PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF PROFESSIONAL EXPOSURE TO TRAUMA

AND HUMAN SUFFERING: SYSTEMATIC REVIEW AND META-ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Over the past decades a growing interest has emerged toward understanding the impact that

the exposure to human suffering produces in mental health professionals, leading to the

identification of three constructs: vicarious traumatization (VT), compassion fatigue (CF),

and secondary trauma (ST). However, little is known about how these conditions affect

psychologists. A systematic review and a meta-analysis were conducted to examine the

evidence about the effects of occupational exposure to trauma and suffering in studies that

included psychologists among their samples. Fifty-two studies were included comprising

10,233 participants. Overall, the results showed that most professionals did not experience

relevant distress due to their work, yet some of them developed clinically significant

symptoms (i.e., PTSD). However, solid conclusions could not be drawn due to the numerous

methodological difficulties found in this research field (i.e., group heterogeneity, lack of

comparison groups, and conceptual overlap). Thus, it is necessary to further investigate this

topic with scientific rigor to understand these stressors and develop evidence-based

interventions.

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Keywords: secondary trauma, compassion fatigue, vicarious trauma, psychologist, meta-

analysis

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Introduction

Providing psychological services can be a rewarding experience, with benefits such as personal satisfaction (Linley & Joseph, 2007), professional growth (Măirean, 2016; Rhee et al., 2013) and the feeling of having a positive impact in the world (Stamm, 2002). However, over the past decades a growing interest has emerged toward the effects that the exposure to human suffering produces on professionals (Moran & Asquith, 2020; Sweileh, 2020), leading to the identification of three constructs: vicarious traumatization, compassion fatigue, and secondary traumatic stress.

Vicarious traumatization (VT) refers to the changes in the professionals' belief system resulting from being repeatedly exposed to the trauma narratives of their clients (Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995). This construct is theoretically rooted in the Constructivist self-development theory (CDST; Saakvitne et al., 1998). This framework asserts that people's understanding of the world depends on cognitive structures named schemas, which are developed by experience (McCann & Pearlman, 1992). Although schemas are assumed to be stable during life, direct or indirect exposure to traumatic events can disrupt them. Professionals exposed to narratives of suffering may experience alterations in their schemas and frames of reference (Janoff-Bulman & McPherson, 1997). Although previous studies have reported that the impact of VT hinges upon the interaction of multiple variables (i.e. professionals' personal characteristics, work setting, therapeutic relationship), literature suggests that certain risk factors may increase the vulnerability to VT, including: working with traumatized individuals for long periods of time, being exposed to graphic details, having experienced traumatic events, and the lack of specific education or training (Hensel et al., 2015). Among the negative consequences of VT are distrust, helplessness, cynicism, hopelessness (Reves et al., 2008), numbness (Van Minnen & Keijsers, 2000), and the overprotection of loved ones (Brady et al., 2019).

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In addition to these cognitive changes, it has been documented that indirect exposure to suffering or traumatic experiences can produce analogous thoughts, emotions, and reactions to those experienced by primary traumatized individuals (Figley et al., 2017). This phenomenon was stated by Figley (1995), who coined the term "secondary traumatic stress" or secondary trauma (ST) to describe the Posttraumatic Stress Symptoms (hereafter PTSS), namely intrusion, avoidance, and arousal, experienced by professionals in response to their clients' narratives. ST has been associated with significant impairment in professionals working with trauma victims due to its invasiveness in daily life. For example, referring to intrusion symptoms, one therapist related "I woke up every night for a week after discovering a client's abuse as a child (...). The thought wouldn't linger, it would just be the vivid picture that woke me up all agitated so that I couldn't fall back to sleep" (Fahy, 2007; p. 202). As for arousal, another therapist stated "I am hypervigilant in certain situations. For instance, when I'm walking in a forest and I see a stranger coming towards me, I'm more conscious of danger, more alert and cautious than I ever was before" (Van Minnen & Keijsers, 2000, p. 193). Although ST has been discussed in previous studies about the treatment of survivors of traumatic events such as the Holocaust (Danieli, 1988), Vietnam (Figley, 2002) or 9/11 (Woodward et al., 2005), it was not until the publication of the DSM-5 that the professional's indirect exposure to trauma content was recognized as a qualifying situation for PTSD diagnosis through criterion A (Mordeno et al., 2017).

Finally, compassion fatigue (CF) is the newest concept in the literature on the cost of caring. CF has been conceived both as a unique construct and as a synonym of ST and VT. Considered as a singular phenomenon, as initially described by Joinson (1992), it accounts for the reduction of the professional capacities resulting from their exposure to suffering. Its symptoms include tiredness, emotional drainage, and feelings of being trapped and isolated (Najjar et al., 2009). Joinson proposed CF to be a form of burnout specific to the helping

professions, despite no empirical evidence of this hypothesis being provided. Later, Figley (1995, p. 253), defined this construct as "a state of exhaustion and dysfunction biologically, psychologically, and socially as a result of prolonged exposure to compassion stress and all it invokes." In fact, this author considered CF as "a more user-friendly term for secondary traumatic stress disorder, which is nearly identical to PTSD, except that it implies to those emotionally affected by the trauma of others" (Figley, 2002, p. 3). Regardless this theoretical confrontation, it is now accepted that CF is a unique response to work-related exposure to suffering and trauma, defined as an emerging gradually estate of emotional exhaustion (Figley, 2002). Despite its similarity with burnout, CF appears abruptly while burnout is more insidious and accumulative (Dafos, 2005). The consequences of CF include physical responses (e.g., exhaustion, somatization, sleep disturbances), deadaptative coping strategies (e.g., substance abuse), depersonalization, and professional impairment (Bercier, 2013; Sinclair et al., 2017).

It is important to note that helping professionals may experience other negative outcomes stemming from their practice, including emotional distress (i.e., anxiety, depression), and burnout. However, these consequences are not deemed of interest in this study because of their generalist nature, meaning that they can appear in any professional context, whereas VT and ST have been described as exclusive responses to work with traumatized individuals. As for CF, it is a work-related condition that is associated with helping professions; thus, it may also be present in trauma-related work.

Although VT, ST, and CF are commonly reported in healthcare settings, research on these conditions is fraught with methodological and conceptual flaws, including terminological overlap (Branson, 2019; Elwood et al., 2011), the interchangeable use of constructs (Sprang et al., 2019; Taylor & Furlonger, 2011), and the lack of comparison

groups (Kadambi & Ennis, 2004) that have affected their study, leading to inconsistent and even contradictory findings (Sabin-Farrell & Turpin, 2003; Sexton, 1999).

VT, ST, and CF have been documented in different professional groups (e.g., first responders, law enforcement, interpreters, clergy), although the field which has attracted the most attention is mental health. Generically known as "mental health professionals," this group comprises several disciplines (e.g., psychiatry, education, psychology, social work) that have their own specific methods and approaches to the study of psychological phenomena (González & Valdez Medina, 2005). Thus, this heterogeneity has hindered the comparison and generalization of research findings on the impact of providing psychological services (Kadambi & Ennis, 2004).

