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# **Coping with Change: Staff perceptions and responses to the new Youth Training Centre in South Australia**

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## Abstract

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The building of a New Youth Training Centre in South Australia brought about large scale organisational change within the Youth Justice System. The current project documented some of the key changes taking place for staff (and residents) at Cavan and Magill Training Centre's prior to the completion of the New Youth Training Centre. Through the use of online surveys prior to the transition to the new facility, the current project gained an insight into the staff perspectives, attitudes and responses toward the changes taking place. The thesis argues that staff were ultimately fearful of the move due to underlying punitive attitudes, the thought of losing identities, and a lack of consultation and organisational support during the change process. The implications of this study lie in providing insight into staff dispositions during a time of significant organisational change, and adding to the literature surrounding organisational change. In doing so, the study addresses aspects of the move to the NYTC that may need further consideration in future.

## Declaration

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I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed:

## Acknowledgments

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## Introduction

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“This new centre will provide an environment for young men and women to get the support and educational opportunities they need to make a fresh start. Our juvenile justice system is about providing community safety. We want to help young people turn their lives around and not re-offend - so that they can move back into the wider community and make positive contributions.” (Statement by Premier Jay Weatherill, Department for Communities and Social Inclusion News (DCSI News), 2012)

The purpose of a Youth Training Centre is to change the lives of those detained in order to decrease the likelihood that they will reoffend when they leave the facility. South Australia previously held young people in two facilities, both of which had been the centre of media attention for their degrading security and living conditions, particularly Magill Training Centre. In addressing youth offending, the physical environment (structure and surroundings) of youth custodial facilities are a recognised feature of positive reform. The interrelationships between built environments, staff dispositions and youth conduct are therefore an important area of study. The Australasian Juvenile Justice Administrators (AJJA, 1999, p. 6) explain that ‘the objective of juvenile custodial facilities should be to provide a humane, safe and secure environment, which assists young people to address their offending behaviour and to make positive choices about their lives, both during custody and upon their return to the community.’ The above statement by the Premier reflects the notion that South Australia’s New Youth Training Centre (hereafter, NYTC) aimed to achieve this goal and prevent youth from returning to a life of crime.

An understudied area of research is the important dimension of staff attitudes and views in youth custodial facilities. While the physical environment and processes within a custodial facility are an important aspect of how the facility operates, it is the staff who are at the centre of these facilities. Because the construction of the NYTC was a large scale project in South Australia, this thesis focuses on the differing perspectives of staff as they prepared for this change. It focuses on organisational change (in particular the fear of it) in a custodial setting with reference to perceptions of youth, management processes, risk and safety.

## ***Background***

To put this project into context, this chapter will provide a brief history of South Australia's Youth Training Centres. South Australia had two secure care facilities before the construction of the NYTC: Cavan Training Centre (hereafter, CTC, which held males 15-18 on long term remand and detention orders) and Magill Training Centre (hereafter, MTC, which held males 10-14 on remand and detention orders, males 15-18 on remand, and females 10-18 on remand and detention) (Youth Education Centre, 2010).

For the purpose of this study when referring to a young person or the residents of the facilities, 'youth' will be defined in regards to the Young Offenders Act (1993, s4, p. 5) as 'a person of or above the age of 10 years but under the age of 18 years and, in relation to proceedings for an offence or detention in a training centre, includes a person who was under the age of 18 years on the date of the alleged offence.' Therefore, when discussing the results of this study, the 'residents' will refer to the young people in custody who fall in this age category.

The history of Youth Training Centres in South Australia begins in the 1800's. The first 'secure care facility' in South Australia was the Boys Reformatory in Magill, established in 1869. There was also a Reformatory for girls established in 1891 at Edwardstown. After a lengthy period filled with reports of abuse, the boys' school was demolished and the new McNally Training Centre was built in 1967. It was during this era that a number of young boys absconded from the centre and there were also concerns about the different age groups mixing together. Therefore, in 1979, McNally Training Centre was renovated and renamed the South Australian Youth Training Centre with five separate units separated according to length of time served. In 1993 it was renamed Magill Training Centre, the same year that Cavan Training Centre was officially opened. (Children in State Care Commission of Inquiry and Mullighan, 2008)

There were a number of reports over the years which addressed the 'degrading' conditions at MTC. For example, it was condemned as a 'living children's rights hellhole' by a UN Youth Representative and by Social Inclusion Commissioner Monsignor David Cappo a few years ago (Zed, 2010). The facility was also seen as a 'form of child abuse', 'absolutely shocking' and much more (see Nelligan, 2009; Emmerson, 2009; Kelton, 2009). The call for a new centre was escalated in July 2011 when a group of residents caused a riot, assaulted staff and caused more than



\$100,000 damage (Robertson, 2011). MTC also suffered more assaults in June, 2012, which led to staff walking off the job and demanding higher security (Author unknown, 2012).

Staff at CTC also urged for higher security as a group of residents escaped the facility in February 2012. An investigation into the escape of these residents found that on 29 of the 98 days that were investigated, no security patrols were conducted (Kelton, 2012). The investigation also found that proper security checks and searches were not conducted on residents, which led to a resident secreting a broken hacksaw down his pants to aid in the escape (Kelton, 2012). These events ultimately led to staff urging for changes to be made. Security measures were tightened, and the push to build a new centre gained further momentum.

### *Human Rights*

Due to the aforementioned negative publicity surrounding CTC and MTC, it is necessary to discuss some of the legal issues surrounding the reasons for change. There are many rules and regulations which discuss the rights of children. Of particular relevance is The United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty (General Assembly Resolution 45/113, 1990), which describes in detail the way juveniles should be treated whilst in detention. Of further relevance are sections 30-32 which stipulate that the design of the facilities should be rehabilitative and open with minimal security. As MTC consisted of enclosed walkways, and was tight in terms of security, these sections are particularly important.

The AJJA (1999) similarly published a set of standards for juvenile custodial facilities for use in Australia, which discussed basic entitlements, rights of expression, entry, personal and social development, family and community, health, behaviour management, security and safety, built environment, human resources and quality leadership. This publication refers to the UN General Assembly Resolution 45/113 (1990) to set out standards for the care of children, and also standards for the safety and training of staff. It explains that not only should children be treated fairly and with respect, but that staff should have correct training, competency and leadership (AJJA, 1999). This can also be seen in the UN General Assembly Resolution 40/33 (1985, section 22.1) where it is set out that ‘professional education, in-service training, refresher courses and other appropriate modes of instruction shall

be utilized to establish and maintain the necessary professional competence of all personnel dealing with juvenile cases.’ Furthermore, the UN General Assembly Resolution 45/113 (1990, section 85) outlines that:

The personnel should receive such training as will enable them to carry out their responsibilities effectively, including, in particular, training in child psychology, child welfare and international standards and norms of human rights and the rights of the child, including the present Rules. The personnel should maintain and improve their knowledge and professional capacity by attending courses of in-service training, to be organized at suitable intervals throughout their career.

The AJJA (1999) standards are highlighted because each custodial facility in Australia should follow these guidelines in order to fulfil human rights. The break outs and assaults at MTC and CTC clearly demonstrate that there was a need for change in South Australia’s custodial facilities.

After much debate, the decision to replace MTC was finally taken and construction of the new centre began in early 2011. The sixty bed NYTC was to replace MTC and was to be built on Goldsborough Road, Cavan, near the existing CTC (The Department for Communities and Social Inclusion, hereafter DCSI, 2011). DCSI (2011) made the following statement:

The new Centre will have a strong focus on learning and training with a range of educational and vocational facilities. It will also have an open-style campus, more recreational space and an on-site health centre. As well as being secure, the Centre will allow departmental staff more options and increased flexibility to manage and help young people according to their individual circumstances.

Similarly, Pam Simmons, the Guardian for Children, stated some physical improvements at the NYTC in a report to ‘7 News’ (2012):

A good physical environment makes a big difference because it tells young people, and the staff, that we do respect them. Magill screamed at you humiliation and disrespect, whereas this environment tells you more about education, rehabilitation and respect, and it makes a big difference. This environment is one that will be well on the way to telling them they must learn to behave within the law and to respect other people and the community.

These statements demonstrate that many positive changes were promoted in the lead up to the opening of the NYTC. Furthermore, they demonstrate that the standards set out by the AJJA (1999) were considered through the new design and increased pathways for residents and staff. Not only is it clear that the environment

aimed to be more beneficial for the residents, but also that there were to be ‘more options’ and more ‘flexibility’ for staff.

In order for the NYTC to be built and run alongside CTC efficiently, significant organisational change had to occur. A new centre could not simply be built, but changes to staff structure and organisational aspects as a whole had to be modified. Even though the training centres have been through change before, there is very little literature that exists to explore how staff (and the residents) coped with such large scale changes.

### ***Research Aims***

This project aims to explore the hopes, fears and apprehensions of staff who were on the cusp of a major transition from one type of custodial facility to another. The transition to a NYTC was a major public works initiative and had significant implications for youth justice in South Australia. The construction of the NYTC meant changes to the education system, behaviour management model, physical environment as well as the demolition of an entire facility. This type of large scale change would undoubtedly be interpreted differently by each staff member and thus coped with in different styles depending on factors such as job role, tenure, age and previous place of employ. This project therefore has the following main research objectives:

1. To understand the main expectations and/or apprehensions held by staff potentially to be employed at the NYTC (i.e. before transitioning to the facility)
2. To compare and contrast the differences between staff attitudes based on demographic factors such as age, job role, tenure, age and previous place of employ.
3. To explore the differences in staff coping mechanisms in relation to the first two aims alongside change literature, and to predict how these may influence the future functioning of the NYTC

Ultimately, this project will argue that staff had little preparation for the transition to the NYTC. It will argue that staff were largely negative in their attitudes due primarily to the underlying stereotypes held by them toward youths in detention. In addition, they reported a lack of consultation by management which further contributed to their anxiety surrounding the move. Staff attitudes also differed

strongly based on place of employ and job role. This project therefore aims to outline that staff were fearful of the change due these factors with reference to organisational change literature.

### *Structure*

The structure of this thesis is as follows. Chapter one will review the current literature that discusses issues surrounding Youth Training Centres as well as organisational change. It will begin with a discussion on organisational change and different coping mechanisms that have been explored in staff previously. It will then discuss different demographic factors that may influence a person's willingness to support change and close by discussing some factors that may be influenced during the transition to the NYTC.

Chapter two will outline the methodology used for this project. It will explain the ethics behind the project and the survey method used. This chapter will also discuss the analysis techniques used to examine the survey responses and the limitations of the project.

Chapter three will discuss the key survey themes to respond to the first and second aim of this thesis. It will outline the demographics of the survey participants and explore the main issues that arose in participants' responses, specifically: physical layout (in particular the open walkways), education and behaviour, and relationships and staff structure (particularly the issues with information received). Comparisons will be made according to demographic variables, paying particular attention to job roles and place of employ, as the most significant differences could be seen across these variables.

Chapter four will discuss the coping mechanisms present in staff to address the third and final aim. It will begin by arguing that the recurring theme present in staff attitudes is that they were fearful of the move mostly due to losing control over the residents, underlying punitive attitudes, and a lack of departmental support. Coping mechanisms introduced in the literature review will then be revisited to explain staff coping strategies in terms of loss, identity, and adaptation.

The final chapter will discuss the implications of the project and will close with recommendations for future research.

## Chapter 1: Literature Review

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In order to understand the responses made by staff at CTC and MTC it is necessary to look at previous literature surrounding organisational change and coping mechanisms. This chapter will begin with a discussion on organisational change and some theories behind coping mechanisms people use during times of change. This chapter will then explore previous research that has examined the influence of punitive attitude, gender, age and tenure on a person's willingness to support organisational change. Lastly, this chapter will outline some key aspects of youth training centres that may have been subjected to change as a result of the NYTC.

### *Organisational change*

Many researchers have explored the ways that employees respond and cope with change. The current project focuses specifically on 'transformational change', which occurs when an organisation transforms as a result of new ideas and theories being put into practice (Stensaker and Falkenberg, 2007; Lozeay, Langey, Denis, 2002).

### *Modes of Adaptation*

Perhaps one of the most utilised theories of coping mechanisms is Robert Merton's Modes of Adaptation. Merton (1957, p. 121) explains that:

The structure of society primarily restrains the free expression of man's fixed native impulses and that, accordingly, man periodically breaks into open rebellion against these restraints to achieve freedom. Occasionally this freedom is of a character not highly regarded by conventional representatives of the society, and it is promptly tagged as criminal, pathological, or socially dangerous

This idea can not only describe criminal behaviour, but can also be used to explain the way in which people react in certain social structures. Merton (1957, p. 132) suggests that there are several elements of social and cultural structures with the first consisting of 'culturally defined goals, purposes and interests, held out as legitimate objectives for all or for diversely located members of society.' These goals

are arranged in a hierarchy, with some being related to biological drives of man and others related to 'things worth striving for.' The second element is related to the acceptable modes in which a person achieves these goals, defined by the social group's allowable procedures for achieving these objectives. Merton (1957, p. 133) states that 'in all instances, the choice of expedients for striving toward cultural goals is limited by institutionalised norms.' In other words, there are culturally defined goals that each person tries to achieve but the way in which they can achieve these goals is limited by the constraints of society's norms, in other words 'institutionalised means.'

The way that people achieve these goals then can be characterised into what Merton (1957) calls 'Modes of Adaptation.' He names these different modes conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion. Each of these modes explains different ways people adapt to change ranging from acceptance to rejection. These will be outlined in more detail in a later chapter. Each of the modes of adaptation will then be used to describe the way in which staff appeared to respond to the change. Those that appeared to accept the change could be classed as *conformists* whereas those that are less accepting of the change could be classed as *retreatists* or *rebels*. The responses of the participants will be analysed and discussed accordingly in a later chapter.

### *Change as Loss*

Nalbandian (1985) offers a different perspective on coping with organisational change. He argues that change should be viewed in terms of psychological loss rather than opportunity, because the individuals are losing part of their identity that is preserved in that particular part of the organisation. Nalbandian (1985, p. 31) states that:

Organizations provide their members with opportunities to develop relationships, attach to programs and work of value, and to processes which lead to feelings of competence. People will resist, at least temporarily, organizational change which threatens to shear the anchors loose and in their own way they will mourn the losses if the change occurs.

Therefore, Nalbandian (1985) develops a model for coping with change that is based on these assumptions. The amount of adjustment that occurs is influenced by

both the desire and ability of the individual to adjust. According to Nalbandian (1985, p. 33-34):

The smaller the loss associated with an organizational change, the greater both the willingness and the ability to change and the smoother and quicker the transition period. Alternately, the more loss associated with the change, the less the willingness and ability to change, and the longer and more disruptive the transition period will be.

Nalbandian (1985) points out a number of key factors that influence ones willingness to change. Firstly, if the change is self-motivated rather than externally initiated, a person is more likely to be willing to adjust to the change. Nalbandian (1985) also states that the more the individual is involved in the change process, the less the amount of adjustment perceived, therefore making the change easier for the person. Secondly, changes that are occurring gradually over time are easier to adjust to than changes that are brought about suddenly. Thirdly, the perception of the duration of the change effects ones willingness to accept it. It is easier to adjust if the individual knows whether the change will be permanent or temporary. Fourthly, changes that are more simple and straightforward are easier to adjust to than changes that are complex and bring bewilderment. Lastly, changes that are expected appear to be less formidable than changes that are unexpected (Nalbandian, 1985). Clearly, there are many factors that influence ones willingness to change.

### *Self-Concept*

Another aspect that relates to Nalbandian's (1985) research is the idea of 'self-concept' which can be defined as 'a construct that organises the person's perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes regarding his or her self as an object' (Eilam, Shamir, 2005). In a case study exploring staff reactions to an office relocation, Eilam and Shamir (2005) state that organisational change will be supported if it aligns with a person's self-concepts and will be resisted if it poses threats to their self-concepts, particularly their need for: self-determination, self-distinctiveness, self-continuity, and self-enhancement.

People strive for a sense of self-determination or self-control. Eilam and Shamir (2005) explain that staff in their study felt as though they had lost control and freedom by moving to a large, more open office. They no longer had control over their working environment. Eilam and Shamir (2005) explain that staff may resist the

change due to being comfortable in the old office for so long, they are therefore uncertain about how to behave in a new environment.

Self-distinctiveness refers to the sense of identity individuals draw from feeling different and distinctive from people and places around them. Eilam and Shamir (2005) found that staff felt as though this self-distinctiveness was threatened by moving to a new office building that blended in with the buildings around it. Staff felt that the office they previously belonged to was unique, therefore providing them not only with a distinctive individual identity but an organisational identity also. Staff may therefore resist change in fear of losing this sense of identity.

Self-continuity refers to the attachment staff may feel to the current place. Eilam and Shamir (2005) stated that some participants had been in the same office for twenty-five years and had most of their defining life moments while working in that building. Therefore, they are reluctant to move somewhere new. On the other hand there was the issue of self-enhancement, where some participants viewed the change as a chance to 'renew' themselves and make changes.

Lastly, Eilam and Shamir (2005) also explained that if the change is perceived to threaten one's self esteem and status in the organisation they are also likely to resist it. Overall, if the organisational change threatens the above mentioned factors then the individual is more likely to resist the change. If the change promotes growth and offers changes to individual expression then staff may be more willing to cooperate. The current project therefore aims to explore whether these attachments appeared to be present in staff as they prepared to move to the NYTC. It will assess whether staff appeared to be attached to CTC and MTC (even when the facilities had been publicly criticised) and if this may have influenced their perceptions of the NYTC.

### *Place Identity*

Another aspect similar to the issue of self-concept is that of place identity. A number of researchers have discussed the fact that organisations can often have symbolic meaning for a person which subsequently influences their self-concepts and sense of identity (see Ferguson, Horan, Ferguson, 1997; Proshansky, Fabian, Kaminoff, 1983). Rooney et al. (2010) researched the aspect of place identity theory in a public hospital undergoing change. They describe place identity as the way that people connect to a place because of the memories and feelings associated with it.



They discuss that place identity theory reveals that ‘people respond to physical changes in their environments to defend their sense of connectedness and self-efficacy in that environment, especially when such changes are perceived as a threat to their identity’ (Bonaiuto, Breakwell, and Cano, 1996 cited in Rooney et al. 2010, p. 45). As a result, when people work at the same place for a long period of time they become attached and therefore resist changes that may occur.

Rooney et al. (2010) found in their study of the hospital that staff responded differently to the change depending on their job role. They found that the higher level staff (managers, supervisors, external workers) were much more positive about the change than lower level staff (nurses, support workers). Rooney et al. (2010) attributed this to the fact that the lower level staff felt more connected to the place and therefore had more of an identity associated with it. Higher level staff therefore did not feel as though their place identity was being threatened as dramatically as lower level staff. Therefore, the current study will assess whether there was a difference in staff member attitudes depending on their job role and tenure, and if this aligns with the work of Rooney et al. (2010).

#### *Theory of Planned Behaviour*

Jimmieson, Peach and White (2008) utilized the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) to inform change management. TPB argues that people make decisions based on the information that is given to them. Intentions, which can be defined as ‘the indication of an individual’s willingness to perform a given behavior,’ are the most prominent determinant of behaviour (Jimmieson, Peach, White, 2008, p. 239). These intentions are determined by the person’s attitude, social pressures, and behavioural control. Ultimately, ‘individuals holding positive views toward a behavior, who think they have normative support from important persons in their lives to perform the behavior, and perceive that performing the behavior is under their personal control are more likely to have strong intentions to perform the behavior’ (Jimmieson, Peach, White, 2008, p. 239). Therefore, according to the TPB, people are more likely to support organisational change if they have positive views of the change, if they have support from the department, and if they perceive the change to have a positive influence on them. Jimmieson, Peach and White (2008) explored the TPB in an organisation that was relocating and undergoing significant organisational change. They found that the TPB can be utilized to inform employee behaviour and

intention to support organisational change. In particular they found that employees who felt they were informed and encouraged to be involved in the change process were more likely to support it. The current study examines whether these aspects of the TPB can be used to determine whether or not staff were supportive of the move to the NYTC. Specifically, it explores whether staff held positive views of the change, if they were being supported to engage in the change process and if they believed the change may have a positive influence on them. These factors may then determine how supportive of the change staff were.

### *Stress*

As organisational change can be a stressful time for staff, it is important to discuss some aspects that may influence stress. Previous research has explored the number of factors that can influence stress for staff working in prison environments. Armstrong and Griffin (2004) explored the influence that perceived organisational support by correctional officers had on staff stress levels. They found that the more an officer 'perceived that their organization valued their work and input, the less stress they experienced in the workplace' (Armstrong, Griffin, 2004, p. 587). Similarly, Lindquist and Whitehead (1986) found that staff reported higher levels of job stress when poorer supervisory practices were observed. In a later study however, Griffin (2006) found that the amount of organisational support received affected stress levels only in males, whereas females were more susceptible to stress from family conflict. Similarly, Robinson and Griffiths (2005) found that the most common causes for stress amongst the employees were increased workload, uncertainty/ambiguity, interpersonal conflict, unfair treatment and perceived loss.

Other studies have also discussed mechanisms for coping with stress. For example, Triplett, Mullings and Scarborough (1996) suggest that staff can lower stress levels by adapting coping mechanisms, particularly co-worker support. In other words, it is beneficial for staff to seek support from their colleagues in order to reduce stress levels.

