Prognostic Critique and Discourse Change: A New Model for CDS Praxis

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ABSTRACT

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In this thesis, I propose a research programme whereby prognostic critique, originally presented as part of the Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), is further developed and integrated into CDS praxis more generally, systematically and explicitly than it has been thus far. Prognostic critique is where the socially transformative agenda of CDS finds its culmination, as it expressly orients towards "the transformation of communication" (Reisigl & Wodak 2016, p. 25) via the creation of guidelines and recommendations to challenge, dismantle and replace socially problematic (e.g. racist, sexist) discursive practices. Explicit engagement with this level of critique within CDS, however, is relatively rare. In the few cases where such critique has been attempted (e.g. Kargl et al., 1997; Godin, 2021), recommendations for discoursal transformation rest on analysts' interpretations and largely untested intuitions about what alternative discourses look like and how they may impact social action and attitudes in more ethically productive ways. In this thesis, I advocate for the integration of experimental methods to CDS work as a way to enable researchers to empirically examine the emancipatory potential (or lack thereof) of texts, so that any interpretations and prognostic recommendations may be informed by more systematic probing of the effects of alternative discourses on different audiences' attitudes and/or behaviours. As proof of concept of how this may be done, I report on the results of a small-scale prognostic intervention aimed at tackling Islamophobic prejudice and discursive practices in a UK context. Given the attested influence of news media discourse on social attitudes, this intervention explicitly engaged with the question of what alternative/counter-hegemonic representations of Muslim communities in UK news media could look like, and how their prejudice-mitigating potentials could be examined. A framework of discourse analysis was developed using descriptive parameters informed by Cognitive-Linguistic CDS (Hart, 2011b) so that the lexicosemantic makeup of these representations of Muslim communities could be described and accounted for. In particular, I focused on news-based narratives of contact between Muslim and non-Muslim communities, whereby episodes of intergroup contact and processes of attitudinal change are depicted as central themes. The impact of exposure to these texts on implicit attitudes (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995) was subsequently measured via an Evaluative Decision Task (Draine & Greenwald, 1998). Drawing on Contact Theory (Hewstone & Swart, 2011), it was hypothesised that exposure to such representations of intergroup contact would

modulate Islamophobic prejudice. Though only partially successful in modulating intergroup prejudice as measured in this way, this work offers one example of how the more general model of prognostic critique advanced can be implemented. I also offer insights into learnings, limitations and areas of improvement to consider when applying this model of research.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work, and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

PART I: TOWARDS A PROGRAMME FOR PROGNOSTIC CRITIQUE

CHAPTER 0: RATIONALE, AIMS AND OVERVIEW OF THIS THESIS

The present work is offered as a methodological contribution to the research programme of Critical Discourse Studies (henceforth CDS; also known as Critical Discourse Analysis, or CDA). In its most basic form, CDS is a research tradition ultimately oriented to the pursuit of societal transformation. It is purported to work in solidarity with communities who are most marginalised within dominance-heavy, hierarchically-oriented social orders (van Dijk, 1993b). The entire research programme of CDS rests on the teleological assumption that it is partly by interrogating discursive practices in society, especially those conducive to and constitutive of power abuses and inequality, and working to replace these with more ethically productive alternatives (as per a transparently declared set of ethico-normative principles), that ideological and societal change may be attained. This view itself rests on the posit that discourse, ideology, and society are mutually constitutive of one another, and that discourse "is a form of social action" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258) which is reflective of, and reflected in, socially shared systems of beliefs, attitudes and worldviews (i.e. ideologies). Following this logic, therefore, changes in any of these dimensions has the potential to dovetail changes in the others, for better or for worse.

Much of how CDS works to promote societal transformation 'for the better' (Fairclough, 2018) is by working to raise awareness of the role of discourse and ideology on power relations. In this endeavour, CDS practitioners (at least in principle) support the efforts of different social actors in their quest to challenge and dismantle problematic status quos. Methodologically and programmatically speaking, CDS has traditionally sought to do this by devising and disseminating methods of enquiry by which social actors can elucidate and ethically assess what constitutes a society's 'normal', and the extent to which the latter may be the result of, and support, historical inequalities and injustice -such that these may be eventually exposed and more actively resisted.

Above and beyond a commitment to a periodic exercise of awareness-raising, slightly more interventionist types of CDS praxis are encouraged within some of its quarters (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). This is best exemplified by Reisigl & Wodak's (2001) tri-partite definition of critique. To be critical, according to this model, involves not just interrogating all manners of social orders and ideologies (including one's own) by means of sociohistorically informed

discourse-analytical work (termed *text-immanent* and *socio-diagnostic* critique in this model). Critique also requires the task of envisioning and making ethically viable recommendations for discoursal transformation, on the back of the insights obtained in the process of other two facets of critique. This latter form of critique, chiefly oriented to "proposing changes [as] part of being critical" (Wodak, 2007, p. 4) on top of and beyond awareness-raising, is what in Reisigl & Wodak (2001) is called *prognostic critique*.

