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Reacting to and managing change within Juvenile justice
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Abstract

Purpose – As part of the wave of new public management (NPM), the purpose of this paper is to unveil reactions to, and the management of organizational change within a context seldom examined – juvenile justice. This is achieved via a state-wide study on the introduction of a policy framework in eight centers to manage detainee behavior by ensuring risk-based decision-making among staff.

Design/methodology/approach – Secondary research material was analyzed on organizational characteristics, framework-implementation, and the associated outcomes. The material was synthesized to develop descriptions of each center.

Findings – Two key findings are apparent. First, there were limited research material to make robust connections between framework-implementation and related outcomes. Second, of the material available, there is clear evidence of center differences. The contexts in which the framework was implemented were varied – this may partly explain the different ways the centers responded to the framework, some of which appear counterintuitive.

Research limitations/implications – The findings are limited by the use of secondary research material and the limited availability of comprehensive material.

Practical implications – This study suggests that managing change within the public sector requires an acute understanding of organizational context. This encompasses the situation both within and beyond the organization.

Originality/value – This study casts doubt on whether NPM, which espouses accountability, holds value for juvenile justice. This is largely because: the introduction of the framework was not complemented by the collection of complete data and information; and that which is available suggests considerable variation among the centers, which may circumvent the ability to establish causal relationships between policy and practice.

Keywords Public sector, Organizational change, Knowledge translation, Juvenile justice

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

New public management (NPM) represents a significant change for public sector organizations and the work performed by public servants (Peters and Pierre, 1998). Many nations have turned to NPM for "fast and frequent change […] in organizations delivering public services" (Andrews *et al.*, 2008, p. 309). As a multifaceted reform initiative with several theoretical underpinnings (Simonet, 2013), NPM requires public servants to be accountable for their performance, which often involves performance-auditing and performance-measurement (Diefenbach, 2007).

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Many have questioned the capacity of NPM to result in effective and efficient public services. The limited demonstrated effect of NPM seems largely due to the superimposition of commercial values onto social values (Brunton and Matheny, 2009). There are examples where business practices do not seem to readily fit within social services, particularly when implemented *en masse* (Lyons and Ingersoll, 2006; Noblet *et al.*, 2006). As Brown *et al* (2003) have argued, "private sector practices have not always been demonstrated to suit the public sector environment" (p. 232).

While examples of this seeming mismatch can be found in healthcare, education, and councils, among other sectors (Simonet, 2011; Thomas and Davies, 2005), there is relatively little scholarship on NPM within the context of juvenile justice. With few exceptions, most research has focussed on criminal justice *sensu lato* (Raine and Willson, 1995), or *sensu stricto*, focussing on courts (Mak, 2008) and police (Butterfield *et al.*, 2004). Furthermore, the literature that is available on juvenile justice adopts a macro approach, examining the globalization of juvenile justice (Muncie, 2005), or an econometric approach to determine the effects of facility management-type (Bayer and Pozen, 2005; Muncie, 2005). As such, there is limited research at the micro level to understand how juvenile justice centers and the staff therein engage with, and respond to NPM. This paper addresses this void.

This paper presents a study on the Detainee Behaviour Implementation Framework (DBIF), a policy framework of Juvenile Justice (JJ) in an Australian state to manage detainee behavior in JJ centers. Specifically, the paper examines how the centers reacted to, and managed the practices espoused by the framework, and whether the framework had the desired effects. This is achieved through an analysis of secondary data from eight centers to form descriptions.

Given its unique features, juvenile justice represents a context worthy of scholarly attention. This is demonstrated in two ways. First, unlike other sectors, it must balance its duty of care to minors and its duty of care to the community within a framework shaped by legislation, political cycles, and perception management (Muncie, 2005). Second, juvenile justice represents an opportunity for considerable return-on-investment on three levels – the personal, social, and economic. At the personal level, juvenile justice is responsible for young people whose developmental phase provides an opportune period to address significant health and mental health issues (Greenberg and Lippold, 2013). At the social level, juvenile justice has a key role in rehabilitating young people and reducing the social costs associated with recidivism (May *et al.*, 2014). At an economic level, juvenile justice is well-placed to make better use of the public purse in both the immediate and long-term. Although this is difficult to calculate, investing in youth well being, sensu lato, represents significant value for money (Zagar *et al.*, 2009).

