavior and produce stress. Barriers devoid of human involvement and care may bear witness to an imminently harmful environment where sturdy defensive measures are but a simulacrum of real security. Such environments can hardly appear to have the juvenile's best interests at heart.

For example, concrete blocks and heavy ceramic tile are often harsh, devoid of personal scale, color and texture. They seem to represent a disdain for human involvement, especially when used on a monolithic scale. When floor and wall materials vary in texture and color, richer and more diverse sensory experiences may take place. Paving tiles in passageways, rugs in quiet areas, vinyl asbestos tile in activity areas, and other such combinations normalize environmental perception, fostering a sense of place and spatial definition.⁵⁸

The use of color and light adds another dimension to normalization. In day-to-day experience, people are confronted with changes in light, shade and shadow. Different colors are encountered as people move from space to space, inside to outside, from home to street to work, school or stores. When a person's movement is limited or restricted, memories of sensory changes are retained. In residential settings where there is access to the outside environment, sleeping and living quarters are merely part of the total experience. In more secure situations, where movement is restricted to the facility, the need for perceptual changes is more vital. Light and color

used in a highly regimented fashion only heighten abnormality, loss, and the punitive nature of the surroundings.

It has been demonstrated that natural lighting can act as a foil to the typically tight spaces of institutional settings. A number of studies demonstrate that natural light can promote a sense of spaciousness in otherwise cramped quarters.⁵⁹ This effect can be enhanced through the use of bright, reflective surface colors for walls and ceilings, and by avoiding window placements and spatial configurations which filter the light through dim recesses and unyielding shadows. The lack of natural light can also lead to a sense of crowding despite ordinarily functional and appropriate conditions. Tight narrow spaces, too, are often interpreted as crowded. A design solution which attempts to alleviate the perception of spatial congestion, and any subsequent discontent, must consider this matter thoroughly.

In his article The Dialectics of Color (1976), Dr. Peter Smith notes the importance of light and color, and their expressions in the man-made environment:

Colour in the environment has a critical role to play both in keeping alive the cerebral interactive rhythms by nourishing the needs of the (mind) and by keeping active the dialectic routes between the centers of reason and emotion.

When (a variety) of colours perceived on different levels of the brain orchestrates into synchronous rhythms, the result is a special kind of experience which, in the old days, was called beauty. Now, we would be better calling it therapy.⁶⁰

By inference, the therapeutic effects of light and color which Dr. Smith describes can be expanded to texture, form, shape, patterns, solids and voids, and any number of their manifestations. The object, here, is to avoid the massively solid and uniform finishes and forms which belittle the resident, and which may be interpreted as institutional, a representation of society's ill will.

Residential facilities for young people should not deaden their senses, nor numb their ability to interact beneficially with their environment. Such occurrences are pervasive, however, though largely resulting from inadequate knowledge about environmental perception and cognition, rather than from intentionally abusive practices. As Rosemary Sarri points out in Under Lock and Key:

The architecture and physical conditions of most detention facilities tends to increase the trauma associated with detention for many youths. We agree with most other observers that some youths must be held, but they need not be locked up in stark, frightening, jail-like units.⁶¹

More and more, we are becoming aware of the need in residential settings for positive sensory experiences which enable residents to organize their thoughts and develop satisfactory images. It is unfortunate that few of the effects of the designed environment are clearly understood. These must be the object of continuous study. And until such time as the importance of the numerous, interrelated physical elements becomes clearer, designers and planners should be occupied with the establishment of the most non-coercive, normal settings possible. To fail in this regard is to obstruct and deny the purposes of juvenile justice, which are to care for youth, and to encourage, not deter, their capacities and potential.

SECURITY IN THE RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT

The issue of security can be divided into two areas, both having serious implications for the design of residential facilities. First, one must consider the security of the facility itself, i.e., when a youth is held, what steps must be taken to prevent problems for the surrounding community, and to prevent damage to the physical plant. Equally important is the safety and protection of the juvenile being held. The first consideration includes the safety problems of all secure juvenile residential facilities, whether for holding, detention or correctional purposes. It is understood that the size of the facility influences the type and extent of security to be provided. The questions on which we will focus are: How are the juveniles to be restricted in both interior and exterior movement, and what type of construction will best suit this purpose and withstand various resident behaviors?

Historically, those who operate secure juvenile facilities have taken the position that juveniles in secure custody will tend to exhibit violent and destructive, therefore aberrant, behavior. Consequently, building design has taken a hard, barrier-like approach towards containing behavior of this sort. Contemporary research into this matter indicates that, contrary to traditional theories, the cause and effect between cage-like or institutional settings and juvenile conduct may actually be reversed, i.e., deviant behavior may actually arise from living in obviously abnormal settings.

A useful analogy with residential conditions in the public sector can be drawn. For many years, society has considered adverse and dilapidated housing the natural habitat of society's misfits, malcontents and generally unsavory types. After all, it seems wherever there is visibly bad housing, a large percentage of individuals are found who do not conform to higher social, moral, and organizational standards. It has been difficult to dispel the notion that such a population is responsible for the condition of its environs, but research indicates that poor living environments may give rise to abnormal

behavior patterns. In "Discrimination in Housing Design," Gerald Allen remarks that:

...the absence of signs of care may well signal bad housing, no matter where it occurs -- and people's sense that there is nothing in their general residential environment worth caring about, or that their concern won't make any difference, or that it will be overwhelmed -- in all this may be a cause, not just a result, of bad places to live in.⁶²

Similarly, the frequently observed difficult-to-control or destructive behavior of juveniles in secure residential settings may be a result of perceptually hard, institutional environments. At the 1977 National Symposium on the Serious Juvenile Offender, it was pointed out that an offender often behaves differently when institutionalized than when in his own community. This often confounds the labeling of "serious" offenders and the determination of need for secure placement and facilities.⁶³ In terms of architectural design, this inefficient process has led to facilities which, through obvious defensive devices and brutal construction, represent the de facto expectation of abusive and violent behavior. In her Summary and Commentary on Planning and Design for Juvenile Justice, Linda Sutton implores architects visiting existing detention centers to:

...acquire a sense of the experience and the milieu (and to) remember that the undesirable behavior they may observe is not necessarily intrinsic in the individual and may instead represent a response to the specific environment.⁶⁴

It seems, then, that the structure of a secure setting must be based on two interactive propositions: one, the anticipation (prediction of resident behavior) and, two, the provision of security through either obtrusive or inobtrusive measures. The categorical assumption of destructive behavior therefore can be likened to a self-fulfilling prophecy: brutal architectural materials and spaces indicate clearly the behavior expected from residents, and thus encourage brutal, abnormal responses. The likelihood that residents will **feel** compelled to engage in harmful behavior is increased. On the other hand, less **over-**whelming architectural spaces, though not a total cure-all, should promote a **more**

positive atmosphere. This, of course, implies security through the less obtrusive means of staff supervision and interaction with residents, the design of spaces accommodating such supervision.

