

Location and Spatial Arrangement: Their Role in Rehabilitating the Children In Conflict With the Law

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Abstract : *This study investigates how the location and spatial arrangement of St. Mary's Refuge, a youth facility for children in conflict with the law in the Philippines (CICL) influence its attainment of rehabilitative goals. Although a wealth of literature has examined the condition of CICL in institutions, little is known about the link between the physical aspect of a facility (location, floor area, layout, rooms, and other building attributes) and their rehabilitation. Through an ethnographic study of a youth facility and in-depth interviews of the CICL and their houseparents, the study presents rich descriptive data of how a facility's physical attributes critically influence the kind of structured and unstructured rehabilitative activities it can offer. The findings gathered from this study will provide crucial information for juvenile justice practitioners, management of youth facilities, professionals in various design disciplines, and child care advocates regarding the role of facility layout, functional space adjacencies and design considerations to the achievement of rehabilitation among youth offenders.*

Keywords: *children in conflict with the law, location, rehabilitation, spatial arrangement*

I. Introduction

The Philippine government reframed its response to youth offending through the ratification of RA 9344, otherwise known as the Juvenile Justice and Welfare Act (JJWA) in 2006. RA 9344 is widely acclaimed as a flagship legislation for children's rights in the Philippines [1], and in Asia, this law has placed the Philippines at the forefront in the advocacy for restorative justice for youth offenders [2]. The revamp in the Philippine juvenile justice system is clearly manifested starting from the use of the neutral term "children in conflict with the law" instead of delinquent, which is a more common label used in technical literature, but considered condemnatory.

RA 9344 is a complete departure from the formerly accepted practice of incarceration in dealing with CICL. To abide by international standards of juvenile justice, particularly with the principles set forth by the 1989 Convention of the Rights of the Child, it mandates that anyone 15 years or below is exempted from criminal liability, while those who are above 15 but below 18 years can only be charged with criminal liability if it can be proven that they acted with discernment; otherwise they cannot be held legally responsible but are directed to go through an intensified intervention program for the purpose of rehabilitation [3]. Recent amendment of the law signed by President Benigno Aquino, Jr. in 2013 retains the age of 15 as the minimum age of criminal responsibility but requires admission of the 12 to 15 year old recidivists and serious offenders in a youth facility considered acceptable by the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) officials [3]. Following this line, RA 9344 requires then the existence of youth facilities geared up for the challenging task of rehabilitation. To ensure that every town or municipality will be able to take charge of its own youth offenders, the law stipulates that local government units have to establish their own rehabilitation facility for those under their jurisdiction. Given this, the financial aspect of the law is clearly daunting, to say the least, as physical structures need to be constructed to house apprehended youth offenders.

It is within this context that St. Mary's Refuge¹ was established by a Philippine local government unit. It initially served as a temporary residential home for all youth at risk, not only for those who offended the law. No building was constructed for financial reasons, and instead a storage room of a former police substation was renovated to provide shelter to street children, abandoned children, and child offenders. The shift from incarceration to diversion for youth offenders as enforced by RA 9344 in 2006 resulted to a major revamp of St. Mary's Refuge. The local government decided that St. Mary's Refuge cater exclusively to children in conflict with the law. The officials of the local Philippine National Police (PNP) and the Bureau of Jail Management and Penology (BJMP) turned over all inmates who were below 18 to the facility.

Right from the start, St. Mary's Refuge pledges "to give the best quality of service and nurturing, recognizing the rights, dignity and potential of its residents."² This vision complemented the facility's mission of "providing utmost care, protection, and guidance to its residents using the multidisciplinary approach that adequately prepares them for an outright living to be better persons when reunited with their families and reintegrated with their family and community"³.

The question that begs is whether St. Mary's Refuge can achieve its mission-vision given that its location and spatial arrangement were not originally intended for meeting the needs of children in conflict with the law. As a retrofitted structure, initial investigation seems to point out that St. Mary's Refuge generous utilization of bolts, locks and iron grills inside and outside the facility render the CICL constantly under surveillance and supervision, similar to

what is done in a regular prison. Moreover, there are reverberations of Goffman's concept of "total institution" defined as "a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enforced, formally administered round of life" [4]. Against this backdrop, this study aims to determine how the location and spatial arrangement of St. Mary's Refuge facilitate or impede its attainment of rehabilitation for the CICL it admitted. Also, the study seeks to find out whether St. Mary's refuge qualifies as a total institution based from the activities, both structured and unstructured that the CICL go through as residents of the facility.