Armstrong et al. (2014) also explored stress factors in relation to employee turnover. They explored the influence that person-environment fit and social identity had on staff intent to leave their job. Person-environment fit theory explains that 'compatibility between individuals and the work environment occurs when there is a match between the needs of the individual and the environment' (Armstrong et al.

2010, p. 6). Social identity theory is based on the sense of belonging to a social group. Hoggs and Abrams (1998 cited in Armstrong et al. 2010, p. 7) explain that 'because individuals have an inherent need to belong, their belief about whether or not that need is being met is a function of their identity and their perception of congruence with facets of the environment'. As a result, a person's commitment to their work environment may vary depending on how strong their social identity is. Amstrong et al. (2010) found that juvenile care workers were less likely to leave their role if they had a stronger sense of social identity. In other words, staff who shared similar views as their co-workers, and therefore felt a sense of belonging in their work environment, were more likely to continue working in that environment. They also found that staff who had a longer tenure felt more strongly that they held similar attitudes to their co-workers. Thus, because they have bonded more strongly with the work environment, they were less likely to leave their job.

Minor et al. (2011) also explored staff turnover in juvenile correctional institutions in relation to job satisfaction and organisational commitment. Although they measured satisfaction in work, pay, promotion opportunities, supervision, co-workers and the job in general, the only factor that was a statistically significant predictor of turnover was satisfaction with co-workers. Staff who were more satisfied with their co-workers were more likely to continue working in the facility. Thus, Minor et al. (2011) suggest that a mentoring program may be beneficial for new employees in order to promote healthy relationships with co-workers.

There are evidently a number of factors that contribute to stress within a workplace, and also a number of ways that staff can manage this stress. This thesis questioned staff on issues of safety, relationships with co-workers and also management in order to determine if staff predicted these to change at the NYTC. Thus, this project examines whether staff perceptions of these issues may lead to increased stress in the future. As a result, the thesis examines whether effective organisational change principles were followed during the change process in order to decrease the likelihood of stress amongst staff. Thus, previous research on what makes organisational change effective will now be discussed.

### ***Managing Change Strategies***

Nalbandian (1985) states that the aim of organisations undergoing change should be to focus on reducing the amount of adjustment, that is perceived to be

required, by involving staff in the change process. The key factors, Nalbandian (1985) states, are education and inducements. These should focus on two things: 'adding to the confidence that positive outcomes are associated with change, and minimizing the perception that negative outcomes will result' (Nalbandian, 1985, p. 40). Furthermore, the organisation itself needs to focus on facilitation and support. Nalbandian (1985) points out that people can adjust more readily if they are given additional training and resources, and if their leaders are not only setting a good example by coping well themselves but are also providing supportive relationships with their staff.

More recent studies have also looked at the 'education' factor when it comes to coping with change. Choi and Ruona (2011, p. 46) conducted a literature review and suggest that 'individuals are more likely to have higher levels of readiness for organisational change when (a) they experience normative-reeducative change strategies and when (b) they perceive their work environment to have the characteristics associated with a learning culture.' To summarise, Choi and Ruona (2011) explain that normative-reeducative strategies are those that involve the individuals being responsible for their own re-education, and that doing so is essential for 'building the partnership, trust, and commitment, which are thought to be vital for long-term performance improvements' (Bennis, 2000 cited in Choi, Ruona, 2011, p. 55). Workplaces can therefore function more effectively when employees can contribute and participate in the change process. Choi and Ruona (2011) also explain that a workplace that is prepared to adapt a learning culture will succeed more proficiently with change. This brings us to another important area of discussion: Organisational Learning.

### *Organisational Learning*

The aspect of organisational learning has also been researched when it comes to organisational change. Chan and Scott-Lad (2004, p. 339) describe organisational learning as 'a change process where organisations acquire knowledge and skills to deal with issues or problems in order to enhance processes or productivity.' Chan and Scott-Lad (2004) argue that organisations need to increase employee involvement in changes, and encourage them to participate in order to not only assure that the change runs smoothly, but also to increase employee satisfaction and decrease employee resistance. Therefore, organisational learning occurs more

efficiently when there is communication between managers and employees, and when there is greater amount of involvement between the two. Another study that demonstrates this was carried out by Katz, Kochan and Gobeille (1983). They found that workplace performance improved when workers were more involved in job-related decision-making processes.

Campbell and Duggan (2003) examine the development of a learning culture within the context of a Youth Training Centre, namely, the Quamby Youth Detention Centre in Canberra. When they started the project, Quamby was in desperate need of change and was even described as ‘a very depressing and neglecting place’ (Campbell, Duggan, 2003 p. 2). They found that developing a learning culture, whereby staff were involved in education and learning, assisted the change process to run smoothly. As can be seen in discussions thus far, they also pointed out that learning cultures develop most efficiently when managers and other staff collaborate. What Campbell and Duggan (2003) also mentioned is that the residents themselves were also involved in the change process. Campbell and Duggan (2003, p. 8) stated that ‘the effective engagement of young people and allowing them to have real decision making power through their active participation in the residential units i.e. through unit staff client meetings, educational participation proved effective in improving their well-being on all levels.’ Overall they concluded that the improvement of the centre was due to a combination of additional education to staff, the development of a learning culture, and the inclusion of resident participation in decision making processes. In the current study, participants were questioned on additional training in the survey to determine if a learning culture may or may not have been present.

In order to understand staff responses more clearly, it is also necessary to look at previous research on reform in a prison setting. Reform (in other words; significant change to all aspects of the organisation) has been explored largely in the past, but not so much in a juvenile justice setting.

#### *Previous Research on Reform*

Research that has explored organisational change within the youth justice context includes a study by Dale and Sanniti (1993). They conducted a case study of Broward Detention Centre in Florida that was undergoing significant reform mostly

due to overcrowding. To improve the 'quality of life' of the residents, Dale and Sanniti (1993, p. 56) stated that:

The exterior was repainted in bright colors, and the staff chose soft pastel colors for the interior...the staff painted murals on the walls. Children were taken out of institutional clothing and given golf shirts. Cameras were placed in the holding cells to secure the safety of the children while they were waiting entrance into the institution. The outside area was expanded. An early morning recreation period was created together with an additional school recreation period. The two rooms that had been used as sleeping rooms due to high population were turned into an educational assessment centre and an enlarged medical services clinic. Carpeting was placed in the housing units. Mental health and counselling was made available twenty-four hours a day.

Extra training was also provided to staff in an attempt to improve staff-resident relationships, and public relations campaigns also took place to improve the 'image' of the centre. As a result of these changes, there was a significant drop in reports made by staff about 'problem behaviour'. For example, Dale and Sanniti (1993) reported that the number of times isolation was used dropped from 125 times per month in 1988, down to only 15 per month in 1991 after the reform had occurred. When comparing the Broward facility to others in the area that had not undergone reform, it can be seen that it had a significantly lower number of incidents reported in regards to confinements for bad behaviour and assaults between residents, other residents and staff (Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Service, 1993 cited in Bazemore, Dicker, Nyhan, 1994, p. 39)

Bazemore, Dicker, and Nyhan (1994) also explored the reform process of Broward Detention Centre but instead focused on the effect this had on staff attitudes. Similar to other researchers of juvenile detention, they state the experience for residents 'varies considerably depending on the type of facility in which the youth is detained, the structure and conditions in those facilities, and the training, sophistication, and resources of staff' (Frazier, 1989, p. 158 cited in Bazemore, Dicker, Nyhan, 1994, p. 40). The influence of the environment, as well as staff behaviour, is a theme that will be discussed often in the current study. Bazemore, Dicker and Nyhan (1994) found that staff at the non-reformed centre had a much more punitive stance than those at the reformed Broward Detention Centre. For example, staff were asked to rate how much they agreed with statements such as

‘youth must understand they are there for punishment’ and ‘workers must teach youth a lesson.’ Staff at the non-reformed centre scored these items higher than staff at Broward Detention Centre, indicating that the reform may have reduced punitive attitudes of staff. Despite this, ‘mean levels of reported organisational commitment, organisational trust, supervisor trust, job stress, and role conflict were the same for both centers’ (Bazemore, Dicker and Nyhan, 1994, p. 46).

Houchins, Shippen and Jolivette (2006) looked specifically at the effect of reform on juvenile justice teachers. They surveyed teachers across facilities in Georgia, in the United States, after five years of reform. Overall, teachers were more satisfied with their jobs in general, with their resources, with student progress, and with their workload. Houchins, Shippen and Jolivette (2006) also found that teachers felt more prepared for their work and felt more support from management and administrators. However, some staff reported that the reform had made it difficult to discipline students, and also that their job stress had increased. This indicates that although reform can result in many positive aspects, it is also possible that there will be negative effects. One of the main aspects of reform in this case was changes to behaviour management, similar to the changes that occurred for the NYTC. Because staff felt as though this change made it harder to discipline students, it is important to consider the possibility that this may also occur at the NYTC. As a result, the current project questions staff about the way they managed student behaviour and how they expected this to change at the NYTC.

Bazemore (1993) also explains that ‘interorganisational relationships’ play an important role in reform. Not only is it beneficial for staff within the custodial facility to have positive relationships with each other, but it is also important to incorporate external agencies such as judges and police officers. Bazemore (1993) argues that this aspect is critical in ensuring there is sustained support of reform processes.

Clearly there are a number of different aspects that need to be considered during organisational change in order for it to be successful. What must also be taken into account are the demographic variables behind each staff member. Gender, age and past experience are three examples of factors that may influence a staff member’s willingness to support organisational change. These factors will now be discussed.

### *Influence of Demographics*

There are a number of different factors that could contribute to a person's willingness to change. These factors could also influence the way that they perceive the change in the first place, and as a result play an impact on the way they respond. Perhaps one of the most important aspects that should be considered when looking at staff within a youth training centre is their underlying punitive attitude.

### *Punitive Attitudes*

'Punitive' attitudes refer to the extent a staff member is orientated towards punishment rather than rehabilitation (Soutar and Williams, 1985). Because the NYTC was based on an open plan design it is predicted that staff may respond negatively if they are more punitive in nature. A particular piece of research which discusses the way in which we see 'criminals' is proposed by Garland (2001). He proposes the *criminology of the self* which 'characterises offenders as normal, rational consumers, just like us' (Garland, 2001, p. 137). This criminology aims to promote preventative action and alleviate fear. On the other hand, the *criminology of the other* refers to criminals as 'the threatening outcast, the fearsome stranger, the excluded and the embittered' (Garland, 2001, p. 137). This criminology promotes punishment and instils fear by viewing criminals as people who are 'not like us' and are generally evil people. Garland (2001, p. 184) explains that 'the appropriate reaction for society is one of social defence: we should defend ourselves against these dangerous enemies rather than concern ourselves with their welfare and prospects for rehabilitation.' He adds that:

There can be no mutual intelligibility, no bridge of understanding, no real communication between 'us' and 'them'. To treat them as understandable- as criminology has traditionally done – is to bring criminals into our domain, to humanise them, to see ourselves in them and them in ourselves. (Garland, 2001, p. 184).

Garland's (2001) theory essentially explains the way that some people may segregate 'criminals' from the rest of society because they are seen as undoubtedly different. It is predicted that staff from CTC and MTC may fall into each of these categories with some staff believing that the residents may benefit from the new surroundings and others may wish to keep them segregated. It is also likely that staff



who were more punitive in nature may have been less likely to support the change than those who appeared to be more rehabilitative.

It is also important to consider what this negative attitude may have on staff. Misis et al. (2013) surveyed prison officers across the Southern prison system in the United State to determine how demographic factors, perception of inmates, job characteristics and supervisory support each influenced job stress. Misis et al. (2013, p. 3) believed that perception of inmates will ultimately influence job stress among staff, stating that:

If officers view inmates negatively, then they may become frustrated and tense when having to deal with them, and this in turn could lead to higher levels of stress from work. Conversely, if an officer has positive perceptions of inmates, then they may have more pleasant and less confrontational interactions with inmates, and this in the end can result in more positive feelings and less strain from work, ultimately leading to lower job stress.

They found that the prison officers reported feeling more stressed when they felt as though they had little supervisory support, they perceived the job to be dangerous and most importantly, when they perceived inmates to be ‘unfriendly, antisocial, and cold’ (Misis et al., 2013, p. 1). Interestingly, even though officers reported feeling less stressed when they viewed prisoners as ‘manageable’, they also felt more stressed when they reported viewing prisoners as friendly, warm and social. Misis et al. (2013) attributed this finding to the idea that officers may feel alienated from other co-workers if they are too kind to prisoners, or they may be taken advantage of by prisoners themselves. Evidently, according to Misis et al. (2013) the ideal standpoint would be for officers to have a positive view of offenders but be wary to maintain their position of power. There are also other factors that may influence staff willingness to change which will now be discussed.

### *Gender*

Previous research on the influence of gender on willingness to support organisational change has had mixed findings. A study by Cordery et al. (1991) reported that men were more resistant to change than women if they perceived that they were going to be gaining skills that are associated with female roles (eg, cleaning, typing instead of manual labour). However, a study conducted two years

later by Cordery et al. (1993) found that there was no difference in attitude to change between men and women.

There is also literature surrounding the difference in punitive nature of men and women. This area also has mixed findings on whether males or females are more punitive towards residents. Soutar and Williams (1985) surveyed staff across fourteen prisons in Western Australia to determine if demographic variables influence officer attitudes (i.e. if they were more punishment orientated or rehabilitation orientated). They found that gender, age and work history had no influence on officer attitude, only past prison experience. They claimed that the attitudes staff had towards their treatment of prisoners was not due to demographic factors, but instead they stated 'the prison institutions seem to have created these attitudes, no matter what background officers initially brought to the workplace' (Soutar and Williams, 1985, p. 23). Lambert et al. (2007) and Crouch and Alpert (1982) found that female prison officers were less punitive than their male colleagues. Conversely, Farkas (1999) found that female officers were more punitive in their attitudes but also showed a greater preference for counselling positions than their male colleagues.

A study exploring juvenile correctional facilities in particular looked at the influence of gender from a different perspective by investigating the influence gender had on a person's perceived risk and fear of victimisation. Gordon, Moriarty and Grant (2003) compared survey responses from staff at two juvenile facilities in Virginia, one being more punitive in their approach to residents and one with a greater focus on programs and rehabilitation. They found that workplace did not have a significant influence on staff perceived fear and risk of victimisation but gender and education did. Gordon, Moriarty and Grant (2003) found that women had a higher level of perceived fear and risk of victimisation, alongside those with higher education. Therefore, if women perceive themselves to be more at risk while at their place of work, this may alter their attitudes towards residents.

Clearly there are mixed views about the role that gender plays on punitive attitudes and willingness to support organisational change. This thesis will therefore explore whether there is any difference in attitude between men and women at CTC and MTC, and what effect this had on their willingness to support the change.

Age and tenure have both been found to be associated with support for organisational change. Age has been found to be negatively associated with support for change, with evidence concluding that younger staff members are more likely to support change than older staff members (Cordery et al, 1991; Cordery et al, 1993; Ellis and Child, 1973). This is because younger employees are not as 'set in their ways' as older employees, and can therefore adjust to change more readily (Cordery et al, 1991). Similarly, tenure has also been found to be negatively associated with support for change, with research suggesting that employees who have spent less time at an organisation are more likely to support change than those that have been there for longer (Broadwell, 1985; Iverson, 1996). Iverson (1996, p. 142) states that this is due to the fact that the less experienced employees have 'fewer preconceived notions about organizational procedures and are also less set in their ways.'

The association between age and officer attitude towards offenders is also an area that has been explored. Jurik (1985) found that older officers tended to be more orientated towards rehabilitation, whereas younger officers tended to favour a more custodial approach. Farkas (1999) similarly found that older officers favoured a rehabilitative approach, and this could also be attributed to the fact that they believed more in what they were doing and felt closer to the organisation itself. Previous research has also shown that experienced officers have a more positive attitude towards residents than less experienced officers most likely due to the fact that they have had more experience working with residents and therefore have a greater understanding of their behaviour (see Farkas, 1999 and Moon and Maxwell, 2004). The current project aims to determine if age and tenure appeared to have had an influence on staff members support for the change, as well as their attitude towards residents. Older staff may be less likely to support a change if they have been working at the centres for a long time, but on the other hand they may support the more rehabilitative ideas of the NYTC.

Lastly it is important to discuss some key areas of youth training centres that are integral to its operation and therefore are most likely to be influenced by organisational change. The last section of this chapter will now discuss these areas, their importance, and how the thesis aims to examine the changes in these areas.

### ***Key Areas of Change***

#### *Staff-resident relationships*

The relationships between the staff and the residents can ultimately shape both the residents' rehabilitation and the overall wellbeing of the staff working in the custodial setting. As Mathiesen (1965, p. 53) once stated '[t]he situation of prisoners in a correctional institution cannot be adequately understood without some knowledge of the situation of staff members'. There has been a considerable amount of research looking at staff-resident relationships (referred to as staff-prisoner relationships in most research focusing on adult prisons) and the influences these relationships can have.

Johnsen, Granheim, and Helgesen (2011) note that staff-resident relationships are a central part of prison work. In Norway, one initiative involves the use of a personal contact officer whose task is to 'motivate and assist the prisoner in the process of rehabilitation, and to help the prisoner with problems and requests during imprisonment' (Johnsen, Granheim, Helgesen, 2011, p. 517). Johnsen, Granheim, and Helgesen (2011) explain that although this creates closeness between the staff and the prisoners, thereby building trust, the staff must remember to keep a balance between providing care but also keeping the place safe and secure. Furthermore, Johnsen, Granheim, and Helgesen (2011) state that staff-prisoner relationships are important not only in the rehabilitative sense, but also to maintain security, safety, control and order. Therefore, Leibling and Arnold (2004) explain that respect, humanity, trust and support are core values in securing successful staff-resident relationships. Respect, in particular, is an area with a large amount of research that is too in depth to explore in detail here. While it is an important aspect, it was not measured specifically in this project so will not be explored here.

In another study, Crewe et al. (2011) present a somewhat paradoxical stance to the role staff play. They explored the influence that staff-resident relationships (in particular the use of authority) can have on resident quality of life. Crewe et al. (2011) found that some residents preferred the more authoritative/less friendly staff over the less authoritative/friendlier staff. In particular one prisoner stated that 'a lot of the staff are very young; their inexperience shows, just in their social skills, the way they communicate with inmates: either not enough or coming at you too hard on. . . . Not enough authority to be accepted and then overboard with aggression' (Crewe et al., 2011, p. 104). These residents also stated that it was easy to manipulate staff and get away with things, which led to staff believing they were trusted by residents more than they actually were. It is therefore just as important for

staff to feel respected by the residents, in order for them to maintain appropriate levels of order and control. Similar to residents, if staff feel they are being shown disrespect by the residents, then they are more likely to take on a more punitive role which can then be detrimental to the function of the prison and therefore resident rehabilitation.

Liebling, Price and Shefer (2011) state that staff-prisoner relationships are important for two reasons: instrumental reasons (making the prison run smoothly for both staff and residents) and normative reasons (good relationships are the humane thing to do and make prison time easier). For the officers, relationships were about maintaining order and safety, which implicitly meant that they have more 'power' due to this increased knowledge of the prisoners. Liebling, Price and Shefer (2011) argue that relationships play a crucial role in the way decisions are made and carried out by officers, as well as how these actions are perceived by the prisoners. It is possible that new surroundings, behaviour management models and new education systems may alter staff-prisoner relationships and therefore may alter the power/control staff have over the residents. Participants were therefore questioned on these aspects in order to analyse their attitudes around control and relationships with residents.

Not only are relationships important between staff and prisoners, but also between staff and managers. Liebling and Arnold (2004) explain that trust is a core value that staff place on managers, and that managers should provide leadership, support and fairness rather than taking on an inspectorial role. It is therefore just as important for staff to also feel respect from other staff, particularly management. If staff feel they are being respected and can have their opinions heard, then it is more likely that the prison will run more smoothly. This project therefore also questions staff about their relationships with managers and if they feel supported.

### *Culture*

Another area of interest is the aspect of 'prison culture,' which can be defined as 'being based on a shared set of beliefs, assumptions, values and attitudes, which are expressed, maintained and reinforced through different types of communication and action within a group' (Schein, 2004 cited in Johnsen, Granheim, Helgesen, 2011, p. 516).

Research has shown that staff are a crucial component in shaping prison cultures, and subsequently the prisoner's quality of life (Liebling, Arnold, 2004). Arnold, et al. (2007) discuss a study on suicide and its relation to work culture and climate. They found that 'where staff feel they have clear roles and responsibilities, are involved in the organisation and feel able to do the job they are asked to do, communication and suicide prevention effectiveness are better' (Arnold et al. 2007, pg. 486-487). Therefore, a positive work culture is not only beneficial for staff performance, but can also play a role in suicide prevention. They also found that culture played a role in prisoner distress. They found that 'the way officers talked to you' influenced prisoner well-being as well as how safe they felt (Arnold, et al. 2007, pg. 490). Evidently it is clear that a more positive culture is much more beneficial for staff and for prisoners. As the survey will include a variety of staff from different job roles (managers, youth workers, teachers and so on) it will examine whether staff from each of these roles had similar beliefs and attitudes.

