



HM Inspectorate
of Probation



Intersectionality and probation practice

Sarah O'Neill, Daniella Nudd and Deena Parmar

HM Inspectorate of Probation

Academic Insights 2026/01

JANUARY 2026

Contents

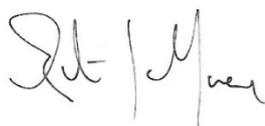
Foreword.....	3
1. Introduction	5
2. Probation practice through an intersectional lens	6
2.1 The Equality Act 2010 and intersectionality.....	6
2.2 Knowledge.....	8
2.3 Skills	10
2.4 Behaviour	12
3. Conclusion.....	14
References	15

Foreword

HM Inspectorate of Probation is committed to reviewing, developing and promoting the evidence base for high-quality probation and youth justice services. *Academic Insights* are aimed at all those with an interest in the evidence base. We commission leading academics to present their views on specific topics, assisting with informed debate and aiding understanding of what helps and what hinders probation and youth justice services.

This report was kindly produced by Sarah O'Neill, Daniella Nudd and Deena Parmar, exploring the concept of intersectionality and how an intersectional lens can support key aspects of probation practice, encompassing knowledge, skills and behaviours. Crucially, intersectionality provides a framework which encourages probation practitioners to comprehend the full complexity of the individuals they work with, seeing people as more than their offence or a single characteristic.

Most people on probation are unlikely to experience challenges in isolation, with factors interacting, and an intersectional lens promotes the tailoring of approaches to reflect the realities of each person's lived experience. This includes adapting communication styles, displaying empathy, and being curious about how overlapping identities influence behaviour, risk, and access to support. Such tailoring helps to build positive relationships, supporting and enhancing engagement, fostering trust, and promoting meaningful change. Additionally, intersectionality invites practitioners to reflect on their own values, assumptions, and positionality. It promotes reflective and reflexive practice, emotional literacy, and cultural competence as essential tools for high-quality supervision, supported by an organisational commitment to the creation of psychologically safe environments.



Dr Robin Moore

Head of Research & Data Analysis

Author profiles

Sarah O'Neill is a Senior Lecturer at De Montfort University. She teaches on the Community Justice programme as part of the Professional Qualification in Probation (PQiP). Sarah has programme leadership responsibility for the level 4 and 5 pathways. Additionally, she is the joint module leader for the level 6 risk module and tutors' students across levels 4, 5 and 6. Prior to joining De Montfort University, Sarah worked for the Probation Service for 17 years. She has experience as a Probation Officer and Senior Probation Officer in both sentence management and court settings. Sarah has also worked as a Practice Tutor Assessor and is an experienced trainer. In 2025, Sarah contributed to a text on academics in criminal justice.

Daniella Nudd is a Senior Lecturer at De Montfort University, teaching on the Community Justice programme as part of the Professional Qualification in Probation (PQiP) and on the Master's in Community and Criminal Justice Leadership programme. She is the module leader for the level 6 rehabilitation module. Prior to joining De Montfort University, Daniella worked for the Probation Service for 20 years, gaining extensive experience as a Probation Officer and Senior Probation Officer across sentence management, including substance misuse and Integrated Offender Management settings. She has also managed female-only teams, bringing a strong focus on gender-responsive practice to her work.

Deena Parmar is a Senior Lecturer at De Montfort University. She teaches on the Community Justice programme as part of the Professional Qualification in Probation (PQiP) and on the Masters in Community and Criminal Justice Leadership programme for which she is Programme Leader. Deena is also Module Leader for the level 6 reflection module. Prior to joining De Montfort University, Deena worked in the Probation Service for 20 years as a Probation Officer and a Senior Practitioner working across all areas of sentence management. Deena's research interests are related to intersectionality, equality, diversity and inclusion, and cultural competence among probation employees.

The views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the policy position of HM Inspectorate of Probation

1. Introduction

Interest in the concept of intersectionality has grown exponentially over the years, and it has become central to the discourse on challenging inequality and promoting social justice (Hankivsky, 2014). Consequently, there is an increasing recognition that intersectionality can offer a framework to understand and analyse complexity in the world, in people, and in experiences (Collins and Bilge, 2016: 2), which is directly applicable to research, policy, practice and teaching.

This *Academic Insights* paper seeks to explore the contributions that an intersectional perspective can offer to aspects of probation practice. It aims to start a conversation regarding why intersectionality might be useful in a probation context and how an intersectional lens could be used to illuminate practice. This will be achieved by focusing on specific aspects of probation practice, including selected knowledge, skills and behaviours. A case example will be introduced to explore the links between theory and practice. As a starting point, it is important to acknowledge that an unclear understanding of intersectionality can present challenges to its application. Crenshaw (1989: 149) defines intersectionality as:

'a metaphor for understanding the ways that multiple forms of inequality or disadvantage sometimes compound themselves and create obstacles that often are not understood among conventional ways of thinking.'

Crucially, an intersectional perspective contends that social inequality is never shaped by a single factor of social division, such as race, gender, class, or disability (Collins and Bilge, 2016). Instead, inequalities are the outcome of mutually influential social divisions. These are reinforced by the systems and structures of power, including laws, policies, the government and media, as well as lived experience. The interplay between these processes creates interrelated forms of privilege and oppression (Hankivsky, 2014). A range of visual representations have been developed (Hankivsky, 2014); for example, within Bowleg's (2012: 758) research, the following observation regarding the intersections of identity was offered by a participant: "once you've blended the cake you can't take the parts back to the main ingredients." This illustrates how the different aspects of identity are not separate components, but instead interconnect and mutually reinforce.