Prognostic critique is where the socially transformative agenda of CDS finds its culmination, as it expressly orients towards "the transformation of communication" (ibid. p. 25) via the creation of guidelines and recommendations to challenge, dismantle and replace socially problematic (e.g. racist, sexist) discursive practices. However, explicit engagement with prognostic critique within CDS is still rare in ways that, I argue, can limit its potential to contribute to social change away from socially problematic orders of discourse, ideology and power relations. In the few cases where this has been attempted (Kargl et al., 1997; Godin, 2021), recommendations for discoursal transformation have rested on analysts' interpretations and largely untested intuitions about what discoursal and ideological alternatives look like and how they may impact social action.

In this thesis, I present a model of praxis whereby prognostic critique, originally presented as part of the Discourse-Historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), can be expanded into CDS more generally, systematically and explicitly than it has been thus far. This is so that CDS may more readily engage in the systematic, cyclical exploration of the emancipatory potential of different discursive practices such that, as and when found to fulfil such potential, they may be transparently advocated for -or else resisted and delegitimised. By 'emancipatory potential' I am referring to the capabilities (or lack thereof) of a set of discursive practices and patterns of semiotic representation to contribute and/or be conducive to the promotion of ideological principles of social equality and the upholding of universal human rights, alongside the delegitimation and dismantling of societal orders characterised by widespread inequality and the naturalisation of dominance-based power relations. This work is, importantly, distinct from branches like Positive Discourse Analysis. The main way in which I propose to do this at this juncture is via triangulation with experimental methods such that the ideological effects of different discourses may be tested in a systematic, cyclical and feed-forward manner. This has the aim of enabling CDS to explore a range of both hegemonic and alternative discursive practices and empirically assess whether, and the extent to which, they may be more-or-less

conducive to the socially transformative agenda of CDS. It importantly prioritises the systematic, stepwise exploration of the social effects of different discursive practices in different contexts of reception and production through time. In cases where a set of discursive practices are found to work against the ethical principles to which CDS adheres, it opens the door to the making of explicit prognostic recommendations for their transformation and, most importantly, for subsequently testing the effects of these changes on different social actors as part of the process of CDS enquiry itself. In the following pages I attempt to illustrate how, when applied in a self-reflexive and, most importantly, intellectually and axiologically modest manner, such a model of research could enhance CDS' capacity to contribute to societal transformation in solidarity with communities who have been socially marginalised in different contexts and periods, thereby contributing to the fulfilment of one of its own foundational aims.

Part I of this thesis lays the foundations for this multi-stage model of praxis. Chapter 1 begins by revisiting some basic notions and normative considerations of foundational importance to the CDS enterprise as a whole. I specify how *discourse*, *ideology*, *power* and *social change* are defined for the purposes of my thesis. In Chapter 2 I move on to reviewing the extent to which CDS has worked to raise awareness of the workings of discourse, power and ideology across a number of topical areas and approaches since its inception. At this point, I examine and refer the reader to work in which socially problematic orders of discourse and ideology have been the focus of practitioners' critique, as well as a comparatively smaller, but still important, body of research into counter-hegemonic and alternative discourses. The gaps identified throughout this process lead me to make the case for promoting prognostic forms of critique as a design feature of CDS itself, specifically via the use of experimental methods. In this part of the thesis (Chapter 3), I sketch out the general blueprint for this model.

The merits, viability and pertinence of this model are subjected to a proof-of-concept examination in Part II of this thesis, beginning in Chapter 4. Here, I specifically focus on the issue of Islamophobia in the UK and stage a small-scale prognostic intervention in solidarity with Muslim communities. I first scope the discursive, attitudinal and social impact dimensions of this issue as well as some loci of resistance to currently hegemonic Islamophobic/Orientalist discourses from within and outside Muslim communities themselves. This corresponds to Stage 0 out of 4 of the prognostic pipeline advocated here. Noting the role of news media representations in perpetuating Islamophobic tropes and facilitating the spread of Islamophobic attitudes and social behaviours, and the fact that such attitudinal ideations appear to be most