This approach to security is supported in the ABA Standards. The Architecture of Facilities volume, as stated previously, calls for soft architectural expressions which present the expectation of orderly behavior. Section 2.4, Secure Settings, states:

Secure settings should provide security measures which: A.) instill a sense of security and well-being in facility residents; and B.) rely on increased staff coverage rather than building plant.⁶⁵

This Standard views increased staff participation in the security process as a means of avoiding 1) inflexible space design, 2) negative spatial challenge to juveniles, and most importantly, 3) the impairment of staff and resident roles and attitudes due to environment. As the commentary points out, the purpose of this Standard is to interpret security not as simply controlling the activities of many residents with as few staff as possible, thus minimizing contact between staff and residents; rather, it is to encourage mutual cooperation between staff and residents in order to deter "routinization of activities, the boredom, and the brutality that often occurs in facilities designed on maximum security principles..."⁶⁶ These Standards (Section 6.2) also encourage supportive rather than deterrent security and adequate resident/staff ratios to maximize youth and staff interaction.⁶⁷

NAC Standards also recognize the value of increased staff involvement with residents, and point out that increased contact between staff and residents, "lessens the fear of the unknown and enhances a climate conducive to positive human relations and rehabilitation." Minimum staff/resident ratios are specified to ensure safety of residents and staff as well as to provide efficient operation and upkeep of facilities.⁶⁸ Clearly, the goal here is to account for resident needs above and beyond purely operational needs. Rehabilitation and security must come about, according to the standards, through:

...the interaction of basic care staff and the (juveniles). It can be enhanced and accelerated through the additional involvement of staff with special skills. The program demands on basic care staff and casework staff require that additional staff be made available to provide the necessary support, maintenance and security services to meet program objectives.⁶⁹

Even NCCD Standards for Detention Facilities, which take a more conventional stance in terms of security arrangements note that, "without good programs and alert supervision, even the best security features do not assure security."⁷⁰ While much of the NCCD text deals with physical security measures and their capability of freeing staff members from surveillance duties to engage in program activities, most other standards and research demonstrate that physical devices are no substitute for staff involvement and observation of juveniles. Other passages of the NCCD Standards acknowledge the validity of this claim, for example, stating that "supervision...should be less a matter of rules and regulations than of firm yet warm and understanding day-to-day relationships."⁷¹ Elsewhere, the text observes that a secure facility "if it is improperly staffed and lacks sound programs and objectives...is little more than a children's jail. Children cannot be stored without deterioration unless programs and staff are provided to make the experience a constructive one."⁷²

Under Lock and Key attempts to review systematically the actual conditions of secure facilities and their effects on juveniles. This study reports that for many reasons, including inadequate and untrained staff, "...primary emphasis is typically placed on security and custodial control, with little opportunity for attention to individual differences."⁷³ It also observes that staff/youth ratios in secure facilities are generally so low as to make the proposition of increased staff supervision untenable. This results in only "a small number of facilities (which) appear to meet the objectives of providing secure custody, constructive and satisfying programs, individual and group guidance, and observation and study."⁷⁴

This work and the standards discussed above all stress the necessity of "least restrictive" residential settings, emphasizing that every alternative to secure placement must be explored. Still, we must recognize that conditions and ways of thinking change slowly. Many youths who are not real security risks according to the most contemporary thinking and evidence will inevitably be placed in secure residential settings. As Rosemary Sarri points out:

The facts lead to the conclusion that the organization of detention (secure) care in the United States serves few positive functions other than, for those who need it, firm security. But most who receive secure containment do not need it.⁷⁵

If this continues to be the case, every effort must be made to guard against the abuse of the juvenile's emotions and needs under the guise of security precautions. We must implement staffing and program strategies conducive to the physical and emotional safety of young people as well as to the protection of the greater community. A more comprehensive use of alternatives to secure residential settings offers the best chance of successfully satisfying these goals. But if the use of secure facilities persists, the most obvious and practicable method of accomplishing these purposes is through productive staff interaction and supervision policies. The architecture of facilities must provide for effective implementation of such procedures.

The central questions, then, are how can building design provide the framework for instituting unobtrusive and responsive supervision of residents to provide security for both residents and community? How can architecture be most effective in minimizing supervisory duties?

As discussed previously, single occupancy bedrooms can promote a strong sense of personal security in residents. In effect, residents are freed from fear of the unknown which often undermines the perception of safety. Disturbances and possible hostile trespass by other residents become less probable. The need for supervision is lessened in that staff members need not remain constantly alert to such problems as occur in groups or dormitory sleeping

arrangements. Children do not have to be taken to the toilet at odd intervals, and the probability of interference from other residents is diminished. Another positive aspect of private sleeping quarters is that residents can better know the limits of their control, which provides them with spatial orientation, and protects against feelings of loss of places and things. For both residents and staff, a true sense of security evolves from increased awareness of what may happen from one moment to the next, and from the minimization of unexpected occurrences.