In this scenario, it is remarkable the scarcity of studies investigating the effects of professional exposure to narratives of suffering in psychologists in comparison to other disciplines where research has been more prolific. Although different disciplines may have similar experiences with traumatized clients (as profession may not dictate job function), their background may imply the use of different approaches, prisms, and methods in the treatment of trauma and suffering. Thus, it may result in different experiences for the professionals. It is hypothesized that psychologists may present certain peculiarities due to their background that it is worth exploring, as it has already been examined in other professions, such as social workers (Munyoro & Mavhungu, 2021; Rhee et al., 2013; Singer et al., 2020), law professionals (Bakhshi et al., 2021; Hodge Jr & Williams, 2020), and nurses (Kim & Yeo, 2020; Lee & Kim, 2020), to name a few. Additionally, while psychologists are as vulnerable as the general population and other professionals to experiencing psychological issues, they are exposed to certain occupational hazards that may increase such a risk (Kleespies et al., 2011). One of the most relevant risk factors is the very nature of therapy, since providing psychological treatment implies witnessing detailed descriptions and

reenactments of high-emotional-impact life events through a close therapeutic relationship (Arvay, 2001; McCann & Pearlman, 1990). On the other hand, it is a common belief that psychologists are not affected by their job, which leads to the idea that they are somehow immune to negative emotions, mental issues, and emotional distress (Kern, 2014).

To date, research concerning the prevalence of mental issues (i.e., mental disorders, emotional distress, psychological alterations) among psychologists has been limited. However, a number of studies have noted significant rates of anxious and depressive symptoms within these professionals. Pope and Tabachnick (1994) found, in a sample of 800 clinical psychologists from the 42nd Division of the APA (Psychologists in Independent Practice), that 61% had experienced at least one episode of clinical depression; 29% reported suicidal thoughts, and 4% had committed self-harm. In this vein, Gilroy et al. (2002) identified that 62% of psychologists from Division 17 (Counseling) identified themselves as depressed, with 42% describing suicidal thoughts or behaviors. More recently, the British Psychological Society (2019) reported that 40% of NHS psychotherapists informed feeling depressed. Although psychologists appear to take good care of their psychological wellbeing, as evidenced by their greater use of mental health services compared to the general population (Digiuni et al., 2013), many internalize these beliefs and assume that disclosing their psychological and emotional needs could cast doubts about their professionalism ('t Lam et al., 2018), to the extent of hiding this information to protect their reputation and credibility (Sawyer, 2011; Zerubavel & Wright, 2012). The barriers psychologists face when disclosing their lived experiences of mental health difficulties have recently been exposed by the British Psychological Society (2020) in a statement report in which adverse personal experiences and mental health issues are acknowledged as an asset for clinical practice.

Despite the growing interest of research on the cost of caring, psychologists remain insufficiently investigated (Barros et al., 2019). To address this matter, two studies were

proposed. First, a systematic review was conducted to examine the impact of occupational exposure to human suffering, in which empirical studies concerning VT, ST, and CF in samples including psychologists were explored. It was hypothesized that psychologists exposed to trauma and suffering would experience significant levels of VT, ST, and CF. Second, three separated meta-analyses were conducted with the aim of integrating the quantitative results of the incidence of each construct of interest, that is, VT, ST, and CF among this professional group. In this study, it was hypothesized that gathering the scores obtained in different studies would reveal high levels of VT, ST, and CF among professionals.

Method

Protocol and Registration

The methodology in this review is compliant with the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) (Moher et al., 2009). The PRISMA protocol is described in Supplementary Materials, S1. This review was registered in the PROSPERO database (CRD42020213314).

Eligibility Criteria

The following inclusion criteria were established: (1) explicit inclusion of psychologists among study samples; (2) standardized measurement through validated instruments applied to one of the constructs of interest (CF, VT, and ST); and (3) provision of at least one effect size estimator or sufficient information to calculate it (means, standard deviation).

Due to the paucity of studies composed only of psychologists, along with their heterogeneity (i.e., constructs, instruments, samples), it was necessary to incorporate studies including other professionals in the sample in addition to psychologists.

Exclusion Criteria

The exclusion criteria were these: (1) studies using samples composed only of professions not relevant to the purposes of the study (e.g., social work, first response, law enforcement, translators) or not explicitly including psychologists; (2) qualitative studies (narrative synthesis, interviews) not providing quantitative measures of the constructs of interest; (3) measurement of the constructs by unique instruments (i.e. instruments that are used only in one paper) that did not allow quantitative integration of the data; and (4) assessment of other work stressors (i.e., burnout).

Literature Search and Study Selection

Two independent researchers explored the following databases between April 2020 and March 2021: PubMed, PsycINFO, Web of Science, and Scopus databases, using the following terms: "secondary traumatic stress" OR "indirect stress" OR "secondary trauma" OR "secondary traumatization" OR "vicarious trauma" OR "compassion fatigue" OR "secondary traumatic stress disorder" AND "psychologist" OR "psychotherapist" OR "counselor", as well as their Spanish equivalents. No time restrictions were applied.

Additionally, the OpenGrey, HMIC, NTIS, and PsycEXTRA databases were examined to search for the gray literature. Disagreements were resolved by discussion and consensus.

The search resulted in 1,334 studies that were examined by two independent researchers. The first screening was conducted on titles, finding 526 duplicate articles that were removed and 82 papers that were not related to the topic. The abstracts of the remaining 726 studies were reviewed using Rayyan QCRI (Ouzzani et al., 2016); from this review, 79 studies were considered of interest and full texts were retrieved for detailed analysis. Finally, nineteen studies were excluded, resulting in 52 papers that were included in the review. The Cohens' kappa coefficient was used to estimate interrater agreement, and the score was .96. The PRISMA diagram of the process is shown in Figure 1.

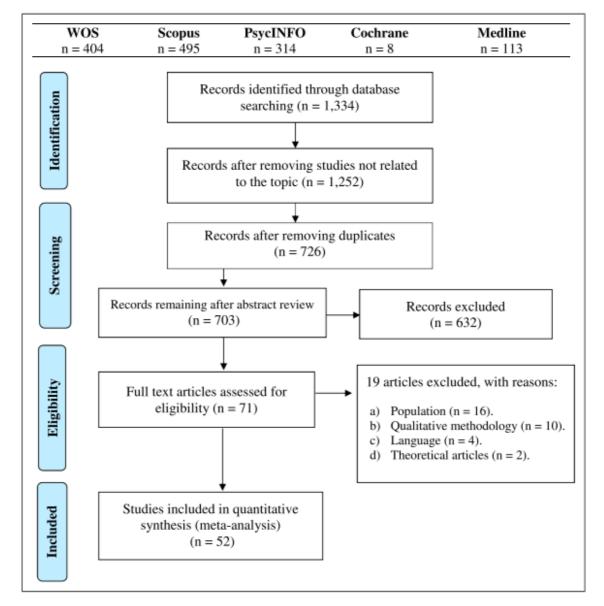


Figure 1. PRISMA Diagram of the Study Selection Process

Data Extraction

Following the PRISMA guidelines, a protocol was designed to extract the following information from each article, coded by two independent researchers: (a) reference (title, authorship, year of publication), (b) methods (design, sampling, type of sample), (c) response rate, (d) characteristics of the sample (age, sex/gender, ethnicity/race, country), (e) professional information (trauma specialization, personal trauma history, years of experience, professional field), (f) instrument of measurement, (g) quality of the study, and (h) results (mean, standard deviation, confidence interval). Disagreements were resolved by discussion

and consensus. When relevant data for conducting the analysis were missing, the authors were contacted. The risk of bias was assessed by two independent researchers using the Joanna Briggs Institute critical appraisal checklist for analytical cross-sectional studies (Moola et al., 2017).