The origins of intersectionality date back to the 1960s, with its roots firmly established in Black feminist thought and Critical Race Theory (Bernard, 2021: 2). During this period, African-American women identified that social movements pertaining to anti-racism, feminism, and class failed to adequately capture the complex social problems they experienced (Collins and Bilge, 2016). Crenshaw (1989) is credited with first coining the term intersectionality. She argued that anti-discrimination law, feminism, and anti-racist movements focused on the most powerful and privileged members of their groups, depicting them as representative of the group as a whole (Christoffersen, 2021). Ultimately, it is contended that concentrating on one aspect of social inequality minimises the totality of the discrimination experienced.

While the concept of intersectionality was initially applied to race and gender as markers of social division, adopting an intersectional approach recognises the lived experience and exclusion of a range of marginalised populations, including justice-experienced individuals. Thus, it is posited that probation practitioners can utilise an intersectional approach within their practice to develop a more accurate and nuanced understanding of the complex reality of the social lives of individuals.

2. Probation practice through an intersectional lens

2.1 The Equality Act 2010 and intersectionality

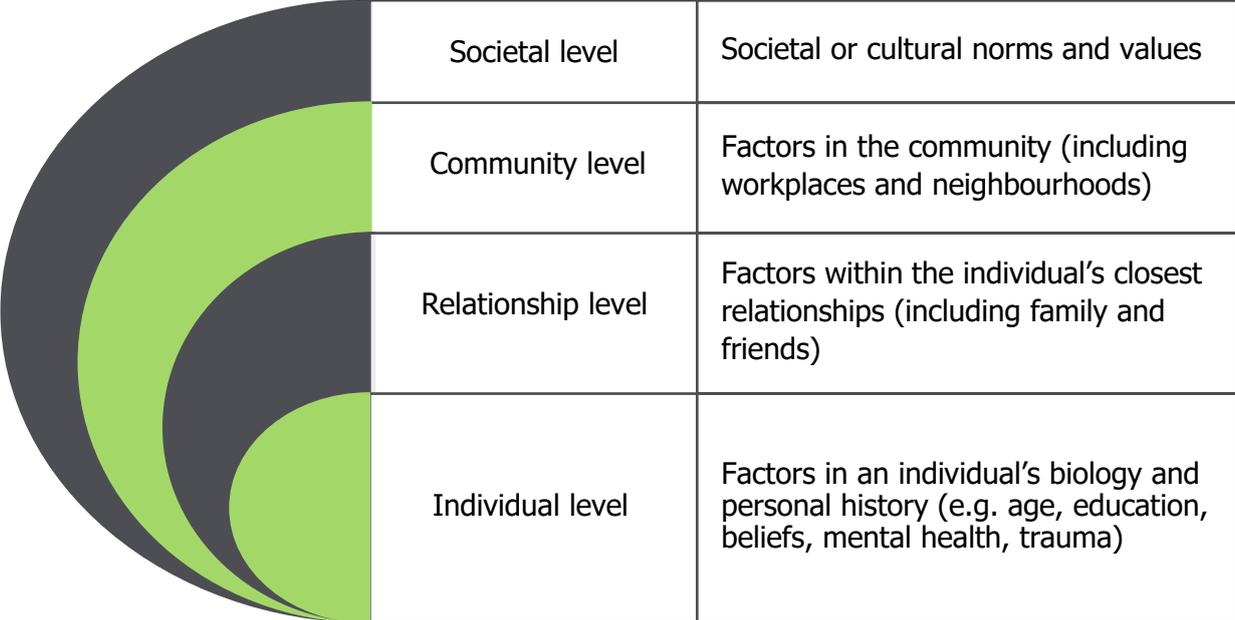
Fifteen years after its enactment, the *Equality Act 2010* remains a fundamental part of the UK's anti-discrimination framework. It unifies previously fragmented legislation to protect nine characteristics, mandates reasonable adjustments, and imposes a Public Sector Equality Duty on public authorities to consider equality in decisions, procedures and policies. Examining the *Equality Act 2010* provides a useful legal context through which intersectionality theory can be better understood, particularly in showing how overlapping identities and forms of discrimination are recognised or overlooked within policy and practice.

The *Equality Act 2010* represented an important step in consolidating anti-discrimination law, but critics argue that it does not adequately capture the complexity of identity. Verma (2024) observes that the Act neglects how inequalities intersect, while Mos-Shogbamimu (2018) explains that intersectional multiple discrimination occurs when the combination of protected characteristics produces disadvantage. Shahin (2020) similarly critiques the Act's essentialist orientation, noting that it treats protected groups as homogenous and frames discrimination through singular identities. This risks obscuring the lived realities of people whose experiences of discrimination stem from the interaction of multiple characteristics, raising questions about whether the Act can address contemporary forms of inequality. Bizarro Amat and Acanfora (2025) argue that dividing the world into categories is a cognitive strategy to manage complexity. Nevertheless, in reality, these categories overlap and intersect, which reveals a significant disjuncture between the law's rigid classifications and the fluid intersecting nature of lived experience.

It is useful to reflect on the restrictions of the *Equality Act 2010* through the lens of the socio-ecological model, which was initially developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979). The model exposes the limitations of the Act's approach by highlighting how individuals have many identities and are impacted by the environment in which they exist. Discrimination rarely exists in isolation and often operates across interconnected layers. These layers could include the individual level, interpersonal interactions, organisational practices, community norms, and broader societal systems. Disadvantage is often amplified at each tier, compounding the barriers to equality.

