

*Who is prejudiced, who discriminates,
and who are their targets?*

*A corpus-based social actor analysis of prejudice and
discrimination in the UK press.*

Laura L Paterson

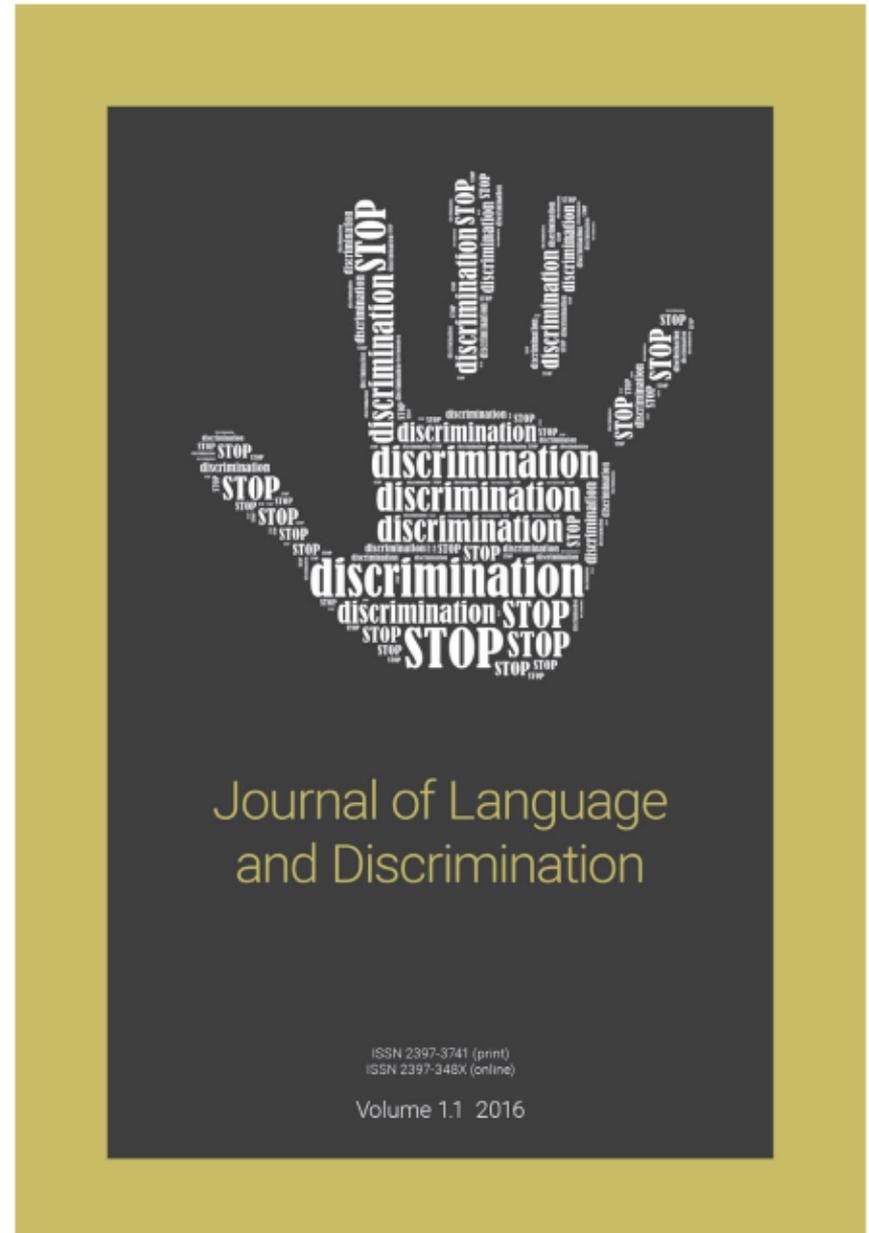
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Prejudice/Discrimination

- Prejudice: preconceived views about individuals/social groups not based on actual experience
- Discrimination: action (conscious or unconscious) resulting from prejudiced beliefs

| Source | Sections | No. Texts | No. Words |
|------------|-------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Guardian | News, Comment/Editorial | 64,976 | 56,403,306 |
| Daily Mail | News, Comment/Editorial | 341,431 | 324,239,704 |