Data Analysis and Effect Sizes

As already reported in previous studies, the lack of comparison groups (Kadambi & Truscott, 2004; Sabin-Farrell & Turpin, 2003), made it unfeasible to perform a standard meta-analysis; thus a meta-analysis of means was conducted, based on the procedure used by Cieslak et al. (2013), using a random effects model with the mean scores obtained by participants in each scale.

Comprehensive Meta-Analysis version 2 (Borenstein et al., 2013) was used for the analysis. To calculate the effect sizes, means, standard deviations, and sample sizes were used. A meta-analysis was performed for each construct and for each instrument when there were at least four studies using the same measure. To assess the heterogeneity of the studies, statistics Q and I^2 were used. Due to the variety of constructs and measures, a high level of heterogeneity was expected. A significant Q statistic ($p \le 0.05$) indicated significant heterogeneity. The I^2 statistic was used to estimate the percentage of heterogeneity not attributable to random sample error. Following Higgins et al. (2003), it was considered that the heterogeneity was low when it was around 25%, moderate when it was 50%, and high when at 75%.

Results

Description of Selected Studies

Fifty-two studies published between 1995 and 2020 were included, most of them conducted in the United States (43.42%) and Australia (15.09%). All articles were cross-

sectional, except for one experimental study. Sampling was mostly nonprobabilistic, with an average response rate of 43.12%.

Concerning participants, studies comprised 13,481 professionals, 73.62% women (n = 9,288) and 26.4% men (n = 3,332), with an average age of 43.78 years (SD = 5.65); participants were mostly White (84%), and 48% reported a previous history of trauma. Professionals were highly specialized, with 50% of them holding a master's degree or higher (13.59% doctoral degree), and they had long professional experience (M = 13.28 years, SD = 6.15). Only thirteen articles (25.43%) had a sample entirely composed of psychologists, but the heterogeneity of these studies (i.e., scope, measures, constructs) impeded further analysis.

Concerning the professional setting, the majority of studies focused on mental health (44.41%, k = 24) and clinical services (18.52%, k = 10), with a lower representation of specific intervention services such as attention to victims of sexual assault (11%, k = 6), trauma (16.75%, k = 9), and work with refugees or survivors of torture (9.35%, k = 5). No information related to specific methods of intervention (i.e., individual therapy, group therapy) was provided in the articles. As for the type of practice, 32.3% of the professionals worked in private practice and 67.7% in public services (k = 5, n = 3,133). Respondents were primarily full-time (86.2%). The remainder worked part-time (11%) or casual/voluntary (2.8%). Only one study described the therapeutic approaches of professionals (Cieslak et al., 2013), being the most reported cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT, 90%), followed by cognitive processing therapy (CPT, 42%), and eye movement desensitization and reprocessing (EMDR, 29%). Finally, 71.86% received supervision, although its frequency was not described; therefore, no further information can be provided. Details of each study included in the review can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. Studies Included in the Systematic Review

Study	RR	Scale	N	Setting	Age	Country	Se M	F	Y.o.E	Purpose of the study
Baird & Jenkins	50-100	TSIBS	101	Sexual/domestic	21-65	USA	4	96	_	To investigate VT, STS, and BO among trauma
(2003) Beaumont et al. (2016)	-	ProQOL	54	violence Students	-	UK	-	-	-	counselors. To measure associations between self-compassion, CF, wellbeing and BO in students.
Birck (2002)	75%	TSIBS	25	Torture	-	Germany	10	15	5.9	To examine the prevalence and severity of ST in professionals working with torture victims.
Bride et al. (2009)	24%	STSS	225	Substance abuse	56	USA	92	133	23	To determine if substance abuse counselors are trained to assess and treat trauma and PTSD () and to determine to what extent they experience STS.
Buchanan et al. (2006)	34%	IES-R IES-R	280	Clinical Psychology	43	Canada	45	235	11	To present research findings from a survey on ST among Canadian MHP. To assess the role of therapists' feelings of BO
Carmel et al. (2009)	16.8%	ProQOL	106	Sexual Assault (Adults)	46.11	USA	50	56	11.61	and symptoms of ST in the working alliance with male clients who have committed sexual offenses.
Castelli Dransart et al. (2015)	23.6%	IES-R	666	Clinical Psychology	45.7	Switzerland/ Italy	235	431	18.9	To identify typical profiles of professionals after a patient suicide.
Cetrano et al. (2017)	87%	ProQOL	400	Clinical Psychology	-	Italy	9	299	-	To investigate if and how quality of working life affects CF, BO, and CS among MHP.
Cieslak et al. (2013)	-	STSS	224	Military	48.92	USA	75	149	16.4	To test the relationship between indirect exposure to trauma and STS.
Connally (2012)	57%	ProQOL	63	Clinical Psychology	39.4	USA	17	18	-	To explore the relationship between clinician STS and the clinician's sex, ethnicity, and sexual identity. To explore the relationship between personal
Diehm et al. (2019)	-	STSS	78	Clinical Psychology	42.85	Australia	13	65	12.84	history of trauma, years of professional experience, level of exposure, age, and the development of STS, and to examine social as a moderating factor.
Furlonger & Taylor (2013)	50.7%	IES-R TABS	38	Trauma	36.7	Australia	13	25	4.2	To investigate the effects of supervision among telephone and online counsellors. To evaluate the effectiveness of a group therapy
Guerra et al. (2009)	-	STSS	9	Clinical Psychology	30.22	Chile	0	9	4.89	program for self-care with cognitive-behavioral orientation clinical psychologists with high levels of STS.
Guerra et al. (2015)	49.3%	STSS	259	CSA	33.3	Chile	69	180	-	To compare levels of STS among psychologists working with victims of CSA and general psychologists.
Heeb et al. (2011)	33.5%	IES-R	297	Clinical Psychology	-	Switzerland	-	-	-	To investigate the psychometric properties of the French version of the IES-R.
Jacobson (2006)	45.2%	ProQOL	325	Trauma	50.05	USA	143	181	-	To examine the negative effects (CF) of employee assistance (EA) professionals.
Jacobson (2012)	45.2%	ProQOL	325	Organizations	50.6	USA	143	181	-	To assess the risk of CF and BO, and the potential for CS among Employee Assistance Professionals.
Kadambi & Truscott (2003)	43%	IES TSIBS-L	91	Sexual Assault (Adults)	41	Canada	42	49	-	To determine if therapists working with sex offenders exhibit signs of VT, to identify associated factors and to explore the relationship between the VT and BO.
Kadambi & Truscott (2004)	45%	TSI	221	Sexual violence; Psycho-oncology; Clinical psychology	42	Canada	35	186	11,49	To investigate VT, STS, and BO among mental health professionals working with three different populations (sexual violence, cancer,
	39% 37%	IES	86 64	Sexual violence Psycho-oncology					6.72	and general practice).
Kiley et al. (2018)	-	ProQOL	24	Mental Health	-	EEUU	5	27	11.43	To examine the effects of prerecorded guided imagery (GI) on CF and state anxiety.
Kintzle et al. (2013)	35%	STSS	70	Militar	42.93	-	70	30	14.36	To explore rates of STS in military primary and MHP.
Kjellenberg et al. (2014)	50%	ProQOL	69	Torture	50.36	Sweden	17	52	9.47	To evaluate Swedish personnel working with war and torture survivors, focusing on their well-being and variables that might impact it.
La Mott & Martin (2019)	-	ProQOL	371	Trauma	41.12	USA	22	349	-	To examine the moderating effects of self-care on various compassion outcomes among MHP. To survey psychotherapists about their
Laverdierè et al. (2019)	-	ProQOL	240	Clinical Psychology	42	Canada	9	33	13	professional quality of life (CS, STS, and BO), and to compare it with mean levels provided in a recent meta-analysis.
Lawson & Meyers (2011)	51.7%	ProQOL	506	Clinical Psychology	49.9	USA	126	380	13.6	To address gaps in the literature concerning counselor wellness in relation to ProQOL and career-sustaining behaviors.
Linley & Joseph (2007)	40%	ProQOL	156	Clinical Psychology	53.67	UK	34	112	15.1	To explore both positive aspects (CS, personal growth) and negative aspects (CF, BO) of therapists' well—being.
Makadia et al. (2017)	33.3%	STSS TABS	564	Clinical Psychology	29.84	UK	57	507	-	To investigate the relationship between exposure to trauma work and well-being in trainee clinical psychologists.
Manning-Jones et al.		STSS	365	Healthcare	48.2	New Zealand	65	300	17.2	To investigate whether a curvilinear model

