

Research Brief

Five Minute Interventions (FMI): Long-term effects of training on custodial staff attitudes towards prisoners, motivation and ability to support rehabilitation, and job stress and satisfaction

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AIM To examine the extent that short-term effects of FMI training on custodial staff rehabilitative attitudes and job experiences have improved, been sustained, or declined over the longer term.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

A total of 121 custodial staff completed three waves of surveys examining their attitudes towards prisoners, their motivation and ability to support offenders' rehabilitation, and their subjective perceptions of organisational and operational job demands, job stress and job satisfaction. The surveys were completed prior to commencing FMI training (baseline), 6 weeks after training (first follow-up) and 12 months after training (second follow-up).

We found significant improvements in rehabilitative attitudes between baseline and both the first and second follow-up surveys. On average, staff attitudes towards prisoners and perceptions of their ability to support offenders' rehabilitation improved between baseline and the first follow-up 6 weeks after training. This increase remained significant at the second follow-up survey approximately 12 months after training. Staff also reported significant improvements in their long-term motivation to support offenders' rehabilitation at second follow-up, compared to responses at the baseline and first follow-up surveys. We did not find evidence of significant changes in staff perceptions about their job demands, job stress or job satisfaction.

In sum, this study supports previous findings for short-term effects of FMI training on staff rehabilitative attitudes and indicates that improvements in attitudes towards prisoners and ability to support offenders' rehabilitation are maintained over the longer term, whereas motivation to support offenders' rehabilitation continues to grow over time. While the observed effects of FMI on global job satisfaction and stress were not significant, the current study reflects long-term changes in custodial staff attitudes and orientations that may be further supported by ongoing refresher training and other initiatives to enable a rehabilitative prison environment over time.

INTRODUCTION

Corrective Services NSW (CSNSW) has recently implemented a number of new initiatives that aim to reduce reoffending among people leaving prison. Beyond the identified benefits of specialised offender treatment programs based on the Risk–Needs–Responsivity (RNR) model in addressing reoffending risk, there has been a growing recognition of the importance of broader correctional environments that are conducive to rehabilitation (Mann, 2019). There has also been increasing importance placed on the quality of interactions between staff and inmates for contributing towards building rehabilitative prison environments (Auty & Liebling, 2020; Blagden et al., 2016; Craig, 2004; Mann et al., 2018; Mann, 2019; Ricciardelli & Perry, 2016; Stasch et al., 2018).

Staff who project a genuine sense of hope in the ability of inmates to change, encourage participation in rehabilitative activity and use reward and recognition instead of punishment are more effective in building confidence and rapport with inmates and are seen as fair, caring, trustworthy and non-judgemental (Auty & Liebling, 2020; Mann et al., 2018; Ricciardelli & Perry, 2016). While the promotion of offender rehabilitation through the building of these relationships has traditionally been seen as the responsibility of specialised service or program delivery teams, it has been argued that everyday interactions between custodial officers and the people in their care can also play an important role in fostering a rehabilitative prison environment (Bonta & Andrews, 2016; Mann et al., 2018, p.5). An essential component in creating such an environment involves a ‘relational but secure’ communication approach that balances rehabilitation and security goals and facilitates relationships between staff and inmates built on trust and respect (Ricciardelli & Perry, 2016).

Pro-social interactions between custodial staff and inmates are most successful at improving offender outcomes when they involve a coaching element, where staff promote self-efficacy by teaching problem-solving and decision-making under conditions of interpersonal respect (Auty & Liebling, 2020; Mann, 2019). As such, the optimisation of rehabilitation outcomes requires the right balance between treatment settings and staff characteristics in the prison environment and can be bolstered through a top-down approach initiated and supported by senior operational leadership that permeates through to all staff levels (Blagden et al., 2016; Mann, 2019).

