‘What changes people is relationships’: Designing youth justice facilities that work.

2020 Churchill Fellowship to document the architectural design
of a new youth custodial model that can address current challenges.

Report by Matthew Dwyer, Churchill Fellow
Awarded by The Winston Churchill Memorial Trust

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SCO 128th Street Non-secure Placement Facility, Queens, New York, 2022

Datema House, Community-based Residential Treatment Program, Springfield, Missouri, 2022

THE WINSTON CHURCHILL MEMORIAL TRUST

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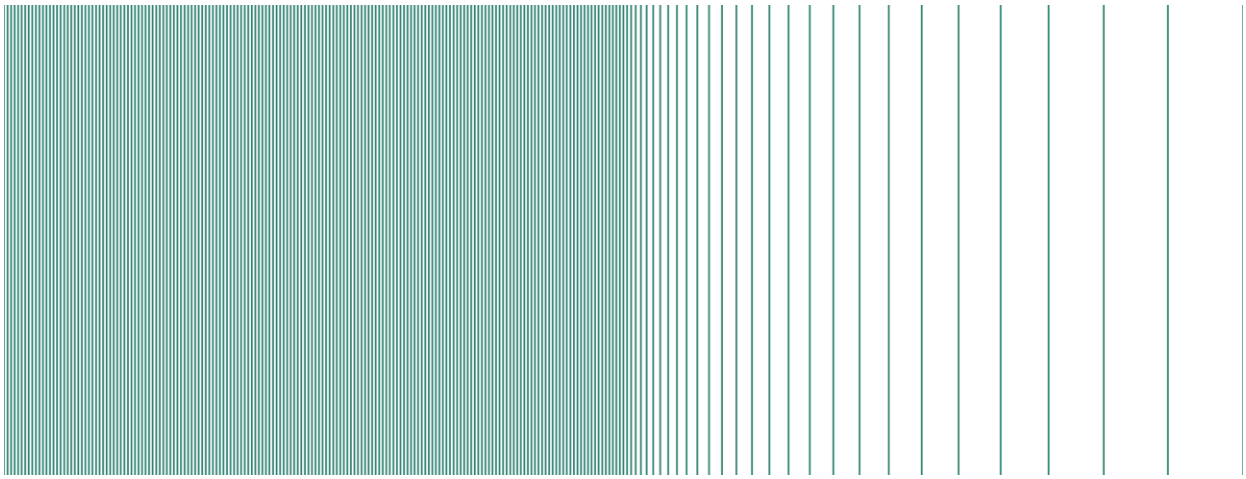
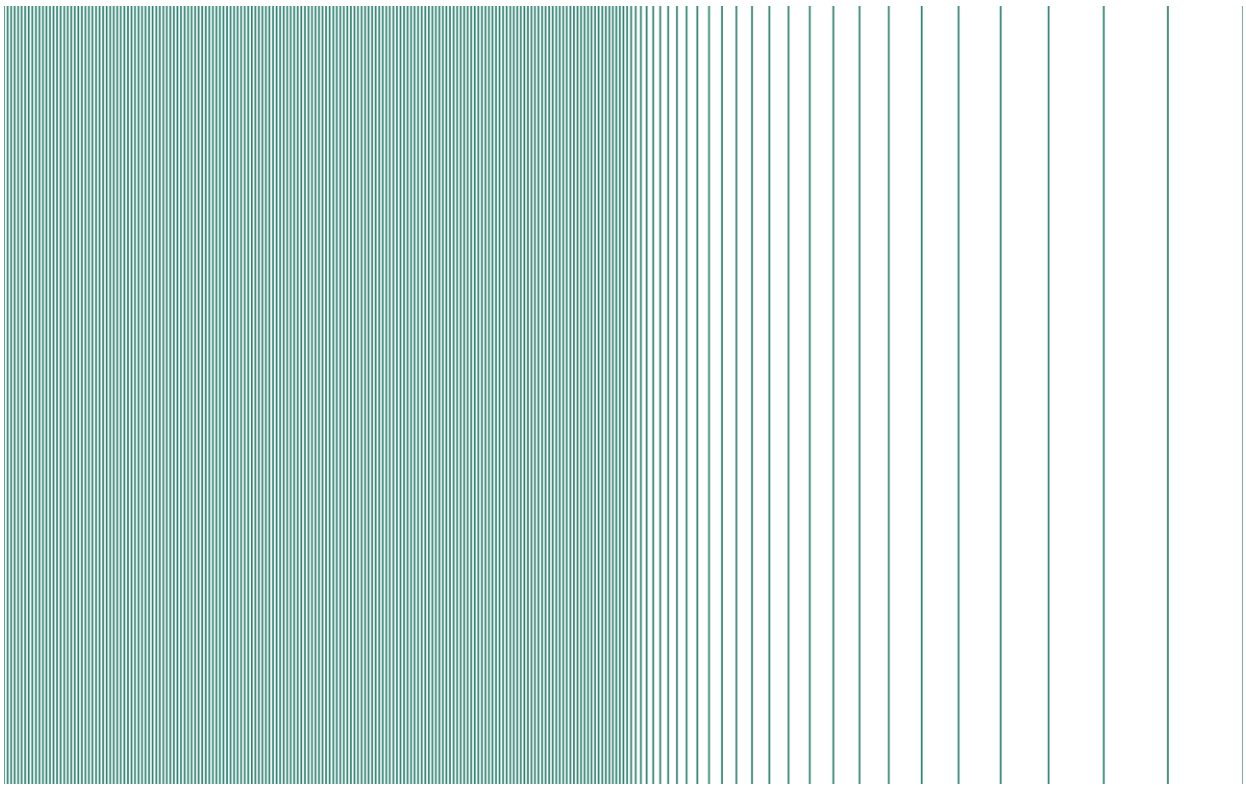
Signed - Matthew Dwyer Date 31/01/2023



"We must not forget that when every material improvement has been effected in prisons, when the temperature has been rightly adjusted, when the proper food to maintain health and strength has been given, when the doctors, chaplains and prison visitors have come and gone, the convict stands deprived of everything that a free man calls life. We must not forget that all these improvements, which are sometimes salves to our consciences, do not change that position.

The mood and temper of the public in regard to the treatment of crime and criminals is one of the most unfailing tests of the civilisation of any country. A calm and dispassionate recognition of the rights of the accused against the state and even of convicted criminals against the state, a constant heart-searching by all charged with the duty of punishment, a desire and eagerness to rehabilitate in the world of industry of all those who have paid their dues in the hard coinage of punishment, tireless efforts towards the discovery of curative and regenerating processes and an unfaltering faith that there is a treasure, if only you can find it in the heart of every person – these are the symbols which in the treatment of crime and criminals mark and measure the stored up strength of a nation, and are the sign and proof of the living virtue in it."

Winston Churchill
House of Commons, as Home Secretary, July 20, 1910



Acknowledgements

I would like to respectfully acknowledge the Wurundjeri People of the Kulin nation, the Traditional Owners and Custodians of the Country where I work and live. Their sovereignty has not been ceded, and we have so much yet to learn from them about living properly and respectfully within their Country and abroad. I solemnly acknowledge the violence, dispossession and oppression carried out by our colonial settler state, and the ongoing impacts of our occupation of this Country, including the horrendous effects of our 'justice' systems. It is very clear, throughout my Fellowship travels, that the basis of real justice is respectful relationships - something we must continue to work toward as a society living on stolen land.

Further, I would like to acknowledge the Traditional Owners of the lands I visited during my Fellowship; the Lenape People of Lenapehoking/New York City, Anacostans People of Nacotchtank/Washington DC, and the Osage People who were displaced from the area now known as Springfield, Missouri.

I want to gratefully thank all the people who offered their time, knowledge, and expertise so generously in all the locations I visited during the Fellowship. I'm certain that your generosity will contribute to Australia making substantial positive changes to the manner in which we conduct our justice work, and then environments in which we do this.

I would like to acknowledge the generosity of the Winston Churchill Trust, and the many Fellows who have preceded me. I would also like to thank Dr Diana Johns and Murray Robinson who supported my application to the Trust.

Deepest thanks to Mac and Kai for looking after Milo while I was travelling.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge gratefully and thank Dr Sanne Oostermeijer, who I share this work with and who deserves half the recognition for the Local Time project, of which this Fellowship forms a part.

Introduction

Australia's Youth Justice facilities are certainly broken, but they would be more accurately described as backward. They are designed around outdated ideas that have been thoroughly shown to be counterproductive and harmful, to justice-involved young people, to justice staff, and to our broader society. They fail to provide a safe environment, evidenced by the constant stream of reviews, inquiries, and royal commissions around the country, in addition to the ongoing exposés of abuse and failure uncovered by reporters and journalists, and the often scathing scrutiny of oversight bodies. Staff are getting hurt, children are getting hurt, it costs an enormous amount of taxpayers' money, all so that young people can come out with worse chances than those they had going in. Moreover, there is no evidence to show that these facilities do anything to reduce offending behaviour. Our youth justice facilities don't align with what we know helps young people to change their behaviour and their lives for the better.

In contrast, other places around the world have shaped their justice systems, including their facilities, to give the best chance for young people to build on their strengths and make lasting positive changes in their lives. In the long run, this means safer communities, as well as safer and better working conditions for facility staff.

This Fellowship focused on one part of this picture - the physical environments of custodial facilities. A well-designed facility can help to mitigate some of the challenges faced in custody. It can influence the ways staff and children interact, reduce levels of stress and aggression, and improve the conditions for education, engagement and behaviour change. The Fellowship looked to understand how facility design relates to the best practice, evidence-based models of care used by forward-looking jurisdictions, in countries that are culturally similar to Australia.

This report is to inform policymakers, advocates, academics, youth justice workers and designers. It sets out the principles by which new youth justice facilities will be designed in Australia from this point forward. Further, it provides a dense body of information to assist researchers and designers in realising these designs effectively.

About the author

Matthew Dwyer is an architectural researcher, designer, and tutor, working in Melbourne Australia, on the lands of the Wurundjeri People of the Kulin nation. His work focuses on how design interrelates with other fields – with a particular focus on the social and ecological effects of the design of environments. He won the inaugural Victorian Design Challenge in 2018 with Dr Sanne Oostermeijer for their work on how architecture can affect and best contribute to positive outcomes in the Victorian Youth Justice system. Together with Dr Oostermeijer, he has developed and published a set of evidence-based design guidelines for therapeutic youth justice spaces and presented this work at conferences and events in Australia, the Netherlands and Portugal. He has previously studied facilities in the Netherlands, Norway and Spain and has been awarded this Churchill Fellowship to extend his research in this area.

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KEYWORDS

architectural design, carceral geography, juvenile justice centres, youth prisons, therapeutic approaches, trauma informed care, youth secure estate, youth offending, adolescent health

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Itinerary and facilities studied.

The Fellowship included a detailed study of seventeen facilities in New York, Washington DC, Missouri, England, and Scotland. It also included conversations with academics, advocates, administrators, and experts in the field.

- Barbara Blum NSP, New York
- SCO 128th Street NSP, New York
- Van Horn Children’s Village NSP, New York
- Crest House, Children’s Village LSP, New York
- Ozone LSP, New York
- Belmont School, Passages Academy New York
- New Beginnings YDC, Washington DC
- Excel Community Resource Centre, Missouri
- Datema House, Missouri
- Mount Vernon Treatment Centre, Missouri
- Wilson Creek Care Centre, Missouri
- Community Learning Centre, Missouri
- Gentry Residential Treatment Centre, Missouri
- Barton Moss Secure Care Centre, England
- Adel Beck Secure Children’s Home, England
- Kibble Safe Centre, Scotland
- Rossie School, Scotland
- Columbia Justice Lab, New York
- Keppie Design, Scotland
- Scottish Children’s Reporter Administration
- RESCALED Europe, Brussels

Key findings and conclusions

Findings outline important, high-level lessons that emerged repeatedly across sites visited during the Fellowship. Some are direct lessons for the design of environments, some are necessary notes in framing our understanding of the designs.

Strong preventative and diversion approaches are a prerequisite to safe and stable facilities.

Small-scale facilities improve staff satisfaction and retention.

Without exception, the most important ingredient for a successful facility was the staff. Key aspects included finding the right people for the job, ensuring that they are adequately trained, resourced, and supported, and that they shared the vision of what the facility was about. Small-scale facilities provide the conditions for successful, gratifying work with young people.

Relationship-focused

Also universally acknowledged is the means through which these staff achieve safety and success: positive and constructive relationships with young people. ‘People: it comes down to people. What changes people is relationships.’ ‘Relationships are everything in this line of work.’ The design of the facility can provide favourable conditions for the building and maintaining of these relationships.

Small-scale

It was clearly acknowledged across the facilities visited that size has an impact on the running of the facility.

Local placement: Family-involvement and continuity of care

It was acknowledged generally across all facilities visited that the involvement of families and carers is a crucially important aspect of caring for a young person and helping them change their behaviours and circumstances. Being close to a young person’s home is seen to promote involvement.

Positive relationships with surrounding communities

NIMBYism (i.e., reluctance by residents to having facilities nearby) is a common issue across jurisdictions. Through a variety of efforts described, facilities garner good relations with the public.

Comfortable, safe-feeling, and therapeutic environment: emotional safety is important.

The visits during the Fellowship universally confirmed the need for a facility design to be as ‘homey’ as possible and to avoid institutional characteristics. Further, the visits revealed new connections and significance toward this aspect of the design.

Education and school.

One universally held goal was to provide young people with the support they needed to experience (often their first) successes in education. The goal is to change the mindset of the young person to ‘yes – I can do this’. Another very widely held objective was to provide young people with the most normal ‘real school’ experience possible within the required limits of the facility. Impressive libraries are provided to facilities.

Flexibility, adaptability, continuous improvement, and young people’s initiative

A common theme across many different facilities was the need to stay ’nimble’, or be ready to change, adapt and improve. Staff should be flexible and have an attitude of mutual learning with the young people.

Long-term planning, sharing spaces and resources with the community.

It is important that designs for youth justice facilities are equipped with the ability to be either decommissioned or repurposed to be of other positive benefit to the community. Through the Fellowship I found beginning examples of how facilities might be able to interrelate more closely and contribute positively to the broader community, as well as mechanisms for the repurposing of facilities over time.

Cultural relevance, safety, and respect.

In many facilities visited there was also an explicit imperative for staff to ‘look like’ the young people, i.e., to have the same ethnic and cultural background. This was important to promote an environment of mutual understanding and relatable experience – the foundation for positive and constructive relationships. The overall implication to the facility environment is that the design, along with all other aspects of the system around it, must be led by, and relevant to, the people it is supposed to help and support.

Participation and co-creation with young people.

Young people can want and value something different to adults, which may include facility design aspects. To understand properly, we will have to listen properly.

Shared values top to bottom, in action and design.

A commitment to continuous learning and improvement as a key value. The value is easy to understand and can be applied to and taken up in earnest by *every* person involved in the facility. It can also be applied to every aspect of the facility, from daily operation, to staff recruitment, to the physical environment.

Don't design out learning opportunities. Accept that mistakes are part of the work.

In the facilities visited, risk is recognised as an inherent part of this work. Opportunities are provided safely for mistakes to be made, trust to be earned, lessons to be learned. A constructive and trusting environment is slowly and steadily developed where risk taking can be practiced in a safe manner.

The small-scale facility model will take time and commitment to work but will be worthwhile.

The small-scale facility model is applicable in Australia and will offer benefits.

Recommendations

Through the lessons of this Fellowship and prior research in Europe it is possible to redesign justice facilities in Australia. As noted above, the design of a justice facility is intimately and inextricably linked to the design of the justice system more broadly, and as such, the vision for a facility model must be understood within a broader view.

Australian State and Territory Government Departments responsible for Youth Justice, should:

- Prepare a holistic strategy toward realising a community-building, strengths-based and restorative justice system.
- Plan for the decommission of existing large-scale detention facilities, as they do more harm than good, at an incredible price.
- Reduce the number of young people in youth justice facilities. This is of primary importance and is a precondition for facilities to work effectively. This should involve:
    - Investing in addressing the underlying risk factors which lead young people into contact with the justice system. Supporting communities to achieve this goal in the interest of their young people, as genuine, trusting, and lasting relationships are the key to change.
    - In partnership with involved communities, develop and implement an extensive range of robust and effective community-based diversion programs. Ensure those young people who are placed in a facility are truly in need of this placement.
- In partnership with involved communities and young people with experience, develop and implement a diverse range of facilities that are small-scale, community-integrated, relationship-focused, and therapeutic. This should involve:
    - Using a holistic approach in the development of these facilities. Develop the design of the physical environment in close relationship and alongside the model of care and staffing model.
    - Committing to maintain and improve this model over the long-term, despite initial setbacks and challenges. The early years will be difficult and time is required to overcome teething issues.
    - Developing a diversity of different justice settings, including mostly semi-open facilities supported by a small number of self-contained facilities for the few young people requiring a more intensive setting.
    - Semi-open facilities should be around 8 beds, local and community-led, with designs that focus on cultivating positive and constructive relationships inside and out, physical, and emotional safety. These will be effective, but relatively inexpensive facilities, with highly trained and well supported staff. They will cater for the majority of young people requiring out-of-home placement. These facilities can be retrofitted from existing buildings, or predominantly built in typical domestic, yet robust, construction methods.
    - Self-contained facilities should be a maximum 24 beds in size. These will be expensive but effective facilities, with substantial expert design involvement, catering for a very small number of young people across the state. They will focus on cultivating positive and constructive relationships largely inside, with best efforts and arrangements made to support family and prosocial involvement within a secure environment. Design to promote both physical and emotional safety.
    - Facilities, either semi-open or self-contained, are to be located to promote easy access and involvement of families and prosocial supports for young people.

  - Matching facility design with models for continuous care and aftercare, so that the same staff are able to provide care and support after a young person has left the facility.
  - Involving young people in the initial design of facilities and provide opportunity for facilities to adapt and develop over time through the initiatives of young people and staff.
- Design facilities for ‘decommission’. As the need for residential placements diminishes through success of community-building and diversion programs, facilities should be equipped to provide valuable services, resources, and infrastructure to the general community.
- Ensure ongoing independent research and assessment feeds back for constant improvement and public transparency.
- Aim to continuously learn and improve the system. Aim to decommission facilities. Aim for the best facilities to become obsolete and unnecessary.

This is undoubtedly an ambitious agenda.
However, the experience of the jurisdictions studied in this Fellowship demonstrates that ambition can be achieved.

Fellowship itinerary

Week 1: 5-11 September 2022		
Columbia Justice Lab, Columbia University	Alex Schneider - Senior Manager, Youth Justice Initiatives	New York City, NY
Administration for Children's Services (ACS NYC)	Johan Peguero, Associate Commissioner - Close to Home Antonio McCloud - Field Operations	New York City, NY
Barbara Blum NSP Facility - Close to Home	Good Shepherd Services	Brooklyn, NY
Week 2: 12-18 September 2022		
Columbia Justice Lab, Columbia University	Vincent Lau - Senior Manager Youth Justice Initiatives	New York City, NY
Belmont NSP School - Close to Home	Passages Academy NYC DoE, ACS NYC	Brooklyn, NY
Ozone LSP Facility - Close to Home	Sheltering Arms	Queens, NY
SCO 128th Street NSP Facility - Close to Home	SCO Family of Services	Queens, NY
Crest House LSP Facility - Close to Home	Children's Village	Dobbs Ferry, NY
Van Horn NSP Facility - Close to Home	Children's Village	Dobbs Ferry, NY
Week 3: 19-25 September 2022		
Administration for Children's Services (ACS NYC)	Johan Peguero - Associate Commissioner - Close to Home	New York City, NY
Youth Services Centre	Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services	Washington DC
New Beginnings Youth Development Centre	Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services	Washington DC
Week 4: 3-9 October 2022		
DYS SW Regional Office	Trichia Long Regional Administrator Kyle Bentley - Assistant Regional Administrator	Springfield, Missouri
Excel Community Resource Centre (Day Care)	Division of Youth Services	Springfield, Missouri
Mount Vernon Treatment Centre (Moderate Care)	Division of Youth Services	Springfield, Missouri
Wilson Creek (Moderate Care - Girls)	Division of Youth Services	Springfield, Missouri
Community Learning Centre (Moderate Care)	Division of Youth Services	Springfield, Missouri

Datema House (Community-based program)	Division of Youth Services	Springfield, Missouri
Gentry Residential Treatment Centre (Moderate Care)	Division of Youth Services	Springfield, Missouri
Week 5: 17-23 October 2022		
Oasis Restore	Andrew Willets - Principal Director, Oasis Restore	London, England
Churchill War Rooms		London, England
Week 6: 24-30 October 2022		
Barton Moss Secure Care Centre	Salford Youth Justice Service, Salford City Council	Manchester, England
Kibble Safe Centre	Kibble Education and Care Centre	Paisley, Scotland
Week 7: 31 October - 6 November 2022		
Scottish Children's Reporter Administration	Jennifer Orren - Participation Officer Marny Jackson – Property Officer A Modern Apprentice involved in new designs	Glasgow, Scotland
Keppie Design Studio	Peter Moran, Managing Director	Glasgow, Scotland
Rossie Farm Secure Care Facility	Rossie Young People's Trust	Montrose, Scotland
Week 8: 7-13 November 2022		
Adel Beck Secure Children's Home	Leeds City Council	Leeds, England
RESCALED - European Organisation for Detention Houses	Helene de Vos - Executive Director RESCALED	Brussels, Belgium

Preface: Reducing the incarceration of young people

Incarceration inflicts a great deal of harm on a young person at a time in their life when they are learning and changing rapidly. It is also a time when they are particularly receptive to their social environment, which contributes significantly to their health and wellbeing into the future.

Time spent in a justice facility interrupts factors that reduce the likelihood of offending, including links to community, family ties, work, education, and housing. As a result, often young people exit a justice facility with poorer general health and less equipped to form stable relationships, practice coping strategies, avoid antisocial influences, or engage in education to lead them to economically independent and law-abiding adulthood (Hart, 2016; Nowak & Krishan, 2022; V. N. Schiraldi et al., 2015).

In short, the incarceration of young people is regularly found to be doing more harm than good and is considered a criminogenic risk factor in itself by further burdening a person with disadvantage (for example, refer Clancey et al., 2020).

It is crucial and foremost that everything is done to prevent young people from coming into contact with the justice system through community building and preventative approaches. Further, it is crucial that, on coming into contact with the justice system, everything is done to prevent a young person from being incarcerated. This is necessary for the benefit of the young person, their community, and broader society.

For those very few young people who are then still in need of an out-of-home placement, this Fellowship aims to provide the principles and details by which a safe, structured, and therapeutic environment can contribute towards those positive life factors that help a young person change their life for the better.

Introduction and Background

Australia's Youth Justice facilities are certainly broken, but they would be more accurately described as backward. They are designed around outdated ideas that have been thoroughly shown to be counterproductive and harmful, to justice-involved young people, to justice staff, and to our broader society.

They fail to provide a safe environment, for either the young people who stay there, or for the staff who work there. Evidencing this is the constant stream of reviews, inquiries and royal commissions around the country, in addition to the ongoing exposés of abuse and failure uncovered by reporters and journalists, and the often scathing scrutiny of oversight bodies (Clancey et al., 2020). At the moment, staff are getting hurt, children are getting hurt, it costs an enormous amount of taxpayers' money, all so that young people can come out with worse chances than those they had going in. Moreover, there is no evidence to show that these facilities do anything to reduce offending behaviour (Armytage & Ogloff, 2017a).

In short, our youth justice facilities don't align with what we know helps young people to change their behaviour and their lives for the better. They don't align with what we want them to do.

In contrast, other places around the world have shaped their justice systems, including their facilities, to give the best chance for young people to build on their strengths, with their communities, and make lasting positive changes in their lives. In the long run, this means safer communities, as well as safer and better working conditions for facility staff.

This Fellowship focuses on one part of this picture - the physical environments of custodial facilities. It aims to understand how the design of a facility relates to the best practice models of care employed by forward looking jurisdictions. Along with Dr Sanne Oostermeijer, Research Fellow at the Melbourne School of Population and Global Health, University of Melbourne, I have previously researched facilities in Spain, Norway and the Netherlands (Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2019, 2023).This Fellowship looks to understand forward looking designs from jurisdictions which are more culturally similar to our own in the United States, England and Scotland.

This report is organised into sections beginning with an introduction to the impact of facility design.

One of the purposes of this Fellowship is to document in detail the environmental design of facilities and the section titled ‘Jurisdictions and facilities studied’ contains lengthy descriptions of each facility visited. This section contains a large amount of information and is quite dense and is best suited for an audience seeking close detail.

In the following section titled ‘Key aspects and themes’ I have attempted to draw together and summarise key findings shared across a number of facilities.

At the end of the document is a section outlining conclusions from the study, along with recommendations about how these may inform the design of facilities in the future.

The importance of facility design: Small-scale facilities.

The way that a facility operates successfully is very much due to factors like staffing, programs, managerial support, and models of care. But the design of the facility itself, the physical environment, sits underneath and influences all of these aspects. Put simply, the design can either make life easier inside a facility, or it can make it significantly more complicated, in some cases to the point of real danger.

The physical facility itself is also long-lasting, so it’s benefits and complications persist over the long term, influencing the broader system around it. It’s also very complicated to redevelop a justice facility if it hasn’t gotten the key ingredients right in the first instance, things like size, spatial layout, paths of movement, community connection.

A well-designed facility can help to mitigate some of the challenges faced inside. It can influence the ways staff and children interact, reduce levels of stress and aggression, and improve the conditions for education, engagement and behaviour change (Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2019, 2023).

This can contribute to justice facilities which are:

- Safe and promote the wellbeing of both staff and children.
- Appropriate for addressing young people’s mental health needs.
- More cost effective than those we currently operate.
- Promote the effectiveness of rehabilitation activities, which means reducing the risk of ongoing reoffending, and in turn means less crime and safer communities.
- Promote better lives for young people as they grow up.

This is particularly important for children and adolescents, because at this age they are developing patterns of behaviour and identities that can affect them for the rest of their life.

The following characteristics of facility design promote the provision of care and treatment, and subsequently effect the chances of a young person’s success (Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2019, 2023).

- **Small:** allows staff to develop meaningful relationships with young people, to understand the individual motivations, risks, needs, skills, and strengths of each young person, and to modify their role and behaviour based on this knowledge.
- **Locally sited and community-integrated:** close to a young person’s community, to promote the strengthening of protective factors, including school, family, care givers, and prosocial connections.
- **Differentiated and relational security infrastructure:** Designs that encourage a therapeutic relationship between staff and young people, with measures that are adaptable to individual dynamic risks and needs, and goals.
- **Therapeutic:** A healthy and home-like environment, designed to reduce stress, aggressive and harmful behaviours, and promote overall wellbeing and mental health.

This report will refer throughout to ‘small-scale’ facilities. This is to be understood as shorthand for all four of the above interrelated characteristics.

This Fellowship examines these aspects in relation to justice facilities in jurisdictions most culturally similar to our own.

Aim

The goal of this Fellowship is to set out and inform the principles by which new youth justice facilities will be designed in Australia.

It aims to provide concrete guidance in the development of a facility design brief, as key decisions are made very early in the design process which have long-lasting implications to justice-involved young people, justice staff and the community generally. It aims to draw attention to and better articulate the interrelationship between the philosophy and principles of a youth justice system, the design of its physical environments and the overall effectiveness of the system. It aims to explore how the physical environment contributes to the safety and wellbeing of young people and staff within the facility, and to the effectiveness of rehabilitation activities in reducing the likelihood of reoffending.

In concrete terms, the Fellowship seeks to answer and inform the following questions.

- How does spatial layout & environmental conditions of a facility affect interactions between children/staff?
- How does the site & size impact upon operations & opportunities for rehabilitation?
- How do facilities reconcile the need for physical security infrastructure and the provision of a home-like environment?
- How does the community perceive and relate to the facility, and what approaches have been taken to cultivate this relationship?
- Are the facilities purpose built or retrofitted?
- Are there specific groups of young people who stay in the facility? How is it determined?
- What has worked/failed in implementing a small-scale approach in the jurisdiction?
- What makes a facility a good place to work? How can the environment contribute toward recruitment and retention of staff?

Method

My method was to engage in semi-structured conversations with experienced senior staff members, administrators, and experts, using a series of questions to explore key concepts. A standard format was developed for describing the characteristics of a facility and another for collecting information in relation to key concepts discussed. These two sets were then cross-referenced to develop a list of key observations and concepts.

Being able to visit facilities in person, this report focuses on documenting in detail the environment and physical designs of the precedent small-scale facilities.

- Develop and use a rubric for establishing a detailed description of each facility/jurisdiction, including:
    - context within the broader justice system
    - location, including geographic context and transport options
    - construction type and relevant details
    - size
    - spatial arrangement
    - living, activity and bedroom spaces
    - school/learning spaces
    - outdoor/green spaces
    - security infrastructure
    - staffing approach
    - care and treatment approaches
- Develop and use a questionnaire to identify and explore the key design aspects of each facility, the relationships between these aspects, as well as the relationships to the principles and models of care and treatment.
- Collect floor plans and photographs for each facility.
- Cross-reference the data across facility questionnaires and descriptions to explore overarching themes and design elements

Jurisdictions and facilities studied.

The focus of this Fellowship is to study how aspects of the physical environment contribute to the success of small-scale, community-integrated, flexible, relationship-focused, and therapeutic facilities. These aspects have been identified and developed as part of a model for characterising and understanding the design of youth justice facilities in different jurisdictions around the world (Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2023). The aspects relate to what is known to help reduce the likelihood of young people reoffending, to promote a safe facility environment, and to promote the wellbeing of justice-involved young people who are often victims of crime or suffer significant mental health and health issues.

Not all of the facilities studied represent all of these aspects. However, each contributes to a more comprehensive and rounded understanding of the aspects within different contexts and systems. Each of the jurisdictions visited were identified by experts in the field as representing positive contributions toward

Previous work has studied facilities in Spain, Norway, and the Netherlands (Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2019, 2023). The jurisdictions that are the focus of this Fellowship have been selected for being more culturally similar to Australia. This is important so that we have a better understanding of what the above aspects actually mean on the ground in similar cultural, legal and social environments to our own, as well as understanding how these aspects have been effectively realised. One consideration that helped to narrow the focus of the Fellowship was to look toward jurisdictions which employ an adversarial legal system, as an indication of a prevailing cultural view of 'justice'. Another consideration was to look at jurisdictions that are experiencing similar problems to our own, but which have actively and substantially engaged in addressing those issues for the better.

The following provides an overview of the jurisdictions and facilities studied as part of the Fellowship.

New York City - Close to Home

In 2012 New York City embarked on a comprehensive redesign of its Juvenile Justice and custodial system which was acknowledged to be "harming its children, wasting money, and endangering its public" (*Charting a New Course: A Blueprint for Transforming Juvenile Justice in New York State*, 2009). New York's system was riddled with core critical failings, including issues similar to those we face currently in Australia:

- Substantial public investment (over US$200,000 per year per youth (2008)) with largely ineffective results in terms of public safety
- High recidivism/failure rates, with 75% of young people rearrested within three years, and 89% of boys and 81% of girls re-arrested by age 28.
- Dangerous and abusive conditions in youth justice facilities
- Separation of youth from pro-social connections
- Additional imposed barriers to education
- Focused on custody and control, at the expense of skills development
  (Szanyi & Soler, 2018, pp. 4–5)

In addition to substantially improving and broadening community-based alternatives to detention, the initiative effected a paradigm shift to "[replace] large institutional facilities with smaller programs… rich with rehabilitative services and close to youth's homes", as well as establishing comprehensive support and aftercare for young people after time out of home (Szanyi & Soler, 2018, pp. 5–6).

> *"By 2016, New York City no longer sent any youth from its Family Court to state-operated youth prisons. Today, only around 100 New York City youth are placed from Family Court into any kind of residential facility, about a dozen of whom are in a locked facility. Not only are there dramatically fewer youth in residential placements, but those who do get placed now go to smaller, more home-like settings that attend to public safety without mirroring the punitive, correctional approaches embodied by previous youth prisons." (Weissman et al., 2019)*

Close to Home (C2H) is a network of 31 small group homes throughout the neighbourhoods of the five boroughs of New York City, close to families and prosocial resources that can help young people's treatment and transition back into the community. Young people are typically placed within their home borough and no more than 25 miles (40km) from home. There are two types of home: Non-Secure Placements (NSPs) which are between 8 and 13 beds in size,

and Limited-Secure Placements (LSPs) which are between 6 and 20 beds in size. Facilities are distributed across the city so that young people can be placed as close to their homes as possible and are typically retrofitted houses. Facilities are operated by a range of not-for-profit organisations, typically social- or children's-service providers, and are administered by the Administration for Children's Services New York City (ACS). The seven key principles of the Close to Home model are: Public Safety, Accountability, Evidence-Based and Evidence-Informed Treatment, Educational Continuity and Attainment, Community Reintegration, Family Engagement and Collaboration, and Permanency (Szanyi & Soler, 2018, p. 12). The program has been seen as a great success and has provided a precedent for other jurisdictions across the United States.

Young people who are found to need a period of out-of-home placement by the Family Court are placed in Close to Home houses, with ACS assigning the specifics of placements through their Placement/Permanency specialists. 12 is the minimum age for a young person to be placed, while 17- and 18-year old's are the most common. It is possible for a young person to stay in a Close to Home house until 23 as a maximum, however a young person needs to have been under 18 when having committed the crime. Young people typically spend between 6-9 months in a house, with 6 months being noted as ideal.

NSPs are semi-open, with young people leaving the facility for activities including sporting events, home-leave, medical appointments, education at a specialist school in the community (see Belmont School), as well as typical 'community' schools when preparing for re-entry. LSPs are more self-contained, with internal classrooms for school.

The Fellowship includes a study of three NSPs, two LSPs and a specialist school operated for young people living in NSPs. It was noted that almost all young people are best suited to Non-Secure Placement facility environment, with Limited-Secure Placements reserved for a small minority who pose an elevated risk of absconding.

Barbara Blum, Close to Home NSP Facility

Barbara Blum is a 12-bed Non-Secure Placement operated by Good Shepherd Services in Brooklyn for boys and young men. The building was previously an office for an outreach program but has been retrofitted to provide C2H housing. It is a two-storey weatherboard townhouse building with one basement level, attached at the end of a row of residential townhouses which stretch along the street. A concrete courtyard is located at the back of the house with a typical residential chain mesh fence, with a basketball half-court beneath large shade trees.

The facility is located within a residential urban neighbourhood, within easy walking distance of subway and bus stops. One adjacent property is a school building, and a residential building at the rear of the building is a foster home for girls, also operated by Good Shepherd. A church building is also adjacent to the rear of the building. Adjoining properties to the south are residential houses, as are the properties across the street.

Bedrooms (seven), bathrooms (three), and a staff and social-work office are located upstairs, accessed via a central stairway and an 'H' shaped corridor. On the ground floor are a CCTV/security office at the front door, dining room with lockers and games, a lounge room with television, meeting room, toilet, staff offices, and kitchen used by staff members for meal preparation. A basement level accessed via stair includes IT facilities, a gym, a 'cinema', computer games, laundry facilities and staff lockers.

There is no front fence, with the building fronting directly to the street. The rear yard has a chain mesh fence which appears to be standard for adjacent properties further along the street also. There are bars to the windows, but this also seems to be fairly typical for houses on the street and in the area. CCTV cameras are present throughout the house, with staff noting that there are no blind-spots. The front door is locked via pin-code and is accessed from the outside via a standard residential video intercom. Doors are normal internal doors, with standard residential/office lockable handles. Bedroom doors are locked through the day while the young people are out of the room, to prevent being able to return freely. Bedroom doors are to remain open at night when a young person is in the room, not locked. Bedrooms typically have a single timber bed, sometimes a bunk, one room with a bunk and a single bed. It was noted that staff are required to visually check on young people every 15 minutes throughout the night, without waking them. Normal mattress and bedclothes. One wall is painted a bright colour: deep blue, teal green. The remaining walls are painted a warm off-white. Floors are vinyl tiles. Large stickers of children's movie characters are placed on the wall, 'to remind that we still see them as children'. Double-hung sash windows to the street or the back yard are openable approximately 5cm for fresh air and provide a view. Flyscreens and blinds typical to a normal home. A window mounted air conditioner, controllable by

1. Barbara Blum NSP, Brooklyn, 2022

2. Barbara Blum NSP, Dining room

3. Barbara Blum NSP, Bedroom

4. Barbara Blum NSP, Backyard

young people, is located in each room as well as a wall mounted radiator.

The building has normal domestic finishes, fixtures, furniture. Furniture is movable and sturdy, typically made of timber. Rugs and blinds are present throughout. Games, TV's, cables, and remotes etc. are not locked away and are easily and visibly accessible. This was noted as an important opportunity for young people to exercise care and restraint with belongings and behaviour and also contributes to a strong sense of homeliness (i.e., not having institutional rigour). When things are broken, this is seen as an opportunity for learning, growth.

The facility uses the Sanctuary Model of care and treatment, with young people attending school at Belmont Passages Academy (see below).

SCO 128th Street, Close to Home NSP Facility

SCO 128th Street is a 6 bed Non-Secure Placement Facility operated by SCO Family of Services in Queens for boys and young men. The building was previously a church rectory, retrofitted to be an NSP. The facility is located on a residential street in suburban Queens surrounded by similar two storey houses with yards. It is within easy walking distance from two bus routes connecting to the broader NYC transit system.

The building is a two-storey brick house with a hip-gabled slate tiled roof, setback from the street in a large yard with shrubs and lawn. Windows are broad and timber framed, with ornamental iron bars on the ground level windows, but not on the upper floor, which is a fairly common arrangement in the neighbourhood.

The ground floor contains a foyer, office and living room facing the street, with a kitchen and dining room facing the backyard. A central stairwell leads to the first floor and the basement. The first floor contains bedrooms, bathrooms, a 'Passages' group work room, and a small gym room. The basement contains staff office spaces, a laundry and a meeting room. Young people do not typically use the basement spaces.

Entry to the building is through the front door, from a set of stairs. A decorative floral wreath is hung on the front door beside a sign saying 'Private Residence' in gold serif lettering. Besides the front door is an intercom panel and a pin pad. CCTV cameras are positioned relatively unobtrusively adjacent to the front stairs. The front door is broad and domestic and welcoming, painted dark blue, with sidelites to either side.

The building retains decorative fixtures and elements from its past life as a rectory (non-religious), with these small elements helping to provide a clear indication that the facility is not punitive in nature. Bedrooms are single or shared between two, with separate beds. One room has an ensuite, (previously the master bedroom prior to being retrofitted).

5. Barbara Blum NSP, Street context

6. SCO 128th St, Queens, 2022

7. SCO 128th St, Living room

8. SCO 128th St, Dining room

Bedrooms are typical bedrooms for a suburban house. Windows are timber framed and openable to an extent, prohibiting exit but allowing fresh air. Walls are painted grey blue or turquoise above white painted panel mouldings around the base of the room. Floors are timber. Similarly to other NSPs, bedroom doors are kept open at night with staff close at hand supervising.

Bathrooms are fitted with standard domestic fittings and fixtures. Grey-tone timber-look vinyl tiles finish the walls. A large mirror is hung above the basin. In the downstairs bathroom, a retro turquoise bathtub is still in place from the house's previous life, along with ornate wall mounted light fixtures.

Living spaces are typical for a large suburban house. In the living room a soft cushioned L-shaped couch sits around a television hung on the wall above an open timber cabinet, containing books, DVDs and computer games, with a game console sitting on top. Windows are hung with curtains and venetian blinds. Walls are painted in a sage green. Floors are timber. A cupboard contains board games. A pool table is located next to a retro game console. The dining room holds a timber table with places for six, but room enough for four more. A large Arabesque rug is under the table, over the timber floor. Walls are painted again in sage green, including the panel mouldings around the base of the wall. Ceiling white, with typical domestic downlights. A timber sideboard stands to one wall. Windows have venetian blinds and curtains. A large 'EXIT' sign with emergency lights is located above the back door, which contains an ornamental oval lite in the leaf. Wall mounted air conditioners are provided, as well as domestic radiators. Pin boards are hung on the wall. A free-standing note board has a large notepad for group discussions. A full, large, domestic kitchen with appliances is provided, where meals are prepared. The kitchen is not typically used by young people with meals made by staff, and the kitchen door is usually locked when not in use. For young people who have passed Passage 3 (a level of the treatment program), young people might be allowed to help staff with the cooking. It was noted however that when there are more staff on shift a cooking event can be organised with young people. An example, a favourite of the young people, is a desert cooking competition with staff acting as the judges (guinea pigs) - cheesecake being the favourite. The door to the kitchen is fitted with a push bar release.

The backyard is large by suburban standards. It is enclosed by a chain mesh 2-metre-high fence, with vines growing over it. No anti climb features are installed. A matching gate connects via a driveway to the front yard and street. A large concrete area has line markings for basketball, with a freestanding hoop and backboard. A raised concrete patio area adjusts to a slight fall in the land. The patio holds a large barbeque, outdoor table and chairs (typical domestic woven variety), an umbrella and a small storage shed. From the patio, a view to the north of the sky and large tree canopies sits over the backyards of adjacent properties. Along the property boundary at the patio a privacy screen has been hung along the fence, preventing overlooking directly into the

9. SCO 128th St, Bedroom

10. SCO 128th St, Kitchen

11. SCO 128th St, Backyard

12. SCO 128th St, Patio

neighbour's backyard. Two small vegetable garden plots are located alongside the house.

Security features include a sign in book in foyer, CCTV throughout, pin-pad, maglock, and intercoms to external doors, push bar release to internal fire doors (kitchen, upstairs corridors). There is no fence to the front yard, and the rear yard has a chain mesh fence about 2 metres high, typical of surrounding properties.

SCO 128th Street employs the Missouri Approach for treatment with young people attending school at Belmont Passages Academy (see below).

13. SCO 128th St, View from rear window, context.

Van Horn, The Children's Village, Close to Home NSP Facility

Van Horn is one of a number of three specialist Non-Secure Placement houses operated by The Children's Village on their campus in Dobbs Ferry, approximately 10km north of New York City. It houses up to six young people who have received a sentence in the Family Court in relation to a problematic sexual behaviour, as well as up to three young people who are placed involuntarily by child welfare for the same reason.

The Dobbs Ferry campus provides accommodation, education and social services for children who are involved in the justice, welfare, fostering and immigration systems. The campus is located on a broad hilltop, with dense woods covering the slopes and surrounding a large clearing. Houses and resource buildings are spread out, generously spaced between mature trees, around this clearing. The campus contains a large recreation centre including a pool and gymnasium, a full school with all associated facilities, a day care centre for the children of staff, a medical and administration centre, a range of different sporting fields and courts, full sized running track and a chapel. The layout of the campus is centred around the main buildings (admin, school, recreation centre) with an elongated circuit street circling the hilltop, with houses set on either side of this street. Enclosed by woods on either side, the campus clearing is approximately 1 kilometre long and 400 metres wide. The campus has no perimeter fence or gates, other than a road gate which is closed at night to prevent vehicle entry. Young people living in Van Horn have access to facilities on campus under the supervision of staff, including the recreation centre, as well as integration with broader campus school.

Van Horn NSP is located a small way to the south of the central campus on a gentle grassy slope facing east. The building is set amongst mature oak trees, with picnic tables provided underneath in the grass. It was initially built as a group home but has been retrofitted to suit the purposes of an NSP. It is a two-storey cottage building above a basement, made of brick, rough textured render, and shingle cladding. It has a steep flared hip and valley roof with overhanging eaves and flared gable dormer windows to its attic spaces. A short flight of stairs leads to the front door in the centre of the

14. Van Horn NSP, Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry, 2022

15. Van Horn NSP, Foyer

16. Van Horn NSP, Living room

building. A metal fire escape stair is also attached to the side of the building. Timber framed sash windows are large and have expanded metal grating over the outside, painted black in contrast with the white framing of the windows. Doors throughout the building are timber, typically with vision windows and standard residential door hardware.

Van Horn is arranged across two levels and a basement, connected by a central staircase. The ground floor contains a 'mudroom' foyer for taking off shoes and coats, leading into a generous central hall space connecting to the stair. To either side of the hall is a living room and a dining room. A domestic kitchen is connected to the dining room, and a staff office and a control/CCTV office is connected to the living room at the rear of the house. Upstairs are six bedrooms, a shared bathroom, and a social work office, connected via a central hallway. The basement contains a recreation space and storage locations.

The overall feeling of the house is very domestic, homely, comfortable, safe feeling. It is very neatly kept, in a way that is reminiscent of a well looked after home – i.e., with a personal aesthetic sense. It was noted by the Facility Manager that it is very important to keep the facility clean, tidy and a nice place to be - 'like a home'.

Some bedrooms are shared and some are single. Shared rooms have internal partitions separating spaces for individual use. Internal partitions 2.4 metres in height, with glass above this to the ceiling. Motion detectors are located in the ceiling above the openings between partitions, allowing staff to be alerted of any movement during the night. Bedroom doors are kept ajar at night, with 15-minute checks by staff (staff commented that this is necessary to ensure both security and wellbeing - staff try not to disrupt the young person's sleep). Rooms are highly personalised - a desk and chair, set out with the normal items for a young person: notebooks and art pads, a water bottle, headphones. Trophies are displayed on top of a timber cupboard and medals are hung over the corner of pinboards. Shoes are lined up in a small alcove. Pictures of superheroes and drawings are stuck to the walls. Young people are allowed personal / leisure time in their room while waiting to use showers. Windows are timber framed and openable to an extent for ventilation but have steel grating to the outside. Venetian blinds and pelmet curtain are hung over windows. Lights are controlled by normal domestic switches at the door.

The living room is very homely, with rich clay-red carpet to the floor, beige painted timber lining boards to the walls and a large amount of movable, robust domestic timber furniture with dark blue upholstered cushions. Further small cushions, some embroidered with a word (e.g. 'welcome', 'family') are placed on each chair. A low timber coffee table sits in the middle of the room, on a dark blue patterned carpet rug, holding a small fern in a pot and a woven basket. Other smaller timber side tables are interspersed between the chairs, holding lamps and a telephone. An open timber bookshelf in the corner holds ornaments, certificates, art, a

17. Van Horn NSP, Dining room

18. Van Horn NSP, Mudroom (Entry)

19. Van Horn NSP, Foyer stair

20. Van Horn NSP, Foyer stair

vase with a floral arrangement, an ornamental bird cage. Pot plants are arranged on either side. In the adjacent corner is a large timber cupboard with a lock on it, with a large television sitting on top. Windows are openable to an extent, with metal grating to the outside, and venetian blinds and curtains to the inside. Art is hung around the walls, as well as more open shelves with ornaments and sculptures. In the rear corner of the living room is a staff office behind a large glass window. A staff work desk is positioned directly behind the window with computer monitors facing the glass (so screen not visible from the main room). To the side of this office is a short corridor leading to a separate staff office at the rear of the house.

The dining room faces south, with large windows down the side of the building letting lots of direct sunlight into the room. Windows are hung with curtains translucent patterned curtains to soften the light if needed, as well as hung with venetian blinds. Matching the living room, walls have timber lining boards up to the height of the window heads, painted beige. Above this line the walls are completely full of young people's brightly coloured artwork on canvases. Floors are vinyl tiles. Three rectangular timber tables are placed down the centre of the room each with four chairs around them. There is a bowl of fresh fruit on each of the tables along with napkins in a basket. At one end of the room is another timber desk with two chairs facing the room, and a small aquarium and Betta Fish. On either side of this desk is an open timber bookshelf, one full of games and the other full of books. In the opposite corner is a large plastic palm plant in a pot. In a small corridor at the rear is a cupboard with cleaning supplies. Connected to the dining room is a domestic kitchen. Lunch and dinner are prepared in the campus commercial kitchen and delivered to the house.

Upstairs is a laundry space including a washer, drier and sink, as well as wall mounted cupboards and desks for folding and sorting. Young people do their own laundry. A window and curtains face the outside. A recreation room is provided in the basement, with a pool table, exercise equipment, ping pong table, television, and games consoles, as well as a half circle of couches made of timber with dark maroon upholstered cushions.

Young people living in Van Horn are able to make use of the campus grounds so long as they are supervised by staff. This includes extensive green spaces surrounded by woods, lawns, mature trees, areas of dense native ground cover, picnic tables, and a variety of sports fields. Wildlife such as deer and groundhogs are frequent visitors to the campus, as well as a variety of birds. Young people can also access the campus kennel for a therapeutic program that works with dogs. Young people attend the campus school, along with other young people living at the Children's Village (i.e. not justice-involved). Classes are organised by grade level. Children from the NSP are supervised by staff on the way to, at, and on the way back from school. Young people can also use the 'Lanza' Recreation centre which includes a gym, competition pool, fitness centre, student commons, cafe and multipurpose rooms including music studio. It also includes

21. Van Horn NSP, Bedroom

22. Children's Village Campus, School and sports field

23. Children's Village Campus, Playground

24. Children's Village Campus, Chapel

an outdoor terrace overlooking a basketball court and a barber shop and commercial kitchen are teaching spaces for career training. Again, young people from the NSP are accompanied by staff during visits to the rec centre.

External doors are locked by fob/magnetic locks, with a video intercom to the front door, expanded metal grates provide egress protection to windows. There are no fences around the house, nor around the campus.

Young people at Van Horn work with the Integrated Treatment Model, in addition to a Skills Group for life and social skills, and a Sexually Abusive Behaviours Program (SAB).

25. Children's Village Campus, Grounds

Crest House, The Children's Village, Close to Home LSP Facility

Crest House is one of two Limited-Secure Placement facilities located on the Children's Village campus in Dobbs Ferry, though only one house was being used at the time of the visit. It houses up to 6 boys and young men.

The house is set on the northeast edge of the campus, backing onto the woods. The Limited Secure Facility is set behind a tall anti-climb mesh fence (the two LSPs are the only fenced houses on the campus) enclosing a yard with a lawn, a basketball court, and a greenhouse. The house is a two-storey weatherboard building with a hip roof, a dormer window, and overhanging eaves, set on the edge of a steep slope. A basement is accessed from external stairs down this slope. Windows are large, with expanded metal grates fastened over the outside. Doors are typically timber throughout, fitted with security handles and safety glass vision windows. It was noted by staff that having windows in the doors is a necessary element for safety.

The building is arranged across two primary levels in addition to a basement used for staff, screening, administration, first aid and building plant. The building has a relatively square footprint, with an additional room to the rear across all three floors. Circulation occurs primarily via a central staircase, with an additional fire egress stair externally, and an external staircase to the basement. The ground floor contains a classroom, living room, dining room, kitchen, bathroom, staff office and control room. The first floor contains six individual bedrooms accessed by a wide central space, as well as a shared bathroom, a staff office and a time-out room. The basement contains the staff entry, including lockers, a nurse station, building services plant and storage space.