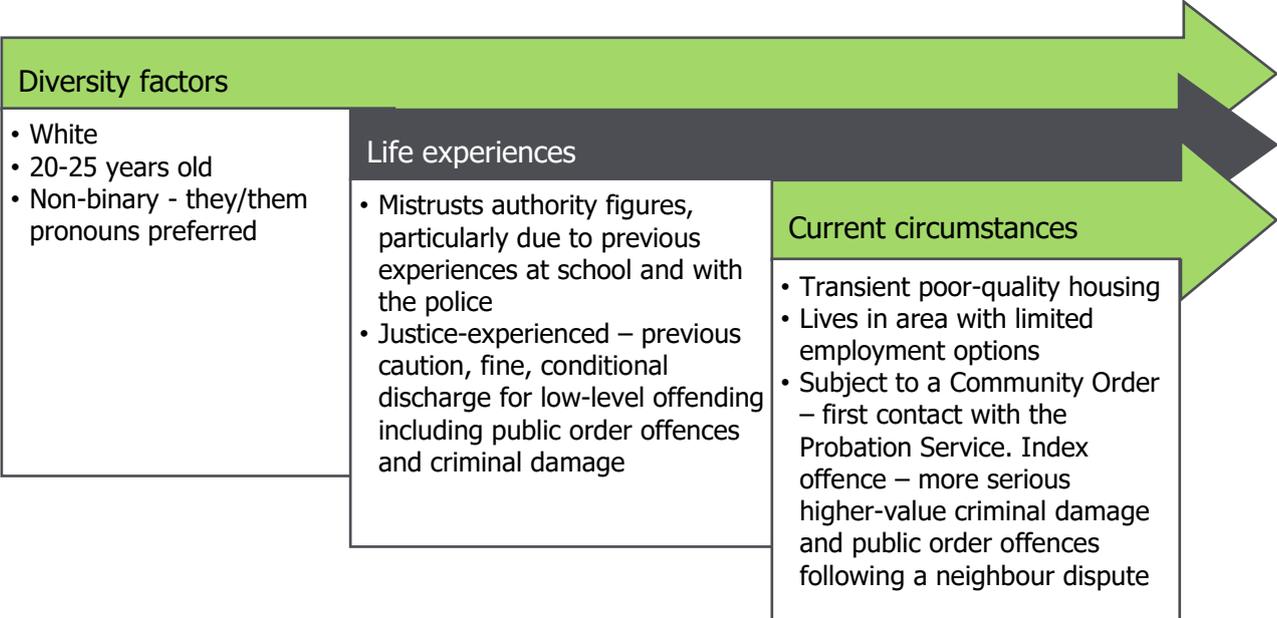
By primarily addressing discrimination as an individualised or interpersonal wrong, the Act risks tackling symptoms of inequality without engaging with the structural and institutional roots that perpetuate it. An intersectional lens, which is complemented by a socio-ecological understanding (see Figure 1), offers a more capacious and transformative framework for achieving substantive equality, which recognises that some groups are disadvantaged because of systemic, historical, or social factors.

Figure 1: Intersectionality and the socio-ecological model



The rest of this paper explores the contributions that an intersectional perspective can offer to key aspects of probation practice, encompassing knowledge, skills and behaviours. Across the sections, the case study of Sam (see Figure 2) is used to help make the links between theory and practice. Given that reflexivity is a central tenet of intersectionality, there is value in the author’s briefly explaining our positionality to understand how lived experiences have shaped this paper (Larson et al., 2016). We are female, former probation practitioners, each with over 15 years’ experience working in the probation service. We are all involved in teaching on the academic component of the Professional Qualification in Probation (PQiP). We have different levels of graduate training and varied sexual orientation, ethnic and national backgrounds.

Figure 2: Sam case example



2.2 Knowledge

Responsivity and intersectionality

Since its formalisation in 1990, the Risk, Need, Responsivity (RNR) model (Bonta and Andrews, 2017) has become the dominant framework for risk and needs assessment. Its contribution to the development of assessment tools and treatment programmes is notable across jurisdictions. In England and Wales, the model has underpinned key aspects of probation practice, including the Offender Assessment System (OASys) and a range of accredited programmes (Bonta, 2023; Raynor, 2002).

This paper will focus upon the responsivity principle as it applies to the concept of intersectionality (for a full explanation of the model, see Bonta and Andrews, 2017 and Bonta, 2023). Responsivity sets out how work should be delivered (HMI Probation, 2025) and is separated into two distinct components (Bonta and Andrews, 2017):