#### *Prison Architecture*

Another key area of importance that will be different at the NYTC is the architecture. Prison buildings should be designed to maximize productivity as well as rehabilitation for those incarcerated. Jewkes and Johnston (2007, pg. 191) state that 'the design of a prison impacts upon the lives of its occupants – inmates and staff – in a myriad of obvious and subtle ways.' For example, at MTC transferring residents from one building to another would be much different than at the NYTC due to the difference in walkways. Thus, inmates and staff lives would be different on a day to day basis. Walking through an open campus as opposed to covered walkways could influence the overall wellbeing on staff and residents. Spens (1994) also discuss the influence of the 'psychologically effective colour palette' and the use of natural light. Spens (1994) explains that many European prisons use a combination of bright and soft colours, and also enhance the use of natural light instead of using hard fixtures and dull colours. As a result, the environment is more stimulating, thus increasing the prisoners' quality of life. This idea was taken into account when designing the interior of the NYTC, as the walls are currently painted in bright colours in an attempt to promote positive behaviour.

Other research has also explored the influence architecture may have on staff-resident relationships. Beijersbergen et al. (2014) examined the relationship between

staff-resident relationships and different prison architecture by questioning residents of prisons with different layouts. They found that residents in the campus style design were most positive about these relationships. Beijersbergen et al. (2014) also found that residents were less positive about their relationships in older facilities. The study concludes that residents in facilities that are based on penal philosophies of control interact less with staff and therefore have a less positive relationship. On the other hand, residents in facilities that promote interaction with staff have more positive relationships. Evidently, campus designs have proved to promote good relationships between residents and staff so it is expected that staff may believe their relationships will improve at the NYTC.

### *Education*

Research has commonly agreed that providing juveniles with education whilst they are in detention can lead to reduced recidivism (i.e. a reduction in repeat offending), an increased likelihood of returning to school post release, and an increased likelihood that this will then lead to employment (Twomey, 2008). One particular study explores the outcomes an education program has for youth. Bullis and Yovanoff (2006) conducted a longitudinal study of the reintegration for youth detained in Oregon. They explored the influence vocational/career courses had on the likelihood of the young offenders engaging in employment or education six and twelve months post release. Bullis and Yovanoff (2006) found that young offenders who participated in these programs whilst in custody were more than two times more likely to be engaged in education or employment six months post release than young offenders who did not do the programs, and were also more likely to still be engaged in the employment or education twelve months post release. This study therefore questions staff about the range of educational and vocational courses available to the residents and also how staff expected these to change.

### *Behaviour Management*

Alongside education is behaviour management. Initial reports and media releases explained that this was an area that would be undergoing significant change at the NYTC (as discussed in the previous chapter). It is therefore necessary to discuss previous research on the different ways behaviour has been managed in a

prison setting. There have been a number of studies in the past that have explored the use of positive reinforcement (ie; the use of rewards to promote good behaviour) in a detention setting (see Fineman, 1968; Gambrill, 1976; Stephens, 1973; Johnson, 1977). Each of these articles explain that positive reinforcement in juvenile facilities almost always results in improved behaviour and higher self-esteem compared to when punishment is used. Rewarding residents for good behaviour reinforces that particular behaviour and therefore encourages residents to behave appropriately and less aggressively. This, in turn, makes it easier on staff to control residents if their behaviour is less aggressive.

Rucker (1994) examined the effects of coercive versus cooperative environments on women undertaking a program in a maximum security prison. She explains that competitive or coercive atmospheres ‘induce threat, coercion, deception, suspicion, rigidity, and faulty communication – cooperative atmospheres induce perceived similarity, trust, open communication, flexibility, concern for the other, emphasis on mutual interest, and attraction between the parties’ (Lindsfold et al., 1986, p. 99, cited in Rucker, 1994, p. 74). She bases her research on the idea that positive reinforcement will result in a more positive and energizing atmosphere compared to the negativity that would come with negative reinforcement (see Satir, 1972; Sidman, 1989). Rucker (1994) explains that the cooperative environment group had a sense of community where security was based on trust and respect from the facilitators. On the other hand, security in the coercive group was dependent on the threat of punishment which often led to anger and frustration. Rucker (1994) concludes that positive reinforcement, and thus a positive prison environment produces much more desirable behaviours from residents. Thus, staff quality of life also improves due to less focus on security.

Evidently there are an array of factors that must be considered when an organisation goes through change, particularly when it is a youth justice facility. While the survey asked participants specifically what they think will change for the residents and themselves at the NYTC, it also explores issues of safety, power and management support. Based on the literature just discussed, there are a number of different ways staff can respond and cope with change depending on their sense of identity and attachment to their place of employ, which can be further influenced by



demographic variables. The methodology of measuring these aspects will now be discussed.

## Chapter 2: Methodology

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### *Gaining Access*

Conducting research in an organisation that is going through change is a particularly difficult endeavour due to the ethics process required to gain access to such organisations. Patenaude (2004, p. 73S) states that ‘the greatest challenge facing qualitative researchers doing prison research is gaining entry to the field....Internally, there are three constituent groups in prison—inmates, correctional staff, and administration—however, it is the needs of the latter group that must be first addressed if prison research is to occur.’ As O’Brien and Bates (2009) found in their study on women’s prisons, gaining initial approval to conduct the research is often a very lengthy process. Hart (1995) also explains that a key element of organisations is the aspect of a worker ‘culture’ which is resistant to any outsiders trying to penetrate it. As a result, Hart (1995, p. 165) explains that ‘whether the organisation is a factory, government agency, hospital or police department; the investigator must take steps to ‘penetrate’ the organisation.’ For prisons, and Youth Training Centres, this is even more difficult due to the attention that is paid to security.

Conducting research in organisations is complex, particularly with human services who are ‘sensitive to the political ramifications of research’ (Darlington and Scott, 2002, p. 31), consequently making some staff unwilling to participate in, or unable to accept, research. Flynn (2011) addresses the issue of being labelled an ‘insider’ or an ‘outsider’ when conducting research in organisations, referring to her experience conducting research on the legal culture of the Victorian Office of Public Prosecutions. She explains that it is particularly hard to infiltrate the staff culture in organisations that involve the legal system because it ‘embraces adversarial traditions that prioritise secrecy, combativeness and exclusivity’ (Dawson, 2001; Jackson 2002 cited in Flynn, 2011, p. 48). Researchers who are considered outsiders to the field of work then have a difficult time breaking in to this work culture. This is

true for most organisations though. As discussed earlier, staff ‘culture’ exists in most, if not all organisations and is something researchers must be aware of before conducting their research.

### ***The Current Project***

#### *Initial Approval*

In order for this project to commence it had to be approved by the Flinders Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number 5444) and also by the Department of Communities and Social Inclusion Research Ethics Committee.

Before the project began I met with key members of staff that were involved in the NYTC project to discuss the research. As mentioned above, it is difficult to gain access to custodial facilities alongside organisations going through change, so these meetings served as a time where I could develop a project that would not only be beneficial academically but also assist the department running the NYTC build. This step was beneficial in achieving ethics approval, as Patenaude (2004, p. 74S) comments:

Asking program supervisors and senior managers about the types of research they would like to see conducted is one step toward receiving permission to conduct the research because the researcher can develop a research strategy that meets the needs of this stakeholder group...Here, the academic is acknowledging the experiential and academic knowledge held by the corrections professional and providing them with research that otherwise would not have been completed.

Schlosser (2008, p. 1509) states that ‘making connections with individuals who themselves have connections with those in charge of access can make all the difference. Informal avenues of networking like name-dropping or becoming familiar with the individuals in charge can facilitate the process.’ Therefore, in the current project it was imperative that meetings took place with various directors and managers at the centres, because it improved my chances of gaining access to the centres. The research also gained support from the Director of Youth Justice which aided the ethics approval process.

### *Recruitment*

This project used a purposive sampling technique, which involves selecting a particular sample based on their knowledge in order to gain information that is central to the research (Liamputtong, 2009; Patton, 2002). In the current project, this means that I purposefully selected participants from the training centres that were directly involved in the changes. Ultimately, this project aimed to survey all staff members at CTC and MTC including youth workers, teachers and managers to gain a broad understanding of the changes occurring for each staff member.

There were approximately 72 staff at CTC and 98 staff at MTC when the survey was distributed (this number was received through email correspondence). The survey was distributed to all staff prior to their commencement of employ within the NYTC. Initial conversations and meetings took place with the managers of each facility so that the research could be explained to them in detail. I also attended meetings called 'chat rooms', where staff discussed any thoughts and concerns they had about the NYTC, to talk about the survey before it was distributed in order to increase awareness and response rate.

The survey was administered through the secure site 'Survey Monkey', a website designed to allow any member of the public (who pays for a subscription) to generate surveys and analyse the data collected. I sent an email with the web address and the Letter of Introduction attached to the managers of both CTC and MTC. The managers then forwarded this email to all staff members who were asked to complete the survey in their own time. The Letter of Introduction explained the survey to participants and outlined that it should only take 10-15 minutes to complete. It also outlined that the information they provided would be kept in a confidential manner at all times. However, due to the sample size, and minimal range of staff roles, it is possible that certain persons (eg. other training centre staff or government employees) may recognise the identity behind particular qualitative responses given in the survey. The risk here is small but real and was therefore appropriately acknowledged.

To address the concerns mentioned above, the participants are referred to using general descriptors only mostly being referred to as 'staff member', although on occasion the centre they came from and their job role is mentioned for analysis purposes.

By completing the survey, participants acknowledged that they understood the nature of the research and consented to take part in it. The first question in the survey required them to agree and consent to the research, ticking 'no' meant that they could not continue with the survey.

### *The Survey*

The survey used in this project consisted of both closed and open ended questions to incorporate quantitative and qualitative data. Using a survey that consists of both question styles allows the participants to elaborate on their answers and therefore create a better picture about the situations described (Creswell, 2012). Folkman and Moskowitz (2000, p. 652) also state the benefits of incorporating qualitative data:

Although quantitative methods have the advantage of facilitating comparisons within and between individuals across stressful events... they usually provide only a superficial description of actual coping processes. A great deal more can be learned about coping by asking people to provide narratives about stressful events, including what happened, the emotions they experienced and what they thought and did as the situation unfolded.

In the present study, while the quantitative data allowed the researcher to compare trends across the facilities and participant groups, the qualitative data provided rich narratives that explained the reasons behind staff responses.

The survey consisted of a series of short answer questions surrounding the NYTC, but also some Likert Scale questions. The survey began by asking for some demographic variables (such as age, gender, length of employ) then moved on to ask staff about their attitudes towards their current training centre. It then asked staff a number of questions about their attitudes towards the NYTC and what they expected to change. Based on the literature discussed in the previous chapter, staff were also questioned on their relationships and support they were receiving from management. This particular method was chosen because the quantitative questions allowed the research to gain average ratings of various aspects of the centre. It also allowed the researcher to compare demographic variables more easily. The qualitative questions gave participants the chance to elaborate on their responses and explain their perspectives in more detail.

### *Analysis*

An 'inductive approach' was used to analyse the data. Inductive analysis involves searching for patterns and themes in the data in order to develop a model or theory surrounding the underlying experiences in the data (Patton, 2002; Thomas, 2006). Therefore, in the current study the researcher searched for similar experiences in the survey in order to generate main themes for the participant's response towards the NYTC. While some statistics were used to summarise the demographic variables and Likert responses, the researcher manually coded the data to search for recurring words and themes. For example, the researcher coded how many times participants mentioned 'walkways', 'safety', 'support' and so on. The 'Survey Monkey' site allows users to download all survey data and cross-tabulate results. Therefore, I could download all responses for staff who said they were from CTC and all responses from staff at MTC and compare the differences between the two. The same could be done for responses to the age category question and the job role question. This allowed me to not only search for recurring themes in the entire data set, but also across these variables. I then compared and contrasted the different attitudes of staff based on these demographic variables to determine if the responses varied across these groups.

### *Limitations*

There are a few limitations in this study that must be addressed. Firstly, as with any project that involves surveys, is response rate. Because the survey was sent via a web link in emails, and was voluntary, there was a chance that staff would simply disregard the email because they did not want to spend time completing a survey. To address this issue, I attended the 'chat rooms' at both CTC and MTC, explained earlier. I took that opportunity to discuss the surveys and to make staff fully aware of the research and its significance. Despite this, the response rate was little over 100 as will be discussed in the next chapter. Because there were initially 72 staff at CTC and 98 staff at MTC when the survey was distributed, there could have been a total of 170 responses. Although this is a good response rate and a useful amount of data was obtained, it was still much less than anticipated. The reliability of the study is also compromised because some staff appeared to skip questions in the survey. There were very few teachers who completed the survey also so the teacher responses may not fully apply to the entire teaching cohort.

There is also the possibility that staff may have become bored whilst completing the survey and decided not to complete it, as a portion of responses were incomplete. There were also a number of surveys where the staff members had clearly completed all of the Likert scale questions but had skipped all of the qualitative questions that required typing an answer. Although some staff provided in depth answers, there was still a gap in the amount of qualitative responses.

Another issue is that participants may have been influenced by ‘social desirability bias.’ This is where participants state answers in order to put them in a good light, and which ‘involves over-self-reporting of socially desirable attitudes and behaviours and under-self-reporting of socially disapproved or less desirable attitudes and behaviour’ (Collazo, 2005, p. 780). Staff may have been worried that their managers may read the results which could negatively impact their positions. Participants of course remained anonymous, but this is still an issue that requires mentioning.

It is also important to mention that because this project relied on staff perspectives, it is possible that questions could have been interpreted differently. Although the purpose of the study was to explore staff perspectives, it is important to discuss the difficulties that come with this type of research. The main issue of relying on perspectives is the fact that people define certain events in their lives in different ways depending on their attitudes. As Audi (1998, p. 16) states ‘people differ markedly in the beliefs they form about the very same things they each clearly see.’ This idea explains why staff members had different reactions to the changes occurring; because each individual interpreted the events differently based on their beliefs. This does however also mean that each individual may have interpreted the questions differently, especially in regards to how each person may define issues such as ‘safety’ and stress.

Lastly, there were no post measures for this study so it is possible that staff attitudes may have changed since the survey was distributed. There were a number of concerns raised by staff about some of the components of the NYTC that need to be reassessed. A follow up survey could determine how staff feel about the NYTC following their employ there for an extended period. A number of suggestions for future research that can add to the current study will be addressed in the concluding chapter.

### Chapter 3: Key Themes and Discussion

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The main focus of the survey was to determine the key factors that staff were both enthused and concerned about in regards to the new facility whilst also examining how staff coped with organisational change. By assessing demographic factors of participants, it also aimed to explore the different attitudes of participants based on gender, age, tenure, job role and place of employ. As well as providing information regarding staff attitudes towards their current place of employ, the survey also provided information surrounding staff expectations and perceptions of the changes taking place. This chapter will begin by discussing the demographics of participants that completed the survey such as age range, length of time spent at each facility as well as how many participants from each role completed the survey. It will then discuss the main key themes that emerged in the staff responses, focusing specifically on physical layout, education and behaviour, and relationships and staff structure. A comparison of responses across the two centres as well as other demographic factors (age, gender, tenure etc) will also be discussed, with the most significant differences in attitude being found across the two centres and across different job roles. Therefore, most of the comparisons discussed will be between the centres and between different job roles.

#### *Demographics*

The total number of staff completing the survey was 101. However, of this sample only 52 completed every question. The other 49 responses varied in the amount of questions that were answered and questions that were skipped. As discussed in the limitations, staff may have become bored halfway through so decided to skip until the end. Although this is not ideal, the final sample contained a good mix of age, gender, workplace and experience.

The sample contained a range of ages with the largest proportion of participants being over 50 (35.2%) followed by those aged 41-50 years of age (32.4%), then 31-40 years of age (19.7%) with the smallest group being 18-30 years of age (12.7%). However, these age ranges were not evenly distributed across the training centres. At CTC, a higher portion of staff were over 50 (45.45%), compared to only 25.71% from MTC. MTC therefore had a higher portion of participants in the 18-30 years category (22.86%) compared to only 3.03% from CTC. Therefore, when

analysing the results of the survey, the age difference across the centres must be taken into consideration due to the influence this may have on staff attitudes. The table below summarises the data gained from the demographic questions:

**Table 1.1. Demographics**

		<b>CTC %</b>	<b>MTC %</b>	<b>Total %</b>
<b>Age</b>	Over 50	45.5	25.7	35.2
	41-50	30.3	34.3	32.4
	31-40	21.2	17.1	19.7
	18-30	3.03	22.9	12.7
<b>Gender</b>	Male	72.2	41.2	55.7
	Female	27.3	58.8	44.3
<b>Job Role</b>	Youth Workers	76.9	59.3	67.9
	Managers	15.4	37.04	26.4
	Teachers	7.7	3.70	5.7
<b>Length of Employment in years</b>	< 5	38.2	48.6	43.5
	5-10	35.3	25.7	30.4
	10-20	20.6	17.1	18.8
	>20	2.9	8.6	5.8

From the total sample 55.7% were male and 44.3% were female. However, this sample was quite disproportionate across the two centres. The sample from CTC contained 72.73% males and only 27.27% females, whereas MTC had 41.18% males and 58.82% females. As the survey was voluntary, it is unknown why there were more male responses from CTC. It could be possible that there are more males employed but unfortunately the DCSI annual reports do not publish specific data on the NYTC staff characteristics.

There was an even split of participants from each facility with 50.7% being from MTC and 49.3% from CTC. The percentage of staff from each role was also varied including social workers, management, night officers, administration, teachers and the most common being youth workers (68.5%). However, of this sample the roles were not similarly distributed across the two centres. A slightly higher portion of the sample from CTC were youth workers (76.92%) compared to 59.26% at MTC. Whereas the MTC sample contained a higher portion of managers (37.04%)



compared to 15.38% from CTC. Unfortunately, there was only one teacher who completed the survey from MTC and two from CTC. Therefore the results discussed rely heavily on the views of management and youth workers. The managers were also in the older age range, with 50% of them being over the age of fifty, whereas the other roles had more of a distribution across ages.

The length of time staff had been employed at their respective centre also ranged from less than a month to over 30 years, with the average being 8.3 years. A majority of these had also worked with young people for a number of years prior, and some had also worked in prisons (i.e. adult correctional facilities). The years spent at each facility were also relatively evenly distributed across the centres. The length of experience also varied between job roles. While the youth workers had a large range of experience, the teachers all had under 10 years' experience and the managers varied from six months to eighteen years' experience. Staff with more experience also tended to be in the older age category, which is to be expected.

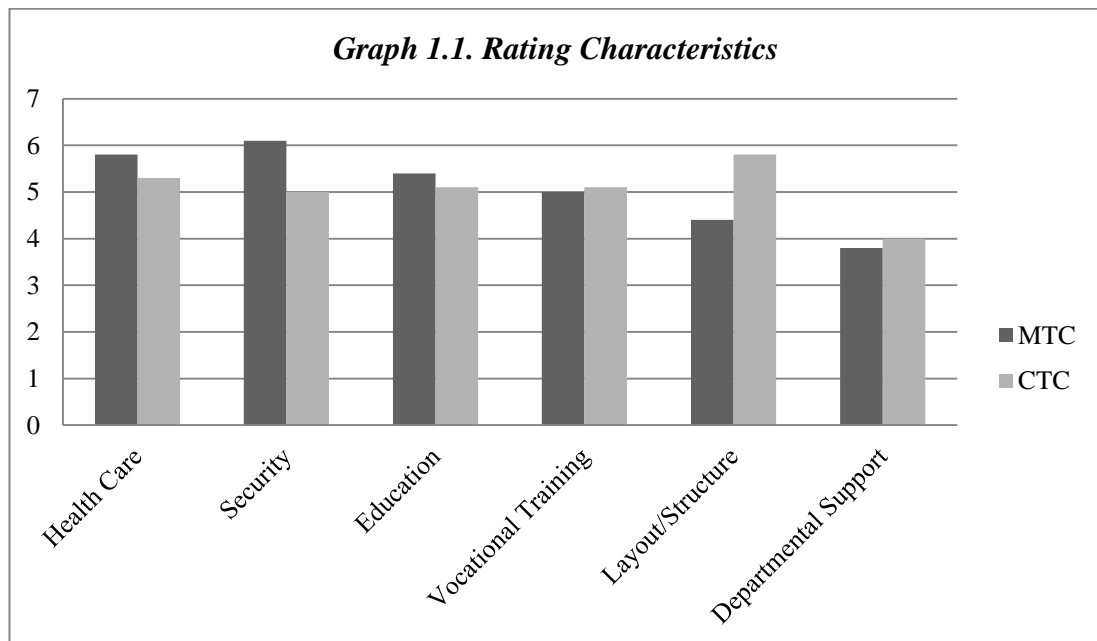
Given these variables, it is clear that the sample includes a wide range of participants. There is a relatively mixed sample of males and females, young and old, and a mixture of levels of experience and staff roles. Therefore, the results of this survey appear to be a good representation of staff at CTC and MTC. The remainder of this chapter will discuss the main themes that arose from the survey responses whilst comparing the two facilities and discussing the influence of demographic variables. As previous research has shown, demographic factors can influence the way in which staff respond to organisational change.

### *Overview*

This chapter will now discuss the main issues that emerged in the responses to the surveys. For each of these main issues, the attitude towards CTC and MTC will be discussed first, followed by attitudes towards the NYTC.