II. Methodology

2.1 Method of Data Gathering

The study utilized qualitative research, specifically ethnography, to gather rich descriptive data to obtain a deeper appreciation of the experiences of children in conflict with the law admitted to St. Mary's Refuge. Making sense of the role that location and spatial arrangement plays in the rehabilitation of the CICL residents is important to be able to gain an understanding about how these physical factors could facilitate or impede the rehabilitative pursuits of St. Mary's Refuge.

The study incorporates participant observation, qualitative interviews and use of secondary data for the purpose of illustrating fully the kind of experiences the CICL have while they are residents of St. Mary's Refuge. This triangulation allowed checking for consistency of data to offset the study's reliance on subjective responses from the study's respondents.

Participant observation provided a first-hand glimpse of the CICL's experiences as detained youth offenders in their natural environment; i.e., in a facility. It is argued that sensitive topics such as this necessitates that a researcher personally take part in what participants of the study go through in their normal setting to be able to gain a fuller understanding and appreciation of their experiences. Although participant observation may give rise to the Hawthorne effect; i.e., behaving artificially due to awareness of being observed, enabling the CICL and houseparents to get used to the presence of the researcher counters it. Thus, data gathering only started as soon as their behavior could be surmised as normal or typical.

The data gathered from participant observation were supplemented by qualitative interviews where probing was done not only to generate in-depth understanding but also to validate observations made.

2.2 Data Management and Analysis

In order to analyze the data gathered for the study, the interviews were first transcribed. This is followed by validation of data using member checking and triangulation. Member checking involved going back to the respondents to ask them whether the information they gave during the interview were correct. Triangulation was undertaken by comparing and contrasting several sources of data: interviews, secondary data and observation guide. Then, the information collected from the respondents was clustered according to themes. Finally thematic analysis proceeded in keeping with Braun and Clarke's [5] definition of the method as "identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data." Relationships that emerged from the data were then identified.

2.3 Sampling

The sources of data in this study primarily come from in depth interviews of the CICL residents and houseparents⁴ of St. Mary's Refuge.

At the time of the study, the CICL of St. Mary's Refuge were composed of 35 males and 5 females. Of the 40 CICL, 8 were below 15 years, 31 were in the 15 to 17 age range while 1 was above 18. In terms of education, 1 had no education, 21 were in the elementary level, 3 were elementary graduates, 12 were in high school while 3 graduated from high school.

In regard to their offenses, the highest number fall on crime against property, which includes 18 theft cases and 6 robberies. In particular, more residents committed theft compared to those who did robbery/hold-up.⁵ This is followed by 10 cases classified as crime against persons (rape, physical injury, child abuse and homicide), and 3 drug-related violations. Some CICL also divulged that although they were apprehended for theft, they had done other crimes but were not caught doing them. Residents accused of theft and robbery mostly stole expensive gadgets from private residences. Three CICL had no clear violations.

All of the six houseparents are women and are called *Nanay* (the Filipino word for mother). Their ages range from 29 to 53 years old. One is single (*Nanay Connie*, 39), another is a widow (*Nanay Josi*, 53), and the rest are married (*Nanay Mila*, 29, *Nanay Alma*, 44, *Nanay Nida*, 43 and *Nanay Beth*, 50). All of them are high school graduates, with one finishing a 2-year secretarial course (*Nanay Nida*) and another, a college degree (*Nanay Mila*). In terms of religion, five are Catholics while one is a Born-again Christian (*Nanay Mila*). All of them received training in houseparenting, team building and how to handle the CICL. All have served St. Mary's Refuge for more than two years. The houseparents are contractual workers receiving compensation ranging from Php278 to Php302 (\$6-7) per day. They are not entitled to leaves and other benefits.

