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Discrimination Research 2021

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RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The issue of discrimination - including racism - within society, and its portrayal in media content, is a key area of concern for many people. Public discourse on the subject has continued to rise, especially over the past two years in light of numerous troubling events and the work of different organisations seeking to raise awareness and affect positive change.

To maintain its position as a trusted UK regulator, the BBFC embarked on this research to assess:

1. Do people in the UK agree with BBFC classification decisions for content depicting issues of racism and discrimination?
1. What are the 'aggravating'* and 'mitigating'* factors that affect classification decisions on this subject, especially at the junior categories (U, PG, 12A)?
1. How should the BBFC be communicating and informing viewers of instances of racism and other forms of discrimination in ratings info*?
1. As perceptions and standards of behaviour and language change over time, how should the BBFC assess older films and TV shows from a modern viewpoint?

*Please see appendix for glossary of BBFC terminology

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- The majority of participants agreed with BBFC classification decisions across a variety of clips and full features
- People are largely empathetic towards others, recognising that even if they may not personally be offended by a certain term or behaviour, they acknowledge others may be and this should be considered by the BBFC when making classification decisions
- Parents are concerned about children imitating potentially discriminatory behaviour or language, so look to BBFC ratings info to help them make informed viewing choices for their family
- Some parents want to talk to their children about racism and discrimination and look to BBFC ratings info to help them to do that
- Documentary was identified as the most significant 'mitigating factor' for depictions of discrimination, due to the educational potential that this type of content possesses
- People understand older films and TV shows as 'products of their time', but want the BBFC to signal any potentially discriminatory material in ratings info to help them make informed viewing decisions for themselves and their families.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The research shows support for the BBFC's current policies and that it's getting it right in its approach to classifying content depicting discrimination. The findings have also helped to reinforce what factors are 'aggravating' or 'mitigating' when it comes to classifying issues of discrimination.

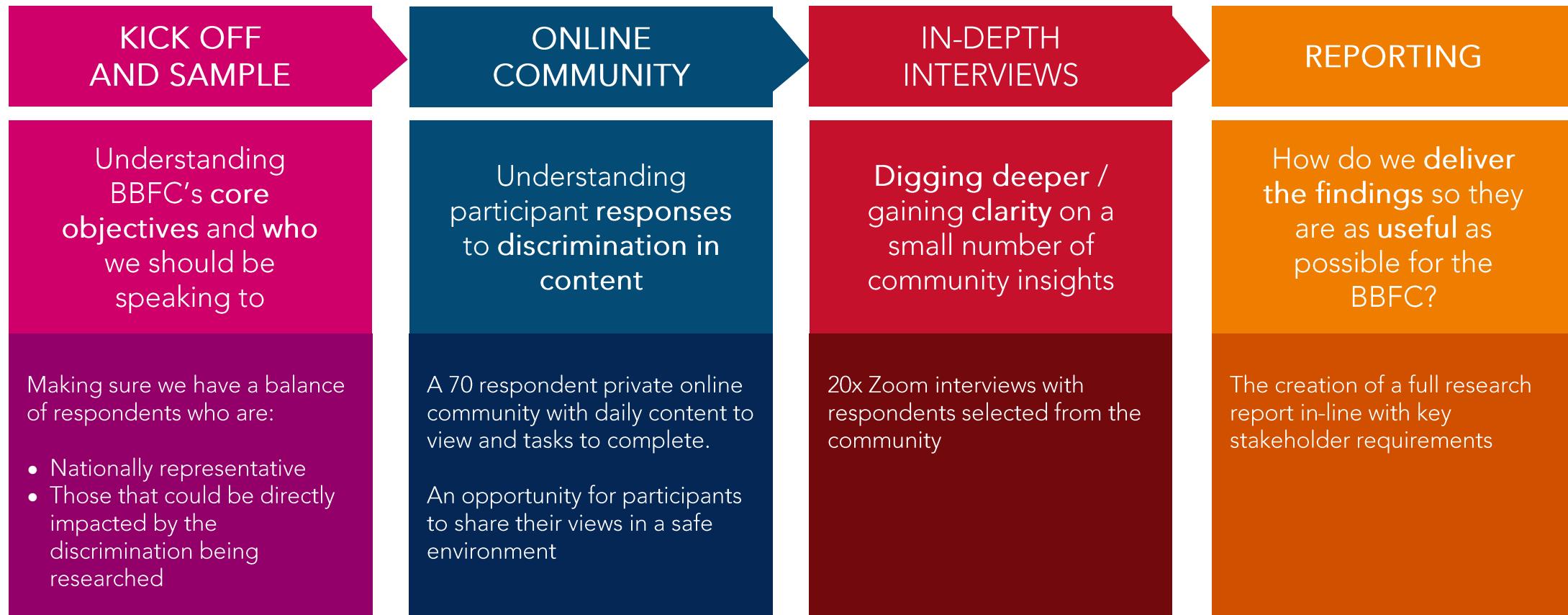
Going forward, when rating issues of discrimination the BBFC will:

