

Measuring the Impact of Perceived Occupational Adversity on the Wellbeing of Community Corrections Professionals: International Findings

Jeffrey Pfeifer is an Associate Professor at Swinburne University of Technology, Australia, and Adjunct Professor at the Namibia University of Science & Technology.¹ Teagan Connop-Galer is a clinical neuropsychologist practicing in Melbourne, Australia.

Despite historical evidence regarding the significant challenges faced by those working in corrections,² it is only within the last decade that empirical attention has been directed toward gaining a greater understanding of the wellbeing of these “invisible victims” of the justice system.³ Given the overwhelming evidence on the psychological issues (e.g., stress, trauma, anxiety, depression) and negative organisational outcomes (e.g., absenteeism, presenteeism and staff retention) associated with being a prison officer, it is unsurprising that initial research focussed specifically on this cohort.⁴ As a result of these studies, a number of insights into prison officer wellbeing have been identified including the importance of empirically documenting perceptions of occupational adversity and the use of coping mechanisms as an adaptive response to the daily challenges of the profession.⁵

Although the above findings have led to the development of evidence-based wellbeing training

programmes for prison officers,⁶ there has been comparatively little empirical attention paid to extending this work to other corrections-based professionals. One group which has been particularly overlooked are Community Corrections Professionals (CCPs), defined as those who are actively involved in frontline efforts relating to “managing, assisting and reintegrating individuals who have committed an offence and have either been released from prison, are on parole, probation or community orders” (e.g., parole officers, probation officers, community corrections officers, forensic case management workers, youth justice workers, client transition staff).⁷ The lack of wellbeing research aimed at gaining a more comprehensive understanding of this group of professionals is especially puzzling given empirical evidence that, like prison officers, they experience significant job-related psychological impacts.⁸ For example, a recent study on probation and parole officers in the United States identified a variety of mental health and emotional issues faced by this

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 2. See e.g., Cheek, F.E., & Miller, M. (1983). The experience of stress for correction officers: A double-bind theory of correctional stress. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 11, 105-120; Grossi, E., & Berg, B. (1991). Stress and job dissatisfaction among correctional officers: An unexpected finding. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 35, 73-81; Triplett, R., Mullings, J.L., & Scarborough, K.E. (1996). Work-related stress and coping among correctional officers: Implications from organizational literature. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 24, 291-308.
 3. Lahm, K. F. (2021). An exploration of correctional officer victimization. In R. Blasdel, L. Krieger-Sample & M. Kilburn (Eds.), *Invisible victims and the pursuit of justice: Analyzing frequently victimized yet rarely discussed populations* (pp. 63-86). IGI Global.
 4. Lambert, E.G., Edwards, C., Camp, S.D., & Saylor, W.G. (2005). Here today, gone tomorrow, back again the next day: Antecedents of correctional absenteeism. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 33, 165-175; 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, 18-35.
 5. Trounson, J. S., Pfeifer, J. E., & Skues, J. L. (2019). Perceived workplace adversity and correctional officer well-being: Examining the impact of officer response styles and identifying implications for training. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 30, 17-37.
 6. Evers, T., Ogloff, J.R.P., Trounson, J. & Pfeifer, J.E. (2020). Wellbeing interventions for correctional officers in a prison setting: A systematic review. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 47, 3-21.
 7. Connop-Galer, T., & Pfeifer, J.E. (2020). The psychological wellbeing of frontline community integration officers: Where we are and what needs to be done. *Journal of Community Corrections*, 30, 5-15. These authors refer to this group as Frontline Justice Care Professionals (FJCPs).
 8. See e.g., Farrow, K. (2004). Still committed after all these years? Morale in the modern-day probation service. *Probation Journal*, 51, 206-220; Finn, P., & Kuck, S. (2005). *Stress among probation and parole officers and what can be done about it* (NCJ No. 205620). Rockville, MD: National Institute of Justice; White, L.M., Aalsma, M.C., Holloway, E.D., Adams, E.L., & Salyers, M.P. (2015). Job-related burnout among juvenile probation officers: Implications for mental health stigma and competency. *Psychological Services*, 12, 291-302.