III. Normalizing Surveillance: The Role of Location

St. Mary's Refuge is situated within the premises of the City Social Welfare and Development Office (CSWDO), Haven for Girls (national government's facility for adolescent females at risk), Police Substation II, Bureau of Jail Management and Penology (BJMP), and the city government hospital. It is a few meters walk from a major thoroughfare where all vehicles going to the different barangays⁶ pass through. It is about a twenty-minute ride from St. Joseph, the barangay where most CICL presently admitted in St. Mary's Refuge come from.

Its location conveniently makes surveillance from the outside easier. With the police authorities nearby, the residents are constantly reminded of what can happen if they commit serious violations while they are in St. Mary's Refuge. It also reminds them as to who can assist the unarmed guards in the facility in punishing them. In fact, the houseparents point out that the temporary holding cell of the PNP substation found near St. Mary's Refuge had been used to lock up CICL who were uncontrollable, with assistance from the police authorities.

Although St. Mary's Refuge is located at the heart of the city, near the communities where their significant others live, surveillance as a defining characteristic of a total institution is still very evident in its location. The fact that it is near the police station instills fear of the authorities among the CICL. This is enough to restrain them from unruly behavior.

Because St. Mary's Refuge is community-based however, it is different from typical rehabilitation facilities for juvenile delinquents that are designed as maximum security environments and operate on assumptions of the necessity and desirability of absolute control, the restriction of individual movement, and a punitive and coercive environment [6]. Instead, it is designed so that the young people, at whatever stage of the judicial process, could lead lives as close to normal as possible. Hence, the physical surroundings where the youth offenders are kept are supposed to be as close to their normal surroundings outside of the facility as possible [6]. The importance of this to rehabilitation has been emphasized by child advocates in the Philippines [7, 8]. Child activist Fr. Shay Cullen of the People's Recovery Empowerment Development Assistance (PREDA) Foundation has in fact stated that,

The physical building is a very important part of the recovery and reform of youth in conflict with the law. It must reflect the respect we have for them where they feel their dignity is acknowledged, that they are not criminals but human persons with rights [8].

In the case of St. Mary's Refuge, while its location and outside appearance indicate that the facility is intended to confine and place the CICL under constant surveillance, the layout of its interiors attempt to simulate a home situation.

IV. Physical Structure and Layout of St. Mary's Refuge

A "normalized" environment is assumed to be conducive to rehabilitation [9]. This assumes that youth offenders ought to live in a place that resembles a typical house despite their confinement. For this reason, St. Mary's Refuge has rooms that are similar to those found in any house: a receiving area which functions as a living room, dormitories which serve as bedrooms, comfort rooms, and kitchen. Despite this set up, constant reminders of the facility's being a place for confinement abound, however.

The receiving area connects to the gate. It is furnished with a living room set for family members and guests who visit the CICL. This is the only area where outsiders are permitted to enter and stay. It can be surmised that the creation of this room is an attempt to simulate a normal home environment because it is made to look like a living room of a typical house where one spends time with loved ones. Nonetheless, this particular spot attracts the most intense surveillance compared with the other areas in St. Mary's Refuge. For one, only guests who have valid identification card can enter. Moreover, all goods brought in and out of this area are thoroughly checked by the guard assigned to man the gate. The gate is locked from the outside most of the time and is only opened when someone enters or leaves the facility.

The receiving area is fully fenced with iron grills. Residents are not allowed here either, unless it is visitation time. The guards allow the CICL and their visitors to converse freely but not to engage in physical contact like hugging that is longer than usual. According to the management of St. Mary's Refuge, exchange of weapons can be done while doing this. Hence, before leaving the receiving area, both the CICL and their visitors are body searched. The mere presence of the guard can also stifle conversations and actions because he/she can submit a daily report on the CICL's behavior which can put the latter in bad light with the facility's management. Thus, despite the simulated appearance of a living room, the receiving area reminds the residents of St. Mary's Refuge that they are there under confinement and close surveillance.

Normalization is also sought through the allocation of space for sleeping, akin to that of the bedroom usually found in a regular house. St. Mary's Refuge has five dormitory rooms (4 for males and 1 for females). Inside each room are double-decked iron beds which are no longer being used because they are already defective. Instead, the residents sleep on foam mattresses which they lay down on the floor.