McKim & Smith- Adcock(2014)	17%	ProQOL	98	Trauma	-	USA	25	73	-	To examine the relationship between workplace and individual-level variables and CF/CS, and its predictor variables.
McLean et al. (2003)	61%	IES TSI	116	Clinical Psychology	25-45	Australia	31	85	11	To examine the association of therapist beliefs and other variables with VT, BO, and PTSS; and to assess support for VT as a construct separate from BO.
Newell & MacNeil (2011)	42%	ProQOL	167	Mental Health	46	USA	2	117	-	To examine professional BO, CF, and CS in MHP staff in one Veteran's Affairs hospital.
Newman et al. (2019)	79.4%	IES-R	135	Clinical Psychology	-	Australia	42	90	-	To determine the incidence of VT in a sample of correctional health and FMH staff.
Newmeyer et al. (2016)	-	ProQOL STSS	46	Trauma	22-70	Romania	15	31	-	To understand the impact of trauma and traumatized communities on trauma therapists.
Nyagaya et al. (2014)	-	STSS	302	Clinical Psychology	-	Kenya	-	-	-	To compare prevalence of STS among psychotherapists in Nairobi and Nakuru Counties of Kenya.
Olivares et al. (2007)	-	STSS	113	Clinical Psychology	23-77	Chile	36	77	-	To correlate STS levels, depression levels and self-care strategies in clinical psychologists.
Pearlman & MacIan (1995)	32%	TSIBS	188	Trauma	43	USA	52	136	9.59	To explore the relations among aspects of trauma therapy, aspects of the therapist, and the therapist's psychological functioning.
Posselt et al. (2019)	-	ProQOL	50	Refugees	41	Australia	11	36	5.62	To examine the impact of working with survivors of torture and trauma on the trauma clinician.
Ray et al. (2013)	42%	ProQOL	169	Mental Health	43.8	USA	31	138	17.23	To determine the relationships among CF, work life conditions, and BO among frontline MHP.
Rayner et al. (2020)	-	STSS	190	Mental Health	35-44	Australia	13	177	-	To examine STS and related factors of empathetic behavior and trauma caseload. To test the theoretical model of STS and to
Robinson-Keiling (2014)	-	STSS	320	Clinical Psychology	51.20	USA	67	249	17.84	extend prior research by directly measuring interpersonal and sexual disruptions and their association with STS.
Rossi et al. (2012)	84%	ProQOL	260	Mental Health	-	Italy	83	166	-	To assess BO, CF, and CS among staff at community-based mental health services (CMHS) of Verona (Italy).
Samios et al. (2012)	51.2%	ProQOL	61	Sexual Assault	42.39	Australia	10	51	-	To examine whether the negative effects of STS on therapist adjustment would be buffered by PTG.
Somoray et al. (2016)	41%	ProQOL	156	NGO	44.6	Australia	28	124	5.06	To examine the role of personality and workplace belongingness in predicting CS, STS, and BO in MHP.
Sprang et al. (2007)	19.5%	ProQOL	1121	Clinical Psychology	45.22	USA	321	737	13.92	To examine the relationship between CF, CS, and BO, and provider and setting characteristics.
Thompson et al. (2014)	-	ProQOL	213	Mental Health	-	USA	51	162	12.58	To use the transactional stress and coping perspective to explore the impact of several variables in MHP.
		IES-R								To clarify and expand current understanding of characteristics and factors associated with PTG,
Tominaga et al. (2019)	51,7%	ProQOL	230	Clinical Psychology	36.1	Japan	65	165	36.1	STS, and PTSD symptom development following clinicians' indirect exposure to trauma.
Trippany et al. (2003)	31.7%	TSIBS-L	48	Sexual Assault	24-68	USA	0	48	7.11	To examine variables that may promote VT among therapists serving adult survivors of sexual victimization vs. therapists serving child survivors of sexual victimization. To explore the level of VT in therapists
Way et al. (2004)	23%	IES	347	Sexual Assault	45.6	USA	137	210	-	working with survivors and with sexual offenders, to examine variables associated with VT.
Williams et al. (2012)	39.4%	TABS	131	Clinical Psychology	42.18	USA	48	83	10.31	To test a comprehensive model of factors contributing to the development of VT in MHP.
Zeidner et al. (2013)	-	ProQOL	89	Mental Health	-	Israel	24	65	-	To examine the role of some personal and professional factors in compassion fatigue among health-care professionals.
Želeskov-Đorić et al. (2012)	-	TABS	68	Trauma	-	Serbia	20	48	13	To investigate the relationship between resilience, personal meaning and VT in trauma therapists.

al. (2012)

Note. RR (response rate), M (male), F (female), YoE. (years of experience), IES (Impact of Events Scale), IES-R (Impact of Events Scale Revised), STSS (Secondary Traumatic Stress Scale), TABS (Trauma and Attachment Belief Scale), TSIBS (Traumatic Stress Institute Belief Scale), ProQOL (Professional Quality of Life), NGO (non-governmental organizations), CSA (child sexual abuse), STS (secondary traumatic stress), VT (vicarious trauma), BO (burnout), PTG (posttraumatic growth), CF (compassion fatigue), CS (compassion satisfaction); PTG (posttraumatic growth); MHP (mental health professionals).

Quality of the Studies

The quality of the studies was evaluated by two independent researchers using the Newcastle–Ottawa scale (Wells et al., 2000) adapted to the needs and purposes of this study (See Supplementary Materials, S2). Interrater agreement was "almost perfect" (k = .96), following Landis and Koch (1977). Conflicts were resolved through discussion and consensus.