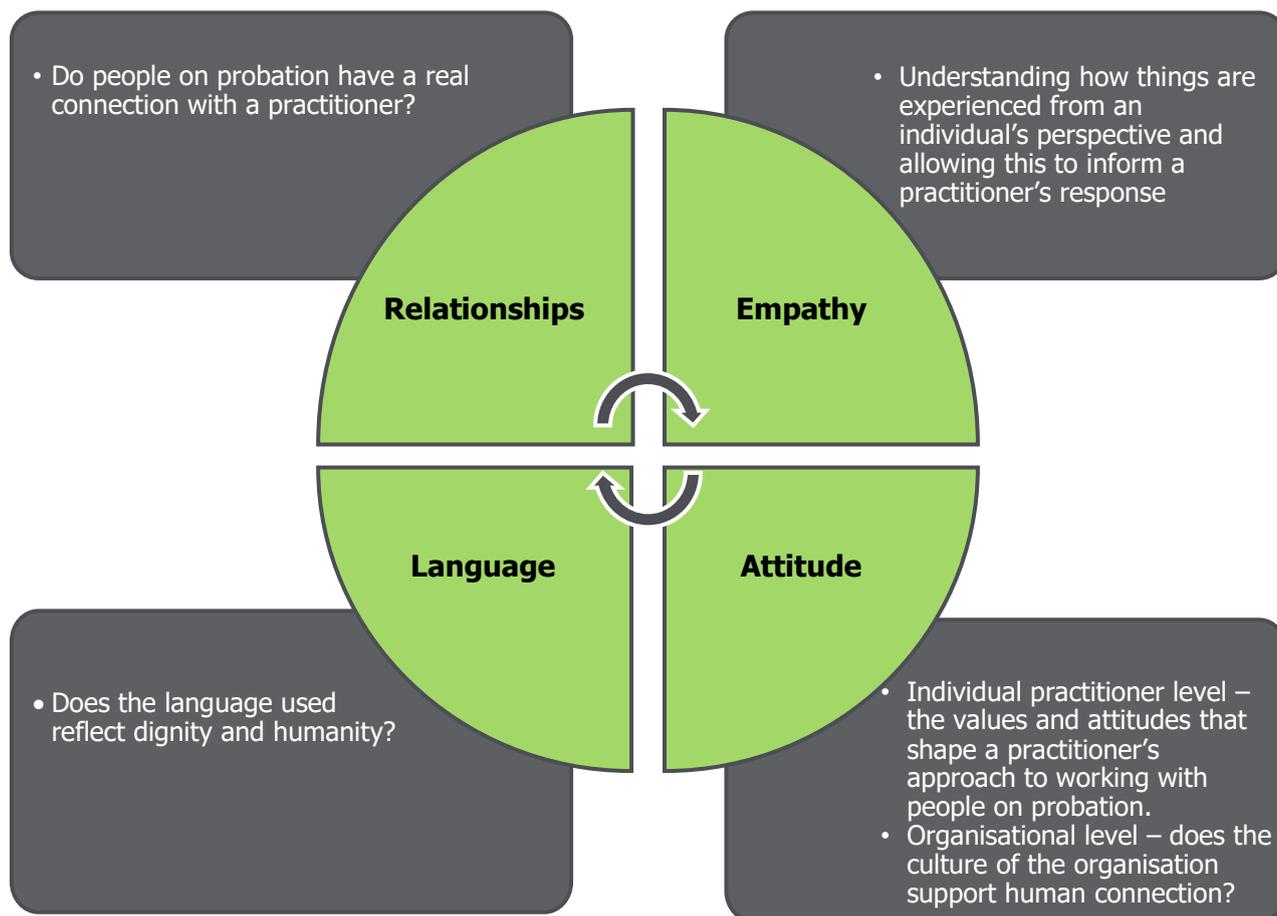
- *general responsivity* argues for the utilisation of cognitive behavioural approaches and skill building strategies to influence behavioural change
- *specific responsivity* suggests that the style and mode of delivery requires adaptation to the setting. Additionally, it recognises that relevant characteristics of an individual should be considered, including strengths, motivation, preferences, personality, protected characteristics, and cultural identification.

The RNR model has been extensively critiqued (see, for example, Purvis and Ward, 2020; Fazel et al., 2024). Arguably, the most significant criticisms in recent years have focused on the applicability of the model to justice-involved, minoritised groups (Robinson et al., 2023; Raynor, 2020). Roig-Palmer and Lutze (2021), for example, outline that criminal justice practitioners use risk assessment tools, principally underpinned by the RNR model to inform their work with Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and Asexual (LGBTQIA+) individuals. It is contended that these tools are limited as they rely upon research dominated by white, male, heteronormative, justice-involved populations. Thus, failing to address the diverse and multifaceted responsivity issues of LGBTQIA+ individuals and potentially perpetuating discrimination. Similarly, Messina and Esparza (2022) argue that the RNR model is not inclusive of the needs of women and potentially sub-groups with intersecting identities, such as gender-diverse individuals. They reiterate that the model neglects the wider context of women's pathways into the criminal justice system and person-centred factors.

Despite the criticisms of the RNR model, it is posited that specific responsivity provides an opportunity for the application of an intersectional lens within probation practice. There is an ever-expanding body of academic literature and research which consistently reinforces the importance and centrality of the supervisory relationship to create an environment conducive to change (Raynor, 2019; Dominey and Canton, 2022). This could resonate in the case study of Sam and with other individuals whose identity and life circumstances may have led them to experience mistrust and marginalisation within societal structures and systems.

The Centre for Relational Care (2024) presents a challenge for professionals to reflect on how a relational approach can be integrated within everyday practice. REAL (Relationships, Empathy, Attitude and Language) was developed as a framework to support practitioners working with young people within the care sector. However, this can be extended to intersectional probation practice (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: The REAL model (Centre for Relational Care, 2024)



Relationships: Bernard (2021: 62) argues that developing meaningful engagement and relationships requires conversations to try to understand how individuals represent their identity. Adopting a rigid one-size fits all approach in working with Sam is unlikely to capture the complexity of their intersectional lived experience. Incorporating the principles of specific responsibility within practice allows for tailored interventions to reflect Sam's identity. Furthermore, support and culturally appropriate advocacy can assist in addressing identified nuances.

Brierley (2021, cited in Wigzell and Paterson-Young, 2025: 9) asserts that relational practice is shaped by more than key characteristics such as genuineness, openness, honesty and inclusivity; it additionally requires a human connection to cultivate trust. For Sam, consideration could be given to matching them to a semi-specialist team with knowledge and expertise. This could enhance the development of an authentic connection to meaningfully reflect their intersectional identity (Lawrence, 2025).

Empathy: According to Bernard (2021:57), intersectionality provides an effective approach for 'meaning-making', assisting practitioners to co-construct understanding with individuals relating to their lived experiences. Sam may have experienced institutional rejection or discrimination linked to their gender identity. Therefore, utilising empathy, as part of an intersectional approach in working with Sam is crucial. This could, for example entail creating an environment in which open questions can be asked and active listening is used to seek to understand. Sensitively exploring the intersectional elements of Sam's lived experiences additionally presents the opportunity for difficult disclosures relating to personal, cultural and structural discrimination (Thompson, 2021).

Vasilescu and Dominey (2024: 2) identify flexibility as a key aspect of community supervision. They define flexibility as being 'shaped by the circumstances and needs of the supervisee', whilst avoiding fixed supervisory processes. In Sam's context, this might require a practitioner to recognise the impact of housing insecurity on their compliance or respond to fluctuations in mental health and then adapt communication styles to create a safe and affirming supervisory space. This aligns with the principles of specific responsivity. Moreover, it enables a sharper focus on intersectionality.