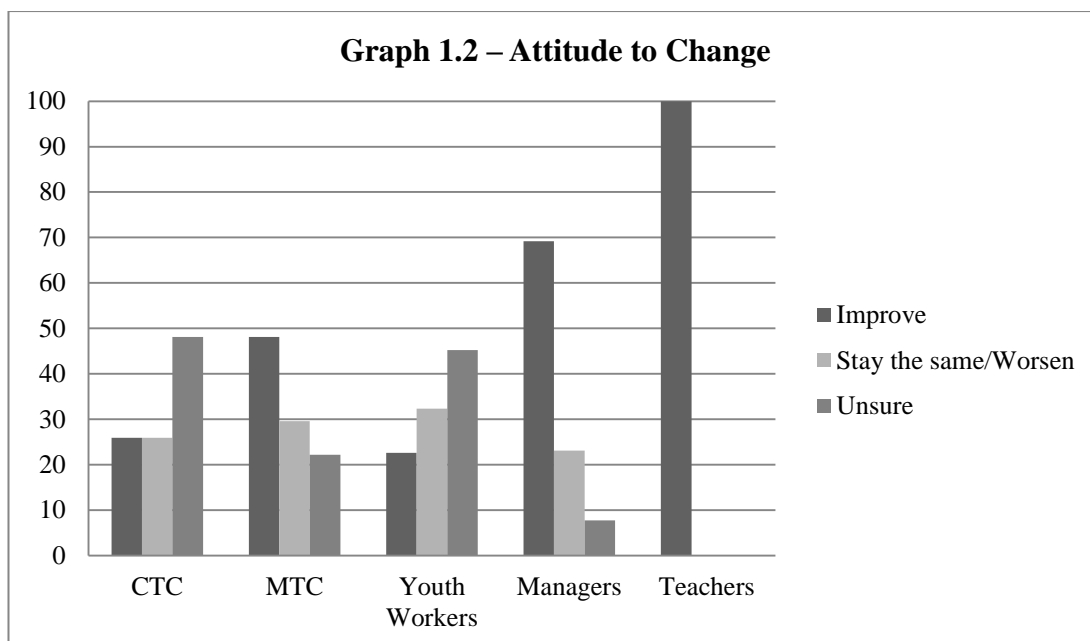
Before delving into the main issues it is important to introduce the topic by discussing how staff rated various aspects of the centres. The survey included a number of questions that asked staff to rate various aspects of the centre they currently worked at. On a scale of 1 to 10 (with 1 reflecting a low score and 10 reflecting a high score) most aspects were rated on an average of 5 in the following order: health care (5.62), security (5.45), education (5.20), vocational training (5.12), layout/structure (5.07), and the lowest being departmental support (4.00). Across the

centres these aspects were rated differently. Staff from Magill rated health care, security and education higher whereas staff from CTC rated the vocational training, layout and departmental support higher (see table graph 1.1 below).



As discussed in the literature review, it is not a surprise that the physical layout of the building was not rated as highly by MTC staff. Similarly, it is not surprising that MTC staff believed they were more secure. Teachers also rated these aspects higher than those in other job roles, except for departmental support which was rated highest by managers. Youth workers rated everything lowest except for campus layout which was rated lowest by managers. In regards to age, the ratings were scattered between the categories.

When asked if staff believed their perceptions of these aspects would change when they moved to the NYTC (ie; if they think these aspects would improve, stay the same/worsen), 35% believed these aspects would improve, 26% believed they would stay the same or worsen, and 37% were unsure. The most significant differences in demographics could be seen across the training centres and across different job roles (see graph 1.2). Staff from MTC were more optimistic towards the change with a higher portion of staff making positive comments than staff from CTC. This again could be linked to the negative publicity MTC had received, therefore leading staff to believe that anything would be an improvement. A high proportion of managers and teachers also believed these aspects would change in comparison to youth workers. The graph below shows the percentages of staff and how they responded (classified by place of employ and job role).



In regards to age, the older staff members tended to be more optimistic about these aspects improving than those in the younger age range. In regards to experience it was relatively mixed across the categories. Staff that had less than five years' experience alongside those who had more than fifteen years' experience were both positive about these aspects improving. Those who had between 5-10 years' experience were the most negative whereas those between 10-15 were mixed.

Overall, although these aspects were not rated on the high end of the scale to begin with, staff had differing views about whether these aspects would improve. As discussed in the literature review, there have been mixed findings on whether or not tenure and age has an impact on staff willingness to change. Older staff may be more rehabilitative but may also be 'set in their ways' so may resist change. Clearly the results found here demonstrate that staff at CTC and MTC do not follow these patterns as it was the least and most experienced staff that were most positive.

Throughout the rest of the survey staff were asked a number of questions regarding their main expectations and apprehensions concerning the new centre. A number of these questions first asked staff to discuss some attitudes towards their current centre, and then asked them to address how things may change at the new facility. From their responses, there were three common occurring themes. Firstly, physical layout had mixed ratings at both CTC and MTC and is a particularly worrying factor for a large number of staff in regards to the NYTC. As a result, staff appeared to respond with fear about losing control over the residents. Secondly, coinciding with the aspect of fear was a negative attitude towards the residents. Staff

were very punitive in their responses and ultimately believed that the NYTC would not run smoothly due to the 'risky' residents. Lastly, relationships with staff and managers were discussed often; where staff commonly mentioned the little information they were receiving regarding the NYTC. As a result, effective organisational change principles did not appear to be followed adequately in during this transition. These three main issues will now be discussed in more detail, with each section firstly discussing the issue in regards to CTC and MTC then in regards to the NYTC.

### ***Fear and Control***

One of the main themes that emerged in the responses from staff was that of fear and control. The main reason staff felt fearful was because they were moving to an environment where the residents would be given more freedom to move about, staff ratios would be decreasing, and the behavior management would be less focused on punishment. In other words, staff felt as though they would be losing control and this resulted in fear. Each of these aspects will be discussed in this chapter, starting with staff attitudes towards the physical environment.

### ***Physical Layout at CTC and MTC***

Before discussing attitudes towards the NYTC it is first necessary to outline how staff rated the centres in which they were employed at the time of the survey. There was a general negative attitude towards their facilities but there were also some positive comments.

On the positive side, many of the staff believed that safety at their current workplace was high, with the average rating of safety being 7.31 out of 10 (with 1 being not very safe and 10 being very safe). The structure of the facilities was also rated highly because the centres were relatively small, and therefore response times during a crisis were very fast. The structure was not only rated highly in the physical sense, but also psychologically because staff felt safe and were accustomed to the controlled environment and procedures with which they currently operated. Staff from MTC and CTC felt equally safe, however there were differences between job roles and also the reasons behind why they felt safe.

Teachers felt the safest at their current place of employ with an average of 8.5, compared to 7.5 for managers and 6.5 for youth workers. In their comments they

attribute this to their relationships and that they are not a threat. For example, one teacher stated from CTC:

“Response teams are well trained and quick to attend if there is an incident. I value the relationship I have with the boys and know most of them well enough to "read" their moods and frustrations. Don't feel that I am perceived as a threat to them” (CTC) <sup>1</sup>

Managers on the other hand, who were the second highest in terms of feeling safe, attributed this mostly to having more experience. For example, when asked why they gave their safety rating some managers stated:

“My own extensive experience – the actual department doesn't really afford me any confidence in providing for my individual safety – I totally rely on my experience.” (MTC)

“The level of my experience and to some extent training.” (MTC)

“I have worked in secure environments for many years and feel comfortable that my demeanour is such as not to be perceived as a threat to anyone.” (MTC)

“I have a good relationship with youth workers and trust the long term ones to have my back/be responsive, new ones I don't have any faith in as they seem too scared of the place still.” (MTC)

These comments are also all from staff at MTC, indicating that these managers tended to be more self-reliant, and lack trust in others. The last comment in particular reveals that some managers appear to not get along with newer staff members and may lack trust. This issue will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. These attitudes were similar in older staff members, with those in the older age categories attributing their safety to their experience whereas younger participants attributed their safety to trusting their co-workers.

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<sup>1</sup> Excerpts are quoted as written in survey responses and have not been edited in any way

Youth workers were relatively mixed in their views, possibly due to the fact that they were the largest group of respondents. Many commented on feeling unsafe because of losing a lot of experienced workers, not having much support and due to the 'risky' client group. Each of these aspects will be discussed in more detail shortly.

The staff ratio was another factor that was mentioned on a few occasions, because there were a number of youth workers in one area at any given time. Some comments can be seen below:

“Good staff ratio, Response times to an incident very quick, about 3 staff will get to a response within 20 - 30 seconds at any given time.” (CTC)

“Because there are covered walkways, every staff member knows what is expected of them in every situation, the residents also know what our expectations of them are. During incidents I know that other staff members will be there to assist me very quickly so I feel very safe with that.” (MTC)

“The building allows us to contain residents in an incident or when we need to have control over movements. Because of its size we are more sheltered from weather and if we need assistance it comes quickly due to staff not having far to run to help in an incident.” (CTC)

“Joined units, areas to lock (not open) consistent 3-4 team member teams, consistency of teams and lines.” (MTC)

“Familiarity with safety and operational aspects.” (MTC)

These comments demonstrate that some staff focused on familiarity and consistency. Staff from MTC again mentioned the covered walkways, however CTC staff were also comfortable with the way safety procedures were carried out. The most positive attribute of CTC and MTC was the fact that staff were familiar with the way each centre was run and they knew how the centre operated. For a high portion of staff this meant that they were fearful of moving somewhere new with different rules and procedures, as well as a lack of walkways.

Some staff also mentioned that staff attitude was a positive aspect, stating that they appear to 'care' for the residents. Some comments include:

"Friendly atmosphere, staff believe they can make a difference in the residents life." (CTC)

"Wholistic approach to young offender's issues including education, rehabilitation, spiritual guidance (mostly Aboriginal youth) and youth workers, case managers who are committed to help these disadvantaged young people." (CTC)

"Commitment by staff to make a difference in the lives of our residents." (MTC)

"Great youth work by staff in a difficult environment." (MTC)

Another positive aspect, for MTC in particular, was that many staff rated the location very highly because there was a view of the Adelaide hills, and there were many shops nearby, which also made it easier for families coming to visit. However, there were also many negative aspects discussed in relation to the physical layout, particularly MTC.

Although the location of the centre at MTC was preferred over the CTC centre, there were a lot more negative comments regarding the MTC facility at the time. The most common problem was the issue that the residents did not have toilets and showers in their rooms, which proved tiresome for staff who had to escort the residents every time they needed the bathroom. Another problem some staff mentioned is that the outer walls at both CTC and MTC were not very secure, as is reflected in the number of breakouts recorded. Below are just a few of the comments which reflect the attitude staff had towards MTC:

"Magill is old and run down and the facilities are borderline at best on human rights abuse, the bedrooms are disgusting, residents use quilts that have blood and piss stains on them from previous residents and they do not get washed." (MTC)

“Magill is old and dated, it has small corridors and plenty of places to hide things or hide from view. The fences and schools are beyond repair, the units and resident bedrooms are terrible and unhygienic I could go on for hours about Magill. Cavan on the other hand was built properly and has far fewer negative points.” (MTC)

“The entire facility.. it's just falling down around us and no one, not even my dog should have to live in such terrible conditions.” (MTC)

“Campus is dingy. Residential units are acoustically terrible I have no idea how staff and kids survive in the noise. Facility was never designed for adult sized students and is cramped . Not a scrap of fresh air available in school- try spending summer with 20+ adolescent boys in a room with no fresh air!” (MTC)

It is clear that staff held a very negative attitude towards MTC. Of course, this is nothing new. As seen in earlier chapters, there have been a number of reports regarding the state of MTC, which ultimately led to its closure.

Staff were also asked if they thought any of these problems would be addressed at the NYTC with 48% believing the issues would be addressed, 31% believing they would not, and 21% were unsure. Out of this sample a higher proportion of staff from MTC believed these problems would be addressed compared to CTC. This is likely due to the fact that staff at MTC thought there were more problems to begin with. In regards to job role, managers and teachers were both mostly positive in their attitudes, believing the issues would be addressed whereas youth workers were mostly negative. It is evident thus far that youth workers were the most negative and apprehensive of the NYTC compared to teachers and managers. Although a high proportion of staff believed problems would be addressed, there were also problems which arose.

#### *Attitudes towards the NYTC*

Before discussing some of the concerns that were raised regarding the new facility, it is necessary to firstly discuss the aspects that staff were happy about. A number of staff made positive comments about the proposed new structure and layout of the new facility. In particular, staff believed the NYTC would help to improve the residents' overall wellbeing. For example:



“Young people will be deinstitutionalised hopefully a little bit by having their own shower and toilet and will not have to be watched during this process which must be humiliating for them.” (MTC)

“I am expecting an improvement – new facility: clean, individual rooms with shower etc for privacy of each resident. More cameras. Clearer role + function for ind. Staff. Phase structure has possibilities for residents to advance learning self regulating/alternative coping skills and ownership of cause/effect choices.” (MTC)

“New facility with brand new equipment, significantly more space and recreational areas. I suspect this will have a positive flow on effect to residents degree of satisfaction whilst being incarcerated.” (CTC)

“They will be going to a state of the art new facility with appropriately laid accommodation, a stark contrast from the world war two style barracks accommodation that has gone through countless modifications to try and keep relevant in the modern context.” (MTC)

“I think the young men that want to progress with a life away from crime will be better equipped and able to do so in the new centre due to the structure being proposed.” (MTC)

Other positive comments were also made in regards to the physical and safety improvements proposed for the NYTC and how it would benefit staff:

“The Environment in the new Centre will be more conducive to work with the clients, new ideas from management and staff, better security.” (CTC)

“Better kitchen to work in. Bigger staff - more opportunity for diverse range of relationships. Current Campus is too small.” (CTC)

“Allow staff to feel safer and utilise new technologies and architecture to focus more on youth work.” (MTC)

“I believe the new Centre has security screening devices such a metal detectors that will scan all people entering the Centre. The perimeter wall will also deter escape or Centre intrusion.” (CTC)

Clearly some staff believed that the new centre would be an improvement, particularly due to improved environments, technologies and security. These comments were evenly distributed throughout managers, teachers and youth workers indicating that there were some staff within each role who saw the positive side to the NYTC. The comments below were made by staff when asked if they believed certain aspects would improve at the NYTC (compared to the centre they were currently working at). Again these comments reflect that some staff were excited about going to work in something new:

“Yes - new design seems to be very well researched for optimum improvement of all outcomes for staff/students.” (CTC)

“Yes, new opportunities. New building, new ideas.” (CTC)

“Yes, i.e. security - this will be a mixture of old and new as I can see, more up to date, new security procedures to be followed. The layout is completely different, never worked in such a set up before. Health care I believe will be expanded.” (MTC)

“Yes. Better lay-out and security is anticipated. A new progression involving vocational programs, study and leave.” (MTC)

As can be seen there were a number of staff who believed that the new centre would produce positive results for residents and staff. Although a number of staff mentioned that the new open design would be positive, there were also a number of comments made regarding security. This also relates to another aspect that staff mentioned, which was the issue of resident freedom of movement. Due to the open walkways, many staff stated that this would be a good thing because it gives residents more freedom and responsibility which more accurately reflects real life environments. It would also give residents the opportunity to learn appropriate behaviour and how to be responsible in open areas, which in turn could lead to higher

levels of respect between residents and staff. However, others were more concerned about this freedom stating that some of the residents do not know how to be more responsible and some may take advantage of the new freedom. Some mixed views regarding the responsibility the NYTC will give young people can be seen below:

“They will be more accountable for their actions, both good and bad. They will have better facilities to access.” (CTC)

“Better rooms and units, more educational choice, more freedom of movements, more responsibility.” (MTC)

“Open campus style of institution - will take young people some time to realise they will be expected to conduct themselves in a different manner - more responsibility and access to all areas.” (MTC)

“Better facilities, open campus, more trust for the residents.” (CTC)

“I am not sure, I think a few residents are going to take advantage of the lack of secure walkways in the centre which is likely to cause friction between staff and residents.” (MTC)

“Decrease a lot, more open center, easier for kids to do what they want.” (MTC)  
[when asked if safety will increase or decrease]

Although 47% of participants said they were unsure about whether their safety would increase or decrease at the NYTC, 36% believed it would decrease and only 16% believed it would increase. Of this sample a slightly higher proportion of staff from MTC believed safety would decrease than from CTC. The main reasons for these concerns were the uncovered walkways, size of the facility and staff ratios (which will be discussed later). There was no significant difference in regards to change in safety across job roles and age groups as most participants were unsure.

As this was an open-ended question, many staff explained that due to the distance between the units the response time would greatly increase compared to the short response times that were currently in place. As mentioned earlier, staff were very satisfied with their current response times in smaller more controlled facilities.

Therefore, the idea of a new facility that would be much larger and more open in comparison was a concern for them. Staff made the following comments regarding the changes to the physical structure and safety at the NYTC:

“The open campus is a concern as in my opinion the residents will make the most of any opportunities. These residents although are juveniles are also highly trained in manipulating and their observation skills are at a high calibre.” (CTC)

“If the hype about more freedom of movement for young people is believed, then they have the opportunity to move from point A to point B unassisted, based on trust. I do have concern though that some young people will never attain opportunities for trust and so on due to having mental health problems, developmental delays, behavioural disorders, and so on.” (MTC)

“[Safety will] decrease by 100% units too far apart, less staff in unit with 2-4 ratio.” (MTC)

“[Safety will] Decrease. Mainly due to the open campus style. A large area with limited staff to operate safely. Response time for assistance will greatly increase due to orientation of the units and school etc. Accommodation units have too many blind spots for 2 staff to cover safely.” (CTC)

“The size of the new centre and lack of shelter from weather will be a challenge for staff. Staff safety and security will an issue just because of the distances between buildings and how fast help can be deployed to where it’s needed.” (CTC)

“Open campus, I can see something bad happening. EG. staff injury, resident injury or worse.” (MTC)

“Its new, larger, more spaces, units further away from each other, not what people are used to.” (MTC)

These statements reflect the notion that although the freedom of movement may be a good thing for the residents who can be trusted, staff also believed there were also those that would not use this new freedom in a positive way. The aspect of

control was also mentioned often in that staff believed the new environment would give them less control over the residents therefore making it more risky:

“Yes open campus, I think this will be a real issue. My experience in other controlled environments suggest this to me.” (MTC)

“The open nature of the centre will make it difficult for staff to contain residents when we need to. All our current work practises will have to change at the new centre.” (CTC)

“Harder to control kids in an open environment.” (MTC)

“Loss of control over the kids.” (MTC)

“Less control of the residents due to more free movement.” (CTC)

A majority of these comments were made by youth workers who commented regularly on control. When asked what concerned them the most about the NYTC a large portion of youth workers made comments about losing control over the residents. Teachers on the other hand all said they were not worried about anything.

Staff also made a number of comments regarding the physical layout when asked about what they would like to see changed at the NYTC:

“Covered walk ways to protect both resident and staff from the weather, both extremes.” (CTC)

“Covered walkways, higher staffing in the units. Restrictions on what access residents have to workshops etc based on their crimes and current behaviour.” (CTC)

“Walk ways, its in our best interests.” (MTC)

“Would like to see cover from the elements as I do not enjoy running from building to building in the rain or the hot sun.” (MTC)

“The office setup is poorly designed with many obstructions to view of the main unit. Distance from the furthest point of contact is going to greatly reduce response times. Outer fence is too near the highway and presents a major security issue. Staffing levels have still not been confirmed.. roster structure.. there isn't enough room for me to write everything here.” (MTC)

The last comment regarding the outer fence brings to light the visibility of the NYTC. Although the centre will focus on freedom of movement and an open design, it still has a large perimeter fence. Hancock and Jewkes (2011, p. 618) discuss what it means to be a ‘visible prison,’ stating that:

The highly visible prison might be a constant reminder to society of the perils of transgression but it also arguably generates disproportionate fears about inmate escapes, an influx into the area of ‘undesirables’ visiting prisoners and ex-inmates settling into the community in which the prison is situated on completion of their sentence

In regards to the NYTC, the giant walls that can be seen from the main highway may serve as a reminder that there are dangerous youths behind those walls. On the other hand, Hancock and Jewkes (2011) also describe how modern prisons are camouflaged to blend in with industrial buildings around them. Gone are the days when prisons would be located away from society. The NYTC is located in an industrial area, just minutes away from the highway and almost backs on to a local pub. On the one hand the NYTC is hidden away amongst industrial buildings but on the other hand it has a giant wall that can be seen from any nearby street.