Entry to the facility is firstly through the perimeter fence, which has two vehicle gates connected by a driveway, allowing pick up and drop off within an enclosed environment. Entry to the building is either via the front or side doors. The front door leads directly to the central hallway on the ground floor. The side door opens to a separate corridor which connects the staff office and control room. Staff and visitors

26. Crest House LSP, Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry

27. Crest House LSP, Perimeter fence

28. Crest House LSP, Front yard and house

enter through the basement, leaving everything except their lunch in the lockers provided.

Bedrooms are secure spaces, with high-security plastic furniture fastened to the floor and walls. Floors are vinyl tile finish. Windows are fastened closed, with expanded metal grating to the outside and curtains inside. Windows provide views into the dense canopy of trees and across the lawns of the campus. Doors are timber with diamond shaped vision windows and security handles. It was noted by staff that bedroom doors are never locked and can always be opened but must open inwards to prevent young people throwing them open into the corridor.

The bathroom is shared, with two showers, two pans, one urinal and one basin provided. A storage cupboard is also included for cleaning supplies. Shower fixtures are anti-ligature, and shower curtains are raised at the bottom to allow staff to view feet and water going down the drain (ensuring no blood from self-harm).

Living spaces are provided on the ground floor. A dining room with two windows looking out into the canopy of trees has sand-weighted movable tables along with matching sand-weighted chairs. The floor finish is vinyl tiles. Walls are painted cream white. Pelmet curtains are hung over the windows. Posters and encouraging words are pasted to the walls. A living room / visiting room faces the front of the house, containing timber couches with cushions screwed to the floor. Curtains are hung over the windows. A phone for making calls is contained within a locked security box on the wall. Floor finish is vinyl tiles. Walls are painted cream white. A television is mounted to the wall enclosed within a protective box. A domestic kitchen is located at the rear of the house containing an oven, stove, microwave, kettle, toaster, fridge, coffee maker and blender, along with cupboards.

A classroom is provided on the ground floor facing the front of the building. It has two windows with views out into the yard and beyond to the campus. One of the windows faces south and direct sunlight brightens the room. Windows are fitted with expanded metal grating outside and are fastened to be openable only to approximately 150mm, providing natural ventilation. Sand-weighted tables and chairs are provided, along with an open timber bookshelf holding a range of books. A large touch-screen work board is mounted to the wall. A laser printer is provided on a table. Posters and lesson work are stuck to the walls, which are painted cream white. Floor finish is vinyl tiles. A recreation room is provided in a greenhouse in the yard. This arrangement seems somewhat out of a necessity for space. The room is made of twin-wall polycarbonate sheets fastened to a steel portal-frame. Shade cloth has been placed over the roof to reduce solar heat gain. A large mechanical ventilation system is attached to the rear wall, with vents that operate to the outside. Ceiling fans are hung from above in cages. Fluorescent tube lights are also suspended from the portal frame. Gym equipment, weights, boxing equipment, a pool table and a basketball hoop game are provided. The floor finish is a soft rubber particle mat over

29. Crest House LSP, Classroom

30. Crest House LSP, Dining room

32. Crest House LSP, Living / visits room.

31. Crest House LSP, Bedroom

a concrete slab. Staff noted that young people have access to the rec room twice a day.

From the yard young people have expansive views through and over the fence into the canopy of dense trees, the understorey of wooded areas, and out into the open lawns of the campus. A barbeque is provided on a side terrace, with a view out into the canopy of the woods. It was noted that the woods are also full of animals, including deer and groundhogs visible through the fence.

Security infrastructure includes the anti-climb perimeter fence, an intercom at fence gate, CCTV, mechanical locks, fob mag-locks to external doors with push bar release, anti-ligature security door furniture throughout, vision windows in doors, expanded metal grating to windows, windows fixed shut in bedrooms and openable approximately 150mm in shared spaces, hand-held metal detector wand, protective enclosures around fixtures, sand-weighted furniture, an isolation room, staff lockers, secure plastic bedroom furniture, anti-ligature shower fixtures, shower curtains for view of drains.

Ozone, Close to Home LSP Facility

Ozone is an 18 bed Limited-Secure Facility in Queens operated by Sheltering Arms for boys and young men. The house is divided into 3 units of different sizes. It was previously a private school building and was retrofitted in 2015. It is located on a residential street in suburban Queens amidst single and two-storey detached residential dwellings, mostly set back from the street behind lawns. A large street tree is located directly in front of the facility.

The facility is a two-storey brick building with a basement. The facade is of red brickwork up to the parapets with corners articulated by rectangular columns of stone-look masonry. Windows are of a moderate size, similar to that which you might find in a typical domestic bedroom, with black grating and bars to the outside. A ramp and stair lead to the front door which is identified by large institutional looking street-numbers and contains a small safety glass vision window which gives an institutional air to the front door. Doors are heavy duty steel finish, painted white, typically with small vision windows inset within the leaves, containing wired safety glass.

The ground floor contains the entry spaces, offices, control room, a residential unit of 9 bedrooms, two bathrooms, a classroom, a storeroom and an activity room. The first floor contains two separate living units, a classroom, a group activity room and an infirmary. A basement contains two recreation rooms, a dining room, a kitchen, and a laundry. Vertical circulation is via two stairwells or a lift.

Young people enter via a secure yard vehicle drop off point to the side of the facility. Visitor entry through the front door is into a small foyer, with a store and control room immediately to the side. A plastic pot-plant is located in the corner and a

33. Crest House LSP, Recreation room

34. Crest House LSP, Patio

35. Ozone LSP, Queens, 2022

36. Ozone LSP, Unit corridor

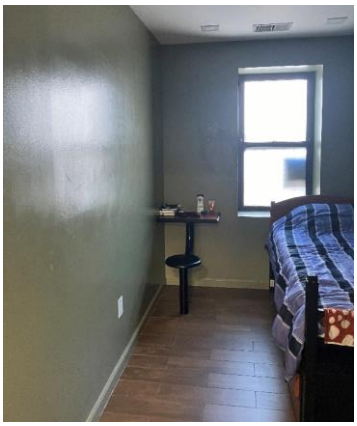
couple of artworks are hung on the walls. Through this foyer is a second waiting/screening room, where there is a full-size step-through metal detector occupying the majority of the room. All doors are always to remain locked. A security office is adjacent through a Dutch door/desk, in stainless steel, used to conduct bag searches and pass over belongings during visits. To the side is a secure door entering into the residential unit. A window connects this waiting room to the front control room space, with venetian blinds hung on the control room side. A bathroom for visitors is provided through another door. A pair of plastic chairs are located against a wall. The overall feeling of the room is rather claustrophobic and confusing, with no natural light and a great number of doorways and windows leading in every direction. There is nowhere comfortable to position yourself unless sitting cramped in the corner, without feeling like you're in the way. The room is too small for the functions of the space, as well as there being too many people using the small space. Floors are a timber-look vinyl finish. Walls are painted a cream white.

Bedrooms are narrow spaces with smooth concrete walls in a dark grey-green or grey-blue paint, timber-look vinyl flooring, and white painted ceiling. Beds are made from steel tubing and bolted to the floor, with a timber-look bedhead and a vinyl-finish mattress provided. A set of drawers is provided in a steel box, with a timber-look finish applied to the drawer faces. A small, institutional desk is fixed to the wall with a hard plastic stool fixed to the desk and floor via curving steel tubes. Windows are secured shut. Translucent privacy film prevents views out. The silhouette of bars and gratings are visible through the film. A light switch is available inside the room. Anti-ligature coat hooks are provided on the wall. Bedroom doors do not have locks.

Bathrooms are shared within the residential units, with two bathrooms in the 9-bed unit and a single bathroom in each of the upstairs units. Finishes and fixtures are a mixture of standard residential and institutional. Striped tiles are used to line the lower half of walls and the floor. A shower is provided over a hob-step, with a shower curtain designed to provide vision above and below sensitive body areas.

The dining space in the basement has institutional tables, with fixed plastic stools around circular tables. Posters are hung on the walls and a mural decorates a feature wall. Floors are timber-look vinyl. There are no windows to the space and lighting is fluorescent. A commercial kitchen is connected to the dining room via a window with a glass covering and a small opening at the bottom.

Classrooms are located on the ground and first floor. Access to the first-floor classroom is from the landing of the stairwell. Windows are fixed shut with privacy film, metal grating and bars. Floor is timber-look vinyl. Colourful pin boards are fixed to the walls holding posters and schoolwork. Some walls are painted in bright green as a feature. Furniture is highly institutional, with individual stainless-steel desks and plastic chairs fixed to the floor. Senior staff noted that this is useful in preventing damage or graffiti. Posters are hung on the wall



37. Ozone LSP, Bedroom

38. Ozone LSP, Classroom

39. Ozone LSP, Dining room

40. Ozone LSP, Recreation room.

around the room. A locked metal storage cupboard is provided in the corner. White boards and a smart board projector. Visits and staff meetings are also held in the classrooms. Two recreation rooms are located in the basement. The first contains lounges, games consoles and a table tennis table. The television screens are protected in cases with screens. Small windows provide some natural light. Walls are painted light blue, with dark blue paint to doorways. The second recreation room contains other games, including a small ball throwing game, with a similar arrangement to the first. Some gym equipment is provided in other small rooms in between. The ground floor Group Room equipment is provided for young people to play music, on a small stage in an alcove. Institutional couches are provided, along with lockable metal storage cupboards.

Security infrastructure includes fob locks throughout, intercoms, mortise locks, CCTV throughout, a step through and wand metal detector, anti-ligature door handles and fixtures throughout. No locks to bedroom doors. The backyard has an anti-climb fence to approximately 4 metres height. There are no deterrent fixtures added to this perimeter.

Belmont School, Close to Home

Young people who are staying in a Non-secure Placement travel each school day to one of two specialist schools: either Belmont in Brooklyn or Bronx-Hope in The Bronx. Young people travel as a group with facility staff to school, starting at 8.20pm and finishing at 2.40pm. Facility staff remain in class with young people during school hours. At Belmont classes are organised as per the residential house group which involves different educational / grade levels in the same classroom.

The building is a 3-storey brick building located on a corner site, with an additional basement level. Adjacent properties are residential dwellings mostly two but some three storeys high. Windows are large double-hung timber framed with mullions. During our visit the building was surrounded by scaffolding for roof restoration to address leaks. The building has a side and rear yard which is asphalted. The rear yard has a high fence (no security features) that is familiar to school yards and basketball courts. Windows have steel mesh across them, painted black on the ground floor and white at upper floors.

The front door leads into a generous stairwell with flights ascending and descending both left and right. A sign-in desk located next to the front door. An office and a nurse station, as well as entry into the main central corridor all lead off from this first room. Ceilings are high in all rooms. Classrooms, as well as social worker and psychologist's offices lead off the central corridor on each floor. A second staircase at the rear of the building connects the rear of these corridors. Corridor doors are metal with safety glass windows, painted bright turquoise. Floors are polished vinyl tiles. Windows open to allow fresh air, approximately 30 cm both at top and bottom

41. Ozone LSP, Rear fence

42. Ozone LSP, Backyard and entry

43. Belmont School, Queens, 2022, Library

44. Belmont School, Foyer

sash. Window-mounted air conditioners are typical in each room. Roller blinds are typical. Radiators are located along external walls beneath windows, typically. Classrooms have large smart boards mounted to the walls, in addition to whiteboards and shelving. Furniture is specialist, weighted with sand, however not fixed to the building. The rear stairwell is painted over with bright murals, painted by the students as part of an afterschool program. A specialist reading room and art room are available, as well as a library. A gym is not available, and this was seen as something lacking.

CCTV cameras are located throughout the corridors, but not in the classrooms.

Movement of different class/residence groups around the building is a highly choreographed activity, ensuring that no group comes into contact with another group or individual. This is orchestrated by provider residential staff to ensure that no incidents occur between young people with rivalries or different affiliations. Staff will communicate via radio to coordinate each movement, even down to an individual going to the bathroom. At the time of the visit there were 28 students attending from 4 different NSP residences.

The key objective of the school is to provide as much of a 'real school' experience as possible - to do everything that a normal school outside does. This is to provide motivation, encouragement, and incentive for young people to participate. Previously young people might refuse to engage in classrooms because 'this isn't even a real school anyway'. The school then sought to demonstrate that 'if you act right, then you can have a real school'. This is seen as important in asking them to do better.

There is a 100% attendance rating. Young people go to school every day, unless the residential provider deems it necessary for the group to not attend. This might be due to instability in the group, particularly after new placements, and especially if there have been a number of new placements in a short period. Excursions are regularly organised, including previously to Times Square, Carnegie Hall, even out of state. This is part of providing a 'real school' experience, expanding the horizons of the young people, as well as incentives for behaviour and educational attainment.

Facility Providers are able to hire past residents who have completed their program, desisted from further offending, and demonstrated capability for staff roles. In addition to promoting understanding and a positive role model relationship between staff and young people, this also provides long-term employment opportunities for previous residents which is a key concern.

The school has three social workers staffed on site who are able to work through issues with individual young people. The social workers are provided with private office cubicles to help support the privacy of young people. The school also has a resident psychologist to help young people with education plans and conduct assessments. Approximately 70% of students are considered to have special educational needs.

45. Belmont School, Classroom

46. Belmont School, Art room

47. Belmont School, Art room

48. Belmont School, Library

Washington DC

In 2004 Washington DC was burdened by a 'truly broken' Juvenile Justice system, including a facility plagued with abuse, harassment, isolation, trauma, and unsanitary conditions. In response, the city began a process of transformation, designing and implementing a vastly different approach (V. Schiraldi & Schneider, 2021).

Similarly to New York, designing a well-functioning custodial space was understood as intimately linked and inseparable from the design of a well-functioning justice system more broadly. The jurisdiction developed a much greater ability to divert young people from custody towards community-based programs and promoted transparency with the community and the active involvement of young people with experience of the system, their parents, victims' groups, legal professionals, service providers, and advocates (V. Schiraldi & Schneider, 2021).

Through these efforts the number of young people in custody was halved, the existing custodial facility was closed and replaced with a new facility, New Beginnings Youth Development Centre, less than a third in size and designed to resemble a school. (Ryan & Schindler, 2011)

While in Washington DC we visited two secure facilities: the Youth Services Centre (YSC) and New Beginnings Youth Development Centre. Senior staff at YSC suggested that New Beginnings was a better architectural representation of the DC system's principles, so as such this report concentrates the latter facility.

49. New Beginnings, Washington DC, 2022

50. New Beginnings, Front lobby

51. New Beginnings, Waiting room.

52. New Beginnings, Cafeteria

New Beginnings Youth Development Centre

New Beginnings houses up to 60 young people, both male and female, with 6 houses each of 10 beds. It is operated by the Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services (DYRS).

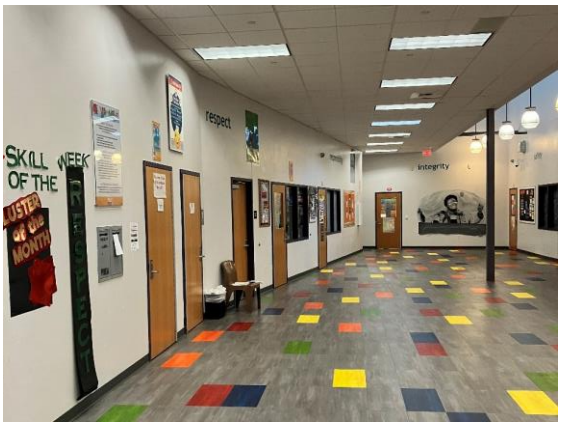
The facility is located 35 kilometres northeast along a highway from Washington DC, within a shallow, densely wooded valley. The campus is set amongst the grounds and derelict buildings from historic mental asylum. It was noted that land availability, in the geographically constrained District, was a significant determinant in the selection of the location. The land is classed as the District of Columbia, as a satellite within Maryland and has been used for a number of different institutions for many years. The hills around the campus are densely wooded, quiet and populated by deer. The access road to the facility includes a guard station limiting car access.

The campus is enclosed by a secure fence and contains 5 free standing buildings including a gymnasium, three housing units and an administration/school/cafeteria building. Buildings are all single storey, predominantly concrete masonry construction, incorporating variation in colour, texture, and stack pattern across the elevation of the buildings. Roofs are typically metal standing-seam sheeting.

All spaces are on the ground level, increasing accessibility and removing safety issues that come with vertical circulation spaces. Slight changes in level are addressed by open stairs and accompanying ramps inside and outside the main administration building. The buildings are arranged around a central green space which also includes outdoor gym equipment and a basketball court. This arrangement limits the visibility of the perimeter fencing from within the central green space. A second separate fenced area to the north of the campus includes a running track and an obstacle course. The six residential houses are arranged in pairs, across three buildings. Each unit has its own patio courtyard, located adjacent to the main living space. It was noted that the patios used to be open but were enclosed by fences to provide extra security and flexibility for use.

Entry into the facility is through the administration building, through a set of glass doors and an anteroom with lockers (non-secure, i.e. office controlled-access equivalent), and into a security checkpoint with screening and metal detection machines. The space is staffed by a security desk, and is also viewed by the control room through a dark tinted window (i.e. it is not readily apparent that the control room is behind the window). Typical waiting room furniture is provided behind a glass partition, with views outward to the carpark and over to the wooded hills. The space is light-filled, quiet and pleasant. Doors open into staff ‘peace lounges’, where staff are able to have a quiet moment for reflection and decompression. These spaces could potentially be used by visitors too. A bathroom is also provided. Through secure airlocks, entry is into the administration wing or the medical wing. Within the airlock is a metal screen/sculpture designed and fabricated by young people in the facility, depicting a tree, reeds, and butterflies. Beyond the administration wing is entry into the cafeteria and auditorium space and then out into the central green space. The administration wing includes substantial staff offices and training facilities, along with comprehensive medical facilities.

The cafeteria space is provided adjacent to the school area, which provides meals. The design aims to reflect as closely as possible a school cafeteria - following the intention of providing as ‘normal’ a school experience as possible. The space is generous - lots of space between tables, chairs, and walls. A curving wall of glass blocks provides a large amount of diffuse natural light into the space. Murals bring brightness and colour into the space which is otherwise quite muted in tone. Glass walls look out on the central greenspace located between the buildings, with views to the wooded hills behind. It is predominantly lawn, encircled by a concrete pathway around a central basketball court. Outdoor exercise



53. New Beginnings, School corridor

54. New Beginnings, Auditorium

55. New Beginnings, Central green space

56. New Beginnings, Residential units exterior

equipment is located between the administration / cafeteria building and the gymnasium.

The campus includes multiple spacious activity spaces including a gym, school, outdoor recreation spaces, art/timber work studio, and an auditorium. ‘Recreation is the core of the facility’ - the gym is where events happen. The gymnasium includes a full-sized basketball / multipurpose court including bleacher seating. The gymnasium is staffed by physical education teachers and has access to a broad range of equipment. The intention is to provide as normal/typical a PE experience, as any other young person in a high school might receive. This included inviting other young people from outside the facility to compete in tournaments. Joint events with other schools are organised around sports - similar to any other high school in America. Homecoming events are organised, including printing t-shirts, inviting families as per a normal school.

School spaces are included within the primary administration building and are operated by Maya Angelou academy. A broad central corridor space, with clerestory windows, provides access to four classroom spaces (assigned to different grade levels) which include specialist furniture (movable, plastic, sand weighted), white boards, television/projectors, posters drawn by the young people, openable windows (with sunrise stylised bars). Young people in class noted that they would like to have more vocational training (hands on education), but that the facilities or courses weren’t available. Maya Angelou provides GED certificates, which are equivalent to a high school diploma, and focus on four core areas which are studied intensively and exclusively for a period of time before switching to the next. An art studio is accessed via the school corridor, with additional capacity to function as a carpentry workshop (tools wheeled out of secure storage). The studio has a truck-height roller door onto the apron for deliveries, allowing greater flexibility in the range of possible projects. A full tiered auditorium, with lecture seating including fold-out tables, is provided with approximately 150 seats. The stage is elevated and includes wings and depth for performances. Acoustic treatment provided to ceilings and walls. A recording studio box/room was located on the auditorium stage.

Security infrastructure includes CCTV coverage throughout, a central control centre, security checkpoint to access-road, lockers, foyer / reception security screening desk with two personnel, bag scanner, and step-through metal detector, secure airlock, fob card (armband) with magnetic locks, also with physical mortise locks as alternative, secure vehicle-entry yard, perimeter fences with ‘No-Climb’ mesh from 5-10 ft height, staff uniforms (khaki pants and polo shirt, young people wear unit-colour polo shirt).

New Beginnings employs a number of highly developed models for therapeutic treatment including Restorative Justice Programming, Credible Messenger, New Horizons Treatment Program, Trauma and Grief Component Therapy for Adolescents and Washington Aggression interruption Training (WAIT).

57. New Beginnings, Residential unit interior

58. New Beginnings, Bedrooms

59. New Beginnings, Gym

60. New Beginnings, Context

Missouri

Since 1974 the Missouri Division of Youth Services (DYS), under the Department of Social Services, has been pioneering a positive approach to youth justice that deemphasises large remote institutions in preference for community-based services and small treatment facilities. The system is decentralised to favour localisation within 5 regions, with young people typically and ideally being placed within their home region.

The defining operating philosophies of the Missouri Approach are: A humane environment; The least restrictive environment possible; Treatment through a group approach/process; A developmental approach to treatment; Continuity of services and relationships; Comprehensive and integrated approach to treatment; Systems approach and neutrality; Family voice, choice, and engagement; Community engagement; Diversity; Stewardship.

Further, the defining beliefs of the model are: Safety (including emotional safety) and structure are the foundation of treatment; Each person is special and unique; People can change; People desire to do well and succeed; Emotions are not to be judged; All behaviour has a purpose; People do the best with what they have available to them; The family is vital to the treatment process; We are more alike than different; True understanding is built on genuine empathy and care; Change does not occur in isolation – youth need others; We are a combination of our past and present; Respect and embrace diversity.

The model relies upon significant expenditure in successful diversion away from detention.

In terms of custodial environments, Missouri has developed three levels of care: Community-based Care, Moderate Care, and Secure Care. In addition to residential facilities, DYS also operates Day Treatment facilities for young people who are undertaking treatment while living at home.

Group work and a positive group culture are fundamental to the success of the model. As part of progressing through a program model, a young person takes on leadership and mentoring roles for other young people in the facility, helping to establish a positive group culture. Young people practise expressing their feelings as they arise within day-to-day activities, guided sometimes by reflections offered by staff, other times by other group members. Staff work hard to ensure the ‘cultural fibres’ of the group are maintained, despite individual young people coming and going.

There is also a strong focus on meeting the individual young person where they are. Rather than having a ‘rule book’, each individual young person is assessed by experienced experts in DYS, utilising a series of assessment tools and subjective judgement. This is seen to provide greater opportunity to place a young person where it is seen to best benefit them. ‘We discourage prescriptive thinking, this equals that - equal isn’t always fair.’

Another notable characteristic of the model is that the vast majority of young people are given indeterminate sentences, which means the length of their stay is determined by the time it takes them to complete the treatment program. In effect, the more a young person involves themselves in the program, the faster they will be released. It was noted that ‘Time is easier than treatment’, reflecting that young people gain motivation to be involved by giving them agency in length of their stay. As such, the length of stay differs substantially between young people. It was noted that some young people might finish the program in 3 months, some in 12 months, usually somewhere in between 6-8 months. Some young people may benefit from shorter programs. It was noted that in some very serious circumstances a determinant sentence can be handed down, which can be useful. Typically however it is seen that ‘Nothing will undermine program integrity faster than a kid leaving when they’re not ready.’ This will extend to other young people and ultimately collapse the cultural fibres that keep the facility safe and the program working.

Placement is related to the level of care needed, rather than specific offence types. DYS has statutory authority and discretion to determine the best placement for a young person who has been committed to their care. DYS assesses a young person’s case, circumstances, needs and history to determine the best placement, along with an informed, professional, subjective judgement. DYS will meet with a young person within the first days of a conviction, and assess their level of family support, risks, whether they have previously completed a program and how they responded to that previous program.

During the Fellowship I visited and studied six facilities in Southwest Missouri.

Excel Community Resource Centre (Day Treatment)

Excel Community Resource Centre is a Day Treatment Facility for young people who have been referred for 'Community Care' from the Children's Division (welfare, abuse, family absence), the Juvenile Office (diversion programs), and DYS (young people who have been committed to the agency for an offence). In effect this means young people who might be struggling with their education or other welfare needs, or young people who are in Aftercare following time in a residential program. The facility is often used as a step-down option to help with the transition back into the community. The purpose of the Centre is half-education, half-treatment. School was noted to start early to help prepare young people for their likely work routines after graduating, but also to assist their parents or carers in managing their work lives.

The Centre has three classrooms with ten desks each. It was noted however that 30 young people in the facility at once would be a very tight squeeze, that 25 is better, and around 20 is ideal for the space available.

The Centre is located on the corner of two suburban streets in Springfield, approximately 3km from the centre of town. Adjacent properties are residential houses and apartment blocks. Being a regional city, public transport options are limited and the primary transport option is private car. Young people come from up to 30 minutes' drive away, with the facility offering free bus passes or a shuttle bus to assist in getting young people to school. The shuttle bus picks up and drops off from designated stops, not door to door.

The building is a single-story brick building in a large yard with lawn and trees. The building appears to be built in a domestic construction style. A simplified pediment frames and identifies the entry to the facility, finished in a wheat-coloured render. Windows do not have bars and are openable to approximately 100mm. Doors are typical of those you might find in a school with narrow vision windows above the door handle.

The building focuses around a long central corridor, with a multi-purpose / kitchen / activity space at one end, and three classrooms at the other. It was noted that over the years that different spaces had been used for a wide variety of uses, moving from office space, visitor / treatment spaces, woodworking shops. Family counselling rooms and staff offices are adjacent to either side of the entry. A line of offices along the front of the building are provided for social workers, a family resource unit, and the school principal.

The main entry has two sets of office-type glass doors leading off a car park into a lobby with a metal detector. A CCTV camera covers the entrance, with this being noted as being the most useful camera. The entry space has an internal window into the main office space, adjacent. The

61. Excel Community Resource Centre, Springfield, 2022

62. Excel Centre, Cafeteria / multipurpose space

63. Excel Centre, Kitchen

64. Excel Centre, Patio

lobby is decorated with painted handprints of past students and directs a view immediately toward a large trophy cabinet with trophies and awards, also from past students. It was noted that past students often come back to Excel to see the trophies which represent a feeling of pride.

The bathrooms have fairly standard school type fittings and finishes. Excel has showers and laundry facilities and can provide hygiene packs to ensure all young people have access to these resources.

Classrooms have typical movable school desks and upholstered school chairs. There is a lightweight teacher's desk at the back of the class, and a heavy timber desk at the front with a computer connected to a smart board, a phone, a portable stereo, and filing cabinets beside. In-built cupboards with bench space along the length of two walls. The walls themselves are full of coloured pictures, notes, and lesson work, along with whiteboards and pinboards. A single desk with a computer faces one of the walls. Windows along one wall have venetian blinds, and a glass door opens out into the yard. The door into the classroom is timber with a narrow vision panel above the handle - similar to what you might expect in a school. The floor is of vinyl tiles, the ceiling suspended with acoustic panels.

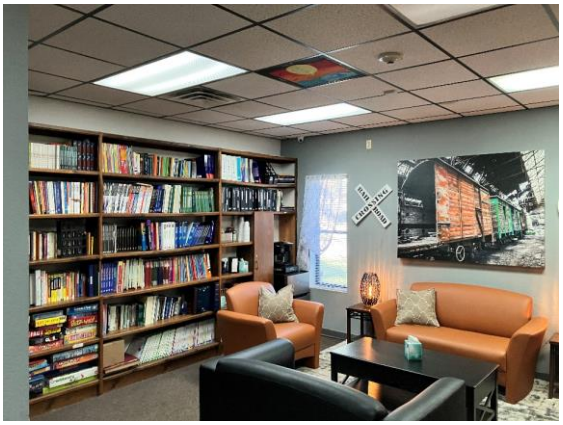
A library is lined with open timber shelves, full of books, with couches and armchairs in the middle around a timber coffee table. Cushions are placed on the chairs. Small side tables with lamps are to either side of a couch. Photographs on canvas are hung on the walls. Small school-lockers are in-built to the wall, integrated with the timber bookshelves. The floor is carpet with a large, patterned rug in the middle of the room, the ceiling is a commercial suspended acoustic ceiling. A coffee machine and a small fridge are in the corner. A small cinema-style popcorn machine is in another corner. Windows are operable to an extent for ventilation and are hung with venetian blinds and lace curtains. Near the door is a wall-mounted screen and a high table with stools.

A small recreation space is located at the end of the corridor with a ping pong / pool table and whiteboards on the wall.

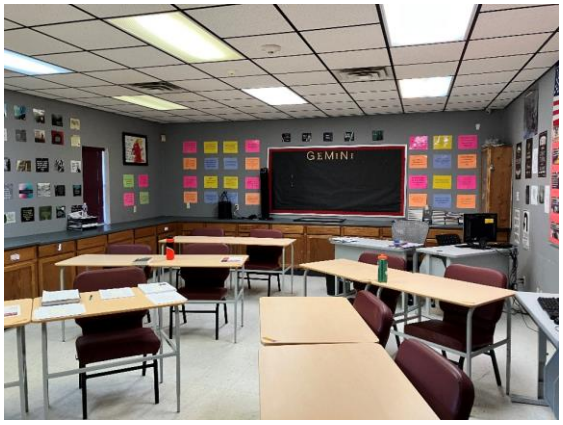
A cafeteria is provided at the far end of the corridor. It has checkerboard vinyl tiles to the floor and windows around two sides. A row of fridges is lined up along one wall. Fold out chairs and tables are stacked on another. A commercial kitchen is connected with open serving benches and a bain-marie. A whiteboard and a television are hung on the walls. A coffee station is against another wall. It was also noted that this space is often used for after-school activities, and that 'making a mess in the kitchen is the best fun'. A smaller multipurpose room through a door has a timber-veneer meeting table with office chairs around, art hung on the walls, and a window with venetian blinds. It was noted that this room has had many different uses over the years of operation.

Excel is setback from the street corner in a large suburban yard, mostly lawn, but with some trees and large shrubs

65. Excel Centre, Trophy case



66. Excel Centre, Library



67. Excel Centre, Classroom

68. Excel Centre, Classroom

spread around. Picnic tables and a barbeque are collected near the door from the dining room. Two basketball rings are at either end of a concrete court. 3 out of 4 sides have no fence, and the fourth has a typical paling fence to the adjacent residential property.

Security infrastructure includes a step through metal detector, CCTV noted to be mostly for training purposes, an internal window from main office to entry space.

It was noted that, if being designed again, it would be better if generally the spaces were bigger to accommodate the number of students, with specific reference to the classrooms, the family counselling rooms and storage space for resources. It was also noted that fewer physical and visual barriers is better when designing a space - that more open is better to have 'eyes on'.

Datema House (Community-based program)

Datema House is a community-based residential program with beds for 10 boys and young men. Young people placed at Datema have typically committed low-level offences, or this is their first program (i.e. placement). Placement is considered in relation to the level of care needed, rather than specific offence types. Young people are typically placed in Datema for the full length of their program, as opposed to a step-down approach across different facilities.

The facility is located within the central suburban area of Springfield, approximately 1.25km from the city centre, near an area of town that is mostly related to the university. The surrounding properties are detached residential houses setback from the street within large yards. Similarly, the facility is setback from the street behind a number of large shade trees. To one side of the facility is a Middle School, with a broad, grassy empty field between Datema and the school buildings.

The building was initially built as a large suburban house, which was later donated to DYS. It comprises four detached buildings across two adjoining suburban blocks - the main house, which is two stories along with a basement, a second, smaller house, a bungalow to the rear and a storage shed in the backyard. Both houses, the bungalow and shed are weatherboard, painted in a light blue. The main house has a steep hipped roof in shingles peaking at a brick chimney. A front porch connects to the front yard via a low set of steps. An American flag is hung next to the front door. Windows are timber framed and open freely. The smaller house has a shingled gable roof, also with timber framed windows. A set of timber stairs leads up to the front door facing the street.

The main house is spread across two storeys and a basement. The ground floor has connected rooms arranged around a central set of small bathroom and storage spaces. A back foyer is located at the back door, the main entry point used for the house. A series of staff office spaces wrap around the south side of the house, interrupted by a central

69. Excel Centre, Context

70. Datema House, Springfield MO, 2022

71. Datema House, Dining room

72. Datema House, Kitchen

dining room connected to the kitchen. At the front of the house facing the street is another office for the house manager and a ‘front foyer’ which appears to be used primarily for back-of-house needs (storing cleaning equipment, body scales, height measuring tape. The first floor contains a single large, shared bedroom with bunks, a connected living room with an office alcove, bathrooms, and a storage space. The basement contains storage space for pantry, cleaning, and maintenance items, along with a laundry. The second house to the side is used as a schoolhouse, with a main classroom, computer room, library, teacher’s offices, bathroom, and storeroom. The bungalow contains a single room used for group work sessions and recreation. A storage shed is located in the rear corner of the yard.

Entry to the facility is via the back yard from a rear lane. As such, from the street the house appears to be a completely normal house. From the yard one enters passing seasonal decorations next to the back door, walking under a string of fairy lights fixed to the roof above. The door appears to be a typical timber residential door. Inside is a space with a large window looking out onto the backyard, and pin boards with photos on the wall, umbrellas hanging on decorative hooks, a floral wreath, a water fountain, a tortoiseshell cat. Doors lead off into the rear office space or into a corridor to the kitchen/dining room, or upstairs.

A single shared bedroom holds 5 bunk beds and two single beds, made of robust timber and with normal domestic mattresses and bed clothes. Walls have large open windows from the bedroom into the adjoining living space and into a corridor of sorts which connects on the side to the bathroom. At the rear of the bedroom are a series of timber chest-of-drawers. Beneath each bed is a plastic tray with personal toiletries. Windows are hung with fabric blinds. Whiteboards and personal photographs are stuck to the walls above the bunk beds. The floor is carpet, walls are painted light blue. Pedestal fans are scattered around the room. An alarm clock and a nightlight are sitting on top of one of the cupboards. The ceiling is of white painted timber lining boards. Young people are responsible for setting their own alarm for the morning - 7.05am. (It was noted that there is a staff shift change at 7am. Dimmer switches to the lights are used to adjust the light level to the lowest level while still allowing staff to observe the space at night. The bedroom also has ‘salt lamps’ which give a soft pink glow to the space. One young person mentioned that making their bed in the morning was a first accomplishment for the day - to set a mood.

A staff desk in an alcove in the adjacent living room has a view into the bedroom through the large open windows. The two single beds are nearest to the staff desk. There are strict rules around the bedroom area: no talking, knock to get up or to get staff attention, you should be lying down, you can ask for extra pillows or blankets if you need, only 2 people are allowed behind the bed at one time. Staff are constantly watching and within earshot - always within a range to intervene.

73. Datema House, Living room.

74. Datema House, Staff desk in living room

75. Datema House, Living room.

76. Datema House, Bedroom

A back storage room is located adjacent to the bedroom. Young people mentioned that you always have to ask to go into the storeroom, and only ever one person at a time. The room contains general storage as well as extra dressers and cupboards for young people's clothes and items, as well as games (D+D was mentioned as one staff member's speciality) and a locked cabinet for personal items.

A shared bathroom is adjacent to the bedroom. 2 showers and 2 stalls are available, and 2 basins. The floor and walls up to approx. 1.5m are lined with stone-look domestic tiles. Shower doors have commercial partitions with extra space above and below the door to allow vision of feet and the shower head. There are strict orders and rules around the bathroom. No more than 4 in the bathroom at a time. A staff member is always in the hallway outside the bathroom while someone is inside. This hallway is narrow and can be a place for congestion - ideally would be wider. It is interesting to note that staff position themselves sitting on an internal windowsill across the hallway from the bathroom, with their back to the bedroom. There is an implicit trust and a domestic familiarity with this spatial/social arrangement. Young people are responsible for cleaning up spills and keeping the bathroom clean for the group.

Adjoining the bedroom upstairs is a living room with different coloured couches and fold out chairs. The floor is carpet, walls painted light blue as elsewhere. Large windows with venetian blinds look out over the backyard or into the canopy of trees. Two televisions are hung on the wall, with game consoles plugged in below sitting on a timber table, next to an autumn-coloured flower arrangement. An open timber shelf holds books. Fairy lights are hung around the ceiling. Timber ceiling beams are exposed. Timber cupboards hold games. A collection of plastic tubs hold young people's personal items - it was noted that you're not allowed to open anyone else's tub. To the side of this room is a timber desk for a staff member, with a computer, reading lamp, and office chair. Behind this desk is a locked metal cupboard, open timber shelving with files and storage boxes, a microwave, small fridge, coffee machine, a clock and phone on the wall. At night a staff member continues to work while in direct line of sight of the beds in the bedroom and easy observation distance.

The school classroom is located in the smaller of the two houses. Triangular school desks are arranged in groups of four. A timber shelf holds textbooks. The floor is a grey carpet, walls painted white and yellow, a commercial suspended acoustic ceiling holds recessed fluorescent lights (as you might see in a typical school, perhaps). The walls are hung with artworks. Windows have venetian blinds and flags drawn by the young people. To the side are two teachers' desks, one with a computer. A large smart board is on the adjacent wall. In an alcove to the rear is a small computer room, and in another alcove a library with open timber shelves and a set of lockers. In another adjoining alcove is an office space for teachers including a store/meeting room attached. A staff bathroom and a closed office are also attached through this space.

77. Datema House, Basement laundry

78. Datema House, Recreation and group work room

79. Datema House, Library

80. Datema House, Classroom

The kitchen is used to prepare meals, but this is done primarily by a dedicated culinary staff member (Ms Brenda - who was said to be the best cook in the state), with young people helping to set the table and clean up as part of the list of chores on rotation. Leftovers go into the fridge for Wednesdays and Saturdays.

In the basement there is a laundry with two washers and two dryers. This was noted to be adequate for 10 young people. Young people do the washing for the group, but only those who have earned the trust of staff. The laundry also provides storage for bulk food items and cleaning chemicals - 'the laundry has room for error - we get by with what we have'.

The recreation room is located in the bungalow at the rear of the property. The floor is in grey carpet, with a decorative rug in the centre of the room. The walls are painted light blue with canvas prints of landscape photographs hung. Two couches are set against adjacent walls, with a number of lightweight stackable chairs in the corner. A large commercial fridge and chest freezer is located in another corner along with a filing cabinet. An alcove to the side of the room has weights, a chin-up bar, an exercise bike. The room has fluorescent lighting and a white painted ceiling. A television is mounted to the wall with a shelf holding a set top box and a DVD player. A fold up ping pong table is stored in another corner.

The backyard is formed into a courtyard by the two front houses, the bungalow, shed and paling fences. It is not closed in - there is no gate at the front of the property, but the courtyard space is given a sense of enclosure or privacy from the rear lane by a dog leg around the bungalow. A row of picnic tables line along a fence beneath a shady tree. Typical domestic outdoor furniture is located at the back of the courtyard on a pebble area. The central space has artificial grass over a concrete slab, and a basketball hoop. Around the fences and shed are garden beds. Large shade trees overhang the courtyard at the south. A young person commented that it 'feels more open - not trapped - though we're not allowed to freely come and go'. A staff member followed this by saying 'they're here to learn, but we can't force you - we're here for kids who want to change'.

Security infrastructure includes external CCTV cameras, a heavy-duty front door with a mortise lock, other doors appear typically domestic, domestic outdoor sensor lights, windows fixed to only open approx. 100mm, emergency exit signage, smoke detectors and fire sprinklers, a convex mirror fixed to the corridor wall, emergency luminaires.

It was noted that the layout of the facility was less than ideal for a facility, given its constrained size and many corners obstructing sightlines.

Mount Vernon Treatment Centre (Moderate Care)

Mount Vernon is a Moderate Care facility for boys and young men, with 36 beds across 3 houses of 12 each. It was noted however that 10 young people per house is a preferred

81. Datema House, School building

82. Datema House, Picnic tables

83. Datema House, Courtyard

84. Datema House, Rear entry

number for smoother operation. The facility was initially purpose built as a Secure Care facility in 1999, which makes Mt Vernon the newest facility in the Southwest. The facility has since been retrofitted to serve as a Moderate Care facility which involved the removal of a sallyport.

The Mount Vernon facility is located on the outskirts of Mount Vernon, a small town in southwest Missouri. The facility is located in a light industrial area 4 minutes' drive (2.25 km) from the centre of Mount Vernon, and 38 minutes' drive (53 km) west of Springfield, the regional centre. The facility is adjacent to a logistics depot and a number of small manufacturing facilities. Behind the facility is farmland. The geography of the area is broad, open, and rural.

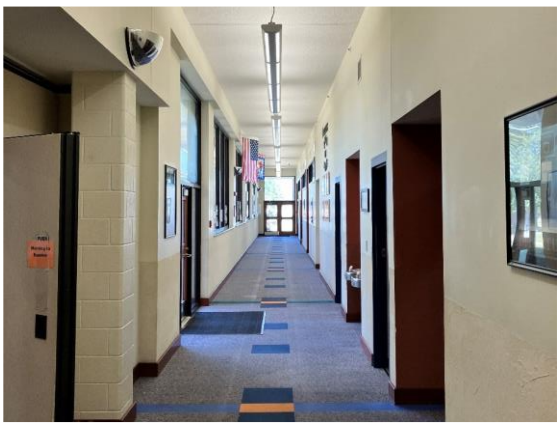
The facility is spread across 4 main buildings, each a single storey, made of concrete masonry construction with slate-shingle gable roofs, overhanging eaves. The external walls are finished in a number of different concrete colour tones and textures arranged in horizontal coursework patterns to align with window openings. Blockwork textures include rough broken-face, smooth and broken face soldier finishes, in reds, yellows and greys. Key blocks project slightly providing accentuation to the building's corners. Eaves gutters are of typical domestic construction, including typical domestic metal downpipes to the cottages and non-secure side of the administration building. Eaves are set higher to the secure side of the administration building, in consideration of its boundary with the perimeter fence. Windows are metal framed with no bars, of a typical domestic size. The residential cottages have hip gable roofs, with mechanical vents to the gable ends. Large skylights bring light from above into the centre of the main living space. The facility is surrounded by a concave perimeter fence that arches inward, with a height of approximately 4 metres and 'No-Climb' mesh to the top metre.

The facility is laid out as a primary administration and school building, and three residential cottages within the perimeter fence. The four buildings are arranged to loosely define a central, square, green space, however there are large spaces between each of the cottages and the main building. The admin/school building is organised around an 'L-shaped' corridor, with the facility entry at the angle. One arm leads toward the gymnasium/cafeteria, the other arm leading to the school spaces. On the other side of the corridor is a large visitation/conference room. Past a therapy space, and a staff office are five classrooms of different sizes along with a library at the far end, arranged along one side of the corridor, with a large row of tall glass windows on the other facing the central yard. Children's drawings are stuck along the glass window. The corridor is carpeted, with alcoves along the length holding drinking fountains. The feeling is of a clean and orderly school corridor, with plenty of natural light. Flags are hung above the corridor from the walls. An honour wall has brass plaques on a number of timber boards displaying the names of past program graduates. At the end of the corridor is a glass door leading out to the yard.

85. Mt Vernon Moderate Care, Mt Vernon MO, 2022

86. Mt Vernon, Meeting room

87. Mt Vernon, Meeting room window



88. Mt Vernon, School corridor

Each residential cottage has a veranda/patio area inset within the front wall which also provides an overhanging covered space to the entry. Through the front door of the cottage is a broad main living space, with a high gable ceiling and skylights defining a central focus of the room, distinct from perimeter spaces within the open plan, and in adjacent closed spaces. The residential houses were initially built to include an isolation room - this was not used however to the extent that it is now fully converted into a storage room for paper records and the medical cart. It was noted that 'it is insufficient to use isolation away from the team - as it doesn't help belonging', 'who are you going to talk to?'.

The entry to the facility is approached from the road via a front carpark. A slight inset to the front of the administration building holds a timber and glass door with large side lites. Next to the door is a statue of a lion - one of the symbols of the Circle of Courage (the treatment model). Inside the front door is a broad corridor with skylights to a high gabled ceiling, containing an alcove with lockers, before a step-through metal detector and next to a timber desk holding the sign in book. A window connects through to the staff office. Artworks of birds and rural architecture are hung on the walls. The floor is a tiled finish. Beyond the metal detector is a second door with large side lites again. This door leads into the main corridor. Young people, when arriving at the facility, enter directly into the administration wing from the main car park.

There are no individual bedrooms, but instead bunks located in a row along one side of the main living space. Bunks are separated by more than an arm's length distance (approx. 1.2 metres). Sleeping in the same room is seen to build trust and team connection. Strict rules are maintained around the sleeping area - no talking, no getting up without first knocking on the bed frame for staff attention and permission. Two staff members are always immediately available, sitting at either end of the row of bunks, where desks are provided for them to use the time productively. It was noted that bedtime can be hard for young people who have experienced trauma or abuse - with bedrooms being an environment that can be triggering. Young people are helped to learn and practise mindfulness - deep breathing. It was also noted that it is good for young people to know that a staff member is close by - 'honestly I don't know how you'd do it any other way'. It was noted that this arrangement mitigates against suicidal ideation and related behaviours - to have others sleeping nearby. It is seen as important in developing trust towards others in your team and staff. The dorm sleeping space is fitted with dimmer lights which can be turned down low, while still allowing staff to move about the space and check the group at night. The space is defined within the open plan of the living room by low, 'L-shaped' partition walls (approx. 1m high) at either end of the row of bunks, with polished timber trim to the top and ends of the partition. A blue coloured line of carpet joins the two partition walls together, creating a soft but easily visible and recognisable boundary between the main living space and the sleeping area. This would benefit the maintenance of the sleeping area rules. The ceiling above the bunks is raked up to a mechanical services bulkhead, which helps further differentiate the two spaces. Bunks are

89. Mt Vernon, Classroom

90. Mt Vernon, Classroom, teacher's desk

91. Mt Vernon, Library

92. Mt Vernon, Exterior door

made of polished timber with storage drawers in the base below the bottom bunk. Beds are made with a matching set (two types) of beige two-toned patterned doonas and pillows. Two plastic domestic laundry baskets are located at the foot of each bunk - one for each young person. In the wall behind the row of bunks are large windows with venetian blinds and translucent curtains - no bars. The walls also hold symbols relating to the Circle of Courage, and photographs (e.g. of motorbikes) in frames. At the time of visiting there were additional beds placed at either end of the row of bunks to provide accommodation for additional children.

Two house cats were asleep cuddling on someone's pillow. Another bed has a stuffed toy elephant sitting on top.

A maximum of 4 people are allowed in the bathroom at one time. 4 showers, 3 pans, and 4 basins are provided. Partitions between showers and pans are exposed concrete blockwork with a paint finish. It was noted by staff that it would be preferable to have a tiled finish to the walls. Shower fixtures are anti-ligature. Basins are mounted in a blue laminate cupboard with locks to the doors. Showers have curtains that allow vision at high and low levels, for staff to be sure that there are no self-harm activities in the shower. A staff member is at the door to the bathroom passively supervising the space while someone is inside. A motion sensor light switch is installed to the bathroom noted to reduce power consumption. Young people are tasked with maintaining the living environment, which includes cleaning the showers, which is seen as a way of learning domestic skills.

Houses have a large living space - large enough for young people to play physical games inside (e.g., 'riverbank'). A high gable ceiling with lightwells/skylights defines a central focus to the room as distinct from perimeter spaces within the open plan. An enclosed staff office adjoins the main space, with a glass window looking through. The dorm space sits off to one side. The floor is carpeted with a grey speckled pattern, but with a large colourful rug placed over the top. 14 matching individual couches are arranged in a circle, with an office chair and small desk included in a corner. It was noted that individual couches help young people to have more clear personal boundaries. Colourful flags are hung from the light wells in the ceiling above. Cupboards and shelves are located around the perimeter. Posters are hung on the wall. A white board is full of notes relating to group work. Desks are located in the far corner of the room with an office chair. Windows are large and are fitted with venetian blinds and curtains. As mentioned above, the houses have pets - e.g., two cats, very comfortably asleep. Staff noted that ideally the laundry might be bigger, and the bathrooms too, and that doors would be preferable to curtains to the showers. More storage space would be ideal.

A commercial kitchen provides meals through a cafeteria style servery, which are eaten together in the gymnasium along with staff. Young people work together carrying out trestle tables and chairs at meal times, and packing them away afterwards. Young people confirmed that the food in the facility is good (as do I - one of the healthiest meals I had in

93. Mt Vernon, Perimeter fence

94. Mt Vernon, Central yard

95. Mt Vernon, Cottage

96. Mt Vernon, Dorm living room

the US). On your birthday you get to choose what desert is made for everyone to share. It was noted that it would be preferable to have a window for daylight to the kitchen, for the benefit of the cooking staff. It was also noted that the kitchen did not have enough storage to properly hold all the required stock.

A full-size indoor gymnasium/basketball court was noted to be very useful for helping young people burn off energy. The room is of concrete blockwork to a high level, with high clerestory windows bringing natural light amongst white painted timber truss work.

School classes are organised by residential house group / team. This means there can be substantial differences in academic levels. Teachers are skilled in simplifying lessons for some, to ensure that everyone is included. Peer-tutoring is also used. Emotional safety was noted as extremely important in this respect (to avoid bullying, ensure a feeling of respect and belonging; utilising Individualised Education Programs (IEP)) and also to help improve focus on schoolwork.

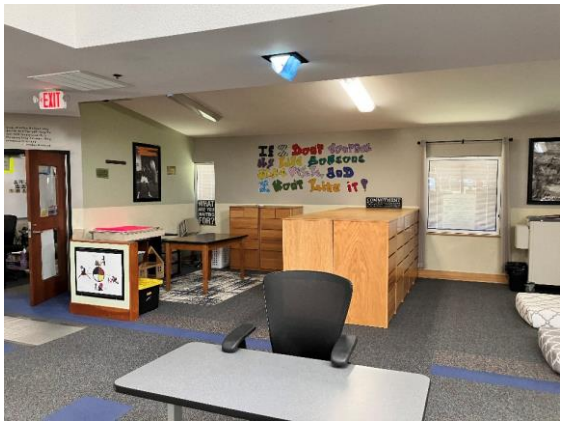
A science/computer/IT classroom is provided with a teacher's desk, open timber shelving full of textbooks, two rows of computers along the walls, and a 3D printer. The room is personalised with science-fiction items, as per the taste of the teacher. Other classrooms are very typical school spaces, with a smart board on the wall.