The matter of single vs. multiple-person bedroom occupancy can be considered from another perspective, that of room size and its effect on perceived security. W.H. Ittleston, "Bedroom Size and Social Interaction," and Maxine Wolfe, "Room Size, Group Size and Density," point out that, where institutionalized children are concerned, the size of a bedroom can have as much effect on behavior and the sense of security as the number of occupants. Private rooms which are too large often prove more frightening than physically smaller, thus more controllable, rooms. One youth, placed in a two-person bedroom, may be overwhelmed, and exhibit stress and antagonistic behavior. The increased sense of physical enclosure offered by a smaller bedroom space, they conclude, promotes enhanced psychological security and encourages active rather than reactive behavior patterns.⁷⁶

In "Size of Group as a Factor in the Interaction Profile," R. Bales and E.F. Borgatta demonstrate that, when compared with larger groups, two-person groups evince less disagreement and antagonism, but more characteristics of tension.⁷⁷ Subjects in their study could not withdraw from the situation, a situation similar to that experienced by residents in most secure residential facilities. But in reviewing the results of this experiment, Wolfe hypothesizes that individuals would avoid such a situation if possible.⁷⁸ Large bedroom spaces can limit the interpersonal demands and personal confrontations which two-person occupancy of bedrooms present. In view of cost and space effectiveness considerations, and the limitations which most planning and design agencies incur, however, it appears that smaller, single resident bedrooms offer the best chance of satisfying the demands of the juvenile, the staff, and the agencies responsible for the facility's operation.

One facet of design which deserves consideration is the incorporation of corridors and other access ways into residential facilities. Often used to fulfill circulation requirements in large facilities, corridors are not common to the typical home or residence, and may be considered abnormal by the residents and staff, i.e., institutional in character. The perception of institutionalization increases in most residents when confronted with such physical arrangements, and may prove detrimental to the practice of unobtrusive security. For this reason, the use of corridors ought to be avoided. Open planning schemes and sleeping rooms, grouped in clusters around spaces used for daily activities are preferable, and comply with policies of normalization and security through supervision.

At this point, some discussion of the living and activity arrangements of secure residential facilities for juveniles is appropriate. Security for the youth, as we have seen, may be equated with the familiarity of surroundings. It hinges upon the ability of the individual to apperceive an adequate representation of normal and familiar environmental conditions and things. Thus, the ramifications of environmental phenomena for programming and rehabilitation purposes are abundantly clear. The achievement of security for staff and community must not hamper the acquisition of a sense of security by juveniles or the operations of beneficial programs.

Several areas must be considered in this respect, including spatial definition and comprehension, building flexibility to accommodate a variety of activities and services, the degree of supervision necessary to maintain security and juvenile safety, and a conducive atmosphere. To begin with,

spatial definition and comprehension imply a recognition of the uses and locations of various spaces and facilities. According to Proshansky, et. al.:

Since man himself is one physical component of a total environment in any given setting, it follows that any attempt...to change his state must involve him because he is a goal directed, cognizing organism in an interchange or interaction with other physical components of the environment.⁷⁹

Identity and self-esteem also derive from an overall feeling of security and familiarity with physical surroundings. Identity, that is, the sense of one's place in the general scheme of things, is of utmost importance in the development of the individual, and as Proshansky states:

The development and maintenance of an identity does not depend entirely on how others react to (one's) behavior, skills and achievements. It is also a matter of places and things, and the acquisition of both serves to define and evaluate the identity of the person for himself and for others.⁸⁰

The ABA Standards note the importance of spatial comprehension--that one space is to be used for such and such a purpose, another space for different purposes, and that the entire organization of spaces should promote a "sense of ease" for both residents and staff--which can be easily grasped.⁸¹ The use of architectural elements and spatial organization can thus effectively reduce stress and aid supervision by clarifying for residents and staff the type of activities which are intended for particular areas. To this end, design decisions must consider architectural features (besides wall placement) which demark space, including furniture and window placement, changing wall and floor treatments, accessibility to various spaces and objects, even spatial volume as opposed to square-foot allocations. Light, sound and temperature levels, room dimensions, furniture type and building material selection must augment and highlight the character of activities occurring in specific areas. The following discussion will elaborate upon some architectural implications of spatial comprehension and characteristics, as applied to building flexibility and the need for diverse spaces, in meeting program requirements.

SPATIAL UTILITY AND PERCEPTION

In planning a residential facility for juveniles, it is necessary to establish a clear set of goals and intentions which are to be accomplished with the facility. The concepts upon which a building is based will require adequate space to satisfy program demands. More importantly, these spaces must be functional enough to comply with prevailing program policies and procedures. To foresee every possible combination of space and program needs is difficult, however, despite the best intentions of planners and designers. The building must be flexible enough, therefore, to accommodate to changing circumstances, program policies and resident populations. Nowhere is this more essential than in the secure residential facility.

Let us consider first, space requirements for particular activities in secure residential settings, many of which are programmed into the facility's standard operating practices. These may include recreational and educational activities, and may be group or individual, supervised or unsupervised. A program geared to normalization would also emphasize intellectual stimulation of the residents. In short, a residential program where access to the outside world has been restricted must recognize the deprivations thus created, and attempt to provide a compensatory range of normal experience.

While this range of experience, and the facilities and space they require are well-documented in most of the juvenile justice standards, the nature and duration of activities is seldom analyzed. For example, the opportunity to play basketball, volleyball or ping pong is made available in many residential institutions, and in fact, most standards require provisions for physical activity. But there are no data on the level of participation in group recreation by residents. How much time is spent in front of a television set? If a choice is available, in what type of activities do residents engage, and at what times? We simply do not know the amount of time spent in playing games, reading, receiving instruction and counseling, eating and other activities

in most juvenile justice facilities. But studies show that when a number of options are available, the greatest percentage of time is passed in individual pursuits, followed by two-person activities, and finally, by group activities. Whether television viewing is an activity let alone a group activity is open to debate, since it often functions as an electronic babysitter.

When access to a private sleeping area is not encumbered by locked doors or program routine, residents tend to use these areas for personal activities, such as reading, or for conversation. Personal keys to private sleeping rooms enhance the perception of territory for which the resident is responsible, in addition to encouraging participating in personally satisfying activities, especially when these rooms are adjacent to larger activity spaces. The function of supervision is also served in that staff assigned to activities in the larger space can casually monitor the use of bedrooms. This larger space should encompass passive and active activities, and the architecture must interpret the use of such space by providing design elements and spatial configurations to suggest areas for reading, talking, meetings, more passive and more physical activities. The ABA recommends that such living areas not be "one large room, but a series of separate and contiguous spaces..."⁸² Spatial constraints must not promulgate large, undifferentiated spaces in which one type of activity interferes with another.