prevalent in older demographics, who are themselves the most involved in processes of electoral deliberation in the UK (YouGov, 2019), I move on to grappling with questions of whether and how media narratives can instead contribute to the mitigation and dismantling of Islamophobic prejudices rather than to their proliferation amongst these communities. Stage 1 CDS work in this model seeks to address the question of what alternative, more potentially emancipatory, patterns of discursive representations of Muslim communities could look like, and how they may be systematically described and accounted for using discourse-analytical methods. This is done on Chapter 5. Chapter 6 reports on the results of an experimental study in which the emancipatory potential of news narratives of contact between Muslim and non-Muslim communities was empirically tested (Stage 2 of the model). A sample of participants (N=39) from non-Muslim White British communities (45-75 years old), were exposed to a news story of improved contact between Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the city of Lincoln (UK), and an unrelated text, and the impact of the former on participants' implicit attitudes (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995) was measured via an Evaluative Decision Task (Draine & Greenwald, 1998). The insights derived from this experiment open the door for the making of prognostic recommendations, which are implemented at Stage 3, and their effects subsequently tested at Stage 4 in line with the iterative nature of the model of praxis advocated here.

Finally, in Part III I offer an overview of learnings, limitations and areas of improvement to consider when applying this model, as well as a speculative snapshot of the way it can be put in practice in tackling other pressing societal issues of the kind CDS is committed to denouncing and presenting alternatives to.

CHAPTER 1: CDS – SOME KEY CONCEPTS

1.1 Discourse

Across CDS, the term 'discourse' bears a multiplicity of meanings. This fact has often given rise to requests by editors of handbooks and other volumes for contributors to specify what their definition of 'discourse' is at the time of writing (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 260). One of the most influential, and earliest, definitions of discourse within the paradigm of CDS is provided by Fairclough (1995, p. 18), taking inspiration from Critical Linguistics (Fowler et al., 1979) and Foucaldian post-structuralism (Foucault, 1972). Reflecting on the polysemic nature of 'discourse', Fairclough defines it in three interrelated senses.

In the first sense, discourse is viewed as "language in use in any form" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 18). This definition is reminiscent of ideas within the wider domain of functional linguistics, where discourse corresponds to extended instances of linguistic interaction beyond isolated sentences, as observed in different real-world contexts (Brown & Yule, 1993; see also: Lemke, 1995). Gee (2004) calls this kind of discourse 'little d' discourse (see also: Blum-Kulka, 1997, p. 39). Whilst earlier definitions of discourse within CDS exhibit a marked focus on language as consisting of written text and spoken dialogue (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Fairclough, 1992a), more contemporary understandings of discourse in this first sense incorporate the real-world applications of other systems of meaning-making, such as gesture (Hart & Winter, 2022) and image (Machin & Mayr, 2012), and others beyond language proper (Jäger & Maier, 2016).

The second definition of discourse is "verbal performance as a social action/practice" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 18). Encapsulated in this statement is the socially performative nature of discourse (Austin, 1962). Central to CDS is the claim that using language and other forms of meaning-making constitutes a form of sociocultural behaviour, such that any strict distinction between 'speaking' and 'doing' is relaxed, to conceive of discourse as something that social actors *do* (van Dijk, 1997, p. 5; Wodak, 1996, p. 14). Consistent with this view, CDS proponents approach their research from the understanding that it is to a large extent by means of discursive acts that participants define their roles and relations to one another and represent their stances and worldviews, goals and understandings of a situation. And as these forms of discursive representation become increasingly entrenched, accepted, and repeated, they contribute to the establishment of a given social/cultural order (Fairclough, 1992a). This sense of the term is

picked up in Fairclough & Wodak (1997) who posit that discourse exists in a dialectical relation with society (see also: Wodak, 1996, pp. 18-20; Fairclough, 2001, p. 19). By virtue of being a form of social action, discourse is thus inherently *constitutive of* social relations, while at the same time being *constituted*, i.e. shaped, by them (Fairclough, 2001). In studying discourse, therefore, CDS scholars are interested in how social relations and social conventions are constructed, reflected, reproduced/legitimised, or otherwise resisted and changed in and through different real-world instances of text and talk (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 2015). As relations between social actors lend themselves to the exercise of power relations, discourse is seen as an important site of power and influence (Wodak & Meyer, 2016), and as such, as an instrument for the creation, reproduction and, at times, alteration of what is considered a society's 'normal' or 'appropriate' social order, i.e. the status quo by which different sectors of a population, including groups and institutions, negotiate their lives, interests, value systems and identities. Of particular interest in CDS is, therefore, the study of power relations in and behind discourse (Fairclough, 2001, p. 51), and forms of discursively constituted power abuse, as well as their resistance (van Dijk, 2009a, p. 63).

