

Correctional Officer Wellbeing in Australia

Professor Mark Nolan is the Director of the Centre for Law and Justice, Charles Sturt University, Australia¹

This article attempts to overview the strategies, programmes, and support aimed at addressing the challenge of promoting and maintaining mental health and wellbeing amongst correctional officers working in Australian prisons, by focusing on New South Wales (NSW) and Victoria. Australia is a country without a system of Federal prisons, so staff in all places of detention are managed by correctional departments in each Australian State or Territory, and not by the Federal Government. This means that there can be up to eight different governments and their departments taking different approaches to these issues. Following this overview, a number of Australian research projects on the mental health and wellbeing of correctional officers in Australia will be overviewed, including a study on the wellbeing of Indigenous Australian correctional officers. These are all studies that make clear calls for what should be the future of research in this area in Australia and elsewhere.

A Scan of Australian Prison Staff Health and Wellbeing Programmes and Support

An investigation of programmes and support services promoted publicly by Governments and correctional services in Australia reveals several approaches, which are too many to include in this article. Interestingly, at least four of the eight jurisdictions within Australia promote the same correctional staff health and wellbeing programme: the Stand T.A.L.R Programme. For that reason, this programme is discussed in depth before proceeding to an overview of other approaches seen in NSW and Victoria.

Stand T.A.L.R. Programme

The Stand T.A.L.R programme is a prominent approach that is publicised as addressing the challenge

of maintaining good mental health and wellbeing amongst correctional officers in at least four Australian jurisdictions: Western Australia (where the programme was devised in 2017), NSW, Victoria, and Queensland. The acronym T.A.L.R stands for 'Talk. Ask. Listen. Refer' and the focus of the programme 'encourages officers and their colleagues to ask for professional assistance as early as possible, as well as help treat and manage issues including anxiety, stress and depression'.² The programme encourages correctional officers to seek out colleagues for mental health support and advice on referrals available and instructs correctional staff on how to listen to such disclosures and to refer the colleague on. The programme involves normalisation of discussions about mental health amongst correctional staff colleagues.

The Stand T.A.L.R programme was developed by and for correctional officers by the Western Australian Prison Officer's Union (WAPOU) and first presented to both correctional officers and executive managers in WA Corrections in August 2017 at the WAPOU Respect Your Mental Health seminar.³ Mental health professionals who discussed and supported this programme at the seminar included BeyondBlue, the Black Dog Institute, WA Association for Mental Health, the Black Dog Ride, WorkSafe WA and the WA Department of Justice.⁴ By 2020, it was reportedly being delivered to more than 4,000 correctional officers in both Australia and New Zealand.⁵

The peer-led nature of the programme delivery approach is thought to be one of the programme's strongest elements leading to successful reception and uptake. Testimonials found on a relevant Stand T.A.L.R website are positive such as 'In 16 years, this is the best training I have seen for staff';⁶ all reinforced by the claimed positive results such as increases in use of Employee Assistance Programmes six months following the implementation of the programme in WA.⁷

1. Thanks to Dr Bianca Spaccavento, colleague in School of Psychology, Charles Sturt University, as well as Principal Psychologist, Corrective Services New South Wales, who commented on drafts of this article. Thanks to Mr Jacob Jackson, Acting Director for Staff Support and Wellbeing in Corrective Services NSW who read a draft of this article.
2. Queensland Corrective Services (2020). *New program to help officers Stand TALR*. Available at <https://corrections.qld.gov.au/new-program-to-help-officers-stand-talr/>
3. Western Australia Prison Officers' Union (nd). *Mental Health*. Available at <https://www.wapou.asn.au/issues/mental-health>
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid, n2.
6. Western Australia Prison Officers' Union (nd). *Stand T.A.L.R*. Available at <https://standtalr.org/about>
7. Ibid.