To complement staff supervision and resident activity, it is evident that the number of residents and bedrooms assigned to activity areas should be kept at low, manageable levels. Operations are thus facilitated and the potential for staff-resident interaction is increased. The ABA Standards suggest 20 person capacities for entire facilities.⁸³ NAC Standards permit larger institutions but call for subgroups of 20 person clusters.⁸⁴ NCCD Standards recommend 15 resident capacity for children of one sex, 20 for coed institutional facilities.⁸⁵ All these standards recognize a point of diminishing returns

in terms of supervision, control, and program activities when group size exceeds a certain plateau, i.e., 20 residents. More on this issue will be found in the section on Size and Location of Residential Facilities.

Indoor areas set aside for physical or loud activities, including gymnasium sports, music rooms, television viewing and other recreation, should be separate and distinct from living areas, with relatively easy, supervised passage between living and activity areas. The ABA and NCCD both assign up to 100 sq. ft. per resident, to be used as living and activity space, with provisions for both quiet (or passive) activities as well as more strenuous pursuits.⁸⁶ These figures may well be higher when the matter of spatial separation and the usefulness of types of space is considered. The ABA and NAC standards emphasize that nonsecure residential facilities need not duplicate services and activities which are available outside the facility.⁸⁷

The rationale of all such space allocation schemes is to ensure adequate room for engaging and fruitful activity by facility residents. We may infer that these standards recognize the value of intellectual motivation as well as physical stimulation. The design of facilities and programs must then acknowledge these values and provide the resident with the opportunity to adhere to them.

All the factors discussed here indicate an increasing need for adaptable residential environments. In addition to the changing needs of individual residents, operational and resident population requirements become modified by the dictates of advancing knowledge, as well as changes in society and law. The ABA Standards (2.3, Flexible Buildings) state that:

The architecture of new facilities should be capable of being adapted to a wide variety of programs and operations and to different degrees and modes of implementing security.⁸⁸

Implicit throughout these standards is a stress on "programs and operations" as opposed to systems of "architectural barriers and restraints that permit

little flexibility in the degree of security and the variety of programs." The predominant concern is that "facility design should remain secondary to matters of policy and strategy;" in other words, architecture should not impede programs. It is reasonable to assume, however, that architecture and spatial design are not secondary, but must go hand-in-hand with program concepts, contributing significantly to such operations. In the most contemporary context of juvenile justice, this implies a type of architecture very different from traditional juvenile institutions. The accommodation of a variety of programs, activities, and supervision entails a spatial and environmental vocabulary which emphasizes changing conditions and normalization. Several attributes of spatial planning must therefore be discussed.

The ABA (3.3, Adaptive Architecture) lists as major considerations for juvenile residential facilities:

- A. Degree and type of security
- B. Room relationships
- C. Space use, character, decor and furniture layout.⁸⁹

These categories are interrelated and the consideration of each involves the others. The methods of providing security are discussed elsewhere. Here, we are developing the notion that security based on supervision and increased staff/youth ratios offers maximum potential for program revision and meeting special needs, whereas "deterrent" construction significantly reduces viable options.

As stated previously, spatial configurations can be made secure through supervision and program functions. When walls can be knocked down or repositioned, and when furnishings and other physical elements can be rearranged, increased adaptability results. The cost of removing the traditionally solid and impenetrable walls in secure facilities, or of relocating electrical, water and lighting fixtures and services can be prohibitive.

Common stud walls of very low replacement cost, or mechanically portable partitions provide a better solution. Security by staff supervision and open communication is the logical extension of such construction policies, and vice versa.

The location of spaces intended for particular uses and the access among these areas must also be flexible, a thesis supported by the Adaptive Architecture Standard of the ABA.⁹⁰ This idea is further elaborated in Planning and Design for Juvenile Justice which states:

- Adaptive architecture aims to produce physical configurations:
1. capable of change (in character, amount or location) better to suit the desired behavior patterns of the users,
 2. that allow a richer repertoire of behavioral patterns so that a user can change his behavior in a way that reduces misfit.⁹¹

It continues:

Change in use of space assumes a capability of the organization to change and a space that permits such changes. The more specifically a space is designed for one particular activity, the less it can support a range of behavior. Bathrooms or kitchens, with specialized equipment built in, are not easily used for other activities. Offices, dining spaces, living rooms can all house a variety of activities. Some can support activity changes with no physical modifications. Others will require physical changes ranging from furniture, wall finishes and lighting to the structural dimensions.⁹²

The authors have drawn up a workable representation of the implications of physical design adaptability, as shown in the chart on page 44.

Pursuit of normalization necessitates environments suitable to the changing demands of security, spatial use and organization, and perception. The built environment must stifle neither the intentions of the residential staff, nor of the juvenile justice system, in meeting the needs of young people and society. A wide range of personal pursuits and program goals must be accomplished through spatial solutions which permit alternative activities. To this extent, the fabric of the physical environment must be malleable.

Dimensions of Architectural Adaptability

		Time	
		Short	Long
Small		user changes of space with operable partitions, finishes, lighting	remodeling refinishing
	Room	furniture rearrangement changes in user behavior intensify use through scheduling	
Relations Between Rooms		user moves to appropriate space (if it exists)	administrative reshuffling of departments
		by coupling and uncoupling communication links, e.g. phone, intercom, etc. operable partitions	rearrangement of partitions physical remodeling complete rebuilding on same site
Institution in the Community		communication, and/or transportation to alter space-time relationships to other institutions	shift in locations of institutions new institutions on a new site
		mobile units	
Large			

Source: Planning and Design for Juvenile Justice
U.S. Department of Justice (LEAA) 1972,
p. 75.

SIZE AND LOCATION OF RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES

In addition to space allocation and programs, the planning and design of juvenile residential facilities must consider locational factors and size. Current research and advanced practices dictate the need for a broad range of settings to provide services and environments suitable to both residents and communities. This imposes limitations on the size of individual facilities, where services are extensive and resources are limited.