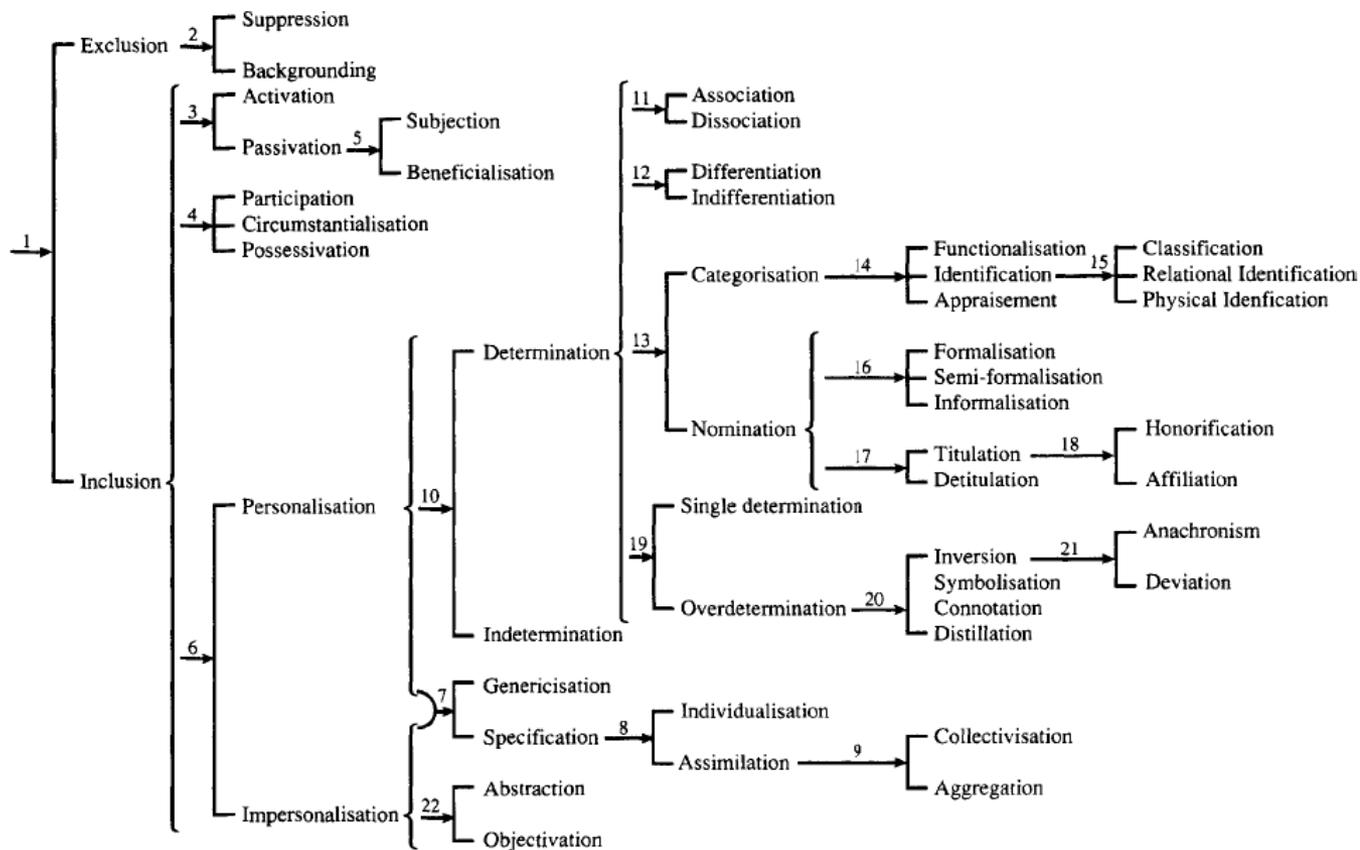
- RQ1: Are the meanings of PREJUDICE and DISCRIMINATE kept distinct in British English?
- RQ2: Who or what are systematically represented as the agent/victim of prejudice/discrimination?