Recognising that all staff can contribute to positive offender outcomes, Five Minute Interventions (FMI) was developed in the United Kingdom (UK) as a relational approach for custodial officers to turn everyday conversations with inmates into opportunities to target impulsivity, inspire hope and motivate change (Kenny & Webster, 2015; Tate et al., 2017). Unlike standalone interventions with fixed time frames, FMI provides custodial officers with a set of rehabilitative skills they can regularly draw upon during their multiple interactions with inmates (Vickers–Pinchbeck, 2019). Socratic questioning, active listening, building trust, confidence and rapport, and using positive reinforcement are among the skills that officers are trained in to encourage inmate self-reflection, consequential thinking and self-efficacy (Tate, 2017). Early evaluations of FMI in the UK identified that staff who had completed FMI training held more rehabilitative orientations, developed better rapport and more positive relationships with inmates, recognised their role in supporting offender rehabilitation, reported better job satisfaction, and were seen by inmates as non-judgemental and willing to help (Kenny & Webster, 2015; Tate et al., 2017; Vickers–Pinchbeck, 2019).

FMI has since been adapted for CSNSW and is being delivered to all custodial staff across the state. Two studies, to date, have examined the effects of FMI on staff rehabilitative orientations and job-related outcomes in the NSW context. The first study surveyed custodial staff across 13 NSW correctional centres

before they received FMI training and again 6 weeks after completing training (Barkworth et al., 2021). It was found that custodial staff had improved attitudes towards prisoners and increased motivation and ability to support offenders' rehabilitation after completing FMI training, compared to before training. It was identified that FMI training had a causal impact on staff ability to support offenders' rehabilitation compared to staff who were yet to receive training.

The second study drew on the same survey data to assess change in rehabilitative perceptions among different roles of frontline custodial staff who completed FMI training (Howard et al., 2021). Three groups of staff were examined: custodial officers (COs), offender services and programs staff (OSP), and Corrective Services Industries (CSI) overseers. The results indicated that the benefits of FMI varied among staff groups, which was primarily associated with the extent of variation in their rehabilitative orientations prior to undergoing training. OSP staff generally had higher rehabilitative perceptions at baseline and did not exhibit significant changes on any of the rehabilitative or job-related measures 6 weeks after training. COs reported significant increases in attitudes towards prisoners, and perceived motivation and ability to support offenders' rehabilitation after completing training. CSI overseers also reported a significant increase in rehabilitative attitudes and exhibited the greatest magnitude of change in ability to support offenders' rehabilitation compared to other staff groups.

AIMS

Implementing and supporting cultural change requires a sustained belief by staff in the capacity of inmates to change and can take years to become genuinely apparent (Mann, 2019). Studies conducted to date, both in the UK and in Australia, have focused largely on short-term effects of FMI training (Barkworth et al., 2021; Howard et al., 2021; Kenny & Webster, 2015; Vickers-Pinchbeck, 2019). While Barkworth et al. (2021) identified significant improvements in staff attitudes towards prisoners and in their motivation and ability to support offenders' rehabilitation 6 weeks after they completed training, it was also suggested that the timeframe between the pre-training and follow-up surveys might not be sufficient for "FMI to become embedded as common practice for staff" (p.16). The short-term follow-up period, therefore, may have led to missed opportunities in identifying potential delayed or cumulative effects of FMI training that might take longer to become apparent, such as changes in job stress or job satisfaction.

The current study aims to address limitations of previous FMI studies by examining the longer-term effects of FMI training on custodial staff rehabilitative orientations and job-related outcomes. The extended follow-up period post-training provides an opportunity to examine whether the effects identified 6 weeks post-training are further enhanced or maintained, or alternatively decline, over the months after completing FMI training. As such, the period between the 6-week follow-up and 12-month follow-up is critical to addressing the aims of this study. Again, we were specifically interested in staff attitudes towards prisoners, and staff perceptions about their motivation and ability to support offenders' rehabilitation, as well as job demands experienced as part of their role, job stress and job satisfaction.

METHODS

The current study draws on data collected pre-FMI training (baseline), 6 weeks post-training (first follow-up) and 12 months post-training (second follow-up). A detailed description of survey methods for the pre-training and 6 weeks post-training surveys is given in Barkworth et al. (2021). In sum, the pre-

training survey was administered as a pen and paper survey prior to staff commencing FMI training; both follow-up surveys were administered online via the survey platform Alchemer.