The dormitory rooms have small hanging cabinets. However, these are rarely used because most residents do not have any personal belongings save for a few pairs of short pants. Shirts are issued by the center. These are kept in the cabinet near the houseparents' table, and are distributed by the houseparents randomly before bath time.

The rooms have windows (facing the interior of the facility) with fine mesh screens and grills but no panes so that they are open all the time. With see-through windows, the houseparents and guards are able to monitor the behavior of the CICL in each dormitory without actually going inside. Moreover, the dormitories are locked from the

outside during sleeping time with only the guards and houseparents having access to the keys of the rooms and able to enter the rooms at any time. These make possible the constant surveillance of the residents thereby diminishing if not totally eliminating any chance of privacy they might have. This reality consequently defeats attempts at normalizing the living conditions inside the facility.

Another feature which is supposed to provide the semblance of home is the kitchen next to the female dorm. The sink and counter are made of white tiles, which already show wear and tear. Kitchen utensils (i.e., knives, plates, glasses, pans) and appliances (i.e., big refrigerator, washing machine, and stoves) are available for use by the residents. For security reasons, the houseparents only allow female residents and a few long-time male residents to enter here. This area is prohibited to newly admitted residents who might use the items there for harmful or illegal activities. Hence, normalization in this respect appears to benefit only a select few because the greater majority does not have access to this area.

St. Mary's Refuge is also equipped with two comfort rooms and two shower rooms for males with doors that are open on the top and bottom parts. Each room is just large enough to accommodate one person. The female residents and female staff share one separate comfort room and one shower room located near the kitchen. These are larger rooms that can be fully closed, giving the female residents more privacy.

The structural and physical features of St. Mary's Refuge somehow resonate with the idea of Panopticon⁷ as a means of exercising disciplinary power and control all over the facility by way of the custodians [10]. Despite the attempts to simulate a home environment, some of the features of St. Mary's Refuge remind the residents that they are constantly being watched and that their behavior is potentially always on display, thereby compelling them to self-monitor. The account of one resident expresses the sentiment of the majority: "Ever so often, somebody will come in. *Nanay* will just enter (the dorm), snooping. Even if you don't see them, they are there, eavesdropping. So you must be careful with your actions."

This is consistent with what Bentham and Foucault are saying about the effectiveness of Panopticon as a surveillance mechanism. According to them, the effectiveness of the Panopticon does not lie so much on whether or not people are actually being watched, but on the fact that they think they are. This allows organizations or institutions to exert control over their members in that those who feel they are under observation (whether they are or not) are less likely to violate rules [11].

The rooms that form the interior of St. Mary's Refuge, on the other hand, indicate that St. Mary's Refuge is a "social hybrid organization" described as a home but within a formal bureaucracy considered to be "the key facts of total institutions" [4]. While the set up in St. Mary's Refuge resembles a typical home with a receiving room, dormitory rooms which function as bedrooms, a kitchen, bathrooms, and comfort rooms, it also has rooms which are intended for its functions as a formal organization. For example, it has a room which serves as the business area where the officer in charge, the secretary and the clerk hold office, a therapy room *cum* clinic, an isolation room for residents who are violent and a "common area" where all group activities, including the sessions on alternative learning system and Values Education are conducted. These rooms are essential in handling the residents' needs as perceived by the management.

Being in these rooms, however, is not something that the CICL can decide on. Permission has to be sought and granted by the houseparents, guards or other staff for this. When asked if they feel that they are at home in St. Mary's Refuge, they replied: "No, because a person who owns a house does not have to ask permission when he goes around the different parts of his house or what he wants to do inside his own house. Here, we always have to ask permission."