- adopt a stricter position on the classification of the 'n-word' at the junior categories
- place significant emphasis on the mitigating potential of documentary contexts
- be mindful of intent when classifying older films and TV shows
- continue to consider directed, aggressive or violent depictions of discrimination, or likelihood of imitation, as key 'aggravating factors'
- continue to use our ratings info to signal when content contains discriminatory language or behaviour, even in less overt instances



RECRUITMENT & METHODOLOGY

OUR APPROACH



DEFINING THE SAMPLE

- A requirement to balance the BBFC's commitment to reflecting the views of the UK population and understand the impact of content detailing discrimination by those most likely to be impacted by it
- An evidence based approach was taken to identify those we spoke to; we scoped the sample based on a number of overlapping factors*



- The resulting sample was a mixture of nationally representative participants and those that could experience the various types of discrimination identified by the sample scoping

* see Appendix

A NOTE ON ANALYSIS

- When defining the sample we intentionally over represented a number of minority groups (e.g. Black) in order to understand the perception/impact of discriminatory content on those most directly affected by it
- Over 70% of the final sample identify as among protected characteristic groups, with some participants being part of more than one group
- Therefore, despite ensuring we also recruited a nationally representative group the overall sample does not reflect the demographic make-up of the UK population overall.
- During analysis we have taken this into account and have tried to identify and pull out insight that best reflects the attitudes of the majority, and as such is reflective of the BBFC's commitment to represent and reflect the UK population

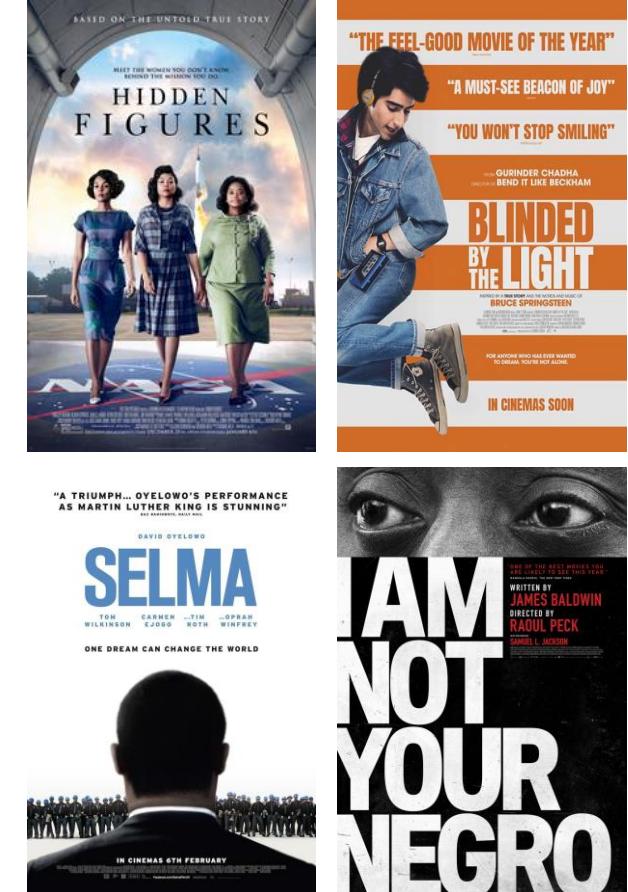


ONLINE COMMUNITY

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ONLINE COMMUNITY

- The 70 participants were split into two 'streams'
- Over two weeks, the participants would log on to a secure online community in which they would complete the task assigned to their stream: this typically involved watching a series of clips featuring different forms of racism and discrimination in a variety of contexts, and answering questions about them
- This included 59 clips from different films and series, including *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, *Won't You Be My Neighbor?*, *Race*, *Young Sheldon*, *Call the Midwife*, *Crocodile Dundee*, *Looney Tunes* and others, as well as two trailers
- On two days, the task was to view a full feature and answer questions about it
- Stream 1 viewed the feature films:
 - *Hidden Figures* (2016) - PG
 - *Selma* (2014) - 12A
- Stream 2 viewed the feature films:
 - *Blinded By The Light* (2019) - 12A
 - *I Am Not Your Negro* (2016) - 12A





UNDERSTANDING RESPONDENTS

PROTECTORS & PREPARERS

- While the majority of participants agreed with BBFC classification decisions on content depicting discrimination, some were **more cautious or more lenient** in their category recommendations. Analysing the reasoning behind their decisions, two sub-groups emerged: Protectors and Preparers