The third sense in which discourse is defined echoes the Foucauldian notion of discourse, and conceptualises it as "a social construction of reality, a form of knowledge" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 18). At this level we find that discourse is often used as a count noun (see Fairclough, 2005a, p. 77; Gee, 2004), with terms such as 'media discourses', 'discourses of neoliberalism', 'medicalised discourses' showing up in CDS material (Wodak & Busch, 2004; Krzyżanowski & Machin, 2017; Knapton & Rundblad, 2014; Graham & Luke, 2013). This sense of the term takes discourse to consist of fairly conventionalised ways of talking about, and thus organising, different domains of sociocultural reality, be it education, politics, child-parent relations, gender relations, the production of scientific knowledge etc., and of representing the identities of those involved in these interactions (Althusser, 2001 [1971]). This view is reflected in Kress (1985) when he makes the point that "a discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organises and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about" (p. 6; see also: Brünner & Graefen, 1994). CDS studies how these forms of discursive realisation come to dominate a social landscape, i.e. become hegemonic (Fairclough, 1992a; Gramsci, 1971), how they evolve, as well as what they reveal about power imbalances (Fairclough, 1995). At the same time, though, by constituting ways of talking about a given aspect of reality, the definition above posits that discourse also constitutes ways of cognising these

domains (van Dijk, 2009c). In this sense, discourses make up knowledge structures and thought patterns which actors bring to bear in social interaction.

In the present thesis, discourse will be conceived of in senses 1 and 2, and from sense 3, only the portion of that definition which deals with institutionalised ways of talking about a given topic/domain will be followed. Structures of knowledge, including normative principles, assumptions about the world and beliefs about identities/social categories shared by a given group will be instead linked to the notion of ideology (see also Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 9), which I turn to in the next subsection.

1.2 Ideology and Power

Ideology is a term that, like discourse, is also greatly determined by the theoretical-epistemological stance of each respective scholar (see Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Below I review how three of the central proponents of CDS have defined this term, as well as the interrelated notion of power.

1.2.1 Ideology and Power in Norman Fairclough's work

In Fairclough (1995) ideology carries pejorative import (following Western Marxist traditions) and the critical exercise of ideological examination departs from the premise that ideologies are largely elements of false consciousness at the service of upholding the interests of dominant classes. In Discourse and Social Change, Fairclough provides an explicit definition of ideology, borrowing from the work of Althusser (2001 [1971]) and Voloshinov (1973). *Ideology*, in Fairclough is the set of "significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices" (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 87). Later on, Fairclough's definition turns towards the teleological substrates of the term, by stating that ideologies "contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination" (ibid.). Within this pejorative take on ideology, Fairclough (1995) later presents what he calls ideological discourse as something to be "combated" (p.70) and decries attempts to study ideology as "neutral", i.e. in the sense of considering ideologies as ubiquitous in social relations, and discourse as inextricably ideological, as tantamount to not being critical (p.17). Later on in the same work he appears to establish a contrast between ideology and rational thought, in a way that is consistent with a

definition of ideologies as 'false' or 'irrational' beliefs standing in contrast to 'truth'. He poses the question of whether or not discourse change is necessarily ideologically invested, with the other alternative being 'rational' motivations behind variations in discourse practices. On this point he says: "Are discoursal changes…necessarily ideologically invested?…It is quite conceivable that changes in discoursal practices…could come about *for purely rational reasons*." (p. 80 - emphasis mine).

Noting the constitutive relation between discourse and ideology, a great deal of Fairclough's work centers on fleshing out the ways in which ideological and sociopolitical changes co-occur with discoursal changes. One of the best-known examples of this is Fairclough's study on the progressive marketisation of universities (Fairclough, 1993) and the ascent of neoliberal ideologies ushered in by Margaret Thatcher's government (Fairclough, 2001). Given his aim of combating ideologies, Fairclough stresses the importance of not just accounting for how ideology and hegemonic cultural practices are reproduced, but also how they evolve and, when ideological changes are identified, the aim is to unearth how these changes could be contributing to overall patterns of domination and power abuse (Fairclough, 1995).

Fairclough's way of defining ideology is closely interlinked with his definition of power. Power is conceived in its discursive dimension (power *in* and *behind* discourse) as "asymmetries between participants in discourse events and…unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed (and hence the shapes of texts) in particular sociocultural contexts" (1995, pp. 1-2). Power, in Fairclough's work, is largely synonymous with dominance, and ideology is the cultural means by which dominant classes naturalise a political and economic order according to their interests (ibid.). Fairclough's treatment of power is heavily influenced by notions from Gramscian philosophy, and thus it is recognised that whilst dominance may be achieved via overt acts of forceful coercion, it is also crucially exerted in the building of alliances and the manufacturing of consent (Fairclough, 1995, pp. 27-28) in discourse, such that dominant groups are able to position their cultural practices and worldviews as universally held, common-sense standards, often with the acquiescence of subaltern groups.