For the CICL, St. Mary's Refuge is a facility for youth offenders rather than a home away from home. In addition to this, St. Mary's Refuge lacks the provisions which one expects from a rehabilitation center. For one, everything is cramped in about 120 sq.m. space allocated for the facility. Hence some areas are multi-purpose in terms of usage. The hallway where the residents pray and exercise is also where they do their laundry because there are two drainage openings here for disposal of waste water. Common areas used for classes are also used as dining halls and for activities that require the presence of all CICL. This affects the conduct of activities for the residents. For example, the CICL cannot engage in activities that require much physical movement. Even when they are simply seated, the lack of space sometimes results to fights. As one houseparent stated, "Brushing against each other cannot be avoided. That's why you need to be on guard; otherwise, fights would ensue."

St. Mary's Refuge also serves as depository for the defective equipment and provisions for future calamities of the CSWDO. Boxes of unused wheelchairs (owned by CSWDO) are piled at the sides of the hallway making the space even more constricted. In the female dormitory, unused mats occupy half the whole room, making the space cramped. Furthermore, while the facility has enough supply of potable water and electricity, a brown out makes the place unbearably hot because ventilation can only come from the two gates. One of the gates is permanently locked but since it is made up of iron grills, some air can pass through. When a strong rain pours, residents say that water sometimes overflows from the drainage openings found in the hallway. There is also no courtyard for outdoor activities, resulting in restlessness, as expressed by many of them. According to one of the resident: "I used to play basketball with my friends [outside, before admission here]. It made me happy. Here [in St. Mary's Refuge], there's nothing to do, since you can't even run. There's no space for it."

Many of the residents expressed that they yearn to just feel the sun on their faces as St. Mary's Refuge's interior does not allow natural light or air to enter. As a group, they are only allowed to go out to attend important event of the CSWDO. Individually though, they are able to go out of St. Mary's Refuge only during their hearing.

From the above, it seems that while the local government responded immediately to the call of RA 9344 for local governments to establish their own facilities, speedy compliance compromised the needs of the residents such as space. While the management is cognizant of this, they have not voiced out their concerns to the mayor because they know that the government has other priority projects such as the construction of a facility for street children, who are temporarily housed in the City Hall.

Although detention is necessary for most offenders, freedom of movement for the most part is an essential architectural requirement of modern facilities that hold them including prisons if a humane and restorative philosophy are claimed as governing principles [12]. No building was constructed and designed to specifically cater to the needs of the CICL. Nonetheless, a newly constructed facility does not necessarily result in better living arrangements of its residents; renovating suffices for as long normalization is incorporated [12]. As Bates commented, facilities with "*the unnatural and cage like atmosphere of the stone cell with the barred door or opening is such as to make the rehabilitation of the hopeful prisoner less likely to be accomplished* [9]."

V. "Batch Living": Routine and Programs

An examination of the day-to-day activities in St. Mary's Refuge is indicative of how space can facilitate or impede rehabilitation. Space is an important consideration in the structured routine prepared by the management of St. Mary's Refuge to its residents. It is also germane to the unstructured or spontaneous interactions among the residents that they themselves initiate.

The daily routine of the residents begins very early in the morning with chores. For those who are assigned to wash clothes, the day begins earlier on Tuesdays and Saturdays. The houseparent assigned to the late night shift (10:00p.m. - 6:00 a.m.) wakes the residents at 4:00 a.m. The night before the laundry day, soiled clothes are collected from each dormitory. The residents assigned to do the laundry can use the washing machine when it works. If it is broken, they have to wash these by hand. Washing is done at the hallway so the water will flow directly to two drainage openings there. This task has to be finished an hour later or by 5:00 a.m. when the houseparent on duty wakes up the rest of residents and the hallway is utilized for prayer and exercise. It is the guards who hangs the clothes to dry outside the facility.

From 5:00 a.m. to 5:30 a.m., the residents pray the Angelus. Before they pray, the residents count off with the last resident indicating that his/her count is the "last number." The houseparents explain that the count-off ensures that all residents are accounted for, and that no one stayed inside the rooms; otherwise, it is assumed that the CICL does not want to be found and is trying to escape. Their recitation of the Angelus does not strictly follow the Catholic way because they incorporate the rosary, minus the litany part in it. They are instructed to kneel, but they could sit whenever they feel that their knees are already aching from prolonged kneeling. Prayer is followed by exercise for about thirty minutes. Counting is done by everyone, with one resident leading the exercise. When finished, they are ushered back to their dorm.