Systematic Review

Vicarious Trauma. Eleven studies explored the relationship between providing psychological services and cognitive disruptions. VT was assessed through the Traumatic Stress Institute Belief Scale (TSI-BSL; Pearlman, 1996) in seven studies. This instrument, composed of 80 items in a 6-point Likert scale (1 = "Disagree Strongly" to 6 = "Agree Strongly"), explores cognitive disruptions in five schemas that are sensitive to traumatic experiences (safety, trust, esteem, intimacy, and control), which are assessed toward the self and the others, resulting in 10 subscales (self-safety, other-safety, self-trust, other-trust, self-esteem, other-esteem, self-intimacy, other-intimacy, self-control, and other-control). The TSI-BSL Cronbach's alpha is .93, and the consistency of the subscales ranges from .65 to .84 (Pearlman & Mac Ian, 1995).

Later on, a revision of the TSI-BSL was published, the Trauma and Attachment Belief Scale (TABS; Pearlman, 2003). The TABS adds four items, yet the two measures are statistically equivalent (Pearlman, 2003). The scale is composed of 84 items in a 6-point Likert scale. Its Cronbach's α is .96, with an acceptable internal consistency with alpha values for the subscales ranging from .67 to .87. The TABS was used in four studies.

In the review, VT remained at subclinical or threshold levels according to the cutoff scores for TABS and TSI-BSL in all studies. However, the subscales with the highest scores were those associated with personal safety and the safety of others (Makadia et al., 2017;

Želeskov-Đorić et al., 2012), which is coherent with the fact that most of the studies involved therapists working with the topic of interpersonal violence (e.g., sexual assault, domestic violence). Insufficient information about the subscales was provided; thus, no further analysis could be conducted.

Attending to the risk factors, similar variables to those found in CF and ST were present in VT. Concretely, regarding the level of exposure to suffering, it is important to note that the underpinning theoretical framework of this construct stipulates that repeated exposure to traumatic narratives disrupts the therapist's cognitive patterns. However, empirical evidence has yielded inconclusive results. In this sense, while Pearlman and Mac Ian (1995), with trauma therapists, and Williams et al. (2012), with professionals assisting victims of sexual and domestic violence, reported this relationship, Kadambi and Truscott (2003), also studying professionals assisting victims of sexual violence, and Makadia et al. (2017), in trainees of clinical psychology, did not support this hypothesis. Moreover, some studies have even reported an inverse relationship (Baird & Kracen, 2006; Trippany et al., 2004). While no explanation has been given for these findings, it is plausible that repeated exposure to trauma narratives produces a habituation to the stimuli, which may minimize the therapist's response to the client stories. Nevertheless, risk factors (e.g., gender, age of experience, training) were inconclusive, thus not further analysis can be provided.

As for protective factors, studies highlighted the importance of training (Makadia et al., 2017) and emotional venting, either through supervision (Furlonger & Taylor, 2013) or peer support; the therapist's beliefs (McLean et al., 2003); and their personal resources (i.e., resilience and meaning).

Secondary Trauma (**ST**). Twenty-one studies analyzing ST were included. This construct was assessed with three scales: Impact of Event Scale (IES), Impact of Event Scale Revised (IES-R), and Secondary Traumatic Stress Scale (STSS). Although the *Professional*

Quality of Life Scale (ProQOL; Stamm, 2005, 2010) includes an ST subscale, it is used as a measure of compassion fatigue. It was decided to keep the subscale as a measure of CF as originally intended by the authors in the primary studies.

The IES (Horowitz et al., 1979) examines the subjective distress caused by adverse life events through 15 items rated on a 5-point Likert scale (0 = "not at all", 4 = "often") in which the individual indicates the frequency of symptom during the last week. Although this scale is intended to assess the impact of any stressful experience, it has been used as a measure of PTSD (Thoresen et al., 2010). Concerning the psychometric properties, Horowitz et al. (1979) reported high reliability for the total scale and adequate internal consistency for the subscales (α = .78–.82). Thereafter, Weiss and Marmar (1997) developed the IES-R, and included six items of psychological activation and one item to measure dissociative intrusions according to the DSM-IV diagnostic criteria for PTSD. The IES-R is composed of 22 items: seven measuring intrusions, eight for avoidance, and seven for arousal. Its high internal consistency (α = .79–.94) has been reported in different studies (Creamer et al., 2003; Beck et al., 2008). It is important to note that these two scales (IES and IES-R) are not diagnostic tools for PTSD; they are aimed to assess individual responses of traumatized individuals, having been extrapolated to the professional context for secondary trauma research.

The STSS (Bride et al., 2004) is a specific self-report about the impact of indirect trauma in professionals composed of 17 items. The frequency with which each statement occurs is measured on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from "never" (1) to "very often" (5). It has three subscales: intrusion, avoidance, and arousal; and provides three approaches to interpreting the scores (Bride et al., 2007): (a) risk level of ST (using the 38-point cutoff score), (b) frequency of posttraumatic stress symptoms (PTSS) and (c) caseness (through an algorithm that determines whether the individual meets the core diagnostic criteria for

PTSD). The STSS has good reliability for the total scale (α = .93) and good internal consistency (subscales' alpha ranging between 80 and .87).

No significant differences in the level of ST measured by the three scales were observed. In general, the severity of the symptomatology was described as low or subclinical, except for four exceptions in which high-severe ST was observed. Tominaga et al. (2019), in a study involving psychotherapists who attended Tohoku (Japan) earthquake survivors, found that one-fifth showed clinically significant symptomatology, and this was especially intense for those working in schools with missing or deceased students. Similarly, Nyagaya et al. (2014) identified that 48% of the psychotherapists in Kenya presented high-severe symptoms, most notably when practicing in Nairobi, where authors reported the occurrence of several traumatic incidents occurring before data collection (e.g., bombing, fire). Buchanan et al. (2006), who also found a significant incidence, noted that 61% of the practitioners reported a previous history of abuse, and 32% of them expressed that these experiences were still having an impact in their lives. Finally, in an experimental study by Guerra et al. (2009), exploring the effectiveness of treatment for this condition, it was an inclusion criterion for participation that psychologists had obtained clinical ST scores (those not reaching the cut-off scores were not included). In these studies, the effect of shared traumatic reality (STR, Freedman & Tuval Mashiach, 2018; Tosone et al., 2012) seems to be present, that is, professionals were doubly exposed to the adverse event: by their direct experience (primary trauma) and by the experience of their clients (secondary trauma). Therefore, it is not possible to assert whether the symptoms were caused by direct or indirect exposure, or a combination of both. Nonetheless, shared trauma was not addressed in any of these papers.