A total of 1360 staff completed the pre-training survey, 442 staff completed the first follow-up survey and 267 staff completed the second follow-up survey. The final sample for the current study was comprised of 121 staff who had completed a survey at all three time points. Table 1 provides a breakdown of staff characteristics of the final sample.

Table 1. Characteristics of FMI trained staff who participated in all three FMI surveys

Variable	M(SD)	%
Age	50.4(10.2)	-
Gender		
Male	-	73.1
Female	-	36.9
Length of Service	10.9(8.7)	-
Role		
Correctional officers (COs)	-	59.5
Offender services and programs (OSP) staff	-	30.6
Corrective Services Industries (CSI) staff	-	9.9

The self-report measures administered across all three surveys included:

- Attitudes towards prisoners (ATP) A 36-item measure developed by Melvin et al. (1985) that assessed general attitudes towards prisoners. This study used the adapted 11-item version (see Barkworth et al., 2021; Kjelsberg et al., 2007). Higher scores indicate more rehabilitative attitudes towards prisoners.
- Motivation and ability to support offenders' rehabilitation An 11-item measure developed by CRES to assess staff perceptions of their own motivation (e.g., 'I am motivated to help offenders change their criminal attitudes') and ability (e.g., 'I have the skills I need to help offenders achieve positive and prosocial goals') to support offenders' rehabilitation. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) showed these items loaded onto two factors, with 7 items measuring motivation and the remaining 4 items measuring ability (Barkworth et al., 2021)
- Correctional Officer Job Demands (COJD) A 10-item measure developed by Brough and Williams (2007) to measure staff perceptions about their level of stress with organisational job demands (6 items; e.g., 'understaffing and resource inadequacy') and operational job demands (4 items; 'possibility of violence from offenders').
- Job stress A 6-item measure adapted from the original 57-item measure developed by Cullen et al. (1985) through their work with custodial officers. The items measure the extent that staff agree or disagree with statements about general stress (e.g., 'When I'm at work, I often feel tense or uptight').
- Job satisfaction A 9-item short form of Warr et al.'s (1979) job satisfaction scale

that measured staff satisfaction for a range of aspects related to their job.

The primary analyses comprised a series of mixed effects models fitted to each self-report measure. Mixed effects models are a form of linear regression model that involves two types of variables: fixed effects and random effects (Gelman & Hill, 2006). Fixed effects typically consist of the measures of interest or the dependent variables of the study (time of assessment in this case) while random effects generally consist of grouping variables or covariates that may have an impact on the results but are not central to the study (site-level or individual-level differences) (Gelman & Hill, 2006).

Random effects are estimated through partial pooling, which means that the effect estimate for groups with fewer data points will be based partially on the more abundant data from other groups. This prevents the estimation of an effect by completely pooling all groups (e.g., collapsing across site level differences) as this can mask group-level variation. Random effects also avoid the estimation of an effect for all groups separately (e.g., by including centre as a fixed effect variable), which could give poor estimates for low-sample groups (Gelman & Hill, 2006).

In the current study, time of assessment (baseline, first and second follow-up) was entered as a fixed effect, while staff ID and centre were entered as random effect variables. The selection of these variables as random effects is intended to allow broad level inferences to be made about the potential effect of FMI while accounting for individual and centre-to-centre variability.

As participants' perceptions and attitudes are expected to continually change over time, it is possible that the responses of those who were sampled at a later point in time may be different from those who were sampled earlier. Given this, statistical models of longitudinal data would generally include time elapsed between the baseline measure and follow-up assessments as an interaction term. However, while the rollout of baseline assessments was staggered between centres, the second follow-up was administered on the same day to all centres. Variations in time between assessments was therefore non-random and existed as a function of centre; hence, entering centre as a random effect would account for any effect of time between the follow-up periods.

FINDINGS

Table 2 presents the average scores for each measure at each of the three time points. In general, small differences were observed between each time point on several of the measures, while others appeared to be relatively stable over time.