cohort, especially when supervising clients with mental health needs.⁹ Similar findings have been reported internationally.¹⁰

Given the above evidence, there is a clear need to deepen our knowledge on the wellbeing of CCPs, especially in terms of empirically identifying the specific occupational challenges that are negatively affecting these professionals and how this impact may be minimised. It may be argued that guidance for advancing this line of research is provided by the emerging literature on prison officer wellbeing, especially as it relates to: (1) the importance of delineating the concept of occupational wellbeing from occupational mental health, (2) identifying the specific and unique occupational adversity challenges which affect the wellbeing of CCPs, and (3) identifying the potential negative individual and organisational impacts related to perceived occupational adversity and wellbeing. The application of these concepts to CCP wellbeing is described below.

Delineating the Concept of Occupational Wellbeing for CCPs

One of the first issues faced by researchers interested in advancing the literature on prison officer wellbeing revolved around identifying a conceptual delineation between occupational wellbeing and occupational mental health in order to highlight the importance of empirically investigating both as separate, yet inter-connected, issues.¹¹ It has been suggested that one avenue for distinguishing between the two concepts may be based on the type of psychological impact experienced by prison officers.¹²

According to this approach, the overall psychological health of prison officers may be best accomplished through the study of events and experiences causing serious mental health issues (e.g., depression, trauma) as opposed to those causing wellbeing issues (e.g., unhappiness, dissatisfaction, frustration). In alignment with this delineation, current research on prison officer wellbeing has tended to focus on identifying the daily occupational challenges that impact happiness, satisfaction, and frustration.¹³ It is suggested, therefore, that research aimed at gaining a more detailed understanding of CCP wellbeing should also emphasise how occupational adversity impacts an individual's happiness and frustration as well as their job satisfaction.¹⁴

Identification of Specific and Unique Occupational Adversity Challenges

A review of the emerging literature on prison officer wellbeing also suggests that attention be given to empirically identifying the specific occupational adversity challenges that are unique to the profession.¹⁵ This suggestion is illustrated by studies indicating that the occupational adversity challenges identified by prison officers as most impacting their wellbeing (i.e., environmental threat, environmental unpredictability, action consequence, need for vigilance, expectation of workplace trauma, inability to achieve workplace respite, and work/life separation) are significantly different from the perceived occupational adversity challenges identified by others, such as professional athletes.¹⁶ Likewise, in terms of CCP wellbeing, a recent

It has been suggested that one avenue for distinguishing between the two concepts may be based on the type of psychological impact experienced by prison officers.

9. Gayman, M.D., Powell, N.K., & Bradley, M.S. (2018). Probation/parole officer psychological well-being: The impact of supervising persons with mental health needs. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 43, 509–529.
10. See e.g., Page, J., & Robertson, N. (2021). Extent and predictors of work-related distress in community correction officers: A systematic review. *Psychiatry, Psychology & the Law*, 29, 155-182.
11. Evers, T., Oglloff, J.R.P., Trounson, J. & Pfeifer, J.E. (2020). Wellbeing interventions for correctional officers in a prison setting: A systematic review. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 47, 3-21.
12. Trounson, J. S., Pfeifer, J. E., & Skues, J. L. (2019). Perceived workplace adversity and correctional officer well-being: Examining the impact of officer response styles and identifying implications for training. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 30, 17-37.
13. See e.g., Lambert, E.G., Jiang, S., Liu, J., Zhang, J., Choi, E. (2018). A happy life: Exploring how job stress, job involvement, and job satisfaction are related to the life satisfaction of Chinese prison staff. *Psychiatry, Psychology and the Law*, 25(4), 619-636; Miller, O., Bruenig, D., & Shakespeare-Finch, J. (2022). Well-being in frontline correctional officers: A mixed-method systematic review. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 49(11), 1559–1579; 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, 223-240.
14. Connop-Galer, T., Pfeifer, J.E., Skues, J., & Lipton, M. (in press). The wellbeing of frontline justice care professionals: Identifying workplace challenges and adaptive coping strategies. *Journal of Community Justice*.
15. 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, 18-35.
16. Robbins, B., Pfeifer, J.E., Trounson, J., McEniry, C., Skues, J., & Lappin, N. (2020). Professional athletes and work-related environmental Adversity: Development and validation of the professional athlete adversity measure. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, 43, 479-504.