Before presenting the research findings, the paper commences with an overview of NPM within the context of juvenile justice. Following the findings, the paper concludes with a discussion of the associated implications, particularly for the public sector.

The NPM of juvenile justice

Reflecting other public services, criminal justice policy and discourse have transitioned from debates over different philosophies of justice to a narrower focus on the effective and efficient administration and management of prisoners – that is, NPM. Feeley and Simon (1992) were among the first to identify this transition, suggesting this new penology lowers expectations. Rather than seeking justice, retribution, or rehabilitation, the criminal justice system is simply conceptualized as a way of classifying and managing groups of offenders. This new penology focusses on the system and how it can be

controlled. Although rationality and efficiency are themselves uncontroversial aspirations, NPM views these, not as the means to achieve long-term goals, but rather, as replacements for these goals. Economic reasons for action replaced social reasons. Managerialist approaches to optimize organizational efficiencies replaced aims to achieve more substantive outcomes. Practices that seemed somewhat removed from economic considerations, like prisoner behavior, have an economic rationality applied to them, often against the wishes of staff who experienced NPM as an assault on their professional values and culture (McLaughlin *et al.*, 2001). NPM attempted to improve efficiencies in criminal justice systems by introducing private sector methods and the principles of the competitive market, accountability, and bureaucratic processes (Diefenbach, 2009).

The benefits associated with NPM came at considerable cost. NPM was criticized for the administrative burden it placed on organizations within this system, like the police, corrections , and juvenile justice centers (Faulkner and Burnett, 2012). Furthermore, values and principles no longer had a place in criminal justice discourse; management replaced leadership and competencies replaced wisdom (Faulkner, 2006). A failure to accommodate existing assumptions and values can have considerable implications for the ways organizational change is interpreted and enacted (Brunton and Matheny, 2009).

The NPM of criminal justice has a particular impact on young people as they are the most intensely governed societal group (Muncie, 2006). Language and techniques that might be used to operate a business are now used within juvenile justice (Bayer and Pozen, 2005). New actuarial techniques associated with NPM include statistical prediction and preventative detention, with custody viewed as a way to manage offenders, rather than rehabilitate or punish them.

The impact of NPM on juvenile justice is apparent in custodial settings. In the USA the growing reliance on privatized correctional facilities has led to differential processing, with private institutions for white-American young people, public institutions for Afro-American young people, and medical treatment offered to middle-class girls (Kempf-Leonard and Peterson, 2000). Many young people are simply "warehoused," detained out of the community for a period, without reference to their long-term rehabilitation. Similarly, in the UK, Owers (2010) spoke of the danger when policymakers understand prison regimes simply through the filter of official reports and actuarial measurements. She evocatively characterized this as the "virtual prison" that was reported to the relevant Minister with all the impurities removed. Owers also warned of the dangers of emphasizing compliance above other objectives – this might encourage institutions to produce prisoners who served their sentences (relatively) untouched by the regime and as such, pose a greater risk of disorder. The ultimate impact of this approach to organizational management, and its outworking as responsibilization, has affected many of those detained in, or employed by juvenile justice centers. Many have experienced the juvenile justice system as one that has little, if any care for them or the reality of their complex lives. Although staff are still able to demonstrate care and concern, the demands of the job and the system often hinder their capacity to do so (Phoenix and Kelly, 2013). This affirms the "downsides of top-down change management approaches" (Diefenbach, 2007, p. 126).