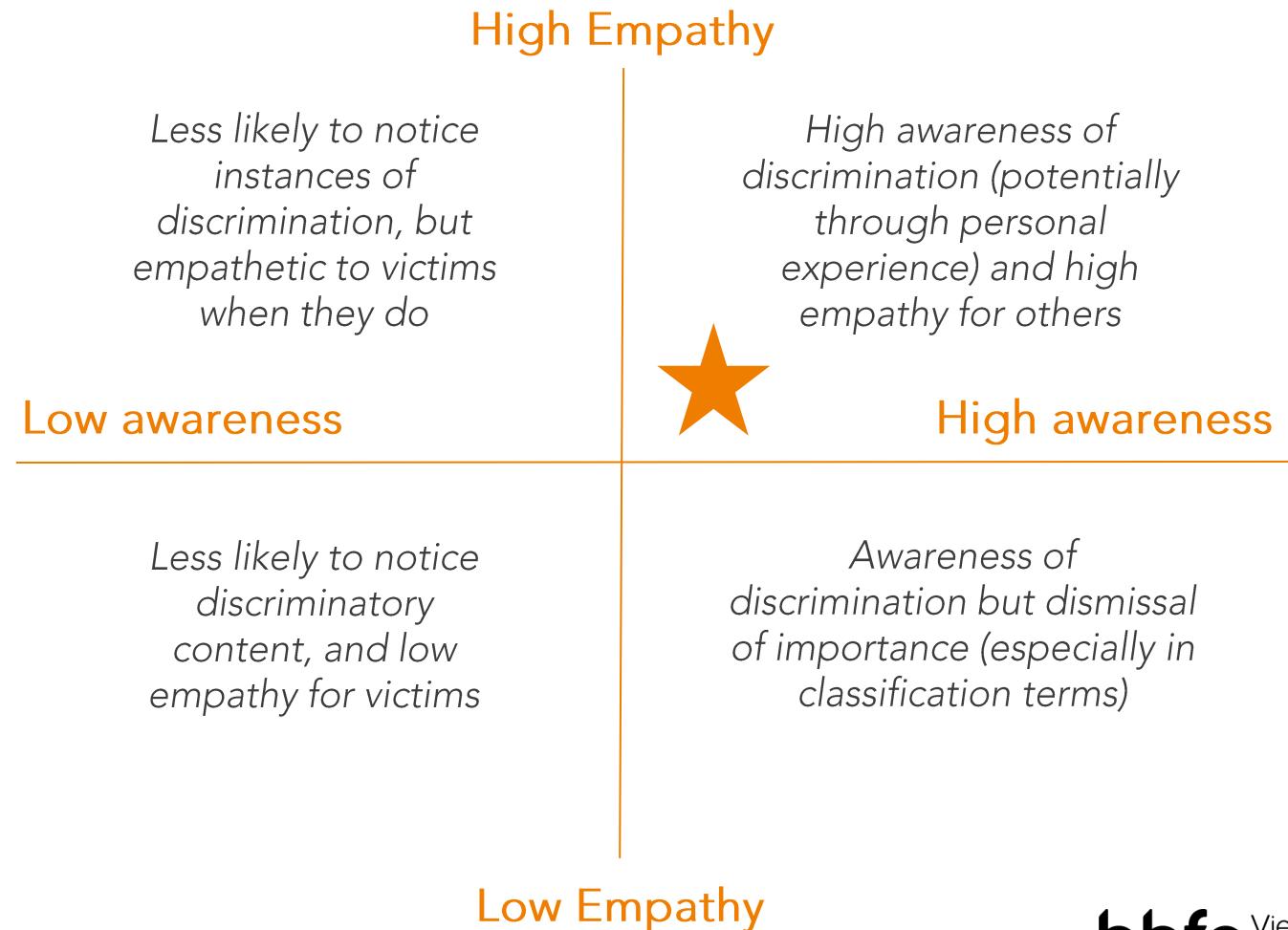
Who?	What?	Aggravating or Mitigating?	Implications for the BBFC
Protectors (Circa 20% community)	Desire to protect / shield children / young people from the harmful nature of the 'real world'	AGGRAVATING. Do not want children / young people exposed to content depicting discrimination	Protectors and Preparers make an even proportion of the sample so overall the positions are neutral in classification (neither aggravating or mitigating)
Preparers (Circa 20% community)	Desire to prepare children/young people for the realities of life	MITIGATING. Want children to see content (within reason) that reflects things they may experience or has educational value	The BBFC should use other aggravating / mitigating factors present in content to inform classification decisions

EMPATHY & AWARENESS

How participants responded to the films/clips depicting discrimination was influenced by:

- their level of awareness of different discrimination types
- how empathetic they felt towards those discriminated against

The majority of participants in the research could be categorised as 'high empathy / high awareness'