Corpus-based (critical) discourse analysis

- ‘[I]n seeing language as discourse and as social practice, one is committing oneself not just to analysing texts, nor just to analysing processes of production and interpretation, but to analysing the relationship between texts, processes, and their social conditions, both the immediate conditions of the situational context and the more remote conditions of institutional and social structures (Fairclough 2001:21)
- Corpus analysis can be used to inform qualitative analysis (i.e. through close reading of concordances, c.f. Hardt-Mautner 1995:8) and provide quantitative information about a given linguistic construction to establish whether it is (or is not) representative of a wider pattern
- For a range of approaches see Baker & McEnery (2015)

Social actor analysis

- ‘I shall not start out from linguistic operations such as nominalisation and passive agent deletion, or from linguistic categories such as the categories of transitivity, but instead seek to draw up a *sociosemantic* inventory of the ways in which social actors can be represented’ (van Leeuwen 1995:32)



Social actor analysis

Exclusion

- ‘Representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. Some of the exclusions may be ‘innocent’, details which readers are assumed to know already, or which are deemed irrelevant to them, others tie in close to [a] propaganda strategy...’ (van Leeuwen 1995:38)

Role allocation

- Who takes the active and passive roles?
- ‘What we *can* do [...] is investigate which options are chosen in which institutional and social contexts, and why these choices should have been taken up, what interests are served by them, and what purposes achieved’ (van Leeuwen 1995:43)

Corpus-based social actor analysis

- Van Leeuwen's work is based on a 'generically diverse' corpus (1995:35)
 - No evidence that it was systematically collected
 - Examples chosen to illustrate the different ways social actors can be encoded in texts
 - Not an analysis of wider patterns in language
- The benefits of systematic corpus analysis
 - Find the most common patterns in the use of PREJUDICE and DISCRIMINATE
 - See whether particular social actors are consistently associated with an agent/victim role
 - But the analysis won't be exhaustive

Data

- Corpora:
All news articles and comment articles from the Guardian (56,403,306 words) and Daily Mail (324,692,331) published between 2010-2015 (Paterson & Gregory 2019)

| | Guardian | | Daily Mail | |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Query hits (pmw*) | Collocates p<0.0001 (LL) | Query hits (pwm) | Collocates p<0.0001 (LL) |
| <*discrimina*> | 2,910 (51.59) | 249 | 12,452 (38.27) | 1033 |
| <*prejudi*> | 1,852 (32.38) | 142 | 3,522 (10.58) | 413 |

*normalised frequency per million words

- Both are more likely to use DISCRIMINATE than PREJUDICE
- DM uses both terms less frequently than the G
 - Future research questions: Does the DM use more specific terms than the G? Might they use *isims and *phobi* instead?

Examples of agent/victim pairs

- *The law is prejudiced against Travellers* (Guardian)
 - Agent is clear (*the law*) but inanimate
 - Victim (*Travellers*) is presented as a clearly definable social group
 - What is missing: The name of a particular law?
- *If people already worry that you're blindly prejudiced against someone* (Guardian)
 - Agent is generic (*you*) as no individual is discernible from co-text or context
 - Victim is generic (*someone*) although later co-text refers to 'poor or rich'
 - What's missing: Specification
- *The Tories' plans for a marriage tax break which Labour claims will discriminate against single and unmarried parents* (Daily Mail)
 - Agent is clear (*The Tories' plans for a marriage tax break*) but discriminatory act is hypothetical
 - Victim (*single and unmarried parents*) is presented as a clearly definable singular social group
 - What's missing: Widowed parents, divorced parents, step-parents and blended families, same-sex parents (article dates from pre-SSM legislation), etc.