The STSS showed differences depending on the correction that was applied. When using the cut-off score (38 points) proposed by Bride et al. (2004), most studies described low levels of posttraumatic symptomatology, but when the results were interpreted

considering the symptomatic frequency, a different scenario emerged. Bride et al. (2009) found that 56% of substance abuse counselors had at least one symptom of PTSD, with intrusions (43%), reexperimentation (15%), and nightmares (8%) being the most frequent symptoms. Whereas 44.4% of the participants had no PTSS at all, 19% experienced symptoms compatible with a probable diagnosis of PTSD. Cieslak et al. (2013) reported that 19.2% of military mental health professionals obtained a diagnosis of PTSD. Kintzle et al. (2013), in the same setting, found that 59% of their participants had at least one PTSD symptom, and 8% had severe symptoms. Diehm et al. (2019) noted that 9% of clinical psychologists had moderate symptomatology, 4% high, and 13% severe. Similarly, Kadambi and Truscott (2004) found that 20.80% of their participants showed moderate-severe distress. Rayner et al. (2020) found that 75.2% of their participants exhibited a PTSD symptom, while 29.5% met the criteria for a PTSD diagnosis. Finally, 48.2% of the psychotherapists in the study by Nyagaya et al. (2014) had a high ST. In line with the previous argument, although all studies asked for participants to answer on the basis of indirect trauma, the high incidence of personal trauma histories might be a relevant variable affecting all the symptoms that have been reported, showing primary instead of secondary symptoms. For example, in the study by Cieslak et al. (2013), 44% of professionals had a military background and 19% had been deployed. All participants referred to having experienced at least one traumatic event, with an average of three. Consequently, it is possible that professionals were describing symptoms stemming from their own experience.

Several risk and protective factors were described throughout the studies (e.g., gender, previous history of trauma, professional experience, self-care strategies, compassion satisfaction). However, conclusions could not be drawn because of the inconsistency of the data.

Compassion Fatigue. Twenty-one studies examined CF through the Professional Quality of Life scale (ProQOL; Stamm, 2005, 2010). This scale evaluates the quality of professional life, understood as the compendium of the positive (compassion satisfaction) and negative (compassion fatigue, composed of burnout and secondary trauma) effects of providing health care. The ProQOL is a 30-item questionnaire assessing the frequency with which the respondent has experienced symptoms as a consequence of their work during the last 30 days using a five-point Likert scale (1 = "never" to 5 = "very often").

The ProQOL is comprised of three subscales: compassion satisfaction (CS), burnout (B), and secondary traumatic stress (ST). However, the three-dimensional model has not been consistently supported by research (Geoffrion et al., 2019; Hemsworth et al., 2018), being one of the reasons the overlap between the burnout and the secondary trauma subscales (Cieslak et al., 2014). While it is important to note that the ProQOL provides results for three separated subscales (CS, B, and ST), it is common to find research studies that report indistinctly ST as CF. Regarding the psychometric properties of ProQOL, Stamm (2010) provides indicators of the validity of the scale, but the paucity of independent studies available that examine these aspects have raised concerns (Geoffrion et al., 2019). As described by Stamm (2010), this scale is not a diagnostic tool. Consequently, all interpretations of this scale should be cautious.

The risk of CF was described as low-medium across studies. The highest levels of CF were reported by Kjellenberg et al. (2014) in professionals working with torture victims; by Posselt et al. (2019) with refugees; and by Somoray et al. (2016) with professionals associated to NGOs, all related to trauma; while lower levels of CF were observed in professionals working at clinical contexts (i.e. private practice, hospitals). This is an interesting finding, because even though the ProQOL conceives CF as the combination of B and ST, the frequency of responses for each item was not reported in any of the studies, not

being possible to examine whether these higher scores were due to a greater response rate to items related to PTSD.

The severity of CF appeared to hinge upon the confluence of occupational, organizational, and personal risk factors. Among the first, organizational and occupational factors, the variable that seemed to predict CF most strongly was the amount of exposure to suffering, measured through the number of clients, the time spent providing psychological services, and years of experience (Laverdière et al., 2019; Linley & Joseph, 2007; McKim & Smith-Adcock, 2014). The length of the professional career was reported as a recurrent risk factor throughout the literature, but results were contradictory, with one study even reporting an inverse relationship between fatigue and career longevity (Laverdière et al., 2019).

Regarding the variables of the therapists, inconclusive results were found. Regarding gender, although it has been argued that women are more vulnerable to CF, in this review there were no conclusive results. With regard to the therapists' previous history of trauma (primary trauma), it seemed to be associated with an increased risk of CF in general (Kjellenberg et al., 2014; La Mott & Martin, 2019; Ray et al., 2013; Somoray et al., 2016). CF was found to be inversely associated with CS (Linley & Joseph, 2007; McKim & Smith-Adcock, 2014), defined as "the ability to receive gratification from caregiving" (Simon et al., 2005, p. 6), regardless of the professional setting and the presence of other risk factors. CS was described as a protective factor, being explored through the practitioners' beliefs, and understanding of therapy, and by their efforts to provide high-quality psychological services. CS was found to be higher among those professionals who used more positive coping strategies such as venting with coworkers about work-related stress, practicing physical exercise, spirituality (Jacobson, 2012), personal therapy (Linley & Joseph, 2007; McKim & Smith-Adcock, 2014), self-care (La Mott & Martin, 2019), self-compassion (Beaumont et al., 2016), and specific training related to the work demands (Kjellenberg et al., 2014; Sprang et

al., 2007). Additionally, higher satisfaction was observed in healthy organizations, being some indicators the perception of having control over the working environment (Laverdière et al., 2019; McKim & Smith-Adcock, 2014; Thompson et al., 2014), belongingness to the organization (Somoray et al., 2016), having access to supervision (Jacobson, 2012; Linley & Joseph, 2007), and practicing under certain theoretical orientations such as humanistic therapies (Linley & Joseph, 2007).

Meta-Analysis

The results of the meta-analyses conducted for each construct and instrument are summarized in Table 2. The meta-analyses were conducted using the general scores of each scale. Corresponding authors were contacted, but not enough data was obtained to perform further analysis.

Table 2. Results of the Metanalyses for Secondary Trauma, Compassion Fatigue and Vicarious Trauma.

Studies	Included			E	ffect		Heterog	eneity
Construct	Scale	k	M	95%	6 IC	Z	Q-value	I2
ST	STSS	11	32.80	29.77	35.83	21.209***	2388.175	99.539
	IES-R	6	17.51	8.62	26.40	3.86***	929.708	99.462
	IES	4	20.87	16.20	25.54	8.76***	135.025	97.038
CF/ST	PROQOL	21	19.075	15.969	22.180	12.038***	5894.352	99.661
VT	TSIBS-L	7	180.09	155.01	205.16	14.08***	950.888	99.159
	TABS	4	144.66	62.73	226.58	3.46***	5461.103	99.945

Note. This table informs only of the analysis for which four or more studies were available.

Note. 2. STSS (Secondary Traumatic Stress Scale), IES-R (Impact of Event Scale-Revised), IES (Impact of Event Scale), PROQOL (Professional Quality of Life), TSIBS (Traumatic Stress Institute Belief Scale), TABS (Trauma and Attachment Beliefs Scale). *** p < 0.001.

Vicarious Trauma. A total of seven studies used the TSI-BSL (Pearlman, 1996), yielding an average score of 180.09 (IC95% = 155.01–205.16). Values of this scale range between 80 and 480, with higher scores indicating greater impact.

Four articles employed the TABS, with an average score of 144.66 (IC95% = 62.73–226.58).

Mean scores of both scales indicate mild or subclinical impairment as measured by these scales. Since the studies did not provide data for each subscale, further analysis could not be conducted.

Secondary Trauma. Twenty-one studies exploring the relationship between dispensing psychological services and secondary trauma were analyzed through STSS (k = 11), IES-R (k = 6), and IES (k = 4).