RATINGS/CLASSIFICATION

Clip analysis

INSIGHT SUMMARY

- For the four feature films shown to the community, the majority agreed with the BBFC's classification decision for each film
- Of the 59 clips within this section the majority of the community rated 35 the same as the BBFC, 7 lower, 6 higher and 11 were split across multiple classifications (preparer/protector)
- Where the community gave **lower ratings** than the BBFC, **documentary** was the key mitigator
- Other mitigators in clip classification that made the community classify lower than the BBFC included **lightness in tone / comedic intent** and the discrimination **not being deliberate**
- Factors that made the community **classify higher** than the BBFC included **lack of condemnation** and **a darker tone**
- Where the community were **split across classifications** the **rationale for the classification** were typically the same (can also be linked to preparer/protector mindsets)



RATINGS/CLASSIFICATION

Aggravating & Mitigating Factors

INSIGHT SUMMARY

- Documentary is the key mitigating factor regardless of the type of discrimination or how it is being portrayed (language, violence etc.)
- Older films/series or those set in a historical context can also offer mitigation
- Scaled mitigating factors (the higher the presence the more mitigating) are educational value, condemnation and comedy
- Aggravating factors include violence, language and discrimination that could be imitable by young people. All aggravators also exist on a scale: the more frequent / overt, the more aggravating
- Frequency, tone, intent and overtness also impact how aggravating or mitigating each factor is
- For discriminatory content to be passed at U, PG or 12(A) a number of mitigating factors should be present
- Just because the majority do not find certain content problematic does not mean that it will not be distressing for others, particularly those that are directly impacted by the type of discrimination depicted. Representing the majority does not therefore negate the need to highlight instances of discrimination in ratings info

THE FOLLOWING FACTORS CAN BE CONSIDERED MITIGATING OR AGGRAVATING IN CONTENT THAT PORTRAYS DISCRIMINATION

Mitigators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Documentary - Historical context - Older films / series - Educational value - Condemnation - Comedy 	<p>Mitigators are either binary or exist on a scale. Binary mitigators are documentary / historical context / older films / series</p> <p>Educational Value / condemnation and comedy all exist on a scale. The stronger the presence of the mitigator the bigger the impact it has on classification</p>
Aggravators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Immitatable - Violence / Threat - Language 	<p>All aggravators exist on a scale - the stronger the presence of aggravator the bigger the impact on classification</p>
Neither	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Children unlikely to see 	<p>General consensus that children could have access to most things (via the internet etc.) and so if it is inappropriate for them it should be classified as such</p>
Mixed response	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Real world - Children unlikely to understand 	<p>Depends whether viewer is 'prepare' (mitigator) or 'protect' (aggravator)</p>

AGGRAVATING & MITIGATING FACTORS - CONTINUED

Is the discrimination just described / actually shown?	When the discrimination is just described this is more mitigating than if the discrimination is actually shown
Is the discrimination written / spoken aloud?	When the discrimination is just written this is more mitigating than if the discrimination is spoken aloud
Who is the perpetrator?	If the perpetrator of discrimination is the hero, this instance would aggravate more than if the perpetrator is the villain
Where does the sympathy lie?	If sympathies lie with the victim subject to the discrimination, this would mitigate more than if they sided with the perpetrators
Is the condemnation of discrimination empowering?	If the condemnation of the discrimination is portrayed in an empowering way this would mitigate



RATINGS/CLASSIFICATION

Discriminatory Stereotypes
& Assumed Racial Identities

INSIGHT SUMMARY

- Being an older film or TV show/series is a key overarching mitigator for content classified U / PG that contains discriminatory stereotypes or assumed racial identities
- Assumed racial identities are problematic in modern content and would likely require higher classifications than in certain older film or TV shows where the intent may be different and the content can be contextualised as a 'product of its time'
- The **perceived intention** of an assumed racial identity or dated / discriminatory stereotype is also important. If the depiction is not meant to be mocking or is done respectfully it is mitigating, but if it is derogatory / portrays inferiority it is aggravating
- If the depiction is only implied, or only understood when placed into a wider historical context, this can be a **mitigating factor** in content that depicts outdated/discriminatory stereotypes or assumed racial identities, especially at U/PG
- **Being containable at U / PG does not mean the issue should always be excluded from ratings info** - many parents want the opportunity to explain to their children the history / context of what they are watching
- When it needs to be noted, '**discriminatory stereotypes**' is the most appropriate term for content which contains assumed racial identities or outdated stereotypes
- **Ratings info should note outdated / discriminatory stereotypes or assumed racial identities**, if the depiction is derogatory / implies inferiority (e.g. minstrel shows)



LANGUAGE

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DISCRIMINATORY TERMS

- Parents, in particular, want to be warned of what discriminatory / racist language may appear in content before they let their children watch it, so their children do not copy it
- People do not want there to be discriminatory language at U / PG, unless there is clear contextual justification / condemnation
- Personal offence to some terms may be low, but respondents recognised that the group directly affected may view it differently
- Classification is dependent on context; how terms are spoken (e.g. friendly or aggressive) and who they are spoken by / to could be either aggravating or mitigating
- Other key mitigating factors identified were documentary contexts, or if there was clear condemnation for using an offensive term
- Key aggravating factors include a lack of condemnation of someone using discriminatory language; whether it's accompanied by threat or violence, or if the intent is to be derogatory