Table 2. Mean scores on each measure across each time interval

Measure	Sample n	Baseline	First follow-up	Second follow-up
		M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)
Attitudes towards prisoners	107	24.6 (6.9)	25.6 (7.3)	26.1 (7.5)
Motivation	109	23.6 (4.0)	24.0 (3.9)	24.6 (3.6)
Ability	106	11.5 (3.4)	12.8 (2.6)	12.7 (2.8)
Organisational job demands	105	8.6 (5.5)	7.8 (5.1)	7.4 (5.1)
Operational job demands	106	4.7(3.1)	4.5 (2.9)	4.2 (2.8)
Job stress	103	8.2 (4.9)	8.2 (4.4)	8.4 (4.5)
Job satisfaction	98	26.3 (5.5)	25.7 (5.8)	25.8 (5.4)

Table 3 presents all results for the mixed effects models and identifies where there is a significant change in scores on each measure across each of the follow-up periods. There was a small but increasing trend in average staff attitudes towards prisoners over time (see Figure 1). The mixed effects model identified a significant improvement in custodial staff attitudes towards prisoners between baseline and the first follow-up occurring 6 weeks after completing FMI training ($\beta = .07$, $SE = .42$, $p < .05$). When examining the change in scores on this measure from baseline to the second follow-up at 12 months post-training, there was a slightly more prominent statistically significant increase in scores ($\beta = .11$, $SE = .42$, $p < .01$). However, there was no statistically significant difference in attitudes towards prisoners between the first and second follow-up periods, suggesting the initial improvement seen in attitudes was maintained over the long-term.

Table 3. Magnitude of change in scores on each measure across follow-up periods¹

Measure	Sample n	Baseline vs. first follow-up (β)	Baseline vs. second follow-up (β)	First vs. second follow-up (β)
Attitudes towards prisoners	107	.07*	.11***	-.04ns
Motivation	109	.05ns	.13***	.08*
Ability	106	.19***	.19***	.00ns
Organisational job demands	105	-.03ns	-.07ns	.04ns
Operational job demands	106	.04ns	.07ns	.04ns
Job stress	103	.00ns	-.03ns	-.03ns
Job satisfaction	98	.05ns	-.05ns	-.00ns

Note: *** $p < .001$; * $p < .01$; ns = not significant

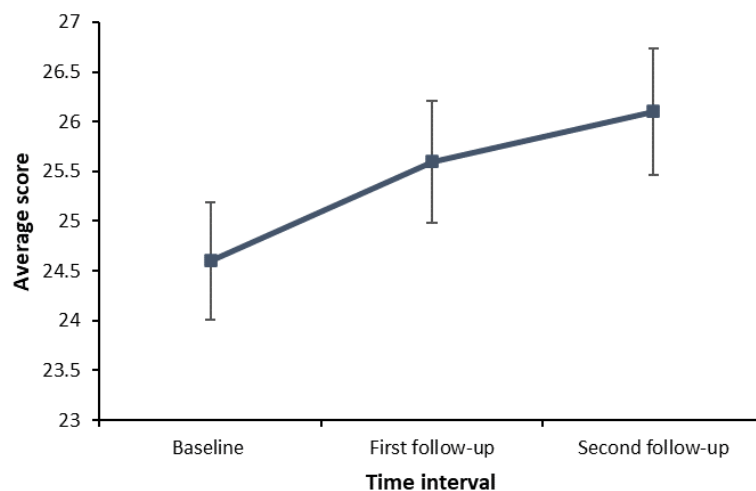


Figure 1. Average score on the attitudes towards prisoners measure at each time interval

Average scores on the motivation to support offenders' rehabilitation measure also increased over time (see Figure 2). While the mixed effects model did not identify a significant difference in scores between baseline and the first follow-up, a significant increase in motivation to support offenders' rehabilitation was observed between baseline and the second follow-up ($\beta = .13$, $SE = .26$, $p < .001$) (see Table 3).