Examples of agent/victim pairs

- *Nadia Eweida said she had been discriminated against because of her religion (Daily Mail)*
 - Agent is unclear due to passive construction
 - Victim (*Nadia Eweida*) is an individual
 - What's missing: Agent is recoverable from co-text (*British Airways*), so it is backgrounded rather than missing
- *A young woman is being locked up simply for peacefully having her say about how women are discriminated against in Iran (Daily Mail)*
 - Agent is unclear due to passive construction
 - Victim (*a young woman*) is an individual
 - What's missing: Agent is not recoverable from co-text so the reader is left to assume an agent based on social context
- These are just some of the potential ways that agent/victim pairs are encoded in the corpora
 - Manual analysis of concordance lines would take forever and might not be that fruitful
 - Can corpus techniques be used to come up with a set of meta categories into which social actors can be grouped?

Top collocates

- The plan – to generate a list of meta categories of potential social actors based on collocates

| | G_PREJ | G_DISC | DM_PREJ | DM_DISC |
|----|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1 | against | against | Pride | against |
| 2 | Pride | Racial | against | racial |
| 3 | racial | disability | racial | sexual |
| 4 | discrimination | grounds | Austen | tribunal |
| 5 | prejudice | discrimination | discrimination | gender |
| 6 | racism | equality | racism | race |
| 7 | religious | caste | Jane | orientation |
| 8 | and | law | trial | Employment |
| 9 | bigotry | race | and | sex |
| 10 | ignorance | positive | that | discrimination |

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Data (verbs forms only)

| | Guardian Query hits (pmw*) | Daily Mail Query hits (pwm) |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <*discrimina*_VV*> | 489 (8.67) | 2698 (8.28) |
| <*prejudi*_VV*> | 190 (3.37) | 568 (1.75) |

- Both are more likely to use DISCRIMINATE_V than PREJUDICE_V
 - The relative frequencies for the verb forms are much closer than for the general query (all word classes)
 - There is still a slight tendency for the G to use these terms more often, but the differences are not as large

Collocates (verb forms only)

- LL, Span +/-5, Min Freq = 5, Min col = 5, cut off $p < 0001$

| | G_PREJ | G_DISC | DM_PREJ | DM_DISC |
|----|-------------|-----------|----------------|---------|
| 1 | proceedings | against | against | against |
| 2 | trial | grounds | trial | because |
| 3 | could | not | could | not |
| 4 | against | favour | any | grounds |
| 5 | pandering | gay | jury | basis |
| 6 | reported | women | outcome | being |
| 7 | any | because | proceedings | based |
| 8 | these | between | not | gays |
| 9 | or | employers | investigations | favour |
| 10 | ongoing | people | or | that |

Disc/Prej Against

| | Guardian Query hits (pmw) | Daily Mail Query hits (pwm) |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <*discrimina*_VV* against> | 350 (6.21) | 2046 (6.30) |
| <*prejudi*_VV* against> | 22 (0.39) | 63 (0.19) |

- The usage patterns are mostly expected based on the previous findings
- The DM uses DISCRIMINATE_V + AGAINST much more often than expected
 - The DM uses this as a fixed phrase to index overarching discourses (and negative evaluations) about particular individuals/social groups?
 - This is a stylistic feature of how DM journalists (are expected to) report on events?

Prejudice

Anyone, It (the Jury), Much of Africa and the Middle East, People who describe themselves, Police, social workers, prosecutors and juries, She, Some people, Some people, Some people, The clerk, The culture in some of these organisations, The forces, The law, The west, Themselves (Conservative supporters), They (social workers, councillors and police officers), Vince Cable, Vince Cable, You (generic), You (generic), You're (generic)

2,149 people, A court, A court, A judge, A minority of people, A series of judgements, Britons, Cercioglu, a Muslim, Governor Jan Brewer and the state's clemency board, He (the man), He (the man), He (the man), He (the man), Her critics, I, I, It (The corporation), Jasmine Lawrence, 43, Jurors, Lieutenant Colonel Poneskis, Many laws, Many laws, Mrs Bell, People, People, People, People in Sicily and elsewhere, Presidential contender Edmund Muskie, Reagan, Schools which have Christian values at their core, She (Lieutenant Colonel Poneskis), Some people, Some people, Some people, The broadcaster (BBC), The Corporation, The employers, The law, The Milan judges, The Mormon religion, The new authorities, The NHS and the BBC, The party (UKIP), The programme, The religion (Mormonism), The Times - like so much of the Western media, They (Britons), They (CitiJet), They (social workers), They (unclear), Thompson staff, Viewers, We, We, We English , You, You