INSIGHT SUMMARY: 'N-WORD'

- Of all the language considered, 'n***a / 'n****r' was the most contentious, evoking the strongest response from the community; this was one of the few instances where 'zero tolerance' attitudes emerged (automatic 18 classification for small minority)
- Use of the 'n-word' - either racist uses or 'reclaimed' peer-to-peer uses - will typically require a minimum classification of 12A/12, except in exceptional circumstances
- The key mitigating factors to allow for use of 'n****r' at a 12A / 12 are a documentary or historical context, or in older films / series that are describing, depicting or explaining the experience of Black people (for example, biopics)
- One of the key considerations with regards to the 'n-word' is who the user is: if it is a Black person speaking to another Black person this is considered mitigating; any other race is aggravating
- Peer-to-peer uses of the 'n-word' among Black people, such as in music videos, can be described in short ratings info as 'racial language', but the word should always be asterisked in long ratings info due to the potential offence ('n***a')



RATINGS INFO

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INSIGHT SUMMARY

The overall opinion from participants (community & in-depth interviews) was that vulnerable people should be protected and that using BBFC ratings info to help people make informed choices was a good way to do this.

- 'Discrimination' can be used where there is no space to be specific in the short ratings info
- Specificity gives those that are vulnerable a warning that content could be distressing
- Racism should continue to be listed separately in short ratings info, where possible, in order to reflect heightened concern around this form of discrimination
- When a type of discrimination dominates the narrative it is appropriate for this to be prioritised over fleeting / infrequent references to other types in the short ratings info
- Outdated stereotypes and assumed racial identities can both be described as '**discriminatory stereotypes**' in the short ratings info and detailed in the long ratings info. Using '**discriminatory**' in the descriptor adds gravity that the community felt was needed
- '**Racial language**' can be used to describe some uses of the 'n-word', such as reclaimed / peer-to-peer uses; however, if the word is used in a racist manner it needs to be described as '**racist language**'
- For the majority of in-depth interview participants, the phrase '**an actor in make-up portraying a different ethnicity**' was the preferred term, instead of 'blackface' or similar terms relating to other ethnic or racial identities.

BBFC RESPONSE



Classifying Discrimination

This research has exemplified the significance and concern with which people in the UK regard discrimination, racism in particular, both within society and in media content. Discrimination has long been a core classification consideration for the BBFC, and one which we have explored through previous research projects - most recently as part of our 2019 guidelines research in which we examined various forms of discrimination and racism in different contexts, as well as specific groups considering trans issues.

The past two years have seen a number of movements dedicated to raising awareness and combatting racism and discrimination rise in the public consciousness. Media organisations have responded in a variety of ways, seeking to inform and protect their audiences to limit distress or offence. To maintain our trusted position as the UK regulator of film and video, we carried out this research to ascertain the views of people in the UK regarding issues of racism and discrimination in films, series, music videos etc.; how we should assign age ratings to this content; and how we can best inform viewers of what material is contained therein.

The results of the research show considerable support for BBFC classification decisions on content containing racism and discrimination, and that we are getting it right when it comes to our ratings. Participants recognised the value in our approach, whereby the full context of a given moment in a film / series, etc., is taken into account as we assess all the 'aggravating' and 'mitigating' factors.

A key finding from the project has been that some people, especially parents, can be identified as either 'protectors' or 'preparers'. Those in the former group typically veered on the side of caution when they recommended an age rating for a particular film or clip they were shown, preferring that examples of racist and discriminatory behaviour are rated slightly higher, so as not to expose their children to such material. By contrast, 'preparers' believe there is value in showing children examples of racism and discrimination to 'prepare' them for the behaviour and attitudes they may experience or witness.

For the BBFC, when considering both perspectives, we must always assess the context in which such content appears, especially with regards to the 'aggravating' and 'mitigating' factors that may support a higher classification or help defend a lower one. Violent and threatening behaviour, or use of particularly offensive language, for instance, will always aggravate an instance of discriminatory or racist behaviour. However, clear condemnation of the behaviour, sympathy with the victims, or a documentary or historical setting can all work as 'mitigating' factors that help frame the sequence and potentially gives the content educational value for younger viewers.



Standards Evolve

An area of much discussion over the past two years has been the contemporary perception of material from the past - whether silent films from the early days of cinema, 1940s melodramas, 1960s sitcoms, 1970s exploitation cinema, 1980s teen movies, and so on. As society changes and evolves, language and behaviour that was once commonplace takes on new meaning to modern viewers: material that once considered anodyne may now raise issues of harm and offence that UK audiences want to be warned about.