study found that the perceived occupational adversity challenges identified by this group (i.e., safety and risk of harm, multi-system challenges, general organisational issues and cognitive overload, lack of perceived success, professional acknowledgement, and dual responsibility) differed from the challenges identified by prison officers.¹⁷

unhappiness, dissatisfaction, frustration) as opposed to mental health (i.e., stress, depression, trauma), (b) providing empirical insight into the six unique occupational adversity factors identified by CCPs as most impacting their wellbeing, and (c) identifying the individual and organisational impacts of CCP wellbeing. In addition, the study also aimed to add to the current literature on CCP wellbeing by providing a comparison of the elements across international jurisdictions.

Demonstrating Individual and Organisational Impacts

One final issue from the literature on prison officers that may provide useful guidance for research aimed at the wellbeing of CCPs revolves around empirically documenting the impact that perceived occupational adversity has on both the individual as well as the organisation. Recent studies on prisoner officer wellbeing, for example, have demonstrated a relationship between adversity and a variety of individual psychological (e.g., job satisfaction, frustration) as well as organisational (e.g., absenteeism, presenteeism) impacts.¹⁸ Given these findings, it is suggested that research aimed at deepening our knowledge of CCP wellbeing also investigates the relationship between adversity and negative individual, as well as organisational, impacts.

The Current Study

The above guidance based on the emerging literature on prison officer wellbeing provides a framework for research aimed at extending our knowledge of CCP wellbeing, especially regarding the empirical identification of the unique challenges faced by this cohort. As such, this study was designed to provide additional insight into the issue of CCP wellbeing through a methodology informed by research on prison officers, including: (a) framing questions which focused on indicators of wellbeing (i.e.,

Method

Participants

Participants in this study consisted of 216 individuals currently employed as CCPs (i.e., those actively involved in frontline activities relating to managing, assisting, and reintegrating individuals who have committed an offence and have either been released from prison, are on parole, probation, or community orders) in Australia (n=45), New Zealand (n=42), Singapore (n=50), and the United States (n=79). The sample consisted of 125 women (57.9%) and 91 men (42.1%) ranging in age from 22 to 65 years (M = 42.5 years) and working in both the adult (66.7%) and youth (33.3%) sectors. The majority of respondents (45.8%) reported working 5+ years in the profession, while 39.4% indicated they had been in the role for 1-5 years and the remaining 14.8% on the job for less than 1 year.

Procedure

Participants were asked to complete an anonymous online survey aimed at gaining a more detailed understanding of the wellbeing of CCPs. Respondents provided general socio-demographic information (i.e., age, gender, years as a CCP) and indicated whether they worked primarily in the youth or adult sector as well as their jurisdiction (i.e., country).

It is suggested that research aimed at deepening our knowledge of CCP wellbeing also investigates the relationship between adversity and negative individual, as well as organisational, impacts.