Prejudice

Agent

Anyone, It (the Jury), Much of Africa and the Middle East, People who describe themselves, Police, social workers, prosecutors and juries, She, Some people, Some people, Some people, The clerk, The culture in some of these organisations, The forces, The law, The west, Themselves (Conservative supporters), They (social workers, councillors and police officers), Vince Cable, Vince Cable, You (generic), You (generic), You're (generic)

2,149 people, A court, A court, A judge, A minority of people, A series of judgements, Britons, Cercioglu, a Muslim, Governor Jan Brewer and the state's clemency board, He (the man), He (the man), He (the man), He (the man), Her critics, I, I, It (The corporation), Jasmine Lawrence, 43, Jurors, Lieutenant Colonel Poneskis, Many laws, Many laws, Mrs Bell, People, People, People, People in Sicily and elsewhere, Presidential contender Edmund Muskie, Reagan, Schools which have Christian values at their core, She (Lieutenant Colonel Poneskis), Some people, Some people, Some people, The broadcaster (BBC), The Corporation, The employers, The law, The Milan judges, The Mormon religion, The new authorities, The NHS and the BBC, The party (UKIP), The programme, The religion (Mormonism), The Times - like so much of the Western media, They (Britons), They (CitiJet), They (social workers), They (unclear), Thompson staff, Viewers, We, We, We English, You, You

Prejudice

Victim

All sorts of people, Asians, Black people, BME [Black Minority Ethnic] people, Eastern European people, Her (Joanna Mjadzelics), Him (Tabak), Homosexuality, It (News Corp's bid), It (News Corp's bid), Jews, Jews, Jews, People of other races, Someone, Them (my views), Those of other races, Travellers, Turks, Vulnerable ethnic minorities, Vulnerable teenagers, Women

A man whose background jurors know nothing of, African-Americans, Any ethnic or religious minority, Any guests, Any race of people, Any race of people, Black people, Black people in the South, Black people in the South, Blacks, Jews and the Native American Indians, Brittan, Brittan, Brittan, Casey, Children of other faiths, everyone we perceive to be a toff, Fat people, Fathers and husbands, Her (Captain Tait), Her (Captain Tait), Her Islamic dress, Him (Lopez), His (Angelo's) family, His (brother's) background, Individual Christians, Islington, Jews, Jews, Jews, Jews, Jews, Me, More conservative viewpoints, Older women, Parents, People of another race, People of other races, People of other races, Perceived 'toffs', She, The elderly, The former premier, The Negro race, The poor, The Putin government, The travellers, The women's faith, The women's faith, The women's faith, The women's faith, Them (black people), Them (many of the travellers), Them (The couple), Those of French Canadian descent, Transgender individuals, Travellers, UKIP, Us (Mr Clark and Kim Clark), Women, Women, Women wearing a veil, Women who take part, Working women, foreigners and gays and lesbians

Prejudice

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All sorts of people, Asians, Black people, BME [Black Minority Ethnic] people, Eastern European people, Her (Joanna Mjadzelics), Him (Tabak), Homosexuality, It (News Corp's bid), It (News Corp's bid), Jews, Jews, Jews, People of other races, Someone, Them (my views), Those of other races, Travellers, Turks, Vulnerable ethnic minorities, Vulnerable teenagers, Women

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Conclusions

- Are the terms used differently?
 - Need to spend more time with the data
 - Initial coding suggests not, but this remains to be seen
- Who or what is associated with prejudice/discrimination?
 - Social actors relating to race were more likely to occur in the victim category (this was also true for religion)
 - Social actors relating to law were more likely to occur in the agent category (this was also true for generic personhood)
- Do the two newspapers differ?
 - Collocates suggest they use the same semantic fields to report on prejudice/discrimination
 - The query hits suggest the Guardian uses these terms relatively more frequently than the Daily Mail, but their use of verbal forms decreased any apparent differences
- PREJUDICE_V / DISCRIMINATE_V + *against* is not the only way that discrimination/prejudice can be encoded
 - *against* is the most common verbal L1 collocate, so it represents a well established linguistic pattern
 - But, noun forms were more plentiful than verb forms and need further investigation