1.2.2 Ideology and Power in Ruth Wodak's work

In Ruth Wodak's work, the pejorative treatment of ideologies as instruments of false consciousness is somewhat modulated. In her definition she hedges that ideologies are "often

(though not necessarily) false or ungrounded constructions of society" (1996, p. 18 - emphasis mine). This perspective is picked up from Fairclough & Wodak (1997)'s influential chapter on Critical Discourse Analysis. Whilst not representing ideologies as necessarily comprising false beliefs, Wodak (1996) still appears to echo Fairclough's earlier stance about their socially problematic role in power relations. Ideologies are thus treated as "ways of representing society which *reproduce* unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation" (p. 18). As in Fairclough's work, ideologies are defined as the instruments by which domination can be upheld.

Unique to Wodak's approach is the integration of theories from the Frankfurt School and Habermasian philosophy within her treatment of ideology and power. Key concepts adapted from Habermas (1970) are the notions of 'false consensus' and 'systematically distorted communication'. Wodak (1996) explains that false consensus emerges when ideologies become embedded in a society as being self-evident knowledge, but have been arrived at via the manipulation of discourse, i.e. 'systematically distorted communication', in ways that stifle, whether by covert or overt means, the participation of subordinated groups in the arena of public debate (p. 30). Explorations of the means by which ideological constructions of society include false beliefs and lead to a 'false consensus' presupposes a set of norms by which falsity and truth can be assessed. What constitutes 'true' beliefs is, in Wodak, influenced by another of Habermas' concepts, that of the 'ideal speech situation', wherein utterances are judged on their truthfulness not via "correspondence with an empirical reality, but rather [truth] is produced consensually" (Mumby, 1988, p. 29 in Wodak, 1996, p. 30). In the ideal speech situation, there is a symmetrical/equal distribution of opportunities to speak for all participants, and discourse is the locus where truths are openly contested, articulated and arrived at (Habermas, 1971 in Wodak, 1996). Wodak (see also Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) proposes that the principles of pragma-dialectics (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1988; 1992) be used by parties to discursive interaction when negotiating and interrogating what is, or comes to be, given the status of knowledge. Crucially, this exercise must come with a commitment to conceive of knowledge in its historical context, and to keep the conditions by which knowledge is used, and produced, transparent. This ultimately requires an exercise of recurrent self-reflexivity by which accepted ideologies come to be questioned and not taken for granted, which is closely related to the notion of 'critique', as will be explained later.

The concept of power in Wodak is also largely studied in terms of domination and asymmetry, not unlike Fairclough's approach. This way of defining power, i.e. as power over, can be observed in Reisigl & Wodak (2016) in whose definition "power relates to an asymmetric relationship among social actors who have different social positions or who belong to different social groups" (p. 26). Borrowing from Weber (1980), power is viewed in its confrontational, zero-sum dimension, and thus treated as a matter of potential to enforce a social actor's will against the will or interests of another. Though a brief admission is made, citing Emerson (1962), with regards to power being ubiquitous, present not only in top-down relations but in contexts of mutual dependence, elsewhere Wodak presents power as something to be eliminated. When paraphrasing Foucault's idea that "changes of discourse always imply changes in power structure, but never destruction of power" (Wodak, 1996, p. 28), she establishes that her discussion will stand in contrast to this view. In this way, similarly to Fairclough, she presents power (qua domination) as something to be combated.

1.2.3 Ideology and Power in Teun van Dijk's work

From a Sociocognitive perspective, van Dijk conceives of ideology as a matter of social cognition (van Dijk, 2009a, 2013). Ideologies are defined as "socially shared systems of beliefs and knowledge" (van Dijk, 2009c, p. 24), including attitudes (as evaluative beliefs) and social norms (van Dijk, 2013). Consequently, research undertaken from this perspective is geared towards examining "how such very deep cognitive patterns end up in people's heads and end up there as collective phenomena" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 162). Van Dijk's definition can be read as carrying with it a recognition that ideologies are ubiquitous and exist whenever individuals group themselves socially in a more or less stable way (van Dijk, 2021b). Discourse is studied as a key component in the emergence, prevalence and reconfiguration of these agglomerations, both in terms of their social organisation (e.g. by informing how social categories/identities are created and understood -see van Dijk, 1997; see also Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 276) and of the values and worldviews that come to be internalised and shared collectively amongst individuals presenting in a group member capacity, i.e. ideologies (van Dijk, 1995b). By conceptualising of ideologies in this way, van Dijk is able to make the case that there is a mutually constitutive relation not just between discourse and society, but also between discourse and ideology, and that, moreover, that relation between discourse and society is *mediated* by ideology (van Dijk, 2016, p. 64). In this view, discourse ultimately shapes and is shaped by the beliefs of members

of a society and these beliefs are the ones that consequently inform how social relations are understood and enacted, including discursive relations (van Dijk, 1998b)