Turning back to the comments of staff, it is necessary to discuss the difference between those at CTC compared to MTC. The issue of the open walkways and freedom it gives the residents was one aspect that was viewed quite differently across the centres. Staff from CTC generally viewed this issue in a positive light, when asked what main changes were set to occur for the residents they made statements like:

“More freedom, with that will come more responsibility, more opportunities.”  
(CTC)

“Open plan campus, ability to experiment and learn from mistakes made. Encouraged to interact in social settings, more opportunities for life skills development.” (CTC)

“New facility with brand new equipment, significantly more space and recreational areas. I suspect this will have a positive flow on effect to residents degree of satisfaction whilst being incarcerated.” (CTC)

Evidently staff at CTC seemed to focus on the positive change the new facility would bring for residents. Although staff from MTC often mentioned that the NYTC would mean much nicer facilities for the residents, they were very negative about the open walkways and freedom this would bring. When asked the same question they made statements like:

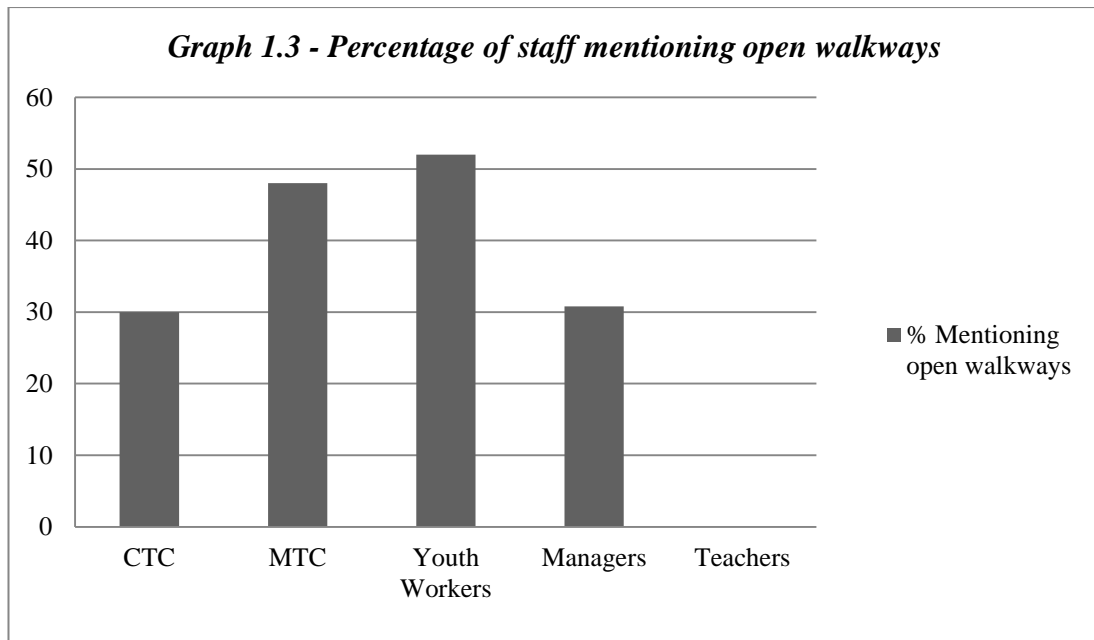
“They are likely to be given more freedom, something which they do not know how to use responsibly.” (MTC)

“Residents given free movement, less supervision, residents will be more verbally vocal at staff and staff not allowed to respond, structure will weaken.” (MTC)

“Get away with what they like.” (MTC)

“Clean, fresh, bright surroundings. Not that some of the residents may appreciate new surroundings....” (MTC)

It is apparent that staff from MTC were very apprehensive about some of the aspects of the NYTC. When asked which aspects of the NYTC they thought would create problems for staff, residents and the public, 48% of MTC participants mentioned the open walkways compared to 30% from CTC. Perhaps this is due to the enclosed walkways they have been used to at MTC. Staff could feel connected to the training centre and are unwilling to accept anything new. The graph below represents the percentage of staff who mentioned the opened walkways, separated into different demographic variables.



Again, in regards to job roles, youth workers mentioned the open walkways most often. Youth workers consistently mentioned that the residents would be given more freedom and that this would create more danger for them. Teachers did not mention the open walkways at all. When asked about problems, the youth workers mostly mentioned the open walkways as well as some managers, but the teachers spoke of shelving space and access to toilets. These differing attitudes were also reflected in the safety aspect mentioned earlier and clearly demonstrate the different ways staff responded to change. The comments made so far also reflect that a high portion of staff have quite negative perceptions of the residents. These negative attitudes also seem to correspond with staff who were anxious about the NYTC.

It is clear that many staff commented on the fact that they had good control over the residents and were familiar with the process. The prospect of something new and less secure meant that these staff members were concerned about this loss of control. Staff felt as though they had control in their current place of employ due to the enclosed nature of the facilities. When discussing control it is important to mention Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1975). His chapter on 'docile bodies' is particularly relevant to the staff responses on control. He explains that time and space are ultimate forces of control in prisons. Residents are not only controlled by their cells, but also due to a strict timetable and regime that must be followed unless they want to face the punishment. As a result, prisoners become docile under this form of control. In regards to the current project, staff were used to being able to move residents around through secure walkways and according to their well-established



rules. Moving to an open facility that promotes more positive and passive management meant that staff were fearful of losing this control, particularly youth workers and MTC staff.

Staff were also focused on the risk that this would cause them. Rose (2000, p. 332) explains this as ‘risk thinking’, which is ‘concerned with bringing possible future undesired events into calculations in the present, making their avoidance the central object of decision-making processes, and administering individuals, institutions, expertise and resources in the service of that ambition.’ Because of this focus on risk, control has therefore become a dominant feature in the management of institutions. The role of custodial facilities has been redefined, according to Rose (2000, p. 333) because:

They are understood and classified not in terms of their reformatory potential, but in terms of the secure containment of risk. On the one hand, confinement becomes a way of securing the most risky until their riskiness can be fully assessed and controlled. On the other, a group of individuals emerge who appear intractably risky – ‘monstrous individuals’, who either cannot or do not wish to exercise self-control upon conduct necessary in a culture of freedom.

Looking at the comments just discussed, it is clear that a number of staff would agree with this philosophy. An underlying cause as to why staff may have responded this way could be due to their negative perception of the residents. Because some staff held a negative view of the residents, and viewed them as ‘dangerous others’ that need to be controlled, this may have led them to believe that the NYTC should focus on controlling the risky residents rather than promoting support and education.

#### *Architecture and Behaviour*

As a large portion of staff believed that the open campus design may allow residents to ‘get away with what they like’ and act out of control, it is important to look at some previous research that has discussed the influence of architecture on resident behaviour. Studies have discussed that the environment of a prison has a significant effect on the social climate of staff and residents (Day, Casey, 20080; Jewkes, Johnston, 2007; Leibling, Arnold, 2004). Other research has explained that unpleasant prison conditions can lead to duress for the residents which can then lead to misconduct (DiIulio, 1990; Liebling, Arnold, 2004). Bierie (2012) surveyed a random sample of staff across 114 prisons in the United States to determine the

relationship between prison environment and resident misconduct. He found that misconduct was significantly lower at prisons with better environments, concluding that ‘physical conditions of prisons may play an important role creating safe and effective prisons—that tougher is not better’ (Bierie, 2012, p. 351). Therefore, the environment at the NYTC could reduce the amount of misconduct by the residents due to the improved conditions. If misconduct is then decreased, staff perceptions of the conditions and attitudes towards residents may also improve.

On the other hand, Morris and Worall (2010, p. 3) researched the influence architecture has on inmate misconduct by sampling 12,981 inmates across 30 different facilities in the United States in either telephone pole style prisons (‘characterized by several rows of parallel multistory buildings, or pavilions, connected by one or two main corridors’) or campus style prisons (‘characterized by freestanding buildings surrounded by a large open space, often in the shape of a rectangle’). Morris and Worall (2010) concluded that the layout of each campus appeared to have no effect on inmate misconduct. It therefore appears as though staff may have no reason to fear that their safety would decrease at the new centre due to campus design. It was also mentioned in the literature review that some of the best performing prisons in Western Australia have an open campus design, which also proves that they may be no less safe than other prisons (Serco, 2011).

### *Gender Issues*

Staff from CTC also raised their concerns about having boys and girls on the same campus, with many of them believing that each of the centres (the current CTC facility and the NYTC) should be segregated for boys and girls. The following are examples of how staff responded when asked what they thought would create problems at the NYTC:

“Girls unit in the new centre, going to be very hard to control, they should go to Cavan.” (CTC)

“Possibly operating differently with a change of workload and dynamics of clients eg. working with girls/young women.” (CTC)

“I may need to adopt or develop different skill sets or way of working with female clients.” (CTC)

“The girls should not be on the same site.” (CTC)

Staff from MTC were not concerned at all, likely due to the fact that they worked with female residents already. This again implies that some staff were anxious about change because they may have to adapt to different working styles.

Finally, the last issue raised by some staff was the location. As mentioned above, MTC was in a desirable location with views of the hills and good public transport. In regards to the NYTC, one participant stated:

“I think public transport for visiting families and friends will be difficult and isolating of an evening in winter. Being an essentially non-residential area movement to and from public transport is fraught with potential safety risk factors, especially for women with small children. I also think that staff movement between the two centres (Cavan T/C and the new centre) will be problematic. This is for reasons that to travel between the two centres you have to go against traffic (particularly heavy transport such as large trucks) without traffic lights. There is no short cut and a major roadway to cross over.” (MTC)

This attitude was shared amongst many staff members, who believed that the location would prove problematic for visiting families. Mills and Codd (2007) discuss the important role that families play for prisoners. They discuss an array of different research that has explored the fact that strong family ties can improve prisoner lives when they leave and therefore reduce reoffending. Not only do families provide moral support if they can easily visit the incarcerated young person, they can also provide a stable home when they leave (Mills, Codd, 2007). Pinkerton and Dolan (2007) also highlight the importance of family support, particularly parents. Their survey of adolescents on support networks found that parents were the highest nominated source of support for adolescents even if the relationship was strained. They express the need for organisations to understand the important role parental support plays for young people as they try to cope with the changes of adolescence.

Despite these concerns, many staff were still hopeful that the new centre would prove successful. Even those that saw problems believed that the centre needs to be

given a chance before proper judgement can be made. A shared belief amongst many of the staff was that even if the centre has some problems to begin with, they can then be improved upon. Some comments regarding this can be seen below:

“It may get better however I think it may start worse off.” (CTC)

“Things will have to go wrong before they are fixed.” (CTC)

“It is bound to as so much is not tested or clearly defined as yet we will have to play with it for a while to see what really works.” (MTC)

“Decrease, at the first stage, I suggest we will find issues as we go, which may have big issues to start with. Eg Staff will get hurt, and then we will change procedures.” (MTC)

“I think that there will be some teething problems, but eventually it will be a great asset to all.” (CTC)

“There seems to be a lot of open space, which may cause problems, but if it is controlled properly, it may work perfectly in the long run. Give it a chance to work!!!!” (MTC)

Evidently, although some staff were positive that ultimately the centre would be a good asset, other staff were wary that certain aspects of the centre would only work beneficially after things had gone wrong. A few staff also saw the new centre as something that the young people would want to test, making comments such as:

“It [safety] may decrease initially when the New Centre opens as the residents, may test the new place and the staff.” (CTC)

“Initially I believe that safety would decrease being a new centre that has not been tested and I believe it will be tested.” (CTC)

“This is an industry where the unknowns are what you are afraid of....the residents can have an agenda as per recent escape.....they will be testing the new environment and staff....this will take some time for all to adjust to.” (CTC)

Again, this anxiety is present among staff who had a negative perception of the residents'. Despite this though, there were some aspects of the centre that staff were looking forward to in terms of improvements, particularly education.

### ***Education and Behaviour***

#### ***Education***

Aside from the physical layout of the NYTC, education and behaviour management were the next most commonly mentioned items in the surveys. For the NYTC, education was an aspect that went through a fair degree of change, not only in terms of the physical structure, but also in terms of the curriculum broadening and more vocational training opportunities becoming available. At MTC and CTC, it appeared as though education was restricted because of security issues, especially due to breakouts. There were some staff who were particularly negative toward teachers stating:

“The school at Magill is a joke and they just watch DVD's or make coffee or cut pictures out of magazines and stick them on cardboard, the teachers treat the kids like they are stupid and the kids play up to this because teachers are too lazy to address behaviour and would rather take the easy road.” (MTC)

“Learning centre doesn't do a very good job teaching, teachers need to be trained in dealing with the youths involved, too many times residents go to the library and watch movies or the lessons are not structured particularly P.E.” (CTC)

Evidently there may be some tension between different areas of staff. As already discussed, there are quite differing opinions between youth workers, teachers and managers. These relationships will be discussed shortly. However, as mentioned earlier there were very few teachers who completed the survey making it difficult to gain an adequate perspective from the teaching cohort. When asked if staff believed things would improve at the NYTC two participants stated the following:

“Yes- better facilities, especially in education centre will improve the perception of the standard of education being delivered. Currently limited in many ways

from being able to deliver education and vocational training in their most appropriate format due to security and limitations imposed by non-education focused managers.” (CTC)

“Young people who currently miss out on vocational training and certain educational pursuits at Magill T/C should then be able to access better educational opportunities in new centre.” (MTC)

“Yes. Training has already been scaled up. This is a very welcome and overdue move. Everyone is working towards a successful operating model being the catalyst for success.” (CTC)

It appears that staff believed the new centre would greatly increase education and vocational opportunities not only in terms of the physical environment, but because staff would feel much safer and be able to teach more comfortably. This supports the research by Day and Casey (2008) who suggest that environment plays a vital role in the resident’s social climate, and that programmes will be more effective when staff are less worried about their safety. Similarly, Liebling and Arnold (2004) conducted research across five prisons assessing which factors of prison life influence moral performance. The key factor that influence prison life are staff-prisoner relationships, which in turn includes factors such as trust, humanity, respect, fairness, safety, well-being and personal development. Liebling and Arnold (2004) observe that these aspects and how staff utilise them play a pivotal role in prisoners’ moral performance whilst they are in prison. The importance of staff-prisoner relationships will be discussed in more detail shortly. Below is a sample of comments regarding the changes to the educational model:

“The education facility will be more spacious and in line with DECD [Department for Education and Child Development] guidelines. The proposed new education model will further individualise learning and pathway support.” (CTC)

“Greater student support through improved case management. Improved educational outcomes for students through the increase in teacher specialisation. Teaching areas that are better designed for their specific curriculum intent. A

broader curriculum that better matches students' aspirational goals and pathways.” (CTC)

“I can take them outside of the classroom to teach! able to offer more curriculum variety builds better foundations.” (MTC)

It therefore appears that a great deal of thought had been put into the new education model. Staff believed it would be more individualised for each student, and more beneficial to their individual needs. A new and up to date training centre with all the latest technologies could not only make teaching easier for staff, but also more beneficial to the students. Although a minority of staff did not believe that the new model would change much, most participants were highly optimistic. This could however be due to the fact that many participants held a negative attitude towards the teaching structure and their current facilities, particularly youth workers, so it is likely that any change could have been considered an improvement. Despite this, staff from CTC and MTC alike shared similar views that education would improve. Similarly, participants from each job role and age shared this belief.

During the time since the survey was conducted the NYTC has been fully completed and the school within it has been established. The title of the school within the training centres has been named the ‘Youth Education Centre.’ The website makes the following statement about the education programs:

Our educational and training programs are innovative, exciting and aim to engage kids whom may have been detached from mainstream schooling. All students receive personal ongoing support throughout our programs to ensure that the needs of such a diverse group of individuals are met. To achieve these goals, the Youth Education Centre has developed strong partnerships with government and non-government agencies and industries to provide a great deal of hands on experience for its students. (Youth Education Centre, 2015)

The website (Youth Education Centre, 2015) and the school context statement (Youth Education Centre, 2013) both discuss the curriculum offered at CTC and the NYTC. At each facility there is a strong focus on literacy and numeracy, with individualised and intensive support provided if required. Other creative subjects include art, sewing, woodwork and cooking all aligned with SACE. The residents who have longer sentences can also begin VET courses which they are then able to continue post release. The website also states that ‘social, cultural, criminogenic,

health and behavioural issues are addressed in programs such as Victim Awareness, Breaking the Cycle, Our Journey to Respect, Healing Program, Drugs and Alcohol, Sexuality and Relationships, Boys to Men, Conflict Resolution, and Anger Management' (Youth Education Centre, 2015). The context statement also discusses that there is a psychologist, nurse and chaplain to provide appropriate counselling and there is also a student representative council. Evidently there are a large variety of programs offered in the centres.

### *Behaviour Management*

Another area that was discussed alongside education was the changes in behaviour management. At MTC and CTC, when residents misbehaved privileges were removed, or they were put in a quiet room until they settled down. At the new centre staff explained that there would be a more passive approach to managing behaviour which focuses more on rewarding students rather than punishing them. The context statement (Youth Education Centre, 2013, p. 4) states the following about the BSF:

The school's behaviour management policy is based on a non-coercive model, with withdrawal from class an important sanction. It is aligned to DCSI Behaviour Support Framework and 'phase progression'. Residents respond well to quietly enthusiastic teachers with well-planned delivery and stimulating learning materials, quick rapport building skills, clear behaviour-limit setting patterns and fair but high expectations.

The framework allows residents to progress through 'phases' if they behave and follow the rules. The further they progress the more positive rewards they are entitled to (such as workshop participation, the ability to purchase chocolate bars and so on). While this aspect of behaviour management seems positive and non-coercive, 'withdrawal' from class does seem to be counterproductive. Some staff believed this would be a positive change, with some participants stating that:

"Hopefully students will be more personally responsible for basic care. Being rewarded/recognised for positive behaviours and earning privileges rather than getting everything and having bits removed will be a much improved model. New model will give them something to aspire to and an incentive to do so."  
(CTC)



“Those that do the right thing will benefit and those that don't will see there's an easier way to get through their time in custody and hopefully learn from it.”  
(MTC)

There have been a number of studies in the past that have explored the use of positive reinforcement (ie; the use of rewards to promote good behaviour) in a detention setting (see Fineman, 1968; Gambrill, 1976; Stephens, 1973; Johnson, 1977). Each of these articles explain that positive reinforcement in juvenile facilities almost always results in improved behaviour and higher self-esteem compared to when punishment is used. Rewarding residents for good behaviour reinforces that particular behaviour and therefore encourages residents to behave appropriately and less aggressively. This, in turn, makes it easier on staff to control residents if their behaviour is less aggressive. Similarly, as discussed in the literature review, Rucker (1994) explained that cooperative environments result in more positive behaviour. Therefore, it is possible that the BSF may promote positive behaviour and a positive environment at the NYTC.

On the other hand, some staff were dubious about the BSF believing it will make things difficult for them. Therefore, some staff had a negative attitude towards the new BSF, making statements such as:

“The strict behavioural management we are using now is not stopping criminal behaviour so changing it to a more emotional and passive approach is likely to not change anything.” (MTC)

“Without a more consistent attitude towards bad behaviours being discouraged, there is a bigger chance of more major issues.” (MTC)

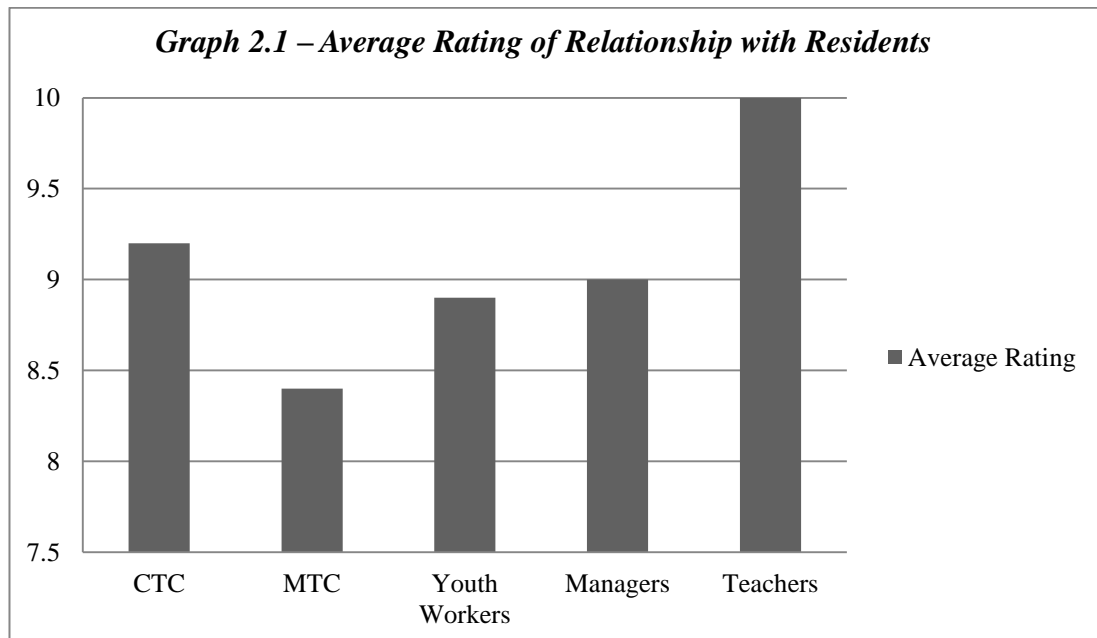
These attitudes align with the research by Houchins, Shippen and Jolivette (2006) who found that staff thought positive forms of behaviour management made it harder to discipline students. Again, as with the open walkways, youth workers most commonly mentioned the loss of control they would have over the residents. Thus, if staff are fearful of losing control then stress may be likely to increase. The attitude towards the BSF was similar across the two centres and other demographic variables.

Evidently there were mixed views in regards to education and the BSF as to how these new models would work, with some staff being optimistic of trying something new, and others believing change would not improve a thing. Of course, both these aspects may be influenced by how staff deliver these models when staff roles and ratios are considered.