Attitude: A key tenet of intersectionality is reflexivity. According to Hankivsky (2014), reflexive practice recognises diverse perspectives and gives space to marginalised voices. Adopting an intersectional approach requires practitioners to critically reflect on their own identity, social positioning and assumptions to consider how these influence interactions and professional judgement (Bolton and Delderfield, 2018). In relation to Sam, a practitioner should be encouraged to critically reflect on factors that shape their working relationship, including power dynamics. This also provides an important opportunity to identify further training or knowledge required to enhance confidence and address bias.

Tuddenham (2000) highlights that reflexivity extends beyond self-reflection to include a critical appreciation of the broader social and political factors, including systemic racism, public discourse and institutional norms that influence practice. At an organisational level, reflexivity extends beyond policies and procedures to the culture of the organisation, for example practitioners require relational role models to learn behaviours, which can influence their practice and engagement skills (Centre for Relational Care, 2024; UN Women, 2022). Reflexivity at an organisational level can create the conditions for a psychologically safe environment to promote intersectional practice. Lawrence (2025) notes that practitioners who feel psychologically safe to ask questions, present authentically, and work innovatively are more effective in supporting individuals' pathways to desistance.

Language: The language that practitioners use is not neutral. It can build or break connections, include or exclude (Centre for Relational Care, 2024). The terminology selected can also perpetuate stereotypes. In relation to Sam, it is essential to ask them about the language and terminology they wish to use. Utilising preferred pronouns and recognising that misgendering may have or continue to be experienced by Sam could help to develop the supervisory relationship. Additionally, adopting strength-based, empowering language, instead of language that could be perceived and/or received as deficit-focused may also be valuable in creating respectful conditions for supervision.

2.3 Skills

Types of questions

The questions asked by probation practitioners, whether through gathering information for a court report or through informal conversations during supervision, should be framed through an intersectional lens to avoid the risk of bias and to gather genuinely useful information. Reflecting on the work of Herschel Prins, practitioners are encouraged to explore beyond the presenting behaviours with which they are faced. They should employ questioning techniques that deep dive into the complexities of an individual's lived experience (Prins, 1999). This should be set within a supervisory relationship that genuinely cares about the person being supervised and their desistance (HMI Probation, 2020).

When working with Sam, probation practitioners would be encouraged to use questioning styles that reflect sensitivity to intersectional factors. Prins (1999) highlights the importance of

asking open-ended questions. Through an intersectional lens, open-ended questioning might explore how different aspects of identity and experience interact, while avoiding judgmental language, which could suggest that the practitioner is making assumptions. Practitioners would be encouraged to approach questioning with cultural humility (Tervalon and Murray-Garcia, 1998), demonstrating a willingness to learn and acknowledging their limitations in understanding different cultural contexts. The importance of a trauma-informed approach would be relevant; for example, being aware that certain questions might trigger past trauma (Levenson and Willis, 2018). Finally (and whilst this list is not exhaustive), being aware of possible power dynamics and power imbalance within the relationship means striving to create that safe space for disclosure, for example, through procedural justice (Tyler, 1990, 2007).

Rather than a didactic approach to questioning, Socratic questioning involves a series of focused, open-ended questions that encourage reflection (Clark and Egan, 2015). It can be viewed as a method of guided discovery that helps define problems, assists in identifying thoughts and beliefs, examines the meaning of events, or assesses the consequences of thoughts or behaviour (Beck and Dozois, 2011). Sam may have faced marginalisation or misunderstanding in institutional settings; Socratic questioning can help uncover the layers of identity and structural disadvantage that shape their experiences. Moreover, it can perhaps be viewed as a skill that communicates that the practitioner values Sam's thoughts and experiences. Rex (1999) reported that, from a person on probation's perspective, practitioners who took a personal interest in them supported their desistance.

Professional curiosity

When applied through an intersectional lens, professional curiosity supports the process of uncovering and understanding the complex and overlapping identities and experiences that shape an individual's behaviour, risk factors, and engagement with the probation service. Professional curiosity is 'a process of always questioning and seeking verification for the information you are given rather than making assumptions or accepting things at face value' (HMPPS, 2020).

Whilst recognised as a tool to assess and manage risk, being professionally curious can improve engagement and promote desistance by equipping practitioners with a more thorough understanding of an individual's identity (HMI Probation 2022). Amor et al. (2025) highlight how being professionally curious should extend to all areas of a person's life, including their cultural experiences related to inequality and prejudice. The 2023 HM Inspectorate of Probation follow-up inspection on race equality observed that there had been minimal improvement over the past two years in the extent to which assessments of minority ethnic people on probation considered issues of ethnicity, culture, faith and experience of discrimination (HMI Probation, 2023). Rather than being concerned about opening Pandora's box (Philips et al., 2022b), practitioners should perhaps reflect that, to a person on probation, asking difficult questions could in fact be opening a door to healing (Smith, 2024).

When applying professional curiosity through an intersectional lens, probation practitioners would be curious about how an individual's intersecting identities might influence their experiences with the criminal justice system, motivations, and needs. Practitioners would be encouraged to navigate beyond surface-level discussion and remain open to complex, intersecting factors influencing behaviour and risk. For this to be impactful, it is recognised that practitioners need time to develop a relationship with somebody to know what questions to ask and how to be professionally curious (Philips, 2022a).

Lawrence (2025) identified staff anxieties about saying or doing the wrong thing when working with justice-involved trans people. Professional curiosity can play a critical role in addressing this anxiety and can be usefully applied to Sam. Rather than making assumptions based solely on visible characteristics, professional curiosity encourages practitioners to ask open, reflective questions that explore how intersecting aspects of identity – such as gender identity, socioeconomic status, and justice experience – combine to affect the individual's needs, risks, and access to support. By actively listening and seeking to understand lived experiences, practitioners can uncover hidden barriers, such as discrimination in housing or employment, or reluctance to disclose identity due to fear of stigma.