At 6:00 a.m., they take a bath. Two residents at a time take a bath per dormitory because there are only two shower rooms⁸. A houseparent calls the attention of a resident if he/she stays too long in the shower room. Each resident is only given a maximum of five minutes to take a bath because according to one houseparent, *Nanay Mila*, "It's dangerous to lock the door. The resident might do something bad, such as inserting pellets in his/her private part." The houseparents revealed that incidents like this have happened several times already.

Water is also rationed because it only drips slowly during the day. When residents come out of the shower room, they should already be wearing their short pants; otherwise, they would have to put them on in full view of other residents who showered ahead of them and who are already inside their dorms.

The shirts are provided by the facility: yellow and green for everyday wear, white with collar during their hearing, and green with collar during special days such as during masses or Christmas activities. Except for the white shirt that is worn during hearings in the city hall and could be seen by many, the other shirts bore the name of the mayor and of the facility⁹. These shirts serve as their uniforms. According to the houseparents, the residents have to be in uniform to prevent them from feeling envious of those who have nicer shirts and for the houseparents to monitor them easily. As for the print bearing the mayor's name, they explained that it is simply a standard operating procedure which has been practiced since the start of the facility's operation.

Male and female residents are supplied with individual bath soap by St. Mary's Refuge. Those who require special soap have to acquire it on their own via their families during visit. Only the female residents are allowed to use shampoo because the male residents are bald or have short hair. Their heads are shaved every three weeks by a guard or a resident who knows how to cut hair. However, male residents who still want to use shampoo can ask their families to bring this during family visits.

As much as possible, the facility's policy discourages bringing of goods from outside, except for food. According to one of the staff, allowing the residents' families to bring goods is tantamount to declaring that the facility cannot provide for its residents. Moreover, it draws attention to the socio-economic status of the residents, which the houseparents claim cause feelings of envy among the residents and could lead to fights.

By 7:00 a.m., the residents are ready for breakfast. This is done systematically. Edward, 17, has been assigned the task of carrying the huge food containers. The female residents help set the table in the common area. Food is placed on the aluminum plate and water in the aluminum glass. Spoons and forks are not available because according to the houseparents, these could be used as weapons. Plating and portioning the food are done every meal. Usually, each resident is served one and a half cups of rice and one cup of noodles. According to the houseparents, at times some residents would ask for additional rice. The residents pray together before eating and pray individually after. Leftovers are not tolerated. Talking to each other is also prohibited during meals.

The female residents are called to eat first because in previous instances when they were mixed with the male residents, some of them took the former's food away. When the female residents are finished eating, the male residents are called by dormitory with the younger residents separated and seated near a houseparent. This is because in many instances, they cannot refuse when the older ones ask for their food. However, the houseparents explained that if only the common area is larger, then everyone could be seated together. There would be no need for them to eat in batches.

The residents are given less than ten minutes to eat, after which, their toothbrushes are brought out. A houseparent puts toothpaste on each of them. After brushing their teeth, they return their toothbrushes to the container held by a houseparent and go back to their dormitories except for the residents assigned to clean the area. They have to be fast; otherwise, the next activity could not proceed as scheduled.

At 8:00 a.m., the residents are ready for any activity that might be scheduled in the morning. During Mondays, Values Education session in the common area is done up to 9:30. In the course of the study, these sessions were sporadic. From Tuesday to Friday, volunteer organizations are allowed to have their activities with the residents during this time. On Wednesdays, visitation is observed from 9:00 to 11:00 a.m. Residents who have visitors meet them in the receiving area. The guards inspect all things brought in and when the food brought is more than what the residents could consume in one day, the visitors are asked to take the excess food home. The residents and their visitors are allowed to eat only in the receiving area. However, they can invite any resident one at a time to share their food.

At 11:00 a.m., the residents are told to go back to their dorm to wait until lunch is served in the common area. Just like breakfast, lunch is portioned and plated. Most often, rice (one and a half cups) and sautéed vegetable with small chunks of meat (2 scoops) are served. The same order is observed. Before 1:00 p.m., the common area is cleaned, dishes washed, and floor mopped for the next activity, the session on alternative learning system (ALS) that begins at 1:00 p.m. and ends at 4:00 p.m. Snacks are served after the session. The portions are small and it is obvious that the residents are not full.