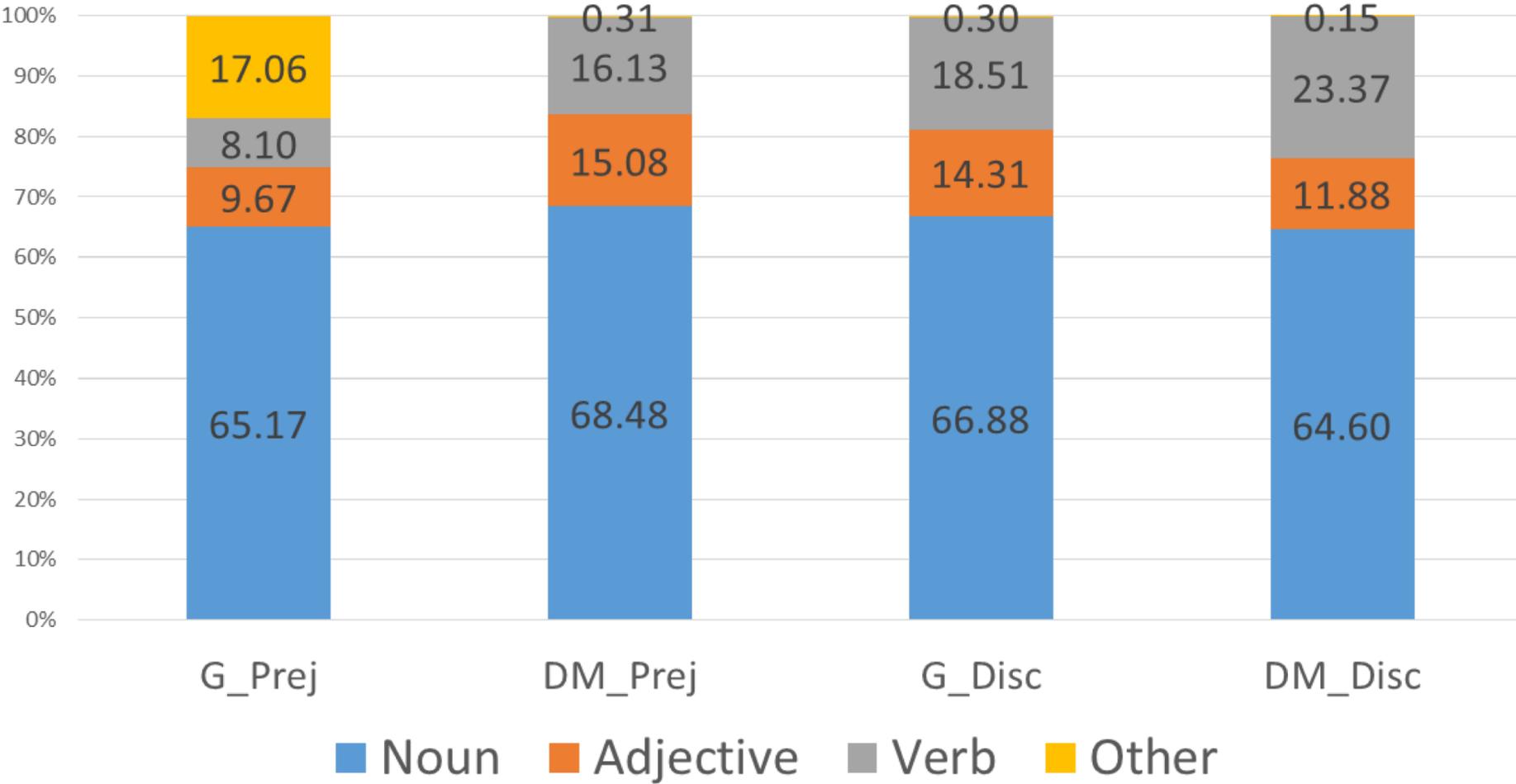
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Thank you