A large library is accessible to young people during school hours, with books able to be borrowed and taken back to the house depending on the young person's level. Young people noted that they enjoyed reading as a way of escaping the day-to-day reality of being locked up. Staff noted that as young people's reading improves, so do all other aspects of their learning. The library was neat, full of variety, and young people demonstrated a very clear understanding of the library's different sections and operation. One young person said they like the self-help books - those not written by psychologists. Young people can take turns at being librarian and borrowing books out for others.

A vocational training shed/workshop sits outside the secure perimeter, but is connected via a short, fenced corridor to allow all young people access, despite their Level in the program. The workshop contains a drop saw, hand tools, a bandsaw, paints, lockable storage cupboards containing power tools. A roller door connects to the main car park allowing for deliveries (e.g., timber) or to move large projects.

Each residential cottage has a front patio area adjacent to the entry, with moveable outdoor seating of a typical domestic nature, low tables, a large number of pot plants, and garden sculptures. Outside activity spaces include a fire pit, basketball court, baseball field, kickball, sand volleyball, a running track to 'get outside and get active' with team-running. The outside space is largely lawn areas, with some areas of densely planted space, along with some hedges and shade trees. It was noted that if they were to design the

97. Mt Vernon, Dorm bunks



98. Mt Vernon, Dorm

99. Mt Vernon, House cats

100. Mt Vernon, College patio

planting again, they would favour native plants for easier maintenance. Views into the canopies of trees and over adjacent farmland are accessible in multiple directions, with large areas to look to the sky. It was noted that it is very helpful to be able to look out the window at the trees when you're trying to have a difficult conversation - thus helping with programs, group work and relationships building.

Security infrastructure includes a perimeter fence, CCTV throughout, electromechanical and mortise locks, an intercom at the entry to speak to staff after hours, step-through metal detector, lockers for staff and visitors, clerical/control room office, school corridor has convex mirrors at high level, large vision windows to timber doors throughout. A backup generator (natural gas) is available in case of electrical failure.

Mt Vernon uses a treatment model called the Circle of Courage based on Native American traditions of justice.

It was noted that each facility has its own model based on shared principles, beliefs, and practices.

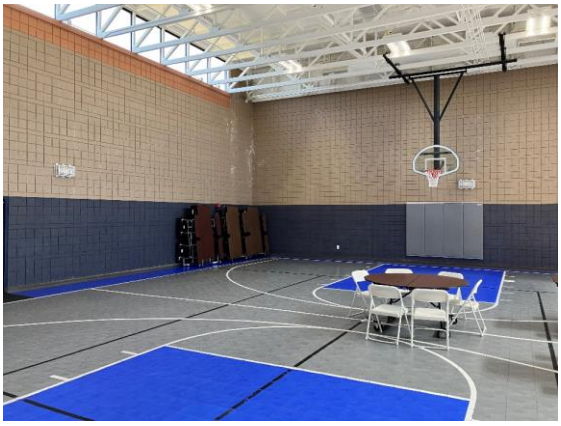
Wilson Creek (Moderate Care - Girls)

Wilson Creek is a 10-bed facility (ideally – though there were 13 young people at the time of visiting) for girls and young women.

It is located on the outskirts of Springfield, approximately 12 minutes' drive (7 km) from the city centre in an area that is characterised primarily by commercial and light industrial uses along a major road. The facility is also immediately adjacent to a vegetated greenbelt area and suburban neighbourhoods. Wilson Creek shares its site with the Community Learning Centre (see below) - another DYS Moderate Care facility that operates programs for boys and young men. The Wilson Creek facility is further toward the rear of the property, with the Community Learning Centre nearer the front street. These facilities share something like a very large suburban block, 90 metres wide by 300 metres deep, which includes the two residential facilities, two large open grass spaces, a central space under a glade of shade trees, and trees and greenery around the perimeter. There is a timber paling perimeter fence, approximately 1.8 metres high, as you might find for a typical suburban yard. There is a chain mesh gate on rolling wheels to the front entry, again approximately 1.8 metres high. There are no anti-climb fixtures.

The facility is a domestic brick building with a broad Dutch hip roof made of metal sheeting, overhanging eaves and eaves gutters to the perimeter. A concrete footpath separates the car park from the building. A row of flowering shrubs is planted around the edge of the building. Windows appear to be standard residential aluminium windows, openable to an extent that prohibits egress but allows ventilation, along with curtains and venetian blinds. The facility was purpose built.

101. Mt Vernon, Vocational training workshop



102. Mt Vernon, Gym / cafeteria

103. Wilson Creek, Springfield MO, 2022

104. Wilson Creek, Dining room

The facility is organised around a central dining and kitchen space, with a large, shared bedroom and an adjoining recreation/group work room to one end of the building, and a classroom and living room toward the other end. A staff office is adjacent to the dining/kitchen space, and a manager's and administration office is located off the main living room. A library is connected to the classroom. A small laundry is adjacent to the kitchen/dining area, next to the bathrooms for young people. Circulation is via connections between rooms, as opposed to corridors, and is primarily arranged in connection to the central dining space. A series of small sheds in the yard provide storage for canoes, outdoor and activity gear, and tools. It was noted that the layout of this facility is not ideal in respect to clarity of spaces and sightlines, with many corners.

Entry to the facility is from the car park directly through a metal framed glass door, which leads into a small foyer space with a logbook. This foyer space leads into the main dining area in the centre of the house.

A single, large, long bedroom is shared by all young people, with three sets of timber bunk beds arranged at each end of the room and a staff desk in the centre. The staff desk has a computer, radios and phones on the desktop, along with other items needed for staff to work through the night shift. Between the bunk beds are large timber wardrobes with locker padlocks attached, for storing young people's personal belongings. It was noted that wardrobes are locked overnight, to disincentivise absconding. Large trunks are also provided with locks for further storage. Pedestal heaters are also located between the bunk beds. Bed linen is of typical domestic variety, with colourful patterns. The floor is finished with carpet tiles. Two walls, at either end of the room, are given feature paintwork - one with a painted image of the silhouettes of mountains, the other with a deep blue block colour. Looking from the windows, which are fitted with curtains and venetian blinds, provides views into the yard across the lawn to the mature trees and garden. Windows can be opened for ventilation but not so much as to allow egress.

Bathrooms are shared, with two basins, four showers and four pans. Floor and walls are tiled, with waterproof lining panels to the shower recesses. Curtains are provided to showers, with basket shelves for soap immediately outside, in between recesses. Latches to shower cubicle doors are located near to the top of the door leaf, allowing the possibility for staff to open the door if needed. Having four showers was noted as being the bottle neck in the daily routine.

A recreation / group workspace is provided adjacent to the bedroom, with stackable office chairs on castors, a circular fabric rug in the centre of the floor, a floor lamp in the corner, pin boards to the walls holding notes, a whiteboard, a fridge, a timber storage cupboard, and a wall mounted drinking fountain. A small window connects the space with the staff office. The floor finish is vinyl tiles, with walls painted a warm white and olive green on either side of a timber datum board. A living room towards the front of the building has a pale

105. Wilson Creek, Kitchen

106. Wilson Creek, Laundry

107. Wilson Creek, Dorm

108. Wilson Creek, Dorm

green feature wall and dark carpet. It is furnished with lamps and couches, acoustic guitars hanging on the wall along with a decorative clock and artworks. A domestic ceiling fan is hung from above. Cushions with different fabric textures and colours are set out on each couch.

A school classroom is located toward the back of the building, with windows facing out toward the yard and trees. The room has a carpet floor and walls full of notes, posters and young people's work, as well as a projector/board. On the wall was a calendar with large spaces to write questions - to ensure that everyone's questions are answered in a fair amount of time. Furniture is movable and typical of a classroom. Windows have blinds and curtains to help make the projector scree more visible. Lining the walls of an alcove in the classroom are open shelves filled with books - the library. A young person commented that it has 'all the genres', and that you're allowed to borrow one book at a time.

A dining room is located in the centre of the building and is a central focus of the facility's circulation. Tables and chairs are typical office furniture - aluminium, plastic, laminate board and movable. The floor is vinyl tiles and the walls are painted olive green and white, on either side of a datum board. An open timber shelf hold trays for each young person to store personal items, like a school.

A kitchen is connected to the dining space across a typical domestic bench with a laminate benchtop and kitchen cupboards. Overhead cupboards above the bench create a long, low gap that connects the two spaces either side. The kitchen is domestic in character, with the exception of commercial fridges, extraction rangehood and ice machine. The floor and walls are tiled in a domestic character. On the bench are glazed ceramic bowls holding fresh fruit, a kitchen mixer, a slow cooker, coffee filter, microwave etc. An under bench domestic dishwasher is included. A door from the kitchen opens out into the backyard. A timber door opens into the pantry. Young people help in the kitchen by setting the table, doing dishes, sweeping and cleaning up. These are some of the chores listed for young people to do on rotation. It was noted that the noise of the refrigerators in the kitchen (large, commercial variety) impacts on the ability to have conversations easily in the dining room. While staff typically prepare meals, young people help with dishes and chores.

A laundry is located adjacent to the dining space, with two large commercial washers and two driers, a sink, cupboards and shelf space. It was noted that 'we do a lot of laundry'. Doing the laundry for all the house members is another of the chores listed for young people to do on rotation.

The facility is surrounded by large areas of lawn, with mature trees providing shade in different locations. Picnic tables and benches are scattered throughout the yard, which slopes gently down toward the boundary which is densely vegetated with shrubs and plants and with large trees above. The building is surrounded by rose bushes. An asphalt basketball half-court and hoop are provided. Frisbee-golf 'holes' are spread out across the yard. A flat area of lawn has soccer

109. Wilson Creek, Group work room

110. Wilson Creek, Living room

111. Wilson Creek, Living room

112. Wilson Creek, Backyard

goals. Timber obstacle course equipment is located along one side of the yard. The character of the space is relaxed and spacious - like a very large suburban backyard. A typical suburban mailbox is located at the entry to the carpark. In between Wilson Creek and the CLC facility is a dense planting of shade trees, under which there are benches, a fire pit, and a barbeque.

Security infrastructure includes a doorbell, domestic sensor lights, mortise locks to external doors. Windows can only open to allow natural ventilation, not egress. A typical domestic timber paling fence, approx. 1.8m high, surrounds the property with a chain mesh gate able to be closed (the gate was open at the time of visiting). Grievance forms are freely available for young people. Young people were asked by a senior staff member, in relation to fences, 'who's thought about running away?'. A majority but not all of the young people raised their hand. Some young people commented that a fence might make them feel safer in the facility. Other young people commented that a fence would make them feel claustrophobic. Another young person commented that they want to run, but then they would want to be able to get back inside. It is worth reflecting on the honesty of the question from the staff member, and the earnestness, thoughtfulness and honesty of the responses by young people. Additionally, it was worth reflecting on the diversity of responses to a potential design decision, particularly in relation to a security measure that is not employed at this facility.

113. Wilson Creek, Basketball court

114. Wilson Creek, Front yard

Community Learning Centre (Moderate Care)

The Community Learning Centre (CLC) is a 10-bed facility (ideally – though there were 13 young people at the time of visiting) for boys and young men. It shares a location with Wilson Creek (see above).

The CLC is a single storey brick and weatherboard building with a broad gable roof clad with shingles and overhanging eaves. The elevations of the building are finished with red brickwork up to approximately 1.5 metres, with white painted vertical weatherboards completing the cladding up to the eave's soffit. Low hedges are planted along the concrete footpath approaching the house. Windows are typical aluminium domestic types in a white finish with flyscreens, venetian blinds, and curtains. The ceiling throughout the building has a sputtered spray on concrete finish painted white.

The house is rectangular in plan, with the main entry in the centre of the longer side underneath a porch gable. A reception area, staff office and manager's office are adjacent to the front door, past which is a central main living room which includes a dining space and a kitchen. To one side of this main living space is a classroom and recreation room. Connected to the classroom is a teacher's office, a library, and a computer lab. To the other side of the living space is a smaller living area, the shared bedroom, a bathroom, and a group therapy room, along with a nurse's office.

115. Community Learning Centre, Springfield MO, 2022

116. Community Learning Centre, Front porch

Entry into the house is under a covered porch area which also contains outdoor seating and a small barbeque. A flower bed is densely planted with lilies next to the porch area. The porch looks out onto a large area of lawn, enclosed by large mature trees. Wind chimes hang from the porch. The front door is a typical residential timber door with a glass window and panel mouldings. The door handle and locks are also typically domestic. Inside the front door on the right is an open timber-look reception desk, along with a small side table holding the visitor logbook. Pot plants, a scarecrow soft-toy, and a ceramic pumpkin emblazoned with the word 'welcome' sit on top of the reception desk. Small lockers are built into the wall above the sign-in book for staff's phones (phones are not allowed in the building). The floor is carpet, walls are finished in a rough textured plaster in a beige colour. This reception area opens directly into the main living room in the centre of the house, with no doors in between. A typical suburban mailbox stands next to the driveway on approach to the car park.

A single bedroom is shared with timber bunk beds in a row along a wall. Timber drawers are aligned along another wall for the storage of young people's items. Windows are typical domestic windows and can be opened so far as to allow fresh air, but not egress. Venetian blinds are installed. The floor is a blue carpet finish, and the walls are painted in an olive green.

The bathroom is shared, with four basins and four showers. Showers have typical domestic fittings. Shower curtains are transparent at low level for observation (self-harm prevention). Floor tiles and wall tiles are domestic, and the vanity cupboard has timber doors in a domestic style. A window at the end of the room provides natural light to the space. The space is probably narrower than ideal for a large number of young people to be navigating around one another.

The living spaces are domestic in character, organised but not overly ordered. The feeling of the space is that it has been put together by a particular person, with their own particular aesthetic interests (i.e. as a home would be). The main living space has a circle of couches around a low timber coffee table. The floor is an ochre red carpet with a speckled pattern. Walls are rough finished plaster in a warm grey colour. Looking across the open plan room to the kitchen and dining room, walls painted in blue and red provide diversity in colour. Hanging on the walls are a whiteboard, artworks, notes and work relating to group sessions.

The dining room has a long timber table angled diagonally across the space with room for 13 places at timber chairs. The dining room and the kitchen share a tiled floor, separated by a typical domestic kitchen bench. The kitchen is domestic, with white moulded cabinet doors above and below a laminate benchtop. A stove, oven, range hood, dishwasher, sink and microwave are provided with domestic spec. A large commercial fridge and ice maker are also provided. A window to the outside yard is over the sink, as might be found in a typical suburban house. On the bench top is a coffee filter,

118. Community Learning Centre, Living room

117. Community Learning Centre, Kitchen

119. Community Learning Centre, Classroom

120. Community Learning Centre, Library

kettle, ceramic jar holding kitchen utensils, a kitchen mixer, and plastic tubs holding fresh fruit. An aluminium framed glass door opens out into the yard and lets natural light into the kitchen.

The classroom has a carpeted floor and bright yellow walls in a rough plaster finish. Movable triangle timber desks and standard rolling office chairs are arranged in groups around the room. A photocopier and storage units are lined up along one wall. Large windows are shaded by venetian blinds. A blackboard is hung on one wall, and a large television screen on another. In an alcove is the teacher's desk, behind which is a library with open timber shelves around each of the walls. A round timber table and two timber chairs sit in between the walls of books. A small computer / IT classroom is connected to the classroom in a room that also provides storage space for games, activities and a small laser printer.

A recreation room has carpet flooring and dark blue paint to the rough finished walls. In the room there is a foosball table, a tv and games console, fitness training equipment, couches and fold out chairs, art on the walls, a small stereo, an electronic keyboard and an acoustic guitar hung on the wall, as well as a large timber storage cupboard. At the time of visiting the group had just returned from a hiking trip, and the backpacks were lined up along one of the couches, ready to be put away. An open window connects the classroom and the recreation room through the dividing wall.

The facility is surrounded by large areas of lawn, with mature trees providing shade in different locations. Picnic tables and benches are scattered throughout the yard, which slopes gently down toward the boundary which is densely vegetated with shrubs and plants and with large trees above. The building is surrounded by rose bushes. An asphalt basketball half-court and hoop are provided. Frisbee-golf 'holes' are spread out across the yard. A flat area of lawn has soccer goals. Timber obstacle course equipment is located along one side of the yard. The character of the space is relaxed and spacious - like a very large suburban backyard. A typical suburban mailbox is located at the entry to the carpark. In between Wilson Creek and the CLC facility is a dense planting of shade trees, under which there are benches, a fire pit, and a barbeque.

Security infrastructure includes a door bell, domestic sensor lights, mortise locks to external doors. Windows can only open to allow natural ventilation, not egress. A typical domestic timber paling fence, approx. 1.8m high, surrounds the property with a chain mesh gate able to be closed (the gate was open at the time of visiting). Grievance forms are freely available for young people.

121. Community Learning Centre, Computer room

122. Community Learning Centre, Dorm

123. Community Learning Centre, Recreation room

124. Community Learning Centre, Backyard

Gentry Residential Treatment Centre (Moderate Care)

Gentry Residential Treatment Centre is a Moderate Care facility with two houses of 12 beds each.

It is located in a semi-rural, semi-suburban area, surrounded by large domestic blocks on the outskirts of Cabool, a small town in regional Missouri. It is approximately 1km from the centre of Cabool, and a 128km drive (1hr 20) from Springfield, the nearest city. It was noted that young people staying in the facility come from the southwest region, or within a 60-mile radius in the southeast region. The countryside is rolling with gentle slopes and divided by fingers of dense trees and underbrush.

The building is a single storey brick building with a hip and valley slate roof and overhanging eaves. The form is of a symmetrical broad spine with three wings protruding from the back. It was noted that in the future it would be desirable to infill the spaces between the wings to provide additional recreation space for days with wet weather.

The layout is symmetrical around the central wing, containing the entry foyer and clerical space at the front hemmed by offices, then the library, conference room, dining room and kitchen at the rear. Leading either side from the central lobby space is the day room and school classroom for each house, behind which is the dormitory. At the far end of the dormitory are the bathrooms and a utility space containing a laundry and storage.

Entry into Gentry leads from the carpark through two pairs of office-style glass doors, between which there is a set of lockers for phones, an intercom for visitors, a pencil drawing of the namesake of the facility. A CCTV camera covers the doors. These doors lead into a foyer with a high gabled ceiling with clerestory windows bringing light in. The room is carpeted in tiles and there are arm chairs and timber coffee tables spread around with pot plants between. A timber reception desk is placed behind this sitting area with a timber-veneer panelled storage closet contributing to a freestanding partition within the space. On top of the closet are a collection of large trophies celebrating the victories of past residents. Around the foyer are a group of office spaces: a nurse station, manager's office, an office for the service and family therapy coordinator, and a clerical office. A bathroom is also offered to the side of the waiting room. An aquarium with turtles is located toward the side. Up-lighting increases the effect of the clerestory windows around the edges.

A large, long dormitory room is shared by the young people in each of the two houses. The ceiling is gabled and painted white, walls painted an off-white, the floor in grey-patterned carpet tiles. Triangular school desks and chairs are spread out at the end nearest the door. Along the walls are timber chests-of-drawers each with a small orange name tag. Sash windows are at regular intervals down the length of the outer wall, hung with blinds. Windows are openable and have flyscreens. At the end of the room nearest the entry door is a

125. Gentry Residential Centre, Cabool MO, 2022

126. Gentry Residential Centre, Entry

127. Gentry Residential Centre, Cafeteria

128. Gentry Residential Centre, Classroom

timber staff desk with lockable drawers and a computer on top, a phone, filing cabinets, a microwave, a coffee machine and a fridge. A larger window with curtains is placed in the centre of the end wall. Bunks are lined along each wall facing out, made of timber with normal mattresses and bedclothes, arranged with approximately 1.2m between. Weighted blankets are offered to young people for whom they help to feel more secure at night. At the far end of the room is an area with vinyl flooring and a kitchenette with a sink and timber cupboards. To either side of this are timber doors - one leading to the bathroom, the other to the laundry utility space. Staff noted that having bunks is super easy to monitor and maintain good behaviour.

The bathroom is shared at the end of the dorm. Walls are of concrete blockwork painted white and the floor is vinyl. Fixtures are similar to those you might find in a school. Showers have curtain rails at about head height and curtains that allow a view of the feet. Toilet partitions have the latch near the top of the door to allow easy opening, if necessary, in a hurry, with doors that open outward. A cleaning cupboard is located at the far end of the bathroom. 6 showers, 4 pans and 3 sinks are provided.

There is enough space in the dorm for activities, but there is also a day room adjacent to the dorm with couches arranged around the outside and large windows with curtains. The dayroom also has a door to the outside which is marked as a fire exit. The floor is of carpet tiles, walls are painted in blue below a timber datum rail and cream above. A pot plant sits in the corner and the walls are hung with artwork with inspirational messages. A storage cupboard is located to one side. A door leads into the classroom. An office space for the group leader can view the dayroom through a glass window with venetian blinds and curtains.

Classrooms have triangular work desks and two teachers' desks. A couple of computer desks face the walls. The rear wall has a built-in bench with timber doors below a wide operable window holding boxes of coloured pens and a laminating machine. An open timber bookshelf holds textbooks. An internal window connects to an adjacent teacher's office. A toilet is provided, but it was noted that use of this is restricted by the smell into the classroom. A large whiteboard is fixed to the wall between pinboards. On the next wall is a large television. An open timber storage cupboard holds art materials. An American flag is propped against rolls of craft paper. Each house has its own classroom, but there is also an additional classroom adjacent to the central foyer.

The dining room is a large cafeteria style room with domestic tiles to the floor, ochre paint below the timber datum and cream coloured above. Along one wall are a pair of fridges, a chest freezer and a serving bar. A large cafeteria window opens to the kitchen. A tray of fresh fruit is left on the counter.

The building is set at the high point of a large yard sloping down to dense vegetation on each side. Islands of dense planting sit within the rolling lawn. A beach volleyball court

129. Gentry Residential Centre, Day room

130. Gentry Residential Centre, Dorm

131. Gentry Residential Centre, Staff desk in dorm

132. Gentry Residential Centre, Ropes obstacle course

and baseball netting are located down the hill. A series of outdoor obstacle courses and problem-solving games are spread around the yard within the trees. A number of sheds are located at different points in the yard for storage. There are no fences around the property to be seen at all.

133. Gentry Residential Centre, Backyard

England

Across England and Wales are a network of 14 Secure Children's Homes (SCHs), which provide secure accommodation for young people in custody who are deemed additionally vulnerable. These young people can be placed via either the justice or welfare systems. Within the justice system, they serve as a small-scale alternative to Young Offender Institutions (YOI's) and Secure Training Centres (STCs). SCHs are independently operated by local authorities.

On average, SCHs have 16 beds. Some are located in urban areas, while others are located on the edges of cities or more rurally.

While England is experiencing many similar issues within its youth justice system to those we face here, Secure Children's Homes offer a more highly developed approach to the rehabilitation of young people. Studying the design of SCHs in England provides an opportunity to examine how the evidence-based aspects of facility design have been employed in a culture and jurisdiction very similar to our own. During the Fellowship I studied the design of two of the most highly regarded Secure Children's Homes in England and Wales.

134. Barton Moss, Eccles UK, Front elevation

Barton Moss Secure Care Centre

Barton Moss is one of the largest Secure Children's Homes, operated by Salford City Council, with space for 24 boys and young men. Over its lifetime it has grown from a 7-bed facility to its current 24. There are an additional 3 beds in a semi-open unit outside the secure perimeter, where young people can practice independent living prior to returning to the community. Multiple staff indicated that this would be as large as the facility could practically grow and still function well.

Barton Moss is located on the outskirts of Greater Manchester in the town of Eccles, adjacent to the local airport, in a strip of farmland between two major roads. Its location can be described as urban-fringe, rural. The facility can be accessed via public bus, with a stop 320 metres away (5 minutes' walk). The majority of staff and visitors travel by private car, however. Proximity to the motorway off-ramp, connecting to Liverpool, is seen as a positive attribute in attracting potential staff from the adjacent metropolitan areas. Adjacency to the airport means some level noise pollution,

135. Barton Moss, Front entry

136. Barton Moss, Front door

though the airport is small, and noise is not continuous or sustained.

The facility building is brick, typically one storey with one area including an additional storey for administration, offices, meeting rooms, and staff sleeping apartments. A non-secure perimeter fence encloses the facility grounds. High brick walls attached to the building proper enclose secure courtyards for each unit. A second building containing a semi-open unit for transitioning to the general population is located adjacent, enclosing another courtyard. A garage for facility vehicles and a maintenance workshop building are located on the grounds. Internal doors throughout the facility are timber and glass, and this has a positive effect on diminishing the sound of doors closing, relative to metal doors. External doors and windows are metal framed, in a white finish, do not have bars and typically, in shared areas, have small casement frames that allow opening and ventilation without allowing egress.

The facility is primarily a circular arrangement around a central courtyard containing a fish/duck pond, gardens and terrace sitting areas. Located around the courtyard, the ground floor comprises four residential units, staff offices, and extensive education and activity facilities including classrooms, computer classrooms including 3D printers, cookery classrooms (4 places), a full wood workshop, science classroom (including plumbed gas and water to benches), a drama room with lighting and stage, music studio, indoor basketball court, rock climbing wall, gym equipment, art classroom, bricklaying and construction workshop. Additional courtyards are enclosed by high brick walls on the outside of the building, including one large courtyard which accommodates a full-size five-on-five football pitch. Each unit has its own courtyard connected to its living spaces, in addition to access to shared courtyards with other units. An additional separate building, housing a transition unit on the first floor, is located adjacent to the main building and encloses a further side of a courtyard.

A first-floor administration wing for staff spaces, non-secure, is located around two sides of the central courtyard.

Units are self-contained, each located around a central living / activity space including a kitchen where young people prepare breakfast and snacks for themselves. Visiting spaces are provided in each unit, meaning that young people meet their visitors within their living spaces, which helps to demystify the facility and provide passive oversight of the spaces.

The entry is welcoming and calming, with visitors walking past a water feature (sound of water) and greenery on the path to the front door. The rural setting means bird calls also add to the sound environment as you approach the entry. The approach to reception sits between a brick wall and a staff lunch / sitting terrace, with a broad, winding path leading to the reception. A vehicle sally port is very effectively disguised as a generous entrance into the courtyard, including greenery and windows allowing views through the air lock to the garden beyond. The main reception is located to the left of

137. Barton Moss, Secure entry to courtyard

138. Barton Moss, Foyer

139. Barton Moss, Conference rooms

140. Barton Moss, Remand unit, living room.

this vehicle entry, with a window from the security office adjacent. A double set of glass doors opens into a double height waiting / reception area, with timber framing to doors and windows, and matching timber finish to lockers along the far wall. Full-height south-facing windows to both the ground and first floor provide generous natural light, reflecting off a light green painted wall. Timber aeroplanes (built by young people in woodwork class) are suspended from the ceiling. Back-to-back upholstered seats are located in the centre of the room. The space is welcoming, quiet, and calm. Management noted that there is building work planned to install a new doorway for staff to bypass this waiting area and enter directly to the admin wing stairway, with a new partition to be installed including a concealed metal-detector, to address issues with contraband in visits.

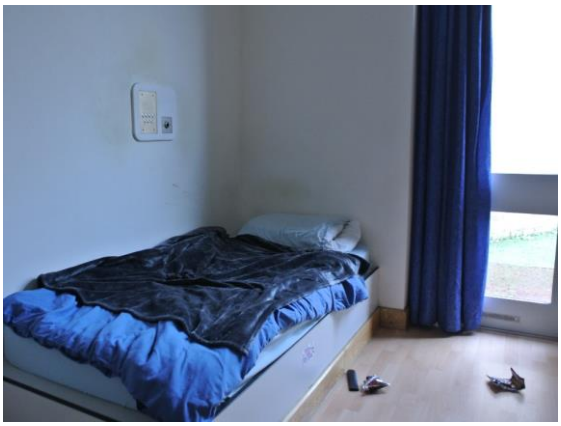
Bedrooms are cell-like and include an ensuite 'pod' with anti-ligature fixtures. Bedroom walls are made of Corian (solid polymer). All furniture is fixed and sealed to the walls and floors, with the exception of newly bought sand-weighted stools to be provided. Normal mattresses are provided to the bed. A large glass door and window open into an adjacent courtyard with no bars, but with no means of opening the window either. The glass door is able to be opened only from the outside and is provided for fire egress only. Staff identified that it would be desirable for young people to be able to access and control fresh air in their rooms, but identified ligature point concerns and cost of replacement as prohibitive. Curtains are provided to cover the windows. The door and door frame to the room are timber, finished in a warm clear varnish. An observation window, with translucent privacy film over all but a few strips of vision glass. Doors can be locked open, to lock strikes in an additional timber jamb. It was noted that policy is for doors to be either locked open or locked closed. Each bedroom has a low bay of fixed shelving against a wall to hold personal items. Each bedroom has a television, with the number of channels provided used as part of the reward/sanction model. Televisions are encased within boxes with a clear window to the front. Each bedroom has a wall mounted speaker phone which can connect to unit staff radios as well as Barnardo's who take complaints directly from residents. In the newer units, where long-term residents stay, the hardness of the bedroom's design is softened with timber-look vinyl finishes to the floor, and timber skirting, architraves and door framing. Bedrooms are also slightly larger and have a more generous layout in the newer units. Young people are able to personalise and decorate their rooms more of their own objects as they demonstrate good behaviour via the rewards and sanctions system.

In Bridge House, the transition unit, bedrooms are more like a typical college room with a built in desk, drawers and shelving in a timber finish, carpeted floor, normal domestic desk chair, normal bed and bedding, a compact but normal domestic ensuite, a timber finish bedside table, openable windows (restricted opening to prevent egress), curtains, laundry basket and waste paper bin, and an unprotected wall mounted television. Here, young people are provided with the key to their bedroom door, though there is a monitoring system in the staff bedroom which identifies if a door has

141. Barton Moss, Sentenced unit, living room.

142. Barton Moss, Unit kitchen

144. Barton Moss, Lounge room



143. Barton Moss, Bedroom

been opened. Overnight corridor doors are locked, which prevents leaving the facility.

Bathrooms are provided within bedrooms as ensuites, including pan, shower and basin with mirror, with institutional non-ligature fittings and concealed plumbing.

Each unit is provided with a series of living spaces: a main dining area with a kitchen, along with a large and a small 'home-base' (i.e. a living space leading into bedrooms), as well as a games room (with table tennis and pool table) and outdoor courtyards, both specific to unit, and shared with a second unit. The home bases were noted as being important for flexibility, in taking young people aside, or running different activities at once. The new units had an additional kitchenette in a cupboard for the larger 'home-base', however this was being unused and being used for storage. The separability of these home-bases was noted by the facility manager as being limited, which in turn limited the flexibility of their function. Furniture is timber, sturdy, movable, chairs typically with upholstered cushions. While not typically domestic in design, neither is it overtly institutional. Timber bookshelves with books are provided to the walls. Carpet flooring to living spaces. Domestic couches are provided as well as bean bags (though these were noted to have a double use in restraints). Unit kitchens are capable of being a full chopping boards, stove and ovens provided. Fresh fruit is available in a basket on the counter at all times. All drawers and cupboards are lockable. While the facility kitchen cooks and delivers lunch and dinner, the kitchens are used as activity spaces as well as for preparing breakfast and snacks. (A dedicated staff lunchroom is provided outside the secure area). Each unit also has a central staff observation office, surrounded by windows, in which young people are not allowed to enter. Each unit has a small laundry, really a cupboard, in which young people practise caring for their own laundry. Laundries have a domestic washer and dryer, cupboard and shelf storage space to allow for a structured process for the activity.

Activity spaces are very extensive and very well furnished, fairly well indistinguishable from a high-quality school. Activity facilities including classrooms, computer classrooms including 3D printers, cookery classrooms (4 places), a full wood workshop, science classroom (including plumbed gas and water to benches), a drama room with lighting and stage, music studio, indoor basketball court, rock climbing wall, gym equipment, art classroom, bricklaying, and construction workshop. A time-out, quiet room is also provided adjacent to school classrooms, along with an office for Intervention staff conducting assessments and treatment activities.

The facility encloses 11 separate courtyards within the building and around its perimeter. The primary central courtyard is landscaped with planting and a duck/fishpond, in which young people practise fishing with staff. There is also a greenhouse for practising propagation, a covered sitting area, lawn, and shrubs as well as vegetable and flower plots. The walls of the courtyard are heavily fenestrated providing views and natural light to offices, classrooms, and activity spaces, in

145. Barton Moss, Bedroom

146. Barton Moss, School timber workshop

147. Barton Moss, School art room

148. Barton Moss, Central courtyard.

addition to full height glazing to the northern and western first storey walls. This very effectively alleviates any sense of overbearing confinement within the courtyard. The courtyard is accessed from multiple points around the perimeter, and also by a large vehicle gate which opens directly to the front entrance. The central courtyard has been used for events and fairs, where young people's and staff's families, as well as council employees, have been invited ("Party on the Pond"). Each of the older units has its own courtyard accessed directly from the living spaces, enclosed by a high brick wall on the side facing away from the building. These are finished with artificial turf and used for kicking a ball, or just taking a walk outside when it's appropriate or needed. Young people are able to be in the courtyard without direct supervision if they are there on their own. An additional courtyard is located between the two older units, providing natural light to bedrooms and the possibility of different outdoors activities. It was noted that a privacy screen had to be erected in shade cloth in this shared courtyard to prevent direct views from one bedroom to another. For the two newer units, the relationship is reversed, with the shared courtyard, landscaped with planting boxes and vegetable plots, as well as having covered areas, accessed from the home-base living spaces. The unit-specific courtyard for kicking a ball is adjacent to the bedrooms, while still being accessed from the main living space. An additional small outdoor sitting courtyard is provided off the living spaces to each of the new units, furnished with outdoor table and chairs. A large courtyard, shared by the whole facility, contains a full size five-on-five soccer pitch, with artificial turf floor finish. All of the courtyards have a lightweight cord mesh suspended overhead, which was noted to be primarily for pigeons, but also useful in keeping soccer balls within the courtyards. Restricting the ability to throw contraband over the fence and into the courtyards was also mentioned.

Staff noted that it was important that the aim of the design is to provide a home-like environment while still being a secure institution, and to ensure that child developmental needs are met with the facility equipped to support those needs. "We're a children's home, that happens to be secure".

Adel Beck Secure Children's Home

At the time of writing, Adel Beck is the newest Secure Children's Home in England and Wales, completed in 2015. It provides 24 beds for both males and females in 3 houses of 8.

It is located in a small suburban neighbourhood toward the edge of Leeds, approximately 6.5 km from the city centre. The surrounding neighbourhood is highly affluent and picturesque. The facility is currently bounded by a wooded area leading to the Adel Beck (beck, stream), and an arrangement of 1854 heritage-listed buildings which are currently unused. Of interest, the heritage listed buildings are the earliest example of young offender accommodation in Europe, at the time being an industrial school where young people would learn a trade.

149. Barton Moss, Gym

150. Barton Moss, Transition unit, Living room

151. Barton Moss, Context

152. Adel Beck SCH, Leeds UK, 2022

The building is predominantly single storey precast concrete construction. At the front of the building is a second storey non-secure area that is used by staff. The building is clad in timber, white render and brick to the exterior, arranged in relation to large areas of windows. The view of the facility on arrival is of a neatly designed contemporary two storey building with a brick parapet displaying the logo of Adel Beck, and an awning over glass entry doors to reception. To the internal courtyards the building is predominantly brick, with highlights of coloured glazed brickwork accenting doorways, and coursework patterns and colours arranged around window locations, providing articulation to the facade. 1.5 metre eaves overhang the courtyard walls with anti-climb rounded edging, concealed gutters and metal panel soffits. Outward facing courtyard walls are of concrete masonry construction to a height of 5.2 metres, stepped down at angles and replaced by fencing to somewhat reduce the sense of enclosure. There is a concerted effort in both the design and construction to remove any finger or foot holds in any place throughout the building or on the facades.

Precast panel construction was noted to provide both benefits and difficulties. Precast concrete walls were seen to be highly robust and smooth, which was seen as of benefit for young people with self-harming behaviours who have previously been seen to use rough surfaces to inflict damage to themselves. A note was also made about plaster surfaces, that some young people can break up the walls to ingest as a self-harming behaviour. Difficulties with precast construction included a need to have the design, down to the placement of all services and fixtures, exactly right prior to construction. It was also noted that changes to services and maintenance is very difficult and expensive with this construction method.

A trafficable service loft is located across the top of the entire secure facility, providing service and maintenance access from above without need to bring tools into the secure area. Ceilings to secure areas are also made of precast concrete panels at 3.4 metres height, with penetrations allowing for building services. It was noted that a good access path is beneficial, to allow for the movement of building plant equipment in and out of the service loft area. Lightwells project through the service loft to high clerestory windows, providing natural light to the centre of the building.

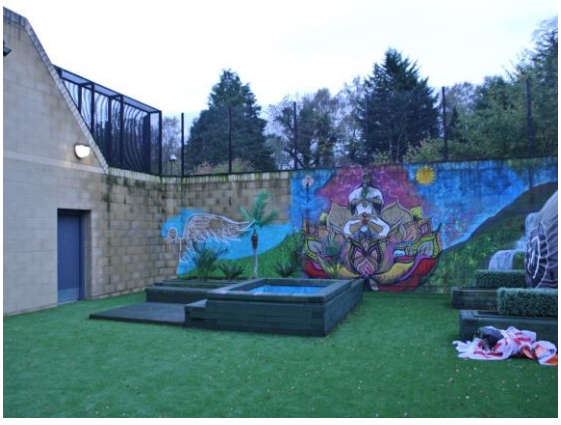
Doors in the secure area are high security doors with heavy duty vision panels and a timber-look finish applied to the surface. The mechanisms are both magnetic and mechanical, which was seen to provide an appropriate degree of redundancy - with magnetic locks being seen to be potentially kicked open. Windows are secure and inoperable throughout the facility, with venetian blinds in the glazing cavity, and not bars. Some windows at foot level had been retrofitted with steel plates on the outside to prevent breakage.

The design of the facility is in the form of four wings connected along a spine. Three of the wings each contain a residential house, with the first being a double storey administration wing for staff and arrivals. Notably, while arranged linearly along a connecting building, there is no

154. Adel Beck SCH, Service loft

153. Adel Beck SCH, Dining room

155. Adel Beck SCH, Courtyard



156. Adel Beck SCH, Courtyard

circulation connection through the spine of the building. Instead, all houses are accessed from the intervening courtyards, either directly into the living spaces or via a short connecting corridor space between the house and the spine of the building. This arrangement was noted to provide a more normal relationship between the houses and the school building, with young people physically having to leave their house and pass through a courtyard outside to attend school. It is also worth noting that this arrangement effectively 'disguises' or normalises the large number of doors that would typically be used to separate different houses and living spaces by the doors forming a boundary between the interior and exterior. I.e., they serve a purpose that is recognisable and normal outside an institutional setting. It should also be noted that the service loft is continuous across the top of all the wings and spine allowing efficient maintenance access. Each house contains eight beds in an arrangement of four and four at opposite ends of the house, with a central arrangement of living spaces connecting one side of the wing to the other, thereby directly accessing two separate courtyards. It was noted that it is important to have wide corridors, where corridors are necessary.

Entry for young people is via a secure admissions yard, into which a vehicle is driven, connecting directly to the admissions and medical areas. Entry for visitors and staff is via the main reception, which is accessed through a set of glass doors, controlled by the receptionist via intercom. The reception and waiting room is a double height space with large clerestory windows, comfortable upholstered couches, shelving with plants, colourful carpet patterns. Timber-look lockers are provided in a wall recess, which also holds a cupboard for children's toys and a water filter. The reception desk wall is finished in timber lining boards neatly worked around the reception window, doorways and a set of pamphlet holders. The reception desk itself is contemporary and well-integrated within the wall and timber framing, which has the effect of making the glass screen less pronounced. A bathroom is located off the waiting area. A television is mounted high on the wall in a timber case. Coffee tables hold magazines. The overall effect is similar to a contemporary public library, neatly and thoughtfully finished. It was noted that it is important not to have a vending machine in a waiting area, unless it is set to free vend. Visiting parents, particularly with other children, are likely to find vending machines stressful items which complicates the visit before it begins. The service manager mentioned that they had decided against a vending machine, with staff simply offering tea or coffee to visitors directly. A sensor hoop is located at the door which emits a reminder sound if keys or phones are being taken out the front door.

Bedrooms walls and ceilings are made of precast concrete panels. Young people are given the opportunity and supported in personalising their rooms, in accordance with their perceived risk of self-harm. Bed bases are also precast concrete (had to be craned in before the ceiling). Floors are finished with a grey carpet, with additional floor mats provided outside the ensuite door and to the centre of the floor. Windows do not have bars but internal venetian blinds within

157. Adel Beck SCH, Courtyard

158. Adel Beck SCH, Courtyard

160. Adel Beck SCH, Gym

159. Adel Beck SCH, School mechanic workshop

the glazing cavity. Young people cannot directly control the blinds; however, they are set to automatically close when someone enters the ensuite. A timber door to the ensuite is double framed, meaning that the door can be locked open or closed. It was noted that gaps around doors to frames must be no more than 3mm wide to prevent risk of ligature.

Ensuites are fitted with secure and anti-ligature fixtures. Showers and sinks are operated by push button, with a three-push limit, thereby limiting the possibility of flooding the room. Ensuites are fitted with motion detectors which automatically lower the bedroom blinds, turn on the bathroom light, as well as an indicator light in the ceiling of the corridor. This is to provide staff an indication of a young person's time spent in the ensuite without entering the room or direct observation. Suction-on bathroom shelving is available for those young people whom it is seen as appropriate.

Living spaces in houses are located centrally including a main living/dining space and adjacent kitchen, laundry, activity and quiet rooms, along with a bathroom and also a staff office with an observation window. Floor finishes include woven vinyl and carpet. Floor to ceiling windows on either side of the living room provide natural light from either of two courtyards. A double height raked ceiling connects to high level clerestory windows, providing natural light from above, with the large bulkhead area finished in a turquoise blue and used as a space for a large street art style mural. Each room leading off the main living space is provided with a Scrabble-themed label above the doorway. Furniture is movable with soft finishes, to mental-health facility specifications. Cushions and curtains are provided throughout. Couches are arranged around a low timber-look coffee table on top of a patterned rug, with colours complementing the paint theme. A large television is hung on the wall within a neat, protective timber case, including ventilation holes to the top. Below the television is a timber-look cupboard with locks to doors, for games and leisure items. Throughout the living space are many plastic pot plants. It was noted that real plants die quickly in the highly air-conditioned space. Plants are weighted with concrete concealed in the pots. The kitchen is provided with a full range of domestic appliances including sink, oven, stove, fridge, dishwasher, toaster, microwave, coffee machine etc. The door to the kitchen is a Dutch door, allowing items to be passed through the doorway while operating with different levels of access. All doors in the living space are double framed with piano hinges, to be able to be locked open and flush to wall. It was noted that it is ideal to have a small laundry space, i.e. so small as to be mostly a cupboard, so that one person can use the space without needing extra supervision. The games room is similarly furnished and finished to the main living space, with an aquarium, a pool table (movable to the side of the room), soft movable chairs, television and timber look cupboards for games.

The main spine of the building is occupied by the school. Young people mix with other house groups, with classroom groups organised by sociability rather than educational level. Classes are typically arranged as 3-4 students. Specialised

161. Adel Beck SCH, School classroom

162. Adel Beck SCH, School food tech classroom

164. Adel Beck SCH, School music room

163. Adel Beck SCH, Unit lounge room

classrooms include a construction workshop with industry-standard machinery (noted to be important when applying for work) as well as mock up spaces for practising painting; a fully equipped vehicle workshop with industry-standard car-lift, machinery and practice car and motorbike; a design and technology classroom with computers and large tables; a music room with instruments and recording equipment, which has been adapted from a dance/drama room; a food technology room with 4 kitchen places including induction stove tops (noted to reduce likelihood of burns), oven, fridge, sink, and lockable cupboards containing all kitchen implements, appliances (it was also noted that after practical classes such as cooking that a metal detector wand will be used to ensure young people are not concealing any items), a pantry room, along with a central table and chairs and a wall mounted television; a hair and beauty room with barber's chairs, mirrors, hair washing chair, drier, sink, manikin heads, shelves with towels and lockable cupboards for tools; an art class room with large benches wall mounted desks, pinboards, a computer and a printer. The school also has a quiet room for young people to use to calm down rather than returning to their room, and a courtyard with murals and views to the canopy of trees. Classrooms are accessed by a central corridor, divided into 4 separate sections. These sections have tall lightwells to clerestory windows above the service loft, bringing natural light into the centre of the building.

The facility also has an indoor gym / basketball court as a separate building flanking the arrival yard. The gym also has a trampoline and gym mats.

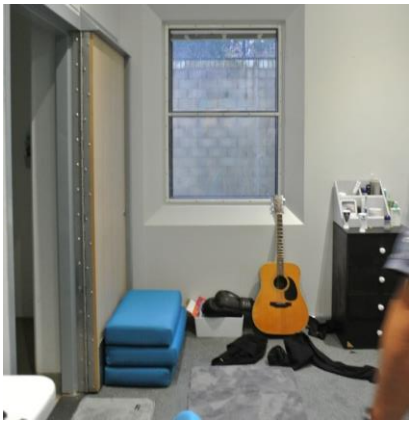
Young people eat meals in a communal dining room (with the exception of breakfast, in house), with groups taking it in turns to eat. A commercial kitchen prepares lunch and dinner and serves this directly to the young people through a cafeteria style window. Access to the kitchen is restricted to kitchen staff only - not even the service manager has a key. The manager commented on a dislike of heated trolleys for the delivery of food - saying that you want your food to look nice too. The dining space has timber tables and lightweight movable chairs, with bright green floor and wall finishes.

Locations for visits are ideally provided separately to the residential houses. This is to avoid undue discomfort or jealousy for those young people who do not receive visits regularly.

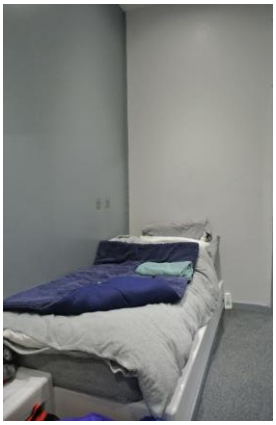
Adel Beck contains a series of 5 courtyards in between the spreading 'fingers' of the residential units and enclosed to the south by the school. Facing north the courtyard walls, made of concrete masonry, lower from 5.2 metres height to approximately 3 metres height to allow for views out of the courtyard into the canopy of the trees by the stream. This height difference is made-up by fencing in a black finish. It was noted that it was important that this transition of materials did not create a finger hold on the wall. Each courtyard is given a different 'theme' or activity; the first has a BMX track with concrete jumps (along with some outdoor gym equipment), a second courtyard has a tennis court along with

165. Adel Beck SCH, Unit living space clerestory

166. Adel Beck SCH, Unit kitchenette



167. Adel Beck SCH, Bedroom



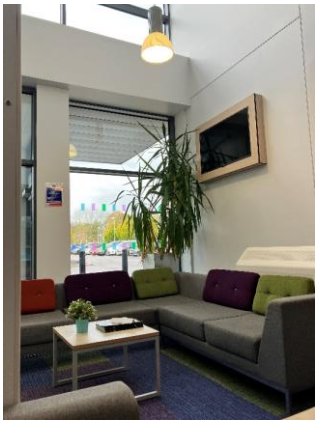
168. Adel Beck SCH, Bedroom fixtures

a seating space for group activities, a third a basketball court, a fourth a pizza oven, and the fifth is the school courtyard. Each courtyard is also landscaped with timber planting boxes containing hedges and low trees - though it was noted that young people don't show a great deal of interest in planting trees or flowers (rather, it was thought that farming with animals is more interesting to them). Ground surfaces are predominantly asphalt or artificial lawn. The courtyard walls are typically articulated by windows to residential houses or school rooms, with the fourth wall facing the exterior of the facility. Adel Beck also has a full-size soccer pitch, which is surrounded by a fence. No aggressive deterrent measures are used on this fence. The rear courtyard adjoining Ennis House with the pizza oven was noted by one staff member to be an 'awkward space' referring to the narrow dimensions and its limited ability to be used for activities (specifically sport).

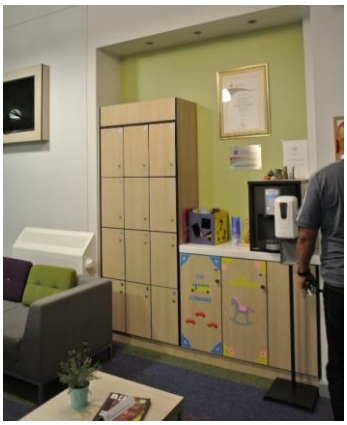
Security infrastructure includes 299 CCTV cameras throughout the building, monitored from the control room, including PTZ and fixed cameras. It was noted that it is important to have all spaces thoroughly covered by cameras in order to review any incidents for training.

Doors are heavy duty security doors with timber-look finish applied. Magnetic and mechanical locks are used. Fob keys and mortise locks typically. All staff carry locator-phones, with locator plates at all doorways (either exposed in non-secure areas or concealed in secure areas). Senior residential staff carry a body-worn camera, however there are very stringent guidelines on the operation of these cameras, with very specific instances when they are to be used, used otherwise being an offence. Two control-doors isolate the secure area from the administration / reception area, requiring the control room to grant access. It was noted that it would be desirable to have night-vision CCTV cameras in the corridors outside young people's bedrooms, as this would allow lights to be off for sleep, while still allowing surveillance of the areas. A VEDSA (Very Early Detection Smoke Alarms) fire system is fitted to the building. The external perimeter is surveilled by an intruder sensor system connected to the CCTV and control room system.

An interesting reflection from the service manager was that, when staff feel they can trust and rely upon the physical infrastructure including windows and doors, that allows them to relax somewhat and focus on their relationships with the young people - which is seen to be the primary role of staff members. This was described as staff, when seeing a young person 'kicking off', potentially moving to cover weak points in the building such as doors or windows. This change in standing would naturally be noticed by the young people, which is likely to detract from attempts at de-escalation and complicate opportunities to turn the situation into a positive learning experience. As such, it was noted that it is important for staff to have absolute faith in the security of the physical environment.