Unlike Fairclough (1995, 2001) and Wodak (1996; see also Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), by taking ideology as intrinsic to society in general -not just societies marked by structures of domination, discourse can be considered to be inherently ideological (cf. Wodak, 1996, pp. 18-19). This argument gains in strength when one considers that ideology presupposes the selection of one way, or ways, of representing the world out of many possible others (Hart, 2014b). In a similar manner, discourse necessitates communicating from a given perspective, essentially requiring a selection of aspects of reality to be represented in interaction at the exclusion of others (ibid.). In its social dimension, therefore, discourse can be said to be inherently ideological, and that is the stance taken in this thesis. Crucially, this has the benefit of enabling one to decouple the definition of ideology from the departing assumption that ideologies are intrinsically tied to patterns of domination, instead allowing the caveat to be made that certain ideologies *can* (and *do*) have these effects. More to the point of this thesis, such a view of ideologies can have the advantage of allowing CDS to also account for and study ideological formations which can, in more or less successful ways, instead lead to the problematisation and mitigation of power asymmetries and present alternatives to ideological formations which serve domination and inequality.

van Dijk's own conceptualisation of power bears some subtle, but important, differences with the two presented previously. Instead of defining power as domination, van Dijk defines power in terms of control; with the two terms (power and control) often used synonymously in his work (van Dijk, 1998b, 2008)

In one of his overviews of CDS, van Dijk notes the relative, and contextually sensitive, nature of power. On this point, he states:

> Power is seldom absolute. Groups may more or less control other groups, or only control them in specific situations or social domains. A judge controls people only in the courtroom, and a teacher only students in a classroom. Moreover, dominated groups may more or less resist, accept, condone, collude or comply with, or legitimate such power, and even find it "natural". (van Dijk, 2015, p. 469)

Crucial to van Dijk's treatment of power is the explicit recognition that there are different ways in which power can be exercised on the basis of the resources at play, such that:

> different types of power may be distinguished according to the various resources employed to exercise such power: the coercive power of the military and other violent people will rather be based on force; the rich will have power because of their money; the more or less "persuasive power" of parents, professors, or journalists may be based on knowledge, information, or authority. (ibid.)

This is not unlike Fairclough's recognition of power not being limited to overt domination, such that domination/control is also, and sometimes more frequently, achieved via the manufacturing of consent (Fairclough, 2001, p. 3), much of which includes persuasive and covert/subtle uses of power. Wodak & Meyer (2016) equally remind us, inspired by Foucault's ideas, that power can also be exercised in 'softer' forms which target positive affect, such as "when suggesting how happy people would be" if they would carry out a given action (p. 11).

When discussing the aims of CDS research, van Dijk signposts to a fundamental interest in "how power and especially power abuse are reproduced in society" (van Dijk, 2008, p. vii). Implicit in this statement is that power abuse exists as one specific type of power relation, with domination largely constituting the *abuse* of power and the abuse of means of control by a given group in line with their own vested interests. According to van Dijk, however, CDS is and ought to be focused on these kinds of relations in particular (van Dijk, 2015). This view is also expressed in van Dijk (2008) where he states that CDS' focus is "not just on power in society, more generally, but rather on power *abuse*, that is, on *domination"* (ibid., p. 1)

Van Dijk's main target is the forms of control which 'elites' exert in ways that prioritise their interests and result in social inequality (van Dijk, 1993a). Particularly, he decries these group's privileged access to both material and symbolic resources, which includes control over discourse (in the third sense detailed above), and the modes in which discourses are produced and disseminated, as well as the beliefs that become hegemonic (van Dijk, 1996, 2015). When laying out his understanding of the way in which this kind of discursive control plays out, he describes it as a cycle:

> beginning with the power of the symbolic elites to control the context of discourse production, which controls the forms and content of discourse, which controls the…models of interpretation, which finally control and are controlled by underlying, socially shared knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies, which again influence people's conduct and hence their discourse. (van Dijk, 2012 n.p.).