Emotional literacy

Emotional literacy, employed as a concept in criminal justice, defines the skills that practitioners may use to understand their own emotions and to work effectively and appropriately with the emotions of people on probation, victims, and witnesses (Knight, 2014). In probation practice, this translates into recognising how overt and subtle emotional cues inform relationships, communication, and engagement with people on probation. Furthermore, it enables officers to build rapport and trust, especially with those whose experiences of systemic discrimination may lead to mistrust of authority.

A probation practitioner with strong emotional literacy would move beyond simply noting Sam's demographic details to empathising with the emotional reality of their lived experience. The practitioner can validate their feelings by being attuned to Sam's emotional cues, even if they do not fully understand the specific experience. Phrases like “it sounds incredibly frustrating to deal with housing issues while also trying to navigate employment” or “I can only imagine how exhausting it must be to constantly explain your identity” can help to demonstrate empathy and encourage deeper sharing. This validation is key to building trust, especially given Sam's justice-experienced background and potential distrust of authority. For example, a non-binary person who has previously been misgendered or excluded may express discomfort or defensiveness. A practitioner with emotional literacy will recognise this not as resistance, but as a valid emotional response rooted in their social experience.

Emotionally literate practitioners are more likely to pause and reflect on their own emotional reactions (for example, discomfort or surprise) when confronted with unfamiliar or complex identities. This can help them avoid defaulting to assumptions based on dominant narratives and adopt an open, reflective stance that honours individual complexity.

2.4 Behaviour

Cultural competence was introduced in the 1980's by social workers and counselling psychologists as an approach to working successfully in multi-cultural contexts (Yellin, 2025). In a probation context it refers to a practitioner's ability to understand, respect, and effectively engage with people from diverse cultural backgrounds, recognising how culture, identity, and lived experience shape interactions and outcomes. Jorgensen-Smith (2021) discusses how cultural competence requires synthesis and application of cultural awareness, knowledge and sensitivity. In probation practice, cultural competence requires more than an awareness of difference; it demands engagement with the intersecting identities and lived experience of people on probation. Grounded in intersectionality, it recognises how overlapping characteristics, such as race, gender and class, shape experiences of discrimination. Practitioners demonstrate this through respectful curiosity, openness in discussing identity, and adapting practice to meet the complex needs of diverse individuals.

Papadopoulous et al. (1988) advocate that cultural knowledge fosters sensitivity, expressed through genuineness, acceptance, and respect. Without cultural competence, practitioners risk overlooking the intersecting identities of people on probation, perpetuating bias and systemic inequality. HM Inspectorate of Probation's Race Equality reports (2021, 2023) highlight persistent gaps, noting practitioners' lack of confidence in discussing culture and discrimination with Black, Asian and minority ethnic individuals (Wainwright, Burke and Collett, 2024). This undermines trust, weakens professional relationships, and limits the effectiveness of supervision.

Developing cultural competence, therefore, requires reflective and reflexive practice, supervision that addresses cultural dynamics, and organisational commitment to psychologically safe spaces for staff to engage with complex, intersecting identities. Embedding cultural competence into professional development, leadership modelling, and organisational values is essential to equip probation staff to deliver equitable and effective services. As Wainwright, Burke and Collett (2024) emphasise, understanding the circumstances shaping individual experience is intellectually demanding but critical to supporting meaningful change.

To be truly effective, cultural competence must be situated within an intersectional framework. This means recognising that a person's cultural identity does not exist in isolation from other factors such as race, gender, class, sexuality, or disability. These identities interact in complex ways, producing overlapping experiences of discrimination or privilege. Without this lens, practitioners risk applying cultural competence superficially, overlooking how multiple forms of inequality shape a person's lived experience.

3. Conclusion

Understanding intersectionality enables probation practitioners to comprehend the full complexity of the individuals they work with. People on probation, such as Sam, are unlikely to experience challenges in isolation. Factors such as gender identity, class, race, disability, and justice involvement interact and shape their experiences in ways that more traditional one-size-fits-all approaches may overlook.

This paper demonstrates that applying an intersectional lens to probation practice can support and enhance engagement, foster trust, and promote desistance. It encourages practitioners to tailor their approach to reflect the realities of each person's lived experience. This includes adapting communication styles, using respectful language, and being curious about how overlapping identities influence behaviour, risk, and access to support.

Additionally, intersectionality invites practitioners to reflect on their own values, assumptions, and positionality. It promotes reflective practice, emotional literacy, and cultural competence, not as optional extras, but as essential tools for effective supervision. When embedded into everyday practice, these approaches assist in creating safe, affirming spaces where individuals feel seen, heard, and supported. The REAL model helps to encompass some of these ideas and offers a practical framework to embed intersectionality into probation practice.

Ultimately, intersectional practice is not about adding complexity; it is about recognising it and seeing people as more than their offence or a single characteristic. For probation practitioners, this means not only managing risk but also promoting meaningful change through relationships built on understanding, respect, and inclusion.