¹ Analyses were repeated with the sample of custodial officers only ($n = 72$) to replicate analyses that were originally conducted when examining short-term effects of FMI training (see Barkworth et al., 2021). The findings for the custodial officer sample reflected those for the full staff sample as reported in this paper.

There was also a statistically significant change in scores on the motivation measure between the first and second follow-ups ($\beta = -.08$, $SE = .24$, $p < .05$), indicating that motivation continued to improve over the long-term.

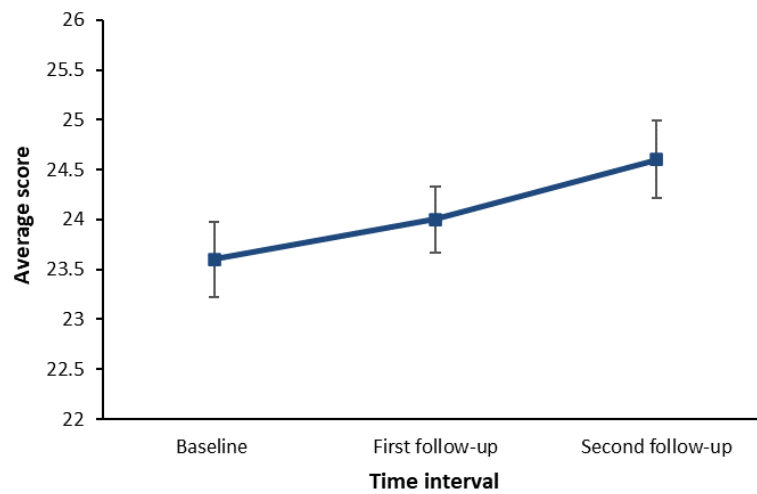


Figure 2. Average score on the motivation to support offenders' rehabilitation measure at each time interval

Average scores on the ability to support offenders' rehabilitation measure showed a sharp increase from baseline to the first follow-up 6 weeks post-training, with a small decline at the second follow-up 12 months post-training (see Figure 3). A mixed effects model confirmed a significant increase in custodial staff perceptions of their ability to support offenders' rehabilitation between baseline and the first follow-up ($\beta = .19$, $SE = .24$, $p < .01$), and between baseline and the second follow-up ($\beta = .19$, $SE = .24$, $p < .001$). However, the change in scores between the first and second follow-up period was not significant (see Table 3), again suggesting the change occurred soon after completing training and then stabilised over the long-term.

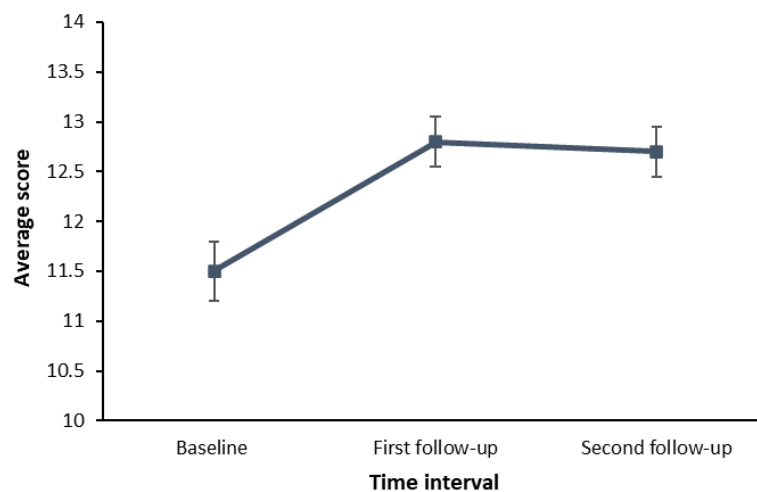


Figure 3. Average score on the ability to support offenders' rehabilitation measure at each time interval

A slight reduction in staff perceptions of stress associated with both organisational and operational job demands was observed over time (see Figures 4 and 5). The mixed effects models found no significant differences between baseline and the first follow-up, and between the first and second follow-ups for either measure (see Table 3). However, while there was also no significant difference in scores between

baseline and the second follow-up, the mixed effects models indicated that this difference approached statistical significance for both organisational ($\beta = -.07$, $SE = .39$, $p = .06$) and operational job demands ($\beta = .07$, $SE = .23$, $p = .06$), suggesting these measures were trending in the expected direction over the long-term.