Additional materials

Distribution of word classes



Nouns

- *In practice, sex discrimination is already central to army life (Guardian)*
 - Victims: co-text = women; context = soldiers
 - Agent is backgrounded through nominalisation
 - Agents: co-text = no clear, animate agent; context = MoD policies with the implication that human agents are employed to enforce such policies
- Premodification of *discrimination* suggests discrete forms of discrimination
 - Future research questions: What different types of prejudice and discrimination are there? How are they similar/different?

Adjectives

- *Last year the Attorney General decided to take no action against a blogger who made prejudicial tweets during the trial of Vincent Tabak (Daily Mail)*
 - The human agent is not positioned as discriminating
 - The human agent is not labelled as prejudiced – (the thoughts behind) their tweets are
 - Sending tweets is not classified as a discriminatory act

Discrimination

Agent

"ethnocracies" such as Estonia and Latvia, (The government) Scrapping or reducing the grant, A bakery in Northern Ireland, A counter-productive system that often lets people reach a crisis point before they get any help, A government (and) an army, A health service that tends to focus solely on their sexual health, A justice system, A labour market, A local authority, A local authority "with an axe to grind", A new system of voter registration, A pay and grading structure , A plan to change the pension age, A plan to offer childcare support of 1,200 per child for families where both parents are earning up to 150,000, A play, A police force, A policy, A policy, A Scottish council, A similar proposal, A stop-and-search policy, A xenophobic policy of "Ivoirit", Adoption agencies run by religious charities, All white juries, An additional right to reside test, An employer, An informal policy, Ancient laws, Any member state, B&B owners, B&B owners, Bed and breakfast owners, Both the state and the judicial system, British authorities, British entry clearance officers based in Abu Dhabi and Islamabad, Buckingham Palace, Bus lane rules, Call-centre managers, Cameron's proposal, Catholic adoption agencies and Christian officials, Catholic adoption officials, Christians, Christians, Councils and government, Countries, Curbs on proposed migrant workers' rights, Demands, Derby city council, DK, Doctors, Edinburgh, Employers, Employers, Employers, Evangelical Christians and other religious groups, Faith schools, Federal contractors, Firth, Gaddafi's regime, GMB, Groups of workers who organised and fought, Guidance, He, He and his church, Her, His bosses, His bosses, His party, Insurers, It (a ceremony in which a child pledges to do his "duty to God"), It (a levy of between 1 and 2 for every night's stay in the city), It (Doma), It (monarchy), It (Scotland Yard), It (the benefits cap), It (the cut-off date for nominations), It (The government's equalities watchdog), It (The Ministry of Defence), It (tuition fees), It (virginity tests), It (WCA: Work Capability Assessment), Jews of European origin, Kuwait, Landlords, Landlords and letting agents, Law, Law and practice, Laws, Laws, Laws, Legislation, Liberal pundits such as Michael Kinsley, Local activists, Many employers, Member states, Ministers, Moves, Muirfield, My own workplace, Officers, Organisations, Park View Academy, People, People, Political parties, Power brokers concentrated in the south, Proposals, Regulations, Religion, Religious employers, Religious groups, Religious organisations, Religious organisations, Russian legislation, Scotland, Scottish ministers, Signatories, Size criteria for housing benefit in the private sector, Society, that is, institutional society, Some professionals, States, Successive governments, Such policies, Sussex police, Tarriffs, The 250 cap, The abolition of civil partnerships, The banks, The BBC, The BBC, The benefit cap measures, The bill, The coalition, The CofE, The company (A4e), The Conservative-led government in Westminster, The council, The Crown, The current bus lane legislation, The current bus lane regulations, The current bus lane regulations, The current settlement, The ECB, The electorate, The family courts, The family-owned firm, The force, The force, The FSB, The government , The Home Office, The Israeli Lands Administration, The law, The law, planning regulations and the judicial system, The majority, The Met, The Metropolitan police, The new housing benefit rules, The NHS, The NHS, The other, self-loathing Scotland, The owners of the Chymorvah hotel, The party (UKIP), The physical training and the tests, The play, The play, The police, The policy, The policy, The policy, The policy, The rules, The Scottish Government, The Sunni-dominated government, The system, The system that was put in place to protect him, The tax system, The test, The then government and the NIO, The third party, The UK, The UK government, The vast majority (of internships), The WCA, Their (newsagents), Them (someone), These (the pension rules), They (A4e), They (acoustic deterrents), They (all-women shortlists), [...]