### ***Relationships and Staff Structure***

#### ***Relationships with Residents***

The last main theme that arose was the relationships between staff, the residents and their co-workers. Before discussing the concerns with staff it is first necessary to discuss the relationships staff had with the residents at CTC and MTC. Staff rated their relationships with the residents highly, with an average rating of 8.78 when asked how well they get along with the residents (were 1 represented not very well and 10 represented very well). This however was higher at CTC than at MTC. In regards to job roles, teachers rated their relationships the highest with all participants scoring a 10. Managers and youth workers were relatively similar in their ratings and both scored close to an average of 9 (see Graph 2.1 below)



A number of participants demonstrated that they value respect between residents and staff, for example some participants stated:

“I have no safety concerns, generally the kids here are fine and just like to be treated with respect when you do that generally you have no problems, if you

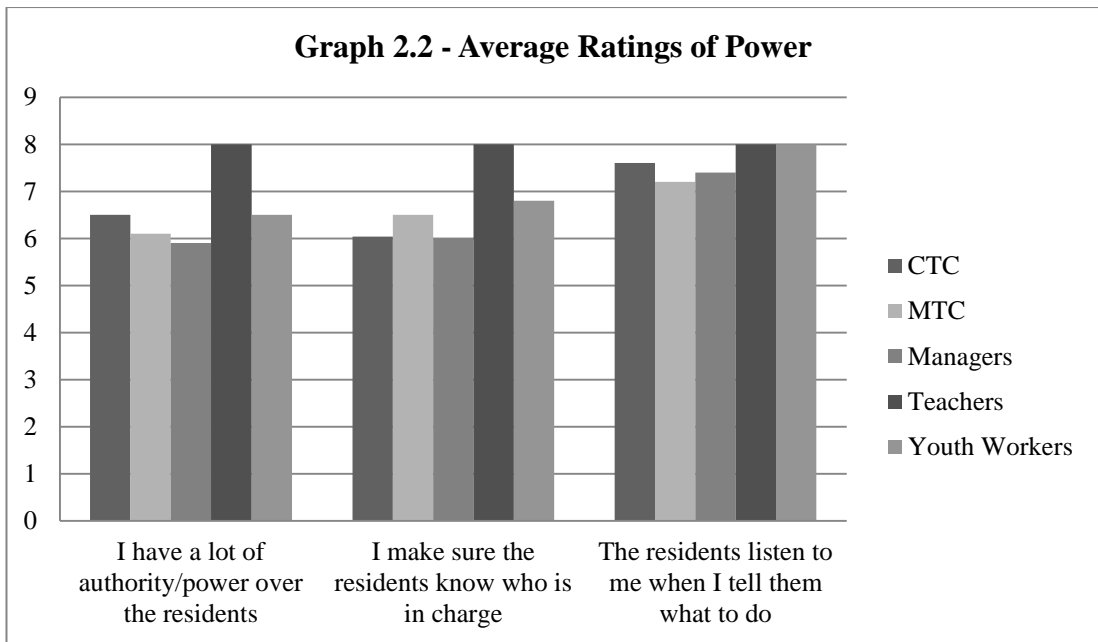
act like a wanker the kids pick up on it very quickly, they have street smarts.”  
(MTC)

“I think if you're a good youth worker it doesn't matter where you do it. It takes time to build up rapport and respect and once you have it; it sticks.” (MTC)

“I always treat young people with respect and try to look at their positive points.” (CTC)

These statements reflect the nature of the relationship staff had with the residents and that many staff shared a similar attitude in that respect is a very important attribute to have. This supports the research by Liebling and Arnold (2004) who discuss the importance of staff-prisoner relationships in a child's rehabilitation. Liebling and Arnold (2004) explain that respect is a core value in staff-prisoner relationships alongside humanity, trust and support. As Halsey (2008) states, respect is also important during custody as it can decrease the chance of reoffending post-release. It appears that staff at CTC and MTC also shared this idea that respect is important for a number of reasons.

In the current study, staff were also asked questions about how much power/authority they have over residents. On a scale of 1 to 10 (with 1 being strongly disagree and 10 being strongly agree) staff rated the following three aspects: I have a lot of authority/power over the residents (average of 6.13), I make sure the residents know who is in charge (average of 6.23), and the residents listen to me when I tell them what to do (average of 7.38). Evidently it appears that staff believed they had a reasonable amount of authority over the residents especially in terms of residents listening to staff. These results varied across the two centres, with staff from CTC rating that residents listen to them more and that they have more power over residents than MTC staff. However, MTC staff rated that they make sure the resident know who is in charge higher than staff at CTC. In regards to job roles, teachers rated everything the highest, followed by youth workers then managers. The below graph represents these differences:



The teachers rated their relationships with residents more positively which could possibly explain why they believe that the residents listen to them more so than other staff members. Management staff may have scored the lowest because they have the least amount of day to day contact with the residents, and youth workers may have scored the highest because they are responsible for security. There were also slight differences with regards to age. The groups were relatively similar in regards to how they rated power, but the younger staff members (18-30 and 31-40) rated that they make sure the residents know who is in charge and that they listen to them higher than the older age groups (41-50 and over 50). Although the age categories were relatively similar in the ratings of their relationship with residents, it could be likely that the relationship staff have with the residents may be linked to the power and control staff have over them.

When asked if staff believed their relationship would change at the NYTC, 55% believed it would not be affected, with 21% believing it would improve and only 7% believing it would worsen. Those that stated their relationships would improve believed so because of the feelings of optimism a new facility would bring, but also because of the more positive BSF and improved morale that both these aspects would achieve. Some staff also believed that environment has nothing to do with relationships, and they will remain strong no matter what:

“I don’t think it will change these relationships are based on rapport and that is dependent on the skills of the youth worker building and systems have very little to do with it.” (MTC)

“It’s not the setting, but how I conduct myself with clients that is integral to appropriate professional engagement.” (MTC)

“My relationship with clients has remained unchanged since my involvement with the Department. My ethos coupled with my personality has remained unchanged and I envisage that it will remain the same until my retirement.” (CTC)

“I think it could even improve further by them being more settled and happier in the new centre.” (CTC)

“Should be better, they will be better treated.” (MTC)

Clearly, there are some staff members that remain committed to the young people and do not see the new centre as a threat. Some staff evidently do not believe that the environment should make a difference to their working style and relationship. As discussed earlier, Beijersbergen et al. (2014) stated that campus style prisons promoted more positive relationships compared to enclosed prisons, so the finding that staff do not believe things will change is an important one. This could also relate back to the study by Morris and Worall (2010) who found that environment does not influence misconduct. Clearly, it is possible that the environment may not play as crucial a role as many staff believed it would. Because staff-resident relationships are important for resident and staff wellbeing (Leibling, Arnold, 2004), it is promising to see that some staff believe their relationships will remain strong. There are clearly some youth workers who similarly believe that the environment should not make a difference if they are good youth workers. Of this sample no staff from CTC believed the relationship would worsen. Similarly, the only staff that believed the relationship would worsen were youth workers. These youth workers from MTC attributed it to the open walkways causing tension, and BSF stating:

“If department don’t allow consequences then the relationship will weaken.”  
(MTC)

“I think a few of the residents are going to take advantage of the lack of secure walkways in the centre which is likely to cause friction between staff and residents.” (MTC)

As discussed previously, the results have shown that youth workers were focused on control and liked the familiarity of their current centres. Coupled with the fact that staff members from Magill were used to open walkways, demonstrates that this group of staff were fearful of what a new open environment would mean for all aspects of their work.

Although the above mentioned staff were unsure about their relationships with residents, others were more optimistic. Below are some more positive comments about the change:

“Of the two decades or so of working in this environment I have never been assaulted by any client regardless of whether I have been in a one-to-one situation or group setting with them. Because my role is not operational young people don't necessarily view me as a potential threat or authority. The manner in which I approach young people is always respectful, pleasant and forthright. I do my homework to find out whether there are any issues I should know about before I have contact with individual clients. I also take the time to observe behaviours beforehand, or to read up on unit log information, or ask staff questions, so that I know what the young person's recent presentation is before contact with them.” (MTC)

“A new facility is exactly what Adelaide needs and will allow us all to grow and proceed in our careers. I hope. It will give the residents a clean and safe place to be rehabilitated instead of a dog house covered in deteriorating crap.” (MTC)

“I am looking forward to being a part of a new era in youth justice.” (CTC)

“I am grateful to be employed on a contract for this year and would like this contract to be extended. This is a great job. Much more rewarding than a mainstream school and much more interesting. This is only my third year

teaching but I have never been happier. I find it strange that anyone would be apprehensive about moving to a new site...I am excited about the move and not many things excite me these days.” (CTC)

These statements not only reflect the positive attitudes some staff held of the residents and their rehabilitation, but they also show the commitment of these particular staff to their job. These statements demonstrate that some staff were looking forward to the positive aspects of the NYTC rather than focusing on the potential risks. Evidently, staff have responded in a number of different ways when dealing with such a large change. These different methods of coping will be discussed in depth in the next chapter.

#### *Changes in Staff Structure*

An area that was discussed quite often was the changes in staff structure and staff ratios that would be put in place at the NYTC. A high proportion of staff were greatly concerned with the drop in the number of staff on a shift at one time. At their current place of employ, participants stated there were three to four people on one shift at a time, but at the new centre this would drop down to two. Below are some examples of how most staff felt about this new ratio:

“If they change the staffing levels to 2 youth workers per unit I’ll be very nervous to come to work. And may consider a career change. I don’t come to work to be afraid if I’m going to live to the end of the shift or not...Remember who we’re dealing with here.” (MTC)

“Floor staff ratios is my main concern. As I have mentioned my 17 years of experience working within the department has led me to believe a strong floor team with no less than 3 staff and an SSO to run the shift as smoothly as possible is without doubt the core essence of safety and security... I feel that we have sufficient amount of management but the floor staff could always be improved.” (CTC)

“Given the proposed staffing structures and behaviour management model, i believe the safety of staff could be compromised.” (CTC)

“From the information I have seen I believe there will be a decrease in safety. I strongly believe the two staff ratio will make the workplace unsafe and will work under unsatisfactory conditions.” (CTC)

“The new centre presents a great opportunity if it is staffed correctly. From the process that I have been involved in, the staffing is wrong and needs to be looked at again.” (CTC)

Evidently, this change in staff ratios may have put extra stress and pressure on staff because they were quite clearly concerned for their safety. Again, as discussed earlier, as can be seen by the phrase ‘remember who we’re dealing with here’, staff were constantly in belief that the residents are ‘dangerous’. As can be seen in the results so far, youth workers and staff from Magill were particularly focused on the changes to their safety. Similarly, younger staff were more uncertain about the staff ratios than older staff. The strong belief that staff hold that they are unsafe around these residents could subsequently affect their performance at the NYTC if they are not thinking clearly.

As mentioned earlier, when staff were asked if they think their safety would change at the NYTC some of them mentioned it would decrease because of this new staff structure. Even teaching staff appear to be undergoing a change in ratio as one participant stated:

“We are yet to be advised as to what teaching model will be used at new centre. e.g. single teacher and 5 students or 1 to 6 or 1:8 or 2:12 etc- this will impact greatly on how and what I teach. Also having individual classrooms as opposed to a shared teaching space will also change what I do.” (CTC)

This statement not only reflects the issue of staff ratios changing, but also the fact that staff were uninformed about what their situation would be at the NYTC. This was another area that was also commonly discussed; the communication between management and staff.

#### *Relationships with other Staff and Management*

Relationships with other staff members were rated rather highly, with an average of 8.62 out of 10, with 0% of staff giving a rating below 5. These



relationships were similar across the two centres. Youth workers rated their relationships with others highest while managers rated their relationships the lowest. However, as mentioned earlier, some staff had negative attitudes towards staff in other roles. There were a number of comments made regarding the lack of consistency across the different roles:

“It would be worthwhile for DCSI and teachers to have an agreed philosophy about students/residents. At present there is a vast difference between how and what teachers think and do and how and what Youth workers think and do. - Somewhere between these 2 standpoints will be a place where we are all on the same page - and it would be nice to be there.” (CTC)

“There will always be a risk working with the client group in custody. I feel supported by me team members and safe when working with them. I feel most at risk when relying on staff I don’t trust to do the security aspect of their job properly.” (CTC)

“Inconsistency from staff at all levels. Lack of accountability for the way staff interact and supervise young people. The fact that young men aged 18+ are residing with 15 year old boys. Serious offenders are mixing with petty criminals.” (CTC)

“Lack of consistency across teams and units.” (CTC)

“No there is no accountability in what the residents do. In 10 years i have never seen a report card.” (CTC)

“No, you will always have different working styles and some staff are not suited to this working environment.” (CTC)

“I am most afraid that the inconsistency and lack of accountability from staff will continue.” (CTC)

“Merging with the cooking team from Cavan. They work so totally different to us, that I would hate to see clashes.” (MTC)

Clearly, a high proportion of staff, particularly from CTC believed there were issues with consistency across the centres, especially between teachers and youth workers. It was not only the different attitudes between youth workers and teachers that were a problem but also between management. When asked how much support was being given from managers about the transition, a lower average of 5.34 was given. Teachers felt as though they were the most supported, alongside females, Magill staff and those aged 18-30. Staff from Cavan, males, youth workers and those in the older age categories felt less supported. As mentioned previously, Liebling and Arnold (2004) discuss the importance of respect and trust between staff and prisoners, but they also discuss its importance between staff and managers. Managers are supposed to provide leadership and support to staff rather than appear distant and authoritative. There were a large number of comments made regarding the lack of information staff had been given regarding the NYTC. For example:

“My perception at current stands the way it does due to being uneducated on the new centre. It is with great disappointment that we have had little consultation on the way the new centre will be run.” (CTC)

“Staff are dubious about the centre and the rationale behind it. The department has been slow to release J&P's [job and person specifications] which is causing stress across the workforce. There is a feeling of mistrust and a general lack of information. New build does not appear to be as secure and safe as staff experience would like to see. Staff concerns do not seem to be taken into account. Budget is seen to take precedent over safety. This is a concern.” (CTC)

“I think that the Youth Justice directorate should have been far more open in their discussions about new positions in the new centre and how individually these translate for existing staff. Lack of input re this aspect has not allowed for staff to consider their future employment, which might mean for some that other employment needs to be sought, or relocation if not placed at the new centre or Cavan T/C. This has been the last consideration, but should have been the first to be discussed with staff. There is considerable uncertainty for many staff and unfairly so.” (MTC)

“If I move to the new centre I believe everything will be changing. We have not been given a lot of information about things that will definitely occur just talk about possibilities.” (CTC)

“I should hope it [safety] will increase immensely.. not sure though. Everything is still a pipe dream and information appears to be held secret.” (MTC)

“All of the pertinent information is being guarded very closely and is quite unnerving not knowing what you're headed into in your career.” (MTC)

“Should be ok for all however with the current lack of consultation re all aspects of moving into the NYTC there could be problems across the board. The department line is that consultation has taken place however most senior staff see this as tokenism at best. The wrong people have been placed onto 'working groups' without proper consideration of experience etc.” (MTC)

It is quite clear that staff were very agitated about the lack of information they were receiving. This is also evident in the number of staff who knew where they were going after the NYTC had been completed. Although 48.4% were moving to the NYTC, 43.5% stated that they did not know where they would be going once the NYTC had been completed. However, of this sample 68.96% of staff from CTC did not know where they would be going compared to only 20% from MTC. Similarly, a higher portion of older staff were unsure compared to younger staff. Below are some comments made by staff when asked where they would be going when the NYTC was complete:

“No one has spoken or asked me so?” (CTC)

“I have NO idea no one has talked to me?” (CTC)

“Don't know if there will be a position allocated to me.” (MTC)

“I am not sure if I have a job yet so that would be my main concern or change.” (MTC)

“At this stage I don't know what role they have in mind for me if any. The environment will be different but the work will be essentially the same.” (MTC)

“Unsure what is going to happen in my current position.” (CTC)

“At this point I have no idea what my role will be as the two roles that I might lay claim to based at Magill don't exist at the NYTC and much to my surprise I am finding the anticipation very interesting and I am looking forward to seeing where I end up.” (MTC)

“I'm afraid of not having a job as nothing has been decided yet.” (MTC)

“I do not know my job role as yet or what I will be actually doing which can be scary.” (MTC)

These comments demonstrate the clear lack of information given to staff and the fear that this caused. When asked how much choice staff had over their placement a majority answered that they had no choice over their location or that they did not know if they would have a choice. There were also a number of comments made regarding communication between other areas of staffing and management other than just the lack of information. Some examples include:

“I hope the actual move into the NYTC goes well. With the current lack of communications happening from a middle management prospective [sic] there may be mistakes made which could impact on resident safety and staff safety. Lots of people running around working above their capacity which is now being seen. Not good.” (MTC)

“Common terms management use here to deal with issues here are: 'Just run with it', and 'that's operational' - last one meaning they don't wish to discuss or don't have an answer and hence let it go.” (MTC)

“Communication has been terrible and information is scarce.” (MTC)

“I can see how the new centre would work however I don't believe the powers that determine some of the standards and practices are or have listened.” (CTC)

“Concerns over the staffing levels. Needs to be more open and honest information given from management.” (CTC)

“I was on a working group committee which was cancelled due to unknown reasons and lack of support. I found this very disrespectful as there were no warning signs and clearly management did not think our input was sufficient.” (CTC)

“Upper management don't always trust our decisions. They only show up when we have major problems. They are not open.” (CTC)

“Nice new shiny facility, unfortunately management still remain arrogant and distant.” (MTC)

“Management does what it wants, seldom listens to operational staff, and is generally Unintelligent.” (MTC)

Evidently, this lack of communication between managers and different areas of staff may have led to some confusion at the NYTC until everyone was settled into their new roles. Because of this, when asked how prepared for the changes staff were, the average rating was 6.37 out of 10 (with 1 being not at all prepared and 10 being very prepared). Although the average rating was on the higher end of the scale, this still reflects how unprepared staff were a few months before they would move to the NYTC. This also relates to one of the key areas discussed in the literature regarding organisational change. Nalbandian (1985) for example discussed four main aspects that help staff adjust to change: individual involvement in the change process, gradual changes occurring rather than sudden changes, the individual's knowledge of the changes, and the simplicity of the changes taking place over complexity. From the responses given by staff it appears as though staff believed they were not adequately informed about the change process and therefore were not involved in the process as much as they would have liked. This would have made the changes more complex and confusing in the long run due to this lack of involvement. Although the changes took place over a long period of time, staff would have been suddenly expected to adjust when they transferred to the NYTC.

Not only were there comments regarding a lack of information and communication, but there were also those that discussed not having their opinions heard, for example:

“Staff are fed only the positives and our queries are not answered openly.”  
(CTC)

“Management have not listened to staff at any level but just taken another centre’s idea, but not how they run the department. Departmental support appears to be getting to an all-time low.” (MTC)

“I would like opinions to be heard and a response to be given to such issues. Unfortunately at times it is as though we speak to deaf ears. In my opinion if we work together to help resolve some of the outstanding questions we therefore can move on positively to a better future.” (CTC)

“I just feel we do a lot of talking and not much seems to come back.” (CTC)

“I would like the department to listen to the people who work with the residents consistently instead of upper management saying what will and will not work.”  
(MTC)

It is evident that there were a number of communication issues between staff and management before the NYTC was completed. As discussed in the literature review, communication and management support are two main factors that contribute to successful organisational change. The implications of this will now be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, alongside other coping mechanisms and influencing factors.

In summary, it is clear there were a number of changes that took place for the NYTC and staff had mixed views towards these aspects. Although there were positive aspects discussed, the physical layout was mentioned often with reference to the notion that residents are ‘dangerous’ and cannot be trusted with the new freedom that came with the NYTC. On the other hand, some staff believed that the environment should have nothing to do with the way they work. Staff were also

dubious about the new BSF but were more positive about the new education models. Lastly, the relationships staff held with residents were good, contributing to the control they felt they had. On the other hand the relationships with management were much more negative, with little support and information given to staff prior to the move. This goes against much of the organisational learning literature discussed in earlier chapters, indicating that the change process did not appear to follow recommended good practice for organisational change.

There are also quite significant differences in the results depending on demographic variables such as age, job role, and place of employment. There were no significant differences between genders but the differences are most noticeable between job roles and also across the two centres. Although staff from MTC were positive about some aspects of the move, they were also particularly focused on control and safety, and therefore felt more fearful of the move due to the more open environment that would exist at the NYTC. Similarly, youth workers also made more negative comments about the residents, being more pessimistic about the move than other staff members who were more optimistic. Teachers were mostly positive, even with their current relationship with residents compared to other staff members. There were also some differences between age groups, with some younger staff feeling more apprehensive than older staff members. There are a number of reasons why these differences may exist. Theories on coping mechanisms have discussed ways in which people adjust to change and why they may respond differently. For example, some people may be more punitive or rehabilitative, and some people may find themselves attached to their place of employment. These different theories will now be explored alongside a discussion on the efficacy of this organisation change.

## Chapter 4: Critical Discussion

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In the previous chapter the key changes that took place, as well as the concerns surrounding them were discussed in detail. Whilst there were common themes that emerged in the data with regard to what staff were mostly concerned about, there were also trends in the responses depending on demographic variables, particularly job role, place of employ and in some cases age. This chapter will now discuss some underlying theories that can be used to explain why staff responded in the way that they did. Firstly, this chapter will open by discussing the main attitude held by staff which was one of fear due to loss of control. The chapter will then move on to explain the reasons why staff responded this way, outlining that one of the main causes for staff concern was due to the negative attitude and perception of youth held by a majority of staff. The other main reason for this fear was the result of a lack of consultation and support during the change process, which indicates that the move to the NYTC does not coincide with the frameworks surrounding successful change management. Theories relating to coping with organisational change particularly in terms of identity and loss will then also be discussed.

### *Staff Perception of Youth*

There were two distinct attitudes staff held towards the residents, one being stronger than the other. One attitude was positive, with some staff believing that the new centre would create new opportunities for the residents, and the new environment would be empowering for them. This attitude could be seen in the minority of participants, in teachers, some managers and very few youth workers. The attitude that came across more strongly was negative and showed that a higher portion of staff held an underlying belief that youth are subsequently ‘deviant’ and it is hard to trust them. Of course, they are talking about youth engaged in the juvenile justice system, but nevertheless this idea is consequently one that can lead to young people not getting the freedom they need. This attitude was found predominantly in youth workers, but could also be seen in other groups. These attitudes can be related to Garland’s (2001) criminologies.