169. Adel Beck SCH, Foyer waiting area



170. Adel Beck SCH, Foyer lockers

171. Adel Beck SCH, Corridor conversation starter

172. Adel Beck SCH, Football pitch

It was noted to be very important to have experienced subject matter experts, preferably people who will be operating the facility, to be highly involved in both the design and construction stages, including all site visits, to review works as they progress. A design and construct contract was noted as a positive approach, providing some ability to vary the design as it is built to avoid the building in of potential issues. Two examples were the installed height of a CCTV camera, and a finger hold on top of cladding lining. These items were quickly and easily resolved before becoming a larger issue. Further, during the design process the construction team assembled a mock up of a young person's bedroom, to ensure that the dimensions and layout were appropriate.

Bicycle storage and end-of-ride facilities for staff are provided to encourage fitness and sustainable transport. An item that was raised as desirable but not realised in the design was two separate spaces for staff breaks - a space for rest and a space for eating. This was considered beneficial for helping staff to relax in a quiet space after particularly stressful events.

Scotland

Scotland does not have a dedicated youth or juvenile justice system. The vast majority of cases where young people have been involved in offending behaviour are handled by the Children's Hearing System - a welfare-based approach in which meeting the needs of the child is primary. While the vast majority of cases heard in the Hearing System are of a welfare nature, a small number are referred for offences or violence, including assault and robbery. Children who are accused of the most serious offences (rape, murder) have their cases heard in the adult criminal court. Referrals are typically from police or schools.

Something to note of the Scottish system is the sincere and overarching principle of encouraging the participation of a young person in any decisions affecting their life, with substantial work done specifically to improve the ability of young people to participate and contribute.

Currently young people who commit the most serious crimes (rape, murder) are typically housed in Youth Offender Institutions (YOI), while less severe offences are typically diverted from custodial placement). The Children's Care and Justice Bill (currently in parliament) will ensure that all young people under the age of 18, if requiring secure housing, will be placed in a secure children's home.

Diversion programs and a significant increase in community-based supervision orders for justice-involved young people was cited as a key and significant driver in the small number of young people placed in the facility for reasons related to offending.

I visited two highly regarded secure homes while in Scotland; the Kibble Safe Centre and Rossie.

173. Adel Beck SCH, Context, heritage building

174. Adel Beck SCH, Exterior

175. Kibble Safe Centre, Paisley Scotland, 2022

176. Kibble Safe Centre, Entry

Kibble Safe Centre

The Kibble Safe Centre provides 18 beds across 3 houses in a secure setting for both males and females.

The Safe Centre is located on the Kibble Campus, which has a large range of non-secure residential facilities, schools, and services for young people in the welfare system. The campus itself is located within a suburban residential neighbourhood approximately 1.6km from the centre of Paisley, and approximately 11km from the centre of Glasgow. The area is near a motorway and Glasgow Airport. The campus is also near large parks and sport fields. The campus has a perimeter fence of a kind that might be used for school grounds. There is only one entrance to the campus, but there is no gate. A main reception area is located adjacent to the entrance with lawns and gardens. The Safe Centre is located toward the rear of the campus, visually obscured behind the other residential and school buildings nearer the front entrance.

The building is a large monolithic structure made of brick at ground level, with a second brick colour providing a horizontal strip aligned with windows. Above the ground level is a large loft volume clad with cream-coloured standing-seam sheet metal, containing mechanical and ventilation equipment.

The Safe Centre is arranged on a single level around three courtyards, one each belonging to each residential unit. The three courtyards are geometrically arranged to imply a four-square, with two intersecting wings crossing through the centre, and the Centre entry located as an open-sided, fourth courtyard. To the north of the Safe Centre building is a fenced full-sized football pitch and outdoor area, facing onto a wooded area behind the campus, screening a motorway beyond. The footprint of the facility has been developed to fit between and adjacent to existing residential cottages and school buildings on the campus. Corridors connect the Safe Centre to the adjacent gymnasium and indoor pool, which is utilised by both the campus school and the Safe Centre. An internal school area is included in the main building, with its own smaller courtyard. Internally the layout is complex and difficult to navigate without familiarity. Long corridors are the predominant mode of internal circulation. A central commercial kitchen cooks meals for the facility, which are delivered to each house's dining room in heat-retaining boxes / trolleys. Young people who are interested in learning about professional cooking can assist in the commercial kitchen to prepare meals, also gaining education credits.

It was noted during the visit that the entry to the Safe Centre is undergoing significant changes to become less invasive/confronting and more welcoming. Currently entry is through a blue pedestrian door into a reception/waiting room with couches, potted plants, lockers, and a protected reception desk behind an operable window to the Operations Centre. Windows are decorated with privacy films showing views of beaches and landscapes. Ceiling mounted lighting is covered with film depicting blue skies and clouds. The floor is a timber-look vinyl. A new entry arrangement is being

177. Kibble Safe Centre, Visiting room.

178. Kibble Safe Centre, Unit loungeroom

180. Kibble Safe Centre, Unit loungeroom

179. Kibble Safe Centre, Unit dining room

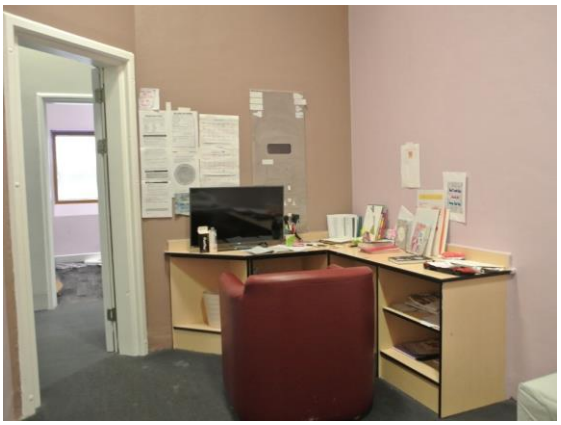
installed with a new dedicated staff entry leading directly into a staff locker room. A new non-invasive body scanner has been installed in an anteroom to the main reception space. This is seen to be able to increase the level of safety inside the facility, while minimising the need for searches. This was noted to have been in response to direct feedback from the young people. Staff too will pass through the body-scanner once fully commissioned.

Bedrooms are highly secure and institutional, with effort however to reduce the severity of the room. Floor finishes are carpet. Each room has an ensuite with anti-ligature fixtures. Furniture is fixed and sealed to walls with timber-look finishes. Windows do not have bars but do have double glazing with internal venetian blinds, operated by an anti-ligature knob. Windows cannot open or provide ventilation. Bedroom doors do not have observation windows, rather a window is incorporated into a communications panel in the wall, with a locked cover on the outside preventing unnecessary views. Kibble goes to lengths to provide children with the ability to personalise their room. Every young person is asked to choose how their bedroom is painted and decorated as they move in. This can involve colour schemes, decorations, perhaps black board paint to write on with chalk. The degree to which children are able to keep items in their rooms is determined via an individual risk assessment. This is not used as part of an incentive scheme but is rather considered as providing the least restrictive environment possible without risking the safety of the young person.

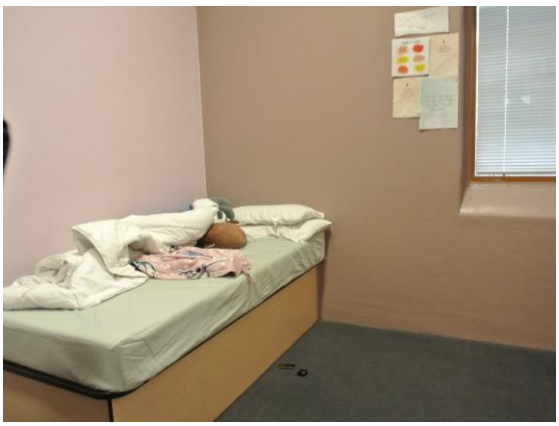
Bathrooms throughout are institutional, using anti-ligature and plastic fixtures. Each bedroom has its own ensuite bathroom.

Effort has been made to make living spaces more home like, while working with a base building that is institutional in nature. Patterned wallpaper lines certain walls. The floor carpet is of a softer, more domestic nature in living spaces than in corridors. Couches, cushions and pillows are domestic. Shelves are present on the walls with picture frames, flowerpots, personal items. Timber bookshelves are provided with books and games freely available. Picture frames with images of leaves in soft blue colours are hung on the walls. Curtains are hung to the side of windows with velcro. Windows do not have bars but do have internal blinds operated by turn knob. Windows cannot open for ventilation. A large TV is hung on the wall above a timber chest of drawers and a pool table is located at the rear of the room. An outdoor courtyard is located directly outside the living space, with the door able to be left open for most of the time when young people are in the space as a group. Skylights above provide additional diffuse natural light.

In the dining room furniture is heavy but movable and made of timber. A fridge and a water cooler are located in the corner. A sideboard with timber top, open shelves and lockable doors and cupboards holds a bowl of fresh fruit, breakfast cereals, tea and coffee and condiments. The walls have pin boards and blackboards with information, along with decorations. Meals are prepared in a central kitchen and delivered to the dining rooms. Staff sit and eat with young



181. Kibble Safe Centre, Bedroom



182. Kibble Safe Centre, Bedroom

183. Kibble Safe Centre, School timber workshop

184. Kibble Safe Centre, Indoor pool

people as a key place for having conversations and developing relationships. A small kitchenette is located in an alcove behind a sliding door with a sink, dishwasher and fridge, microwave, kettle and toaster, sandwich press and electric stove. Cupboard doors have locks installed. At the time of visiting the living spaces and corridors were covered with spiders, ghosts and other decorations in the lead up to Halloween.

At the entry to each living space is a blackboard with the day's staff names and activities and times listed, to help children know what to expect as they enter the living spaces. Each house also has its own laundry, for young people to practise caring for their own clothes with the assistance of staff.

Each house has two small activity / tv rooms, with TV's located within protective boxes behind screens. Walls are decorated with street art style graffiti and bean bags are provided on the carpeted floor. An internal school services the Safe Centre, with classrooms designed to have a maximum class size of 4 students at a time. Classrooms include a tech/woodworking room, an art/hairdressing/beauty room, music room, home economics room, as well as classrooms for English, maths and other theory subjects. There is also a chill out room, with soft furnishings. The school also has direct access to its own courtyard, with small vegetable gardens.

A small fitness room is available with gym equipment including treadmills, weights, boxing equipment and bicycles. A 25-metre indoor heated swimming pool is shared with the open-campus school, along with boogie boards and equipment for other aquatic games. A full-size indoor gymnasium is also shared with the open campus school, equipped for basketball, netball, badminton and indoor soccer. To ensure the security of these shared spaces a system of one-way door locks, automatic roller shutters and security sweeps are used, making sure that the safety of the young people in the Safe Centre is maintained.

A full-size outdoor soccer pitch is located to the rear of the Safe Centre with a 5 metre high (approx.) anti-climb fence to the perimeter, painted a dark forest green, with no additional security features to the perimeter. Screens for privacy have been added to the low level of these fences, with images of cheering crowds and football club stylised Kibble logos. Vegetable garden plots are also provided. Beyond the fence are views of the canopy of trees turning autumn colours at the time of visiting. A small outdoor covered space with table and chairs is provided as a response to providing outdoor visiting spaces during the Covid pandemic.

Each unit has its own individual courtyard. These are finished with brick walls matching the exterior of the building, and the loft space, gable roofed, eaves overhang the walls which darkens the space somewhat and gives a greater feeling of enclosure. Ground treatment is synthetic turf. Typical domestic outdoor furniture is provided, it was noted that there are often inflatable pools during the summer months. Street

185. Kibble Safe Centre, Gym

186. Kibble Safe Centre, Rear yard, planter beds

187. Kibble Safe Centre, Rear yard, football pitch

188. Kibble Safe Centre, Campus context

art murals painted on boards are fixed to the walls. Some windows look out onto the courtyard, but with blinds drawn and windows fixed there is not a strong sense of connection to the inside through these windows.

Rossie School

Rossie Farm provides 18 secure places for young people who are at risk of harming themselves or others, from either welfare or criminal justice referrals. It comprises 3 secure houses, each with 6 bedrooms, available for males and females.

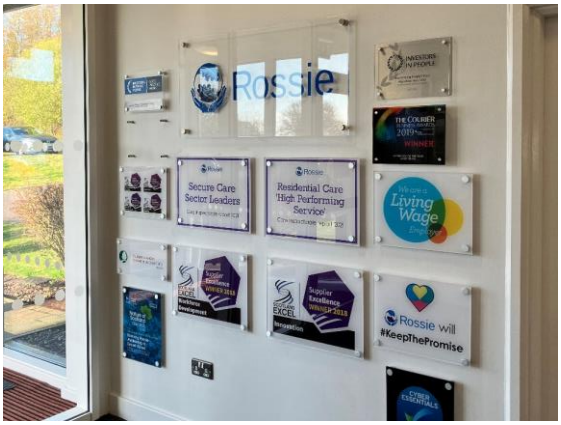
The majority of young people staying at Rossie are placed through welfare referrals. A small number of young people are sentenced for offences that relate to their likelihood of posing a threat to either themselves or others. It is important to reflect that regardless of the process that has led to placement, all young people are treated the same when living at Rossie. It was noted that, at the time of visit, there was one person placed from a criminal justice referral, with 17 being placed through referrals from Children's Hearings.

The Rossie property has been used for residential care for children since 1857, with continual changes over that history. Rossie is located on a rural property of 157 acres on top of a hill, surrounded by farms. It is approximately 8 km from Montrose, the nearest town and located between Aberdeen (72 km, 1 hour drive to the north) and Dundee (45km, 45-minute drive to the southwest). The Secure / Close Care facility is central on the property, along with school and resource buildings and Open Care houses. The property also comprises a series of historical buildings, wooded areas, meadows, gardens and horticultural areas which are used for activities by young people living at Rossie. There is also a village in which there are houses available for rent to the general public. Being at the top of the hill affords views over the rolling green fields and wooded areas, down to the beaches and headlands overlooking the North Sea. It is a beautiful and peaceful place. There is no perimeter fence, with all secure outside spaces contained within courtyards.

The current facility was built for purpose in 2009. The Secure / Close Care building is a single storey concrete-masonry rendered building in a 'C' arrangement, enclosing a large courtyard through connecting with an existing assembly of buildings on the site. These existing buildings have previously been used for secure accommodation but have been repurposed as a Through Care Resource Hub as part of the establishment of the contemporary residential building. A school building is also included within the arrangement of existing buildings. The building features tall walls painted bright white with feature colours around doors and windows relating to the different houses. Large eaves overhang the walls with rounded anti-climb soffits and concealed gutters. External walls are articulated by regular engaged columns at 45-degree angles to the walls. Both Secure and Close Care houses are built to the same architectural specification, with differences in furniture and movable fixtures. This allows

189. Rossie, Montrose Scotland, 2022

190. Rossie, Foyer and reception



191. Rossie, Foyer award wall

192. Rossie, Welcome space

flexibility to adapt for changing cohorts and needs over time, as well as flexibility to individual needs in the short term. Windows are secure fixtures with no bars but with internal venetian blinds, operated remotely by staff. Windows are not operable for natural ventilation. Doors are painted timber and within houses typically have a secondary door frame to be locked open. All non-functional horizontal surfaces are provided with an angled treatment to prevent concealment, including door frames and window frames. Door handles throughout the building are anti-ligature.

Entry into each house is via the central courtyard. This encourages a conceptual separation between houses, with movement between each house involving going outside through the central courtyard. This has been noted at other facilities to reflect more normal domestic patterns. The entry corridor leads toward the main living space, with corridors to bedrooms leading off either side. It was noted that it is beneficial to be able to access bedrooms without going through the main living space, when tending to children with disruptive or dangerous behaviour. In the Secure Care houses, bedrooms are arranged in 3 per corridor, either side of the entry. It was noted that Close Care houses are arranged in 4 and 2, but no strong preference was expressed by staff. It was noted however that there is one Close Care house that has only 4 beds, and that there were less incidents and issues in that house. Windows for the bedrooms look into the central courtyard, facing south, east and west to receive direct sunlight into bedrooms. Staff noted that it would be ideal to have additional secure courtyards, ideally one for each house, located on the opposite side of the building (i.e. the outside). This would be beneficial in providing flexibility for activities and accommodating young people who may not be getting along. Staff also noted that it would be ideal to have ‘break out spaces’ for staff to operate more flexibly with young people in groups or as individuals.

Entry to the Rossie Farm is through a wooded driveway, accessed from lanes between farm fields. A main reception is located adjacent to a large car park. A vehicle port is provided, but it was noted that young people are welcomed through the front door unless it is absolutely necessary. The reception foyer / waiting room is a long space leading to a desk behind glass. There are timber finish lockers and television, dark coloured carpet on the floor. The walls are covered in certificates and awards reflecting the work Rossie does to be a ‘centre of excellence that changes lives’. The doors into the reception are typical glass and aluminium commercial doors, allowing daylight into the space. The foyer is neatly painted in a bright white. Rossie has installed an airport body-scanner in response to the views of young people finding searches deeply confronting. This was viewed in the context of many young people having suffered abuse, with a search being potentially retraumatising. The airport scanner is located in a small anteroom to the main reception room, and leads to the ‘Welcome Space’.

The Welcome Space is an area where young people and their carers meet with their specific Rossie care team for the first time. It is a place provided to feel welcoming, comfortable

193. Rossie, Secure Care living room

194. Rossie, Close Care living room

195. Rossie, Close Care dining room

196. Rossie, Close Care kitchen

and calm. The space is well lit with windows on two sides. The windows are secure as elsewhere in the building and have curtains. Seats are low informal upholstered chairs with timber armrests and are located around a low timber coffee table. Pillows and knitted throw-rugs are provided over the chairs. There are also small timber side tables, a timber sideboard with coffee and tea making facilities including a small fridge, a shag pile rug beneath the coffee table, pot plants, lamps and a television mounted on the wall. Colours are light and muted, mixed in with tones of blue and green. A large number of textures are provided in the room, without it feeling cluttered. A patterned green wallpaper is provided to one wall. An abstract painting is mounted on the wall in colours that relate to the room's overall colour scheme.

Bedrooms have a highly secure, institutional base-build and including an ensuite. This provides the ability to have a highly secure setting if required by an individual young person's needs at a given time. From this base, and based upon a rolling assessment of an individual young person's risks and needs relating to self-harm, bedrooms are provided with more homelike and personalised furniture and fixtures to soften the hardness of the underlying building. Floors have a dark carpet finish of a specific specification which is said to be fairly indestructible. An amount of money is provided to each young person to personalise their room to their own taste, without compromising the settings of their individual risk assessment (which is updated every 6 weeks at a minimum). Windows do not have bars, but internal venetian blinds operated remotely by the staff control panel. Windows are not able to provide natural ventilation.

Bathroom fixtures vary between Secure and Close Care houses. Secure Care houses have anti-ligature fixtures in bathrooms. Close Care bathrooms are provided with shower curtains and more normal fixtures. Again, it might be noted that Secure and Close Care houses are built typically around the same design specification to facilitate flexibility over time for different cohorts.

Living spaces have windows facing the exterior of the building, i.e., away from the central courtyard. The main living space has heavy but movable furniture made of timber and with soft finishes. A fluffy shag pile rug lies underneath a timber coffee table. Patterned wallpaper is applied to one wall, matching the paint colouring of adjacent walls. It was noted that young people were actively involved in choosing the interior design of the living spaces, overlaid with a need to develop a calm and trauma-informed design. A staff office with windows is located in the corner of the main living space. A television and gaming consoles were held within a timber cupboard with a protective screen at the front. Photographs of landscapes were hung on the walls. At the time of visiting the room was decorated with Halloween themed decorations. Living spaces are carpeted throughout.

A dining room doubles as a games room, with a board over the top of a pool table used for meals. Two heavy timber bench chairs with cushioning to either side of the table, with a tablecloth covering over the top. Two additional chairs are

197. Rossie, Central courtyard

198. Rossie, Central courtyard

199. Rossie, Through-care Hub, Dance studio

200. Rossie, Through-care Hub, Cinema

provided for sitting at either end of the table. The table is fastened to the floor. Staff and young people eat together, with meals prepared in a commercial kitchen on site and delivered by heated trolleys. A patterned wallpaper is applied to one wall. Curtains are hung either side of the windows. A clothes horse is provided in the corner. In the Close Care dining room, there is a bowl of fresh fruit on the table freely available to young people.

Each house has a kitchen including an oven, stove, toaster, kettle, dishwasher, washing machine and fridge. A bowl of fresh fruit, along with condiments and tea and coffee making items are on the bench. Young people in Close Care can access the kitchen at their leisure, while as in Secure Care the door to the kitchen is typically locked and involves supervision. It is worth noting that restrictions of access are not conceptualised as punishment, but rather directly relate to the risk posed to a young person or others, with a commitment towards providing the least restrictive environment possible. Doors throughout the living spaces are double framed, allowing them to be locked open. All door handles are anti-ligature, hinges are piano hinges and horizontal surfaces, including door frames, are given sloping treatments.

A school building is provided to the south of the central courtyard. The school building includes small, planted courtyards which introduce light and greenery into internal circulation spaces effectively. Generous circulation spaces that include furniture, along with gabled timber-lined ceilings (and clerestory windows in some spaces) and matching timber door framing, are located between these small courtyards. This provides a very welcoming and calm environment adjacent to the classroom spaces. Classrooms are designed for typically four students at a time, with specialist classrooms including a home economics classroom and timber workshop and art room. It was noted by staff that practical classes like timber work and art are ‘risk reducing’ by virtue of providing young people with a tangible outcome. It was also noted that it was very rare for an incident to occur in these practical classes.

Adjacent to the school are an indoor swimming pool and gym, as well as outdoor exercise equipment. Learning to swim in Rossie’s pool was singled out as an amazing achievement for young people who have never learned previously.

A Throughcare Resource Hub is provided within a building that was historically used for residential areas. The Hub is continually being improved and provides a range of different resource spaces to assist young people in developing skills that will help them after their time at Rossie, including a music room, a hair and beauty room, cinema/lounge, a computer lab, dance studio, as well as an apartment living space where domestic living skills can be learned and practised, with a kitchen, dining room, books and games on a shelf. This space was noted to be useful in meeting young people’s cultural and family needs, with families able to visit and cook a meal together with a young person. A secure Forest School is in the process of being developed in an adjacent courtyard.

201. Rossie, Through-care Hub, Visit room kitchenette

202. Rossie, School building

203. Rossie, School building, lightwell

204. Rossie, School building, corridor gathering space

It was noted that a number of the resources were developed out of the initiative of young people or staff.

The central secure courtyard has gently sloping lawns falling toward the south where there is a gym building and the school. Included in the central courtyard is a playing pitch, with basketball hoops for half court against the building wall. A rock-climbing wall is located on another wall. Carved log furniture is located in spots that get good sunshine. Half-wine-barrels are planted with bright flowers along the paths. Rossie has extensive outdoor spaces that are highly utilised for activities with young people, with examples including a football pitch, sensory garden, walking and bicycle trails, horticulture greenhouses, an apiary, conservation work and a forest school. The grounds have many different types of landscapes, including native woods, plantation forests, meadows, and ponds. The property is located on top of a hill which offers views over rolling green fields and wooded areas, down to the beaches and headlands overlooking the North Sea. It is a beautiful and peaceful place. The grounds of the property are considered an opportunity to realise staff and young people's initiatives for activities in the benefit of young people's wellbeing and learning. A dedicated on-site maintenance team keeps the grounds and buildings in good order, neat and clean throughout.

A Forest School is located within the wooded area of the property, which is a place where young people learn and practise traditional craft skills including timber gathering, planing and lathing, building, pottery, weaving, willow and hazel horticulture, gathering and crafts, herbal and traditional plant knowledge and foraging. The young people have built a cob pizza oven and a shelter (with a green roof) including a pizza making bench, all from scratch using traditional techniques. It was noted that making and cooking pizzas at the Forest School was easily one of the favourite activities for many young people at Rossie. The Forest School is accessed via a wooded path, entering through a series of willow-woven archways. It was noted that one young person facing serious emotional difficulties had commented that whenever they walked through these willow archways to the Forest School that all their troubles lifted and went away.

The Forest School was the initiative of a staff member, making use of their particular skills and interests. It is, however, offered as a child-led space, in which young people decide and direct what activities they would like to do or learn about. This is reflected in a constantly changing and evolving space, with structures built, taken down, recycled, changed and developed over time according to the ideas of young people. Due to the success of the Forest School in the lower grounds, Rossie is developing a Secure Forest School to provide the same or similar activities within an existing disused courtyard space attached to the Through Care Hub building. Young people in the current Forest School are helping staff prepare the construction of a yurt as the first installation for the courtyard. The Forest School is seen as a place where young people can learn to take risks in a safe way through learning proper practices with tools.

205. Rossie, School workshop

206. Rossie, View over distant landscape

207. Rossie, Horticulture igloos, path to Forest School

208. Rossie, Football pitch

Rossie has also been recognised for their work to ensure their grounds provide habitat for native animals and species, which also offers an activity for young people to engage and learn. There is an outdoor exercise area with gym equipment located next to the school and indoor gymnasium.

Security infrastructure includes Mortise locks / fobs across different areas. Pin codes to some rooms. Locator plates at each door, connect to staff radio, maintain central record. CCTV throughout, used largely for training and review. Buildings are used to enclose a central courtyard, as opposed to fences. No fences, no aggressive deterrent fixtures, no uniforms. Young people in Close Care housing are provided with fob keys to their own bedrooms, while in Secure Care they are not. Young people in Open Housing (Forth House) are provided with keys for the front door as well as their rooms.

Design objectives were noted to include ‘To be a centre of excellence that changes lives’, that the physical environment must firstly be safe, and also as every day and natural as possible. Continuous learning, development and improvement is a core value at Rossie, which notably extends to the physical environment.

209. Rossie, Forest School, pizza kitchen

210. Rossie, Forest School, timber work

211. Rossie, Forest School

Further visits and conversations during the Fellowship

I was fortunate during my travels to have conversations with a number of experienced and dedicated people in professional, academic and advocacy roles. These people provided further valuable context, insight and critique into the systems and facilities that I was visiting and studying.

Columbia Justice Lab

The Columbia Justice Lab is a centre of research at Columbia University in New York focused on action research in relation to justice. It studies the diverse range of policies, practices and contexts across American justice systems and carries out research projects that have direct policy implications. Acknowledging the often-fraught underlying foundations of justice systems in America, they promote 'square-one thinking' – to ask foundational questions and use imagination to challenge the status quo and come up with new ideas about what justice should look like.

Dr Oostermeijer and I were fortunate to visit the Columbia Justice Lab during our stay in New York, speaking with a number of experienced academics about the context and current state of justice in American jurisdictions, and their current projects.

The key issue for the lab is decarceration – what are the community-based solutions for different jurisdictions and justice-involved people. It was stated very clearly that it is the successful diversion programs that are the foundation for the Close to Home model. If there are too many young people being placed into custody, this creates difficult conditions within the facilities for success and stability. Diversity in these diversion programs was also noted as a critical aspect – having programs that are suitable for people with different needs and circumstances.

Alex Schneider - Senior Manager of Youth Justice Initiatives – spoke about a number of jurisdictions across America working to reduce the number of young people in custody and to close existing custodial institutions. Alex spoke about the Youth Correctional Leaders for Justice (YCLJ) initiative, which brings together people and jurisdictions who have experience in running correctional facilities across America, who understand first-hand the failings of current systems, and who understand that things must foundationally change. There is consensus across this diverse group that "as current and former leaders of youth justice agencies around the country, we believe that the time has come to close down youth prisons, once and for all." The group is clear that there are some instances in which young people need to be placed in out-of-home care to ensure public safety, but that this should be only "for the minimum time necessary to address this risk [and] in a warm, nurturing environment close to home, with well-trained staff, that treats all children the way we would want our own children to be treated" (Youth Correctional Leaders for Justice, 2020). The members of this group are people who are intimately familiar with the workings and operation of youth justice systems in jurisdictions across 25 US states (across political divides) and represents a highly informed consensus on the need to move beyond incarcerating children. It is an indication of the beginning of a paradigm shift towards a more just and effective approach to justice for young people. The core values that these experts agree will make for positive change in youth justice systems are: Opportunity; Understanding; Equity; Youth-, Family, and Community-driven; Safety, and; Accountability.

Vincent Lau - Senior Manager of Youth Justice Initiatives – has worked both within and as an academic outside the New York juvenile justice systems. He spoke about the cultural and societal structures which 'capture' young people from communities who are overrepresented in justice systems. He also spoke about positive examples of work to undo this, an excellent example being Project Nia, run by Mariame Kaba. He noted, directly in relation to the design of facilities, that no physical place is perfect within these systems – and must be considered alongside a broad contextual understanding.

A key observation made by Vincent was that, almost universally, the onus and burden is on the 'new program' to prove itself valuable or effective within a system and culture. This is ironic, of course, in contrast to those existing systems which we fall back on, knowing very clearly from experience that they don't work at all.

We also discussed what the idea of 'local' might mean in terms of facility design. Local means that it is *owned* by the community. That there is an intimate knowing, a mutual responsibility, an implicit care – in short, a sentiment that 'these are our kids' and they need looking after as part of the future of our communities and societies. A suggested example might be the Maranguka Justice Reinvestment Project in Bourke, NSW.

Vincent cautioned against considering the design of the facility as the priority. The first action should be to attend to the needs of people, which going unmet contribute to involvement in the justice system. The facility conversation needs to come later, for the one or two people who are left. Noting that no facility is perfect, Vincent suggested the ideal description for a custodial setting would be not locked, with young people being fed, warm, dry, and safe, with some autonomy, with patient staff. He also said that you have to plan for change, for downsizing, to do better all the time. Further, he emphasised that to be successful you have to understand the history, the context, the stories, and the effect of these.

A member of staff, who's role involves keeping across happenings in youth justice around the world, commented that Australia dominates international news on 'Youth Prisons' – and not in a good way. This ought to be a cause for reflection and action.

Keppie Design – Trends in the design of secure accommodation for children

Peter Moran, Director at Keppie Design in Glasgow, is highly experienced in the design of secure accommodation for children. He led the design of Adel Beck SCH and Rossie School (see above), as well as the Good Shepherd Centre in Bishopton. He is also currently involved in the early planning of forthcoming Secure Children's Homes in England. In this capacity, he is intimately acquainted with the current trends and objectives in the design of secure accommodation for children, both in the development and critique of designs.

Some of the key trends identified by Peter are:

- While Secure Children's Homes are staying a similar size in respect to the number of places, the physical size of facilities is increasing. This in turn increases the cost for what are astonishingly expensive buildings.
- Given this huge capital cost, there is a lot of pressure for the design to be future-proof.
- Facilities should always be a single storey to avoid issues with security and accessibility.
- Key concerns in the design included:
    - The size and manageability of courtyard spaces, finding the right dimensions that are not so small as to cause ferment, but not so large as to become difficult to manage by staff.
    - User flexibility of residential unit spaces, allowing for education and programs to continue normally even if there are one or two particularly disruptive young people in the group (high dependency). An example of one approach to this, as in Barton Moss or Bjørgvin Youth Unit in Bergen (refer Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2023), is to have 2 beds off a smaller living space, and 4 beds off a larger living space.

Peter also provided some further insights into the design thinking that led to the realisation of Adel Beck.

- The footprint of Adel Beck is designed so the residential units spread out like fingers from a hand.
- There was a conscious decision to lay out the plan so that young people would have to leave the building in order to 'go to school'. This was seen as reflecting a more normal separation of spaces in a regular day.
- Adel Beck is designed with 3 8-bed units; however, it was noted that if they were starting again they would opt for 6-bed units.
- The facility has no perimeter security fence, instead having a 'dog-walker' fence around the outside.
- Important metrics include 3.4m internal ceilings, 5.2m external walls, 1.5m eave overhangs at 4.2m height.
    - This was moderated at Adel Beck, with fences, to provide better views out of the courtyard.
- Courtyards are provided with different 'themes' or set out for different activities.

It was noted that there is a distinction between design processes being led by an operations perspective, versus an ideological or practice perspective. That is, is the design being guided by a stronger desire for day-to-day smooth functioning, or, is it being guided by an intended practice model, treatment approach, or end objective. Peter suggested that some designs can be overly influenced by an operations perspective, at the expense of higher objectives for the design. This was an illuminating insight, and provides caution to maintain a constructive tension between these requirements.

Scottish Children's Reporter Administration

Scotland does not have a dedicated youth or juvenile justice system. The vast majority of cases where young people have been involved in offending behaviour are handled by the Children's Hearing System - a welfare based approach in which meeting the needs of the child is primary. While the vast majority of cases heard in the Hearing System are of a welfare nature, a small number are referred for offences or violence, including assault and robbery. Children who are accused of the most serious offences (rape, murder) have their cases heard in the adult criminal court. Referrals are typically from police or schools.

The Children's Hearing system does not involve police, prosecutors, or the judiciary. Instead, a tribunal of local volunteers, representing the peers, neighbours, and community of the young person, are facilitated to determine legally binding orders which can include the provision of services, supervision, housing, secure placement, or other welfare responses.

The participation of the young person in any decisions affecting their life is seen to be the central principal of the Hearing approach, with substantial work done specifically to improve the ability of young people to participate and contribute.

The Scottish Children's Reporter Administration is tasked with receiving referrals, drafting statements of grounds, administering, and conducting hearings in the Children's Hearings system. As part of this role the SCRA is responsible for designing and providing the spaces in which Children's Hearings are heard.

Over the last 6 years the SCRA has rolled out a series of new spaces to hold Hearings. I was very fortunate to have a conversation with Jennifer Orren – SCRA's Participation Officer, Marny Jackson – Property Officer, and a Modern Apprentice with lived experience of the Hearing's System who was involved in the development and implementation of the new designs. We spoke about the new designs, their effect on the character of Hearings, feedback from different groups of users, and the importance and practice of involving young people in all decisions – from their own Hearing's all the way up to the organisation of the system as a whole.

Interior designers were employed to co-design and develop three model spaces with young people who have lived experience of the system. These 3 models were offered to local Children's Hearing Panels around the country, to provide a finished space for the Hearings to be held in. Young people with lived experience were central to each stage of the design research, development, and roll out. Young people were involved as 'Modern Apprentices', a role which provides them with work-based educational experience and a certificate, to both inform the design but also to recognise their work and experience when looking for employment.

Key aspects that differentiate the 'old' from the 'new' rooms are:

- The removal of a 'big table' and office-like furniture.
- Providing comfortable seats: some with arms, some hard, soft, low, high; different types to suit all different types of people.
- Providing plants in the space.
- Providing fresh air, a window that can open.
- Providing a more colourful space, that does not look like an office.
- The designs for the rooms were tasked to be inclusive, supportive, welcoming and calm.

There was initial push back from some people volunteering as Panel members. There was a concern that by removing the 'big table' and replacing it with an informal environment, that the formality and legal significance of the Hearing might be lost or diminished. Over time, and with experience and familiarity, these concerns have been dispelled as the spaces have proved to be more relaxing and encouraging for young people, assisting them to participate actively in their own hearings.

Previously, the 'big table' was seen by young people as a barrier; as a line across the room, with Panel Members inevitably sitting across the table from the child and their family, leading to an 'us and them' mentality. 'It didn't feel like a conversation'. This was recognised as making children anxious and less able to actively participate in their hearing. Side tables are provided for Panel Members who want a place to put their notes.

Young people with lived experience were actively involved in the research and design of the new Hearings spaces, from the beginning, through the roll out of the designs and during subsequent hearings in assessing the impact of the changes. Key notes were that the new rooms were 'calm'.

Organisations such as Our Hearings, Our Voice (OHOV) and the SCRA are specifically tasked in increasing and improving the ability of children to participate in their own hearings and decisions. The Children and Young People's Centre for Justice (CYCJ) at Strathclyde University, is also deeply involved in co-design approaches with young people who have lived experience of the justice system.

'If adults don't like it, that's ok. It's for the children.'

Maintenance and upkeep of the Hearing spaces is an ongoing issue, requiring active buy in from the local Hearing organisations. It is important to make sure the spaces retain a feeling of being well looked after; to reset the furniture, ensure the space is clean, fix any chips in the paint, water the plants. These were very simple changes to implement, but they had a huge impact.

Interior designers worked with young people with lived experience, using pictorial aids and mood boards to help with the conversation. After initial conversation, the designers presented options for review by the young people. After roll out, young people were invited to assess the space in person and offer feedback. One young person had their initial experience of Hearings prior to the changes in the design. The had a second experience of a Hearing after the changes had been made, while sitting in to support their sibling during a Hearing. The young person noted how much less anxious the atmosphere was without the barrier of the 'big table'.

RESCALED Europe

RESCALED is an organisation developing, facilitating, and advocating for the replacement of prisons with small-scale, community-integrated detention houses across seven countries in Europe.

Helene de Vos, the Executive Director of RESCALED met with me to discuss their successes, challenges, and lessons from other precedents from around the world.

Helene described the current uptake of the detention houses model in Belgium, saying there are 15 houses planned to be opened in the near future. Similarly to the experience of New York, the implementation of the model is being hurried for what appears to be political reasons, and there is a fear that this will have a cost upon the quality of the realised houses, their operation and ultimately their success. This is also tied to a concern that, in the haste of development, potentially through a lack of understanding at the political level or through conceptual inertia, that the facilities being realised do not effectively match the principles of the model. That is, while the new facilities are much smaller than the existing prisons, they are not so small as to realise all the positive effects that are hoped to be achieved through a small-scale model.

Listening to RESCALED's experience, it seems important to be able to communicate to decision makers that the size of an effective small-scale facility is not something that can be compromised without diminishing the positive effect of the model. In this respect, Helene was very interested to learn from the visits on my Fellowship about the importance of size, and the absolute number – i.e., what is small?

On a similar topic, Helene relayed reflections offered by teaching staff at the Bjørgvin Youth Facility, visited during a previous study (Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2023). The Bjørgvin facility has places for 4 young people. It was the reflection of teachers that this seems stifling for the young people staying there, with so much of their social interaction being with staff members instead of children a similar age. It was suggested that this might have an impact on their development into adults, and that 4 places might be too small for a facility. This corresponds to an experience in Missouri, that you need about 8 young people participating to have a truly productive group work session.

Key aspects and themes

The following pages outline some important, high-level lessons that emerged repeatedly across the sites visited during the Fellowship. Some are direct lessons for the design of environments, some are necessary notes in framing our understanding of the designs.

Preventative and diversion approaches are a prerequisite to safe and stable facilities.

It was a strongly reiterated theme across New York, Washington DC, and Missouri that reducing the number of young people in facilities was the top priority.

In New York it was noted that if a number of new young people are placed in the facility in quick succession it can destabilise the group culture and disrupt education and treatment. As such it was noted as an absolute priority to minimise the number of young people being placed through effective and diverse diversion programs. Effective systems must be implemented to ensure young people who are suitable for community based programs are not be placed in a custodial setting (refer Weissman et al., 2019).

Further, this aligns with the interests of the young person, their communities, and the general public, in minimising the disruption and harm to development that can occur through time spent in a facility (refer also to report preface).

Facility staff

Without a doubt and without exception, the most important aspect of a successful facility noted during each visit was the staff. Some key aspects included finding the right people for the job, ensuring that they are adequately trained, resourced, and supported, and that they shared the vision of what the facility was about. This was repeated in different ways by administrators, managers, the staff themselves about their co-workers, and the young people. Good staff are absolutely the most consistently stated priority.

To some this may seem a diversion from the focus of this Fellowship, which is about the design of facilities. However, it is worth reflecting that the design of a good facility is not really about the physical environment itself, but rather the impact it has on the people who stay and work there, and subsequently, the impact this has on our broader communities.

A focus on the importance of staff also aligns with the serious concerns about the effective staffing of facilities in Australia. Repeated themes across a number of youth justice reviews and inquiries include staff turnover at a level that destabilises the facility, inadequately trained staff, the casualisation of staffing (Clancey et al., 2020). In Victoria, the Armytage Ogloff review makes very clear a range of serious issues that arise from inadequate levels of staffing, training, or support, the subsequent staff attrition, and the loss of institutional knowledge and skills.

> *"The high turnover is distressing for young people, who face multiple and disruptive changes in their care and management. The remaining youth custodial workforce also find the staff turnover demoralising. One youth justice custodial worker noted a recent shift in staff attitudes. Staff who originally came to work to support young people, now come to work to support their colleagues." (Armytage & Ogloff, 2017b, p. 277)*

> *"Staff morale is low. Staff do not feel adequately supported, particularly those who have been subjected to major incidents or assaults. This is likely to be negatively contributing to attrition rates across the custodial workforce… Our consultations revealed a high level of dissatisfaction among custodial staff." (Armytage & Ogloff, 2017b, p. 278)*

This constitutes a vicious cycle, in which poor working conditions lead to poorer working conditions, and inadequate staffing leads to further loss of staff and skills. In New South Wales the review into the riots at Frank Baxter Juvenile Justice Centre found inadequate staff training or experience as a key factor in the events. It has also been identified that many incidents involving the use of force could have been avoided if staff were equipped with adequate training in trauma-informed practices, negotiation skills and de-escalation techniques (Clancey et al., 2020).

What makes this a good place to work?

While acknowledging that the visited jurisdictions face their own challenges in ensuring adequate and supported staffing, many facilities had dedicated and long-term staff. I asked them aspects of facility which encourage a positive workplace. At each facility I asked staff members, what makes this a good place to work? Answers can be collected at a high level as:

- Very often a focus on the rewarding experiences of helping a young person turn their life around.
- That they appreciated close teamwork with their colleagues and 'a sense of togetherness'.
- Being able to participate in fun activities with the young people.
- Organisations that ensure staff are provided with competitive salaries and benefits, leave, physical and psychological support.
- An ability and facilitation to realise an initiative in the interest of the young people and the organisation – that there is flexibility, change and encouragement to learn and do better.

What are the characteristics of good staff?

I also asked managers about the important aspects and qualities of staff members.

In Missouri it was noted that it was important to have people who care about the philosophy of the program. In addition, staff need to be empathetic, nonjudgmental, cooperative, encouraging, able-bodied, professional, and respectful; as well as being able to communicate clearly, honestly, and openly. Further selection criteria includes: Knowledge of individual and group behaviour; Knowledge of child development and the role of the family; Knowledge of the causes of juvenile delinquency and current methods of youth treatment; Ability to work with youth and family members; Ability to foster the cooperation of youth in the treatment process; Ability to physically respond appropriately to work situations or emergencies; Ability to learn verbal and physical crisis intervention/de-escalation techniques and emergency treatment procedures, and; Ability to transport youth and travel as necessary.

In New York it was noted that empathy is critical. 'It's not a hard job, it's just not for everybody, and to see a child is a child, rather than a crime.' It is also apparent that dedication to learning, persistence and patience are key aspects for staff. Elsewhere in New York it was noted that staff need to be committed to the growth and wellbeing of children and committed to the team.

In many facilities visited there was also an imperative for staff to 'look like' the young people, i.e., to have the same ethnic and cultural background. This was important to promote an environment of mutual understanding – the foundation for positive and constructive relationships.

In the UK it was noted simply to be important to have people who like working with and have the right attitude toward children. It was also noted that it is desirable to have a mixture of different people as staff. Another site noted that staff need to be committed to continuous learning and development – the same expectation held for the young people. Other facilities described a values-based assessment, trauma-informed recruitment and a relational focus: 'Will this guy get on good with the kids?'. In Scotland this is approached by facilitating the young people themselves to have a central role in the selection of staff. At Rossie, a council of young people from the facility interview prospective staff, even to the level of CEO. The results of this interview are given equal weighting to an interview with other staff members (it was also noted that it is incredible how similar the results of the two separate – i.e., the aptitude of the young people in assessing positive candidates).

Effect of facility design on staffing

For this Fellowship, the question then becomes, how does the design of a facility contribute toward a positive work environment?

The answers to the above questions, both as to what makes a good work environment and what makes a good staff member, almost all point toward constructive, respectful, and caring human relationships between staff and the young people they work with. In this respect, aspects of a facility design which contribute toward the conditions for positive relationship building are also likely to contribute toward a positive work environment.

It has been observed elsewhere that the physical characteristics of facility size, siting, and the ability to differentiate security measures, collectively influence the establishment of relational approaches within youth custodial facilities (Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2023). Further, a homelike environment has been observed to have a reciprocally reinforcing relationship with a relational security approach.

This is supported by the experience in Missouri that small, 'single unit' facilities (e.g., Datema House, Close to Home NSPs etc.) are better at retaining experienced staff. Subsequently, these facilities are better equipped to effectively operate programs, maintain a safe environment and positive group culture. They are also better equipped to operate with flexibility according to individual needs and changing situations, more confidently able to rely on the experience and knowledge of seasoned staff.

Another observation which supports this theory is a note from a long-standing staff member at Barton Moss SCH. Their observation was that, over the history of growth of the facility from 7 to 24 beds, it has become more difficult to feel like you are in a close team with the other staff members in the facility. It was noted that staff team-building days are now used to help build and support these important relationships.

In reflection, there is a very consistent line from staff that what is gratifying about working in a youth justice facility, what makes it worthwhile despite the difficulties, is about the successes seen through the constructive relationships with young people and colleagues. The design of facilities then, in so much as they can be arranged to encourage such relationships, creates better conditions for staff satisfaction in their work.

Further, a therapeutic environment reduces stress, aggression, violence and self-harm (Ulrich et al., 2018) and supports positive mental health and wellbeing (Connellan et al., 2013). Similarly to the above, these are important conditions for staff to form trusting, constructive and gratifying relationships with young people in their care. In addition to this, the same environmental characteristics have a direct impact on staff themselves – with therapeutic environmental aspects mitigating the environmental stresses placed on staff. In short – creating a healthy and safe working environment.

As such, given that there is significant overlap between the ideal motivations for working in a facility, and the ideal motivations for employing someone in a facility, not only will a small, therapeutic facility provide improved conditions for staff to experience what is gratifying about their work – but it also helps retain staff who have the right attitude toward the work.

Relationship-focused

'People: it comes down to people. What changes people is relationships.'

'Relationships are everything in this line of work.'

Skilled and supported staff were universally acknowledged to be the backbone of every facility. Also universally acknowledged is the means through which these staff achieve safety and success: positive and constructive relationships with young people.

The effect of facility design on the promotion of positive relationships between staff and young people has been explored previously (Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2019, 2023). Facility size influences the ability and resources required of staff to know and relate to each individual young person. Facility layout and interior design can also encourage or discourage staff from spending time directly engaged with young people. The active involvement of families and a young person's community helps promote a knowledge of their surrounding life context. Facilities located to encourage family involvement therefore also contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of a young person.

During the Fellowship I asked people what helps in building and maintaining positive and constructive relationships.

- A positive group culture throughout the facility. Relationships between staff are very important in creating a positive facility culture - just as are the relationships between young people.
- It is very important that the environment is not only physically safe, but also emotionally safe and supportive.
- Staff being able to call a 'circle-up' and have positive and trusting participation is important in keeping the environment safe. In many facilities there is a lot of structure around conversation and building

relationships, particularly in the case of an incident, but with all daily activities too – to talk things through and get everyone on the same page.
- Small group sizes were noted as important in sorting through issues and coming to resolutions.
- 'Talking for real.' Conversation is key: Staff are highly experienced and skilled in directing conversation. "Talk to them – it's amazing how many parents don't even talk to their kids…"
- Humility - 'young people have their own answers - we help them solve their own [problems]'
- Visual props and cues built into the environment (e.g., maps, faces of famous people, facts) can act as low-threshold conversation starters, noting that these conversations can lead to talking about real issues.
- Ability to do team building activities together (e.g., sports, games)
- Talking with each other over meals - lunch and dinner (Having enough places for staff to sit at the dinner table with young people).
- Ability to have purposeful leave from the facility.
- Ability to move into a different space for a moment, to calm down and work things through with a staff member – space to have one-on-one conversations in privacy.
- Having places to be together – living room and activity spaces.
- Sleeping near one another in their team: within easy and immediate communication of staff members
- Making sure that young people feel that staff are always there for them - always within reach if needed - this helps young people feel safe, and thereby improves the overall safety of the facility.
- Ensuring that the team environment shares a sense of the model's values.
- Complete familiarity of staff with the social environment – 'knowing everything that's going on'.
- Presence, proximity, engagement - the keys to developing and maintaining good relationships.
- Continuity of engagement between staff and young people
- Ensuring an adequate number of staff in a small environment (e.g. 4 staff for 6 young people)
- Ensuring proper staff training to make best use of the environmental characteristics. This involves a psychological approach to understanding behaviours, and approaching difficult behaviour with playfulness, acceptance, curiosity and empathy. It was noted that in a large environment, or with an inadequate number of staff, this approach is not possible.
- Having a small staff office booth in each unit - barely comfortable for one, tight with two.
- Having staff and management who 'look like' the young people they're looking after – i.e., having a shared cultural background, ethnicity and relatable set of experiences.
- Learning opportunities for young people to work things out for themselves, make mistakes, talk about them with staff and amongst each other.
- 'Eyes on. Hearts on.' There is a strong focus on understanding the young people, their backgrounds, why they might act the way they do, and to identify when a rule or request would be unreasonable for a teenager in normal circumstances (or anyone, for that matter).
- Feeling welcomed and looked after is key for young people to feel emotionally safe, to open up.
- Environmental aspects like a comfortable temperature, fresh air, good food etc. are important in creating a setting where staff and young people can develop relationships. 'If the food isn't great - then that will be what the conversation is about.' This extends to the environment generally. It also helps remove and mitigate perceived injustices and inequalities.
- Being able to look out the window at the trees when having difficult conversations 'really helps'.

Highly experienced staff from multiple jurisdictions mentioned that physical environmental elements and procedures are important contributors to ensuring safety and positive and robust relationships. Staff warned against over-reliance on any one particular element in this triangle (physical, procedural, relational), acknowledging the necessity of a holistic approach. A staff member at another facility noted that when staff have faith in the robustness of the physical environment, they can focus more on the relationship building work in an unimpeded way, as opposed to worrying about defending weaknesses in the built fabric. It is worth noting however that, relative to the facilities studied, in Australia we generally operate with a vast over-reliance on physical and procedural aspects, to the serious detriment of relational approaches.

Strong, knowledgeable, and trusting relationships between staff members was also a very frequent topic mentioned. Small facility size was mentioned as a key aspect promoting close working relationships, as was a shared vision and good support from management. Another important aspect across a number of jurisdictions was a close, familiar and understanding working relationship between staffing and management. In Missouri, for example, senior administrative staff will fill a shift working in a facility every once in a while. A frequent element is that facility management have started as care staff and worked their way up into upper managerial positions – helping to ensure a rounded understanding of the work.

While the facilities need to accommodate the activities that are conducive to relationship building, it is also crucially important that staff are adequately resourced and supported to have the capacity to engage meaningfully through these activities. This again reflects back to the overall size of the facility and the number of young people a staff member is required to cultivate an understanding towards.

Small-scale

It was clearly acknowledged across the facilities visited that size has an impact on the running of the facility.