For van Dijk, therefore, control is exerted on the mind of social actors, in line with his posit that the dialectical relation between discourse and society is mediated by ideologies (themselves systems of social *cognition*). In light of this, CDS should concern itself with studying situations where this control is considered by the analyst, according to some explicitly defined normative point of reference, to be illegitimate. Whereas Fairclough and Wodak mostly view power as domination and therefore as illegitimate in all its manifestations, van Dijk's work opens up the question of when and how control is abused to the detriment of oppressed groups and when it could be legitimately exercised. These questions are at the heart of his understanding of the notion of critique, which I address in the next section.

1.3 Critique and Social Change

Critique is viewed in CDS as a crucial instrument in the pursuit of societal change (Fairclough, 2013b, 2001, 2018; Wodak, 1996; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016; van Dijk, 2016; see Forchtner, 2018). Yet how critique is defined and, consequently, how social change is envisioned (including the question of what is being changed, towards what and for what reasons) is heavily influenced by how some of the foundational figures in CDS have applied social theories to define ideology and power and the nexus of these to discourse (Forchtner, 2018).

1.3.1 Fairclough's Conception of Critique and Social Change

Before CDS became an established research paradigm for the critical study of discourse in society, there was what came to be known as 'Critical Linguistics' (Fowler et al., 1979). The core of this endeavour was to link patterns of linguistic representation (e.g. structures of transitivity, uses of nominalisation) to a wider societal context of unequal power relations. One of the questions that CL sought to answer relates to how given linguistic structures could enable

powerful actors to, for instance, mystify their degree of involvement in, and responsibility for, acts of violence and serve to present their worldviews as legitimate in a society (Fowler, 1991; Hodge & Kress, 1997). As an ultimate goal, CL sought to bring increased awareness of the means by which language could prop up the vested interests of powerful groups. The task of demystifying these phenomena was what, in CL, it meant to be 'critical'.

Fairclough's early work is largely positioned within this way of viewing the study of language (though with some extensions and modifications) as shown in Fairclough (1992a, pp. 28-29). Here, he establishes a distinction between his own approach and approaches to discourse labelled as 'non-critical' insofar as "critical approaches differ from non-critical approaches in not just describing discursive practices but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies" (p. 12). It is by articulating these relations, and how they are encoded in discourse, whilst explicating the extent to which they are viewed as leading to an increase and/or the reproduction of unequal power relations, that Fairclough aims to encourage what he terms 'critical language awareness' (Fairclough, 2013b). The exercise of growing in such awareness essentially boils down to "making visible the interconnectedness of things" (Fairclough, 1985, p. 747), because, as he reminds critically-minded discourse analysts, "consciousness is the first step towards emancipation" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 233)

In a more developed, and recent, account of critique, Fairclough (2018) posits that the task of interrogating discursively-constituted power relations involves engagement with three interrelated avenues of critical examination. Namely these are: normative critique, critique of ideology and explanatory critique.

Normative critique is what, in his view, CDS begins with (Fairclough, 2018, p. 36). The critical analysis of discourse in society is assessed against a set of normative principles, e.g. racism and essentialist forms of social categorisation are bad, social inequality must be eradicated, power abuse is bad and minoritised groups should have the same access to resources such as health, education, etc. Principles like these officiate as a guide for CDS practitioners to define and identify problematic discourses (see also: van Dijk, 2009a).

Critique of ideology is what is involved in denaturalising/interrogating a given set of worldviews deemed to be propping up structures of domination. Fairclough's first body of work largely consisted of this kind of critique (Fairclough, 2001). For example, in Fairclough and Fairclough

(2012) the authors interrogate the advent and normalisation of neoliberal ideologies in the context of the 2007 financial crisis in a UK context. Their analysis sheds light on the means by which these ways of organising the social and economic order are legitimised and normalised in discourse. These processes of naturalisation of what is, in fact, one way out of many possibilities of defining and organising resources and understanding social relations are the kind of ideological phenomena that Fairclough's work has consistently targeted and problematised (see Fairclough, 2018 for a review).

Normative critique and critique of ideology are closely linked to explanatory critique. As Fairclough points out "better understanding [of how power abuse occurs via discourse] requires better explanations. CDA offers better explanatory understanding of relations between discourse and other components of social life" (Fairclough, 2018, p. 35). The way in which CDS does this is by, among other things, collaboration/triangulation with other disciplines (Cicourel, 1969; see also: Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 40), via the integration of theories and empirical work from these fields of knowledge to help explain the potential effects given discourses may have in reproducing or otherwise legitimising ideological orders underpinning power abuse and inequality. In some cases, text interpretations are triangulated with empirical work from within CDS itself (Hart, 2018; Julios-Costa, 2014).