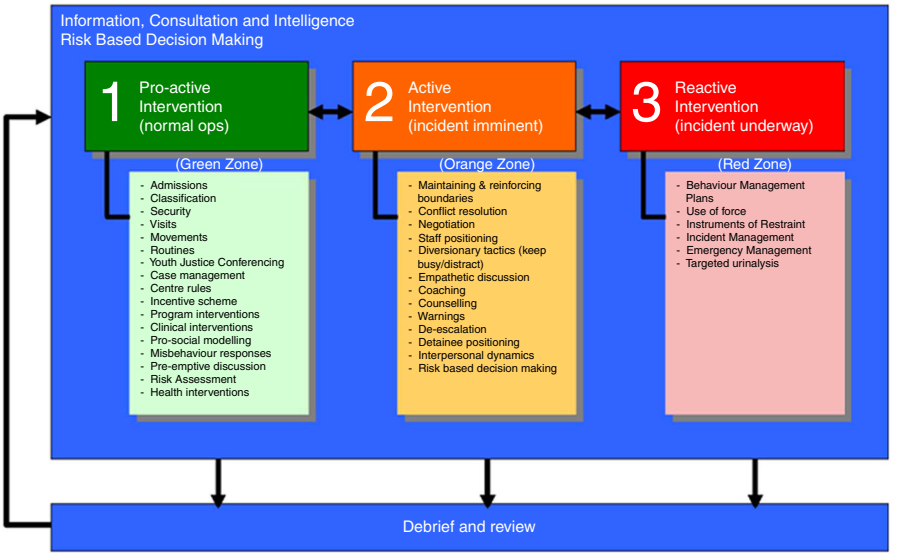
The influence of NPM on Australian juvenile justice has received little attention; yet the increasing use of fines, infringement notices, and administrative sanctions demonstrate pragmatism with an emphasis on administrative convenience (Bull, 2010). Twenty years ago, Feeley and Simon (1992) identified boot-camps as a typical example of the new penology and they have become part of the modern Australian landscape, representing a

key element of juvenile justice in some states (Queensland Government, 2013). Their low-cost and flexibility are attractive to policymakers. However, boot-camps merely present an illusion of discipline, with no effect on recidivism (Meade and Steiner, 2010). Calls for reform request greater screening, early intervention, and programs tailored to individual offenders (Weatherburn *et al.*, 2012) – yet these too are located within managerialist discourse. Such actuarial approaches can make it acceptable to dispense with concerns about justice and due process, in favor of risk-management (Smith, 2006). The report on a riot in one Australian juvenile justice center identified problems with the management and culture of the center, producing a fragile facility where a major security incident was inevitable (OICS, 2013). The report recommended the management of juvenile detention be separated from that of adult detention; it also recommended greater private sector involvement in juvenile detention. Among other perceived advantages, it suggested that staff-days lost to sick-leave and personal-leave would be reduced, as would compensation payments. The proposed model for private sector involvement was one of contestability, based on the UK Youth Justice Board demonstrating again the ease with which juvenile justice approaches and discourses can transfer across jurisdictions.

The present study focusses on juvenile justice in a state where neither boot-camps nor private provision form part of the custodial arrangements for young people. JJ is responsible for the "safe and secure care of young offenders (aged 10-17) who are sentenced to custody by the courts or who are remanded to custody in a juvenile justice centre pending the finalisation of their court matters" (JJ, n.d., para. 1). On average in 2011-12, there were 353 young people in custody each day (JJ, 2012). Most are young men (92 percent) and many experience complex issues. For instance, Indig and colleagues (2011) found 87 percent of respondents had a psychological disorder, with substance use being one of the most common.

At the time of this study, detainees were accommodated in one of nine JJ Centers, one of which is a short-time unit – given this difference, it was excluded from this study. Each center provides detainees with health services, education, work-skills development, counseling, and spiritual and cultural support. Among sentenced detainees, the average length of stay is over three months, and among those on remand, the average length of stay is approximately two weeks (JJ, 2012).

To optimize the safe and secure care of its young custodians, JJ implements several policies that collectively form the DBIF. The DBIF aims to ensure "Risk based decision making" among staff (NSW DJJ, 2009, p. 6). More specifically, it aims to enhance staff knowledge of, and skills in the effective management of detainee behavior; "ensure staff make informed decisions when intervening […] to reduce risks of harm to staff and detainees"; ensure "Staff promote and provide an environment where detainees are encouraged to take responsibility for their own behavior; and "Ensure behaviour strategies, techniques and interventions commence with the identification of individual detainee needs and are supported through planned provision of services and programs." Toward these aims, the DBIF was devised to guide staff decision-making on: pro-active interventions (those that reduce the likelihood of: security and/or procedural breaches; incidents that involve detainees; and injury or illness to staff and detainees); active interventions (those that: help to recognize situations that are likely to risk the safety of staff, detainees, or a JJ Center; de-escalate these situations; and help to foster healthy relationships between staff and detainees); and reactive interventions (those that help to manage incidents that have caused harm to staff, detainees, or a JJ Center; see Figure 1).