A large part of the work the BBFC does involves viewing, or re-viewing, older films / series that are either being reissued or receiving their first UK cinema or home media release. Part of our role is assessing these older, potentially 'dated', titles through the standards of our current guidelines. This research project has therefore been invaluable in gauging people's attitudes towards older content today, and finding the correct response to the sometimes challenging material they contain.

The research shows that audiences are often adept at understanding older films / series as 'a product of their time'. While this does not always excuse offensive or potentially harmful behaviour, it is important to consider the context - such as the historical period being depicted - and the intent behind it. Some films, for instance, contain instances of 'assumed racial identities', in which an actor of one ethnicity portrays another in a highly derogatory manner. In another, the intention may have been to portray the character respectfully, but the casting may still cause offence, or be perceived to be harmful, to some - albeit less than the overtly derogatory portrayal. When considering context, we must therefore consider both the intent and the age of the film / series. There may be occasions in which we will raise an older film / series to a higher category if it is (re)submitted to us, but in others the research shows we can retain the existing category - for example, a U or PG - but people would like the potentially offensive content to be noted in our ratings info.

A key finding in these and other cases is the desire to make viewers aware of what racist or discriminatory content occurs in a film, series, etc., so they can choose what's right for them or their children. For parents, this is important knowledge to have, so that they can have conversations with their children to contextualise and frame behaviour or language from the past that should not be emulated today.

Finally, an important finding of the research is the degree of empathy people in the UK have with others. In most cases where viewers may not have been personally offended by a use of language, discriminatory stereotype or similar in a piece of content, they are conscious of how another person directly affected by it could be. Again, this finding points to the value of BBFC ratings info in informing and guiding viewers to view what's right for them.



Updating Our Policies

The research shows support for current BBFC policies and that we are largely getting it right in how we classify racism and discrimination. The findings have also helped to reinforce what factors are ‘aggravating’ or ‘mitigating’. However, there are key areas in which, as a result of this research, we will be updating our policies:

Language

1. It is highly unlikely that the ‘n-word’ will be permitted in any content rated lower than 12A/12, except in exceptional circumstances in which there is an overwhelming volume of mitigating factors.
1. Historical racial / racist language may continue to be permissible at PG, as long as they are contextually justified (for example, historical context) and not accompanied by aggravating factors (for example, violence, threat).
1. It is unlikely that any instances of racist / racial or discriminatory language will be acceptable at U unless there is exceptional contextual justification.

Ratings info

1. We will use the term ‘racial language’ to describe reclaimed, peer-to-peer or certain historical uses of racial terms. Racist use of the ‘n-word’ will be described as ‘racist language’, or be covered under the term ‘racism’ in short ratings info.
1. We will use the term ‘discriminatory stereotypes’ to signal instances of stereotyping or assumed racial identities.
1. We will use the phrase, ‘an actor in make-up portraying a different ethnicity’, or a variation upon it, rather than using terms such as ‘blackface’ or similar phrases for other racial identities.





APPENDIX

KEY TERMS

- 'Mitigating factor' = an aspect of a piece of content that supports the decision to classify it at a lower category
 - (e.g. educational value for young people, historical context, positive messages, absence of upsetting detail)
- 'Aggravating factor' = an aspect of a piece of content that supports the decision to classify it at a higher category
 - (e.g. negative behaviour is accompanied by bad language, violence or threat, glamorised portrayal or dangerous or illegal behaviour)
- Short ratings info (SRI) = the concise summary of key classification issues that appears on the BBFC Black Card, on the BBFC website and app, and on home media / online releases
 - (e.g. strong violence, language, sex, drug misuse)
- Long ratings info (LRI) = the detailed summary of classification issues that can be found on the BBFC website and app:
 - **Ratings info** (May contain spoilers)
HIDDEN FIGURES is a drama, based on true events, about a group of African-American women who were hired by NASA for their skills in mathematics to be a part of America's space programme in the 1960s.
 - **Discrimination**
The film portrays the racial divisions in America at the time, with segregated facilities for black and white personnel, and black people being held back from progress and promotion. Although no overtly abusive racist language or behaviour is shown, terms such as 'negro' and 'coloured' are employed by both black and white characters as matter-of-fact expressions. There are also examples of gender discrimination, again reflecting the attitudes of the time.
 - **Language**
There is mild bad language ('bastards'). Very mild bad language includes uses of 'damn', 'Jesus Christ' and 'God'.
There is also mild tension when a spacecraft suffers a technical malfunction that places an astronaut in danger.

BBFC DISCRIMINATION RESEARCH: DEFINING THE SAMPLE

WHEN DISCRIMINATION IS SO BROAD AND COVERS SO MANY DIVERSE GROUPS WHO SHOULD WE SPEAK TO?

We know that the BBFC are committed to ensuring that all classification guidelines and internal guidance reflect and represent the views of the UK population.