Beyond the Stand T.A.L.R programme, current support and programming offered to correctional staff in NSW prisons includes 10 other programmes and services labelled 'wellbeing support for CSNSW [Corrective Services New South Wales] staff'.⁸ This is consistent with a current reform and restructure 'Towards 2030' that makes explicit the psychological safety of staff.⁹ For example, CSNSW staff can access the support of more than 100 Peer Support Officers with a list of colleagues trained as peer support volunteers accessible internally by corrections staff. As in many Australian organisations, CSNSW also offer the confidential Employee Assistance Programme (EAP) service, currently contracted to a commercial provider, Benestar,¹⁰ who specialise in provision of individual wellbeing EAP services as well as critical incident, grief, organisational change, role supervision, assessments, wellness checks, and mediation services. EAP support services offered are not limited to work incidents or work team dynamics, and attempt to offer holistic support to an employee, meaning correctional officers can discuss any personal issue they need psychological support regarding, and this may be something not triggered at all by work. Often, EAP providers like Benestar merely report the number of consults back to the client (CSNSW) but typically do not identify individuals accessing the service by name or any other identifying information.

A range of other wellbeing officers are offered to CSNSW staff to access, including chaplains offering confidential support in a range of matters relating to correctional work but also personal issues. Added to this is a co-sponsored welfare officer role, supported by

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the Public Service Association,¹¹ a NSW public sector union. Relevant public-facing website entries about the Welfare Officer role usefully identify the Senior Correctional Officer in that role by name and invites staff to access support via phone, email or in onsite meetings. Links on the CSNSW wellbeing support site also list details of available support from specialist Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drugs (ATOD) counsellors; all the more important, perhaps, following the wave of making correctional centres smoke free that has provided tobacco use challenges for staff and detainees alike.¹² CSNSW have an Employee Alcohol and Other Drugs Policy and Procedure,¹³ with offered counselling aimed at supporting individual and collective compliance with those instruments. There is also a relevant similar policy issued by the CSNSW Brush Farm Corrective Services Academy which trains recruits and offers professional development course opportunities for experienced correctional officers.¹⁴ Tips and tools and other free programmes are offered to correctional officers in NSW such as the 'Make Healthy Normal' programme which is part of the NSW Government's 'NSW Healthy Eating and Active Living Strategy'¹⁵ providing both eating and active lifestyle advice. CSNSW staff can apply for a 'Fitness Passport' which is a common offering to employees

made by large organisations in NSW that allows a member to gain unlimited access (via discounted or included entry) to over 200 gyms and pools across NSW.

Three other publicly-advertised wellbeing programmes offered in NSW are worth noting here. The RAW [Resilience@Work] Mind Coach programme (also known as Mindrama)¹⁶ is an evidence-based,¹⁷

8. Corrective Services New South Wales (nd). *Wellbeing support for staff*. Available at <https://correctiveservices.dcj.nsw.gov.au/support/wellbeing-support-for-staff.html>

9. PSA (2022). *Corrective Services NSW reform: Towards 2030*. Available at <https://psa.asn.au/corrective-services-nsw-reform-towards-2030/>

10. <https://www.benestar.com/>

11. <https://psa.asn.au/>

12. Cancer Council NSW (nd). *Smoke-free prisons*. Available at <https://www.cancercouncil.com.au/cancer-prevention/smoking/smoke-free-environments/smoke-free-prisons/>

13. Corrective Services New South Wales (nd). *Policies*. Available at <https://correctiveservices.dcj.nsw.gov.au/resources/policies-and-publications/policies.html>

14. Brush Farm Corrective Services Academy (2017). *Alcohol & Other drugs Policy & Procedure*. Available at <https://www.bfcsa.nsw.gov.au/Documents/BFCSA-Alcohol-Other-Drugs-Policy-Procedure.pdf>

15. NSW Health (nd). *Healthy Eating Active Living*. Available at <https://www.health.nsw.gov.au/heal/Pages/default.aspx>

16. <https://mindarma.com/home/>

17. Ibid, the program was built after consulting relevant meta-analytic and systematic review work on existing individual resilience research, such as Joyce, S., Shand, F., Tighe, J., Laurent, S. J., Bryant, R. A., & Harvey, S. B. (2018). Road to resilience: A systematic review and meta-analysis of resilience training programmes and interventions, *BMJ Open*, 8 (e017858).

online, resilience and mental health training programme customised for CSNSW to be of benefit to correctional officers and supported by the Black Dog Institute.¹⁸ There is a focus on mindfulness and the management of difficult thoughts and uncomfortable emotions and work periods involving high stress. Examples of the findings of the evaluations of this evidence-based programme include results from a cluster randomised controlled trial with first responders from 24 Primary Fire and Rescue and Hazmat stations within New South Wales.¹⁹ The findings showed that the intervention group using the RAW programme increased in 'adaptive resilience' over time, with adaptive resilience defined as successful adaption to stressful life events and circumstances. The greatest improvements in adaptive resilience were shown for those completing all or most of the online programme of 6 sessions (e.g., 5-6 online module sessions).²⁰ Notably, in this evaluation, 'bounce-back resilience' (the ability to recover from stress as measured by the Brief Resilience Scale (BRS)) did not differ between intervention and control groups.