Since the visitation is from 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. every Mondays and Fridays, some residents who have visitors eat in the receiving area together with one or two residents they want to share their food with. Those who have no visitors are allowed just to mingle in the common area. They do not have any structured leisure activity that everyone can participate in during their free time. The TV is also turned off most of the time.

At 6:00 p.m., they pray the Angelus and the rosary. In about thirty minutes, praying is done and the residents are told to go inside their dormitories because dinner preparation will soon start. The same procedure during breakfast and lunch is followed for dinner. If the assigned cleaners are fast and are done by 7:30 p.m., they are allowed to watch TV until 9:00 p.m. However, if the cleaners finish at 8:00 p.m., the TV will no longer be turned on. TV viewing is rare because fights break out during viewing time. One houseparent explained that "the cause of fights is not limited to what channel to watch. It can be about anything. While everyone is watching and our attention is not focused on them, somebody just gets punched."

Sleeping time is at 9:00 p.m. For each dormitory, there are five iron double-decker beds. These beds occupy half of the space of the dorms, but are no longer used because they are broken. Instead, foam mattresses are placed on the floor side by side. Each resident has a mattress for himself/herself, making the space cramped. The residents are not issued beddings although some have blankets which their relatives brought them. Dorm mates who have developed close friendships sleep side by side. On the other hand, the dorm leaders also instruct those that have ill-feelings toward each other to sleep far apart.

This daily routine is followed even during Saturdays, Sundays and holidays except that there are no sessions on Values Education and ALS that are conducted on these days. Because of this, the residents just stay inside their dormitories, lying down or sleeping. The typical schedule of activities of the residents is reflected in Table 1.

Table 1. Schedule of Residents of St. Mary’s Refuge

Time	Activity	Residents involved
4:00 – 5:00 a.m.	Wash clothes	Assigned residents
5:00 – 5:30	Exercise	All residents
5:30 – 6:00	Angelus prayer	All residents
6:00 – 6:30	Bath	All residents
6:30 – 7:00	Preparation for breakfast	Assigned residents
7:00 – 7:30	Breakfast and brushing teeth	All residents
7:30 – 8:00	Cleaning (mopping, sweeping) and washing dishes	Assigned residents
8:00 – 11:30	Values Education (sporadic) Free time - guests/volunteers may give bible study, art workshop etc. (Monday to Friday only, on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays, this period is free time)	All residents
9:00 – 11:00	Visitation on Wednesdays	Residents with visitors
11:30 – 12:00 p.m.	Preparation for lunch	Assigned residents
12:00 – 12:30	Lunch and brushing teeth	All residents
12:30 – 1:00	Cleaning (mopping, sweeping) and washing dishes	Assigned residents
1:00 – 4:00	ALS class from (Monday to Friday only, on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays, this is free time)	All residents
2:00 – 5:00	Visitation on Mondays and Fridays	Residents with visitors
4:00 – 4:30	Snack time	All residents
4:30 – 5:30	Free time	All residents
5:30 – 6:00 p.m.	Bath time	All residents
6:00 – 6:30	Angelus	All residents
6:30 – 7:00	Preparation for dinner	Assigned residents
7:00 – 7:30	Dinner and brushing	All residents
7:30 – 8:00	Washing dishes and cleaning	Assigned residents
8:00 – 9:00	Free time/TV time	All residents
9:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m.	Sleeping time	All residents

According to the residents, the routine that they go through daily in St. Mary’s Refuge is very different from what they were used to prior to their entry in the facility. They used to go about as they pleased and would go home only when they needed to change clothes or ask for money from their parents.