Where security, here, absolute separation of the juvenile from the community, is considered necessary, the case is often made for regionalized detention or corrections to ensure the juvenile adequate services. However, a regionalized approach, to facilities, militates against providing individualized attention to residents. Additionally, the size of regional facilities often dictates more institutional regimen and appearance with less recourse to community services. This is contrary to the ideals and purposes of juvenile residential planning which, according to ABA Standards, must "protect and promote emotional and social well-being of youths and families" by minimizing the custodial aspects of incarceration.⁹³ Juvenile justice planning must also "recognize the expression of diverse attitudes among different cultures and individuals."⁹⁴ Regional facilities, then, can only hope to accomplish these goals when their size and location are optimum. For that matter, community operated facilities ought to respond similarly. Their smaller size and relative proximity present fewer inherent drawbacks to successful achievement of these ends.

How then do size and location come into play in the planning of facilities for juveniles? Though many of their features are interrelated, we can discuss their characteristics independently.

Size

The question of size of juvenile residential facilities is well-covered in the literature, with the relative size of facilities, i.e., their "largeness" or "smallness," emerging as more consequential perhaps than absolute size. Many attempts have been made to quantify the number of bedspaces and square foot

allocations for support spaces, in order to develop a workable formula for adequate and appropriate building size. Such measures, however, respond to qualitative judgements of spatial use or environmental necessities, and these are not readily amenable to formulation. Let us consider, then, the more important qualities of size.

Reduced facility size means that youths in residence are likely to receive more individual attention and greater opportunity for personal control and involvement. This is borne out by evidence in Under Lock and Key, which notes that "increases in organizational size are often associated with bureaucratization and reduced, service delivery."⁹⁵ This report also demonstrates statistically that staff/youth ratios become consistently smaller as facility size increases, stating:

Clearly the opportunity for close supervision and for individualized attention declines as size increases. Given the relatively high turnover rate of youth--the majority of whom are unknown to the staff beforehand--a low staff/youth ratio becomes even more problematic. Staff must care for and assist youth about whom they have little or no information. Thus, it is not surprising that primary emphasis is typically placed on security and custodial control, with little opportunity for attention to individualized differences.

The decline in the ratio of professional staff to youth as unit size increased was also observed for all other categories of professional staff. It must be recalled that nearly one-half of the facilities lacked any professional staff, and the smallest units were least likely to have such employees.

To a degree the objective inadequacies of detention are consistently related to size of the facilities, the very small places having few resources and the resources of the larger places overwhelmed by the numbers in residence.⁹⁶

These findings receive support from the Reuterman et. al. report, Juvenile Detention Facilities: Summary Report of a National Survey (1971) and the LEAA Survey of Inmates of Local Jails 1972: Advance Report (1974).⁹⁷

Both these surveys show that "the average annual proportion of admitted youths increased with the capacity of the detention unit, and the larger facilities were relatively more overcrowded than the small ones."⁹⁸

It is clear, then, that large residential facilities are detrimental to effective program operations, defeating the purposes envisioned for juvenile placement. Further, in large facilities overcrowding often results. The ABA points out that this can often be attributed to procedural deficiencies and lack of personnel, so that additional facilities cannot be justified purely on the basis of overcrowding.⁹⁹ This Standard and the NCCD's Regional Detention for Juvenile and Family Courts recommend the use of smaller facilities such as shelter care and group houses.¹⁰⁰ They also suggest greater reliance on admission policies and probation staff as alternatives to incarceration in large facilities.¹⁰¹

Smaller facilities are proportionally easier to operate than large facilities. Supervision and staff interaction with residents occur more readily. Many services which might otherwise require full-time staff such as medical care, food preparation or tutorial services can be drawn from community resources. In addition, the costs of construction and program operations are greatly reduced. Most important, negative citizen response is lessened when a facility's size is in keeping with community norms, housing only youths drawn from nearby locations. For the purpose of normalization, it is essential that interaction between the facility and the community takes place. Smaller facilities which seem to be part of the surrounding neighborhood can aid in the formation of a positive image by facility and community residents. While the appearance of each facility may vary according to program demands and community norms, it should be understood that the larger the facility, the greater the difficulty in avoiding an institutional character and its negative implications.

The NAC Standard 24.2, Secure Residential Facilities states that:

Large institutions tend to be dehumanizing and may submerge inmates in a variety of subcultures, many of which are socially and emotionally destructive. It becomes virtually impossible to provide the environment of safety, normalcy and fairness

that is basic to effective treatment. Maintaining day-to-day control becomes the emphasis and program services deteriorate. The most difficult and sophisticated delinquents are integrated with less serious ones and contamination often occurs.¹⁰²

Contrary to emerging standards and current research, the 1971 Omnibus Crime and Safe Streets Act allows the use of funds for construction purposes for juvenile residential facilities of under 150 capacity, and adult facilities housing fewer than 400.

While this legislation places a limitation of 150 on the capacity of juvenile residential facilities, the literature clearly documents the effectiveness of limiting the capacity further. National legislation and authoritative bodies in the field of juvenile justice and delinquency prevention designate a level of 20 residents or less as optimal in terms of cost efficiency and program effectiveness for several reasons:

First, there is a general consensus that residential facilities reach a point of acceptable cost efficiency in terms of staffing and operation at 15 to 20 residents. For example, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency states that a capacity of from 15 to 20 boys and girls is the smallest unit practicable for satisfactory staff and program.¹⁰³

Second, the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act is clear in its intent to limit new construction and renovation to community-based facilities for under 20 persons.¹⁰⁴ Specifically directed towards the use of funds under the Act, it nonetheless underscores Congressional intent to discourage the development of larger juvenile residential facilities.