Source: NSW DHS (2009, p. 9)

Figure 1.
Detainee behavior intervention framework

The DBIF was officially instituted into JJ Centers in 2009 and completed staged implementation in 2011 (DAGJ, 2011). The framework is supported by staff training; namely: a two-day face-to-face, interactive module on effective behavior management (EBM, JJ, 2011); and the DBIF policy online activity.

This paper asks how did the JJNSW Centers react to, and manage change? This is achieved by using the implementation of the DBIF as a microcosm to reveal the complexity of organizational change in public sector work. The paper examines the organizational contexts in which the framework was operationalized; the ways the framework was supported; and organizational reactions to the framework. As such, the purpose is not to critique the value of NPM for juvenile justice *per se*, but rather, to examine organizational change impelled by NPM within this type of public sector work.

Methods

To address the research question, secondary data pertaining to eight JJ Centers were analyzed. Despite its limitations (Ferlie and Mark, 2005), following Hair and colleagues (2011), the analysis of secondary data was deemed appropriate for four reasons. First, as the centers conventionally collected relevant data, this approach averted duplicative effort. Second, it obviated inconvenience for, if not research-fatigue among research participants. Third, it made greater use of data collected through the use of public funds. Fourth, it opened propitious opportunities for triangulation, and as such, new insights.

During the design of this study, JJ personnel were consulted to identify data and information available on: organizational characteristics that can shape the ways the DBIF is understood, implemented, and sustained (e.g. location, internal governance arrangements, staff composition, detainee composition, interagency relationships, etc.); organizational endorsement of, and support for the DBIF (e.g. availability of the operations manual to all staff, staff training completion rates, relevant professional

development opportunities, availability of policies, and procedures to guide staff implementation and operationalization of the DBIF, indicators to verify DBIF-implementation and/or measure associated outcomes, etc.); and demonstrated impact of the DBIF within each center (e.g. offender restraints, staff assaults, offender assaults, workers' compensation claims, etc.). JJ personnel then provided the data and information electronically (e.g. Word and Excel files), which were then categorized, cleaned, and analyzed (Stewart and Kamins, 1993). This involved: classifying the research material as per the three aforesaid elements; ensuring the research material was comparable across the eight centers; analyzing the research material on each center, independently; revisiting the research material to identify relationships, with particular focus on idiosyncratic characteristics within the centers; critically examining the implications for the DBIF; and developing descriptions of each center (Smith *et al.*, 2011).

Results

This section describes the eight centers. For brevity, most information is tabulated (see Table I). Information that may identify the centers is withheld. As will become apparent, there were limited or no data on: interagency relationships; staff demographics; staff-turnover rate; the availability of policies, procedures, and manuals relevant to the DBIF; the ways the DBIF was operationalized; and indicators to demonstrate DBIF-implementation.

Within Center One, several positions remain unfilled, particularly Youth Officers, who supervise and case-manage detainees. It accommodates the highest proportion of detainees on psychotropic medication (27.6 percent) and had the largest proportion of incidents involving threats to staff (34.4 percent).

Center Two has the lowest filled-Youth-Officer-positions to detainees ratio (0.85:1); the highest proportion of detainees deemed high-risk (16.3 percent); and the highest full-time-equivalent (FTE) weeks lost due to workers' compensation claims (21.8).

Center Three does not appoint a Cener Manager, Counsellors, or Psychologists, yet features the highest proportion of detainees deemed high-to-medium-risk (55.2 percent). It is the only center where no detainees take psychotropic medication. Although few staff engaged with the training, the lowest proportion of all incidents occurred within this center.