“Batch living” is indeed an antithesis to individual living, where many areas in one’s life are pursued on the basis of personal choice. In St. Mary’s Refuge, the residents’ lives are ruled by bureaucratic management where tight schedule allows little or no free time, no freedom of movement and no choice of companion. They live with the same group of people who did not choose to be there just like everyone else. This echoes Goffman’s description of a total institution where:

(1) all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority; (2) each phase of the member’s daily activity is carried out in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and are required to do the same thing together; (3) all phases of the day’s activities of the day are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a pre-arranged time into the next, the whole sequence of events being imposed from above by a system of explicitly, formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution [4].

Resocialization transpires because the residents are no longer free to engage in activities they chose when they were outside the facility. In Goffman’s words, an “untraining” of lifestyle in the outside world is inevitable, especially when the duration of stay in the institution is long [4].

Many of the residents professed to not being used to and clueless about house chores even though their parents assign them the same tasks in their own homes. This is because they usually do not comply with them. In St. Mary’s Refuge however, obedience is a must, and they have to learn this value. To ensure this, the houseparents use a military style of training such as the periodic count-offs, exercise, wearing of uniforms, regular shaving of the male residents’ head and strict observance of timetable. Similar training is also undertaken by inmates in the adult jails. According to the houseparents, these are aimed at developing discipline and respect for authority, “Military style [of training] is not applied in all aspects [of their life in St. Mary’s Refuge]. We do not treat the residents like soldiers, but as our children.”

The notion that the rigors of military training “make men out of boys” resulted in the popularity of boot camp programs during the 1990s [13]. Boot camps are envisioned to bring about law abiding and conforming behavior with the assumption that a systematized and authoritarian environment “shocks” the youth offenders, lowering their defenses and rendering them vulnerable to change [13]. St. Mary’s Refuge is no boot camp but hints of its strict and structured style of management are employed for similar purposes.

VI. Conclusion

St. Mary's Refuge as conceived, is intended to provide a semblance of normalization in the lives of the CICL. The geophysical arrangement of St. Mary's Refuge is intended to simulate a home environment, including its provision of rooms similar to those of a typical house, such as the kitchen, bathroom and living room/receiving area and the absence of a surveillance structure resembling a Panopticon. Despite these, its function as a detention center is affirmed. This is why there are reverberations of deterrent mechanisms seen in the facility's outside appearance, the bolts and locks that confine people inside, the grills, the absence of windows that allow natural light and air, dark interior. Likewise, persistent observation defeat attempts at normalization because this reminds the residents that they are in fact offenders who need to be monitored all the time lest they hurt their peers. While a heavy element of resocialization as exemplified by the residents' routine, batch living, and programs train them to obey and to develop self-control, the marginalized state, and the lack of a yard where they can go out, breathe fresh air, or take in some sunshine or simply a room where recreational activities can be done during free time, the feelings of boredom and frustration are magnified.

St. Mary's Refuge, while conceptualized to provide a place for rehabilitation of the CICL, is physically set up as a total institution. With locks and bolts, a room for isolation, and absence of well-implemented programs, it seems evident that it is set up more to isolate and put the CICL under surveillance than as a place for rehabilitation. Hence the pervading concern seems to be simply detention, and rehabilitation is simply an extra function that the facility can do without. Rehabilitation of the CICL then is problematic. Given the above, it is recommended that sound planning of location and spatial arrangement need to be undertaken because these critically impact on the kind of structured and unstructured rehabilitative activities.

Notes:

¹ The name of the study site is changed for confidentiality.

² Residents refer to the children in conflict with the law. The 2 terms are used interchangeably in this study.

³ Official documents (vision/mission/goals) provided by the management of St. Mary's Refuge.

⁴ All names used to refer to the houseparents and the children in conflict with the law are aliases to protect their identity.

⁵ The main difference between theft and robbery/hold-up is that the latter involves intimidation of the victim.

⁶ The *barangay* is the smallest political unit in the Philippines.

⁷ In *Panopticon or the Inspection House*, Bentham (1791:24) writes that a panopticon is as an architectural design consisting of a twelve-sided polygon with a tower at the center. As a jail, the core of the Panopticon is "in the centrality of the inspector's situation, combined with the well-known and most effectual contrivances for *seeing without being seen*" (Ibid.)

⁸ There are no showers. Pails and dippers are used.

⁹ Intentionally, these shirts have no prints so as not to identify them as CICL.

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