As noted above, it has been demonstrated that the size of a facility has an impact on the familiarity staff have of the environment and the young people living there (Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2023). The size of the facility also relates to many of the key aspects noted above as important in promoting positive relationships.

A question remains though as to the exact definition of what 'small' means. A previous study suggested that the definition of 'small' might be significantly dependent on the characteristics of the broader social and cultural environment (Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2023). Part of the motivation for this Fellowship was to understand what size, and what implications there were in cultures that are most similar to our own. Following the study of facilities on the Fellowship, I believe it can be very confidently said that a small facility should absolutely not be more than 24 beds and is likely to be more effective and successful as a single house of 6-10 young people.

There is a relationship in the facilities visited between the extent of infrastructure and capital expenditure on a facility and its size. Larger facilities have substantially more in the way of infrastructure and facilities. The Secure Children's Homes in England, for instance, have a very comprehensive provision of facilities for their closed setting. They have found that in providing the level of care required for their young people and within the context of the English system, 24 beds in size balances between economic considerations and a size that promotes the positive outcomes of a small-scale approach. It should be noted however that these are very expensive facilities, providing a very high level of care, for a relatively small cohort of young people in society. Some staff at these facilities noted that at 24 beds, it was more difficult to feel together as a staff team, noting a stretching of resources and social circumstances.

The majority of smaller facilities studied are of relatively domestic scale and construction with a fair number actually being residential houses or offices in previous lives. These facilities tend to provide a lower intensity of care (though this is not always the case) and are often more closely integrated with the community, utilising outside resources. This approach involves minimal capital investment for retrofitting and can provide an environment that is suitable for residential care given the right staffing, support, and care model, as demonstrated in these jurisdictions.

Table 1. Overview of facility sizes.

Facility	Overall number of places	Number of houses / units
Barbara Blum NSP Facility - Close to Home	12	1
SCO 128th Street NSP Facility - Close to Home	6	1
Van Horn Children's Village NSP Facility - Close to Home	9	1
Crest House Children's Village LSP Facility - Close to Home	6	1
Ozone LSP Facility - Close to Home	18	3
New Beginnings Youth Development Centre	60	6
Excel Community Resource Centre (Day Care)	30 (desks)	3 (classrooms)
Mount Vernon Treatment Centre (Moderate Care)	36	3
Wilson Creek (Moderate Care - Girls)	10 (ideal max.)	1
Community Learning Centre (Moderate Care)	10 (ideal max.)	1

Datema House (Community-based program)	10 (ideal max.)	1
Gentry Residential Treatment Centre (Moderate Care)	24	2
Barton Moss Secure Care Centre	24	4
Adel Beck Secure Children's Home	24	3
Kibble Safe Centre	18	3
Rossie Farm Secure Care Facility	18	3

In Missouri, the size of a facility was considered in terms of the number of different dyadic relationships within a group. i.e., the number of dyads is $(x-1)^2$, where x is the number of people in the group. This identifies the exponential expansion of relationships as further people are added to a group. It should also be noted that the complexity of relationships extends beyond purely dyadic relationships, in the sense that a young person A might behave differently to B in the presence of C, etc., thereby adding another layer of exponential growth in complexity within the group dynamic.

It was noted that above 12 young people can start to become more complex in managing group dynamics. It was also noted that having fewer than 8 young people is also less than ideal, as the energy and momentum of group work begins to drop with fewer participants.

As noted above, if a number of new young people are placed in the facility in quick succession it can destabilise the group culture and disrupt education and treatment. This highlights the priority of minimising the number of young people being placed in facilities overall, but further supports small and independent facilities as a means of distributing and minimising the disruptive effect of new residents arriving continuously in quick succession.

Local placement: Family-involvement and continuity of care

It was acknowledged generally across all facilities visited that the involvement of families and carers is a crucially important aspect of caring for a young person and helping them change their behaviours and circumstances.

In New York there is a firm commitment to placing young people as close to home as possible to provide the optimal conditions for family engagement and endurance of the work done by young people inside. Young people are typically placed within their home borough, and no more than 25 miles (40km) from home. It was noted that, if you want young people to continue with what they've learned while they're in a facility, you need to bring parents/carers along for the ride. Often families have had a very difficult time with their child prior to them being placed in a facility and have a particular and challenging image of them. When a young person is in the facility, staff work with them to build skills, to navigate challenges they face, and to set new expectations around the way they respond to those challenges. It is crucially important, for longevity of those expectations, that parents/carers are aware of what their young person has been working on, how they have changed and what the new expectations are. It is also to acknowledge how much work their young person has done while in the facility, their successes, and that they are a different to how they were when they went in – to establish some pride. Conversely, if families are not engaged, equipped, and supported, a young person faces an additionally difficult task in maintaining what they've learned.

It was noted that sometimes families want little to do with their child following a challenging period or for a number of other issues. In New York it is seen as additionally important, then, to remove as many barriers to participation as possible. It was also noted in some of the more 'distant' facilities that its location presented a hurdle to full engagement with families.

Importantly, having families nearby also offers an opportunity to address any issues faced by the parents or caregivers themselves – to ensure that to the best of everyone's ability, the young person is setup for success going forward.

A number of facilities noted significant benefits to continuation of care and aftercare once a young person has transitioned out of a facility. A number of facilities also noted the importance of aftercare being provided by the same people who have worked with them inside – for continuity and to utilise the positive relationships, knowledge and

trust established. Some facilities also noted that young people often return, years later, to see and thank staff members for their support during difficult times.

Some facilities that were more distant from young people's homes noted that it can be beneficial to have a change of scenery, to assist in changing behaviour. Other facilities noted however that this can be a double-edged sword – making it more difficult to transition back into a familiar environment without support – making it easier to slip into old habits when reengaging with peers.

At the most rural of the facilities visited in Missouri, Gentry, it was noted that it could be extremely staff-intensive to drive a young person 30 minutes, both there and back again, for specialist medical treatment, requiring two staff in the car. It was also noted that it was 1.5 hours of driving for a dental appointment, though this had been largely resolved by a travelling dental bus visiting the facility. Further, staff noted that the broad distance from which young people come meant that it is hard sometimes for parents to visit – meaning the facility had to be more flexible about how to accommodate these families and young people.

It was also acknowledged that reintegration with a 'normal' school in the community can be a highly challenging moment. Young people in justice facilities have often had very negative experiences of school and education generally. While in a facility, they are provided with wraparound care to support them in their education and learning, which includes small class sizes and often specialist, individualised support. Through these supports young people often have their first positive experience educational success – a key goal while staying in the facility to promote future learning. Reintegrating into a typically under-funded under-staffed chronically-stretched public school system can be a moment of whiplash – where the confidence building and positive associations developed in the facility are dissolved. This says nothing of being reintroduced to an environment that is characterised by a young person's peers.

In New York, young people staying in NSPs are located near enough to their neighbourhoods that they can begin reintegrating to their school while still staying in the facility. This allows staff to help them navigate a very challenging moment and to monitor for points of concern. Being integrated within neighbourhoods also means young people can practice the commute to school – beginning with staff travelling with them (e.g., on the subway or bus), and then transitioning to travelling alone when ready. This arrangement offers support through the initial hurdles of attending school. For young people who have finished their studies and are reintegrating into employment the same challenges and supports can be applied. One example is the SYEP (Summer Youth Employment Program), in which a young person explores what they might like to do for a living and then has work experience in that area over the summer school break.

Positive relationships with surrounding communities

While there are key advantages to local community-integration for a facility and young people, a significant challenge we face in Australia is NIMBYism (i.e., reluctance by residents to having facilities nearby) and a prevailing punitive attitude toward justice and justice-involved people.

I raised this issue as a question at each facility, typically finding that this is a very common issue across jurisdictions.

Many of the facilities studied have been located in the same place for a long time. This either means that there the facility is an accepted fixture in the location, or that the facility pre-dates surrounding development ('we were here first').

Close to Home offers an alternative experience, however, beginning only 10 years' ago with facilities located immediate within neighbourhoods. The general public is largely unaware of the Close to Home approach and residences, for those who have no contact with the justice system. Nearby neighbours to facilities however are actively engaged by the facility Provider. A key concern for neighbours is a perceived or actual drop in property values. Another concern raised is about the cost of providing C2H facilities in an area, when there is a lack of public social infrastructure for the community, such as schools.

Each facility has a community board and community liaison to ensure that any questions from the community are answered with quarterly community meetings held. A text notification system is available for nearby residents who can opt in, which provides updates in case of any incident. A previous commissioner for ACS considered it important that the community could visit the facilities on open days to get a sense of the house and thereby for the young people who stay there. It was noted at one facility that there was an initial backlash, particularly due to there being

an existing Close to Home residence very nearby. However, it was noted that if the staff are able to do their job and keep the facility calm and there are no big problems/incidents, then generally the facilities have no problem with their neighbours.

NSP facilities also get their young people to help around the neighbourhood, e.g., shovelling snow, as an opportunity to engage with the neighbours and build a more positive image of the facility. Entering the facility returning from school each day was noted as a key moment – for this reason young people typically enter through the backyard - to reduce the visibility of the house being anything but normal.

Architecturally NSPs are pre-existing houses or offices in the neighbourhood and as such blend in fairly seamlessly without drawing attention. It would be a requirement for some rear exterior area for young people to spend time outside without drawing attention to the house on the street.

In relation to Belmont School, it was noted that neighbours to the school have been unhappy about the school at times but making sure that the school runs smoothly and quietly means that concerns dissipate over time.

In Missouri each facility has a Community Liaison Council of between 5 and 20 people, depending on location and the size of the surrounding community. As an example of the people who might be on the Council, at Mt Vernon it includes the local church pastor, local business people, civic groups, and 'Springfield Advocates for Youth'. At Gentry, young people are able to earn money through community service, with this money being held by the Liaison Council. Young people can request ways for that money to be spent, with the Council then voting to approve. This provides a motivation for young people and the Council to engage directly with one another in a mutually beneficial way. The Council meets regularly to discuss the how facility and the community can be of benefit to each other and serves as a forum to discuss any issues. DYS and the facility communicate to the community that 'we're going to work really hard to make sure nothing bad happens and to keep the community safe'. Each facility recognises that it can serve as an opportunity for local businesses and tries hard to spend money locally. Young people help with community service, with examples including cleaning up streets and roads, sweeping snow, building deck houses, conservation work including cleaning up of waterways, having ice cream socials with elderly people. It was noted that young people from one facility helped locate the strewn possessions of people whose homes had been destroyed by a tornado – most meaningfully, photographs. These activities serve as an event for young people and are also seen to help build a good name for the facility and the young people who stay there. Facilities also offer tours to the community on open house days and hold pancake breakfasts on Saturdays. It was also noted that the facility is seen as a job opportunity in small towns, with the caveat that some facilities had been forced to close due to not being able to find enough staff in the local area.

Through these efforts, facilities garner good relations with the public. It was noted that for some facilities each Christmas the local community donates money, clothes and time to spend with the young people. It was noted that there is a general understanding in the community that they have an opportunity to help young people change, learn and grow.

At Datema House, which is the most open and integrated of the facilities I visited, it was noted that it can be easier to be located next to rental properties as opposed to owner-occupied. It was also noted that the neighbourhood had been historically rough but was now gentrifying.

Comfortable, safe-feeling, and therapeutic environment

It has been well documented that young people in a youth justice environment have often experienced a range of mental health problems, including trauma, depression, anxiety, suicidal ideation, and substance related issues (Borschmann et al., 2020; Casiano et al., 2013; Hughes et al., 2020). In addition, it has been suggested that 'hard' institutional environments can entrench a self-image and identification for young people to consider themselves a 'criminal' (Munro et al., 2017).

In order not to exacerbate the symptoms of mental health issues, it is important that youth justice spaces provide a healthy and home-like environment, designed to reduce stress, aggressive and harmful behaviours, and promote overall wellbeing and mental health (Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2019, 2023). Previous work has explored how facilities in Europe focus on incorporating a number of environmental characteristics known to have a therapeutic effect. These typically include (Connellan et al., 2013; Wener, 2012):

- access to daylight,
- natural lighting and glare reduction;
- reduced noise levels;
- adequacy of space for personal, communal, and work activities;
- 'home-like' (as opposed to institutional) environmental qualities;
- access to gardens and nature;
- need for connection with the outside world.

Specifically for young people, additional key design features include (Connellan et al., 2013):

- access to means of distraction in response to stress (e.g., television, telephone or music);
- access to recreational areas with peers (e.g., exercise rooms);
- an accessible kitchen;
- and a need for privacy (single rooms and private bathrooms).

The visits during the Fellowship universally confirmed the need for a facility design to be as 'homey' as possible and to avoid institutional characteristics. Further, the visits revealed new connections and significance toward this aspect of the design.

It was noted as very important that the environment is neat, clean and organised. This helps staff and young people relax and feel safe and cared for. It also makes it easier for staff to tell if something is different. It was noted that there should be places for something to go and that plenty of storage is important. Storage deserves to be repeated – this was a universal complaint at every facility visited, not having enough.

It is the experience in Missouri that providing a comfortable environment is required to encourage young people to fully engage in treatment programs. A comfortable temperature, fresh air, and good food were noted as important in creating a setting where staff and young people can have productive conversations as part of program work. Further, it was also noted to help in removing and mitigating perceived injustices and inequalities between young people, which contributes to a better group climate and less cause for dispute. Something so simple as being able to look out the window at the trees was noted to assist young people remain open while engaging in difficult conversations.

A number of facilities in New York and Missouri use a bare minimum of physical security infrastructure. These are limited largely to CCTV cameras throughout, (no blind spots is seen to be important in a number of facilities, most facilities noting that this is for training purposes mostly), and locks to the front and back door. The limited use of security infrastructure is a contributor to having a home-like environment. Many facilities have normal domestic finishes, fixtures, furniture. Furniture is typically movable, robust, often made of timber, often upholstered (though this varies between security levels). Rugs, blinds and curtains are very common despite security levels, with soft surfaces contributing substantially to acoustic attenuation. In a number of facilities air conditioners and radiators are domestic, often mounted to the window as per a typical domestic installation. Windows are often openable to an extent to allow ventilation. Some facilities had specific security windows installed with ventilation awnings, but the majority of facilities visited simply had a block of wood screwed into the frame above the sash to prevent opening too far. Games, TV's, cables, and remotes etc. are often not locked away and are easily and visibly accessible. This is seen as an important opportunity for young people to exercise care and restraint with belongings and behaviour. It also provides a strong sense of homeliness (i.e., not having institutional rigour). When things are broken, this is seen as an opportunity for learning, growth.

An observation emerged after visiting a number of facilities: in a very important way, the physical environment openly displays the intentions, feelings and approach of the organisation, the staff, and the young people who live there. In this sense, the facility environment is less about 'architectural design' in a discrete or professional sense, and more about what the environment communicates to the people who live and work there. In short, does this place feel cared for? Does it feel looked after and wanted? Does it feel valued? The physical environment is very much an expression of the social environment that creates it. This includes, but is not limited to, a thoughtful architectural design.

Certain facilities were very convincing in providing a home-like environment. A substantial part of this may be that these facilities were indeed previously a home. One house retained quite ornate retro fixtures from the building's previous life, successfully conveying a continuity of the house as a place that is for living in, not being detained in.

Another observation across these facilities is that they seemed to be decorated in accordance with someone's own personal style and aesthetic – i.e., in a similar manner to how an actual home would be. Odd decorations coalesce into the feeling of a place that has a very personal, as opposed to an institutional or workplace feel.

Education and school

Supporting and advancing the education of young people was universally acknowledged as a core and key goal at each facility. It was noted that very often justice-involved young people have had very difficult and negative experiences with school, and also very often have identified learning challenges. It is well known that school-bonding and educational attainment is one of the key protective factors helping to minimise re-offending, as well as a key element of adolescent development.

One universally held goal was to provide young people with the support they needed to experience (often their first) successes in education. The goal is to change the mindset of the young person to 'yes – I can do this'.

Another very widely held objective was to provide young people with the most normal 'real school' experience possible within the required limits of the facility. In Close to Home NSP facilities this means travelling by bus to a specialist school specifically for young people staying at NSPs.

Belmont, a NSP school visited as part of the Fellowship, goes to great lengths to do everything that a normal school does, including excursions and events. This provides motivation, encouragement, and incentive for young people to participate. Previously young people might refuse to engage in classrooms because 'this isn't even a real school anyway'. The school seeks to demonstrate that 'if you act right, then you can have a real school'. This is seen as important in asking them to do better and helps to expand the horizons of the young people. Belmont also has an extensive library and a dedicated reading space which were noted as being really popular places. Libraries are discussed further below.

At the Children's Village NSPs young people attend school at the main campus along with a diverse range of children from outside the justice setting, chaperoned and supported by facility staff. In Washington DC at New Beginnings, the architectural design of the facility has been developed to resemble a normal school as best possible, including classroom spaces, an auditorium, and a cafeteria.

In Missouri facility staff have or are facilitated to work toward substitute teacher certification, in case there is any time where a teacher can't be arranged. This was also noted to be beneficial in relation to certain funding structures. Classrooms are provided within the facility and are designed to resemble a normal school environment as best as possible. Each facility in Missouri had a very impressive library, with a wide range of books including fiction and non-fiction, reference books, self-help, psychology, philosophy. Young people are able to borrow one book at a time and take turns in being the librarian. Young people identified that books were a key vehicle for escaping the reality of time being locked up. Staff noted that if young people's reading ability improves (noted as often being lacking at the beginning of a program) that all other aspects of education then improve in suit. Subsequently, their ability to find topics that interest them and become self-directed learners vastly increases.

212. Mt Vernon Moderate Care Facility, Library

The closed homes and centres visited in England and Scotland each had very extensive and well-resourced school and education facilities and in addition to standard classrooms, included dedicated classrooms for activities like culinary arts, science, design and technology, building and construction, art, music, dance, even motor repair workshops. School was undoubtedly seen as the central focus of a young person's day and week. It was noted that, in respect to vocational specific facilities, that it was very important that young people could train on industry standard equipment, otherwise their education and training would be immediately de-valued when applying for jobs.

At the initiative of a staff member and as part of the dedication to continuous learning and improvement, Rossie Farm has developed a Forest School on its grounds, where young people learn and practise traditional craft skills including timber gathering, planing, and lathing, building, pottery, weaving, willow and hazel horticulture, gathering and crafts, herbal and traditional plant knowledge and foraging. The young people have built a cob pizza oven and a shelter (with a green roof) including a pizza making bench, all from scratch using traditional techniques. It was noted that making and cooking pizzas at the Forest School was easily one of the favourite activities for many young people at Rossie. The Forest School is accessed via a wooded path, entering through a series of willow-woven archways, also made by young people. It was noted that one young person facing serious emotional difficulties had commented that whenever they walked through these willow archways to the Forest School that all their troubles lifted and went away. The forest school is a child-led space, in which young people decide and direct what activities they would like to do or learn about. This is reflected in a constantly changing and evolving space, with structures built, taken down, recycled, changed, and developed over time according to the ideas of young people.

Due to the success of the Forest School in the lower grounds, Rossie is developing a Secure Forest School to provide the same or similar activities within an existing disused courtyard space attached to its Through Care Hub building. Young people in the current Forest School are helping staff prepare the construction of a yurt as the first installation for the courtyard. The Forest School is seen as a place where young people can learn to take risks in a safe way through learning proper practices with tools.

As noted above in the section on local siting, young people staying in community-integrated facilities are located near enough to their neighbourhoods that they can begin attending their normal school while still staying in the facility. This allows staff to help them navigate a very challenging moment where their educational successes with all the support provided in the facility is challenged by its absence in the general school system.

213. Rossie Farm, Forest school

214. Adel Beck, Vehicle workshop

215. Belmont School, Library and reading room.

Flexibility, adaptability, continuous improvement, and young people's initiative

While visiting Belmont School, staff noted it is important to maintain an attitude in which 'their way' is not 'the only way' – but that they should be flexible and have an attitude of mutual learning with the young people. 'I don't have all the answers, but I'm here 'til we figure it out'.

This was a common theme across many different facilities, the need to stay 'nimble', or be ready to change, adapt and improve.

In Missouri it was noted that 'young people have their own answers - we help them solve their own problems'. There is a recognition that the model and the system is not perfect, can always be improved, and must remain 'nimble' to meet young people's needs. Staff recognise that there is always work to adjust, amend and improve the programs and the approach to help young people address their needs, and that the system requires continual work to improve. That said, staff indicated that they were proud of what they have achieved and were proud to work as part of it. Further, there were a number of different staff members who described (via different anecdotes) an important need to continually question procedures and rules – why do we do this? Is this a valuable practice or a hindrance to young people's progress? This was mentioned in relation to maintaining a positive environment within the facility, extending to the physical environment itself. What elements of the environment can be made better, can be more helpful to young people, can better meet our aims and vision?

At Barton Moss it was noted that 'home-bases', i.e., the rooms from which bedrooms are accessed, were important flexible, multi-use spaces, where they were able to take young people aside or run different activities simultaneously. It was noted that the facility had everything needed to be able to change things around and do something different. If a young person had an idea about something to do, they could cater for it without too much trouble.

Rossie Farm was very impressive in this regard. Rossie has a core value that is dedication to continuous learning and improvement. This is held and applied universally by all people involved in the facility including staff, young people, management, the executive, the board. This is realised in all manner of different ways throughout the facility and extends to the physical environment. The ideas and initiatives of young people and staff are encouraged and realised if they are seen to be in the best interest of the young people and the organisation. A few examples are the Forest School and the new Secure Forest School being developed (in and of themselves continuously changing at the initiative and leadership of the young people) but also the substantial number of resources and spaces provided

and in the process of being realised in the Through Care Hub, the Welcome Space, and even the security screening process for young people on arrival. Young people, their insight and experiences are always placed at the centre of the discussions and changes.

Thinking of the facility as a space that can be continually changed, adapted, and improved through the ideas of the people staying there provides the conditions for young people to feel ownership, empowerment, and pride in the place they're staying. It encourages engagement and provides opportunities to learn new skills. This is something observed in previous studies at Diagrama Foundation facilities in Spain (Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2019, 2023). Further, it promotes staff and management to continuously return to their core values and objectives to consider how they relate to the new (and old) ideas.

Long-term planning, sharing spaces and resources with the community.

Staff at the Columbia Justice Lab raised an ongoing concern that the justice system is a poor response to what are more often than not social, economic and health issues. A cogent analysis indicates that the money spent on justice and justice facilities would be far more effectively spent in addressing the root causes of involvement in the justice system – to remedy the causes not the symptoms.

A positive example of this principle closer to home is the Maranguka Justice Reinvestment Project in Bourke. Since 2013 the project has redirected funding from crisis response and detention towards preventative, diversionary and community development programs which address the underlying causes of crime (KPMG, 2018). An impact assessment by KPMG found that the program delivered impact cost benefits five times greater than its operational costs, two thirds of which was in relation to the justice system. Not only does the project reduce expenditure and the flow on negative effects of involvement with the justice system, it does so by providing support and improving the conditions for vulnerable children and families. In the period corresponding to the operation of the program, data from the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research indicates an 18% drop in major offences and a 43% reduction in domestic related assault by young people up to 25 years old, alongside other reductions in violence in homes and the community (Ferguson & Lovric, 2019).

> *"Evidence shows strategic community-driven investment in localised early support, prevention and diversionary solutions can reduce crime, build local capacity and strengthen local communities. If there's less crime, there's less imprisonment. By addressing the underlying causes of crime, savings on criminal justice costs are available to be reinvested in strategies that strengthen communities and prevent crime." (Ferguson & Lovric, 2019)*

These kind of projects are gaining momentum and a great deal of support right across Australia (Willis & Kapira, 2018). They represent a more just, safe and fair society, in addition to prudent economic management. As justice reinvestment approaches take effect across Australia, they will reduce the need for the imprisonment of young people and youth justice facilities will become increasingly obsolete and expensive per capita (noting that they are already heinously expensive, entirely ineffectual, and very often harmful and counterproductive).

For these reasons, it is important that designs for youth justice facilities are equipped with the ability to be either decommissioned or repurposed to be of other positive benefit to the community. Through the Fellowship I found beginning examples of how facilities might be able to interrelate more closely and contribute positively to the broader community, as well as mechanisms for the repurposing of facilities over time.

The Kibble Safe Centre shares a 25-metre indoor heated swimming pool and a full-size indoor gymnasium with the open campus school. To ensure the security of these shared spaces a fairly straight-forward system of one-way door locks, automatic roller shutters and security sweeps are used, making sure that the safety of the young people in the Safe Centre is maintained. A similar approach could be investigated for sharing facilities with the general public. The key aspect would be finding an effective timetable for sharing the facilities to ensure full utilisation.

NSP facilities in New York utilise community-based medical resources as well as accessing community-based vocational training, such as construction, cooking, hair dressing, real estate courses, driving courses. Facilities can organise trips to local community pools, with ACS providing a Field Manager to do a walkthrough prior to the visit to

ensure safety. As mentioned above, while a specialist school for NSP residents is organised by the Department of Education and ACS, young people also can begin to attend their community schools while staying in the NSP.

Young people staying in NSPs at the Children's Village attend school and the very well-resourced recreation centre supervised and supported by facility staff, along with young people who are outside the justice system.

Rossie Farm not only provides accommodation for a range of young people requiring support from both justice and welfare referrals, but also has a small village where houses are rented to the general public. While it was noted that there is no direct interaction between young people in Secure or Close Care and the village, its presence provides a different character to campus, removing some sense of the isolation, institution, or specialisation that might otherwise come along with such accommodation.

In some of these examples the sharing of facilities with open communities is a cost-effective way to provide the full range of resources needed for young people. Further, it provides the conditions for continuing relationships and familiarity for young people after leaving the facility. In other examples, it provides an opportunity for the significant investment in resources for the facility to maintain a useful and beneficial place in the community regardless of the need for the facility itself.

There is design research that needs to be done in order to fully explore the possibilities for the sharing of spaces and resources between secure and open settings.

Facilities in New York and Missouri have often had a previous life as a domestic or office building, then minimally retrofitted for use as a justice facility. These buildings could quite simply be converted back to their original use, or have programs adapted for the provision of non-justice related care and service provision. The facilities are typically owned or leased by the NGO service providers, which typically offer a range of different programs and services. The relative simplicity of the facility infrastructure and provisions lends itself to ready adaptation and flexibility in the future.

Cultural relevance, safety, and respect.

In many facilities visited there was also an explicit imperative for staff to 'look like' the young people, i.e., to have the same ethnic and cultural background. This was important to promote an environment of mutual understanding and relatable experience – the foundation for positive and constructive relationships.

This was seen as very important in America where there is significant and lasting over-representation of African American people in the justice system. Very nearly all staff in New York and Washington DC were African American, at all levels of staffing, management, administration, and profession, not only manning the facilities but developing and shaping the programs. This was seen as an important condition for empathy, understanding and relevance.

Respect was stated over and over again in every location. Respect from young people towards staff. Respect from staff toward young people. Respect toward one another's peers, either as staff or young people. Respect for self, and respect for others more generally. Respect for the work one has done and what one has achieved. Respect meant a lot of different things to many different people in many different places. But a crucial characteristic that was shared across all locations was that respect needed to be mutual.

In Australia we must acknowledge the violence, dispossession and oppression carried out by our colonial settler state, and the ongoing impacts of our occupation of this Country. This includes the horrendous effects of our 'justice' systems and the inordinate overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people involved. As noted above, it is very clear through this Fellowship that the basis of a positive justice system is respectful relationships - something we must continue to work toward as a society living on stolen land.

The research that underpins this Fellowship is built upon scientific evidence which comes predominantly from Western countries and cohorts. It should not be automatically assumed as relevant or appropriate for First Nations

communities or young people in Australia, and the lessons described here should not be automatically assumed to be directly appropriate for First Nations young people.

One place that the experiences of Aboriginal young people in custody have been described, in their own words, is in the Ngaga-dji Report which voices the importance of strong connection to family, culture, community and mental and physical wellbeing (Koorie Youth Council, 2018). These bear similarities to the protective factors identified by the international scientific studies, but as a settler, it is important that I defer to the expertise and knowledge of the communities and young people themselves. “Aboriginal children are best supported by Aboriginal definitions of identity and wellbeing.” (Koorie Youth Council, 2018)

We must also acknowledge that there are other culturally and linguistically diverse groups who are captured by and overrepresented within our justice systems. There is great need for us to reduce the number of young people coming into contact with the justice system and address the overrepresentation of any community by preventative and community-building approaches, always led by the community themselves.

The overall implication to the design of a facility is that the design, along with all other aspects of the system around it, must be led by and relevant to the people it is supposed to help and support. The principles and lessons learned from this Fellowship offer a starting place and supporting evidence for a discussion between stakeholders from the community and government. For any given community, the principles and lessons described here should be discussed and developed by the local community in order to best address the needs and strengths of its young people.

Participation and co-creation with young people.

Scotland goes to notable lengths to include and action the voices of “looked after children”. This goes for every aspect of the care system.

The key lesson in this respect is quite simple. Young people can want and value something different to adults.

The Scottish Children’s Reporter Administration (SCRA) has rolled out a series of new spaces to hold Children’s Hearings. Following the realisation of a pilot Hearing room, the SCRA conducted an in-depth study into the effect of the space on the participants. The findings indicated that young people felt differently to the professional adults involved about certain aspects of the new setting.

The biggest contention was around the ‘big table’. Professional adults were concerned that by removing the ‘big table’ and replacing it with an informal environment, that the formality and legal significance of the Hearing might be lost or diminished. Young people, however, saw the ‘big table’ as a barrier; as a line across the room, with Panel Members inevitably sitting across the table from the child and their family, leading to an ‘us and them’ mentality. ‘It didn’t feel like a conversation’. This was recognised as making children anxious and less able to actively participate in their hearing.

To the credit of the SCRA, it was decided that the voice and experiences of the young people were the key perspective, those about whom the Hearings are held, and the new room designs were gradually rolled out across the country.

A secondary lesson to note is that the furniture and layout of a room does indeed have an effect on the way people see and relate to each other. But the key lesson, again, is that adults may or may not properly understand what that layout means or its consequences. To understand properly, we will have to listen properly.

Shared values, top to bottom, in action and design.

This is a brief but important note that crystalised after visiting Rossie Farm. Rossie universally applies and acts upon its core values. The key value which brought my attention to this is the commitment to continuous learning and improvement. The value is easy to understand and can be applied to and taken up in earnest by every person involved in the facility. It can also be applied to every aspect of the facility, from daily operation, to staff recruitment, to the physical environment. The effect of this I believe is tangible, and it has an effect of levelling all involved as equals, and turning the facility into a shared objective, a shared space. In action, this is well described through the commitment to actioning the initiatives of staff and young people, as in the dance studio or the forest school. In a

previous work, following a study of a number of different youth justice responses internationally, Jesuit Social Services identified the great importance of ‘a clear vision’ (Jesuit Social Services, 2017).

> *The “systems we observed had a concrete goal of rehabilitation of young people and every action, program or initiative could be linked back to that goal. This clarity of purpose not only helped ensure consistency within the systems, it set the frame for the attributes and qualifications of the staff required and gave justice personnel a context within which to work, influencing their interactions with young people, their understanding of their own role and their motivation to achieve positive outcomes. A clear vision, then, cascades throughout the system. (Jesuit Social Services, 2017, p. 10)*

After visiting the facilities included as part of this Fellowship I believe this is very much the case, and that the same applies to the values, beliefs and principles which guide the work, and the design of the environments they involve. As the Jesuits point out, it is important that the vision is articulated. Further, from my observations I believe that a good vision is equally applied and owned by everyone involved, from the very top of the ladder to the bottom, and that in doing so, the ladder ceases to be so important. This promotes the conditions for the positive relationships that have been identified as so important over and again.

Further, it appears that the physical environment is an excellent vehicle to demonstrate a commitment to a value, as it is read and understood in an immediate and intuitive way. That is to say, a facility environment speaks clearly to the values and their significance in practice. You can immediately tell if an organisation puts its money where its mouth is, regardless of how much money that might be.

Don’t design out learning opportunities. Accept that mistakes are part of the work.

In the facilities visited risk is recognised as an inherent part of this work.

Opportunities are provided for mistakes to be made, trust to be earned, lessons to be learned.

In all of this, of course, safety comes first and foremost. However, through knowledgeable, experienced, and well-supported staff, making well-informed decisions on an individual basis, a constructive and trusting environment is slowly and steadily developed where risk taking can be practiced in a safe manner.

It is important to reflect, when considering the design of the facilities, that the young people are often allowed agency with the potential to make mistakes. Mistakes are made by both staff and young people, and an attitude of learning and improvement is cultivated.

When considering that there are no security fences, that the gates are left open, or other elements that rely on the responsibility of a young person, it is important to reflect upon this understanding, that risks and mistakes are an inherent and important part of growth.

Having a diversity of settings provides opportunities for young people to be matched to the right setting to encourage growth and increasing responsibility.

In Washington DC staff mentioned that ‘Everyone wants to get out to the gym - the gym is a place where young people can diffuse things themselves. ‘Sometimes you go to let it go a little - step in if things get too heated’ Working things out for yourself offers young people learning opportunities and opportunities to practice what they’ve learned.

In Missouri, the majority of the facilities visited had no secure perimeter. A staff member asked the class ‘who’s thought about running away?’. A majority but not all of the young people raised their hand. Anyone easily could, but young people who are ready for such a responsibility are offered the opportunity to show they can handle it.

At Rossie Farm, the Forest School is seen as a very valuable resource for young people to practice safe risk taking in a structured environment. Walking the line and finding the right balance to encourage young people while keeping them safe is a challenge, but it is possible with caring staff. The facility design needs to be responsive to this challenge.

Facilities must be robust, dependable, and well maintained.

Staff need to be able to rely on physical infrastructure to do its job in order to focus on the real work of building constructive relationships with young people. A staff member at Adel Beck noted that, as a staff member, you don't want to have doubts in your mind about whether the door will hold as you try to deescalate a situation.

In Missouri, staff warned against over-reliance on any one particular element in the triangle of security measures - physical, procedural, and relational, acknowledging the necessity of a holistic approach. One aspect must not get in the way of another – instead all three aspects need to work together to provide a constructive and safe environment. It is worth noting, in this respect, how little physical security infrastructure is necessary when the model of care is effective, taking the Missouri facilities as the example.

At Barton Moss, a maintenance staff member gave detailed insight into the huge amount of work required to keep the facility in excellent shape. The initial design, as in any other project, has a big impact on the amount of ongoing upkeep required. The staff member said that very often he saw designs for Secure Children's Homes that had no space and no storage for a maintenance team and noted that this is unrealistic.

Along these lines, the importance of keeping the environment neat and well-looked after was a universal theme. It was noted as very important that the environment is neat, clean, and organised. Being in a space that is well looked after communicates a level of care to young people and helps everyone relax. With this said, if a space is too neat and orderly it risks falling into the feeling of an institution. A number of facilities provided very home like spaces that, through their built fabric, furniture and objects being carefully arranged, very effectively conveyed a sense of care and pride, like a well looked after home.

Dorms or bedrooms?

The Missouri Approach is impressive to witness. Young people are actively engaged in the program in a way I haven't seen elsewhere. A key aspect of the model is that young people don't have individual bedrooms, but instead sleep in bunk beds in a shared room. This is seen to build trust and team connection. Strict rules are maintained around the sleeping area - no talking, no getting up without first knocking on the bed frame for staff attention and permission. Two staff members are always immediately available, sitting at either end of the row of bunks, where desks are provided for them to use the time productively in low light. It was noted that bedtime can be hard for young people who have experienced trauma or abuse - with bedrooms being an environment that can be triggering. Young people are helped to learn and practise mindfulness - deep breathing. It was noted that this arrangement mitigates against suicidal ideation and related behaviours - to have others sleeping nearby. It is seen as important in developing trust towards others in your team and staff. It was also noted that it is good for young people to know that a staff member is close by. One staff member commented, 'honestly, I don't know how you'd do it any other way'.

Literature on therapeutic environments often includes and a need for privacy, described as single rooms and private bathrooms (Connellan et al., 2013). It is interesting to reflect, however, that often the most spartan and institutional space in a facility is a child's bedroom. Where they are offered 'privacy' away from staff, the building becomes the means of providing safety. Facilities often go to great lengths to personalise bedrooms within the limits that are seen to ensure safety. One example is in the Kibble Safe Centre, where young people are encouraged to design a paint theme for their room before they move in, providing a base level of personalisation even it it's not possible for many personal belongings. From the secure base building, personalisation can be allowed up to the point that ensures safety on an individual level.

Close to Home facilities have some of their origin in the Missouri Approach but are realised in a very different setting. It is possible that Close to Home represents a balancing act, with NSPs having multiple bedrooms, some shared and some private. Doors are always kept ajar with staff always within earshot outside, making checks every 15 minutes. This may also be a consequence of retrofitting existing buildings. LSPs, however, have private bedrooms and more closely resemble a secure institution. This then may indicate a difference in the level of care required. With this said, it was noted that in Missouri the most secure facilities have the same architecture as Mount Vernon, i.e., shared sleeping space. It is possible that this reflects the maturity and experience of the model.

The relative benefits between restrictive private space versus a supervised shared setting for sleeping is an interesting question that has been raised through the Fellowship.

Conclusions

This report documents how forward-looking jurisdictions have designed justice facility environments as part of their youth justice model of care. It also studies how this contributes to the safety and wellbeing of young people and staff within the facility, and to the effectiveness of rehabilitation activities in reducing the likelihood of reoffending. It can be read in conjunction with previous work studying other jurisdictions in Europe (refer www.localtime.com.au for Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2019, 2023).

The observations and findings from the Fellowship are considerations confirm a close interrelationship between the philosophy, principles and operation of a youth justice system and the design of its physical environments. To this extent, I believe the information collected here is highly valuable in relating those high-level intentions to a number of different design responses. If taken into consideration, this will better inform the design briefing and realisation for any new facilities, through providing both overall guiding principles in addition to substantial detail on how designs have been realised elsewhere.

The following represents what I believe to be the core conclusions from the extensive study.

Facility size: small is better.

Previous work has identified that, for justice facilities to be effective, it is important that they are small-scale, locally sited and integrated with the surrounding community, designed to promote relational and differentiated security, and incorporate therapeutic design characteristics (Dwyer & Oostermeijer, 2019, 2023). While I refer to these more succinctly as ‘small-scale facilities’, all of these characteristics are interrelated in a mutually reinforcing manner.

The site visits and studies undertaken as part of this Fellowship confirm the importance of these design aspects and in many cases provide a deeper understanding of the reasons, the means, and the benefits.

- **Small:** allows staff to develop meaningful relationships with young people, to understand the individual motivations, risks, needs, skills, and strengths of each young person, and to modify their role and behaviour based on this knowledge. Further, small facilities promote conditions for improved staff satisfaction.
- **Locally sited and community-integrated:** close to a young person’s community, to promote the strengthening of protective factors, including school, family, care givers, and prosocial connections. Further, being ‘Close to Home’ improves conditions for continuity of aftercare and longevity of behaviour change.
- **Differentiated and relational security infrastructure:** Designs that encourage a therapeutic relationship between staff and young people, with measures that are adaptable to individual dynamic risks and needs, and goals. The Fellowship has resoundingly confirmed that constructive and trusting relationships are the key mode of work in facilities. Further, the study has provided detail on how different design aspects can promote and accommodate these relationships.
- **Therapeutic and emotionally safe:** A healthy and home-like environment, designed to reduce stress, aggressive and harmful behaviours, and promote overall wellbeing and mental health. Further, therapeutic environmental aspects are important in promoting positive relationships with staff and setting the conditions for meaningful engagement with treatment programs. Providing an environment that is as normative as possible is seen as important for both home-like and school spaces.

These findings are outlined further in the headings below.

Environments are closely interwoven with the model of care.

The facility designs studied in the Fellowship may be challenging to some people who are conditioned to think of restrictive physical infrastructure as the primary means of security. These precedents, along with others around the world demonstrate that such a facility model is both functional and preferable, given the appropriate staffing, support, and an effective model of care.

If the model of care is right, when staff are skilled, equipped and supported to do their jobs well, doors don’t need to be locked. That said, though this report provides plenty of information as to how to build a facility, without the right model of care and staffing, it means nothing at all.

As such, it is an important lesson not to design a facility without knowing intimately the principles and model of care that will be employed. To do otherwise will likely contribute to future difficulties over the life of the facility and/or result in an overly restrictive environment that aggravates these difficulties.

Staff are everything:
Small-scale facilities improve staff satisfaction and retention.

Staff are everything to a successful facility. This was made clear during every single visit.

The primary means by which staff do their work is knowledgeable and constructive relationships with young people. This again was a universally applied principle.

Very consistently what staff described as gratifying about their work, and what management described as the key skills for a staff member, was the ability to cultivate positive and constructive interactions that help young people grow and succeed.

The design of a facility, along with adequate support and training, directly affects the conditions in which staff are able to develop and realise these relationships. **Not only will a small, relationship-focused, therapeutic facility provide improved conditions for staff to experience what is gratifying about their work – but it also helps retain staff who have the right attitude toward the work. Further, such an environment reduces the direct environmental stresses to staff themselves.**

This was explicitly confirmed in an observation over many years of experience in Missouri – single unit facilities have fewer staffing issues and better staff retention. Subsequently, they retain the skills of experienced staff which contributes to a more stable and constructive group climate.

Differentiation to provide the least restrictive setting.

An overly restrictive setting is likely to have a negative effect on young people and may even increase the risk of reoffending (Bonta & Andrews, 2007; Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2005; Zoettl, 2021). It is very important that a young person is not restricted more than is necessary.

In New York, it was noted that the vast majority of justice-involved young people determined to need an out-of-home placement, *almost all*, are best suited to a non-secure but structured setting, working closely with skilled and supported staff. i.e. an NSP facility. A similar observation was made at facilities visited in England, where it was estimated that between 1 and 2 thirds of young people in a Secure Children's Home would be better suited to such an environment. Further, similar comments have also been made about young people detained in Australian facilities, with 80% being suggested as the figure. In all these settings the people who work most closely with young people are indicating that young people are being subjected to conditions that are more restrictive than necessary. Not only is this harmful to the young person and their future, but it is also an enormous waste of money. Secure facilities are tremendously expensive to build and maintain.

Broadly speaking there are two different classes of facility studied in this report:

- Semi-open facilities (e.g., NSPs, Community-based care), that are a single unit, between 6 and 12 places, community-integrated, often constructed from existing retrofitted houses or offices.
- Self-contained facilities (e.g., SCHs, Secure Care in Scotland, New Beginnings), that have on average 3 units, with up to 12 young people in each. These facilities have much more substantial infrastructure to provide for young people's needs on site. Location is still important to facilitate family involvement.

Both models focus on positive relationships. Both models provide a therapeutic and homelike environment. Both rely on skilled and supported staff.

Self-contained facilities offer a very high level of care and support and are very expensive undertakings, necessary for only a very small number of people in society who pose a great risk to the safety of themselves or others.

Semi-open facilities can be relatively inexpensive and make best use of the prosocial protective factors in the community that reduce the likelihood of a young person reoffending.

Effective facilities can be made by retrofitting houses.

A facility can be inexpensive to design and construct, starting with an appropriate residential property or similar. It *must* however be tailored to the specific model of care and staffing that is to be used. Based on the precedents studied in this report it is likely that a house should provide:

- Enough space and rooms for 6-10 young people to live, learn, look after themselves and their belongings, and sleep well.
- There must also be enough space for staff offices and adequate storage.
- A relatively secluded and private outdoor space where young people can relax and play without unduly disrupting neighbours. I.e., a backyard.
- Ideally, the house should have rear access to the backyard, though there are examples where this is not the case and access is along the side of the house.

Depending on the existing building, retrofitting will likely include:

- CCTV installation.
- Security locks to external and rear doors.
- Windows adapted to have restricted opening.
- Fire monitoring and egress.
- Installation of additional showers and toilets.
- Furniture.

Providing a home-like environment was universally acknowledged as a priority across all facilities, regardless of security level. Utilising an existing house provides an advantageous starting place for realising a home-like environment.

Scaling down over time: Facilities should be easily repurposed.

A positive justice system will reduce the number of young people who are in youth justice facilities to an absolute minimum through community-building, preventative, and diversion approaches.

Facilities that have been built through retrofitting an existing house can readily be returned to their previous purpose or adapted to provide a different positive benefit to the community. They make for a flexible and adaptable system that is prepared for a successful scaling down.

The Fellowship also provided examples in which facilities shared resources with the general community or open cohorts. These examples provide a basis for further exploration of how facilities might provide infrastructure and resources to communities, both during and following its function as a justice facility.

Family and school: Locality improves conditions for lasting success.

Being close to home is crucial in removing barriers to the participation of families and care givers. This is fundamental to providing conditions for young people to succeed in the long term after leaving the facility. The same is applicable for a young person’s engagement at school.

Criteria for selecting an appropriate site include:

- Close proximity and easy access for a young person’s family and caregivers, to allow and promote routine involvement (i.e., a maximum of 40km in metropolitan areas)
- For semi-open facilities, close proximity to a young person’s regular school, to allow structured and supported integration with the general education system. Practicing their journey to school with staff members in a manner that is not stigmatising to the young person is also beneficial.
- For semi-open facilities, close proximity to community-based social and health service-providers, to set up care and support which will persist after leaving the facility.

Where *precisely* to locate a small-scale facility is certainly an important decision. However, the precedent facilities studied in this Fellowship indicate that there is a level of pragmatism in site selection. Many semi-open facilities have been placed where there was an appropriate building able to be retrofitted for purpose.

Most jurisdictions indicated that there is a level of resistance in neighbourhoods to the opening of a facility. Leadership is required to navigate the initial stages and an open dialogue with community is important. Designs should aim to limit the prominence of the facility itself and its operations, including primarily using the back door for movements of young people, e.g., to school. Neighbourhood liaisons and the involvement of community groups, as well as providing opportunities for young people to help in the local community, can foster positive relationships. It was noted that over time, a well-functioning facility will cease to be a problem.

The need for physical and emotional safety: Doing treatment not time.

For those who argue that we need to be tough toward 'offenders', or emphasise the punitive aspect of justice responses, there is a clear lesson to learn from Missouri: 'Time is easier than treatment.'

What this means is that young people who have found themselves in a youth justice facility are very likely to find it easier to 'do the time', waiting out their sentence, as opposed to actively engaging in the work and treatment that confronts the issues they face and the consequences of their actions.

If we expect young people to change and grow while they are staying in a facility, it is necessary that they feel both physically and emotionally safe. This is a very big ask from the young people, and a difficult task for staff. This is the essence of the design brief, however. Provide a space that is both physically and emotionally safe.

This involves a facility being small in size – so that young people know and can learn to trust the people they are living with and work through issues with them. It involves trusting relationships with staff. The facility can encourage this by providing spaces for shared daily activities, as well as spaces to speak one-on-one, by having enough chairs at the dining table for staff and young people, by having a spatial layout that encourages staff to spend as much time engaging with young people as possible, by having visual cues that can prompt conversations, by having the ability to take purposeful leave from the facility (helped by local siting). The facility needs to feel welcoming and well looked after. General environmental aspects like a comfortable temperature, fresh air, and good food are important in removing fundamental concerns that can otherwise stand in the way of 'real talk'. It also helps remove and mitigate perceived injustices and inequalities, creating a more stable social space. Being able to look out the window at the trees when having difficult conversations 'really helps'. Therapeutic design characteristics help mitigate the symptoms of mental health and trauma issues, leading to lower levels of aggression.

These physical environmental aspects contribute to the conditions for an emotionally safe space where a young person can open up and change their future for the better.

Diverse and effective diversions from detention are paramount.

A youth justice system can only function efficiently, fairly, and effectively if young people are directed to the least restrictive intervention suitable. As noted in the preface to this report, to do otherwise is counterproductive for everyone.

Further, effective, and positive facilities rely on a positive group culture. This culture is destabilised if too many new young people arrive in a short period. As such, for the success of a facility it is a crucial precondition that as many young people are diverted away from youth justice detention, and indeed justice involvement, as possible. Effective systems must be implemented to ensure young people who are suitable for community based programs are not be placed in a facility (refer Weissman et al., 2019).

The small-scale facility model will take time and commitment to work.

A key lesson from the implementation of Close to Home in New York, and the steady improvement over many years in Missouri, is that it takes time and commitment to iron out the approach and get things working well. Funding for the new model must be secure for the long term.

Significant change is achievable and worthwhile.

The jurisdictions and facilities which were the focus of this Fellowship have gone through, or are currently going through, substantial change to the way that they care and work with justice-involved young people.

New York, Washington DC, and Missouri each passed through a crisis, in response to which their Youth Justice systems were transformed. Scotland had the Kilbrandon Report which demanded a complete change in the way the state looked after children. It now is in the process of keeping The Promise. The Children's Care and Justice Bill, which is currently in parliament, will prevent anyone under the age of 18 from being sent to a Young Offenders Institution or prison. England is currently undergoing a substantial reform in response to tragedies in its system, though the final outcome is not yet clear.

Each jurisdiction has risen to the difficult challenge of confronting the inadequacy of its care for children in custody. Australia is yet to begin in earnest, though broader justice reinvestment programs like Maranguka point the way forward. Facility designs need to be reconsidered at a similarly fundamental level.

The small-scale model is applicable in Australia and will offer benefits.

Through this Fellowship it has become completely clear that a model for youth justice facilities that is small-scale, community-integrated, relationship-focused, differentiated, and therapeutic is entirely feasible in Australia. More than feasible – we need it.

Critics have previously moved to dismiss this model arguing that it is 'not appropriate' or 'wouldn't work' for the young people we have in our current custodial institutions. These critics cite their personal experience of working with these young people, but it is important to remember that these experiences occurred within the prevailing system and model – not in a vacuum.

In this respect, the implementation experience of Close to Home in New York is worth reflecting upon carefully. Due to broader political circumstances, ACS NYC was required to develop, implement and have Close to Home up and running in the space of 6 months. Young people who had previously been held in large-scale institutions were suddenly moved into non-secure houses in residential neighbourhoods. This culture shock, perhaps predictably, resulted in near chaos in the early years of the program, with young people 'bouncing off the walls'. However – and most importantly – New York persisted with the model and after several years of operation (and hard work) Close to Home is functioning successfully and meeting its goals. There has been a culture change affected by a change of approach and environment. The same groups of young people previously believed to require time in prison behave differently when staying in a structured, emotionally safe, and caring environment.

The practical lesson offered from New York is that, if possible and from an operational perspective, when implementing the new model, it would be preferable to initially start with young people who have not previously experienced incarceration and do not carry expectations around its culture and behaviour.

But the deeper lesson is that we are all affected by and respond to our context. What context do we want to provide young people in a justice facility?

Consensus. The change is coming; we can be leaders.