The CSNSW-run Brush Farm Academy is a registered training organisation which also offers two wellbeing and health programmes for correctional officer recruits and other experienced correctional staff.²¹ These are: (i) Resilience a Mental Toughness Programme,²² and, (ii) Mental Health Awareness.²³ The former centres around science-based positive psychology tools explained via an interactive 1-day workshop aimed at providing a framework for correctional officers to 'thrive in a constantly changing environment as well as everyday situations'.^{24 25} The latter is an interactive 2-day workshop with practical exercises and presentations.

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Victoria

One interesting and early emphasis on the importance of physical and mental health for prospective correctional officer recruits in Victoria is a 'Prison Officer Health Self-Assessment' tool.²⁶ The website notes: 'For the frontline roles, it's important to have a good level of physical wellbeing to carry out the job confidently and safely. This simple self-assessment will help you rate yourself on aspects of health that are covered in the medical and fitness assessment component of the recruitment process.' This self-assessment tool seems to be focused more on physical health (e.g. BMI, blood pressure, cardio fitness, respiratory function, vision, hearing, core strength, upper body strength, lifting ability, etc) but does include one question about mental health, stating that 'mental health is just as important as physical health in helping

us maintain a healthy perspective' probing further 'have you in the past five years sought treatment for any mental health conditions'. If a prospective recruit selects yes to having sought treatment in the past five years, the self-assessing prospective correctional officer recruit is informed: 'Candidates should be free from psychological symptoms and functioning normally after completing treatment, medication, or counselling. There are some exceptions, for example, because of bereavement or relationship

counselling where the condition is short lived, and you have responded quickly to treatment. You will need a report from your treating practitioner with details of your past and current treatment.'

A recent development in Victoria was the Cultural Review of the Adult Custodial Corrections System titled *Safer Prisons, Safer People, Safer Communities* conducted by three expert advisors in December 2022.

18. <https://www.blackdoginstitute.org.au/>

19. Joyce, S., Shand, F., Lal, T. J., Mott, B., Bryant, R. A., & Harvey, S. B., (2019). Resilience@Work Mindfulness Program: Results from a cluster randomized controlled trial with first responders. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, 21(2): (e12894)

20. Ibid, p. 4.

21. NSW Government (nd). *Welcome to the Corrective Services NSW Academy*. Available at <https://www.bfcsa.nsw.gov.au/Pages/home.aspx>

22. NSW Government (nd). *Resilience – A Mental Toughness Program*. Available at <https://www.bfcsa.nsw.gov.au/Pages/courses/workplace/Resilience-%E2%80%93-A-Mental-Toughness-Program.aspx>

23. NSW Government (nd). *Mental Health Awareness*. Available at https://www.bfcsa.nsw.gov.au/Pages/courses/safety/mental_health_first_aid.aspx

24. Such as the resilience frameworks positive psychologists promote such as Yates, T. M., Tyrell, F. A., & Masten, A. S. (2015). Resilience theory and the practice of positive psychology from individuals to societies (Chapter 44) in S. Joseph (Ed.) *Positive psychology in practice: Promoting human flourishing in work, health, education, and everyday life*. John Wiley & Sons.

25. NSW Government (nd). Wellbeing support for staff. Available at <https://correctiveservices.dcj.nsw.gov.au/support/wellbeing-support-for-staff.html>

26. Victoria State Government (nd). *Prison Officer Health Self-Assessment*. Available at <https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/DQKNDGH>