17. Connop-Galer, T., Pfeifer, J.E., Skues, J., & Lipton, M. (in press). The wellbeing of frontline justice care professionals: Identifying workplace challenges and adaptive coping strategies. *Journal of Community Justice*.
18. See e.g., Gayman, M.D., Bradley, M.S. (2013) Organizational climate, work stress, and depressive symptoms among probation and parole officers. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 26, 326-346; Lambert, E.G., Jiang, S., Liu, J., Zhang, J., Choi, E. (2018). A happy life: Exploring how job stress, job involvement, and job satisfaction are related to the life satisfaction of Chinese prison staff. *Psychiatry, Psychology and the Law*, 25(4), 619-636; Trounson, J. S., Pfeifer, J. E., & Skues, J. L. (2019). Perceived workplace adversity and correctional officer well-being: Examining the impact of officer response styles and identifying implications for training. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 30, 17-37.

The socio-demographic items were followed by a series of questions relating to perceptions of occupational adversity, occupational stress and job dissatisfaction. Participant perceptions of occupational adversity were assessed through the Perceived Occupational Adversity Scale for Community Corrections Professionals (POAS-CCP).¹⁹ The POAS-CCP is a 36-item questionnaire which asks respondents to indicate their level of agreement on a scale of 1 to 7 (with 1 representing “Strongly Disagree” and 7 representing “Strongly Agree”). The questionnaire provides both a total score for perceived occupational adversity as well as six sub-scale scores relating to the unique professional challenges identified in previous research on CCPs (i.e., multi-system challenges, dual responsibility, lack of perceived success, safety and risk of harm, professional acknowledgement, and client management issues).²⁰

Participants were also asked to rate their overall perceived level of adversity within their workplace on a scale of 1 to 10 (with 1 representing “not at all adverse” and 10 representing “extremely adverse”) as well as whether they had “seriously considered moving to a different line of work within the past year due to the day-to-day adversity of the job”. Finally, participants completed the 10-item Perceived Stress Scale (PSS).²¹ The PSS was selected as a measure of occupational wellbeing for three reasons. First, although labelled as a stress scale, the wording of the items reflects concepts identified in the literature as being more aligned with wellbeing (e.g., frustration, unhappiness) rather than mental health (e.g., depression, trauma). Second, the PSS has been previously employed as an effective measure of occupational wellbeing in a sample of prison officers.²² Third, the composition of the items in the PSS easily lent itself to focussing on the occupational wellbeing of CCPs as opposed to their overall wellbeing. This was accomplished by adding the phrase “Within the context of your job” to the beginning of each item to ensure

Socio-demographic items were followed by a series of questions relating to perceptions of occupational adversity, occupational stress and job dissatisfaction.

that participants were reflecting on their workplace wellbeing as opposed to their general wellbeing.

Results

Analyses were conducted on participant responses to assess the concepts of occupational adversity, work-related stress, and potential employee turn-over. In terms of perceived occupational adversity, analysis of the POAS-CCP total score for the overall sample yielded a mean of 4.76 on a 7-point scale. Subsequent analysis of the POAS-CCP total score by jurisdiction indicated a significant difference between the four countries [$F(3,212)=9.57$, $MSe=.42$ $p<.01$]. As illustrated in Figure 1, CCPs in the United States reported a significantly higher perceived occupational adversity score compared to the other three jurisdictions, while the Singapore sample reported a significantly lower score than the other three jurisdictions. Although there was no significant difference between the scores for Australia and New Zealand, both jurisdictions differed significantly from the United States and Singapore.

The validity of this finding was corroborated through analysis of the occupational adversity question. That is, when participants were asked to rate their overall perceived level of adversity within their workplace on a scale of 1 to 10 (with 1 representing “not at all adverse” and 10 representing “extremely adverse”), two significant trends were identified. First, a significant correlation was found between the POAS-CCP total score and the occupational adversity question [$r(214)=.23$, $p<.01$]. Second, distribution of scores by jurisdiction paralleled those indicated by the POAS-CCP with the United States sample indicating the highest score, and the Singapore sample indicating the lowest score [$F(3,212)=10.74$, $MSe=3.55$, $p<.01$] (see Figure 1).