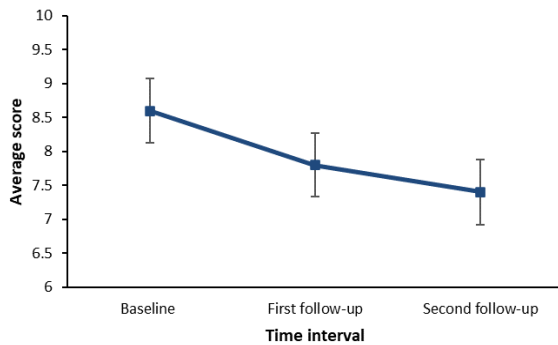


Figure 4. Average score on the organisational job demands measure at each time interval

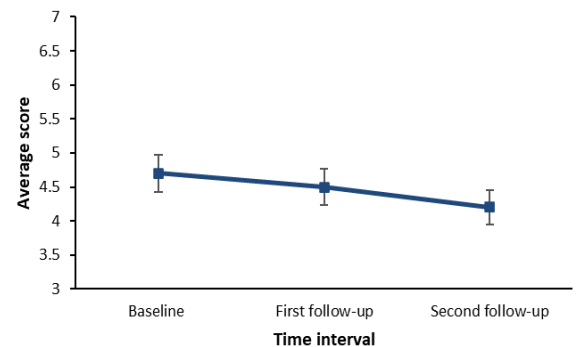


Figure 5. Average score on the operational job demands measure at each time interval

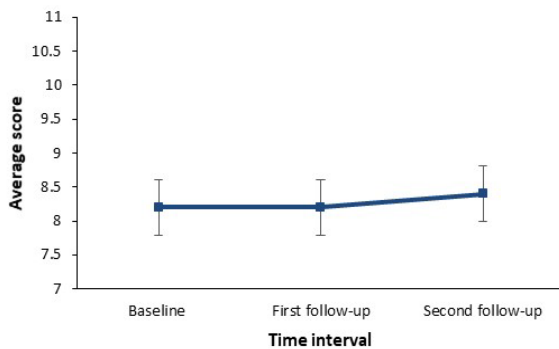


Figure 6. Average score on the job stress measure at each time interval

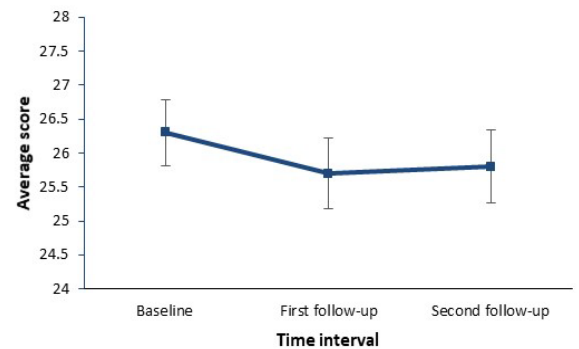


Figure 7. Average score on the job satisfaction measure at each time interval

Average scores on both the job stress and job satisfaction measures showed little change across the three time points (see Figures 6 and 7). The mixed effects models found no statistically significant differences with these measures between baseline and the two follow-up periods, or between the first and second follow-ups (see Table 3). The results suggest that job stress and job satisfaction remained stable over time.

CONCLUSIONS

The current study aimed to examine the long-term effects of FMI training on rehabilitative orientations and job-related outcomes among custodial staff who completed FMI training. While Barkworth et al. (2021) identified significant short-term improvements in staff attitudes towards prisoners and perceived motivation and ability to support offenders' rehabilitation, it is important to consider whether these effects are further enhanced, maintained, or show signs of decline over time.