We also know that discrimination affects millions of people across multiple groups and that there are both commonalities across different discrimination types (e.g. degrading language) and nuances (e.g. specific language used). Both commonalities and nuances will influence how content is experienced by viewers.

It is therefore crucial that we do the requisite due diligence to ensure we are being as representative as possible.

We have therefore taken an evidence-driven approach to identify our recommended sample, taking into account and overlaying a number of factors :

BBFC BRIEF	PROTECTED CHARACTERISTIC S	GROUP SIZES	EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION	MEDIA COVERAGE
	Equality Act 2010	ONS 2011 census & other sources	Multiple sources: gov, third sector	Current focus

DEFINING THE SAMPLE

COMPARING YOUR BRIEF WITH THE 2010 EQUALITY ACT / PROTECTED CHARACTERISTICS TO IDENTIFY AREAS OF FOCUS

Your Brief

Understanding racial discrimination is your primary objective; however, you want to explore other forms of discrimination including - but not limited to:

- Disability
- Transphobia
- Sexism
- Homophobia
- Mental Health Issues

Protected Characteristics

The 2010 Equality Act identified 9 protected characteristics:

- Age
- Disability
- Gender Reassignment
- Marriage / Civil Partnership
- Pregnancy / Maternity
- Race
- Religion or belief
- Sex
- Sexual orientation

Areas of Focus

Overlaying your areas of suggested focus with protected characteristics indicate a number of areas of focus:

- Race
- Disability (Mental health issues)
- Gender (Transphobia)
- Religion or belief
- Sex (sexism)
- Sexual Orientation (Homophobia)

DEFINING THE SAMPLE

OVERLAYING AREAS OF FOCUS WITH THE TOTAL UK POPULATION

Area of Focus	UK Populations	Sample recommendation
Race	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 8% Asian / Asian British • 3% Black / African / Caribbean / Black British 	Include both Black and Asian respondents
Disability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 18% of people in the UK live with a disability or life limiting condition 	Include respondents with both physical disabilities and mental health issues
Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ONS estimate 200-500k (0.3 - 0.5% overall pop) are Transgender • Stonewall estimate up to 600k (1%) 	Include Transgender respondents but a lower rate than other groups (to match lower prevalence in population)
Religion or belief	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4.8% (2.7mil) of total pop. are Muslims • 0.5% (260k) of total pop. are Jewish • 0.8% Sikh, 0.4% Buddhist, 0.4% 'Other' 	Include Muslim and Jewish respondents
Sex	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women constitute 51% of the overall pop 	50 / 50 gender split across sample
Sexual Orientation	<p>Population estimates vary:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ONS Sexual Orientation Survey: 2% LGB • Public Health England estimates 2.5% rising to 5.1% in Greater London and 9% in Brighton & Hove • Stonewall states 5-7% is a 'reasonable estimate' 	Include both male and female members of the LGBTQI+ community