19. Connop-Galer, T., Pfeifer, J.E., Skues, J., & Lipton, M. (in press). The wellbeing of frontline justice care professionals: Identifying workplace challenges and adaptive coping strategies. *Journal of Community Justice*.

20. Connop-Galer, T., & Pfeifer, J.E. (2020). The psychological wellbeing of frontline community integration officers: Where we are and what needs to be done. *Journal of Community Corrections*, 30, 5-15; Connop-Galer, T., Pfeifer, J.E., Skues, J., & Lipton, M. (in press). The wellbeing of frontline justice care professionals: Identifying workplace challenges and adaptive coping strategies. *Journal of Community Justice*.

21. Cohen, S., Kamarck, T., & Mermelstein, R. (1983). A global measure of perceived stress. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 24, 385-396.

22. 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, 18-35.

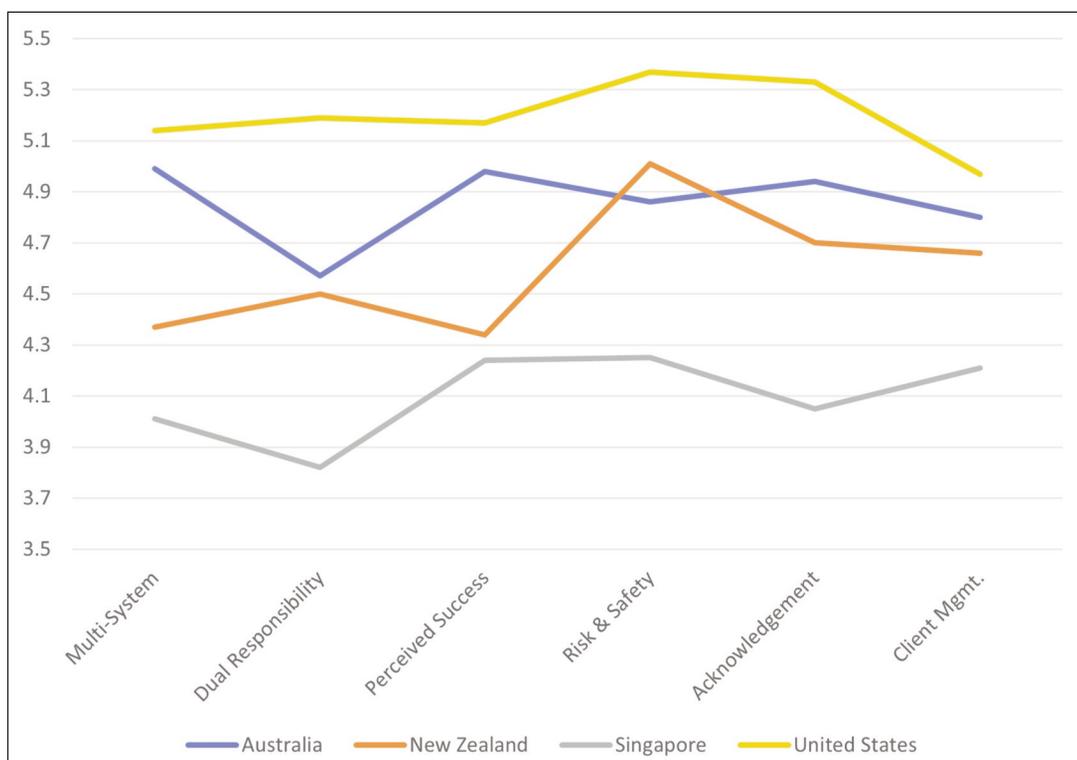
Figure 1: POAS-CCP and Adversity Scores by Jurisdiction



In addition to the above, an examination was conducted on the POAS-CCP sub-scale scores to provide further insight into which specific wellbeing challenges were most, and least, predominant for each of the four jurisdictions. Analysis indicated that, although participants are being impacted by the perceived occupational adversity of their profession, there is an identifiable difference in the profile of the specific challenges which are most prevalent between jurisdictions. As indicated in

Figure 2, CCPs in the United States, New Zealand and Singapore are most impacted by the challenges related to *risk and safety* while CCPs in Australia are most impacted by *multi-system challenges*. Conversely, *dual responsibility* was perceived as the least challenging area by the Singaporean and Australian samples. *Client management issues* were rated as the least adverse by respondents in the United States and *lack of perceived success* rated as least adverse by New Zealand CCPs.