Center Four accommodates: detainees with the highest mean-age; the highest proportion of detainees deemed low-risk (44.4 percent); and the lowest proportion of detainees who self-harmed or attempted suicide within the last year (4.7 percent). Furthermore, the largest proportion of staff who registered for the EBM module was at this center (33.8 percent).

Detainees at Center Five boast the highest average intelligence quotient (IQ, 85.6). However, the highest proportion self-harmed or attempted suicide within the last year (47.6 percent). No FTE weeks were lost at this center, following workers' compensation claims.

Center Six is managed by two Center Managers. Its Youth Officers who completed the DBIF policy online activity scored the highest average across all centers. Yet, the highest proportions of all incidents (31.5 percent) and workers' compensation claims occurred within this center (25.0 percent).

Center Seven features the highest filled-Youth-Officer-positions to detainees ratio (1.35:1). It had the largest proportion of incidents involving the physical assault of staff or detainees by detainees (33.9 percent) – yet no FTE weeks were lost, consequent to workers' compensation claims.

	Center 1	Center 2	Center 3	Center 4	Center 5	Center 6	Center 7	Center 8
Location[a]	Rural	Capital city	Capital city	Capital city	Capital city	Rural	Capital city	Rural
Staffing[b]								
Positions	128	264	79	288	136	129	194	127
FTE positions	83.1	155.8	58.5	215.5	82.3	87.0	124.1	81.5
Filled FTE positions	72.9	141.8	59	198.6	81.7	62.5	125.8	77.0
Vacant FTE positions	10.2	14.1	−0.5	16.8	0.6	24.5	1.7	4.5
Detainees								
Detainee capacity	45	85	40	120	44	30	60	45
Detainees accommodated[c]	33	43	29	99	30	24	52	26
Mean-age (years)	16	16.4	16.0	17.5	16.0	16.0	14.7	16.4
Mean length of detention (days)	83.2	69.4	30.5	285.3	121.5	56.6	109.5	136.5
EBM module (%)								
Registered[d]	4.3	21.6	4.1	33.8	5.5	4.3	18.0	8.2
Youth officer completions[e]	68.0	92.9	100.0	82.2	90.6	84.0	75.2	81.3
Competent youth officers[e]	–	21.4	79.2	–	50.0	8.0	–	–
DBIF policy online activity[f]								
Youth officer completions(%)	81.3	94.4	100.0	100.0	84.2	85.7	95.8	94.4
Mean (of 10)	9.4	9.8	9.2	9.8	9.7	10.0	9.8	9.8
Range	8.8-10.0	7.1-10.0	8.8-9.5	8.1-10.0	8.7-10.0	9.9-10.0	8.7-10.0	8.7-10.0
Incidents (%)[g]								
Alleged criminal activity	–	–	1.6	1.2	0.7	0.3	–	1.1
Assault – physical	19.8	21.6	32.8	16.7	7.0	21.3	33.9	30.7
Assault – sexual – young person on young person	2.1	–	–			1.2	–	–
Assault – verbal	1.0	0.8	–	1.2	9.9	17.3	–	2.3
Assault with weapon	2.1	0.8	–	–	–	0.9	–	–
Attempt escape	1.0	0.8	–	–	–	–	–	–
Contraband	11.5	24.8	21.9	21.4	7.7	10.0	19.1	33.0

(*continued*)

Table I.
Center descriptions

Table I.