The subsequent Victorian Government response to that review dated March 2023 emphasises the need for 'long-term change and future investment'.²⁷ The Government response acknowledges that the corrections 'workforce is pivotal to the proper function of our justice system and keeping our community safe. They will be at the heart of the reform needed to modernise Victoria's custodial corrections system — and we will support them every step of the way.'²⁸ One key commitment is to engage with staff, to use staff expertise as guidance and to 'consult directly with corrections workers and their representatives'.²⁹ The Government has also committed to enhancements of their Health and Wellbeing Strategy,³⁰ including a 24/7 early injury intervention service following physical or mental workplace injuries, a new family Assistant Support scheme to help family members of correctional officers, and the appointment of a Chief Psychology Officer who will lead the psychological care for correctional officers and other corrections employees. As well as improved complaints, misconduct and disclosure procedures, in an effort to reduce bullying, discrimination, sexual harassment and racism, a new Custodial Mental Health and Wellbeing Action Plan will be developed following a mental health audit of the safety of correctional officer work.³¹ Recruitment, training and support programme content will be reviewed, including via the development of an ethical decision-making framework for staff guiding important decisions such as use of force and segregation/separation and via the leadership of a new senior role, the Assistant Commissioner Workforce and Integrity. A new Assistant Commissioner for Aboriginal Services, and the re-establishment of the Aboriginal Workforce Unit, will focus on the wellbeing of Aboriginal corrections officers via Aboriginal Wellbeing Officers and an Aboriginal Employment Policy.³²

The Government response acknowledges that the corrections workforce is pivotal to the proper function of our justice system and keeping our community safe.

Research on Correctional Officer Wellbeing in Australia

This section highlights some important empirical research that has been conducted in Australia on correctional officer wellbeing.

Indigenous Australian Correctional Officer Wellbeing

It is appropriate to begin with some rather unique research on the experience of First Nations Australians as correctional officers. Indigenous Australian clinical psychologist and Dharug nation member (a nation spanning inland Western Sydney and Blue Mountains) Dr Justin Trounson and colleagues have conducted some important research on subjectively-reported social and emotional wellbeing and coping strategies employed by 15 Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander Australians in correctional facilities in Darwin, Alice Springs and Tennant Creek in the Northern Territory of Australia.³³ At the time of data collection, around 84 per cent of inmates in the Northern Territory identified as Indigenous. Thirteen males and two female correctional officers working in minimum to maximum security settings, with a mean age 38.5 years and ages ranging from 24-55 years, and with between 1.5 and 32 years correctional experience, were offered the choice of either participating via in-person focus groups or semi-structured interviews over the phone. Focus groups were facilitated by a registered psychologist of Indigenous descent, and the semi-structured interviews were conducted by a provisional psychologist supervised by a registered Indigenous psychologist. Thematic analysis of the interview data, also coded by an independent coder of Indigenous descent, revealed four higher-level themes from the participants' discussion of stressors, protective factors and response tendencies: (a) cultural connection, (b) morale, (c) social functioning, and (d) somatic health.

27. Victorian Government (nd). *Victorian Government response to the Cultural Review of the Adult Custodial Corrections System*. Available at <https://www.vic.gov.au/victorian-government-response-cultural-review-adult-custodial-corrections-system/>

28. *Ibid*, p. 3.

29. *Ibid*, p. 4.

30. *Ibid*, pp 4-5.

31. *Ibid*, p. 6.

32. *Ibid*, p. 6.

33. Trounson, J. S., Oppenheim, R. K., Shepherd S. & Pfeifer, J. E. (2022). Social and emotional wellbeing among indigenous Australian correctional officers. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, 29(2), 223-240.

Stressors for Indigenous correctional officers related to cultural connection, for example, a lack of sensitivity by non-Indigenous work colleagues towards cultural matters important to both prisoners and Indigenous correctional officers. However, cultural awareness possessed by and informing non-Indigenous officers, or the Indigenous identity of a correctional officer itself, was suggested by participants to facilitate appropriate and culturally safe interactions between Indigenous prisoners and all correctional officers; especially where an understanding of culturally shaped emotions and coping of Indigenous prisoners (e.g., around the time course of mourning for lost family members etc) was well-understood. Culturally initiated Indigenous Australian correctional officers often obtained significant respect from prisoners due to being initiated members of Aboriginal communities, but, sometimes, those same correctional officers also reported stress that initiated status also provided some awkwardness in discharging some functions (e.g., strip searching). A sound source of resilience reported by Indigenous correctional officers was engaging, at work and outside of it, in traditional customs and community activities.