Figure 2: POAS-CCP Subscale Scores by Jurisdiction



In terms of examining the relationship between the POAS-CCP and measures of wellbeing, analysis of the scores from the PSS were found to be significantly correlated to the POAS-CCP total score [$r(214) = .33, p < .01$]. Specifically, respondents who reported higher scores on the POAS-CCP also reported higher scores on the level of stress they were experiencing due to their profession. In addition, although the scores from all four jurisdictions fall within the *moderate stress* category according to the PSS scoring guide (i.e., scores of 14-26), the scores across jurisdictions mirrored the order of scores indicated by the POAS-CCP with the United States sample reporting the highest average stress score (24.89), followed by Australia (22.02), New Zealand (21.83) and Singapore (18.36).

In addition to providing more specific insight into the impact of perceived occupational adversity on the wellbeing of CCPs, the survey also sought to investigate the potential organisational impact by asking respondents whether they had seriously considered leaving the profession due to the adversity of the role. A review of responses to this question indicated that 44.4% of respondents considered leaving the profession within the past year. Further analysis indicated that this trend was present across all four jurisdictions (i.e., Australia 44.4%; New Zealand 47.6%; Singapore 32.1%; United States 50.6%).

Discussion

Research on the wellbeing of CCPs remains limited at best, especially in terms of identifying the specific and unique occupational challenges which negatively impact these professionals. Although studies indicate that a myriad of potential stressors may affect the CCPs, comparatively little attention has been paid to the development of assessment tools to identify the most pertinent of these challenges within a wellbeing context. In response to this gap in the literature, the POAS-CCP was created as a means of empirically capturing the unique and specific occupational challenges faced by CCPs.²³ As such, the overarching goal of this study was to enhance our knowledge of CCP wellbeing, including investigating the degree to

which the POAS-CCP provides a viable avenue for documenting wellbeing challenges. In order to accomplish this, the following three issues were examined: (1) the degree to which the POAS-CCP is able to effectively measure the negative impacts of the six unique occupational challenges faced by CCPs, (2) the degree to which scores on the POAS-CCP correlate to other measures of stress and occupational adversity, and (3) the relationship between the POAS-CCP and negative organisational impacts (e.g., intentions to leave the profession).

In terms of the first issue, participant responses indicate that the POAS-CCP appears to be an effective avenue for measuring the overall occupational adversity perceptions of CCPs given that the total score for the sample (i.e., 4.76 on a 7-point scale) aligns with parallel research conducted with other professions. For example, previous studies employing a 7-point scale to measure occupational adversity across professions indicates that scores above 4.00 represent a high level of perceived occupational adversity.²⁴

Results also indicate that the POAS-CCP appears to be an effective tool for identifying which of the six unique occupational adversity challenges are most prevalent within a particular jurisdiction. For example, although both the Australian and New Zealand samples reported a similar POAS-CCP Total Score, there was an identifiable variation in the degree to which the six challenges were impacting CCPs from the two jurisdictions. According to the sub-scale scores, respondents in Australia are most impacted by *multi-system challenges*, while their counterparts in New Zealand appear to be most impacted by the challenges related to *risk and safety*. The fact that there are identifiable differences in the rank-order of the six POAS-CCP sub-scales across jurisdictions suggests that the instrument may be a useful diagnostic for assessing the challenges which are impinging most on CCPs within any given jurisdiction.