The current study again identified significant change over time in staff attitudes towards prisoners and perceived motivation and ability to support offenders' rehabilitation. Staff attitudes towards prisoners and perceived ability to support offenders' rehabilitation primarily showed change in the weeks following FMI

training, which is consistent with the previous study (Barkworth et al., 2021) and suggests that training was associated with an almost immediate boost to these perceptions among participants. However, no significant further change was observed on these measures between the first follow-up at 6 weeks post-training and the second follow-up at 12 months post-training. A positive implication of this pattern of results is that more attitudinal outcomes of FMI training relating to prisoners and their rehabilitation appear to be successfully maintained over periods of several months, as opposed to declining over time or reflecting activation of short-term sentiments.

In relation to motivation to support offenders' rehabilitation, we found non-significant change in staff responses between the baseline and first follow-up survey. This result contrasts with findings by Barkworth et al. (2021) and may be a function of the reduced sample size available to the current study. However, staff did report significantly higher motivation at the second follow-up, compared to baseline and the first follow-up. This suggests that in some cases staff motivation may require more time to take effect, and subsequently continues to improve over time. It is possible that more immediate improvements in ability to support offenders' rehabilitation after FMI training could have a bearing on growth of motivation over time. For example, managers' motivation to coach employees has been linked to both organisational benefits, through improved performance and productivity, and personal satisfaction, through seeing employees grow and develop (McCarthy & Milner, 2020). As staff draw on FMI skills to coach, develop and encourage inmates and start to see positive change occurring, they may, in turn, become increasingly motivated to continue working with those inmates to further encourage that change.

There were no significant changes in staff perceptions of job-related outcomes, such as perceptions of job stress or satisfaction, across any time point. While an early evaluation of FMI from the UK reported increased job satisfaction among FMI-trained staff (Kenny & Webster, 2015), this study relied solely on a small sample of qualitative interviews where staff may frame perceptions of job satisfaction differently to that captured by the quantitative measure employed here. A later UK study on FMI also identified that custodial officers were pessimistic about the prison environment being conducive to rehabilitation, identifying barriers including inexperienced staff, a lack of staffing and resources, and negative staff attitudes towards prisoners and rehabilitation (Vickers-Pinchbeck, 2019). These results emphasise that staff perceptions of FMI itself, as well as experiences of job stress and satisfaction, are impacted by the broader custodial context in multiple complex ways that may moderate the influence of FMI training alone. It is possible that initiatives such as FMI may be more likely to have effects on global experiences of job satisfaction and stress when they are accompanied by more widespread, generational shifts in workplace culture and environment that are likely to occur over timeframes exceeding the 12-month post-training period examined in the current study.

Some limitations of the study are noted. As a central aim of the study was to examine the long-term effects of FMI training on rehabilitative orientations and job-related outcomes, only staff who completed all three waves of the survey were included in the current study, resulting in a relatively small sample size. As noted, the current study identified different short-term effects on motivation to support offenders' rehabilitation than reported by Barkworth et al. (2021), which may be attributable to this reduced sample size. A second limitation of the study is that it was not possible to compare long-term survey responses to those of staff who had not received FMI training, largely due to the progressive rollout of training across the jurisdiction. This limits our ability to attribute the significant changes reported in this study to the causal impact of FMI training. It is intended that the current study should be considered in conjunction with the relatively robust analyses of causal effects outlined in previous research (Barkworth et al., 2021).

Overall, the current study has provided some support for FMI training having both short- and long-term effects on staff outcomes relating to their rehabilitative orientations. The findings continue to suggest that

FMI training has little direct impact on staff perceptions of job-related outcomes. The evidence, however, does suggest that FMI training provides staff with a renewed understanding of inmates, and importantly, increased motivation and perceived ability to help support inmates in their rehabilitative efforts. Significant cultural shift requires continued effort over time (Thomson & Parrish, 2002); from this perspective it is important that there is integrated, whole-of-organisation commitment to help staff achieve and develop the skills required to support offenders' rehabilitation. The continued delivery of FMI training and regular refresher training to develop and maintain those skills may be well placed to lay the groundwork for a shift towards a more rehabilitative prison culture.

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