References

- Amor, H., Thomas, M., Halfpenny, C. Dealey, J. (2025). 'Professional Curiosity', *Probation Quarterly*, PQ36.
- Anonymous (2025). 'When the Law Forgets We Are Human: The Impact of the 2025 Supreme Court Ruling on Trans women', *Equality and Diversity UK Blog*. Available at: <https://blog.equalityanddiversity.co.uk/index.php/2025/04/18/when-the-law-forgets-we-are-human-the-impact-of-the-2025-supreme-court-ruling-on-trans-women/> [Accessed: 2 August 2025]
- Beck, A.T. Dozois, D.J. (2011). 'Cognitive therapy: Current status and future directions', *Annual Review of Medicine*, 62, pp. 397-409.
- Bernard, C. (2021). *Intersectionality for Social Workers: A Practical Introduction to Theory and Practice*. Routledge.
- Bolton, G. and Delderfield, R. (2018). *Reflective Practice: Writing and Professional Development*, 5th edition. Sage publications.
- Bizzarro Amat, M. and Acanfora, F. (2025). 'Intersectionality: Understanding the Complexity of Human Identities', *LinkedIn*, 26 June 2025. Available at: <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/intersectionality-understanding-complexity-human-identities-xvnde/?trackingId=%2FH3pEJx4R8KSiWhd2kbewQ%3D%3D> [Accessed: 28 July 2025]
- Blackham, A. (2016). 'Reflexive change? A quantitative review of the impact of the Equality Act 2010 on age equality measures in organisations' *International Journal of Discrimination and the Law*, 16(2-3), pp. 122-142.
- Bonta, J. and Andrews, D. (2017). *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct*, 6th edition. Routledge.
- Bonta, J. (2023). *The Risk-Need-Responsivity model: 1990 to the Present*, HM Inspectorate of Probation Academic Insights 2023/06. Available at: <https://hmiprobation.justiceinspectores.gov.uk/document/the-risk-need-responsivity-model-1990-to-the-present/> [Accessed: 06 November 2025]
- Bowleg, L. (2012). "Once You've Blended the Cake, You Can't Take the Parts Back to the Main Ingredients:" Black Gay and Bisexual Men's Descriptions and Experiences of Intersectionality', *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 66 (1/2). DOI: 10.1007/s11199-012-0152-4.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Harvard University Press.
- Centre for Relational Care (2024). 'When care isn't caring: A reality check on relationships.' Available at: <https://www.centreforrelationalcare.org.au/am-i-being-real> [Accessed: 9 September 2025]
- Christoffersen, A. (2021). *Intersectionality in practice – Research findings for practitioners & policy makers*, The University of Edinburgh School of Social & Political Science.
- Clark, G.I. and Egan, S.J. (2015). 'The Socratic method in cognitive behavioural therapy: A narrative review', *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 39 (6), pp. 863-879.
- Collins, P. and Bilge, S. (2016). *Intersectionality*. Polity Press.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*, University of Chicago Legal Forum, (1,8).

Dominey, J. and Canton, R. (2022). 'Probation and the ethics of care,' *Probation Journal*, 69 (4), pp. 417-433.

Fazel, S., Hurton, C., Burghart, M., DeLisi, M. and Yu, R. (2024). 'An updated evidence synthesis on the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) model: Umbrella review and commentary,' *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 92 (102197).

Fredman, S. (2016). 'Intersectional discrimination in EU gender equality and non-discrimination law', *Publications Office of the European Union*. Available at:

<https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/d73a9221-b7c3-40f6-8414-8a48a2157a2f> [Accessed: 30 July 2025]

Hall, E.T. (1976). *Beyond Culture*. Anchor Press.

Hankivsky, O. (2014). *Intersectionality 101*, Institute for Intersectionality Research and Policy.

HM Inspectorate of Probation (2025). *Probation services – models and principles – The risk-need-responsivity model*. Available at: <https://hmiprobation.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/our-research/evidence-base-probation-service/models-and-principles/the-risk-need-responsivity-model/> [Accessed: 9 September 2025].

HM Inspectorate of Probation (2023). *Race equality in probation follow-up: A work in progress*. Available at: <https://hmiprobation.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/document/race-equality-in-probation-follow-up-a-work-in-progress/> [Accessed: 25 July 2025]

HM Inspectorate of Probation (2021). *Race equality in probation: the experiences of black, Asian and minority ethnic probation service users and staff*. Available at: <https://hmiprobation.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/document/race-equality-in-probation-the-experiences-of-black-asian-and-minority-ethnic-probation-service-users-and-staff/> [Accessed: 4 August 2025]

HM Inspectorate of Probation (2020). *Supervision Skills*. Available at: <https://hmiprobation.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/our-research/evidence-base-probation-service/models-and-principles/supervision-skills/> [Accessed: 24 July 2025]

HM Prison & Probation Service (2020). *Professional Curiosity*. Internal HMPPS report: unpublished.

Knight, C. (2014). *Emotional Literacy in Criminal Justice: Professional Practice with Offenders*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Larson, E., George, A., Morgan, R. and Poteat, T (2016). '10 Best resources on...intersectionality with an emphasis on low- and middle-income countries', *Health Policy and Planning*, 31, pp. 964-969.

Lawrence, J. (2025). 'The importance of psychological safety in advancing community justice practitioners' knowledge and practice when working with trans people', *Probation Journal*, pp. 1-18. DOI: 10.1177/02645505251347244.

Levenson, J.S. and Willis, G.M. (2018). 'Implementing trauma-informed care in correctional treatment and supervision', *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, 45 (12), pp. 1779-1791.

Messina, N.P. and Esparza, P. (2022). 'Poking the bear: The inapplicability of the RNR principles for justice-involved women,' *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 140. DOI: 10.1016/j.jsat.2022.108798.

Mos-Shogbamimu, S. (2018). 'UK Equality Act is not fit for purpose: It's time for the law to recognise multiple discrimination ', *Fawcett Society*, [Blog] 05 June 2015. Available at: [UK https://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/blog/uk-equality-act-is-not-fit-for-purpose-its-time-for-the-law-to-recognise-multiple-discrimination](https://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/blog/uk-equality-act-is-not-fit-for-purpose-its-time-for-the-law-to-recognise-multiple-discrimination) [Accessed: 1 August 2025]

Papadopoulos, I., Tilki, M., and Taylor, G. (1998). *Transcultural care: A guide for health care professionals*. Quay Books.