In terms of the *criminology of the self*, some staff appeared to understand and sympathise with residents as though they understood that they were ‘just like them’



but had been led astray. For example, some staff commented on the fact that the NYTC would improve the wellbeing of the residents and give them a chance to desist from crime. Others also stated that they liked the staff they worked with because they seemed to genuinely care about producing outcomes for the residents. As a result, these staff members were genuinely more positive about the change because they were looking forward to the benefits. This group of staff consisted of more teachers and managers than youth workers, and also older staff members. This aligns with research by Jurik (1985) and Farkas (1999) who explain that older staff members tend to be more rehabilitative because they understand the residents and the environment more. While other research has shown that older staff tend to resist organisational change because they are 'set in their ways', the current project shows that the older staff were more focused on the positive attributes a new centre would provide the young people.

In terms of the *criminology of the other*, this was unfortunately prevalent in a high number of staff. These staff members appeared to classify the residents as completely different from themselves and as such should be treated differently. Some of the comments made in terms of 'risk' demonstrate the way that staff believed they should defend themselves against the residents in order to maximise security. For example, staff were fearful of the open walkways because they believed it would put themselves in danger. They believed that the new BSF would be 'too soft' and open up avenues for verbal and physical assault. Compared to other staff who believed these changes would bring about freedom and rehabilitation, this particular group of staff responded with fear. This group consisted of mostly youth workers who appeared to see residents as people who needed controlling rather than supporting. As seen in the previous chapter, some managers mentioned not being scared for their safety because they felt as though they were not a threat to the residents. The fact that youth workers are close to the residents each day could be the reason why they are so negative and focused on control. Theories behind these coping strategies will be discussed shortly.

It has been well researched that youth are often viewed as deviant, irrational risk takers which can be partially attributed to media representations of youth. Brown (1998) discusses the social construction of 'problem youth' in society where youth are viewed as dangerous deviants who are represented this way by the media. It is then possible that this in turn may lead to moral panic, in society where citizens view

youth as a problem which has consequently led to increased regulation of youth and stricter penal policies (see Kelly, 2000, 2001; Armstrong, 2004; Kemshall, 2008). It is clear that some staff at the MTC and CTC thought this way, in that they believed the residents were dangerous and should continue to be treated with strict security. However, as discussed earlier there have been a number of break outs and assaults on staff in the past so it is understandable that staff may be hesitant to trust the residents.

Muncie (2009) similarly discusses that youth crime has become a dominant part of news sources over the years. He discusses a study conducted by the Bradford University's Social Work and Research Unit in 1979 which involved analysing eight national daily newspapers and two local papers to determine how many articles discussed youth crime. They analysed a total of 913 articles and found that stories relating to sport covered 11.4% of all stories, education covered 6.7%, but most importantly 34.9% of stories were related to youth and crime in some way (Porteous and Colston, 1980). More recently, MORI (2002) replicated the study and found a more alarming 71% of articles discussed youth in a negative light. Clearly, youth are commonly represented in the media as delinquents capable of criminal acts, which can have consequences for both the youth and society.

White and Cunneen (2006, p. 19) state that 'the labelling of some communities and identifiable groups of young people as 'no hopers', an 'underclass', 'dangerous' and/or 'criminal', feeds back into the very problems of marginalisation and unemployment which lie at the heart of much youthful criminality.' In other words, the negative representation of at risk youth has not only influenced law enforcement practices to target the most vulnerable citizens in the community, but is also maintaining the cycle of criminality by classing them as 'outsiders'. For staff at the new centre, this constant belief and outcasting of youth as 'dangerous' can lead to unnecessary security and over protection. It also means that if youth believe that they are nothing more than 'criminals' then they will continue to act that way rather than try to change. Therefore, in the current study, staff perceptions that the residents at the NYTC will not behave appropriately are likely to have an effect on the residents' sense of self and confidence.

Similarly, Hughes and Follet (2006) refer to this issue as the problem of the 'anti-social'. Anti-social behaviour is difficult to define, but section 1 of the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) defines it as acting 'in a manner that caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same

household.’ This act also introduced the concept of anti-social behaviour orders (ASBO’s) which set out a set of rules to prevent the anti-social behaviour happening again. Although this act only applies to England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, it is still a matter worth mentioning. Campbell (2002, cited in Hughes and Follet, 2006) state that in the first two and a half years after ASBO’s were introduced, 58% of all orders were made on children under the age of 18, with a further 16% made on those aged 18-21. This is a result of the community having a general fear of safety when they see youth ‘hanging about.’ Burney (2004, p. 473, cited in Hughes and Follet, 2006, p. 161) in particular discusses that ‘youth ‘hanging about’ and ‘out of control’ have become the almost universal symbol of disorder and menace.’ Similarly, Hill and Wright (2003, p. 291) state:

‘Community’ becomes a setting in which only the interests of adults are identified, interests which underpin a moral authoritarianism which operates to exclude marginal groups such as ‘dangerous’ youth. ‘Safety’ becomes a notion to be secured by blaming, isolating and silencing youth.

It appears that there is a common belief that youth are ‘dangerous’ and the only way to achieve safety and order is with control and isolation. These thoughts were evidently prevalent in staff at CTC and MTC. This negative attitude therefore resulted in a high proportion of staff responding with fear because they felt as though they could not control the residents. This aligns with the research by Misis et al. (2013) who stated that staff with a more punitive attitude reported higher levels of job stress. While the current project did not measure stress specifically, the comments indicated that staff members who were more negative also reported feeling more anxious about the move. In particular, youth workers and staff from MTC who were focused on control, were anxious about the move.

This also relates to the concept of ‘culture.’ As can be seen in the staff responses, there appears to be a culture present among youth workers in particular because many of them shared similar views. Although some youth workers were positive, many of them were negative towards the residents. As Arnold et al. (2007) explains, a negative culture can be detrimental to both residents and staff. A more positive culture can reduce stress and ultimately improve wellbeing for both residents on staff.

The next factor that contributed to the anxieties of staff is the lack of consultation and leadership provided, which will now be discussed.

## *Effective Organisational Change*

### *Leadership*

A large body of research on what makes organisational change effective focuses on support from management. Although staff rated that they got along well with each other and managers, the comments they made centred around lack of information and lack of communication. Because of this, staff felt unprepared for the move to the NYTC. Coupled with the negative attitude staff held of residents, this lack of support contributed to staff feeling fearful and as though their identities may be threatened. In order for organisational change to run smoothly, there are certain factors that should be held in high regard, the first being leadership. The relationship between leadership and organisational change has been explored to determine what qualities leaders need to possess in order to be 'effective leaders'.

Gilley, McMillan and Gilley (2009) explored the factors that leaders should possess in order to effectively drive organisational change. By drawing on previous research they explain that leaders need to possess certain change management skills in order to manage their staff effectively during change. Gilley, McMillan and Gilley (2009, p. 42) found that '74% of respondents reported that their leaders never, rarely, or only sometimes are effective in implementing change.' They also found that the most important skills leaders should have is the ability to motivate the staff, communicate effectively and build strong teams. As previously discussed, organisational change is more effective when staff are motivated and have a strong sense of social climate. If leaders are successful in assisting staff to feel motivated then organisational change is likely to be more effective. In the current study, staff did not feel as though their 'leaders' were successfully managing the change. As a result of the frustration staff may have felt due to this inadequate support, the change may have been more stressful than necessary.

Karp and Helg (2008) argue that organisational change has failed in the past because leaders underestimate how complex the process is and do not focus enough on the individual processes humans go through during times of change. They explain that, particularly for areas of public service, change is often chaotic and managers need to understand the identities staff attach to their workplace. This concept will be discussed in detail shortly, but it is evident that some staff at CTC and MTC felt attached to their place of work and their managers underestimated how complex the

move to the NYTC would be. It is important for managers to consider involving staff more in future processes.

Bohn and Grafton (2002, p. 65) also explain that leadership has an impact on Organisational Efficacy, which can be defined as ‘a generative capacity within an organisation to cope effectively with the demands, challenges, stressors, and opportunities it encounters within the business environment.’ Their findings suggest that the way in which staff perceive their leaders ultimately influences the way they view the organisation. In other words, if staff believe that their leaders are not performing as well as they should, then this will impact on how well they view the organisation to be performing. Bohn and Grafton (2002) explain that leaders have many tasks; to provide direction through careful communication, to orchestrate accomplishments, and to manage anxiety. A strong leader can influence an organisation quite sufficiently, especially because there is a sense of trust that the leaders know what they are doing. In relation to staff at the NYTC, staff may have placed trust in their leaders at the beginning of the change process and then become disappointed at the lack of ‘leadership’ they appeared to show. The comments made by staff indicate that the leaders did not provide much direction, orchestrate accomplishments or manage anxiety appropriately. This suggests that organisational change may not have been necessarily efficient due to the negative perceptions of leadership.

#### *Departmental Support*

Lombardo (1981, cited in Arnold, Liebling, Tate, 2007, pg. 484) also found that staff complained that managers are ‘too remote’ and ‘never come to us for suggestions’. Research has shown that staff perceptions of their work environment consequently affects their satisfaction, in turn affecting their performance and effectiveness in the workplace (Fisher, Semko and Wade, 1995). Coyle (2007, pg.512) has also explained that ‘there is clear evidence that the prisons with the most visible and consistent leadership are likely to be those which have the most humane atmosphere and the most positive culture.’ Therefore, the fact that staff reported such a negative relationship with management could be detrimental to not only the staff but also the residents. In the current study there were numerous comments regarding the lack of accountability and consistency at CTC and MTC. This demonstrates that

not only was the change process being managed ineffectively, but management styles may have already been lacklustre to begin with.

As discussed in the literature review, there are a number of rules and regulations that require staff to be up to date with their training. For example, the General Assembly Resolution 45/113 (1990) not only outlines the importance of staff receiving the correct training for dealing with children, but also in terms of competency and leadership. This does not appear to be the case for the staff at MTC and CTC. This survey was, however, distributed early in 2012, a few months before the NYTC was completed, it is possible that a number of the concerns were addressed when staff transitioned into the new facility towards the end of 2012. Nevertheless, it is apparent that there were leadership issues during this time of change that may have caused it to be not as smooth as it could have been.

The Theory of Planned Behaviour outlined by Jimmieson, Peach and White (2008) also explains that change is more likely to be supported if staff are involved in the process, supported by managers and have a positive view of the change (see literature review). Evidently, although some staff did view the change positively, many did not and a very small portion felt as though they were supported by management to understand the changes taking place. This adds to the argument that successful organisational change practices were not adequately followed.

Hancock and Jewkes (2011) also explain that ‘trust’ between managers and staff has been compromised even more so in modern prison design. They state that ‘the notion of trust – once regarded as an essential element of the management–staff relationship – has arguably been undermined by surveillance systems’ that are used to monitor and protect staff (Hancock and Jewkes, 2011, p. 624). Technology such as CCTV and body scanners allows staff to be monitored much more closely than in the past. Hancock and Jewkes (2011, p. 624) state:

While lack of privacy has long been recognized as a pain of imprisonment for inmates, for prison staff it is a new form of control and, in a job that is largely routine, boring and monotonous, it may be that the anaesthetizing qualities inherent in the rationalized, hyper-organizational prison are interfacing with advances in discreet, invasive technology to produce a passive, functional bureaucracy traditionally viewed as suited to the administration of such an enterprise.

Therefore, in this day and age where technology is advancing every day then so are the ways in which staff can be monitored and ‘controlled.’ This, coupled with a lack of leadership, inevitably could lead to a decrease in trust of management from staff. In the current project many staff commented on the upgrades to security measures but did not necessarily comment on the influence this would have on their privacy, although some staff were not in favour of the open plan offices.

Leibling and Arnold (2004) also explain that despite these technological advances ‘trust’ is a key value that should exist between staff and managers. In order for prisons to run more smoothly, it is crucial that managers show support and act as leaders rather than appear distant and authoritative. In regards to the current study, a high portion of staff commented on the lack of communication from management about the change process. Although staff stress levels were not measured, staff were asked about how prepared they felt they were for the change. Although this was above average it was still not on the high end of the scale with many staff commenting about how much they did not know about the NYTC. If this problem is not addressed, it is likely that staff stress levels may rise which could be counterproductive for the residents.

In order to increase staff willingness to change, Nalbandian (1985) explains that they have to be self-motivated, be involved in the change process, and understand the duration and process of the change. In other words, if staff are not involved in the process and do not understand why or how the change is occurring then they will be less willing to accept it. The results of the current project indicate that although staff understood some aspects of the move to the NYTC they were not readily involved in decisions and most were uncertain about their future. This could also explain why some staff were actually supportive of the change, because they went against this common train of thought. There were a few comments where staff explained that the change of environment would not influence the way they work because their ethos remains the same. This challenges the idea that the environment has a significant impact on staff and resident wellbeing and misconduct (such as the work by Morris and Worall, 2010 and Beijersbergen et al., 2014), because some staff were passionate that it would not make a difference.

#### *Stress and Co-worker Support*

Another key finding of this project was that some staff did not trust other co-workers very much. Gilley et al. (2009) explained that staff are more likely to stay in their job if they have a good relationship with co-workers and managers, by way of the social identity theory. Social identity theory plays an important role in this project due to the responses made by staff in terms of their attitudes to co-workers. As discussed in the results, staff did not have a good relationship with their managers and did not share some of the same views. For example, one staff member mentioned that they trust workers who they know well but do not trust new workers because they are 'scared of the place.' Similarly, Armstrong et al. (2010) and Minor et al. (2011) both found that a predictor of staff turnover was satisfaction with co-workers. Therefore, if staff do not get along with each other then it is more likely that they will leave their job.

The results showed that there were some differing views between staff members, particularly youth workers and teachers. This relates back to the work by Bazemore (1991) who expresses the importance of interorganisational relationships. As teachers are employed by the Department of Education and Child Development (DECD) and youth workers are employed by DCSI, there is a difference in work ethic and training between the two. As a result, teachers and youth workers have a different approach to their work, as was reflected in some of the comments made by staff. The inconsistency between staff was mentioned on a number of occasions, which may negatively impact staff relationships, thus leading to a possible increase in stress. It is important for there to be an appropriate standpoint between the teacher and youth worker philosophies in order for the two to work cohesively. Ultimately, these are factors that could contribute to higher staff turnover if it is not addressed at the NYTC. As Gilley et al. (2009) explain, leaders who communicate effectively and promote team building are more successful at managing organisational change. Evidently there was a lack of communication and team building during the change to the NYTC.

It is also important to review a report by Day and Casey (2008) who found similar findings between youth workers and teachers seven years ago. For example, 'one respondent spoke about a perceived lack of optimism from some youth workers who 'wait for them [residents] to stuff up' and 'write people off'.' (Day and Casey, 2008, p. 15). There were also different views around education:



There were differing views about the value of education ranging from the view that basic literacy and numeracy was critical to reducing the risk of re-offending through to pessimism about the effectiveness ('I know they do wonderful things... but I don't know that I see real, major outcomes'), and the value of programmes, (such as work experience) that don't necessarily lead to vocational pathways. (Day and Casey, 2008, p. 17)

These comments highlight the fact that education and custodial staff appear to have different approaches to working with the residents. The first comment also reveals that youth workers held pessimistic views similar to those held by staff at the time of the survey. Day and Casey (2008) highlight that there needed to be a close working relationship between the teaching staff and the youth workers. As this report was written to set out recommendations for change to the Youth Training Centres, it is concerning that there appears to have been minimal change in attitudes between teachers and youth workers. The current project reveals that there is still tension between the two, and there are still pessimistic views being held.

Lastly, Taxman and Gordon (2009) take on a different stance in their research by discussing the aspect of 'organisational justice.' They explain that 'organizational justice has two properties: distributive justice (the focus on the outcome of a decision) and procedural justice (the decision-making process that leads to the outcome)' (Taxman, Gordon, 2009, p. 695). They hypothesised that correctional officers' who felt they were treated fairly and equally would be more committed to the organisation, have higher organisational climate, look up to supervisors, feel less stressed, and be less fearful of prisoners. In other words, if organisational justice principles are upheld, Taxman and Gordon (2009) explain that the organisation functions more effectively as staff are happier in their roles. By surveying staff across prisons in a mid-Atlantic state, Taxman and Gordon (2009) found results to support their hypotheses. They found that both aspects of organisational justice were predictors for job stress and organisational commitment. They also found that 'a positive work environment was more likely to occur when employees had a moderate to high sense of equity, which influenced factors related to acceptance of change, stronger commitment to the organization, and better understanding and agreement with organisational goals' (Taxman, Gordon, 2009, p. 695). Similar to other research, they also support the notion that support from the organisation not only reduces stress

for the staff, but also increases their commitment to the organisational goals and in turn can help staff adjust to change.

The findings of this project indicate that there were a number of factors that may lead to increased stress in staff. They were concerned about the open walkways, the new BSF and staff ratios. As can be seen in the literature, if staff are stressed about their work environment, then they are less likely to perform as efficiently and this could also lead to higher staff turnover. Alongside the negative perception of youth, staff may have felt fearful and negative towards the move due to the fact that they felt unsupported by management and as a result were unclear about a number of factors of the change process. A process that may have helped reduce this fear is organisational learning.

#### *Organisational learning*

A number of researchers have emphasised the importance of organisational learning. The development of a learning culture in an organisation undergoing change can significantly assist staff to re-educate themselves and deal with issues they may face to enhance their performance (see Choi, Ruona, 2001; Chand, Scott-Lad, 2004; Campbell, Duggan, 2003). When change processes allow employees to acquire new knowledge and develop new skills then staff resistance to the change is likely to decrease. Chan and Scott-Lad (2004) and Campbell and Duggan (2003) also explain that organisational learning can occur more effectively when managers and staff communicate and collaborate about the change. Again, staff at MTC and CTC did not make any statements that reflected the development of a learning culture. Staff did not state that they were receiving any additional training and they did not state that they were communicating well with managers. The development of a learning culture within the facilities may have assisted staff to feel more prepared for the change. If a learning culture was adapted, staff may have been less afraid of the risks they perceived to exist at the NYTC. The view that their security would be jeopardised could have been prevented through consultation and learning to better prepare staff for what was to come.

Evidently, the lack of support and consultation during the transition to the NYTC could have contributed to the responses made by staff. The fear staff felt could have been managed by more efficient consultation and adequate procedure conducive to organisational change management. Although some staff may have

already held an underlying punitive attitude towards the residents, this could have further been exacerbated by being unaware of what the NYTC would look like. This could have then led to staff feeling as though their identities were threatened, because they were fearful of the residents and also because they did not fully understand how the change was going to be implemented.

### *Coping Styles*

The aforementioned findings ultimately meant that staff were conflicted in their views of the NYTC. Thus, staff responded and coped with the change in different ways. Past research has explored a number of factors that may contribute to an individual's willingness to change. The move to a new facility not only brings about change in a physical sense but also psychologically. Some staff may have their own unique identity attached to the training centre they were working at and may therefore have felt as though their identities were being threatened by moving to a new facility. The literature review explored a number of different theories surrounding identity and attachment associated to one's current workplace which may result in that person resisting change.

Nalbandian (1985) explained that change can often be associated with loss, as a person may feel as though they are losing part of their identity by moving to a new environment. He explains that staff are more likely to support change if the loss associated with it is smaller. The results demonstrate that staff who focused more on the positive aspects of the centre, such as improved facilities and opportunities for the residents, were more supportive of the change. Staff members who also believed that there were going to be no significant differences to their work or their safety were also more optimistic in their comments. On the other hand staff who believed that the environment was going to be drastically different to what they were used to were more negative and less supportive of the move. This could be explained by the fact that some staff may have attached their identities to their current place of employ and may not want to have to change it to suit the NYTC. In particular, staff from MTC who were used to secure walkways were more resistant likely due the drastic differences proposed at the NYTC.

Similarly, Rooney et al. (2010) explain that staff members generate a 'place identity' and become attached to a place due to the memories associated with it. They found a difference in willingness to change depending on job role, stating that higher

level staff were more supportive of the change than lower level staff. Rooney et al. (2010) attributed this to the fact that lower level staff may feel more connected to the environment than higher level staff because they do most of the floor work and day to day tasks that make the facility operational. In the current project it can be seen that the lower level staff, youth workers particularly, were not as supportive of the change as the higher level managers. This could similarly be linked to the fact that the youth workers may have felt more connected to their current work place than the managers because they carried out the day to day tasks. They may feel as though their identity is threatened because it will have to change more drastically than management staff who do not deal with the residents on a day to day basis. This could also be explained by the fact that youth workers are responsible for the security and general functioning of the training centres. Teachers and managers rely on youth workers for security while they carry out their relevant tasks. Because security was an aspect that most staff perceived was to decrease, youth workers may have felt affected by this change the most.