Discussion of *morale* by Indigenous correctional officers included reported happiness in witnessing the rehabilitation of fellow Indigenous prisoners as a form of strengthening one's own culture via assistance of Indigenous prisoners. On the flip side, Indigenous correctional officers reported significant disappointment and low morale when it was obvious that, as First Nations correctional officers, they may not be offered any specialised culturally sensitive employee support programmes. Possible traumatic reactions needing such specialised support, for example, were reports of being surprised, rather than forewarned, that a family member was incarcerated, which often triggered unwanted and overwhelming emotions in public that were difficult to handle for the officer. To manage morale fluctuations, Indigenous correctional officers reported both emotional venting (many attempting to be careful not to do this in front of Indigenous prisoners) and some beneficial routine psychological detachment from the job at the end of the shift (including changing out of uniform before leaving the centre).

In terms of *social functioning* aspects of wellbeing reported by Indigenous correctional officers,

participants highlighted that adopting the most appropriate and rapport-building communication strategies when interacting with Indigenous prisoners facilitated wellbeing around correctional work. Being able to communicate with prisoners as fellow Indigenous Australians, and in ways that were cognitively appropriate for the individual prisoner, made Indigenous corrections officers more pleased with their job than when they otherwise witnessed foreseeable inappropriate interactions between non-Indigenous officers and Indigenous prisoners. The clearly articulated stressor reported here was that a lack of teamwork or consultation with First Nations colleagues meant that the rich source of cultural expertise held by Indigenous correctional officers within the team was

not utilized to shape and eradicate inappropriate interpersonal interactions between non-Indigenous officers and Indigenous prisoners.

Hand-in-hand with such team dysfunction were reports by Indigenous officers of overt racism towards them by non-Indigenous officers, such as receiving greater scrutiny of performance relative to non-Indigenous officers, and, being expected as a fellow officer to tolerate racist and abusive communications between non-Indigenous officers and Indigenous prisoners. A related stressor here, was reported to be the need to manage multiple

roles and identities such as officer, colleague, family member, and cultural member; a set of simultaneously salient and often conflicting identities not always the same as the set of identities juggled by non-Indigenous officers. If a role within the prison meant that an individual Indigenous officer of lower cultural rank was actually more highly ranked within the prison hierarchy, cultural tensions were reported to arise both at work and in the community outside of work. Similarly, feeling cultural pressure to use position within the prison to look after family members or Indigenous prisoners was discussed as being generally difficult to reconcile with expected standard operational procedure within the prison. Even though the Indigenous officers realised that work avoidance was not always the best response to tensions relating to social functioning, sometimes peer support from other Indigenous correctional officers was not always available or appropriate for the range of issues described above.

Finally, the Indigenous correctional officers also discussed the *somatic health* impact of response

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choices made to cope with workplace adversity. Substance use, including binge drinking beyond social drinking facilitating peer-support, and emotional eating were reported. Some of the participants were committed non-drinkers. Some used sporting activities such as team sports, gym sessions, and leisure activities like fishing, to cope with workplace adversity and to manage wellbeing. Some of the team sporting activities assisted building morale and support in correctional officer cohorts and also bridged the racial divide at times between Indigenous and non-Indigenous correctional officers. Some Indigenous officers wanted more cohort building opportunities that spanned the racial divide and thought health training, or other training opportunities, as well as greater and integrated all-of-team social events for the correctional officer team, could be as effective and health-promoting as sporting opportunities at times.

Types of Coping Strategies Used by Correctional Officers

Related to this important work on the wellbeing of Indigenous Australian correctional officers, and, the importance of culture to wellbeing at work, the potential moderating impact of the type of coping strategy response employed in reaction to workplace adversity was examined by Trounson and colleagues in

a broader international sample of correctional officers (72 per cent frontline workers), including a sample of mainly American (42 per cent) and Australian (39 per cent) correctional officers answering an online survey measuring perceived workplace adversity.³⁴ Workplace adversity was measured on the Work-Related Environmental Adversity Scale (WREAS)³⁵ a 16-item scale of officers' responses to perceived adversity (either emotional and avoidant (EA) responses or interpersonal/solution focused (ISF) responses), a 19-item measure of wellbeing, and self-reported negative organisational impacts (absenteeism, presenteeism, and job dissatisfaction). The ISF strategy use was seen to have an impact in decreasing distress and increasing a sense of thriving at work, which, in turn had the expected positive impact on negative work impacts (see Table 1). Such research is an important reminder that the best wellbeing interventions and programmes for correctional officers should target the development of ISF over EA strategies, such as is the goal of the Advanced Mental Strength and Conditioning (AMStrength)³⁶ training programme. It is important to choose the best type of response to workplace adversity not only in reactive programme offerings for those displaying significant levels of stress and mental illness, but also in proactive initiatives for those in the 'missing middle' currently not showing clinical levels of distress.³⁷