	Center 1	Center 2	Center 3	Center 4	Center 5	Center 6	Center 7	Center 8
Escape – from supervised outing	–	–	–	1.2	–	–	–	–
Fire – deliberate act	–	–	–	–	–	0.3	0.9	–
Property damage – by young person	5.2	16.8	18.8	8.3	1.4	9.4	2.6	6.8
Security breach	7.3	6.4	10.9	9.5	3.5	2.7	9.6	1.1
Self-harm	15.6	21.6	10.9	14.3	52.1	24.3	31.3	18.2
Threat to worker	34.4	6.4	3.1	25.0	17.6	12.2	2.6	6.8
Relevant workers' compensation claims in 2012								
Mechanism of injury (%)[h]								
Being assaulted by a person or persons	5.0	15.0	–	5.0	–	25.0	10.0	–
Exposure to workplace or occupational violence		–			–	–	–	–
Work pressure	15.0	–	5.0	10.0	–	–	–	–
Total amount paid								
Sum	$28,698.59	$29,082.27	$19,205.53	$24,591.08	$1,746.65	$15,300.41	$220.00	–
Mean	$7,174.65	$7,270.57	$19,205.53	$8,197.03	$1,746.65	$3,060.08	$110.00	–
Minimum	$0.00	$0.00	$19,205.53	$69.00	$1,746.65	$0.00	$0.00	–
Maximum	$15,377.75	$21,637.26	$19,205.53	$21,932.48	$1,746.65	$10,314.23	$220.00	–
Staff hours								
Sum FTE weeks lost	14.0	21.8	13.2	11.8	0.0	9.4	0.0	–
Mean FTE weeks lost	4.7	7.3	13.2	3.9	0.0	2.4	0.0	–

(*continued*)

Table I.

	Center 1	Center 2	Center 3	Center 4	Center 5	Center 6	Center 7	Center 8
Distinct features	Highest proportion of detainees on psychotropic medication (27.6%)	Lowest filled-youth-officer-positions to detainees ratio (0.85:1)	Does not appoint a Center Manager, counselors, or Psychologists	Highest proportion of detainees deemed low-risk (44.4%)	Detainees have the highest average IQ (85.6)	Managed by two center managers	Highest filled-youth-officer-positions to detainees ratio (1.35:1)	Managed by two center managers
		Highest proportion of detainees deemed high-risk (16.3%)	Highest proportion of detainees deemed high-to-medium-risk (55.2%)	Lowest proportion of detainees who self-harmed or attempted suicide within the last year (4.7%)	Highest proportion of detainees who self-harmed or attempted suicide within the last year (47.6%)	Highest proportion of Indigenous detainees (79.2%)	Detainees had left school at the youngest average age (13.4 years)	
			Only center in which no detainees take psychotropic medication			Highest proportion of detainees with children (19.4%)	Highest proportion of detainees who had been placed in care before the age of 16 years, prior to incarceration (46.3%)	
						Detainees have the lowest average IQ (73.8)		

Notes: [a]As per Rural, Remote and Metropolitan Areas (RRMA) classification (AIHW, 2004); [b]excludes missing data; [c]as at July 22, 2012; [d]percentages are of the 582 staff from all centers who completed, did not complete, or were nominated to complete the module from May 2007 to May 2010; [e]percentages are of staff employed within each center; [f]percentages are of the 331 Youth Officers from all centers who commenced the activity from May 2011 to July 2012; [g]percentages are of incidents from January 1, 2012 to September 30, 2012 within each center; [h]percentages are of relevant claims in 2012 from all centers

Directed by two Center Managers, Center Eight had the largest proportion of incidents involving contraband (33.0 percent). No workers' compensation claims were reported.

Discussion

In asking how the eight JJ Centers reacted to, and managed change, the descriptions of each center collectively suggest, while there is limited evidence to answer this question, the evidence that is available reveals considerable variation. Each of these two points is explicated in turn.

First, there was limited research material to make robust connections between DBIF-implementation and related outcomes. This includes material on: organizational characteristics, like staff-turnover rate; DBIF-implementation, like records to verify its use; and DBIF-indicators to demonstrate its effects.

Second, from the material available, there is evidence of considerable difference between the centers. The contexts in which the DBIF was implemented were varied. In addition to their accommodation capacity, the centers differed by staff and detainee composition, as well as staff-engagement with DBIF-related training. For instance, unfilled appointments varied from 0.6 to 24.5 FTE positions. Additionally, there was considerable variation in the filled-Youth-Officer-positions to detainee ratios. Similarly, detainee composition among the centers differed by mean-age, risk-classification, mean length of detention, highest level of schooling, as well as the health and mental health issues they experienced. Regarding staff training, while some centers saw high staff-engagement with professional development, others saw relatively few staff engage with, and complete DBIF-related training – however, given the limited research material, it is difficult to determine how this influences staff competency with the framework and DBIF-related outcomes.