Discrimination

Victim

(One of) minority ethnic groups, 58% of those questioned, A black female officer, A community, A Conservative Party member, A funny comedian, A gay couple, A gay customer, A member country, A particular group, A Pentecostal Christian couple, A single mother, A woman firearms officer, A worker, African Americans, All immigrants, All migrants, All women, Alternative family forms, Any groups, Anyone with a mental health problem, Applicants aged 25 or over, Armed services, Around 800,000 people, Asian drivers, Backbenchers, Black customers, Black defendants, Black people, Black people, Black people or Muslims or Catholic, Blacks, Muslims or gays, Bone, Catholics, Catholics, CH, Children and women, particularly those affected by domestic violence, Children who do not believe in God, Christian minorities, Christians, Christians in this country, Churches that refuse to perform same-sex weddings, Citizens of EU member states, Civil partners, Claimants with mental health impairments, Claimants with mental health problems, Class, Clients of certain nationalities, Cohabiting couples and their children, Companies in the EU or US, Disabled adults, Disabled children who needed a bedroom each because of health needs, Disabled people with certain types of support need, Dismissed workers, Doctors from New Zealand or engineers from India, drivers who offer a competing taxi service, drivers who offer a competing taxi service, Dyslexic pupils, Each other, Egg donors, Elderly patients, Elected representatives of the European parliament, Employees, English, Welsh and Northern Irish students, Ethnic minorities, Ethnic minorities, Ethnic minority Britons, Ethnic minority defendants, Ethnic minority groups, EU citizens, EU citizens, EU citizens, EU migrants, Eunice and Owen Johns, Everyone in Britain who does not wear the crown, Families with children, Family or friends, Fat people, Fathers, Female classroom and nursery workers, Female members, Female prisoners, Foreign goods, Gareth Lee, Gay and bisexual men, Gay and lesbian couples, Gay and lesbian or divorced employees, Gay athletes and spectators at the winter Olympics in Sochi, Gay men and lesbians who wanted to serve their country, Gay people, Gays and others, Gender, sexuality, race, religion, disability and the like, Graduates, He, He, Her (A former UK Independence party MEP), Her (PC Barbara Lynford), Him (dad), Him (Tarique Ghaffur), Him (Tarique Ghaffur), His (Dougherty), His citizens, Homosexual couples, Homosexuals, Homosexuals, I, I, I, I (hypothetical Roma), Individuals, Innocent Muslims, Israeli Arabs, It (Scotland), It (something), Its own, Ivorians of mixed parentage, Jewish communities from Muslim and Arab countries (labelled "Mizrahi" or "Eastern"), Jewish people and other ethnic and religious groups, Landlords, Lee, Lesbians and gays, LGBT [lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender] people, Local women affected by domestic violence, Many French-speaking Qubcois, Me, Me, Me, Members of the Shia community, Men, Men, Men, Men, Men, Men, Men, Men, Mentally ill claimants, Minorities, Molecules of equivalent cultural significance, More than half (of the 676 surveyed), Mothers like me, Mr Bone, Muslims, Muslims in India, Nationalities the immigration authorities regard as "high-risk", New arrivals, No individual, No one in today's society, Non-bicycle riders, Non-Muslim Employees, Older women, Older women, Openly gay clergy or gay employees, Other EU citizens, Others, Others, Others, Our people, Our son, Pakistani visa applicants, Particular groups, Patients in similar situations who have diseases other than cancer, PC Carol Howard, People, People from across the Medway border, People from New Zealand... or from India, or Canada [...]