It is increasingly clear that a consensus is forming across jurisdictions similar to Australia's that the incarceration of young people in large scale, high-security, isolated facilities is counterproductive, harmful, costly, and generally unsafe for staff and young people. There is a clear trend toward reducing the number of young people in youth justice facilities, followed by the closure of carceral facilities and their replacement with facilities that are small, local-community-integrated, relationship-focused, and therapeutic.

As part of a broader justice reinvestment approach, Australian jurisdictions will benefit from this model through avoided justice costs and improved community safety.

Recommendations and implementation

Through the lessons of this Fellowship and prior research in Europe it is possible to redesign justice facilities in Australia. As noted above, the design of a justice facility is intimately and inextricably linked to the design of the justice system more broadly, and as such, the vision for a facility model must be understood within a broader view.

Australian State and Territory Government Departments responsible for Youth Justice, should:

- Prepare a holistic strategy toward realising a community-building, strengths-based and restorative justice system.
- Plan for the decommission of existing large-scale detention facilities, as they do more harm than good, at an incredible price.
- Reduce the number of young people in youth justice facilities. This is of primary importance and is a precondition for facilities to work effectively. This should involve:
    - Investing in addressing the underlying risk factors which lead young people into contact with the justice system. Supporting communities to achieve this goal in the interest of their young people, as genuine, trusting, and lasting relationships are the key to change.
    - In partnership with involved communities, develop and implement an extensive range of robust and effective community-based diversion programs. Ensure those young people who are placed in a facility are truly in need of this placement.
- In partnership with involved communities and young people with experience, develop and implement a diverse range of facilities that are small-scale, community-integrated, relationship-focused, and therapeutic. This should involve:
    - Using a holistic approach in the development of these facilities. Develop the design of the physical environment in close relationship and alongside the model of care and staffing model.
    - Committing to maintain and improve this model over the long-term, despite initial setbacks and challenges. The early years will be difficult and time is required to overcome teething issues.
    - Developing a diversity of different justice settings, including mostly semi-open facilities supported by a small number of self-contained facilities for the few young people requiring a more intensive setting.
    - Semi-open facilities should be around 8 beds, local and community-led, with designs that focus on cultivating positive and constructive relationships inside and out, physical, and emotional safety. These will be effective, but relatively inexpensive facilities, with highly trained and well supported staff. They will cater for the majority of young people requiring out-of-home placement. These facilities can be retrofitted from existing buildings, or predominantly built in typical domestic, yet robust, construction methods.
    - Self-contained facilities should be a maximum 24 beds in size. These will be expensive but effective facilities, with substantial expert design involvement, catering for a very small number of young people across the state. They will focus on cultivating positive and constructive relationships largely inside, with best efforts and arrangements made to support family and prosocial involvement within a secure environment. Design to promote both physical and emotional safety.
    - Facilities, either semi-open or self-contained, are to be located to promote easy access and involvement of families and prosocial supports for young people.
    - Matching facility design with models for continuous care and aftercare, so that the same staff are able to provide care and support after a young person has left the facility.
    - Involving young people in the initial design of facilities and provide opportunity for facilities to adapt and develop over time through the initiatives of young people and staff.
- Design facilities for ‘decommission’. As the need for residential placements diminishes through success of community-building and diversion programs, facilities should be equipped to provide valuable services, resources, and infrastructure to the general community.
- Ensure ongoing independent research and assessment feeds back for constant improvement and public transparency.
- Aim to continuously learn and improve the system. Aim to decommission facilities. Aim for the best facilities to become obsolete and unnecessary.

This is undoubtedly an ambitious agenda. However, the experience of the jurisdictions studied in this Fellowship demonstrates that ambition can be achieved.

The implementation of the Close to Home model has been extensively researched and documented. The following document provides a wealth of information in relation to preparing a justice system for transitioning to a small-scale approach, including roles for government, advocates, and academics.

Moving Beyond Youth Prisons: Lessons from New York City's Implementation of Close to Home. Weissman, M., Ananthakrishnan, V., & Schiraldi, V. (2019). Columbia Justice Lab.
Available from https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/doi/10.7916/d8-950a-hz15

Dissemination

This report will be shared with:

- Government departments, ministries, and shadow-ministries responsible for health and justice in each state.
- Not-for Profit organisations who may be suitable and interested in becoming a Facility Provider.
- Advocacy groups for justice-involved people and social justice.
- Unions representing justice facility staff.
- Academic networks devoted to the study of justice responses.
- Government Architects in each state.
- Relevant architectural specialists.

It will also be made available via www.localtime.com.au and through the Churchill Trust website.

Additionally, the information contained in this report will provide information for the development of specific facility designs in Australian contexts, to be developed in collaboration with communities and service providers.

Glossary and Abbreviations

ACS	Administration for Children's Services, New York City
C2H	Close to Home Program, ACS New York City
NSP	Non-secure Placement
LSP	Limited-secure Placement
DYRS	Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services, Washington DC
DYS	Division of Youth Services, Missouri
SCH	Secure Children's Home
YOI	Young Offender's Institute
SCRA	Scottish Children Reporter's Agency

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13

A Model for the Design of Youth Custodial Facilities: Key Characteristics to Promote Effective Treatment

Matthew Dwyer and Sanne Oostermeijer

Introduction

At the core of youth justice systems, internationally, is the principle of acting in the best interests of the child (UN General Assembly, 1989, Article 3.1). This is realised to varying degrees through a breadth of different approaches and might be argued to exist largely in rhetoric within some jurisdictions. However, this explicit focus on the interests of the child provides a context in which the aspects of custodial design that support a resident's wellbeing must be fully explored and realised. Rehabilitation sits within this definition, as reducing the risk of reoffending is

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beneficial for long-term wellbeing of both the child and society at large. While youth justice systems are founded upon this idea of wellbeing, without a clear characterisation of what this means for the design of a youth custodial facility, it becomes difficult to evaluate and learn from the designs of other jurisdictions and more likely that the mistakes of past designs are repeated.

This chapter proposes a method for characterising youth custodial facilities across jurisdictions, regimes, and cohorts, with the objective of providing well evidenced and concrete guidance for the design of youth custodial facilities.

A strong evidence-base demonstrates what works in rehabilitative interventions for justice-involved young people. By establishing the design implications which follow from this literature, a series of key characteristics emerge that define a best-practice, theoretical design model for a facility; small-scale, locally sited, and integrated with the surrounding community, designed to promote relational and differentiated security, and comprising therapeutic design characteristics. We then consider these characteristics in operation by examining facilities in three well-regarded European jurisdictions (Spain, Norway, the Netherlands). We explore the extent to which, and how the key design characteristics were operationalised in the different jurisdictions and discuss how they impacted upon the ability to provide for the approaches identified as important in the literature.

The model aims to make clear that certain design decisions (i.e., these characteristics) affect the ability to provide treatment elements that are known to be effective. It also aims to show how these characteristics are related to one another. Further, the model provides a means by which different precedent facilities can be seen to be similar (or dissimilar), which provides a basis for further research.

'What Works' for Justice-Involved Young People

There is a strong evidence-base to demonstrate what works in rehabilitative interventions for justice-involved young people. It is possible to

interpret implications for the design of custodial facilities that will either promote or impede these practices and approaches. In this way, a theoretical model can be defined: a best-possible design response for youth custodial facilities based on the available scientific literature for effective treatment. This model can then be used as a means of characterising a facility within its specific context.

The model presented here is based upon offending-specific literature and incorporates a social-ecology background. Using social-ecology as a framework provides a structure to identify important youth developmental supports that are applicable, not only to justice-involved young people, but to young people generally. In this way, the model does not consider the design of the facility in isolation, but rather within the broader social, cultural, and political context in which it is located. We begin by briefly outlining the theoretical background that underpins the model, including literature that discusses effective approaches for addressing offending behaviours and literature that identifies health-sustaining resources important for regaining, sustaining, or improving wellbeing in young people.

Addressing Offending Behaviours

The prevailing focus of youth justice research and practices has been on addressing offending behaviours directly and managing the associated risk of reoffending. Evidence from multiple, meta-analytical studies show that interventions grounded in a therapeutic approach are most successful, as opposed to solely punitive or deterrent techniques (e.g., sanction and supervision) which are ineffective in reducing recidivism, with some of these approaches potentially increasing the risk of future reoffending (e.g., youth boot camps) (Koehler et al., 2013; Lipsey & Cullen, 2007; MacKenzie, 2016; Wartna et al., 2013). Specifically, cognitive behavioural programs and 'Risk-Need-Responsivity appropriate' interventions have been shown to produce the strongest effects in reducing reoffending in youth (Koehler et al., 2013). Risk-Need-Responsivity appropriate interventions refers to interventions that correspond to the risk level of reoffending (i.e., risk), address dynamic risk

factors or 'criminogenic needs' (i.e., need), and match to the learning styles and capabilities of the young person (i.e., responsivity).

In the last two decades there has been a movement towards more strength-based approaches, leading to the consideration of protective factors which moderate or buffer the adverse effects of dynamic risk factors related to (re)offending behaviours (Lodewijks et al., 2009; Serin et al., 2015; Vogel et al., 2011). Strong social support (i.e., receiving support from at least one peer or adult in times of need and distress) and a close relationship with at least one prosocial adult (i.e., attachment) have been related to reduced offending in justice-involved young people in various settings (pre-trial, detention and pre-release) (Lodewijks et al., 2009). Other protective factors include strong commitment to school or work, prosocial friends, and positive attitudes towards treatment and authority (Lodewijks et al., 2009; Lösel & Farrington, 2012).

Despite the shift towards the consideration and inclusion of protective factors involved in (re)offending behaviours, these approaches still operate within a prevailing risk-based paradigm. They tend to be overly focused on young people's deficits and problems, resulting in an oversimplified approach, which doesn't recognise the historical, cultural, and social context of a young person's development (Johns et al., 2016; Robinson, 2015). In doing so, they fail to recognise the context, interactions, and relationships within which offending behaviours develop, persist, and are perpetuated. Rather, effective youth justice work should focus on building a trusting relationship over time, (re)building positive social interactions, fostering a young person's strengths and interests, and ultimately developing a young person's positive identity and sense of self (Johns et al., 2016). This aligns with the obligation for youth justice systems to focus on the wellbeing of the child.

In a custodial setting, the institutional climate is an important factor in the treatment of justice-involved young people which can be understood as the shared perceptions of the custodial environment (Souverein et al., 2013; Van der Helm et al., 2014). In particular, a positive and therapeutic climate provides support, facilitates personal growth, and allows flexibility in the balance between care and control. Positive custodial environments have been associated with higher treatment motivation,

lower aggression, and victimisation, and fewer mental health symptoms experienced by young people in detention (Gonçalves et al., 2016; Kupchik & Snyder, 2009; Van der Helm et al., 2012, 2014). Overall, a positive institutional climate is likely to help improve outcomes for incarcerated young people and lower the risk of reoffending (Auty & Liebling, 2020; Harding, 2014). Furthermore, in an institutional setting, staff's relationship with residents, and their knowledge and understanding of individual residents, contributes to providing a safe and secure environment (i.e., relational security) (Tighe & Gudjonsson, 2012).

Social-Ecological Approach

Further building on the need to recognise the historical, cultural and social context of a young person's development, the youth justice system may greatly benefit from adopting a social-ecological approach (Johns et al., 2016; Robinson, 2015). Such an approach encompasses a focus on the individual and also recognises the wider contexts, systems, interactions, and relationships that play a significant role in the development of the individual and their wellbeing. In doing so, it becomes evident that a young person's offending behaviour is deeply intertwined with the relationships and interactions between their environment of family, peers, school and community, as well as the broader societal, cultural and political systems they find themselves in (Bottrell et al., 2010; Johns et al., 2016).

It is well understood that justice-involved young people often come from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, are often victims of crime and experience a wide-range of mental health problems (Borschmann et al., 2020; Casiano et al., 2013; Hughes et al., 2020). As such, an understanding of what promotes wellbeing and healthy functioning despite such adversity, and how this is nurtured and maintained, is a crucial consideration for those young people. Health-sustaining resources to regain, sustain, or improve wellbeing may include family and peer support, educational opportunities, recreational and cultural programs, and mental health care (Robinson, 2015; Rowe & Soppitt, 2014; Ungar, 2008, 2013). Both the capacity of young people and their family systems

to access these resources, as well as the capacity of their family, schools, communities, service providers, and government legislators to provide these, plays an important role in the positive development of young people (Shulman, 2016; Tollit et al., 2015; Ungar, 2008). For example, involvement in school and work has shown to be an important factor for justice-involved young people and their desistance from offending (Stouthamer-Loeber et al., 2004). This involves both their own and their family's ability to navigate and negotiate the school system, as well as the schools ability to provide an accessible and supportive environment (Ungar, 2008). Identifying, providing, and strengthening meaningful health-sustaining resources should be a core element for service providers and institutions interacting with justice-involved young people, as well as those in charge of service provision (Johns et al., 2016; Robinson, 2015; Rowe & Soppitt, 2014).

To conclude, the offence-specific literature supports a focus on therapeutic, tailored approaches that build and strengthen positive youth development, social support networks, and commitment to school or work. Supportive social relationships and interactions within one's environments and context are further highlighted by a social-ecological approach. This appears as a key aspect, relating to different systems including family and carers, peers, school or work, community, service providers, and society at large. In a custodial setting, establishing a safe and positive institutional climate plays a prominent role in the treatment of justice-involved young people, which involves supportive relationships with facility staff. Given this, we must carefully consider how facility design might provide such an environment and how it affects a young person's access to health-sustaining resources.

A Design Model for Youth Custodial Facilities

To establish the theoretical design model, we considered the above elements of effective treatment approaches as a 'brief' for the design of a youth custody facility. A design brief forms the very beginning of the design process and is considered to be a major contributing factor to a successful outcome in carceral architecture (Fairweather &

McConville, 2000). We sought to identify key design characteristics that promote those tailored approaches and supportive and positive relationships identified above, while minimising aspects that act as an impediment. We found that these design characteristics were collected under four key characteristics: small-scale, locally sited, and integrated with the surrounding community, designed to promote relational and differentiated security, and comprising therapeutic design characteristics. We briefly outline these characteristics and current evidence below.

Small-Scale

In the context of adult facilities, the evidence described by Liebling (2008) indicates that smaller prisons are better able to provide a tailored and relational approach. Smaller prisons in Norway, defined as less than 50 beds, were described to have a better quality of life ratings (including staff-detainee relationships, wellbeing, personal safety, and family contact) from both staff and detainees. Furthermore, Liebling describes another evaluation of small Norwegian prisons that showed greater transparency and staff knowledge of individual detainees. This evaluation also concluded that smaller prisons were more flexible and dynamic organisations, facilitating a more tailored approach.

Little research has been conducted on the effect of size specifically in relation to youth custodial facilities. Since it has been demonstrated that youth have more complex care needs compared to adult detainees (van Dooren et al., 2010, 2013), it might be expected that small-scale facilities will have similar, if not greater, positive effects for youth.

Specific to the needs of young people, we can gather some indication by looking at literature in relation to the effect of class sizes on learning environments. Blatchford and Russell (2020) exhaustively show how class size is an environmental aspect which exerts pressures upon multiple aspects of a learning environment, including the management of those environments. They identified that smaller class sizes are a particularly important factor for supporting low-attaining children and those with special needs and disabilities, and that these groups are most negatively affected by large classes. This is worth noting given that these

are characteristics often displayed by justice-involved young people. The authors further identified that large class sizes facilitate conflicts between students, again with obvious relevance to youth justice settings. Tying back to the studies on adult facilities and the effect of size on staff, it is worth noting that it is often the teachers (i.e., staff members) who carry the additional burden of increased class size. In respect to the need for an individually tailored approach, the authors identified that large classes have a negative impact in terms of the amount of individual attention, affecting the ability to differentiate between young people.

From this evidence, it can be expected that a smaller-sized facility will have a favourable impact on the ability to provide individualised approaches, facilitate better staff knowledge of the individual risks, needs, and skills of each young person, facilitate positive relationships between staff and young people and provide a less crowded, less stressful environment more amenable to engaging with treatment.

Local Siting

As noted above, literature describing what works for justice-involved young people repeatedly highlights the importance of positive reciprocal relationships existing outside of the custodial environment to family/carers, peers, school, and community. As such, a youth custodial facility must be able to maintain and strengthen a young person's social connections and support access to community resources. This is naturally affected by the location of the facility relative to the home community of the young person, with greater distance or inaccessibility working counter-productively.

Social connection to the outside world is often considered in terms of visits received while in custody (Cochran, 2014, p. 202; For youth specifically, refer: Monahan et al., 2011; Villalobos Agudelo, 2013; Walker & Bishop, 2016). Mikytuck and Woolard (2019) found that a family's travel time to a facility both 'significantly predicted youth likelihood of receiving an in-person visit' (p. 380) and was 'significantly associated with frequency of contact' (p. 392). Young and Hay (2020) also identified that greater distance between a facility and a young person's

home community lowers both the likelihood and the frequency of visits while incarcerated. This is in line with research into distance and visitation for adult facilities (Clark & Duwe, 2017; Cochran et al., 2016). Lindsey et al. (2017) also identified an association between greater distance from home and an increased likelihood of misconduct, noting that visitation partially mediates this relationship. Importantly, the study identified that this pattern is more pronounced for young people, noting that 'prison distance is strongly associated with misconduct among the youngest inmates, such as those 16-years or 18-years old' (Lindsey et al., 2017, p. 1055). This reinforces the importance of proximity and social connection for young people in custody. Further, it follows from less involvement with a young person's family and community that staff are less able to draw upon specific knowledge of the young person's social and cultural context.

In addition to social connectedness mediated through visits, the location and surrounding context of the facility may provide a greater or lesser opportunity for developing and maintaining prosocial relationships and activities. In the context of immigration detention, Ryo and Peacock (2019) showed that facility location impacts detainees' access to services and support networks. It is possible that a similar relationship exists between a youth custodial facility and community resources in the facility's context.

If it is accepted that a facility will be small, these considerations provide a strong argument for a more localised facility relative to a young person's home environment in order to promote protective factors and health resources that can be sustained beyond time spent in custody. Aligned with these considerations, the placement of young people close to home is the key principle of recent reform in New York City, which has shown this to be a highly successful approach (NYC Administration for Children's Services, 2017).

Relational and Differentiated Security

Research shows that overly restrictive interventions are likely to increase the risk of reoffending (Bonta & Andrews, 2007; Lowenkamp & Latessa,

2005; Zoettl, 2020). This highlights the importance for interventions to be individualised, which necessarily extends to security measures within a facility. To ensure this individualised focus, we need to consider that there are multiple dimensions for the differentiation of security. Firstly, security measures need to cater simultaneously to young people who have different care and security needs. Secondly, in response to effective treatment it can be expected that an individual's risks and needs will change over time. As such, facility design is required to provide or facilitate security measures that can be differentiated over time and between individuals at any given time.

The importance of positive relationships extends to the maintenance of security in a facility, with relational security having been recognised as the most effective of security measures within a youth custodial environment (Armytage & Ogloff, 2017). Relational security is the understanding and knowledgeable staff have of residents, and how this informs the management and de-escalation of security incidents (Tighe & Gudjonsson, 2012). Therefore, the design of facility security should incorporate and contribute to familiar relationships between staff and young people, rather than relying solely on physical and procedural measures.

The design and layout of adult prison facilities have been linked to the perceptions of detained adults on their relationships with staff (Beijersbergen et al., 2016). The perception of staff-detainee relationships was measured across 32 Dutch prisons with various layouts, including panopticon, radial, high-rise, and campus layouts. Detainees housed in prisons that promote larger physical distances between staff and detained adults (i.e., panopticon and radial layouts) experienced more negative interactions with staff. Those housed in layouts promoting interaction (i.e., campus and high-rise facilities) experienced more positive relationships with staff. This gives some indication that design has the capability of actively promoting interactions and relationships between facility staff and detainees.

In relation to youth, the impact of a repressive physical environment on the institutional climate in secure residential and youth justice facilities has been recognised, however, has not been investigated separately from the social element (Van der Helm et al., 2018). Young-Alfaro

(2017) observed that the layout of prison school spaces, and their associated processes, can be configured to essentialise young students as criminals in the eyes of teachers and facility staff, contributing to the perception that young people are threats, with implications to their interpersonal interactions.

Therapeutic Design

As wellbeing is a central principle for youth custody, it is important to note that young people in custodial facilities are a particularly vulnerable group in our society. Many justice-involved young people are victims of trauma, abuse, or neglect, present with various mental health issues and experience systemic disadvantage, contributing to their engagement in offending behaviours (Borschmann et al., 2020; Casiano et al., 2013; Hughes et al., 2020).

It is well recognised that built environments can have profoundly negative impacts on the physical and mental health of residents in health care facilities (Ulrich, 2006). This research provides insight into how people react to institutional spaces where they are admitted involuntarily. Therapeutic design can be considered as design that incorporates (most, if not all) features that improve safety by reducing stress, aggression, violence, and self-harm (Ulrich et al., 2018) and contributes to mental health, wellbeing, and rehabilitation (Connellan et al., 2013).

Common therapeutic design features that have been related to rehabilitative outcomes in mental health care facilities include: access to daylight, natural lighting and glare; noise levels; adequacy of space for personal, communal, and work activities; 'home-like' (as opposed to institutional) environmental qualities; and access to gardens and nature (Connellan et al., 2013; Wener 2012). For young people, several additional key design features were highlighted: access to means of distraction in response to stress (e.g., television, telephone or music); access to recreational areas with peers (e.g., exercise rooms); an accessible kitchen; and a need for privacy (single rooms and private bathrooms) (Connellan et al., 2013). Moreover, Connellan et al. (2013) pointed out that the need for

connection with the outside world was a commonality across publications relating to the design of mental health facilities for young people. Similar therapeutic design features have been linked to the wellbeing of people detained in prison (Bernheimer et al., 2017).

The built environment has both direct and indirect effects on mental health, impacting a person's mental wellbeing through purely physical means but also by mediating the ways in which they act and interact socially (Evans, 2003). This is worth considering again, given the importance of relationship building and the need for connection with the outside world.

European Precedent Studies

To substantiate and refine our understanding of the key design characteristics, we studied these against several highly regarded facilities in three European jurisdictions—Spain, Norway, and the Netherlands (Fig. 13.1). Each jurisdiction has a different approach to the treatment of young people in custody, also involving different facility designs. Through site visits and interviews with staff and management, we sought to explore (1) the extent to which, and how the key design characteristics were operationalised in the different jurisdictions, and (2) how these design characteristics impacted upon the ability to provide for the approaches identified as important in the literature.

Background

Spain: Diagrama Facilities in Cordoba, Castilla la Mancha, and Carmona

In Spain the Juvenile Criminal Act (JCA) applies to young people aged 14–18 years old. The youth justice system has a strong focus on education and rehabilitation. The Diagrama Foundation, an international not-for-profit organisation, runs 36 'youth educational centres' which fulfil the role of youth justice facilities across Spain. Approximately 80%

Fig. 13.1 European precedent facilities. (*Notes* *Photographs marked with asterisk, credit: P. Gunasekera, 2017. 'Returning Citizen Rehabilitation: Understanding Best Practices in Germany, the Netherlands and Norway; Arriving at Bergen and Bjørgvin Fengsel'. Accessed 11/9/20. https://pgwcmt.wordpress.com/)

of young people placed within these facilities are sentenced, with the remainder awaiting sentencing.

Each facility has closed, semi-open, and open units, and operates with a five-stage model in which young people can progress from 'Induction' through to a stage of 'Autonomy'. There are two types of staff present; mostly 'educators' who interact with the young people directly, with some guards whose role is focused on security. Educators come from a range of professional backgrounds, such as youth law, teaching, or social work.

Norway: Bjørgvin Youth Unit, Bergen

The justice system in Norway has a strong focus on the principles of restorative justice, reintegration and adopts a trauma sensitive approach. Criminal responsibility starts at age 15, operating with only one justice system for both youth and adults. A custodial sentence for youth is very much a last resort measure and is only applied to very severe offences, including murder and severe sexual offences. There are two youth facilities for young people under 18, each with room to house four young people: one in Bergen, which we visited for this study, and another in Eidsvoll, a one-hour drive from Oslo.

As the facility in Bergen was purpose-built to house young people tried for very serious offences, it operates as a high-security facility. Despite this, it employs a highly relational approach and is focused on providing individual treatment for young people. Staff consist of 50% social workers and 50% correctional staff, which is mandated by law. The social workers have at minimum a bachelor's in social work, preferably in child protection. Correctional staff are educated through a two-year bachelor program, where they are taught subjects including psychology, criminology, law, human rights, and ethics, and how these relate to their occupation.

The Netherlands: Amsterdam Small-Scale Facility

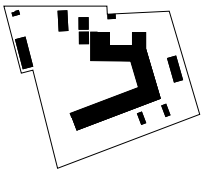
Juvenile criminal law in the Netherlands applies to young people between the ages of 12 and 18 years. Young people aged 16–23 can be convicted either as an adult or as a juvenile, under adolescent criminal law. In 2016 the Netherlands opened three small-scale community-integrated pilot facilities as part of a three-year trial exploring the future of youth custody in the Netherlands.

Following the trial, the small-scale facility in Amsterdam has become a permanent part of the youth justice system in its local region. This facility can house a total of eight young people on remand between the age of 12–18, as well as young people aged 18–23 years old who are being tried under adolescent criminal law. It offers an alternative to a high-security facility for young people remanded for their first or second offence. The focus lies on maintaining and building protective factors, such as engagement with education (at external schools), employment, and youth support services. The facility is semi-open and operates with low physical and operational security measures, depending primarily upon relational security. Most staff are 'pedagogical staff' with a degree from a vocational university and are qualified youth social workers. Some staff are more security focused, although still employing a relational/pedagogical role.

Facility Size

We observed the size of each facility in regard to the relationships between staff and young people. Facility size can be characterised by the facility footprint and the number of beds, also taking note of how many beds per residential unit. Given the importance of an individualised approach and positive relationships between staff and young people, staff-resident ratios are also identified for each facility (Fig. 13.2).

The highly individualised approach and complex cohort of the Bergen facility is reflected in the smallest number of beds across the three jurisdictions, as well as a higher staff-resident ratio. In the Amsterdam



Places : 69 beds
Facility area: ≈15,600m²
Number of units: 8
Unit Size: 5-12 beds
Daytime staff-resident ratio: 2:12

Spain - Diagrama Carmona

Places: 72 beds
Facility area: ≈20,900m²
Number of units: 6
Unit Size: 12 beds
Daytime staff-resident ratio: 2:12

Spain - Diagrama Cordoba

Places: 76 beds
Facility area: ≈24,400m²
Number of units: 9
Unit Size: 7-9 beds
Daytime staff-resident ratio: 2:12

Spain - Diagrama Castilla la Mancha

Places: 4 beds
Facility area: ≈4,100m²
Number of units: 1
Unit Size: 4 beds
Daytime staff-resident ratio: 6:4

Bergen - Bjorgvin Youth Unit

Places: 8 beds
Facility area: ≈890m²
Number of units: 1
Unit size: 8 beds
Daytime staff-resident ratio: 2:8

Amsterdam - Small-scale facility

Scale: 20 50 100m

Fig. 13.2 Facility size. Facility size is characterised by the footprint, number of beds, number of units and unit size. Staff-resident ratios of each facility provided for reference

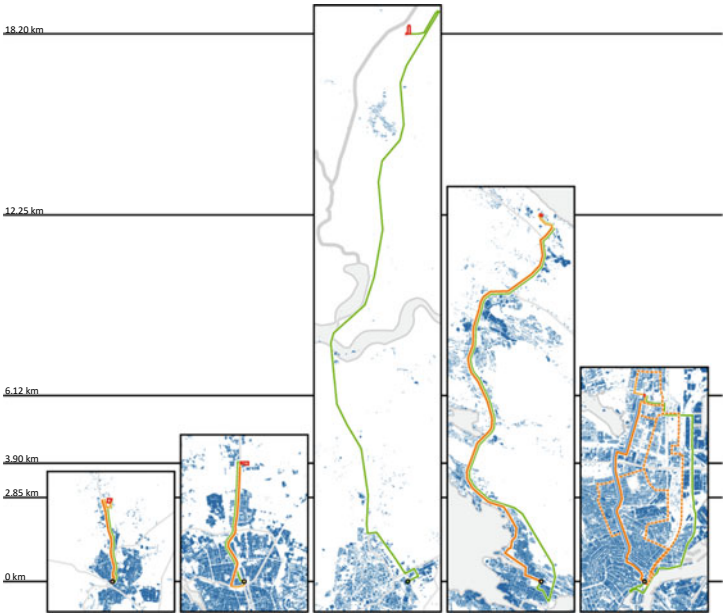
facility, staff work with a cohort of young people who access services and education outside of the facility, leading to a very small facility footprint.

The Spanish facilities are notably larger in comparison, though the size of individual units ranges between five and twelve beds. The scale of each unit in Spain is comparable to the 'single unit' facilities in Bergen and Amsterdam, but it is worth noting the great importance Spanish staff placed on each staff member being familiar with each individual young person across the whole facility. It was noted that every individual is discussed at shift hand-over meetings, and this approach was described as crucial to the Diagrama model. This indicates a way of working that, despite larger facilities, still emphasises a strong focus on providing an individualised and relational approach.

Across variation in the number of beds and staff-resident ratios, we observed staff to be working closely and in a familiar and personal manner with the young people in all five facilities. Given the substantial effort and expertise required of the Spanish staff to maintain this practice, we infer that there is an upper limit to overall facility size, above which it would be increasingly unmanageable for staff to maintain a close relationship and individual knowledge of young people in a facility. This aligns with the literature previously discussed (Liebling, 2008). As social practices and competencies vary between cultures, the upper limit of facility size may vary between cultural contexts.

Locality

We observed the location of each facility in relation to the access of external health-sustaining resources and social connections. To understand and compare the site of each facility, we sought a method that could be appropriately applied across each of the jurisdictions to provide an indication of how the facility related to its surrounding context. Access to public transport options provides an indication of the site's connectedness to the rest of the community and readiness for access to the site (Fig. 13.3), while land-use planning zones provide an indication of the nature of the environment immediately surrounding the facility (Fig. 13.4).



	Carmona - Spain	**Cordoba** - Spain	**Castilla la Mancha** - Spain	**Bergen** - Norway	**Amsterdam** - Netherlands
Transport time - Public transport:	10 min.	11 min.	n/a	55-65 min.	33 min.
Number of public transport options within 675m radius:	3 options: Bus	2 options: Bus	n/a	2 options: Bus	5 options: Tram/bus
Approximate frequency of public transport:	3 times per day	Every 60 min.	n/a	Every 30-60 min.	Every 6-8 min.
Travel distance required to access public transport:	680m	125m	n/a	730m	350m
Transport time - Car:	8-10 min.	7-14 min.	20-26 min.	18-24 min.	16-45 min.

The Amsterdam facility is fully integrated with the city's public transport system, with close access to multiple different frequent public transport options. This reflects the concerted effort to build and maintain a young person's protective factors in the community. Staff also identified that bicycles (provided by the facility) are another means by which young people can travel to school or work. Young people can travel

◂**Fig. 13.3** Facility siting: Location of facility relative to major transport node. In the absence of the specific locations which individual young people and family/carers travel to and from, the central transport node is considered as a proxy measurement to indicate the facility's access to the general community. Access routes are overlayed upon a map of built-up areas to provide an indication of the distance separating the facility from population and activity centres. For consistency, potential route options for all facilities were measured within a 675 m radius (Bergen, farthest distance to access, excluding Castilla la Mancha due to impractical distance). Trip frequency is measured on a weekday morning, for the access point that is closest to the facility, in the direction of the major transport node only—drawn as the 'primary route'. Carmona, Cordoba, and Bergen are located at the periphery of built-up areas, with public transport access and frequency less than what is available within the urban areas. Amsterdam is located within the built-up area of the city, with frequency and access similar to that available throughout the urban area. (*Source* Carmona: Consorcio de Transporte Metropolitano - Area de Sevilla. Accessed 10/8/20. https://siu.ctas.ctan.es/es/; Cordoba: Aucorsa - Autobuses de Cordoba. Accessed 10/8/20. https://www.aucorsa.es; Bergen: Skyss. Accessed 11/8/20. https://reise.skyss.no; Amsterdam: GVB Amsterdam. Accessed 11/8/2020. https://en.gvb.nl/; Car routes: Map data ©2020 Inst. Geogr. Nacional and Google; Builtup area map: Corbane, Christina; Sabo, Filip [2019]: ESM R2019—European Settlement Map from Copernicus Very High Resolution data for reference year 2015. European Commission, Joint Research Centre (JRC) [Dataset] https://doi.org/10.2905/8BD2B792-CC33-4C11-AFD1-B8DD60B44F3B)

autonomously, with staff providing support and monitoring as needed. The facility is highly accessible to parents/carers, with no set visiting hours or areas, rather encouraging home-like interactions such as cooking and eating together. The predominantly residential adjacent land use gives a strong indication of the site's integration with the surrounding neighbourhoods.

The Bergen facility is located adjacent to an adult prison, though care has been taken to screen the adult facility from view. It is less connected via public transport options to the city, though this might be expected considering the cohort, in that routine access to external resources is less common and more likely to be conducted with staff present. A further consideration is, given that Bergen is one of only two four-bed youth custody facilities serving Norway, young people are often housed at a significant distance from their home and families. Great effort has been made in the facility design to recognise this distance, with a fully

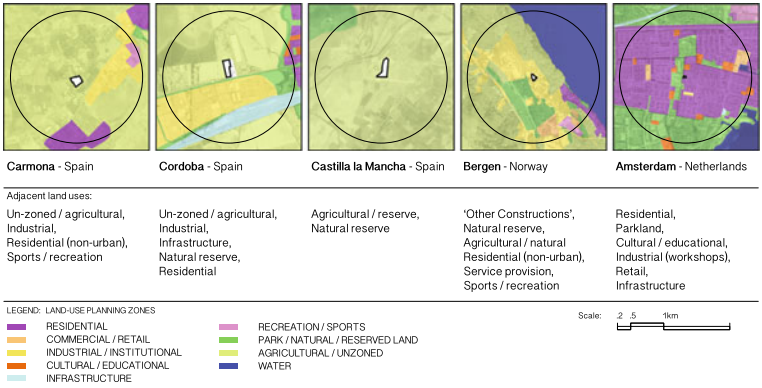


Fig. 13.4 Facility siting: Land-use zoning within 1 km radius. Land-use planning zones provide an indication of the types of environments immediately surrounding the facilities. Zones have been grouped with similar types to show general similarities between jurisdictions, despite variation in specific planning rules. Note that Bergen's 'Other Constructions' zone includes a wide-range of land uses. Non-urban residential areas within this zone have been grouped with residential zones from other jurisdictions. The facility is located adjacent to an adult prison, though care has been taken to screen this from view within the youth unit. (*Notes* Source: Carmona: Ayuntamiento De Carmona, 2012. Plan General De Ordenacion Urbanistica. B.01 Ordenación Estructural, C.03 & C.21 Ordenacion Pormenorizada. Accessed 17/8/2020. http://carmona.org/pgou/; Cordoba: Gerencia Municipa de Urbanismo, Ayuntimento de Cordoba, 2001. Planos De Calificacion Usos Y Sistemas: CUS31W, CUS32W, CUS24W. Accessed 27/7/2020. www.gmucordoba.es/planos/calificacion-usos-y-sistemas; Castilla la Mancha: Ayuntamiento De Fernan Caballero, 2002. Plan de Ordenacion Municipal. Planeamiento Municipal de Castilla-La Mancha. Accessed 27/7/2020. https://castillalamancha.maps.arcgis.com/; Bergen: Bergen Kommune. Kommuneplanens Arealdel 2018. Accessed 27/7/2020. https://bergen.maps.arcgis.com/; Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017 Land Use. Accessed 27/7/2020 https://maps.amsterdam.nl/grondgebruik/; Underlay satellite imagery: Amsterdam: Esri, EsriNL, Rijkswaterstaat, Intermap, NASA, NGA, USGS | Esri Community Maps Contributors, Kadaster, Esri, HERE, Garmin, GeoTechnologies, Inc, METI/NASA, USGS | Beeldmateriaal.nl, Maxar, Microsoft; Spain: Esri, Intermap, NASA, NGA, USGS | Esri Community Maps Contributors, Instituto Geográfico Nacional, Esri, HERE, Garmin, GeoTechnologies, Inc, METI/NASA, USGS | Gobierno de España, Maxar, Microsoft; Bergen: Esri, Intermap, NMA, USGS | Esri, HERE, Garmin, GeoTechnologies, Inc, METI/NASA, USGS | Maxar, Microsoft)

contained apartment available for family or carers to stay within the facility to promote visits. We learned, however, that families generally opt to stay in a hotel nearby rather than at the facility, with the costs covered by the facility.

In Spain, the Diagrama Foundation has not had the option of choosing the site for its facilities on every occasion, instead making the best of what is available. As each facility generally has the same overall cohort and shares the same programs and approach, it is interesting to compare two facilities which are sited differently, relative to their communities. The facility in Cordoba is located immediately opposite a local bus route, eight minutes ride to the city centre, while the Castilla la Mancha facility sits 25 minutes' car drive from Ciudad Real, with no close public transport options available. During our visit, it was made clear that in Cordoba, young people in the Autonomy Unit were able to catch the bus from directly outside the facility for work or education, as per their daily activities. This autonomy was not possible at Castilla la Mancha, with staff required to arrange shuttle buses for young people to access the community.

Across the jurisdictions, location directly affects a facility's accessibility for family and carers, as well as the ability for young people to build and maintain autonomy and health-sustaining resources within the community. We also observe that as a facility becomes more separated from the community, greater resources are required of staff and the facility itself to provide opportunities and access to health-sustaining resources.

Measuring modes of transport suitable for young people, such as public transport, walking, and cycling, indicates readily available opportunities for the building of autonomous movement and access to external resources independently. This grows in importance as a young person approaches the end of their time in custody and prepares to navigate their own way to resources in the community.

Security Measures

We sought to characterise the security measures of each facility by observing: (1) the physical security infrastructure and how it influenced

spatial character; and (2) the spatial arrangement and boundaries, and how these related to patterns of shared spatial use between staff and young people.

Physical Security Infrastructure

Enclosing the Bergen facility is a heavy-duty anti-climb wire mesh fence, approximately four metres in height, sky-blue in colour, with no deterrent features atop the fence (e.g., razor wire). Doors within the residential spaces are timber or framed glass. Windows are large with no bars or mesh. Given the complex cohort, the facility includes a seclusion room with very strict policies around its use, and access to riot gear, though this was said to be very rarely used. Though security is comprehensive, the facility has the character of an ordered house within a school yard.

The Spanish facilities included either a solid perimeter wall or chain link fence. There is a preference against the use of barbed wire, which was used at only one of three facilities visited. Windows are operable and have bars; however, this is a normal feature of houses in the region. External doors are ornamented steel with timber doors internally. External spaces again primarily resemble a school yard. A few uniformed guards were present in the background, whose presence is for security.

The Amsterdam facility has no perimeter fence, rather having a front door entry that one might expect for a normal apartment building. From external appearances there is nothing to indicate that it is a secure facility. Inside, the facility has timber and glass doors, and operable windows (restricted opening) with no bars. Despite having a time-out room in the facility, this had only been used once at request of the young person, which suggests it may be an unnecessary measure. A terrace on the first floor provides an outdoor space with no additional security measures. Given that young people leave the facility for work/education throughout the day, a facility perimeter is a lower priority, resulting in a very home-like environment.

It is notable that all five facilities avoided 'aggressive' deterrent measures, instead focusing on home-like or school-like spatial characteristics (Fig. 13.5). This approach was exemplified in Amsterdam, where a perimeter was avoided altogether.

Spatial Arrangement and Boundaries

Across the facilities we saw several similarities which encouraged close interaction between staff and young people. One aspect of this, repeated in all three jurisdictions, was the arrangement of cooking and dining spaces for meals to be shared between staff and young people, noted as a key site of relationship building (Fig. 13.6).

In Amsterdam, a single kitchen, dining, and living space is shared by both the staff and young people. These areas provide an informal space for shared activities, such as leisure activities and preparing and eating meals together. This is seen to provide opportunities to cultivate positive relationships, and develop the domestic skills of young people, as well as the time and space for addressing problematic behaviours and providing learning opportunities.

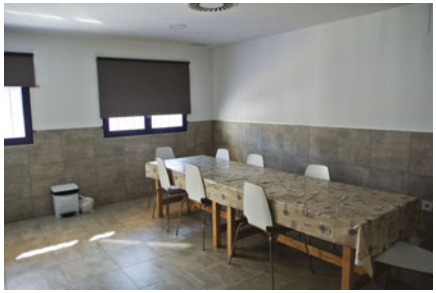
Similarly, in Bergen, a domestic kitchen, dining, and living space serves as the literal and practical centre of the facility, where staff again are encouraged to interact in a normalising and informal manner.

In Spain again, the dining space and meals were seen to be an important site for relationship and skill building. Each facility included a commercial kitchen to prepare meals for both staff and young people, taken together in the dining spaces of each unit. The spatial arrangements vary however between units at different stages of the Diagrama Model. While units for earlier stages have only basic dining facilities, the Autonomy Units include a kitchen, like those supplied in Amsterdam and Bergen. Again, this kitchen serves as a site for the practising of domestic skills and a means for informal interaction between staff and young people.

A second similarity across the facilities was that no observation windows, staff podiums, or similar physical barriers that distance staff from young people were present. This can be seen in the boundaries

Fig. 13.5 Visible physical security infrastructure. The physical security infrastructure across jurisdictions shows an absence of 'aggressive' deterrent measures with spatial characters that are school- and home-like. (*Notes* *Photographs marked with asterisk, credit: Niels Bleekemolen)

Spain - Autonomy Unit



Spain - Induction Unit (dining space only)

Bergen

Amsterdam *

Fig. 13.6 Shared kitchen and dining areas. Kitchen and dining areas serve as an important focus in each facility for informal activities between staff and young people. The Diagrama Autonomy unit contains a full domestic kitchen, similar to Amsterdam and Bergen, whereas the earlier units in the model contain dining areas only. (*Notes* *Photographs marked with asterisk, credit: Niels Bleekemolen)

between spaces used for staff/procedural purposes, and general living spaces (Fig. 13.7).

Fig. 13.7 Spatial use and boundaries. Boundaries between areas which are used for residence and more predominantly staff/procedural uses provide an indication of how the design encourages either distancing or close interaction between staff and young people

The Amsterdam facility includes minimal staff-only and procedural spaces, with none of these spaces including any observation windows. These spaces have 'normal' domestic boundaries and do not provide a privileged view of the living spaces, nor establish a hierarchical relationship between the spaces. These rooms have a single access door from the corridor, as might be expected in a normal house or office.

The Spanish facilities include a wing for procedural and office spaces for specialist staff (e.g., psychologists). A small staff office space was provided within each unit; though these resemble a storage space much more than an office; with shelves of games, books, and teaching resources taking up most of the room, over a small work desk. Again, there was no indication of a spatial hierarchy, nor any means of observing the living spaces from within the room, other than the doorway itself.

The Bergen facility was initially designed with three small observation windows (approx. 300 × 300 mm) at standing height (sill approx. 1.7 m above floor level) though these windows have subsequently been painted over during the facility's operation.

It is apparent that this boundary was carefully considered during the design process. Positioned over work desks, the location and size of the windows make them awkward to use for observation from either a standing or sitting position in the office—discouraging casual use. On the living room side, a wall mural surrounds the windows minimising their visual presence. The wall projects into the living space in a very slight arc, along the axis of the hallway. This arrangement retains the recognisable form of an observation room, though made less apparent through a design seeking to negate the hierarchical quality of this spatial arrangement where possible.

During the facility's operation, these windows have been blanked out with paint, with staff recognising that it made for a 'wrong impression'. It is worth noting again that this facility is designed as a last resort and most severe measure, containing four of only eight beds nation-wide.

Across all three jurisdictions, it is apparent that design discourages distancing between staff and young people, again promoting the shared use of spaces between staff and young people.

A third similarity we observed was the provision of some means to differentiate or provide flexibility in the way that spaces could be used and accessed, though each jurisdiction achieved this differently.

Staff in the Amsterdam facility use their knowledge of a young person to adjust the delivery of security procedures according to that young person's individual needs at the time (within set limits). From the front door, the entry procedure into the secure building is mediated by the staff member's relationship with the young person, rather than by physical barriers. As a spatial arrangement, this means the facility has an office and a small storeroom adjacent to the front door, where security procedures are carried out to the extent considered appropriate by staff (Fig. 13.7a). This arrangement promotes a more personable, normalised, and individually tailored entry to the facility, minimising adversarial or hierarchical aspects of formal procedure. Locating procedural spaces as an adjacency to paths of movement, rather than in sequence, provides staff with the ability to employ relational security methods, in addition to, or in place of standardised procedures.

Within the facility, doors are typically left open unless required otherwise, and young people are free to move around with a key to their room until curfew. The absence of hard boundaries is almost difficult to perceive as a security response—but this is seen to promote constructive relationships between staff and young people as a key measure in keeping the facility safe.

Both Bergen and Spain provide differentiated internal spaces, using different methods to suit the facility size. In Bergen the residential areas have been arranged to provide a variety of 'softly' defined spaces, alcoves, and sitting areas. Sitting areas with large windows are located outside bedrooms offset from the hallway, which removes any sense of a 'corridor' (Fig. 13.7b). Doors in between are generally left open unless required. As breakout areas from the shared central living room, this arrangement provides staff a range of both subtly and clearly defined spaces with different degrees of intimacy in relation to a young person's personal space. This flexibility is seen as an asset when working to build relationships with young people who display challenging behaviours. It is worth recognising that the small size of the Amsterdam and Bergen facilities

significantly contributes to the way security is managed relationally and flexibly.

As part of the progressive stages of the Diagrama model, the Spanish facilities provide differentiated spaces at the scale of units, which are designed to reflect the degree of autonomy that is deemed appropriate for a young person at the time. As the need for structure and supervision decreases, young people can move into units that increasingly resemble a normal student share-house. With staff permission, the final 'Autonomy Unit' can provide unsupervised access to outdoor courtyards/terraces and includes domestic laundry and kitchen facilities. Compared to the sparser furnishings of the early stages, the Autonomy Unit includes more relaxed furniture and leisure items including video games, musical instruments, and pets. Young people in the early stages of the model are housed in units which, while still home-like, are more geometrically ordered, with a greater focus on sightlines and doorways (Fig. 13.7c).

From our observations, spaces that work flexibly and provide different options for use, including aspects of security, are important in providing the conditions for relationship building between staff and young people. It also appears that the reverse is true, with strong and knowledgeable relationships allowing for the use of spaces in flexible ways.

All the facilities operate with a strong focus on relational security rather than relying solely on physical security infrastructure, encouraging staff interaction with young people as the primary means of maintaining a safe and secure environment. 'Aggressive' deterrent measures such as razor wire are avoided, while the design of the facilities contributes to the manner in which close interactions are encouraged between staff and young people, including aspects that encourage mutual activities and discourage distanced observation or monitoring. Further, the relationships between staff and young people, and the flexibility of spaces and their access, appear to be mutually reinforcing one another.

Therapeutic Design

In order to examine the architectural details of therapeutic design in each jurisdiction, we observed how each facility responded to design

features understood to have therapeutic effects from mental health and environmental psychology literature (Bernheimer et al., 2017; Connellan et al., 2013; Ulrich et al., 2018). These observations are described per jurisdiction in Table 13.1.

Each jurisdiction provided an environment incorporating many design features known to have mental health benefits, moving away from an institutional design often seen in more traditional youth custodial facilities. For example, all facilities used soft finishes and furniture in their design, had operable curtains/blinds to windows and moveable furniture. Despite 'soft' architectural finishes, none of the facilities showed signs of graffiti or damage—nor were they overly ordered, with this contributing to the sense of a home-like environment (Fig. 13.8). Each facility responded in a manner particular to its own domestic architectural context. Across the facilities, all provided ample natural daylight, domestic acoustics, and views to the natural environment such as tree canopies, distant landscapes, or forested hills. Furthermore, all facilities provided privacy through individual bedrooms, as well as opportunities for young people to personalise spaces with their own belongings such as postcards and photos. Noticeably, all facilities provided for autonomous movement by young people through spaces of differing environmental qualities, either until a curfew or contingent upon approval.

These facilities readily demonstrate that it is possible to implement these various therapeutic design features within a youth custodial context. Many of these therapeutic characteristics would be very difficult to achieve if a 'hard' approach to physical security was employed but are easily and inexpensively achieved when security is maintained effectively by social relationships. Indeed, from our observations, it appears that when security is managed primarily through constructive and respectful relationships, encouraged by the shared occupation of spaces, these home-like characteristics contribute to the maintenance of those relationships between staff and young people.