A third major factor is the overwhelming support for small facilities by authoritative bodies in the area of juvenile justice and delinquency prevention. For instance, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency holds that juveniles residential facilities be limited to a maximum of 20 boys and girls.¹⁰⁵ The National Advisory Commission on Juvenile Justice Standards and Goals supports community-based residential programs with a

maximum capacity of 20 beds.¹⁰⁶ And the American Bar Association-Institute for Judicial Administration, Juvenile Justice Standards Project, favors interim detention facilities of no more than 12 residents, and community-based correctional facilities for no more than 20.¹⁰⁷

Fourth, it has been documented that juvenile residential facilities tend to fill to capacity. Large facilities increase the misuse of detention through inappropriate placements.¹⁰⁸ They impede the exploration of alternatives to secure detention and new types of secure settings.¹⁰⁹ They increase the chances that a facility will be overcrowded.¹¹⁰ Additionally, they encourage the placement of youth in large facilities when smaller facilities are available.¹¹¹

Fifth, the number of youth eligible for juvenile residential facilities will decline significantly in the future. Specifically, the removal of status offenders from juvenile detention and correctional facilities will reduce annual juvenile admissions from the current level of annual admissions to detention, estimated at 600,000 by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, to an estimated 400,000.¹¹² Further, the youth population at risk, aged 10 to 17 years old, will decrease from its current level of 16% of the total population to approximately 11% of the total population in 1990.¹¹³ More importantly, the absolute number of youth at risk will decrease beginning in 1976 due to the declining birth rate in the United States. This becomes a significant factor in the projection of residential needs.

Finally, there is substantial evidence for restricting the capacity of juvenile residential facilities beyond the level of cost effectiveness from a variety of sources:

- Larger facilities require regimentation and routinization for staff to maintain control, conflicting with the goal of individualization. Smaller groups reduce custody problems, allowing staff a more constructive and controlled environment.¹¹⁴
- Larger facilities convey an atmosphere of anonymity to the resident and tend to engulf him in feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation and self-estrangement.¹¹⁵

- Larger facilities tend to produce informal resident cultures with their own peculiar codes which function as a potent reference for other residents. 116
- Larger facilities reinforce the image of rejection of the individual by society, compounding the problems of reintegration into society. 117
- The larger the residential facility, the less the likelihood that youth will participate in community activities. Larger facilities develop their own in-house programs rather than utilizing available community resources, thus reducing the potential for reintegration into the community. 118
- As the size of a detention facility increases, the staff to youth ratio declines. 119
- Larger facilities reduce communication between staff and residents as well as between staff members themselves. 120

Several related arguments have been given by professionals in the field of corrections, and observations during the course of the technical assistance activities at the Community Research Forum at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign have reinforced these opinions. These observations are summarized as follows:

- Larger facilities are more "institutional" in appearance due to furnishings and equipment designed to handle persons in bulk fashion.
- Larger facilities exhibit an increased reliance on "hardware" for security, e.g., closed circuit television and compartmental locking devices, rather than program and staffing.
- A smaller facility encourages the speedy resolution of a case pending preliminary hearing, disposition, or transfer. Further, it encourages a continuing re-examination by several persons, of the court decision to detain.
- Small facilities foster the development and utilization of a network of services rather than reliance on a single facility. This network of services enhances contact with the family and other significant persons. In urban areas, it has been shown that juvenile residential facilities operate best at a capacity of 20, when viewed as a single component in a network of services.
- Smaller facilities are suitable to a greater variety of community-based site locations. Specifically, there is more potential for renovation of existing structures, better integration into residential and light commercial areas, and less community resistance with a smaller facility.

In summary, there is considerable national support for a limitation on the size of juvenile detention and correctional facilities, which is strengthened by the increasing number of alternative programs gaining acceptance in many communities.

Location

There is ample evidence of the value of community settings for juvenile facilities as attested to by ABA and NAC Standards. Let us consider here some of their positive attributes and some implications for size and supervision.

The location of juvenile facilities in well-established neighborhoods presents such advantages as 1) ease of continuing relationships between the youth and friends, family and the community in general, 2) increased availability of community services and programs, 3) better accessibility to courts, court personnel and legal services. Transportation problems for the juvenile and friends or family are also reduced. These benefits accrue to residents of secure and non-secure facilities, though item two assumes particular importance in non-secure settings. The NAC Standards take specific note of the significance of neighborhood locations for secure facilities. Standard 24.2, Secure Residential Facilities, states:

Secure residential facilities should be located in the communities from which they draw their population as delinquents placed in such facilities eventually will return home. It is critical that, to the degree possible, their ties to the community remain intact.

In these circumstances, delinquents will be better able to reintegrate themselves into the community and function in a non-delinquent manner upon release.¹²¹

Both the ABA and NAC agree that, even in secure settings, proximity to familiar persons, involvement of residents in the community, and increased reliance on volunteers can be of tremendous value in the normalization and rehabilitation process.¹²²

Where the juvenile can engage in activities within the community, he is less likely to be confined on a 24-hour basis. In such a non-secure setting, the youth ought to have access to an expanded range of activities. It is

critical then that appropriate resources be available. If such activity is provided outside the facility, there are considerable cost savings to the juvenile justice operation.

What sort of community resources should be considered in making facility location decisions? There is general agreement that the major locational factors include the availability of:

1. educational opportunities (schools, libraries, museums, etc.)
2. recreational facilities, events and the potential for leisure time pursuits (parks, movies, libraries, community events, etc.)
3. medical facilities and personnel
4. specialized programs for youth
5. work opportunities
6. churches
7. food and laundry services.

When the above services and opportunities can be provided by the community, there is less need to supply them as part of the facility design package. The youth also receives the benefit of a more normal and caring environment. In "Freedom of Choice and Behavior in a Physical Setting," Proshansky, et al. note:

Whether the individual's freedom of choice represents a decision to use the least crowded of a variety of routes...or to formulate any of many other decisions that he faces each day, broadening the available possibilities open to him can only enhance his dignity and human qualities, making less an automaton and a more fulfilled individual.¹²³

Location seems to be, then, a principle concern in making such choices and opportunities available. In the matter of education, for example, most state and national standards and law mandate education for all juveniles, including those who have entered the justice system. This may take the form of organized classes within facilities or private lessons. When the situation warrants, the most appropriate approach will be to retain juveniles in their families and normal school settings, perhaps with supplemental tutoring. They then return to their facility after school and extra-curricular activities

are completed. The trauma of complete removal from known surroundings is thus mollified, and the chance that the learning process will be interrupted is greatly reduced. Thus, proximity to community schools, or at the very least, a good public or private transportation system, is of utmost importance.