With regard to examining the degree to which the POAS-CCP aligns with other measures of stress and adversity, results indicate a significant relationship. As illustrated by Figure 1, the POAS-CCP total score was not only significantly correlated with the workplace

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23. For a review of this literature, see Connop-Galer, T., Pfeifer, J.E., Skues, J., & Lipton, M. (in press). The wellbeing of frontline justice care professionals: Identifying workplace challenges and adaptive coping strategies. *Journal of Community Justice*.

24. For a review of these scores across professions, see 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, 18-35.

adversity question (i.e., on a scale of 1 to 10, what is your overall perceived level of adversity in your current workplace?) but also demonstrated a parallel trend across jurisdictions. Respondents from the United States, for example, reported the highest scores on both the POAS-CCP total score as well as the adversity question, while the Singapore sample reported the lowest scores on both measures (Australian and New Zealand respondents had POAS-CCP total score and adversity scores between these two jurisdictions).

The findings of this study also indicate that there is a significant relationship between the POAS-CCP and ratings of occupational stress. Specifically, results indicate that the POAS-CCP total score was significantly correlated with the PSS score, suggesting that those who are experiencing the highest levels of occupational adversity are also experiencing the highest levels of occupational stress. In addition to highlighting the relationship between these two factors (i.e., adversity and stress), this finding illustrates the need for organisational interventions aimed at either decreasing the challenges faced by staff or assisting them with adaptive coping mechanisms for responding to the challenges, as has been done in the case of prison officers.²⁵

Finally, to identify the potential organisational impacts of CCP wellbeing, respondents were asked to indicate whether they had “seriously considered moving to a different line of work within the past year due to the day-to-day adversity of the job (rather than for personal reasons)”. As described in the results

section, 44.4% of respondents indicated that they had considered leaving the profession, with the United States sample indicating the highest response (50.6%) and the Singapore sample yielding the lowest percentage (32.0%). The magnitude of this result is highlighted by comparisons to the findings of studies on intentions to leave from other professional samples. For example, a study of 1,924 US jail staff reported that 38% indicated an intention to quit based on the adversity of the profession.²⁶ Other studies have also demonstrated a relationship between perceived workplace adversity, wellbeing, and intentions to resign.²⁷

Overall, it may be argued that the use of the POAS-CCP provides decision-makers with at least two important pieces of information regarding the occupational adversity and wellbeing of CCPs. First, the instrument may provide organisations and agencies with an empirical avenue for gauging the overall occupational adversity perceived by staff working within a community corrections context. Second, the sub-scale scores of the POAS-CCP may also provide organisations with an evidence-base for identifying which of the specific occupational challenges are most (and least) impacting the wellbeing of staff. This information may be especially useful in crafting educational and other opportunities (e.g., training, facilitated workshops) which are most responsive to the needs of staff (i.e., programmes that align with the rank-ordering of staff perceptions regarding the six unique challenges).

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25. See e.g., Evers, T., Ogloff, J.R.P., Trounson, J., & Pfeifer, J.E. (2020). Wellbeing interventions for correctional officers in a prison setting: A systematic review. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 47, 3-21; 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, 223-240; Trounson, J.S., & Pfeifer, J.E. (2017). Correctional officer wellbeing: Training challenges and opportunities. *Practice: The New Zealand Corrections Journal*, 5, 22-28.
 26. Leip, L.A., & Stinchcomb, J.B. (2013). Should I stay or should I go? Job satisfaction and turnover intent of jail staff throughout the United States. *Criminal Justice Review*, 38, 226-241.
 27. See e.g., Ferdik, F., & Pica, E. (2023). Correctional officer turnover intentions and mental illness symptom: Testing the potential confounding effects of resilience. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*. Advance online publication; Tewksbury, R., & Higgins, G.E. (2006). Prison staff and work stress: The role of organizational and emotional influences. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 30, 247-266.