Table 13.1 Observations of therapeutic design characteristics

Characteristic	Amsterdam	Bergen	Spain
Adequate lighting and access to adequate daylight[a,b,c]	Multiple large windows (approx. 2.4 × 2 m) in multiple directions and at high angle in living areas. Clerestory window to corridor, full height windows at ends. Large windows (from 2.5 to 4 m^2) to bedrooms	Multiple large windows (approx. 1.2 × 1.8 m) to living areas, facing sun, curtains and glare reducing blinds provided. 2 large windows to each bedroom (approx. 1.5 × 1.5 m)	Multiple windows (typically 1.4 × 1 m), typically in multiple directions to living areas. 1 window (typically 1.4 × 1 m) to bedroom
Spacious communal areas with moveable furniture and homelike atmosphere[a,b]	Open plan living/dining/kitchen (120 m^2 for 8 young people) plus a terrace (93 m^2). Moveable furniture and objects to shelves and kitchen cupboards. Familiar and homelike atmosphere	Central living/dining/kitchen and adjacent living areas (200 m^2 for 4 young people) with outdoor terrace in yard Moveable furniture and objects to shelves and kitchen cupboards. Familiar and homelike atmosphere	Living/dining areas (approx. 75 m^2 per unit), plus outdoor terraces/courtyards and kitchens in Autonomy units Moveable furniture and objects to shelves and kitchen cupboards. Familiar and homelike atmosphere, more sparsely furnished in units for earlier stages
Adequate private personal space (i.e., privacy) with some sense of control over this personal space[a,b,c]	Individual bedrooms (approx. 12 m^2) incl. toilet, sink and desk. Personalised space with objects and photos, operable windows and curtains to control light. Light switches to control light	Large individual bedrooms (approx. 20 m^2) with ensuite and desk. Personalised space with objects and photos. Blinds to windows to control light. Light switches to control light	Individual bedrooms (approx. 7.5 m^2) with desk. Personalised space with objects and photos. Operable windows with blinds to control light. Light switches to control light

(continued)

Table 13.1 (continued)

Characteristic	Amsterdam	Bergen	Spain
Design to limit crowding and the subjective perception of crowding[a,b,c]	Small-scale facility of 8 beds. Single bedrooms with private toilet. Communal areas have moveable furniture. Ceilings are high and spaces are light-filled	Small-scale facility of 4 beds. Single bedrooms with private bathroom. Living areas broken into multiple spaces. Spaces are light-filled	Maximum unit size of 12 beds. Single bedrooms. Unit living spaces broken into multiple areas. Rooms and corridors are wide and spaces are light-filled
Noise reducing design and good acoustics, including the use of sound absorbing materials and a reduction of background noise[a,b,c]	Comfortable, warm domestic acoustics. Soft surfaces incl. curtains, furniture and rugs. There are plaster walls and ceilings, and timber doors internally	Comfortable, warm domestic acoustics. Soft surfaces incl. curtains, furniture and rugs. There are plaster walls and ceilings, and timber doors internally	Comfortable, domestic acoustics, some reflection from tile flooring Soft surfaces incl. curtains, furniture and rugs. Plaster ceilings and walls and timber doors internally
Access to and use of green spaces and gardens[a,b,c]	Outdoor terrace accessible with approval of staff, with view to a canal, parks and tree canopies. Young people spend time outside of the facility during most days	Outdoor yard accessible during leisure times, includes trees and lawn	Rich and varied gardens incl. lawns, hedges, trees, flowers, water features, vegetable gardens, animals. Access according to daily schedule. Access to courtyards and terraces at leisure for Autonomy unit, subject to approval of staff
Visual access to natural environments through windows with particular reference to far-reaching views[a,b,c]	Views from living room windows to tree canopies and canal. Some bedroom windows with views to treetops in the street	Views to nearby forested hills from bedroom and living room windows, as well as outdoor yard	Building mass arranged to promote views to distant landscapes (open/splayed courtyard). Upstairs units have good views to distant landscape, downstairs to gardens

Characteristic	Amsterdam	Bergen	Spain
Legible and visually distinct spaces clearly marking the different functions of spaces[a,c]	Shared spaces (incl. gym and living area) distinct by furnishings and finishes. Visually consonant overall. May be less applicable given young people leave during the day for activities	Shared spaces distinguished by furniture. Visually consonant overall	Units at different stages of model are distinguished by furniture and layout. Classrooms and activity spaces distinguished by furniture and equipment
Enriched environment with aesthetic considerations, including art, indoor plants, variation in colour and texture, and balance between visual order and complexity[a,b,c]	Large Van Gogh print on the wall, street-art graphic in the gym. Balance between warm wood tones (floor, roof structure, doors) and blues and greens for paint and curtains. Homelike material palette. Books, DVDs, photographs on shelves in living area	Wall hangings and murals, patterned soft furnishings and indoor plants. Generally neutral palette given warmth by wood tones (floor, furniture) and colours in furnishings (loosely themed to spaces). Sky blue used for external doors and fences, with brightly coloured road signs collaged as a wall to exercise area. Books and DVDs on shelves	Paintings and photographs on living area walls. Small indoor plants in certain units. Generally neutral internal palette given warmth and colour by furniture and wall hangings. Blue used for doors and window frames. Coloured vinyl flooring to Autonomy unit living spaces. Books, DVDs, personal items on shelves around living spaces
Home-like, non-institutional, non-hard architectural finishes (i.e., not vandal resistant)[a,c]	Timber floors and furniture, carpet rugs, plaster walls and ceilings, fabric furniture upholstery and curtains	Timber floors and furniture, carpet rugs, plaster walls and ceilings, fabric furniture upholstery and curtains	Domestic tile floors and in some areas as wall lining to approx. 1 m above floor height. Full plaster walls in later units. Timber and fabric furniture, fabric blinds

(continued)

Table 13.1 (continued)

Characteristic	Amsterdam	Bergen	Spain
Some degree of individual control of environmental elements, including light, noise, temperature, air quality, and movement[b,c]	Operable windows, curtains and blinds provided throughout. Young people can control lights in bedroom and have the ability to move around within facility	Blinds or curtains provided to all windows. Young people can control lights in bedroom. Good acoustic isolation and number of different rooms/alcoves provides ability to relocate away from noise	Operable windows and blinds provided to windows in bedrooms and living spaces. Light switches and heating/cooling as per normal domestic house. Young people have the ability to move around within units, which is increased for those in Autonomy unit
The ability to personalise living spaces[a,b,c]	Young people personalise bedrooms with personal belongings	Young people personalise bedrooms with personal belongings	Young people personalise bedrooms with personal belongings. Photographs, posters, drawings also in living spaces. Some furniture items (e.g., chairs, tables) made by young people themselves
An ability to move autonomously between spaces, particularly of different spatial qualities, within the limits of facility security[a,c]	On weekdays young people autonomously attend work/school outside facility with support as needed. Within the facility, movement is autonomous until curfew between living spaces (incl. kitchen, dining, living room) and bedroom spaces. Access to external terrace space contingent upon approval	Movement is largely autonomous within the residential area until curfew, though staff members are encouraged to spend time directly with young people. The area for autonomous movement includes the outdoor yard area, bedrooms, small-living spaces and large shared living spaces. Doorways allow for closing of movement as necessary	Movement is comparable to a school, with units inside an open yard area. Autonomy of movement in and out of units increases for later stages, with greatest freedom of movement in the Autonomy units, where young people can freely access outside courtyard and terrace spaces (contingent upon approval)

Characteristic	Amsterdam	Bergen	Spain
Ability to move between spaces to regulate social interactions or gain visual and acoustic privacy in social spaces[b,c]	Softly defined spaces in open plan living room, with some separation in social space provided by access to adjacent terrace (contingent upon staff approval)	Numerous 'softly defined' small living spaces provided adjacent to bedrooms throughout the residential spaces. These provide a degree of visual and acoustic privacy while remaining 'open' to social interactions	Unit living spaces typically divided in two, allowing a degree of separation within social space. Terrace and courtyard spaces provide separation for Autonomy unit shared spaces (contingent upon staff approval)

Source [a]Connellan et al. (2013), [b]Ulrich et al. (2018) and [c]Bernheimer et al. (2017)

Fig. 13.8 Therapeutic design features. Each jurisdiction provided an environment incorporating many design features known to have mental healthHealth benefits, contributing to the overall sense of a home-like environment. (*Notes* *Photographs marked with asterisk, credit: Niels Bleekemolen)

Discussion

By establishing the design implications which follow from the literature on what works for justice-involved young people, a series of key characteristics were identified that define a best-practice, theoretical facility model: small-scale, locally sited, and integrated with the surrounding community, designed to promote relational and differentiated security, and taking account of therapeutic design characteristics. To substantiate the relevance of these key design characteristics and refine their definition, we studied highly regarded facilities in three European jurisdictions (Spain, Norway, the Netherlands). We observed how and to what extent those characteristics were operationalised, and how they impacted upon the ability to provide for the approaches identified as important in the literature.

First, observing the size of each facility showed that unit sizes were roughly similar, between four and twelve beds. Overall facility size showed greater variation, four to seventy-six beds, and we observed that a facility's size had an influence on the ability and resources required of staff to know and relate to each individual young person. As noted above, staff worked closely and in a familiar and personal manner with young people in all five facilities. Given this, our observations suggest specifying a set number of beds might be an oversimplified way of characterising a given facility as 'small'. Instead, small-scale might be better defined, within a facility's context, by each staff member being able to know each individual young person and act on this knowledge in a constructive way. Larger facility designs make this progressively more difficult and at a certain point an impossibility. Within the range of facility sizes we studied, the Spanish facilities required substantially greater resources in order to accomplish this objective, which provides an indication of the range in which further studies might explore the effect of size.

Secondly, we studied the distance from each facility to a central transport node and time taken to access public transport as a proxy measurement for a facility's accessibility and integration with the broader community. As a facility becomes more separated from the

community, greater resources are required to mitigate the impacts on accessibility for families and carers, as well as the ability for young people to build and maintain autonomy and health-sustaining resources in the community. The facility in Amsterdam, with the readiest access to public transport options, made daily use of this connectedness to accommodate the continuation of schooling and frequent involvement of young peoples' families in treatment. While prior studies clearly showed that closer facility proximity relates to increased visitation from family, given the relative mobility between adults and young people (e.g., the ability to drive), we suggest that locality might be better characterised not only in terms of visits, but by the ability for a young person (when appropriate) to travel autonomously to build and maintain health-sustaining resources in the community which can persist beyond time spent in custody.

Thirdly, all five facilities actively minimised the presence of 'aggressive' physical security infrastructure that would characterise the environment as a custodial institution and avoided physical barriers that might distance staff from young people. Instead, facility design promoted a strong focus on relational security by encouraging staff to spend time directly engaged in informal activities with young people. Furthermore, though in different manners, all facilities were designed with some capacity for flexibility in the way spaces and boundaries could be managed to suit individual needs, with this working in a mutually reinforcing manner with the relational security aspects. We observe then that a focus on these spatial arrangements and practices contributes to a facility design that can be characterised as relational and differentiated.

Fourthly, we examined the therapeutic design characteristics of the facilities by observing how each responded to design features understood to have therapeutic effects from mental health and environmental psychology literature, including: access to daylight and natural lighting; spacious communal areas; private personal spaces; limits to crowding; noise reducing design and good acoustics; access to green spaces and gardens; visual access to natural environments; an enriched environment with aesthetic considerations; 'home-like' (as opposed to institutional) environmental qualities; some degree of individual

control of environmental elements; the ability to personalise spaces; the ability to move autonomously; the ability to regulate social interactions and privacy. All five facilities demonstrate that these design features can be successfully applied within a youth custodial context, each going to great lengths to provide a 'home-like' environment.

It is noteworthy that despite differences in the studied facilities' cultural contexts, and across a breadth of regime types, that the commitment to both relational security approaches and the provision of home-like environments remained pronounced.

As we consider the extent to which the identified characteristics defined the facilities' designs, at a glance there is a degree of variation, particularly in size and locality. However, closer observation showed that these variations were consistently matched with specific procedural responses related to the desired outcomes (e.g., connection to family). The larger facilities in Spain were complemented with highly developed procedures to allow all staff members to maintain a relationship with all young people in custody. The more distant facility in Bergen was complemented by an obligation to provide or pay for costs of travel and accommodation for families visiting their child. Similarly, the more distant Spanish facilities had additional obligations to provide transport for young people to and from the community. As such, instead of this variation dismissing the importance of these design characteristics, these observations tend to reinforce them as important considerations in relation to desired outcomes.

Lastly, by observing these design characteristics in existing facilities, it becomes apparent that they are closely interrelated. As noted above, the relatively larger facilities in Spain demonstrated the interaction between facility size and familiarity between staff and young people. This familiarity, while affected by facility size, is developed within those shared spaces, such as the kitchen and dining spaces, seen in all the facilities. Proximity and familiarity between staff and young people provide a strong environmental foundation for the practice of relational security approaches, with flow on effects to physical security design as exemplified by the facility in the Amsterdam.

Further, the familiarity of staff with young people allows them to adjust the delivery of security procedures according to an individual's needs at the time. As the need for structure and supervision decreases, young people have more freedom of movement and are able to practice greater autonomy within the facility. As demonstrated in Amsterdam and Spain, if the facility is local and community-integrated, this practice can extend beyond the facility as a young person nears the end of their time in custody, or as deemed appropriate. Ultimately, this allows for the strengthening of meaningful health-sustaining resources that can be maintained beyond time spent in custody.

The characteristics of small size, local siting, and differentiated security measures, appear then to collectively influence the establishment of a tailored and relational approach within youth custodial facilities.

Furthermore, we observed a reciprocal relationship between relational security and the ability to create a home-like environment that provides for known therapeutic design characteristics. A relational security approach, encouraged by the use of shared spaces, allows for the avoidance or minimisation of 'hard' physical security measures. Additionally, this removes many of the environmental stressors to be avoided when designing therapeutically. In turn, the removal of such stressors is likely to be conducive to positive relationships between staff and young people.

Concluding, our observations across three different jurisdictions substantiate the theoretical design model and the relationship between its design characteristics and the ability to provide youth justice approaches identified as effective in current literature. From the evidence presented here, we propose that a best-practice youth custodial facility design will be small-scale, locally sited, and integrated with the surrounding community, designed to promote relational and differentiated security, and comprise therapeutic design characteristics. By considering the definitions of these characteristics, we were able to draw into view the tensions, opportunities, strengths, and weaknesses in the design of the precedent facilities, relative to their context. The model highlights the importance of carefully considering the design of youth justice facilities in terms of the desired outcomes (i.e., wellbeing, reduced risk of reoffence, school engagement, family, and community connection) as

design decisions impact upon procedures and ways of working within these facilities, in ways that are known to ultimately impact outcomes for young people. Policymakers and designers might benefit greatly from considering this theoretical design model as the basis of an architectural brief for an evidence-based facility design.

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Relational security within Victoria's Youth Custodial System

The establishment, strengthening & maintenance of relational security approaches

Research report

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Executive Summary

This report details the findings of research into the current views, understandings, and use of relational security by youth justice workers at the Parkville Youth Justice Precinct (PYJP) in Melbourne, Victoria.

The use of relational security in youth custodial settings is recognised as a vital part of establishing a safe and secure environment, which is also conducive to a therapeutic approach. Relational security hinges on the nature of the relationships between staff and young people in their custody. As Armytage and Ogloff highlight in their 2017 review of Victoria's youth justice system: 'The relationship between staff and young people is critical for the prompt identification of their risks, issues, needs and triggers. In an effective operating model, these relationships form part of daily operations' (p.233).

Relational security incorporates staff knowledge and understanding of the young people in their custody and how this informs the management and de-escalation of incidents (Collins & Davies, 2005; Tighe & Gudjonsson, 2012). It requires a degree of trust between staff and residents, effected by the staff-to-resident ratio and time spent in face-to-face contact (Kennedy, 2002). This highlight the importance of constructive relationships between staff and young people extending to the maintenance of a safe and secure environment.

Since the youth justice system emphasises the need for a therapeutic approach to fostering young people's rehabilitation, establishing and maintaining a positive and supportive climate that is conducive to such an approach is vital. Relational security is a key part of creating such an environment. It is therefore important to understand how staff working with young people in secure settings understand and use relational security approaches in their role.

The research

The research project, *Youth Justice Workers' views on, and use of, relational security*, sought to understand how youth justice workers understand and use relational security in their everyday work at the Parkville Youth Justice Precinct (PYJP). The study was undertaken in 2020-21 during a period of significant disruption due to the global pandemic. Despite these compounding challenges, between January 2021 and March 2021, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 26 members of the custodial staff at PYJP who agreed to participate in the research. The interviews were recorded, professionally transcribed, then the verbatim transcripts were analysed by two of the researchers (SO and PT). This report brings together the key themes that youth justice staff identified as playing a role in the establishment of a relational approach and maintenance of a safe environment at PYJP.

Key themes

Overall, the interviews with youth justice custodial staff show a high level of care and concern for the wellbeing of young people in custody at the PYJP, which aligns with a relational security approach. Most staff consider their role to involve caring and/or supporting and coaching young people to make better choices, as well as challenging poor choices and negative or harmful behaviours. Many described this explicitly in terms of a parental or 'big brother' role, which clearly indicates their relational orientation. Staff also highlighted the significant challenges of balancing the caring, supportive aspects of their role with the need to maintain security and safety in their workplace. The majority of staff interviewed identified that establishing good rapport and strong working relationships with young people, based on

mutual trust and respect, was directly connected to their ability to de-escalate conflict or defuse heightened emotions, and thereby to maintain safety more effectively.

The findings also reveal a range of impediments to balancing the care and support needs of young people with the safety and security demands of the custodial setting. It is of concern, from a relational security perspective, that a high number of staff members interviewed (50% or 13 out of 26) viewed their role predominantly in terms of enforcing rules, ensuring security and policing young people. This is indicative of some workers' fear and mistrust of young people, which is an impediment to building trusting working relationships. Staff workloads, high turnover, and procedural inflexibility were some of the challenges noted that limited staff capacity to spend time building relationships with young people, or to ensure stability and consistency of care to meet young people's needs. Staff training, staff numbers and team cohesion were also noted to be insufficient, with direct impacts on staff and young people's safety, emotional and physical wellbeing and mental health.

The overwhelmingly majority of staff emphasised strong interpersonal and relationship building skills as central to their role, and highlighted the need for ongoing, practical skills-based professional development and training, particularly in relation to mental health, trauma and cultural responsivity. Many staff noted the physical design of PYJP was an impediment to working effectively with young people.

The following recommendations are made with a view to addressing these issues, by optimising conditions for relational security to be implemented, understood and practised consistently across PYJP, with the aim of maximising the mental, emotional, cultural and physical health, safety and wellbeing of those living and working there.

Recommendations

Recommendation 1 – Co-design and implement ongoing relational security training for all PYJP staff.

Relational security involves a dynamic and evolving set of practices that need to be responsive to the demands of any complex relational setting where physical, emotional, psychological and cultural care and support needs must be balanced with the need for physical, emotional, psychological and cultural safety and security. To ensure that relational security principles are understood and integrated across the organisation, and throughout PYJP policy and practice, relational security training need to be co-designed using a collaborative approach involving both staff and young people. It is recommended that this co-design approach is facilitated and guided by external experts, including those with research expertise, practice expertise and lived experience expertise.

Recommendation 2 – Time and space for building trust and establishing strong working relationships between staff and young people are prioritised to promoting safety and security.

The findings highlight the importance of giving staff the time and space to communicate and engage in meaningful conversations with young people and for staff to engage in activities with young people. This needs to be understood as a key element of a relational security approach and therefore a core part of PYJP staff roles. The need for ***time*** to be prioritised has implications for staff recruitment, training, retention, support and management (see recommendation 3, 4, 5 below). The need for ***space*** to be prioritised has implications for the physical, environmental and interior design of the facility. Although unit size and facility and unit lay-out are static characteristics – the provision of calm and private spaces,

communal areas, security differentiation and access to green spaces should be a focus within the current environment.

Recommendation 3 – Develop staff recruitment strategy in line with relational security principles.

The findings highlight that working in a youth justice custodial setting requires that staff are able to establish positive working relationships with young people, involving mutual trust and respect, to be flexible and adaptive to young people needs, and to maintain professional boundaries. These are the skills and attributes to be sought out, fostered, developed, and supported in an ongoing way, to promote a relationally secure workplace for staff and a relationally secure living space for young people.

To address the detrimental impacts of ongoing staffing issues, and the need to recruiting the staff with the 'right skills and capabilities' as well as to ensure a stable and consistent workforce, it is recommended that staff recruitment is based on the following competencies:

- Excellent interpersonal and relationship building skills
- Ability to work as a team including communication, listening and (peer) support skills
- Genuine interest and commitment to building relationships with young people
- Ability to be flexible and responsive to young people's individual needs
- Committed to ongoing training and professional development

Recommendation 4 – Develop the broader staff training strategy to be line with relational security principles.

The findings highlight staff need and appetite for ongoing professional development and training, with a specific focus on developing staff competency in understanding mental health, trauma sensitivity and cultural responsivity. It is recommended that training in **strengths-based approaches** to working with young people in a way that engages, builds and strengthens their family and community connections form a central part of the staff training strategy. Building and maintaining a positive and supportive working relationship with young people should be at the center of *all* staff training components. It is recommended that **practical, skills-based and scenario-based training** is guided and delivered by external experts including those with practice expertise and lived experience expertise. Furthermore, it is recommended that this is supported by **ongoing mentoring** and support for staff (see below, recommendation 5), incorporating both peer support and managerial support.

Recommendation 5 – Develop staff support and management strategy in line with relational security principles.

The findings show the need for stable, cohesive teams across the PYJP, and for staff to feel valued, supported, and that they belong as part of a team. This requires a strategy of clear communication and facilitating **strong peer support** within the team, led by clear communication and support from PYJP management. In line with Recommendation 2, above, this strategy should emphasise *time* for relationship-building and peer support as well as the creation of *spaces* where staff and young people can feel safe and secure (physically, emotionally, culturally) to engage in one-on-one, small group or collective activities – both for staff with their peers and for staff with young people.

Recommendation 6 – Establish a relational security community of practice.

To be able to effectively develop, implement and integrate relational security across PYJP policy and practice, it is recommended that **a community of practice** that connects custodial staff with other

professionals and practitioners working with young people involved with the youth justice system is established. A relational security community of practice can facilitate a rich source of knowledge, tools and support for staff. Connecting PYJP staff with a peer network outside the custodial setting on a regular basis will also increase the ability of staff to work in a strengths-based community-integrated way that will allow them to more effectively respond to young people's relational needs.

Recommendation 7 – Support and develop ongoing research into the operationalization and implementation of relational security principles.

It is recognised that relational security is a vital part of establishing a safe and secure environment that also facilitates a therapeutic approach. However, it is not well-defined within a youth justice setting and a current model and implementation guidelines are missing. The current report provides a first set of recommendations as to what is needed to establish, strengthen and maintain the use of relational security in Victoria's Youth Justice System. However, ongoing research into the operationalization, implementation and impact of relational security principles is key for a sustainable relational security approach.

Contents

Background

The Youth Justice system in Victoria, as in other places, has a particular emphasis on the rehabilitation and therapeutic 'treatment' of justice-involved young people. The institutional climate is an important factor in the treatment of young people in custody (Souverein, Van der Helm, & Stams, 2013). This can be understood as the shared perceptions of the environment, which exists on a continuum from an open/supportive climate to a closed/repressive climate (van der Helm, Beunk, Stams, & van der Laan, 2014). An 'open' climate is considered therapeutic, it provides support, facilitates personal growth, and allows flexibility in the balance between care and control. A repressive environment is characterised by a lack of respect, major power imbalances, great dependency on staff, and an emphasis on punishment and security. An open climate is associated with higher treatment motivation and lower aggression in incarcerated youth (van der Helm et al., 2014; van der Helm, Stams, van Genabeek, & van der Laan, 2012). More positive youth perceptions of the institutional climate has been related to lower victimisation and fewer mental health symptoms experienced by young people in custody (Gonçalves, Endrass, Rossegger, & Dirkzwager, 2016; Kupchik & Snyder, 2009). Since the youth justice system emphasises the need for a therapeutic approach towards young people's rehabilitation, establishing and maintaining a positive and open climate that is conducive to such an approach is vital.

An open climate creates a context for the use of *relational security*, which is meant to counteract the use of coercion and repressive measures (Van der Helm, Stams, & Van der Laan, 2011). It is recognised as a vital part of establishing a safe and secure environment that also facilitates a therapeutic approach. In fact, relational security has been recognised recently in Victoria as being the most effective security element in any custodial setting: 'The relationship between staff and young people is critical for the prompt identification of their risks, issues, needs and triggers'. In an effective operating model, these relationships form part of daily operations' (Armytage & Ogloff, 2017). However, the concept of relational security is complex and not well-defined, despite being recognised as a highly effective security measure within an institutional environment (Armytage & Ogloff, 2017; Crichton, 2009; Kennedy, 2002).

In their review of Victoria's youth justice system, Armytage and Ogloff (2017) use the terms *relational* security and *dynamic* security interchangeably. It's important to note, however, that these terms have different origins: relational security draws from forensic mental health literature (Kinsley, 1998 in Kennedy 2002); whereas dynamic security derives from prison management literature (e.g. (Coyle & Fair, 2018). Both terms have developed in relation to adults in secure settings, which may explain the dearth of research on relational security and how it is operationalized within a youth justice setting.

Generally speaking, though, relational security refers to the knowledge and detailed understanding that staff have of the people in their custody and how this informs the management and de-escalation of incidents (Collins & Davies, 2005; Tighe & Gudjonsson, 2012). Others consider it to involve a trusting relationship between staff and residents, effected by the staff-to-resident ratio and time spent in face-to-face contact (Kennedy, 2002). These definitions highlight the importance of constructive relationships between staff and young people extending to the maintenance of security in a facility. Given the emphasis on rehabilitation and therapeutic treatment, an approach centred on constructive relationships is critically important for staff working with young people in secure settings. For the purposes of this research, relational security is assumed to involve the following elements:

- A constructive, trusting and respectful relationship between staff and young people;
- The knowledge and detailed understanding that staff have of the young people in custody and how this informs the management and de-escalation of incidents;
- Staffing numbers and the time and space available for face-to-face contact.

The Victorian Youth Justice facilities have not been operating optimally and a series of recent reviews have highlighted significant challenges and shortcomings (Armytage & Ogloff, 2017; Commission for Children and Young People, 2017; Parliament of Victoria, 2018; Victorian Ombudsman, 2017). This has resulted in an institutional climate labelled as 'doing more harm than good' (Armytage & Ogloff, 2017). The Armytage & Ogloff review concluded that relational security did not form a core component of the security framework for Victoria's Youth Justice system and noted this as a missed opportunity. They stated that there was not adequate consideration of the relationships between staff and young people. Previous research has also shown that Victorian Youth Justice facilities are characterized by high levels of repression, average levels of support and growth, and low levels of positive atmosphere (van Miert, Dekker, van der Helm, & Robinson, 2021). What is needed to establish, strengthen and maintain the use of relational security in Victoria's Youth Justice System currently remains unclear.

About this report

This report details the research study into the current views, understandings, and use of relational security by youth justice workers from the Parkville Youth Justice Precinct. It brings together the key themes identified by staff that play a role in the establishment of a relational approach and maintenance of a safe environment. Based on these insights, a set of recommendations are outlined to support the establishment, strengthening and maintenance of relational security approaches.

It should be noted that this research was carried out during ongoing challenges related to the COVID-19 pandemic. This may have affected their usual ways of working by impacting their wellbeing and workload, as well as impacting upon the wellbeing of young people. Any impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic mentioned by staff members will be described within the relevant sections.

Ethics approval for this study was obtained from the Justice and Community Safety Human Research Ethics Committee (CF/20/4136). The study was also registered with the Human Ethics Sub-Committee at the University of Melbourne (2021-14003-19571-1).

Methodology

Setting

The Parkville Youth Justice Precinct is located in the inner North of Melbourne, approximately five kilometres from the city centre. The units compromise a Youth Residential Centre and a Youth Justice Centre. Each unit houses approximately 15 young people. The *Residential Centre* comprises two units: one unit accommodates 10-14 year old boys (remanded or sentenced) and another unit accommodates 10-17 year old girls (remanded or sentenced) and 18-21 year old women (sentenced). It also has one non-operational 6 bed unit, which is used intermittently to accommodate young people dependent on the needs of the precinct. The *Youth Justice Centre* comprises six units to accommodate 15-18 year old boys (remanded or sentenced). Additionally, one 24 bed unit is devoted to the intake of young people where they undergo their 14-day COVID isolation period after which they are relocated to one of the other units. Each unit is managed by a unit manager and has up to nine staff rostered on during the

daytime hours. These staff members are responsible for the care and supervision of the young people on their unit.

Recruitment and participants

Youth Justice Workers of the Parkville Youth Justice Precinct were invited to take part in the research project. Staff members were able to contact the research team via email or phone to schedule a time and date for an individual interview. All participants were provided with a plain language statement, an informed consent form. Before the interview they were asked to fill out a set of demographic questions.

All interviews took place between January 2021 and March 2021 and were conducted face-to-face. An overview of the interview questions is shown in Appendix 1.

A total of 26 staff members participated in the interviews. Participants were aged between 25 and 58 years (M = 39.2, SD = 10.4) and almost half (46.2%) were female. The length of service at the current facility ranged from 8 months to 28 years (M = 7.2 years, SD = 8.2 years). One participant had worked as a youth justice worker prior to their position at the current facility.

Data-analysis

All interview recordings were audio-recorded and professionally transcribed verbatim, which were used for data-analysis. Transcripts were coded with an initial template (King, 2004) using the software program NVIVO 12. Using a thematic analysis approach, two members of our team independently coded one transcript (PT, SO), iteratively creating a coding template. Once the final set of broad themes was constructed, transcripts were re-examined, and narrower themes were identified where appropriate. The two team members compared and revised the coding template until consensus was reached. The final template with the complete set of broad and narrow themes was applied across all transcripts.

These themes are summarised, with illustrative quote from the interview data, under the following headings: staff roles; maintaining a safe environment; establishing a working relationship; staffing challenges; staffing needs and capabilities; and facility design. These themes (and their sub-themes) capture the range of competing issues and demands that characterise the complex work of maintaining security and safety while also responding to the well-being and relational needs of young people in a high-security youth detention setting.

Key themes

Staff roles

Staff members described how they wear different hats and adopt different roles depending on their personality and skills, the current situation, and the individual young people they work with. It is clear that being a youth justice worker is a dynamic role. Three main roles were identified by staff which are discussed below: care and attention, coaching and mentoring, and security and policing.

Care and attention

Most staff members (22 of 26) described (part of) their role as caring for young people, attending to their emotional and basic material needs and supporting them with day-to-day activities (e.g. cooking, personal hygiene and attending school, programs and appointments). Several staff members pointed out that young people often lack basic life skills that need to be developed while in their care.

'We work with some of the most challenging kids in Victoria, but they're just either never been heard, shown love, or cared for, because they all have their stories'

'It doesn't mean in an unprofessional manner like oh, it just means loving them enough to care, to show up to work and be here for them, to say no when you have to say no.'

Several staff described their role specifically as a parental figure or as a big brother to young people, expressing the type of emotional and material support they provide on a daily basis. Depending on their relationship, staff had different ways of working with young people. For example, some staff focused on physical activities or playing games with young people, while others engaged more directly in conversation. It was noted how **engaging in activities together encourages conversation and relationship building.**

'Find an interest that they like and then that leads to conversation and open dialogue where you just talk about anything and everything.'

Several staff members highlighted the importance of showing young people that they care, by listening to, and communicating with, young people, making them feel heard and finding out what they need. Some staff members pointed out that it is important for staff not to judge young people, bring kindness to their approach and give young people a sense of hope. They also described how their caring role **builds positive engagement over time and can encourage change of behaviour**, such as impulse control and communication skills.

'Sometimes that's all they need, they need to be heard, they need to be able to vent, and you need to be able to say that you've heard how they feel, and you understand that they're going through something.'

Coaching and mentoring

Most staff members (22 of 26) described (part of) their role as being a mentor to young people, **supporting and coaching young people to make better choices** and challenging poor choices and behaviours. Several staff members described how this involves role modeling appropriate behaviours, leading by example.

'*But you know that's okay to go back and apologise, I think it's a good thing for young people to see. But across the site we need to role model appropriate behaviours, and interventions, and like I said the kids remember things.'*

'I sort of see that's kind of really important for us to show them a different way to go about getting what they want, and to help build a different skill set to go about getting what they want'

Many staff members mentioned being '**firm but fair**' and setting clear expectations, goals and consequences in relation to what behaviours are appropriate and which are not. As noted previously, having conversations was mentioned as an important part of a mentoring and coaching role, helping young people see a different perspective and understand of how to address or solve problems. Again, staff described **having those mentoring conversations while doing activities** with the young people.

'And I speak to them and they go oh [name] is preaching again, you know, this will be in the middle of a session a workout session.'

Some staff members also described how they allow young people to cool off when heightened, having a conversation about the incident or behaviour with the young person when they have calmed down (i.e. striking when the iron is cold).

> *'I go, negative behaviours you know what happens, you go to your room, you reset, then we sit down and unpack it and then you can explain why to the staff.'*

Staff noted that young people need the **space to learn and make mistakes**, noting that change takes persistence and time from both staff and young people. One staff member also pointed out that not all young people are used to getting positive feedback or know how to respond to this at first.

> *'It might take you a bit longer with some, it might not with others, but there's something good in all of them, but it takes time […]'*

> *'So there's one kid that I tried to be, always positive feedback and he found that really really strange. First time I did it he almost hit me, because he thought I was trying to make fun of him. […] I said no genuinely man I really think you're an amazing kid.'*

Security and policing

Half of the staff members interviewed (*n*= 13) mention their role as enforcing rules, ensuring security and policing young people. Some staff clearly stated this as their main role or top priority, while others described always being 'security conscious' while working with young people. One staff member also pointed out that staff needs to feel safe before being able to engage in 'youth work' with young people.

> *'Pretty much our main role is to guide and maintain security and control and order inside the facility […].'*

Some staff members described having **'zero tolerance'** for inappropriate behaviour or language, enforcing firm consequences such as isolating the young person in their room. This can be amplified by having few staff members on the unit, making it more difficult to manage young people.

> *'So I argued very strongly with people up here about no there will be zero tolerance for this behaviour, and when they engage in this behaviour there will be consequences such as they'll remain in their room [...].'*

Several staff members expressed **a great deal of distrust towards young people**, justifying their main focus on security and policing of young people.

> *'In this environment you have to be always security conscious and aware of where you work, and aware that you're not always knowledgeable about what young people could be plotting to do. […] These boys and girls, they'll find anything and everything, things can be used as weapon'.*

> *'[…] and whether or not they're a staff assaulter or they're a young person that's got a history of assaulting you know past behaviour can often predict future behaviour that's reality.'*

Maintaining a safe environment

Balancing care and security

Staff have the difficult task of balancing care with maintaining safety and security. A total of 22 staff members (out of 26 interviewed) commented on the difficulties they encounter when balancing these

two objectives. It was apparent that this dual role can create tension between staff members and young people. For example, staff described how the use of **restraint can damage the relationship** and rapport they had previously established with young people.

> *'I can give you an example on Friday I had a good relationship with two of the kids and we got in a situation that both the young people had to be restrained because there was an incident and now that relationship just flipped.'*

Some staff members mitigated this to some extent by diverting the responsibility of safety and security to operations and it being part of 'the job'. As previously described, staff also mentioned giving young people the time and space to cool off and having a conversation about what happened afterwards (i.e. striking when the iron is cold). Staff noted how this facilitates both care and safety as it de-escalates the situation, as well as **providing learning opportunity** and the building of trust and respect between staff and young people.

> *'But if there's been conflict with us my big thing is that you always go back and restore that conversation.'*

Not all young people understand why things happen which can cause a great deal of frustration according to staff, particularly lockdown and rotation. Staff highlighted that **clear communication** about what is happening and when, why and for how long – can be an effective way of avoiding frustration and maintaining good rapport. Several staff also noted how **listening to young people,** asking them what is going on when things seem 'off' or when there is tension on the unit, is conducive to providing both care and safety. However, staff members also mentioned that it is challenging to get the 'balance right' between care and safety.

> *'So you've got to be fair and consistent with the kids and tell them everything as soon as possible and be straightforward with them and that sometimes can help with the safety and security of the whole situation.'*

Building rapport

Most staff (22 out of 26) described their relationship with young people directly influencing their ability to maintaining a safe environment. Having rapport with a young person **increases their willingness to comply** with request from staff and communicate when they or others are not doing well. Furthermore, staff members described how having good rapport with young people allows them to de-escalate situations when young people are heightened and prevents incidents.

> *'If the kids know that you're fair, in an incident you can manage it better with them, so you can do some negotiation and talk to them, they know who you are.'*

> *'At the moment we have a kid that is working with a staff member that he knows, and I can say I'm 90% sure that if that staff member wasn't here we would have had a couple of incidents already.'*

> *'We can't de-escalate this kid for hours and one staff might be able to come in and have a rapport with them and put that thing with them and just completely deescalate them.'*

Staff members described the importance of investing time and effort into building this rapport. They pointed out that **building genuine rapport takes time**, but can be facilitated by engaging in an activity of interest together with the young person, such as music, sports, cooking and playing cards.

> *'But you've got to start small, don't make it scripted, it's not a script, no young people like that you sit there with a book, it has to be a free flowing, engage with them in something they like, so it could be basketball, music, find an interest that they like and then that leads to conversation and open dialogue where you just talk about anything and everything.'*

Other ways of, and approaches to, building a positive relationship with young people mentioned by staff involved: clear communication; setting clear boundaries and expectations; listening to, and negotiating, young people's various requests; being consistent and simply showing genuine interest. It was also noted that **staff members who do not built that rapport with young people, are at greater risk** of creating an unsafe environment by agitating or triggering a young person and not being able to de-escalate a heightened situation.

> *'If you don't build relationships with kids how can you work with them?'*

Three staff members specifically mentioned that their relationships with young people directly **facilitated them feeling safe** within their unit. It was also noted that young people are more likely to divulge information about potential security issues if they have a good relationship with staff members.

Another staff member mentioned the role of 'key worker' in the past was a good way of building a strong relationship with young people. Key workers on the unit where young people's first port of call for case management issues and anything to do with their wellbeing both within and outside of the facility. They described how they felt that some incidents stem from a loss of that role and that relationship.

> *'And I felt that that's when some of the violence started to escalate because they didn't really feel like they were being heard or had that relationship with the staff members where they could work through the difficult times, the difficult days.'*

Knowledge and understanding of young people

The majority of staff members (24 out of 26 interviewed) described how having knowledge and understand helps them not only understand **why a young person acts in a certain way**, but also helps staff adopt their approach or response to that particular young person. Staff members mentioned the **need to adjus**t according to young people's cultural background, mental health needs, intellectual ability, history of trauma, and/or offence type. Furthermore, staff described how knowledge of what is going on in a young person's life, what challenges they are facing, what triggers they experience and what their personal interests and aspirations are – can help with **de-escalation and prevention of incidents and assaults**.

> *'Because they've got triggers as well, so you need to be able to know – someone could remind them of something, that could, or somebody, that could be a trigger. Someone doesn't like being touched from behind, that could be a trigger. Someone raising their voice could be a trigger. You need to be mindful.'*

For example, one staff member described how they had helped a young people identify a new strategy to manage their emotions in response to relationship issues with their partner, which involved playing the guitar. Another staff member described how their knowledge and understanding of young people helped them be **more situationally aware and identify when tension is building** within or between young people.

Several staff members pointed out that it is difficult to get sufficient background information about a young person, leaving staff to rely on their ability to quickly pick up cues and read a young person's body language in order to effectively adopt their approach. One staff member noted that they found it most valuable to know a young person on a more personal level, such as understanding their family background, **what triggers them and what keeps them calm and occupied**. Another staff member said that the best source of this information is the young person themselves.

> *'Have conversations with them, ask them, they're the best person, the best information you're going to get is by sitting down and have a human-to-human conversation'.*

Teamwork

Most staff (22 out of 26) commented on the **importance of teamwork and team cohesion** in creating a safe and positive environment for both staff and young people. Most staff mentioned the need for **peer support and consistency** and unity within a team, especially when challenging young people's behaviours and managing incidents. Some staff noted that staff relationships and the ability to work together is a **foundational element** in their ability to work effectively with young people. One staff member noted that the supervisor's ability to bring the team together, their stability and transparency, is key to a good team.

> *'Just a good staffing team that work well together and support each other, that that's the basis of a good foundation of a good unit, or even a good shift to function well.'*

> *'There's nothing stronger than a united front of a team working together, everyone being on the same page and being able to have robust conversations with each other about what's working and what's not working and having consistency.'*

> *'No, because honestly I think the biggest issue here isn't even the young people, it's being able to work with the staffing group and the staff.'*

Several staff mentioned that **communication within the team is key**. This involved the ability of staff to communicate effectively, a working culture to openly communicate with other staff, and having the time available to meet and communicate with each other. Staff noted how strong communication increases the consistency of their approaches, the feeling of confidence and support within the team, as well as overall safety. Some staff described a lack of communication and/or top-down decision-making by 'operations' causing tension and frustration among staff members.

> *'I feel that's what gets, that's the main safety is not being able to communicate, or not having enough time or ability to communicate that properly.'*

> *'The more you get to know your own team the safer the environment becomes.'*

One staff member specifically mentioned the need to **reflect on staff's contribution to incidents** and ways to improve their ways of working.

'And staff also need to take some ownership of what they may have done to contribute to a young person who may have engaged in assaultive behaviour or negative behaviour […]. Not finger pointing but unpacking how we could do things different and how we can improve in the way we do what we do, our work.'

Establishing a working relationship

Trust and respect

Over three quarters of the staff members interviewed (20 out of 26) mentioned **mutual trust and respect as a core aspect** of their working relationship with young people. Most staff noted that being honest and transparent about what they can and can't do for young people (e.g. following through with any promises) is an important part of this. Staff described how having a young person's trust and respect facilitates open conversations and increase the likelihood of young people following instructions which can prevent distress, frustration and escalation of heightened situations. Several staff members also pointed out that building that trust and respect **takes time**.

'To me that rapport just has to be finding a level of mutual respect and trust.'

'If you've got that relationship you can be open, honest, transparent, you become more trustworthy with the young person, so if young people trust you that goes a long way.'

Some staff noted that **some policies and procedures hinder the establishment of a trusting and respectful relationship** with young people. This involves safety policies and procedures that staff need to adhere too, which communicate a level of distrust such as not allowing young people move autonomously between spaces.

'There's just some policies and procedures in place that stop us sort of showing them that we trust them.'

'So there's certain little rules and that that sort of I understand why they're in place, but it does sort of hinder our ability to establish quite a good rapport with these boys'

Being flexible and responsive to needs

A total of 20 staff described how their work involved being flexible and responsive to each young person as they have different backgrounds, skills and needs. Mostly staff described **the need to adapt to various mental health, emotional and developmental needs or cultural and religious backgrounds**. Staff mentioned using different language, changing routines, having different responses to challenging behaviours and finding particular programs or activities for young people.

'Yes, we have rules, some rules that can't bend and policies and procedures. But be adaptable and flexible in your approach as much as you can be with the young people, based on their needs and what they're going through.'

'I think the way that the boys perceive me is at times probably a little bit too soft, but at other times I might be no means no. But that gravitates from young person to young person.'

Several staff noted that their ability to be flexible and response to individual needs is **hampered by a high workload and low staffing levels**. Some staff specifically said they had very limited time to do any one-on-one work with young people. Some staff pointed out that this can be further **impacted by the**

restrictive procedural processes, with staff needing approval and clearance for particular individual activities with young people.

> *'Yeah it definitely depends on the staffing level and like on the weekend I had a young person that just wanted to stay in music for three hours and we had enough staff, so I just stayed there with him.'*

> *'I have to do it on my breaks, on my breaks during the day and in my own time […]. Because if we have six staff for the day then I am expected to be at least with two or three, I can't, we're not afforded this one on one actually youth work, no.'*

Maintaining boundaries

Over two-thirds of staff interviewed (18 out of 26) described how they maintained clear boundaries and rules, noting how this provides clarity and **prevents young people from pushing against the rules**. Some staff described a hard-lined or 'one-size-fits-all' approach, while others described a more flexible approach which involved clear communication and open conversations about inappropriate behaviours or why certain rules are in place.

> *'Personally, me I set some very strong boundaries with the young people, they know that I'm very stuck with rules.'*

> *'I can establish boundaries as the elder in the room and they can understand that I'm not trying to be tough just for no reason, I'm actually trying to help them because we've established that trust.'*

> *'Because if you go to a young person and you're always like 100% like no you need to do this and with authority, they're not going to listen.'*

Several staff mentioned it can be **challenging for some staff to distinguish between professional rapport with appropriate boundaries and a friendship-like relationship** with young people. They noted the latter causes issues when staff no longer address inappropriate behaviours. However, staff also pointed out that young people are more likely to adhere to rules and respect boundaries when there is a positive relationship with staff.

> *'Some people have confused friendship for rapport […] so and if you, like subconsciously or consciously, created a friendship or a bond between you and that young person, you will be reluctant or hesitant to take actions that may threaten it.'*

> *'Some staff don't know how to separate the two between being the worker and the class clown.'*

> *'I used to kind of insist on things, but then in the end I didn't have to, because they sort of, would just sort of see me coming and think oh I shouldn't be doing that, so I'd better stop doing that.'*

Staffing challenges

Staff turnover

A total of 22 staff members commented on the ongoing difficulties related to staff turnover and retention – all noting the fact that **a stable workforce is paramount to maintaining a safe environment**. Some staff members noted that despite many new staff being recruited, only a few of those are being retained over time. Several staff mentioned the ongoing high number of people on sick leave, either due

to work-related injuries or due to emotional or mental fatigue. This in turn causes staff shortages, high workloads and rotation, which are discussed in more detail below.

> *'There's been a lot of resignations between that [induction] group and this group. I've had, I got 4 brand new staff in the last induction, I've only got one left.'*

> *'The turnover is so high in this place there's almost 20-30 inductees coming through every couple of months, sometimes 40-50. For my induction we did really good, there's 12 of us left I think.'*

Several staff members attribute low staff retention to **not recruiting the 'right' staff** or staff that isn't in the job for the 'right reasons'. It was noted that such staff either leave simply because they are not committed to the job or because they are unable or unwilling to build a positive relationship with young people. Three staff members noted they felt that that COVID had resulted in the attainment of unsuitable staff.

> *'For the staff that aren't here for the right reasons usually the kids pick up on it as well, and they usually don't last long.'*

Staff also mentioned the **unstable workforce effects young people** who often of trouble connecting with new staff members and who are in need of consistency and stability. Some staff members specifically pointed out this directly impacts upon safety.

> *That's a big barrier for safety because if their own core staff have rapport with these kids are not showing up to work, putting new staff in to take over, not take over but like to do their job for the day, is quite dangerous I believe.'*

Other factors mentioned by staff causing high staff turnover included: high workload, a lack of team support and team unity, staff not being adequately trained, inaccurate expectations of the job, and staff not feeling safe.

Staff shortages

Just over half the staff members interviewed (*n*= 14) mentioned low staffing numbers. Staff noted having to little staff physically present, **limits their ability to ensure a safe environment**. Some staff felt that with the current unit size, the minimum ratio of staff to young people should be 1:2 or 1:3. Others noted it is not simply about numbers, but group dynamics, and staff's experience and rapport with young people substantially impact on the amount of staff required to safely operate a unit.

> *'It's really hard to put a ratio staff for young people. I would say it'll be the experience with the young people.'*

> *'To me it comes down to the right staff. That's it in a nutshell. You can have quantity, but you need the quality.'*

> *'[…] and they call I need to send a staff member somewhere else. And then your risk assessment goes down the drain, because you lost a staff member, it's not only a number […] but we see it as we lost our entertainer.'*

Staff further noted how low staffing numbers **impacts on their workload and ability to manage and engage with young people** throughout the day. A unit will be placed on rotations in order to manage low staffing number, which is further discussed below.

'*Right now, we're sitting on, the most is 11, and we'd have minimum 6 for a safety security, because you've got your lunches, you've got your visits, you've got programs to facilitate, you've got so many things.'*

Rotation

Half of staff members interviewed (13 out of 26) mentioned the impacts of being on rotations when staffing numbers are low. Staff described how being on **rotations can increase their workload**, as young people tend to have many requests while being locked in their room while on rotation. They also noted how it often **causes frustration amongst both staff and young people**, as frustration and anger built over time this in turn can cause create an unsafe environment.

> *'So it's quiet, it's more busier having young people on rotations than it is having them up so it can be a different type of stress but a lot more stressful I believe.'*

> *'Staff are under constant pressure when we're on rotations because limited staff with the same amount of tasks and things to be done for the day. Plus you've got the extra pressure of the kids being frustrated and angry […]. So there's a lot of added pressure with rotations.'*

Additionally, staff noted how being locked in their room for a longer period of time can **impact upon young people's mental health**, further adding to an unsafe environment during rotations.

> *'Some could have trauma issues related to being locked in their rooms, some kids could have mental health issues which then gets triggered by long periods of time isolated. Young people with low IQ's could not understand what's going on so therefore that adds an extra layer of frustration of being stuck in their rooms.'*

High workload

Over half the staff members (14 out of 26 interviewed) noted they experienced a high workload and overall 'busyness', with staff staying back past their allocated working hours to complete their tasks (compounded by staff shortages). Staff described how this **causes exhaustion and prevents them from engaging one-on-one and building rapport with young people**, which in turn impacts upon safety.

> *'I was here for 15 hours the other day and they were here for 13. I got here at 6.30 and I left at 9.30 and I was exhausted so in that sense it's not safe.'*

> *'It's very, very hard environment to be able to sit down and do some good old school one on one work with these young people these days. Because it's just so busy.'*

> *'The busyness is probably one of the main things that stops us or prevents us from that relational security.'*

One staff member specifically pointed out how the fluctuation of their time available to engage with young people negatively impacts on their previous established relationship. Two staff members described that COVID safety procedures had added to their usual workload.

> *'If you invest a lot of time and all of a sudden you can't invest time in the young people they can get frustrated and then put-up defensive walls and push you away, so it can sort of work both ways.'*

Emotional wellbeing

Half of the staff members interviewed (*n*= 13) described the work as being **emotionally draining**, navigating their relationships with young people as well as other staff. One staff member pointed out that staff's emotional wellbeing has a direct effect on their ability to work with young people.

> *'See I feel drained not physically but emotionally, and not from the kids, from the staff.'*

> *'And if they're in a bad head space then the kids you know, it's like a flow on effect, so my thing is I want the kids to be looked after, but they won't unless the staff are in a good head space.'*

Most staff described **individual self-care** as a way of dealing with the emotional stress. This included taking some time out when overwhelmed, debriefing with others and being more guarded towards young people. Two staff members noted COVID had an impact on their wellbeing or their usual self-care routines which generated additional stress. One staff member mentioned counselling services available, however they pointed out **some staff distrust these services**.

> *'I have heard many different types of breaking of trust between the counsellors that work here and talking to operations and what not about staff members.'*

Staffing needs & capabilities

Skills and capabilities

Over 90% of staff members (24 of 26 interviewed) described various skills and capabilities needed during their daily interactions with young people. **Interpersonal and relationship building skills** were highlighted by most staff members, which included: being non-judgmental, open-minded and approachable; being flexible and adaptable response to different needs; being able to listen and communicate effectively with young people; being able to relate to young people (e.g. through humor, activities, hobbies, interests, religion or cultural background); being able to recognise and understand cultural and mental health needs; maintaining boundaries; and having confidence in ones capabilities. Two staff members specifically pointed out that such skills can generally not be acquired through training or education.

> *'If you don't have those interpersonal skills with these young people and aren't able to – I've found that yes, well you can't teach life skills.'*

Others also mentioned that staff need to be there for **'the right reasons'**. They pointed out that young people sense when staff members are not genuine and willing to build rapport with them, which can in turn **cause distrust and frustration** among young people.

> *'So if you're not willing to help and build rapport, the residual out of that can be pretty bad. So the anger is built up over a period of time, I'm not saying that what happened last week, but that's how the kids have that perception.'*

Staff members noted relationships building skills were acquired through their own **life experience**, such as being parent, their cultural background, or coming from a disadvantaged background themselves. Several staff members specifically mentioned resilience acquired through their life experience as a reason for their longevity in their role.