Table 1: Strategies in reaction to workplace adversity.³⁸

ISF Strategies	EA Strategies
Communication skills	Drinking alcohol
Conflict management skills	Self-isolation
Help seeking	Self-harm
Trauma processing skills	Emotional disconnection
Social engagement	Venting
Humour	Lack of physiological response control
Workplace support	
Resource recovery	
Cognitive flexibility	
Problem-solving skills	

Measuring Social Climate in Australian Prisons and Links to Assessment of Staff Wellbeing

Related to understanding the wellbeing of correctional officers is a broader effort to measure the

'social climate' in prisons including the social climate of Australian prisons. Important attempts at such assessments of culture and milieu have been conducted by Professor Andrew Day and colleagues using the Essen Climate Evaluation Schema,³⁹ with calls for annual

34. Trounson, J. S., Pfeifer, J. E., & Skues, J. L. (2019). Perceived workplace adversity and correctional officer psychological well-being: An international examination of the impact of officer response styles. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology*, 30(1) 17-31.

35. Trounson, J. S., Pfeifer, J. E., & Critchley, C. (2016). Correctional officers and work-related environmental adversity: A cross-occupational comparison. *Applied Psychology in Criminal Justice*, 12(1), 18-35.

36. <https://www.cipsrt-icrtsp.ca/en/policy-brief/amstrength>; Trounson, J. S., & Pfeifer, J. E. (2016). Promoting correctional officer wellbeing: Guidelines and suggestions for developing psychological training programs. *Advancing Corrections*, 1, 56-64; Trounson, J. S., & Pfeifer, J. E., (2017). Corrections officer wellbeing: Training, challenges and opportunities. *Practice: The New Zealand Corrections Journal*, 5(1), 22-28.

37. Ibid.

38. Trounson, Pfeifer, & Skues (2019). n 35, p. 25.

39. EssenCES, comprising three factors: inmates' social cohesion and mutual support, hold and support ie. staff taking a personal interest in the progress of inmates, and experienced safety.

assessments of this type.⁴⁰ The main focus of such social climate assessments in Australia has been on exposing any causal relationship between offender rehabilitation and the nature of the assessed social climate of the prison, with the questionnaire respondents being inmates. There is no reason why revealing this particular causal relationship is the only way to use quantitative social climate assessments. It is conceivable that such established, and even the more recent measurements of prison social climate could also be useful predictors of wellbeing issues for staff, as well as the rehabilitative potential of a prison for an offender.⁴¹ The EssenCES, for example has one question loading on the 'experienced safety' factor asking respondents whether 'at times, members of staff feel threatened by some of the inmates'. A related measure of social climate, the Prison Social Climate Survey,⁴² designed by the US Department of Justice Programmes, measures *staff* perceptions and is described as a questionnaire asking for correctional personnel's perceptions and impressions of living and working conditions in their prisons.

Conclusion

This overview of approaches to correctional officer wellbeing focusing on NSW and Victoria, reveals a useful focus on both preventative and reactive resilience and other strengths-based approaches to wellbeing for officers. A range of evidence-based programmes, and programmes designed and delivered by serving correctional officers themselves (e.g., the Stand T.A.L.R. programme) is a welcome feature of these approaches. Research conducted in Australia, including with Indigenous Australian correctional officers, follows a useful emphasis on examining the utility of different types of responses to felt workplace adversity and provides a wealth of recommendations for the employee and the trainer alike. It is suggested that even more creative assessments of correctional officer's views about social climate may expand the relevance of those assessments and provide further understanding of what needs changing in the workplace for the benefit of correctional officer health whilst also supporting the rehabilitation of detainees.

40. Day, A., Casey, S., Vess, J., & Huisy, G. (2011). Assessing the social climate of Australian prisons. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 427, 1-6.

41. Eg. Bosma, A. Q., van Ginneken, E., Palmen, H., Pasma, A. J., Beijersbergen, K. A., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2020). A new instrument to measure prison climate: The psychometric quality of the prison climate questionnaire. *The Prison Journal*, 100(3), 1-26.

42. <https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/prison-social-climate-survey-consolidated-version>