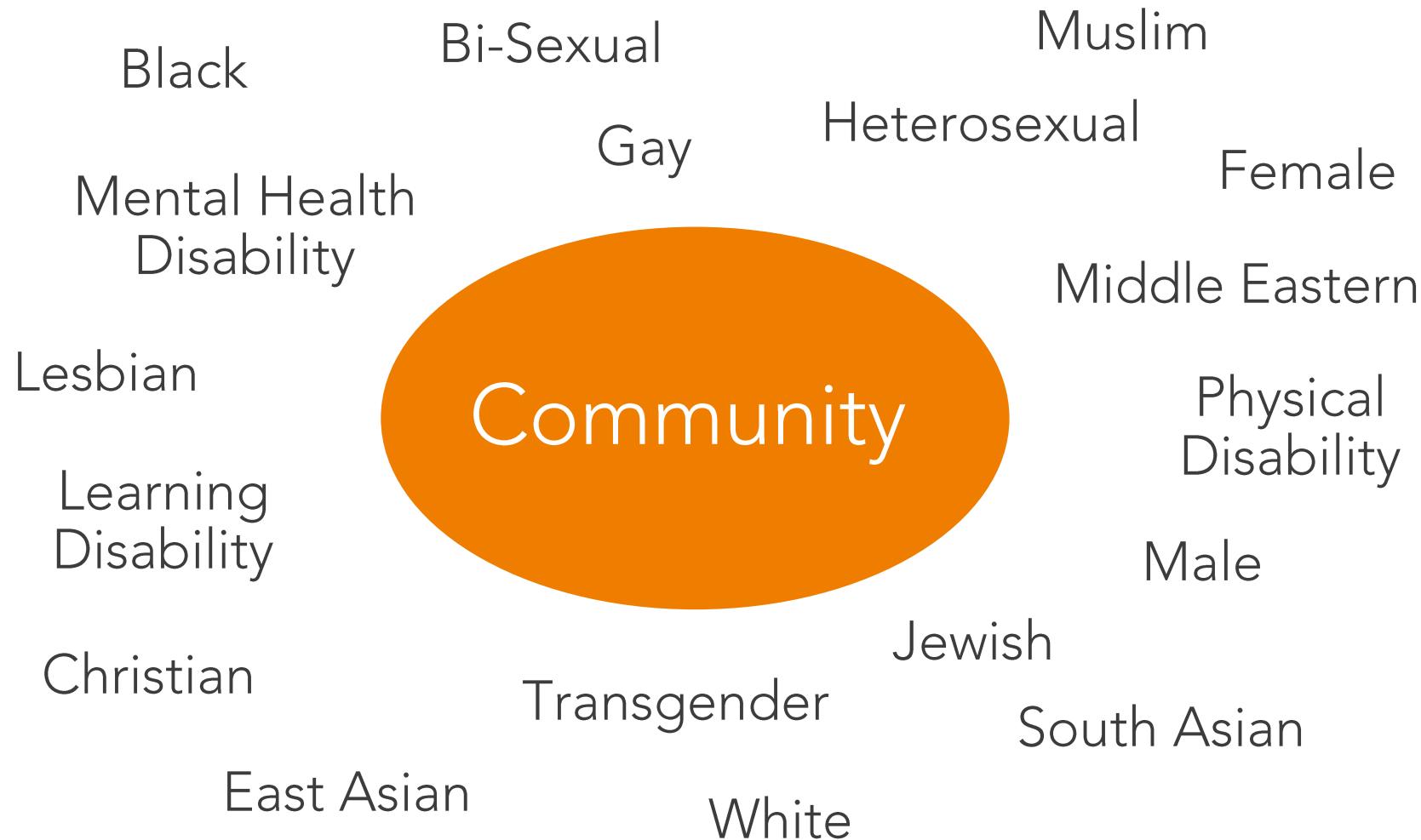
DEFINING THE SAMPLE

UNDERSTANDING THE EXPERIENCE OF DISCRIMINATION

Area of Focus	Experience of discrimination	Sample recommendation
Race	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 95% of young, black people have heard and witnessed racist language in school, 78% in the workplace (YMCA, Young and Black, Oct 2020) 76% of ethnic Chinese have experienced some sort of racial slur against them on at least one occasion, 60% have experienced it multiple times (YouGov BAME Survey 2020) 64% BAME Britons have had a racial slur targeted at them (YouGov BAME Survey 2020) 	Ensure representation across and within groups
Disability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 39% of 16-34 disabled people reported being a victim of crime vs. 28% non-disabled people (Gov.uk) 9/10 of those surveyed had experienced bullying or harassment in the last year (MENCAP Living in Fear Report 2019) 81% of Autistic people have experienced verbal and 47% physical assault (National Autistic Society, 2013) 	
Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 64% of Transgender children are bullied at school for being Transexual (Stonewall Schools Report 2017) 	
Religion or belief	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 44% of Jewish people conceal visible indicators of their Judaism from fear of experiencing discrimination (Antisemitism Barometer 2020, Kings College / YouGov) In 2015 80% of people had seen or heard Islamophobia against another person (Islamic Human Rights Commission) 	
Sex	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 97% of women aged 18-24 have experienced sexual harassment in the UK (Prevalence and Reporting of Sexual Harrassment in UK Public Spaces, UN Women UK, March 2021) 	
Sexual Orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 45% of LGBTQI+ children are bullied at school for being LGBTQI+ (Stonewall Schools Report 2017) 	

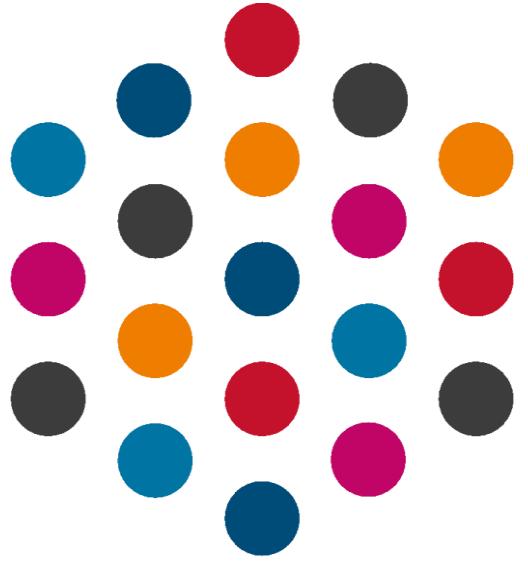


WHO WE SPOKE TO:



70 participants recruited
against the quotas outlined.

Please note that a high number of participants were recruited against a specific quota but also fit into a number of other cohorts (e.g. a participant recruited for the Black cohort who was also gay and had a disability). Across participants there was a mix of affluence, location, religion etc.



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THANK YOU!

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