Similar arguments for locating juvenile facilities near community resources can be made for each of the items listed above. We know that community acceptance, cooperation and involvement are essential to juvenile justice operations in this situation. The ABA notes that the "location of a juvenile facility within the boundaries of a residential area is not as important as the extent of interaction between the community and the facility."¹²⁴ How can community/facility interaction be encouraged? ABA and NAC recommendations include citizen education programs, volunteer programs, and employment of community residents to assist in facility operations.¹²⁵ In terms of physical design and planning, however, some design issues must be considered. The stability of the neighborhood must be taken into account. Unsuitable areas would include those with rapidly changing populations and derelict buildings. Location in the former would indicate a lack of concern about citizen involvement in facility operations, while location in unsavory, dilapidated settings would signal to the juvenile that there is little concern for his environment.¹²⁶ Stable neighborhoods are most suited to sustaining an ongoing involvement with the juvenile facility, in addition to recognizing its importance to the youth of the community. They will also be able to maintain cultural links, thus minimizing problems of identification and anxiety for facility residents.

The physical appearance of the facility can also play an important role in fostering community acceptance. The less institutional appearance a structure presents, the less likely it will suffer rejection by community residents. In this regard, it is essential that facilities do not present any expectation of destructive behavior. Obviously, perimeter security fences and walls, the lack of windows, large, nondescript parking lots, harsh night lighting, and

massively solid construction work against the projection of a positive image. A certain degree of "ordinariness," to use an ABA term, is vastly preferable. The building must blend into its environment, not stand out as a possible source of disruption. Renovation of existing buildings is a most acceptable manner of accomplishing such ends and can prove to be cost efficient.

Regardless of the type of facility under consideration, from small group or shelter homes to larger secure facilities, the more normal a building appears, the greater its chances of successfully involving the community, and reintegrating youths into that community. As the number and type of resources a community offers are meshed with juvenile justice operations, we will see increasing opportunities for the effective care of juveniles in need.

With respect to the location of juvenile residential facilities, the strongest statements on community-based programs may be deduced from the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. Section 103 (1) states:

The term "community based" facility, program, or service means a small, open group home or other suitable place located near the juvenile's home or family and programs of community supervision and service which maintain community and consumer participation in the planning operation, and evaluation of their programs which may include but are not limited to, medical, educational, vocational, social, and psychological guidance, training, counseling, alcoholism treatment, and other rehabilitative services...¹²⁷

This statement is reinforced in the 1977 amendments to the Act which require under Section 223 a (12) (B) that if juveniles are placed in facilities, they be "...the least restrictive alternative appropriate to the needs of the child and the community; ...in reasonable proximity to the family and the home communities of such juveniles..."¹²⁸

CONCLUSION

One of the most significant endeavors in which we can engage ourselves is the creation of environments which can help reclaim individuals, especially youths, who might be otherwise lost to our society. Those who learn to cope, to find a place in the complex workings of daily life, are society's gain. The juvenile justice system can play an important role in this learning process if it can but grasp the opportunities available through its services and facilities. This in turn can only be accomplished by advancing knowledge concerning the young people it must handle and the positive influence it can promote.

The most pervasive obstacle against accomplishing these goals has been the inability to define the precise needs of youths when they come in contact with the system. Additionally, the effects of the physical environment have long been open to question, and only recently have partial answers begun to trickle in. Finally, we must recognize that it is more than a simple task to rearrange traditional ways of thinking in order to comply with current theories of juvenile justice practice and knowledge. Let us consider each of these matters in turn.

Needs of Youth

It is often difficult to determine individual human needs, even under normal circumstances. A rigidly institutional setting exacerbates this difficulty by prescribing conforming behavior to facilitate its own goals. How, then, should the problem of providing for the needs of youth involved in the juvenile justice system be pursued?

The field of environmental psychology undertakes the study of people in their natural environment and has evolved many of the ideas and observations presented in this text. An equally important avenue of investigation, especially as it related to juvenile justice facilities, may be to question juveniles themselves, both residential and non-residential, about their reactions to their environments, and to involve them in preliminary decision-making procedures regarding juvenile justice facility environments. This recommendation will no doubt encounter resistance from many sectors of the juvenile justice system, but it is reasonable to point out that there is often a significant gap between client specifications and user needs. Professional designers often recognize such discrepancies and build a certain amount of flexibility into such spaces as open office plans, and other work and home situations, in order to permit user compensation for any existing deficiency. There is also a growing practice among design firms to encourage community participation in the development of housing and shopping schemes. John Zeisel's article, "Fundamental Values in Planning with the Non-Paying Client," is introduced in Designing For Human Behavior with this statement:

The new professional who recognizes that the user is the client regardless of who pays the bill can be guided by three principles: first, the physical environment should maximize the freedom of its users to choose the way in which they want to live; second, the needs of particular user groups should be defined in terms of the underlying social meaning of behavior and attitudes in those groups rather than merely in terms of what others believe they need; and, third, the opportunities in the physical surroundings should accommodate as much as possible the needs of users.¹²⁹

The effective use of juvenile facilities depends on our ability to determine the needs of youth, and then to satisfy those needs in the services, programs and buildings we employ.

Effects of Environment

That our surroundings influence the way we learn and behave is no longer the subject of debate. All evidence points to the fact that environments, besides affecting our physiological being, help shape our psychological and sociological perceptions and reactions. Thus, buildings are not simple containers of activity, they are integral to human behavior. Precisely how they work their influence into the lives of individuals, however, remains an important question. Very basically, the architectural environment maintains a physical state which supports activities within it. It also sustains certain psychological responses and can therefore be viewed as a behavior setting. If it is desirable for individuals to interpret their surroundings in a certain way and respond accordingly, the environment must be comprehensible, i.e., the symbology of space ought to connote the intentions of the designers, and the space must sustain the activities and behaviors envisioned for it. In the case of juvenile residential facilities, we have seen that it is most important to project normalcy, since abnormal environments may have harmful effects on young people's experience, expectations and behavior. If we cannot know conclusively the cause and effects of particular design elements, we should consider the benefits inherent in normative settings. We should set out, though our understanding of human experience is incomplete, to establish residential environments conducive to normal emotional and physical activity. By manipulating heat, color, light, sound, surface and space we can provide the context for healthy perception and participation in the environment by residents and staff.