Phillips, J., Ainslie, S., Fowler, A. and Westaby, C. (2022a). *Putting professional curiosity into practice*, HM Inspectorate of Probation Academic Insights 2022/07. Available at: <https://hmiprobation.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/document/putting-professional-curiosity-into-practice/> [Accessed: 26 July 2025]

Phillips, J., Ainslie, S., Fowler, A. and Westaby, C. (2022b). 'Lifting the lid on Pandora's box: Putting professional curiosity into practice', *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 24(2), pp. 321-338.

Prins, H. (1999). *Will They Do it Again? Risk Assessment and Management in Criminal Justice and Psychiatry*. London, Routledge.

Purvis, M. and Ward, T. (2020). 'An overview of the Good Lives Model: theory and evidence,' in P. Ugwu-dike, H. Graham, F. McNeill, P. Raynor, F. Taxman and C. Trotter (eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Rehabilitative Work in Criminal Justice*. Routledge.

Raynor, P. (2002). 'Community penalties: probation, punishment and 'what works,' in M. Maguire, R. Morgan, and R. Reiner (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. Oxford University Press.

Raynor, P. (2019). *Supervision Skills for Probation Practitioners*, HM Inspectorate of Probation Academic Insights 2019/05. Available at: <https://hmiprobation.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/document/supervision-skills-for-probation-practitioners/> [Accessed: 06 November 2025].

Raynor, P. (2020). 'Risk and need assessment: development, critics and a realist approach,' in P. Ugwu-dike, H. Graham, F. McNeill, P. Raynor, F. Taxman and C. Trotter (eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Rehabilitative Work in Criminal Justice*. Routledge.

Rex, S. (1999). 'Desistance from offending: Experiences of probation', *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38(4), pp. 366-383.

Robinson, G., Halsall, P., and Nixon, M. (2023). 'Court work and assessment: laying the foundations for effective probation practice,' in L. Burke, N. Carr, E. Cluley, S. Collett and F. McNeill (eds.) *Reimagining Probation Practice*. Routledge.

Roig-Palmer, K. and Lutze, F. (2021). 'Confronting Oppression: Reframing Need and Advancing Responsibility for LGBTQ+ Youth and Young Adults', *Women and Criminal Justice*, 32(1-2), pp. 2-28.

Shahin, R. (2020). 'Intersectionality: A Blind-Spot Missed in the British Equality Framework?', *LSE Law Review*, Volume VI.

Smith, E. (2024). 'What is professional curiosity', *Research in Practice* [podcast], 11 December. Available at: <https://www.researchinpractice.org.uk/all/content-pages/podcasts/what-is-professional-curiosity/> [Accessed: 30 June 2025]

Smith, T.J. (2021). 'Multicultural ethics in rehabilitation services', *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 54(3), pp. 295-305.

Tervalon, M. and Murray-García, J. (1998). Cultural humility versus cultural competence: A critical distinction in defining physician training outcomes in multicultural education. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 9(2), pp. 117-125.

Teubner, G. (1983). 'Substantive and Reflexive Elements in Modern Law', *Law and Society Review*, 17(2), pp. 239-286.

Thompson, N. (2021). *Anti-Discriminatory Practice*. Macmillan International.

Tuddenham, R. (2000). 'Beyond Defensible Decision Making: Towards Reflexive Assessment of Risk and Dangerousness', *Probation Journal*, 47(3), pp. 173-183.

Tyler, T.R. (1990). *Why People Obey the Law*. New Haven: Yale University Press

Tyler, T.R. (2007). 'Procedural justice and the courts', *Court Review*, 44, pp. 26-31

UN Women (2022). *Intersectionality resource guide and toolkit*. UN Women and UNPPRD.

Vasilescu, C. and Dominey, J. (2024). 'Reflecting on flexibility in the probation system: Learning from Catalonia and England and Wales', *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, pp. 1-18, <https://doi.org/10.1177/17488958241305770>.

Verma, A. (2024). 'Equalities legislation and experimenting with intersectionality', *LinkedIn*, 6 January. Available at: <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/test-equalities-legislation-intersectionality-dr-arun-verma-k9jue/?trackingId=xSK5KDKYRz6YRL4P%2FbrWew%3D%3D> [Accessed: 30 July 2025]

Wainwright, J., Burke, L. and Collett, S. (2024). 'A lack of cultural understanding and sometimes interest: Towards half a century of anti-racist policy, practice and strategy within probation', *Probation Journal*, 71(2), pp. 116-138.

Wigzell, A. and Paterson-Young, C. (2025). *Progressive desistance practice in youth justice*, HM Inspectorate of Probation Academic Insights 2025/05. Available at: <https://hmiprobation.justiceinspectores.gov.uk/document/progressive-desistance-practice-in-youth-justice/> [Accessed: 6 November 2025]

Yellin, C. (2025). 'Moving Beyond Mere Cultural Competence in Counseling: What to Know' [Blog], *Counseling Schools*. Available at: [Cultural Humility, Intersectionality, and Decolonizing Mental Health](#) [Accessed: 4 August 2025]

© Crown copyright 2026

You may re-use this information (excluding logos) free of charge in any format or medium, under the terms of the Open Government Licence. To view this licence, visit www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence or email psi@nationalarchives.gsi.gov.uk.

Where we have identified any third-party copyright information, you will need to obtain permission from the copyright holders concerned.

This publication is available for download at:
www.justiceinspectrates.gov.uk/hmiprobation

Published by:

HM Inspectorate of Probation
1st Floor Civil Justice Centre
1 Bridge Street West
Manchester
M3 3FX

The HM Inspectorate of Probation Research & Data Analysis Team can be contacted via HMIProbationResearch@hmiprobation.gov.uk

ISBN: 978-1-917531-06-1