The average scores obtained from STSS showed a low symptomatology (M = 32.80, IC95% = 29.77–35.83), following the cutoff scores established by Bride et al. (2004) (< 28 = very low; 29–37 = low; 38–42 = moderate; 44–48 = high; > 49 = severe).

In those studies that employed IES, the average score was 20.87 (IC95% = 16.20– 25.54), showing mild impairment (0–8 = subclinical; 9–25 = mild; 26–43 = moderate; > 44 = severe).

Finally, the average score of the IES-R was 17.51 (IC95% = 8.62–26.40). Although there is no specific scoring for this scale, it has been proposed that ≥ 26 points would indicate risk of ST (Buchanan et al. 2016); therefore, no clinically relevant scores were reached using these scales.

Compassion Fatigue. Twenty-one studies used ProQOL to explore CF. Meta-analysis was performed with the CF score (as it was defined by the primary studies) which corresponded to the scores obtained on the CF/ST subscale (the ProQOL does not provide a CF score).

The average score obtained by the mean meta-analysis was 19.07 (IC95% = 15.96–22.18). The interpretation of this value varies depending on the version of the manual used, as the cutoff scores of the subscales have changed with every version of the instrument. In this way, according to the scoring norms by Stamm (2005), there was a high risk of CF (cutoff score = 17), while using Stamm (2010) there was no risk of CF (cutoff score = 22).

Finally, using the scores provided by De La Rosa et al. (2018), as Laverdière et al (2019) previously did, the risk of CF among the professionals was medium (cutoff score = 17). Table 3 provides further details about scoring differences using these methods.

Table 3. Cut-off scores for the Compassion Fatigue/Secondary Trauma Subscale of the PROQOL.

Value	Stamm (2005)	Stamm (2010)	De la Rosa et al. (2018)
High	17	42	21
Medium	13	23-41	17
Low	8	22	13

Discussion

The aim of this review was to examine the evidence about the effects of occupational exposure to suffering in psychologists by integrating empirical research on VT, STS, and CF. Although previous reviews have been conducted (e.g., Baum, 2016; Baum & Moyal, 2020; Beck, 2015; Nimmo & Huggard, 2013), to our knowledge, this is the first quantitative synthesis that has intended to address this issue among this discipline. For this aim, 52 articles with 10,233 professionals from different settings (i.e., educational, clinical, military, NGOs) were included. Although methodological flaws hindered this purpose forcing us to include studies considering other mental health professionals along with psychologists, relevant findings were obtained (Table 4).

Table 4. Summary of Critical findings.

- The constructs Compassion Fatigue, Vicarious Trauma, and Secondary Trauma are frequently used in healthcare settings. However, its vague operationalization has hampered it empirical study
- Although most of professionals providing psychological services do not experience significant stress associated with providing psychological services, some of them develop clinically significant symptoms

- There is a remarkable lack of studies focused on the impact of delivering psychological services in psychologists
- It is necessary to define precisely and delimit properly the constructs CF, VT, and ST before developing more research since without a shared framework results are inconsistent and ambiguous

Our main finding is that, while the literature suggests that most professionals providing psychological services do not experience significant distress as a consequence of their work, some of them develop clinically relevant symptomatology. Overall, meta-analyses showed low levels of ST, CF, and VT among the samples when using quantitative interpretations (cut-off scores). Nevertheless, the systematic review showed different results when using alternative interpretations (i.e., qualitative, algorithms, alternative scoring proposals). For example, using symptom frequency instead of scoring with the STSS revealed that about 20% of professionals present symptoms compatible with a PTSD diagnosis (Bride et al., 2004; Cieslak et al., 2013; Rayner et al., 2010). This is interesting since the incidence of PTSD in the general population is estimated at around 8% (Bryant, 2019). Hence, data suggest that the prevalence of PTSD in professionals might be closer to percentages found in clinical samples (see Lewis et al., 2019; Tang et al., 2020), which may reflect the deep impact of occupational exposure to suffering. Similarly, the risk for CF was described as low-medium across studies, yet differences depending on the cutoff scores applied for interpreting the scores were found. VT levels were mild, not being possible to further examine the results due to the lack of alternative interpreting methods and the data scarcity on the subscales. These findings suggest that there may be discrepancies in the prevalence of these conditions depending on the assessment strategy used. This is a relevant point to be considered in future research, since the real incidence of psychological distress amongst professionals may not be detected, and a multi-method approach could be needed.

That being said, while the data is not conclusive, it suggests that the percentage of professionals who have experienced adverse work-related consequences may not be as low as has been reported in the literature (Elwood et al., 2011; Hensel et al., 2015).

Another relevant finding of the present study is related to the constructs that have been explored (i.e., VT, ST, CF). Although these conditions are frequently described in the health care context, the lack of scientific rigor has led to their questioning (Kadambi & Enis, 2004; Sabin-Farrell & Turpin, 2003; Sexton, 1999). Thus, even when the results indicate that occupational exposure to suffering affects professionals, with the available evidence it is not possible to assert this relationship. The research in this area has been inconsistent and ambiguous (Sabin-Ferrel & Turpin, 2003). Consequently, the study of other aspects, such as risk and protective factors, as well as their consequences, and effective preventive interventions, has also been obscured. Yet, a common protective factor was detected across the studies on CF: compassion satisfaction. Previous studies have underlined the role of CS in reducing the impact of distress in the caring professions (Grant et al., 2019; Osofsky et al., 2008). Thus, while professionals are often aware of the effects of their work on their psychological and emotional well-being, CS is commonly described as the positive counterpart. The benefits of helping others can compensate for the emotional distress incurred from providing psychological services (Pérez-Chacón et al., 2021). For example, Råbu et al. (2016) interviewed 12 former therapists to explore the impact of their profession on their personal lives, and found that the most frequent theme was the privilege of being close to other people, underlining how enriching it was to have had the opportunity of being part of other people's history, and to have witnessed the processes of change. Similarly, Michalchuk and Martin (2019) found impacts of privilege and satisfaction in trauma psychologists.

In light of the positive effects of CS on the well-being of professionals, it is quite curious that no positive counterpart of VT or ST is reported in all studies. In recent years, increased attention has been paid to the benefits of providing psychological services, which has given rise to concepts such as post-traumatic growth (PTG; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004), vicarious resilience (Hernández et al., 2010) and shared resilience in traumatic situations (SRTS, Nuttman-Shwartz, 2015, 2019). Yet, none of these constructs were mentioned in any of the studies in our review. This is interesting, as focusing on these positive effects may help explain some of the conflicting findings in previous studies. For example, despite the interest on the costs of caring, research suggest that most of the professionals seem to cope well with their work with human suffering (Kadambi & Ennis, 2004). It is possible that, as it happens with CS, other positive work outcomes such as shared resilience may have a buffering effect, leading to minor impact. As an example, in the case of psychologists and psychotherapists, CS and PTG have been linked to the professional's own mental issues (Cvetovac & Adame, 2017; Gilroy et al., 2002; Kaur, 2017), which could be associated with the variable "previous history of trauma" that was frequently reported in the studies analyzed in this review. The experience of psychological issues or traumas in professionals has been explored under the denomination of the "wounded healer" (Gelso & Hayes, 2007). Zerubavel and Wright (2012) pointed out that, because of the positive effects of these professionals on the therapeutic process (e.g., a deeper understanding of the client, greater empathy, patience), the history of trauma could have a protective effect through its relationship with PTG. Consequently, to better understand the effects of providing psychological services, it seems necessary to devote more room for its positive effects along with the negative ones, as both dimensions seem to concur. In addition, it is important to consider aspects such as shared trauma and double exposure, as they may act as moderating variables and, therefore, affect the results.