In terms of efficient function of man-made space, it is necessary for designers to consider the following questions:

- Has a complete list of all desired activities been established?
- Has space been provided for each?

- Are conflicting activities separated by time or place?
- Does the arrangement of spaces reflect the necessary and often complex relationship among various activities?

These questions must be answered in every design sequence or building function will inevitably fail. In the case of justice facilities for juveniles, we must ask those who design the environment to go beyond purely functional considerations. We must ask them to respond to the more difficult questions of human need such as:

- Is there a place the youthful resident can call his own, thus promulgating a healthy self-image?
- Do the spaces encourage non-aberrant behavior?
- Is a range of experience compatible with normal and non-institutional activity available?
- Are there stimulating variations in physical phenomena such as light, color, sound, texture and space? That is, are spaces dynamic, as opposed to oppressive, static environments?
- Does the arrangement of spaces provide for social, work and recreational needs?
- Is the potential for self-expression and involvement evident?
- Can individuals choose to engage in personal or group pursuits? Do spaces adequately provide for such selection?
- Is there a place for both formal and informal interaction between peers and responsible adults?
- Will spaces sustain an unforced and unhindered atmosphere of learning?

These are but a few of the questions which must be answered positively if our juvenile facilities are to prove successful. Further examination of the effects of environment will give even more direction to our planning and design of juvenile residential facilities.

The Problems of Acceptance

Much information has been presented in this work concerning the effects of a building's design on its users. It has been provided as an overview of physical and perceptual issues related to juvenile residential facilities.

For each individual building, however, the questions remain: Which design is best? What pattern, what spaces, what forms, colors, textures, materials and spatial characteristics ad infinitum will best serve our intentions? Decisive answers are hard, and compromise is inevitable, but these questions must be asked. Reliance upon accepted practices and traditional solutions is insufficient to counter the changing problems of youths and the juvenile justice system. It would be irresponsible to depend on outmoded resolutions for responses to the stated purposes of juvenile justice.

Precise evidence of the importance of the architectural environment is slowly emerging, much of which conflicts with conventional theories and practices. However, traditional views are difficult to dismiss, and will undoubtedly persist until disproven in the field. In planning juvenile residential facilities, therefore, an awareness of the possibilities presented by manipulation of the physical environment is most exigent.

That juvenile justice and design professionals need be concerned with the application of findings about the effects of environment, is eloquently attested to by Stuart W. Rose, in "Arm Folding and Architecture: The Allied Arts":

Please...fold your arms in front of you and sit for a moment before reading further.

How does it feel? Natural? Warm? Comfortable?

Now...please fold your arms in front of you the other way. The arm previously on top should now be on the bottom. Having any problems? How does it feel? Unnatural? Uncomfortable?

The research findings of several studies over the past twenty years show that the second way you folded your arms is not only better for your health, but will enable you to be more productive in the use of your arms.

Are you really going to change your arm-folding behavior? As you found, doing things a new way is difficult -- even painful -- besides being awkward. If my livelihood depended on how well I fold my arms, I'd stay with the first way despite the research findings which say I should change. If I feel awkward the new way,

I'm liable to do a terrible arm-folding job and jeopardize my livelihood. The risk of doing it awkwardly and poorly, the new way, is very high. And the amount of practice and patience and discomfort will be enormous. I simply don't feel the need -- or benefits -- of changing the way I now fold my arms. Do you?

I've always found comfort the way I naturally fold them...and reasonably good results. I'm sure there's always room for improvement, but for now I'm staying on firm, known, comfortable ground.

Besides, if I change which arm is on top, I have to change my cigarette-holding hand. And that may effect my smoking habit, which is really playing with fire! The need for other changes if I accomplish this one might make things unbearable. I'm quite nervous and afraid...and skeptical...of what might happen. I'll take my chances and fold the way I have been.

Let's look at what's happened.

Several researchers conducted arm-folding research for twenty years. After investing a lot of their energy, and the funds and energy of others, they have, first, finally informed you about the fruits of their labors and, second, been rejected. Most of us don't like being rejected. We need to reduce this dissonance to be comfortable and live with ourselves. One way of reducing it is to discredit the rejector: 'The arm-folding practitioners don't care about the quality of their activity; they're only interested in money!'

The same holds true from the practitioners' viewpoint: 'Those researchers are in ivory towers; they're not living in the real world; they'd never make it on the outside!'

Neither viewpoint is healthy for the arm-folding professionals or for the state of their art. Both viewpoints and the phenomena that cause them that cause them are quite natural. While nothing is really evil, nothing constructive is happening. What seems needed in arm-folding (and architecture) is a link which causes the research results to be transferred into practice, provides feedback to the researchers, and establishes an interdependent relationship between the two roles. Then both would feel useful and needed, which is a warmer, more reinforcing relationship as well as more productive in advancing the state of the art.¹³⁰

In the field of juvenile justice, there must be a willingness to implement new ideas, to try new methods. This may constitute a sort of applied research, but with some success, a genuine enthusiasm for new facility design and environments may be fostered.

Planners and designers of juvenile residential facilities must focus their efforts on the needs of the young people who will occupy them. This advocacy posture ought to incorporate attitudes and interests much broader than those of the traditional juvenile justice system. Paramount to this advocacy posture are a presumption of release, maintenance of family ties, and use of the least restrictive alternative. Thus, planners must recognize the limited and temporary nature of residential facilities and support them in expediting a youth's return to a home setting.

We will go on shaping buildings to our purposes, and they will continue to affect us. The psychological and moral consequences which evolve from the manipulation of the built environment ought to be explored, then, so that our structures may be used to the fullest. It remains for us to establish the objectives, reflected in our buildings, which will best serve society.

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