'I've grown up in a very diverse school, I've grown up around a very diverse culture, so I think it's easy for me to be able to adapt to that. […] So I know that I'm able to adapt to different religions.'

'I also heavily rely on my cultural background as a person of African descent when I work with young people from African backgrounds I have to rely on what we have in common, what we understand that other workers may not be able to understand.'

Several staff members described how the ability to distance oneself and stay calm when young people display challenging behaviours, such as verbal abuse, was essential in their role and ability to de-escalate situations.

'You have to have thick skin working here, the verbal abuse that you get, you can't take it personally. It's not directed at you, and even threats that are sometimes made, of course you have to unpack where it's coming from.'

Professional development and training

More than half the staff interviewed (*n*= 15) commented on the need for more training and professional development opportunities. Many staff members highlighted the need for **more regular revision training and regular refreshers**, as the initial training material can be hard to retain over time. Furthermore, some staff highlighted that many had not received any additional training after the induction training. Specifically, one staff member noted they had not done any training for 14 years, while another staff member mentioned that many staff they worked with have not done any additional training for 3 years. Two staff members specifically pointed out that COVID had restricted their access to training opportunities.

'I don't remember anything that I learnt in my training.'

'I think revision training and refresher training you know once a month on different aspects of the roles you know would be beneficial to (a) help them keep staff, (b) helping me maintain my confidence in what I do.'

The majority of staff members described how the training is **very theoretical and does not nesecarrily translate to real-life situations or give staff the practical skills** to deal with the complex situations on the floor.

'It's very theoretical because usually you're not getting a kid that has only one issue, it's a mix of trauma, drug and alcohol abuse, intellectual disability, so it's really hard to just you know follow a training.'

'But I think that if you do the training, induction and then you come onto a unit, it's completely different to what you learnt in training.'

'You're thrown into the floor, you're thrown into the situation and you're trying to remember stuff that you did six, seven, eight weeks ago that was part of an eight-hour day where this one person said something.'

'The training is mainly all about rules and regulations and sticking to rules. [..] but [on the floor] there's no black and white, there's always grey, it's always grey areas, yeah. And that's working with children.'

Staff described the need for more training in relation to mental health issues and suicide prevention, trauma informed care and tactical training. The need for tactical training was mainly described as a way of boosting staff's confidence and feeling of (physical) safety during incidents. One staff member mentioned the need for more diverse cultural training. Two staff members described the need for more training together as a team, in order to be on same page and work together more effectively on the unit (also see section on 'teamwork').

Responding to mental health needs

Over 80% of staff (21 of 26 interviewed) mentioned the extensive and various mental health problems of young people in their care, including self-harm and suicidal behaviours, trauma related issues and drug and alcohol problems. Several staff noted that being in **custody itself can cause mental health issues** (e.g. anxiety or self-harm) or can further aggravate pre-existing mental health issues, especially when those young people are involved in, or witnessed, incidents in the facility. Some staff also noted that witnessing and dealing with certain mental health problems of young people can cause distress to staff members.

'He was a little bit scared then he saw an assault on a unit which happened late one night, he sort of stayed up on the unit that night because honestly he was scared that if he moved he was going to get assaulted.'

'*This kid is he didn't come out of his room for five days. He wasn't the one that got assaulted but he saw what happened.'*

'He engaged in significant self-harm and threats to staff and yeah that was quite a horrible moment.'

Cultural knowledge and awareness

Over two-thirds of staff interviewed (*n*= 18) mentioned the wide variety cultural and religious backgrounds of the young people and the **need to be responsive to their cultural and religious needs**. However, some staff recognized the limits of their cultural knowledge and awareness.

'Sometimes it's a bit hit and miss and look I don't need to turn up there and be another white man telling them what to do.'

'Cultural is probably a bit difficult for myself because a lot of the different cultures we have in here I have, I wouldn't say little understanding of, but not as much as an understanding of as some others who are particularly from those cultures.'

Several staff described using their own cultural background and knowledge to establish a relationship with young people from a similar background. Others mentioned the need to learn and understand the various cultural and religious background in order to engage and respond appropriately to young people.

'I cooked every weekend and then I started doing cultural dishes for my Samoan boys that would come in.'

'I come from an Arabic speaking background so the young people that come in that speak Arabic I can build that rapport by speaking in Arabic to them.'

Staff mentioned the availability of Aboriginal Liaison Worker, Maori Pacific Cultural Workers and a team of African Engagement Workers, noting they assist with provision of culturally appropriate services. However, some staff felt that these teams need to be expanded and/or need to be more engaged with young people.

'I think the cultural team need to be more hands on. […] we don't have enough. They're good people, but I think the amount of people working in that area, we don't have enough across both centres.

Facility design

In total, 14 staff members mentioned at least one design aspect (or lack thereof) of the facility that impacted upon their work and daily interactions with young people. These design aspects included: **unit size, calm and private spaces, communal areas, access to green spaces and 'fresh air', differentiation, and facility and unit lay-out**. Additionally, some staff members pointed out that the current infrastructure is outdated, noting it is harsh and resembles an adult facility.

Several staff members mentioned that the current units are too big, which impedes their ability to attend to individual needs and engage in meaningful activities with young people. They all note that having smaller units would be preferable.

'Main barrier is I think there needs to be smaller units. So, at the moment you've got units that house up to like 15 young people, but I think we all know that young people when they're in a cohort, the behaviours are more likely to escalate.'

Some staff member mentioned a lack of calm and private spaces, with little room to engage privately with young people. At the same time, staff also described how communal areas contributed to a more positive environment and opportunities for relationships building. All three staff member noted the need for a shared kitchen area, which allows young people to cook their own meals.

'We do activities together [..]. But we don't do it anymore. And it's a shame, because it's about you know kind of social, teaching people social skills and how to interact with each other.'

Several staff clearly described the need or impact of having access to an outside space (or lack thereof). Staff described how taking young people out for some 'fresh air', siting in the garden, or having a walk outside helps young people to calm down and allows staff to interact privately with young people, creates an opportunity for de-escalation and rapport building. Staff highlighted that a lack of access to the outside can cause frustration among young people, especially when being outside is a way of regulating their emotions at times of distress, anxiety or anger. One staff member described a specific example of how prolonged, restricted access to outside is able to cause self-harming behaviour in one young person.

'So you know like this environment sometimes isn't all that helpful in ways to de-escalate. Like a simple go outside and have a walk, you know go outside and get some fresh air, on some of the units that's not as simple as just being able to do that.'

Staff members discussed the need for, or lack of, an ability to differentiate between different types of young people and their needs, including mental health-, developmental- and security needs. They noted that this inability to differentiate can be problematic when trying to navigate and deal with young people from opposing gangs who end up being placed on the same unit. This contributed to an unsafe environment for both staff and young people.

> *'I think that's an issue that we are trying to give everyone the same thing. […] and that affects the safety because you're trying to give someone something they don't need, and you're forcing it [...]. We have to have a gradated system that will fit everyone.'*

Some staff members also described how the current facility lay-out results in a lot of movement across the facility, from and to different areas and units. They noted that when an incident happens in the facility, all movement ceases which creates frustration with both staff and young people and can cause further incidents.

Conclusion and recommendations

Conclusion

Overall, the interviews with youth justice custodial staff show a high level of care and concern for the wellbeing of young people in custody at Parkville Youth Justice Precinct (PYJP), which aligns with a relational security approach. Most staff consider their role to involve caring, supporting and/or coaching young people to make better choices, as well as challenging poor choices and negative or harmful behaviours. Many described their role explicitly in terms of a parental or 'big brother' role, which clearly indicates their relational orientation. Staff also highlighted the significant challenges of balancing the caring, supportive aspects of their role with the need to maintain security and safety in their workplace environment. The majority of staff interviewed identified that establishing good rapport and positive working relationships with young people was directly linked to their ability to de-escalate conflict and/or defuse heightened emotions, and thereby to maintain safety more effectively.

The findings also reveal, however, a range of impediments to balancing the care and support needs of young people with the safety and security demands of the custodial setting. It is of concern, from a relational security perspective, that a high number of staff members interviewed (50%) viewed their role predominantly in terms of enforcing rules, ensuring security and policing young people. This is indicative of some workers' fear and mistrust of young people, which is an impediment to building positive working relationships. Staff workloads, high turnover, and procedural inflexibility were some of the challenges noted that limited staff's capacity to engage and spend time building relationships with young people. Staff training and team cohesion were also noted to be insufficient, with direct impacts on staff and young people's safety, emotional and physical wellbeing and mental health. The overwhelmingly majority of staff emphasised strong interpersonal and relationship building skills as central to their role and the maintenance of a safe environment. They highlighted the need for ongoing, practical skills-based professional development and training, particularly in relation to understanding mental health, trauma and cultural responsivity. Many staff noted the physical design of PYJP was also an impediment to working effectively with young people.

The principles of relational security provide a way to balance the care and support of young people with the need for safety and security in a custodial setting. These principles should inform staff recruitment, training, support and management strategies, as well as decisions about design and use of space. The

following recommendations are made with a view to addressing these issues, by optimising conditions for relational security to be implemented, understood and practised consistently across PYJP, with the aim of maximising the mental, emotional, cultural and physical health, safety and wellbeing of everyone living and working this environment.

Recommendations

Recommendation 1 – Co-design and implement ongoing relational security training for all PYJP staff.

Relational security involves a dynamic and evolving set of practices that need to be responsive to the demands of any complex relational setting where physical, emotional, psychological and cultural care and support needs must be balanced with the need for physical, emotional, psychological and cultural safety and security. To ensure that relational security principles are understood and integrated across the organisation, and throughout PYJP policy and practice, relational security training need to be co-designed using a collaborative approach involving staff and young people. It is recommended that this co-design approach is facilitated and guided by external experts, including those with research expertise, practice expertise and lived experience expertise.

Recommendation 2 – Time and space for building trust and establishing strong working relationships between staff and young people are prioritised as key to promoting safety and security.

The findings highlight the importance of giving staff the time and space to communicate and engage in meaningful conversations with young people and for staff to engage in activities with young people. This needs to be understood as a key element of a relational security approach and therefore a core part of PYJP staff roles. The need for ***time*** to be prioritised has implications for staff recruitment, training, retention, support and management (see recommendation 3, 4, 5 below). The need for ***space*** to be prioritised has implications for the physical, environmental and interior design of the facility. Although unit size and facility and unit lay-out are static characteristics – the provision of calm and private spaces, communal areas, security differentiation and access to green spaces should be a focus within the current environment.

Recommendation 3 – Develop staff recruitment strategy in line with relational security principles.

The findings highlight that working in a youth justice custodial setting requires that staff are able to establish positive working relationships with young people, involving mutual trust and respect, to be flexible and adaptive to young people needs, and to maintain professional boundaries. These are the skills and attributes to be sought out, fostered, developed, and supported in an ongoing way, to promote a relationally secure workplace for staff and a relationally secure living space for young people.

To address the detrimental impacts of ongoing staffing issues, and the need to recruiting the staff with the 'right skills and capabilities' as well as to ensure a stable and consistent workforce, it is recommended that staff recruitment is based on the following core competencies:

- Excellent interpersonal and relationship building skills
- Ability to work as a team including communication, listening and (peer) support skills
- Genuine interest and commitment to building relationships with young people
- Ability to be flexible and responsive to young people's individual needs
- Committed to ongoing training and professional development

Recommendation 4 – Develop the broader staff training strategy to be line with relational security principles.

The findings highlight staff need and appetite for ongoing professional development and training, with a specific focus on developing staff competency in understanding mental health, trauma sensitivity and cultural responsivity. It is recommended that training in **strengths-based approaches** to working with young people in a way that engages, builds and strengthens their family and community connections form a central part of the staff training strategy. Building and maintaining a positive and supportive working relationship with young people should be at the center of *all* staff training components. It is recommended that **practical, skills-based and scenario-based training** is guided and delivered by external experts including those with practice expertise and lived experience expertise. Furthermore, it is recommended that this is supported by **ongoing mentoring** and support for staff (see below, recommendation 5), incorporating both peer support and managerial support.

Recommendation 5 – Develop staff support and management strategy in line with relational security principles.

The findings show the need for stable, cohesive teams across the PYJP, and for staff to feel valued, supported, and that they belong as part of a team. This requires a strategy of clear communication and facilitating **strong peer support** within the team, led by clear communication and support from PYJP management. In line with Recommendation 2, above, this strategy should emphasise *time* for relationship-building and peer support as well as the creation of *spaces* where staff and young people can feel safe and secure (physically, emotionally, culturally) to engage in one-on-one, small group or collective activities – both for staff with their peers and for staff with young people.

Recommendation 6 – Establish a relational security community of practice.

To be able to effectively develop, implement and integrate relational security across PYJP policy and practice, it is recommended that **a community of practice** that connects custodial staff with other professionals and practitioners working with young people involved with the youth justice system is established. A relational security community of practice can facilitate a rich source of knowledge, tools and support for staff. Connecting PYJP staff with a peer network outside the custodial setting on a regular basis will also increase the ability of staff to work in a strengths-based community-integrated way that will allow them to more effectively respond to young people's relational needs.

Recommendation 7 – Support and develop ongoing research into the operationalization and implementation of relational security principles.

It is recognised that relational security is a vital part of establishing a safe and secure environment that also facilitates a therapeutic approach. However, it is not well-defined within a youth justice setting and a current model and implementation guidelines are missing. The current report provides a first set of recommendations as to what is needed to establish, strengthen and maintain the use of relational security in Victoria's Youth Justice System. However, ongoing research into the operationalization, implementation and impact of relational security principles is key for a sustainable relational security approach.

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Appendix 1: Staff interview questions

1. How do you see your role as a youth justice worker?

E.g. overall aim/purpose, your responsibilities and daily tasks. May include ensuring safety, risk management, enforcing rules, monitoring, building trust, supporting with life-tasks, supporting/building skills, achieve goals, attend to needs.

2. How would you describe a typical young person on your unit?

E.g. Low/high risk, aggressive, quiet, extrovert/introvert, common mental health issues, offence type, (un)motivated.

3. How would you describe your (working) relationship with young people on your unit?

4. What is your main approach in building and maintaining this relationship?

E.g. coaching, mentoring, role model, therapeutic, supportive, trusting, authority/ enforcing rules, monitoring, repression/coercion.

5. What would be the ideal relationship with young people on your unit?

6. How do you consider, or respond to, a young person's individual background, needs or skills?

E.g. developmental needs, age, mental health problems, cultural and/or religious backgrounds.

7. Do you feel your working environment is safe, and what are the main things needed in order for you to feel safe?

This includes both physical and emotional safety.

8. Can you describe your main approaches and/or strategies to maintaining a safe environment for staff and young people on your unit?

E.g.de-escalation/proactive approach, use of separation/restraint, allowing flexibility, negotiation, rigorous application/enforcement of rules, close communication with staff, communicating with young people.

9. What are the main barriers and/or facilitators to maintaining a safe environment on your unit? Why/how do these effect the environment?

E.g. features of the environment, procedural or management issues, characteristics or changes/retention of staff and management, mix/characteristics of young people, peer group dynamics, knowledge/ relationship with young people.

10. How does your relationship with young people influence your ability, or your approaches to, maintaining a safe environment on your unit?

11. Is there room for you to consider, or respond to, a young person's individual background, needs or skills when maintaining a safe environment? Are there any flexibilities?

E.g. considering developmental needs, age, mental health problems, cultural and/or religious backgrounds.

12. How do your activities in order to maintain a safe environment effect your relationship with young people?

13. What is needed for a safe, positive and rehabilitative custodial environment?

14. Any other things you would like to mention, or comment on, in relation to your working relationship with young people and/or your working environment?

Small-scale, community-embedded youth justice facilities: lessons from Dutch reforms and recommendations for cross-jurisdictional implementation.

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Abstract

Youth justice settings should provide safe, therapeutic environments, tailored to young people's needs. Current custodial models rarely meet these aims, mainly because a focus on security tends to outweigh an emphasis on care. This diminishes rather than encourages young people's positive development. This article focusses on a three-year evaluation of reforms in the Netherlands, including small-scale, community-embedded facilities with a focus on relational security. We outline key operational elements and conditions for implementation of these facilities. To provide guidance for youth justice professionals, and for managers and policymakers seeking to promote political and financial investment in effective youth justice strategies.

Key words: criminal justice, prison, relational security, youth development

Introduction

The principle that children and young people should only ever be remanded or sentenced to a custodial setting *as a last resort* is firmly enshrined in the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989). Last-resort custodial settings should be places where young people's developmental needs are met, strengths and protective factors are built upon, and positive community connections are forged (as we detail below). While differences between jurisdictions are evident, conventional detention facilities are generally inconsistent with the need to respond to children and young people in the justice system through a therapeutic lens that promotes positive youth development. Instead, young people are frequently and routinely detained in punitive, large-scale institutions, far from their home and communities. The time for reform is long overdue: failing to provide children and young people with genuine opportunities to get their lives back on track has detrimental effects, not only for the child and their family, but also for society at large.

There is a lack of evidence, however, about the operational elements and implementation of alternative custodial models. To address this gap, in 2015, the Dutch Ministry of Justice examined the feasibility and potential efficacy of implementing small-scale, community-embedded youth justice facilities. In 2016, three pilot sites were opened, including an eight-bed remand facility in Amsterdam (hereafter 'the Amsterdam facility'). The general conclusion following these pilots was that such small-scale, community-embedded facilities could support justice-involved young people to get their lives 'back on track'. The facilities provided tailored security and care, close to young people's social environment and support, so that offence-related factors and young people's developmental needs could be more effectively addressed. In mid-2019, the Amsterdam facility was accorded permanent status (House of Representatives the Netherlands, 2019). This paper is based on a three-year evaluation (from the end of 2016 to the end of 2019) – using participatory action research – of the Amsterdam

facility. We reflect on lessons learnt through the development of this 'Dutch model', and we consider the implications for replicating such models in different places, communities and jurisdictional settings.

The harms of youth incarceration

The potential harms of incarceration are well-documented. Research shows that the characteristics of custodial settings – isolation and stigmatization, limited educational and job opportunities, limited contact with prosocial peers – are particularly harmful for children and young people (Mendel, 2011; Cox, 2018; Nowak, 2019). Children themselves report experiences of "fear, isolation, trauma and harm in addition to discrimination, stigma and disempowerment" (Nowak, 2019: 8). These factors, especially when combined with other adverse childhood experiences, can impair children's physical and mental health, and neurological, cognitive and social development (Desmund, Watt, Saha, Huang, Lu, 2020; Nowak, 2019). For all these reasons, a predominantly punitive, risk and security-focused approach tends to foster, rather than curb, youth offending (Zoettl, 2021). Thus, youth incarceration can amplify violence, both committed *by* and *against* young people. We conceive violence in this context as complex and multiple, comprising violence *used by* as well as *experienced by* young people. We thus blur the line between young people as *either* 'victims' *or* 'offenders', instead seeing these categories as overlapping and inextricably entwined.

The developmental vulnerability of justice-involved young people is well-established, particularly those who come into repeated contact with the justice system. For instance, evidence consistently shows high rates of neurodevelopmental impairment (e.g. Bower et al., 2018) and previous experiences of violence, abuse and neglect among imprisoned children and young people (Cox, 2018). Any subsequent failure to meet young people's health and developmental needs constitutes an additional form of neglect. Furthermore, youth justice system responses to children that are predominantly punitive, risk- and security-focused can be

experienced as yet another – albeit legally legitimized – form of violence against young people. Young people who 'offend' (e.g. by using violence), therefore, may very often have experienced violence at the hands of adults. Thus, the victim/offender binary becomes blurred. From this perspective, youth justice is not simply a matter of responding to harm caused *by* young people, but of addressing and working to counteract harms *to* young people. This behoves a therapeutic, strengths-based, developmentally informed approach.

Strengths-based and developmentally appropriate approaches

Research highlights the importance of recognizing young people's developmental needs and competencies, while promoting strengths and protective factors. These include individual factors (i.e. self-esteem, autonomy, independence) and social environmental factors (i.e. stable housing, community ties, positive peer relationships, and employment opportunities) (Lerner et al., 2015; Ttofi, Farrington, Piquero & Delisi, 2016). Strengths-based approaches that emphasize relational work are crucial, especially for supporting young people's attainment of education and employment goals (Johns, Williams & Haines, 2017). This means working *with* young people to strengthen and build family, peer and community relationships, rather than focusing narrowly on offence-related factors, in isolation from their social context (Johns, et al., 2017).

Young people in youth justice facilities constitute a heterogeneous population with wide-ranging cognitive, psychological and social needs (Hillege et al., 2017). An effective youth custodial system, tailored to diverse care and security needs, therefore requires a broad spectrum of interventions and environments. The *last resort* principle suggests that young people should not be held under higher levels of security than necessary to reasonably ensure public and institutional safety. Following this logic, a focus on security should not override the focus on building and strengthening protective factors and positive community relationships wherever possible (Austin et al., 2005; Souverein et al., 2022).

Besides the Netherlands, other jurisdictions have been implementing similar reforms, replacing 'one-size-fits-all' prison-like settings with alternative custodial models. Such models provide more developmentally-appropriate responses and work to maintain young people's community connections (McCharty, Schiraldi & Shark, 2016; Mendel, 2011). New York City, for example, in 2003, sought to address the problem of young people's arrest, prosecution and "'placement' in a violent and chaotic youth prison, often hundreds of miles from home" (Schiraldi, 2022). The City introduced various diversionary and non-custodial programs that aimed to balance young people's security and care needs and, by 2011, the number of young people in New York's youth justice facilities had been reduced by half (Szanyi & Soler, 2018).

Under the 2012 *Close to Home Act*, the State of New York recognized that the wellbeing of everybody concerned "would be best served by minimizing the dislocation of youth from their families and building on positive connections between young people and their communities" (New York State Office of Children & Family Services, 2014: 2). This new law shifted responsibility for custodial placements from the State to the city. Instead of 'placement' in geographically isolated large-scale prison-like State facilities, all justice-involved young people were placed in "small homes" (6-20 beds) (Schiraldi, 2022) within the city, closer to their family and local community. Striking results have emerged: Between 2012 and 2021, New York City has seen an 86% decline in youth arrests (Schiraldi, 2022). Program outcomes are equally encouraging: 91% of young people passed their academic classes; 82% successfully transitioned home to their family; 91% of young people who transitioned home enrolled in community-based programs; only 7.6% of young people were recalled to custody for violating their terms of release (Weissman, Ananthakrishnan, Schiraldi, 2019; Schiraldi, 2022). The *Close to Home* initiative points to the need for deeper understanding of how "better treatment of young people and improved public safety [can indeed] go hand in hand" (Schiraldi, 2022).

The aim of this article

Trends towards small-scale, community-embedded youth facilities highlight the need to systematically examine these models' implementation and operation, to understand how positive results might be replicated in other places (Szanyi & Soler, 2018). Such evidence is important, both for practitioners working with young people, and for managers and policymakers seeking to promote effective youth justice strategies. In this article, by shedding light on recent reforms in the Netherlands, we aim to build knowledge about implementing viable custodial alternatives for young people. This article is based on a comprehensive three-year evaluation[1] of one of three pilot facilities: a small-scale, community-integrated facility in Amsterdam. Through action research, the evaluation provided a unique opportunity to examine the development and implementation of the Amsterdam facility, including the perspectives of practitioners, policymakers, young people and their families. Our objectives in this paper are to: 1) identify the key operational elements of a small-scale, community-embedded facility, and the lessons learned in developing them 'from paper to practice'; and 2) identify the facilitators and barriers to implementation.

Method

Setting

This study was conducted as part of a three-year evaluation project initiated by the Dutch Ministry of Justice to examine the feasibility and efficacy of alternative custodial models for youth justice. From the end of 2016 to the end of 2019 a research team of the Academic Collaborative Centre for Forensic Youth[2] (*Academische Werkplaats Risicojeugd*; AWRJ) carefully monitored three pilot facilities: Nijmegen (November 2016 – December 2017), Groningen (December 2016 – December 2017), and Amsterdam (September 2016 – December 2019). These facilities each accommodated eight young people, pre- and post-trial, following the same vision and practical framework. This article focuses on the Amsterdam facility, largely because the Amsterdam pilot ran the longest and therefore yielded the greatest amount of data.

Action research

The evaluation involved action research, engaging all stakeholders in a cyclic process of action, research and critical reflection. This approach facilitates stakeholder 'buy-in' and understanding of complex processes in practice, and thereby enhances the applicability of study outcomes (Abma et al., 2017; Nyström et al., 2018). The action research cycle comprised qualitative, semi-structured interviews (to gather the perspectives of key stakeholders), accompanied by an iterative validation, feedback and reflection loop.

Semi-structured interviews

In determining our sample, source triangulation increased validity of the results. Our sample comprised three groups of stakeholders: professionals, young people in the facility, and their parents/caregivers. A total of 69 interviews were conducted in four rounds during the evaluation period, September 2016 to December 2019.

We conducted 46 semi-structured interviews with professionals. Purposive sampling was used to ensure representation across all relevant youth justice agencies and different roles within these organizations. These included staff working at the pilot facility (17 interviews) and other professionals (29 interviews). The staff included the behavioral expert (responsible for the assessment and planning of young people's trajectories), the project manager (responsible for management of staff and facility at large), and unit staff including security staff (n=5) and social workers (n=7). The other professionals included representatives from the child care and protection board, probation services, youth lawyers, the public prosecution office, youth court, custodial institutions agency, the municipality, and a local residents committee in the neighborhood where the facility was located.

During the evaluation period, 156 young people were remanded to the Amsterdam facility (the total sample). Of these, 18 young people were approached to participate in the evaluation, which resulted in 15 interviews. The interview sample was selected through a

combination of availability sampling (guided by which young people were placed in the facility at the time of the interview rounds), convenience sampling (guided by the process of data collection and analysis), and purposive sampling (to ensure a heterogeneous representative sample). We ensured our sample represented the diversity of young people in the facility, regarding age and offence severity. The participating young people were aged between 14 and 18 years (ages varied between 13 and 18 years in the total sample). They were remanded for either a violent or property crime, or a violent property offence, which reflected the most prevalent offences among the total sample (18% violent, 22% property, 55% violent property offence). Parent/caregivers of the 15 young people interviewed were approached to participate in the research (convenience sampling), which resulted in eight interviews, in most cases with the biological mother.

A trained and supervised research team, including authors FS and SO, conducted the interviews. A member of the research team explained the nature and objective of the study to each participant, who received a plain language statement and provided their informed consent prior to participation. Each interview lasted approximately one hour. New themes, that were not anticipated with the initial topic-list, were followed up on in subsequent interviews.

All interviews were tape recorded, transcribed verbatim and uploaded into MAXQDA. Verbatim transcripts were coded employing a method of 'thick analysis' (Evers, 2015) including thematic and open coding. Axial analysis was then used to build categories by sorting, integrating and grouping the thematic and open codes. Iterative analyses involved constant comparison of themes emerging within and between participant groups (Boeije, 2014). In the last round of interviews, data saturation occurred (Boeije, 2014), in that no new themes emerged from participant narratives.

Validation, feedback and reflection

Validation, feedback and reflection took place through 1) project team meetings, 2) onsite observations and 3) advisory board meetings. These activities improved the validity and reliability of the results and their applicability in practice. First, throughout the duration of the study the results were continuously discussed and refined during reflective project team meetings (including FS, SO, EM, LvD, AP). In these meetings the results were used as a basis to formulate and evaluate practical recommendations. In general, there was inter-researcher agreement about the results, interpretation and recommendations. Second, about three-weekly onsite observations involved the researchers spending a day at the facility interacting with young people and staff. This allowed the research team to develop a good understanding of the research setting and daily practices. These observational data were used to contextualize and supplement the interview data. Third, as part of the pilot, local and national government representatives and managers and practitioners from stakeholder organizations met every six weeks to discuss the pilot's progress and formulate actions. Observations during these the advisory board meetings – about developments in practice and interactions between stakeholders – also served to contextualize and supplement the interview data. Further member validation (Birt et al., 2016) was undertaken through these advisory board meetings after each cycle of data-collection and analysis. Apart from some linguistic modifications, no major changes were suggested by advisory board members, indicating validity and practical applicability of the outcomes of this study.

Results

The interview data indicated wide support for the Amsterdam facility, not only amongst professional stakeholders, but also young people and their families. Interviewees generally agreed that the facility promotes positive youth development, and that reduced recidivism would be expected. In terms of operational findings, the following section details the main

elements of the Amsterdam pilot, after which we highlight key lessons learnt through implementation.

Key operational elements

From our results, seven key operational elements were identified: 1) *assessment and indication*; 2) *small-scale and tailored*; 3) *relational security*; 4) *community-embedded*; 5) *integrated and multidisciplinary* assessment, planning and service delivery; 6) *active collaboration* with young people and their social network; and 7) selection, guidance and supervision of *staff*.

Assessment and indication for placement

In setting up the working processes it was recognized that strategically matching justice-involved young people with the appropriate setting requires structured assessment and indication for placement of each young person. The professionals stressed that this may also buffer against net-widening (referring to the risk of alternative sanctions, intended to divert people, actually increasing custodial placements). At the Amsterdam facility there were no indications of increases in remand placements after the start of the pilot. The facility in Amsterdam focused on young people who previously have been placed in a large-scale, high-security facility, but who were deemed appropriate for the lower level of security and able to benefit from the opportunities offered by a community-embedded facility (i.e. continuation or initiation of school, work and care in the community). Throughout the pilot, stakeholders developed a set of criteria for placement through consensus-building and continuous learning processes.

Assessment – focused on strengths and resources – involved collaboration between multiple youth justice agencies. In line with this approach, professionals, young people and parents/caregivers highlighted two criteria: 1) motivation, and 2) protective factors. Firstly, to be placed in the community-embedded facility, young people needed to demonstrate *motivation*

to comply with the regulations and responsibilities that applied to the facility and be willing to accept support and guidance from staff. Young people needed to express at least some desire for 'a wake-up call' to get their lives back on track. Secondly, sufficient *protective factors* (e.g. school/work engagement, a positive social network, professional care) – or potential to develop these – needed to be present. These factors would buffer against risk factors and help facilitate positive outcomes for young people. Other criteria identified – offence severity and circumstances, offence history, support network, mental health and intellectual abilities – were weighted for each individual assessment according to a young person's security and care needs.

Several lessons were learned through developing these criteria and working processes. Initially, for instance, professionals agreed first- and second-time offenders would be most suitable for placement in the facility. During the pilot, however, this shifted: the professional stakeholders realized that, in practice, offence history is not necessarily related to a successful placement, as it does not equate to a young person's current motivation to get their life back on track. Similarly, it was originally not possible for young people to be placed in the facility multiple times. During the pilot, the perspective of professionals shifted towards allowing young people to learn by trial and error. This meant every potential placement in the facility was regarded as a 'new situation', with consideration being given to whether the facility was the most suitable place for the young person at that time. As the pilot progressed, less emphasis was put on the severity of the alleged offence. According to interviewees, offence severity should not be a discriminating factor in determining whether young people should be placed in the facility. In general, the offence *circumstances* (motive, role, provocations) were considered more indicative of whether a young person was suitable. Likewise, problematic substance abuse and an IQ lower than 70 (as a proxy for intellectual disability) were initially considered contra-indications for placement. However, in practice, it turned out that it was more appropriate to weigh these factors against the other criteria. Finally, practice showed that it was important that

young people and their network were *actively involved* in the process of assessment and indication for placement. A young person's current volitional state of motivation, attitudes and feelings could not simply be determined from a case file.

Small-scale and tailored

The design of the facility was *small scale* (one unit with eight beds). This allowed staff to identify and understand each young person's risks, needs, skills and strengths, and to tailor individual trajectories accordingly. The facility offered differentiated arrangements of security and care. This meant level of access to phones or spaces, for instance, could be scaled up or down depending on young people's individual risks and needs. This *tailored approach* also meant that there were no standard sanctions. Individual arrangements were made with each young person following a rule violation. Staff initiated informal activities and organized a communal dinner every day, but there was no structured group-work, nor was there a fixed program with set times. Instead, each young person had a weekly schedule customized to their individual needs and activities.

Developing this way of working in practice, professionals learned it was important to find a good balance between a fixed structure and tailored trajectories; an individual approach should not be confused with a lack of structure. Customization, especially in an environment with less physical and procedural security, required a clear structure and strong underpinning principles. In developing this way of working, *relational security* became the basis of this framework (see next subheading). The results suggested that to provide customized care and security, it was important to gather a complete picture of the young person and their context, to understand how to reduce risk factors and strengthen protective factors. For this, professional and policymakers developed an *integrated and multidisciplinary* way of working (see subheading further below). Finally the results indicate that the small-scaled and tailored way of working reduced the risk of undesirable group formation or the explicit teaching of deviant

behavior by group members (deviancy training). In interviews both young people and staff expressed that, because each trajectory was carefully tailored to individual risks and needs without a strong group-based approach, young people were more focused on themselves and their future, rather than on the other young people and their position within the group.

Relational security

While some physical security (e.g. locks and cameras) and procedural measures (e.g. regarding external movements and possessions) were in place, the facility was set up with *relational security* as the core of the security framework. Relational security relies on the *relationships* between staff and young people to ensure security (Hilhorst, 2016). A more concrete conceptualization of relational security, however, was not defined on paper. Being a pilot facility, one of the aims was to develop a good understanding of the concept and practice of relational security, and *how* it ensures safety. Also, professionals initially wondered if relational security *could* be the basis of the security framework, or whether they would need to rely predominantly on physical and procedural security.

The experiences of professionals, young people and their parents/caregivers highlighted that relational security was grounded in three distinct but interrelated elements. The first concerned the way professionals were present and shaped interactions with young people. When professionals worked from a 'basic attitude', this contributed to safety. This *basic attitude* comprised the connection with and attunement to the individual and their context. Professionals actively invested in getting to know each young person, and were able to see things from their perspective. This involved the professional accepting the young person as they are, giving the young person space to be themselves and showing genuine interest. By finding a connection, the professionals were able to understand the young person and use their understanding of the young person to act in a way that promoted safety.

The second component of relational security was a constructive *equal collaboration* between the professional and young person. The professional stood next to and walked alongside each young person as a coach. As co-owner of their case plan, the young person was involved in decision-making (see *active collaboration* subheading, below). The young person was given autonomy, and space to take responsibility and to learn by trial and error. Following any rule violation, the young person was included in the settlement and determination of an appropriate consequence, with the emphasis on restoration and the underlying causes of the behaviour instead of punishment. Clear boundaries were set, as required, but the professional's attitude was advisory and motivational, rather than repressive and authoritarian.

The third component of relational security related to *professionals being physically present* at the unit. This guaranteed safety in several ways: the preventive effect of the adult's presence; their observing, signaling, intervening early, and de-escalating if necessary; and professionals being available for young people to seek emotional support. Furthermore, the many opportunities for informal contact contributed to relationship-building between staff and the young people, which helped generate a positive institutional climate.

The evaluation results showed that, when these three components are in place, relational security can provide an effective security framework. Firstly, professionals relied primarily on relational security strategies to ensure safety, and only sought secondary support through physical and procedural security measures. Secondly, these latter measures were deployed in line with the principles of relational security, that is, always putting the relationship with the young person first. This way of working allowed staff to establish a safe and therapeutic environment, which promoted important developmental competencies (e.g. autonomy). Staff, young people and their parents/caregivers all reported experiencing high levels of safety, in interviews, with very few reports of violent incidents.

Because young people were given a degree of freedom and autonomy, they felt responsible for promoting a safe environment and not breaking the rules, and were motivated to take on that responsibility. Young people indicated that, though there were opportunities to abscond, they consciously did not do so, because they viewed the facility as a valuable opportunity. Also because they knew what was at stake if they did try to run away (transfer to a large-scale facility). Staff and young people reported good, constructive alliances characterized by mutual respect. Also, the risk of undesirable group formation or the explicit teaching of deviant behavior by group members (deviancy training) appeared to be reduced by relational security. Staff reported a safe working climate and high job satisfaction.

To effectively establish relational security, the physical infrastructure was important as it must allow for physical security measures to be scaled down as much as possible. The Amsterdam facility was renovated to fit this purpose: it had a homely look with no fences, no window bars, no steel doors, and 'normal' furniture. According to the professionals, this automatically strengthened relational security: instead of falling back on physical security measures – because these options were not available – professionals were more inclined to adopt de-escalating behavior and invest in constructive relationships with the young people.

Community-embedded

One of the central principles of the facility was that it was *embedded in the community*. This meant, in the first instance, its location in a neighborhood close to each young person's home environment (maximum 1.5-hour travel time). Second the facility utilized resources within the community. For example, it did not offer any internal school, work, therapy or medical care, but collaborated with local authorities to continue or initiate these within the community.

The broader evaluation showed that in almost all cases (97% for care and 98% for school and work-related activities) protective factors were successfully continued or initiated within

the community. All participants (professionals, young people and parents/caregivers) emphasized that promoting protective factors in this way enhanced the young people's positive development, which they would expect to contribute to reduced recidivism. Further, due to the community-embedded approach, even while incarcerated young people did not feel excluded from their family, community or society at large. The fact that the facility mostly relied on relational security (see *relational security*, above), and the physical infrastructure and location of the building, promoted this connection with the community.

Integrated and multidisciplinary assessment, planning and service delivery

In line with the principle of community-embeddedness, the facility took an *integrated*, *multidisciplinary* approach to assessment, treatment planning and service delivery. From the moment of placement in the facility, case management was directed towards the period after release. Continuity was considered key: case management was provided by external professional stakeholders (e.g. youth probation service) who remained involved after the young person's release. The underlying principle was that the period of incarceration, especially when it is relatively brief, is considered part of a continuous life-course trajectory towards desistance; the facility is only one link in the chain. In practice, this meant the facility was easily accessible for local stakeholders and regular case meetings with stakeholders (including youth probation services, child protective services, mental health care professionals) were held on the premises. These meetings involved information-sharing about the case and collaborative treatment planning, incorporating different intake and diagnostic instruments used at different times by various partners along the youth justice chain.

These collaborative working processes promoted integrated service delivery. However, it remained a challenge to produce one integrated case plan. The idea was that following the stakeholder meetings, instead of each stakeholder writing a separate case plan, one individual action plan was formulated as a 'co-production' between all key stakeholders. This integrated

case plan comprised short-term and long-term goals geared towards building prospects and opportunities. This aim was not achieved as it was hindered by legal, practical and technological barriers (see *barriers to implementation*, below). Information was shared verbally, and services were generally delivered in an integrated manner, but this was not substantiated in structural or formal data-sharing processes or a sustainable and holistic 'inter-agency' action plan on paper.

Despite this hindrance, the results showed that this integrated way of working increased the probability of 'getting things done' and arranging the appropriate post-release support. Young people stated that this community-integrated approach allowed for their smooth transition back home. At the same time, for some young people, the contrast between the structured setting of the facility and their home environment still posed a challenge for their adjustment following release. This highlighted the importance of staff from the facility having opportunities to stay involved post-release to provide guidance to the young person and their family.

Active collaboration with young people and their support network

In line with the concept of relational security – recognizing young people's agency and autonomy – the facility was based on the principle that young people and their support network should be actively engaged in intervention planning and service delivery, through *active collaboration*. This stemmed from an understanding that a tailored approach must be informed by young people's and parents/caregivers' perspectives on what is needed to reduce risks and strengthen protective factors. This was mainly organized by allowing young people and their network a seat at the table during case management meetings with professional stakeholders. Further, the focus on relational security and the physical infrastructure of the building made the facility easily accessible for parents and young people's broader support network (e.g. no fixed visiting hours, no visitation, facility was within reasonable distance to family, the building had a welcoming appearance). Staff members kept family members/caregivers frequently updated

and family were able to call staff directly if they had any questions or concerns. Staff actively engaged with parents/caregivers and helped them take responsibility in their caregiving role, according to their ability, such as by providing transport to court.

Actively involving partners/caregivers provided valuable insights into family dynamics, which informed case management. Staff, young people and parents/caregivers said this allowed for a smoother transition back home after release. Young people and their network experienced some sense of autonomy and self-determination, by having a seat at the table, but only if their input was reflected in concrete actions. However, this was not sufficient: young people and their network stressed the need for *active involvement* in planning and decision-making throughout their confinement and having their input reflected in their case plan and activities.

Selection, guidance and supervision of staff

Selection, training, and managerial support of *staff* is the final operational element. Staff were responsible for establishing a safe and therapeutic environment. Their relationships with young people were especially important given the emphasis on relational security. In developing this way of working from paper to practice, several lessons were learnt. In terms of staff selection, rather than professional qualifications, staff *skills* were often the main deciding factor in determining suitability for the job. Most important was the ability to genuinely connect with young people, which was thought to be a natural, innate ability rather than a learned skill. It was deemed equally important that staff *values* and work ethics were in line with the underlying values of the model (that is a strengths-based, rather than a punitive risk-averse approach, emphasizing young people's perspectives within a tailored and collaborative way of working and promoting young people's autonomy through relational security).

Given the complexity of working in a youth custodial setting, structures to guide staff and allowing them space and time to learn on the job were paramount. Staff members were encouraged to continuously reflect on their own and their colleagues' behaviours. Staff and

management engaged in weekly, intensive supervision sessions. Combined with transformational leadership (using inspiration and innovation), this allowed for any repressive attitudes or feelings of unsafety among staff members to be addressed/counteracted. For these reasons, staff interviewed reported high work satisfaction and a positive work climate.

Implementation lessons: facilitators and barriers

Our analysis revealed a range of factors facilitating or hindering implementation of the small-scale, community-embedded facility in Amsterdam. These included: broader political conditions that were conducive to policy and practice reform and innovation; aspects of the pilot project and its local context that ensured its gradual development and garnering of wide support; and elements of monitoring and evaluation that promoted confidence in the reforms. We outline facilitators and barriers to implementation, and conducive conditions, in Table 1, below.

Table 1 *Overview of conducive conditions for implementation: facilitators and barriers*

Conducive conditions for implementation	**Facilitating factors**
Appetite for reform in local and national political context	- Momentum for system-wide policy reforms - Bottom-up and top-down support and endorsement for change
Shared guiding structure	- Utilizing existing knowledge and experience in the field - Shared vision for reform amongst all involved stakeholders - Guiding shared practice framework
Time, space, resources	- Step-by-step exploration and implementation, 2015–2019 - Appropriate time and resources for implementation - Ongoing investments in implementation - Authoritative space for professionals working directly with young people in custody - Allowing professionals the space to learn by trial and error
Stakeholder engagement and involvement	- Collaboration with all professional stakeholders

	- Co-ownership and shared responsibility between all professional stakeholders - Community engagement - Project manager as ambassador
Evaluation	- Structured monitoring and evaluation - Action research
Local context	- Large size of target population - Small regional spread of target population

Conducive conditions for implementation	**Barriers**
Local context	- Small size of target population - Large geographical dispersion of target population - Large region including multiple municipalities
Structures and policies	- Structures and policies for information sharing did not provide a sufficient base for integrated working processes
Roles of professional stakeholders	- Different roles and responsibilities of stakeholders - Differences in language between stakeholders

Discussion and conclusion

In this paper, based on three years of action research, we reflect on lessons learnt through the development and evaluation of a small-scale, community-embedded youth justice remand facility in the Netherlands. Suited for a diverse population (in terms of age and offence severity; Souverein et al., 2022), this approach contributes to a graduated justice system, oriented towards meeting young people's developmental needs, whilst maintaining a balance between security and care. By building on existing community resources, the facility allowed for protective factors (such as connections to school, work, sports, or professional care) to be continued or initiated during the period of confinement (Souverein et al., 2020). These results were long-lasting, as indicated by a follow-up study that showed for a large part these protective factors remained a year after release (Souverein et al., 2020).

Aspects of the small-scale, community-embedded model that appeared to be conducive to positive outcomes for young people were: 1) assessment and indication, 2) small-scale and tailored, 3) relational security, 4) community-embedded, 5) integrated and multidisciplinary assessment, planning and service delivery, 6) active collaboration with young people and their social network, and 7) selection, guidance and supervision of staff.

These key operational elements find their support in practice and theory. The model addresses both criminogenic needs as well as protective factors (as stressed by Andrews & Bonta, 2010). In line with literature on positive youth development (e.g. Lerner et al., 2015; Johns, Williams & Haines, 2017) these key operational elements promote important developmental competencies, both individual (i.e. self-esteem, autonomy, independence) and within the social environment (community ties, education and employment opportunities, and positive connections with their family and support network). These key operational elements promote a safe and positive environment for both young people and staff. They seem to buffer against risks and antisocial behavior being exacerbated within the group, or deviancy training, a common challenge in youth justice settings. This small-scale, community-embedded model – eschewing a strongly punitive, risk-averse approach – provides young people with an opportunity to get their lives back on track and promotes their motivation to do so. The success of the Amsterdam facility resulted in wide support from policymakers, professionals, young people and their families.

This article highlights crucial factors in the successful implementation of the model, which facilitate its key operational elements, and identifies barriers that may hinder implementation (see Table 1 for an overview). These factors align with other literature on youth justice reforms (Case & Hampson, 2019). For instance, this study reflects similar facilitators and barriers as those encountered with the earlier New York City reforms (Szanyi & Solar, 2018; Weissman, Ananthakrishnan, Schiraldi, 2019). Most critical to the reforms in New York

was, and remains, "achieving consensus among all stakeholders on the core vision and basic principles of the initiative and maintaining their support throughout the implementation process" (Szanyi & Solar, 2018: 16). The same can be said about the Dutch model.

It should be noted that even if the conditions for implementation are all in place, the developments in Amsterdam show that it remains a challenge to align the different roles and responsibilities of all the professional stakeholders. Relations between local partners and the national custodial institutions agency is a particular sticking point, as elaborated below. Setting up integrated data-sharing processes and co-producing one integrated casefile and action plan proved problematic due to structural and policy constraints. These challenges persist to this day.

Development and implementation of the key operational elements should be regarded as a continuous process that requires ongoing investment of time and resources. Youth justice authorities currently struggle to effectively utilise the existing small-scale facilities. In the Netherlands there are currently five small-scale facilities, which are fully operating but are vacant for the most part. With the exception of the Amsterdam facility, it appears that for the other four facilities not all of the conditions for successful implementation have been met. This requires allocation of the appropriate time, attention and resources. Recent attention in the media (Hindriks & Karawazi, 2022) and politics (House of Representatives the Netherlands, 2022) has suggested concern for the future of these facilities if they do not reach full capacity.

One of the bottlenecks is a disagreement between local partners and the custodial institutions agency of the national government. This disagreement centers around the question of who should have authority to decide if a young person is placed in a small-scale or large-scale facility: the national government (currently the case as decided by the government) or a judge (the general conception of local partners). The local partners' argument is that the judge is in direct contact with the young person, parents and local professionals and therefore has all the information needed to indicate placement in a local, small-scale facility. In contrast,

Ministry of Justice officials need to make this judgment from a paper case file. This issue underlines a more fundamental question about whether a judicial power or government officials should decide the appropriate response to a young person involved in the justice system. This reaffirms the need for consensus among stakeholders about the underlying vision and carefully considered working processes.

A final reflection on the 'Dutch model' is that is it currently available for only a sub-group of young people in custody. As we have described there is a thorough screening and indication process prior to placement. Further, during their stay, young people can be transferred to a large-scale facility with higher levels of physical and procedural security in certain situations (e.g. use of severe violence or absconding). This happens in about 14% of all placements (Souverein et al., 2020). This raises the questions of *whether* and *how* this model can be applied to the wider, diverse youth justice population.

In addition to the practical considerations of the Dutch model, the evaluation brought several methodological and conceptual issues to light. First, while multiple procedures were followed to increase the validity and reliability of the results (method and source triangulation, peer debriefing, member validation) one may question whether all results will transfer from this specific context to another youth justice setting. At the same time, while this paper only reports on the results of the Amsterdam facility, in the first year the evaluation also focused on two other pilot sites generating similar results (Souverein et al., 2018). Second, even though maximum diversity in the sample of young people and parent/caregiver participants was sought, the study relied on their willingness to participate. Young people and parents/caregivers who were not willing to participate could have had a different opinion on the topics addressed. Finally, data systems in practice are not necessarily fit for monitoring. To collect information about young people during and after their period of incarceration as reliably as possible, information from different systems of organizations was compared and combined for each

young person individually. Besides being very labor-intensive, it turned out that, even with this detailed way of doing research, mapping the trajectories during and after placement was a challenge. The way information is now recorded in practice makes this type of research, particularly collecting follow-up data, almost impossible (information is missing, inconsistent with other sources or not accessible) and/or very labor intensive. It is not possible to make substantiated statements about the effect of judicial measures without thorough and adequate data collection along the youth justice chain. A unified, national information management and tracking system, with the young person as the starting point, will not only help practitioners work together, but will also promote sound scientific research.

Despite the practical and methodological considerations outlined above, this study contributes to filling a gap in the current literature about key elements of effective custodial models and what is needed for cross-jurisdictional implementation. We realize that each of the aspects described in this paper holds enough depth to justify several separate papers. Souverein and others (2022), for example, provide a detailed qualitative description of the domains that guided screening/assessment for placement. Meijer and others (2023) focus on the suitability of the Amsterdam facility for young people with a mild intellectual disability. The current paper was written to provide an overview of the Dutch reforms and the Dutch model, to provide guidance for practitioners working with young people, and for managers and policymakers seeking to promote political and financial investment in effective youth justice strategies.

At the same time, individual jurisdictions and their histories, systems, cultures, and politics, "can be just as quirky and esoteric as individual human beings" (Cavadino & Dignan, 2006: 452). Jurisdictions are distinguished by the interaction of various social, cultural, political and economic factors. These interactions are unpredictable, either facilitating or undermining attempted reforms, and thereby pose distinct challenges for policy transfer (McFarlane & Canton, 2014). Any attempts to implement policy and/or practice from elsewhere should always

involve considered analysis of the local context – identifying specific facilitators and barriers that could arise – and potential adaptation to meet local needs. Crucially, the principles and guidelines underlying any place-based reforms should be discussed and developed in collaboration *with the local community*, so that the needs and strengths of their young people are accommodated. Considering all of the above, we can (and should) redesign and reconfigure custodial models and promote developmentally-appropriate responses to justice-involved children and young people, everywhere. Crucially, we must act to ensure that – even in local, small-scale facilities – depriving a child of their liberty should only ever be *the last resort*. All necessary efforts should be made to prevent young people from reaching that point.

[1] The extensive results of the evaluation are described in three annual research reports available in Dutch (see Souverein et al., 2018; 2019; 2020).

[2] The AWRJ was granted permission to perform the study by the Medical Ethical Review Committee of the VU University Medical Centre The Medical Ethics Review Committee of VU University Medical Center is registered with the US Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP) as 1E1600002991. The FWA number assigned to VU University Medical Center is FWA00017598.

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