Lastly, it is important to note the lack of studies focused on psychologists. While it is true that there are other professionals who are also exposed to narratives of trauma and suffering, there is a significant difference in the endeavors devoted to exploring the impact of VT, ST, and CF depending on the discipline. In this sense, numerous studies exploring these conditions in healthcare (nurses, practitioners) and non-health care (lawyers, interpreters, police officers) professions were identified (Backman et al., 1997; Beck, 2011; Brady, 2017; Jenkins & Warren, 2012), yet the number of studies focused on psychologists was negligible. Given that psychologists are constantly exposed to narratives of suffering and considering the negative impact myths such as the untroubled therapist seems to have as a barrier for help-seeking behaviors among these professional group (Adams, 2013), the lack of attention directed to this group is remarkable.

Despite all the challenges, inconsistencies, and ambiguities found in the empirical approximation to VT, ST, and CF, what seems to remain constant across the studies is the fact that not all professionals exhibit the same impairment—even when working in the same context—as they can have different stress responses, courses, and levels of interference.

Consequently, more research is needed to fully understand the effects of providing psychological services. Overall, it is important to bear in mind that the use of VT, ST, and CF labels implies a risk of pathologizing normal, complex, and understandable human responses to distressing events and circumstances.

Limitations

The results presented in this review should be interpreted with caution due to a number of limitations. First, although our main purpose was to examine how exposure to suffering affects psychologists due to their specific characteristics, it was not possible to include studies composed exclusively of these professionals due to their scarcity and heterogeneity. However, this limitation raised awareness about the lack of studies focused on

psychologists. Second, regarding the systematic review all the studies but one were cross-sectional, which impedes drawing up causal relationships. Third, most of the samples of the studies included in this review were collected by non-probabilistic procedures, meaning that self-selection biases could exist. Additionally, most of the studies did not provide information on aspects of the sample such as their theoretical orientation, social class, or membership of minority social groups that could shed light on the possible influence of different life experiences on the impact of providing psychological services. Thus, it cannot be examined whether a different composition would have provided different outcomes. Forth, there are variables that could not be controlled that may influence results, such as the fact that literature point out that professionals with the greatest levels of distress end up leaving the field. Consequently, it is possible that the absence of these professionals has an impact on research findings. Finally, in relation to the meta-analysis, the lack of comparison groups made it impossible to perform a traditional meta-analysis, impeding the type of analysis provided that characterizes this method.

Conclusion

While it is becoming increasingly common for people to go to therapy for prevention and for self-care, the psychologist's office is still a space connected to psychological pain. Therefore, professionals are constantly exposed to narratives of suffering and distress, which can negatively affect them at emotional, physical, and relational levels. Regardless of the debate surrounding these constructs, it is a fact that some professionals providing psychological services are affected by their work, and exhibit symptoms that are consistent with VT, ST, and CF. These disruptions are worsened by barriers that make it difficult to disclose information about lived mental health difficulties, including stigma (social, institutional, and internalized), discrimination, and the stoicism that predominates in care settings and hampers the search for help. The cost of these conditions is not limited to the

professional's health; it has a systemic character, with human, economic, and organizational burdens. Some of the negative consequences that work-related stressors may have in the mental health field are the damage to patients and the profession (APA, 2008), and the cost of professionals leaving the field (McCormack et al., 2018; Schilling et al., 2018), which imply an enormous loss of resources (Harrison & Westwood, 2009).

It is therefore essential to advocate for conducting rigorous research on VT, ST, and CF first, as preventative and intervention measures ought to be grounded in solid theoretical models and empirical evidence, which, to date, has not been possible. As these conditions are not yet fully understood, it is necessary to investigate them in order to minimize the distress experienced by these professionals.

Implications for practice, policy, and research.

Implications for practice. Since any individual professionally exposed to human suffering may experience VT, ST, and CF -as no determining factors have yet been identified- it may be convenient to incorporate these conditions as a part of the academic training programs to raise awareness of their existence and symptomatic expression. Making trainees familiar with these conditions may contribute to normalize them and to interpret them as a normative outcome from the exposure to narratives of suffering. As it has been expounded, mental health professionals may be reluctant to seek for help when experiencing occupational distress due to the myths surrounding these professions. Normalization of suffering resulting from professional exposure to traumatic content could be a key element for destignatization.

Implications for research. In light of our results and the challenges found in the literature on the cost of caring, it is imperative to develop a shared framework to analyze these conditions, starting with their operationalization to build a common definition of each construct.

The impact of these conditions has fostered over the last years a growing interest in the development of prevention and intervention measures (Kim et al., 2021). Preventive measures such as supervision (Ashley-Binge & Cousins, 2020; Branson, 2019), self-care (Flint, 2018; Michenbauum, 2007), or psychological treatments including CBT (Pirelli et al., 2020), debriefing (Grundlingh et al., 2017; Scott et al., 2021), mindfulness, and Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (Pakenham & Stafford-Brown, 2012; Pirelli et al., 2020). However, despite this variety of measures, none of them have been proven to be effective evidence-based practices (i.e., lack of systematic empirical research evaluating its effectiveness, lack of RCTs). The reason underpinning the lack of evidence on the effectiveness of prevention and intervention measures may be the challenges found in the literature about these constructs. As stated by Kadambi & Ennis (2004, p. 7) regarding the body of empirical research of VT, but translatable to CF and ST, conceptual and empirical support for these constructs is inconsistent and "hindered by lack of empirical rigor and difficulties relating to the operationalization and measurement". Thus, interventions to address these phenomena may be premature (Kadambi & Ennis, 2004; Kadambi & Truscott, 2003; Sabin-Farrell & Turpin, 2003). It is essential to conduct rigorous research first, as these preventative measures should be grounded in solid theoretical models and empirical evidence, which to date has not been possible due to the underlying challenges of these constructs.

Finally, it its necessary to examine how these conditions affect professionals from different disciplines and areas of specialization, and to report them separately, as the level of exposure and the nature of their work may differ. Although different professionals may have similar functions, it is important to analyze them separately to explore the existence of specific variables and, ultimately, develop effective preventive and intervention measures.

Table 5 summarizes the implications for practice and research.

Table 5. *Implications for Practice, Policy and Research.*

Practice

- Since any individual professionally exposed to human suffering may experience VT, CF and ST as no determining risk factors have yet been identified it may be convenient to incorporate these conditions as part of academic training programs in order to raise awareness of their existence and symptomatic expression
- Normalizing these experiences as a normative outcome from the constant exposure to narratives of suffering is a key element for their destignatization

Research

- It is imperative to build a shared framework to analyze these conditions, starting with their operationalization in order to build a common definition of each one of them
- Prevention and intervention programs for these conditions ought to be grounded in solid theoretical models and empirical evidence, which to date has not been possible due to the underlying challenges of these constructs
- It is necessary to examine how these conditions affect professionals from different areas of specialization, as the level of exposure and the nature of their work differ (e.g., psychologists vs. nurses)

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