Given the aforesaid (and perhaps other) disparities, the different organizational reactions to the DBIF that were reported might be expected. These include the different types and frequency of incidents, like threats to staff and self-harm among detainees. Other organizational responses that varied include the workers' compensation claims that have a clear bearing to the DBIF, like assault – for instance, in 2012, the mean total amount paid varied from $0 to $19,205.53.

Somewhat counterintuitive are the findings that challenge the assumption of a unidirectional relationship between DBIF-implementation and associated outcomes. For example, Center Three had the smallest proportions of staff who registered for the EBM module and who commenced the DBIF policy online activity, yet reported the lowest proportion of all incidents during timeframe studied. Similarly, while over ninety percent of the Youth Officers at Center Five completed the EBM module, the center had the largest proportion of incidents involving self-harm. Furthermore, although the Youth Officers at Center Six who completed the DBIF policy online activity scored the highest average across all centers, the center also had the highest proportion of all workers' compensation claims. These idiosyncratic findings suggest that, despite the common framework, the eight centers reacted to, and managed organizational change in different ways with different effects.

Given the limited scholarship to date on NPM within juvenile justice, these findings are important for two key reasons. First, although NPM espouses accountability and the related activities of performance-auditing and performance-measurement (Diefenbach, 2007), they suggest the introduction of a framework to ensure risk-based decision making among staff was not complemented by the collection of complete data and information.

Furthermore, given the time required to clean some of the data, they could not always be readily analyzed to determine the impact of the framework. As such, these services, which use public funds to ensure the safe and secure care of young offenders, may not be well-placed to audit or measure their performance.

Second, despite the assumptions and characteristics of NPM, which include streamlining processes and protocols (Diefenbach, 2009), as well as "a 'one size fits all' regime" (Lyons and Ingersoll, 2006, p. 92), the findings reveal considerable variation in the organizational characteristics that can shape the ways the DBIF is understood, implemented, and sustained. Such variation potentially challenges, if not destabilizes efforts to translate policy into practice – as Brunton and Matheny (2009) observed, "divergent acceptance can undermine change" (p. 612).

Despite the importance of these findings, two limitations warrant mention. First, the use of secondary research material and as such, the reliance on organizational reporting mechanisms, suggest data-quality may have been compromised (Bryman, 2012). Second, as noted, the material was limited – in addition to the absence formative information (e.g. staff-turnover rates), the data were largely cross-sectional, limiting comparability between the centers.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the findings have clear implications for both practitioners and researchers. For practitioners, they affirm that organizational change requires an understanding of the complex terrain in which they work – this in turn requires the consistent collection of robust data about activities within, and beyond their workplace. Within the context of juvenile justice, the former may include the identification of early adopters and their motives for embracing change (Chrusciel, 2008), while the latter may include professional and personal networks among staff and detainees. Taking a fresh look at change objectives and the resources required to attain them may require consciousness-raising efforts. As Brunton and Matheny assert, "Managers might consider the ability subcultural groups have to cope with and perhaps make effective use of their divergence in interpretation and enactment. Such an investment […] might better enable groups to wrestle with the ever-present ambiguity" (2009, pp. 613-614). By unpacking both the visible and less visible elements of this space – like personal and systemic resistance (Ford *et al.*, 2002), practitioners will be better-positioned to appropriate change strategies and identify factors that helped or hindered the transformation. Given the aforesaid unique features of juvenile justice, understanding these transformative processes is arguably most important in this area of public sector work.

For researchers, the implications associated with this paper are both theoretical and methodological. Theoretically, the paper casts doubt on whether NPM, as an organizational theory (Peters and Pierre, 1998), actually offers, "practical solutions to the operational problems confronting governments or remedies for a broken system of government" (Simonet, 2013, p. 6). This is largely because, in the context of juvenile justice, there is limited evidence to substantiate this claim – furthermore, that which is available suggests there is considerable variation, which may circumvent the ability to establish causal relationships between policy and practice. Methodologically, the paper affirms the importance of drawing on different types of data from different sources to understand organizational change within the public sector. Although secondary, quantitative datasets may help to gauge the associated effects of change, primary, qualitative material – like narratives (Küpers, 2013) – may help to reveal lived transformations.

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