Another theoretical framework that delves deeper into the issue of identity is Eilam and Shamir's (2005) work on self-concept. They stated that staff will resist change if it does not align with their self-concepts, in particular their need for self-determination, self-distinctiveness, self-continuity, and self-enhancement. The main need that is relevant to this project is self-determination which refers to a person's desire to feel as though they have control over their environment and themselves. Eilam and Shamir's (2005) state that staff will resist change or be stressed by change if they feel as though they are not in control or that they will lose control. Undoubtedly, this need was present in staff at CTC and MTC. Staff from MTC in particular, were so used to having control over the environment due to the covered walkways, the thought of moving to a more open environment may explain why they were hesitant towards the change process. They may have felt as though they would lose control at the NYTC (as can be seen in their comments in the previous chapter) which would prove stressful for them. Although there were some areas staff from MTC were looking forward to, they were concerned for their safety. Similarly, a number of staff from MTC, as well as youth workers mentioned that they liked the familiarity of their current place of employ, and they felt safe knowing all of the procedures. Therefore, moving to a new environment where they do not know the surroundings or new procedures threatens their self-concept.

The second aspect that can also be applied is self-enhancement which is a person's desire to grow and improve their sense of self-worth (Eilam and Shamir, 2005). This is more of a positive aspect that was present in some staff. While some staff may have felt as though they were being restricted by the new centre, others felt as though the new centre would bring about new opportunities. For example, teachers were excited about being able to go outside and the ability to access better facilities. Other staff members also mentioned that the new facility meant a 'new era' for Youth Justice which they were excited to be a part of. Therefore there were a small number of staff whose self-concepts were not threatened because they felt as though the NYTC would allow them to grow and become better workers.

Self-distinctiveness and self-continuity may also apply for some staff but not as profoundly as self-determination and self-enhancement. Self-distinctiveness refers to a persons need to feel different from those around them while self-continuity refers to a persons need to maintain stability in their life (Eilam and Shamir, 2005). Staff at MTC for example commented on the fact that they had a view of the hills and ducks often wandered on site. They therefore may have felt as though their self-concepts were threatened in this sense by moving to a more industrial setting as opposed to working in the countryside. Staff may have perceived this as a great loss, as discussed by Nalbandian (1985) because they were attached to the hillside setting. In regards to self-continuity, this can also be related to the aspect of control. While it was expected that older/more experienced staff may have been more apprehensive of the move, due to being used to working in the same environment for so long, they were actually more positive because of the opportunities they thought the NYTC would give young people. This goes against the literature by Cordery et al. (1991) and Iverson (1996) who explained that older/more experienced staff are more likely to resist organisational change. This is therefore a unique finding of this project. Younger/less experienced staff on the other hand were more focused on safety, perhaps because they did not want to change the way they were working alongside the fact that they may have more punitive attitudes.

Evidently, it is possible that staff may have been fearful of the NYTC due to the threat the move made to their identities. Particularly in regards to control and familiarity, a majority of staff may have felt uneasy about moving to something new because it was so unknown and different to what they were used to. Some staff may have understood what the NYTC was trying to achieve and accepted it, while others

may have rebelled against it. This leads to the last theoretical coping mechanism to be discussed which is Merton's (1957) 'modes of adaptation'.

### *Adaptation*

Whilst threats to identity can be used to explain why staff responded in fear, Merton's (1957) work can also be used to explain the ways in which staff responded to the NYTC. Merton (1957) explains that people adapt to change in different ways based on whether or not they accept goals and have the means to achieve them. By looking at the comments made by staff at MTC and CTC we can draw some conclusions about the modes of adaptation staff seemed to adopt. *Conformity* is the most common and occurs when the individual conforms to the cultural goals as well as the institutionalised means of achieving them. This was probably the least common form of adaptation present in staff, mostly due to the fact that many of them did not have enough knowledge about the goals of the NYTC or the means of achieving them. However, a number of staff focused on the positive aspects of the NYTC and how excited they were for it. A few staff appeared to remain committed to improving the lives of the residents no matter what changes took place. The lack of consultation and information however meant that a lot of staff were left guessing and imagining how the centre *may* be run.

This is where some staff can be classed as *innovators*. *Innovation* occurs when the 'individual has assimilated the cultural emphasis upon the goal without equally internalising the institutional norms governing ways and means for its attainment' (Merton, 1957, p. 149). In other words, the individual wishes to achieve the goal but does not have the means to get there. Innovation often occurs in lower classes of society who are expected to achieve the cultural goals without the means to achieve them. Some staff understood what the NYTC was aiming to achieve but did not understand how they were expected to achieve these goals. Some staff commented on the positive changes the new environment would bring but were concerned about how they could achieve these changes due to restrictions in staff ratios and the open walkways. This is particularly relevant for staff from MTC. While they were looking forward to the improved environment at the NYTC, they were also concerned for their safety. As a result they may have accepted what the NYTC would bring but were not fully willing to accept how they would achieve this.

On the other end of the scale are the *ritualists* who do not accept the goals of the institution but still abide by the institutional norms anyway. *Ritualism* ‘involves the abandoning or scaling down of the lofty cultural goals of great pecuniary success and rapid social mobility to the point where one’s aspirations can be satisfied’ (Merton, 1957, p. 149-150). Some staff did not agree with the proposed changes at the NYTC but appeared to still accept them. For example, it was discussed that some staff believed things would get better with time, stating that there may be consequences to begin with but after a while it will get sorted out. They clearly did not agree with the proposed structure of the NYTC but were willing to accept it all the same.

*Retreatism* was probably one of the more prevalent forms of adaptation present in staff. *Retreatism* occurs when the individual rejects both the cultural goals and the institutionalised means. This occurs when the individual has attempted to acquire goals by any means possible but have failed. This is where individuals may resort to criminalised behaviour. It can be seen that a high proportion of staff were uncertain and fearful of the NYTC due to open walkways and lack of consultation. Staff commented on their frustration at not knowing what was happening for them in the long run. A high number of youth workers could fall into this category because they did not believe the NYTC would be safe or better than where they were currently employed.

Because of the lack of consultation, this could also mean that a high proportion of staff actually adapted in the form of *rebellion*. *Rebellion* occurs when individuals ‘aim to introduce a social structure in which the cultural standards of success would be sharply modified and provision would be made for a closer correspondence between merit, effort and reward’ (Merton, 1957, p. 155). Individuals introduce their own social structure and methods for achieving goals. They did not fully understand the goals of the NYTC and they did not understand how they were to achieve these goals. Therefore, they may develop their own methods of dealing with this change. For some, this meant that they would rather stick with the way they have been working at CTC or MTC than adapt to the proposed changes. Staff were positive about the fact that they were familiar with the way things were at their current centres and felt as though the changes would put them in danger.

Clearly there are a number of different coping mechanisms that could apply to staff at CTC and MTC. Of course, it is important to note that the survey took place

*before* the actual transition took place, so staff may have adapted differently when they were there. However, it can be seen in their responses that staff were initially fearful of the move likely due to their punitive attitudes and lack of support from management. Thus, their identities were threatened and they adapted coping styles to deal with this change.

### ***Summary***

It is clear that the current research has explored an aspect of organisational change that has so far had little exploration in the criminal justice field. The construction of a new Youth Training Centre in South Australia meant drastic change for staff and residents at the existing training centres, where one centre ended with demolition. For staff and residents this meant a change in physical environment, education and the way behaviour is managed. For some staff this change was viewed as a positive thing, because the NYTC would mean improved facilities and conditions for the residents which would improve their independence. For others, this change was viewed with caution and resistance, as they may have felt connected to their current facility and therefore unwilling to adapt to new procedures and environments. Staff may have also felt as though their identities were threatened because they were so used to the familiarity and control they had at their current centres. The transition to a new facility requires considerable communication and guidance from managers and other key personnel, which unfortunately for staff was minimal. It is apparent that although some staff were excited and hopeful of the new facility, the change process was not as smooth as it could have been. Because of this, it is clear that a number of staff felt a sense of fear about the NYTC. This could be attributed to the fact that they viewed residents in a negative light, and deemed them as risky individuals who would take advantage of the open environment. This led to staff adopting a number of coping strategies to deal with the move. Those who viewed the change in a positive light may take on more of a *conformist* approach while those who did not agree with the loss of security and control may act in the form of *rebellion*. The next chapter will discuss the implications of these findings and address issues for future research alongside concluding remarks.



## Chapter 5: Concluding Remarks

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This project aimed to give staff at CTC and MTC the chance to express their thought processes as they prepared to move to a brand new youth training centre. This project not only documented a key change in the juvenile justice arena, but it also provided an insight into attitudes and personas of staff that work inside South Australia's custodial facilities. This chapter will outline the implications of this research, and close with some suggestions for future research in regards to juvenile justice and organisational change.

### *Implications*

The main implications of this study lie in providing insight into the attitudes of staff who work within South Australia's Youth Training Centres whilst adding to the literature on organisational change in a youth justice setting. Elements of the NYTC that staff were anxious about and what they expected to change were also explored. It has provided evidence to suggest that staff may have not been as prepared for the transition to the NYTC as initially hoped. This study also brings to light a few issues that need to be addressed. First, the varying and troubling attitudes of some of the staff towards young offenders and second, the lack of leadership and organisational support present. Because of these factors a high portion of staff were nervous and even fearful of the move to the NYTC. As a result of both of these factors there is an increased likelihood of stress becoming present in staff which then may lead to high staff turnover. These implications will now be discussed in more detail alongside suggestions for how to address these issues.

The first implication of this project is that it provides insight into what staff were anxious about prior to the move to the NYTC and can therefore aid departments to improve the NYTC (if these anxieties still exist). By allowing staff to express these concerns, this research is able to draw attention to some of the factors that may cause stress amongst staff. In particular, staff were concerned about the open walkways, the new BSF and staff ratios. In regards to the open walkways and staff ratios, staff (from MTC in particular) were concerned about their safety decreasing and the lack of control they may have. Similarly, while some staff supported the new BSF others believed it would make behaviour harder to manage.

Therefore, it is important for DCSI to examine whether these anxieties are still present within staff at the NYTC and if they need addressing.

The next implication of this project is that it adds to the literature surrounding organisational change strategies, and argues that in this case organisational change was not a smooth or necessarily effective process. Staff were anxious about the aspects mentioned above due to an underlying punitive attitude (particularly in youth workers) and due to a lack of consultation from management during the change process. The organisational change literature discussed earlier in this thesis explains that management and consultation are key to ensuring that organisational change is effective, and to reduce stress in staff. Evidently, staff at CTC and MTC received little consultation and as a result were likely to be stressed during the final move and at the start of their employment at the NYTC. Organisational learning also did not appear to be present, as staff did not mention additional training at all. There was also a clear presence of differing views amongst teaching staff compared to youth workers, which may have further exacerbated these anxieties. The results indicate that the teachers and youth workers appear to be working from different standpoints. Again, previous research has found that co-worker support is crucial in reducing staff turnover. If the teachers and youth workers at NYTC continue to have such strong negative attitudes towards each other then it is possible that staff may become more stressed and thus leave their jobs. Of course there was only a small sample of teachers who completed the survey, but the point of view from youth workers was strong and also demonstrated a negative culture may be present. Because staff were anxious and unprepared for the move they adapted a number of different coping styles. As Minor et al. (2011) suggests, a mentoring program may be a step forward in reducing co-worker tension.

The last implication of this project is that it explores differences in staff attitudes and coping mechanisms based on various demographic factors, which can add to the literature on coping strategies. The most noticeable difference was across the two centres, with staff from MTC feeling more anxious, about their safety in particular than staff from CTC, most likely due to their familiarity and attachment with a controlled environment. The next main difference was between the different job roles, with youth workers feeling quite anxious and punitive. This project also contradicted some previous research on age/past experience by suggesting that older/more experienced staff may actually be more supportive of organisational

change due to their rehabilitative nature. As there is little research that relates punitive attitudes and organisational change in a juvenile justice setting, this is a relatively unique finding of this project. This project also demonstrated that some staff believed that environments and changes will not impact the way they work, believing that good youth workers are not influenced by changes to their environment. Overall, staff responded differently depending on their attachment to their place of employ and the identities they associated with it.

### ***Directions for Future Research***

In light of the above mentioned implications of this project there are also several areas that can be explored further.

Firstly, as the current project could not survey staff members after the transition to the NYTC, future research could examine this. Surveying or interviewing staff members in a few years' time could allow the researcher to determine how successful the transition has been. Research could compare and contrast attitudes between staff members who began employ only after the NYTC was constructed to those who had transitioned from one of the previous facilities. The questions could revolve around the BSF, education, physical layout, job stress and much more. A longitudinal study could also be conducted to see if staff attitudes change over a number of years as policies and procedures continue to change. Furthermore, a follow up study could determine the extent at which successful organisational change and organisational learning has occurred. As organisational learning did not appear to be present yet in the current project, future research could explore whether a learning culture has developed and if it has been a successful tool for coping with organisational change.

Secondly, there are a large number of factors relating to staff attitudes towards residents that could be explored. Future research could compare demographic variables of staff (such as age, gender, education, length of employment history in youth justice) to determine which factors, if any, influence attitudes towards residents. The current project found that older staff appeared to be less punitive and therefore more supportive of organisational change. As the relationship between demographic factors, punitiveness and support for organisational change was not measured specifically in this study, this is a factor that could be explored further. As a result, factors such as identity and job satisfaction could also be explored further.

Thirdly, as there were very few teachers who responded to the survey, it is important for future research to specifically focus on teachers. Future research could explore the effects that the changes had for the education system within the NYTC as well as the influence of the BSF in a classroom setting. Houchins, Shippen and Jolivette (2006) explain that it is important for teachers to have high job satisfaction as they can have a significant impact on the offenders' lives. As the education system was an aspect that was mentioned often in the results, it is important to explore these changes further.

Fourthly, in order to determine the influence of the campus style design in residents and staff, future research could compare and contrast the NYTC to other juvenile custodial facilities. Future research could survey staff and residents at the NYTC and other custodial facilities in Australia. The survey could focus on aspects such as staff-resident relationships, resident behaviour, resident success rates post release, resident quality of life and also staff factors such as job satisfaction. Comparing the results between the different facilities could determine the extent a campus style design impacts residents and staff.

Further research could then also explore the overall influence of custodial sentences on youth. So far research has questioned whether or not custodial sentences actually impact juvenile crime rates. For example, McGrath and Weatherburn (2012) collected data for all juveniles who presented before the New South Wales Court in 2003-2004 and compared the reoffending rate of those who had been given custodial orders to those who were given community based orders. They found no difference in reoffending rate between the two, suggesting that custodial sentences have no more impact on juveniles than community based orders. As this study was conducted a few years ago, and not in South Australia, it will be relevant to conduct a similar study on South Australian juveniles. A longitudinal study examining court appearances could determine if the reoffending rate of juveniles have decreased since the construction of the NYTC. Given that there has now been significant change in the custodial context in South Australia, it will be beneficial to conduct a similar study to determine if these changes have resulted in a lower rate of reoffending for young people given a custodial sentence compared to those who are given a non-custodial sentence.

Lastly, it is also important to consider the point of view of the residents. Because only staff could be surveyed for the current project, the outcomes for what

the NYTC might achieve for the residents could only be heard from the point of view of staff. By interviewing young people about the NYTC in comparison to the old facilities, useful information could be obtained regarding the perceptions of young people. Although some staff were concerned about the new BSF, the residents could have a completely different opinion. Similarly, the young people may or may not like the open campus or the changes to the education model. While some researchers have explored the perspective of youth in the past (see Halsey, 2006; Mulvey et al., 2010, Marsh, Evans, 2009) there has been little research that focuses on organisational change specifically. Interviewing young people who have and have not been incarcerated in the previous CTC and MTC facilities could provide insight into how the residents compare them to the NYTC. The residents could also be questioned in regards to their relationships with staff, respect, alongside their behaviour in relation to these issues. Future research might also consider administering a survey to staff and residents at the NYTC to compare and contrast the views of staff-resident relationships. A longitudinal study could also be beneficial to determine the long term influence different types of relationships may have on the residents' success post release, as well as staff stress levels.

### *Closing Comment*

The transition to the NYTC was an important milestone for the Youth Justice System in South Australia. Although changes have previously occurred to the training centres, these changes were not fully documented or explored from a staff perspective. The current study brought to light the perspectives staff held prior to transitioning to the NYTC. It is important to understand these perspectives as it will allow various government departments to realise the components that staff supported as well as the components that may need addressing. In particular, it highlighted the successes and failures of organisational change management in a youth justice setting as well as some troubling attitudes of various staff members. The negative attitude some staff, particular youth workers, held towards young people is worrying given their aim is to promote desistance. Staff also held contrasting points of view based on their job role which could also cause stress and decreased performance. It is important that these attitudes be addressed due to the negative impact they can have on residents as well as staff. As can be seen in the literature, it is important for staff to feel safe and happy in their workplace not only to decrease their job stress and

therefore prevent staff turnover, but also to improve the lives of the residents. It is imperative that future research readminister a similar survey to staff members when all of the components of the NYTC have been fully implemented in order to understand if staff perceptions have changed. It could also be necessary to survey staff every year to make sure that their job satisfaction remains high so that the NYTC can run as smooth as possible. Interviewing the residents themselves would also likely prove beneficial to determine which aspects they perceive to assist them to become successful post release. Overall, this study has provided useful responses from staff about how the transition to the NYTC unfolded, arguing that the main response to the change was fear due to clear punitive attitudes and a lack of sufficient support during the change process. If the NYTC is to run to the best of its ability in order to benefit residents and staff, the issues raised in this thesis must be addressed.

# Appendices

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# Appendix 1.1

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# New Youth Training Centre Staff Survey 1

## Introduction

By completing this survey I acknowledge that:

1. I have read and understood the Letter of Introduction about this research;
2. I am 18 years of age or above;
3. I understand that my participation in the research is entirely voluntary;
4. I can refuse to take part in the research any time up until the electronic submission of my survey;
5. I will remain anonymous;
6. Submission of the survey will be understood as me having given my consent to participate

### 1. By checking this box I agree to conditions 1-6

Agree

## Background Information

**2. Please enter a code comprised of 10 characters - 5 letters (all in lower case) and 5 numbers in any order.  
eg, 3n567qde4aw (5 digits, 5 letters).**

**Please store this code in a recoverable/safe location as you WILL need to enter this code if you participate in the second round of surveys. \***

**Please be assured this is not to identify you in any way, it is simply a tool that will allow the researcher to 'pair' individual responses in the first and second round of surveys.**

### 3. Gender:

Male

Female

### 4. Which category below includes your age?

18-30

31-40

41-50

Over 50

## New Youth Training Centre Staff Survey 1

**5. Which of the following categories best describes your role at your current place of employment?**

Management

Teacher

Youth Worker

Other (please specify)

**6. Which centre do you currently work at?**

Cavan

Magill

**7. How many years have you worked in this facility?**

**8. How many years have you worked with young people?**

**9. Have you worked in any other custodial facility other than Magill or Cavan Training Centre?**

Yes

No

**10. If Yes, how long did you work in the facility/facilities?**

**11. Where will you be after the New Youth Training Centre has been constructed**

At the same place

Moving to the New Youth Training Centre

Moving to another department

Leaving altogether

Other (please specify)

**12. How much choice did you have over your location?**

## New Youth Training Centre Staff Survey 1

**13. On a scale of 1 to 10, please rate your perception of the following aspects in regards to your current place of employ:**

	It is very bad		Satisfactory						It is very good	
Education	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Vocational Training	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Health Care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Campus (Security)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Campus (Layout/structure)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Departmental Support	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**14. Do you think your perception of the above aspects will change after the NYTC has been completed? If so, how and/or why?**

**15. To the best of your knowledge, what are the main/most important changes set to occur for you?**

**16. To the best of your knowledge, what are the main/most important changes that are set to occur for the residents?**

**17. How would you rate your relationship with the residents?**

	I don't get along with them very well		Neutral						I get along very well with them	
On a scale of 1 to 10, please mark the most appropriate response	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

## New Youth Training Centre Staff Survey 1

**18. Do you think that your relationship with the residents will change at the NYTC? If so how and/or why?**

**19. On a scale of 1 to 10 please mark the appropriate circle:**

	Strongly disagree				Neutral					Strongly agree
I have a lot of authority/power over the residents	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I make sure the residents know who is in charge	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The residents listen to me when I tell them what to do	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**20. How would you rate your relationship with other staff members?**

	I don't get along with them very well				Neutral					I get along with everyone very well
On a scale of 1 to 10, please mark the most appropriate response	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**21. How much support would you say you have been receiving from your managers about this transition?**

	They have not been very supportive				Neutral					They have been very supportive
On a scale of 1 to 10, please mark the most appropriate response	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**22. How safe do you feel at your current workplace?**

	Not very safe				Neutral					Very safe
On a scale of 1 to 10 please mark the most appropriate response	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Why?

## New Youth Training Centre Staff Survey 1

**23. Do you think your safety will increase or decrease at the New Youth Training Centre? How so?**

**24. How prepared (mentally and/or emotionally) would you say you are about the changes that will be taking place for you with the construction of the New Youth Training Centre?**

On a scale of 1 to 10 please mark the most appropriate response

Not very prepared      Neutral      Very prepared

**25. What are, in your opinion, the best aspects of the training centre you currently work in at the present time?**

**26. What are, in your opinion, the worst aspects of the training centre you currently work in at the present time?**

**27. Do you think that the problems you outlined above will be addressed in the New Youth Training Centre? (Why/ How so?)**

**28. From what you have seen, read or heard, what would you ideally like to see changed at the New Youth Training Centre?**

## New Youth Training Centre Staff Survey 1

**29. Are there any aspects of the New Youth Training Centre that you believe are likely to create particular problems (for staff, residents, the public etc)?**

**30. What are you most looking forward to about the New Youth Training Centre? (What are you excited about?)**

**31. What are you least looking forward to? (What are you afraid of?)**

**32. Anything else you would like to add?**

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