Ultimately, ideological, normative and explanatory critique are thought to provide a basis for social change. Briefly put "CDA combines critique of discourse [and, at the same time, critique of ideology] and explanation of how discourse figures in existing social reality as a basis for action to change reality" (Fairclough, 2018, p. 35), since "from awareness and critique arise possibilities of empowerment and change" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 82). Interestingly, in Fairclough's view, however, "CDA is not in itself action, it is a step towards it, identifying and sometimes advocating lines of action" (Fairclough, 2018, p. 35). As will become clear later (see Section 2.4), this view, alongside mainstream ways of conceiving of power in CDS can be linked to a number of limitations to the scope of CDS emancipatory work that are the target of this thesis.

The type of social order which Fairclough takes as the benchmark towards which to strive is consistent with a Utopian society (Fairclough, 1995) wherein social actors move away from ideologies (recall that ideologies in Fairclough are viewed as instruments of false consciousness and almost exclusively viewed as instruments for the exercise of dominance). This is an order wherein human beings are 'capable of transcending ideology', and thus transcend "class

societies characterised by relations of domination" (ibid., p. 82), and is consistent with the view that ideology is something to be combated. Critique in Fairclough's terms, then, would be what brings social actors closer to such a Utopian order where no power relations, nor ideological discourse exist. Social actions that can move human relations away from patterns of dominance would be what Fairclough deems 'social change for the better' (Fairclough, 2018).

1.3.2 Wodak's Conception of Critique and Social Change

Wodak's conception of critique, like her treatment of power and ideology, also draws heavily from the critical theories of the Frankfurt School. The goal of any critically-oriented study of discourse, according to this view, relies on accounting for the ways in which discourse serves the mystification of ideology (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) and on historically tracking the manifestations of dominant ideologies in a wide array of text and talk data whilst interrogating how they come to be held as truth/common-sense (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) and how they are used in the exercise of power abuse and dominance. Taking inspiration from the principles of the ideal speech situation (Habermas, 1971), Wodak establishes that critique involves interrogating patterns of discursive representation to assess the degree to which they lead to distorted communication, noting when the "norms of the ideal speech situation become subordinated to privileged interests, producing asymmetrical power *relations*" (Wodak, 1996, p. 30). Critical work in this sense involves making transparent these conditions by comparing discourse data with discourse situations were "no power relations exist" (ibid.). Patterns of discursive representation that depart from the normative reference point provided by the ideal speech situation are the target of much of Wodak's work (Wodak, 2011; 2021; Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2017). As an ultimate goal, CDS must "provide instruments for a less authoritarian discourse" (Wodak, 1996, p. 32) and encourage self-reflexivity towards one's discursive practices and ideologies. In her analysis of therapeutic discourses, for example, she identifies instances where patients resist power over them via processes of self-reflection, where taken-for-granted beliefs and norms of patient-doctor interaction are interrogated (Wodak, 1996). Wodak uses the term emancipation (following Habermas, 1970) in a way which places it as a direct counterpart to domination. Full emancipation in this setting can be understood as societal change into a situation where power (as domination) does not exist, as a Utopian order which the critical study of discourse and ideology must work to move us as closely towards as possible. The ideal speech situation is the ultimate yardstick by which to assess whether emancipation is being achieved and thus whether socially transformative critique has been successful.

In her Discourse-Historical Approach, Wodak (alongside Martin Reisigl) operationalises the above principles by presenting a three-pronged definition of critique. On one level, engaging in critique entails providing descriptive accounts of properties of text and talk (e.g. patterns of argumentation, recurrent themes, i.e. topoi, - Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; see also: Section 2.1.2) which are then interpreted in light of the kind of ideologies they represent and the way the latter are legitimised and/or presupposed as common-sense (Wodak et al., 2009 [1990]). This constitutes *text-immanent critique*. Given the pejorative view of power and ideology assumed by Wodak, in most cases this form of critique is viewed as involving the discovery of "inconsistencies, (self)-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in text-internal or discourse-internal structures" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 24). One example of this is Wodak's (2015) study of right-wing populist rhetorical strategies in news, political speeches and social media, in which a number of fallacies (e.g. appeals to fear, victim-perpetrator reversals, red herrings) are identified in the data and discussed in light of the extent to which they serve to construct and legitimise exclusionary measures (see also Richardson, 2007). The second facet of critique, *socio-diagnostic critique*, is engaged in CDS when patterns of discursive representation are linked to their wider sociohistorical context (Wodak et al., 2009 [1990]). Observations at text level are queried in light of patterns of interdiscursivity and intertextuality, and linked to the wider context given discourse data are found. An account is attempted of how these discursive representations appear to be constitutive of, and at the same time driven by, the social order in which they were produced and received. As defined by Reisigl and Wodak (2016) socio-diagnostic critique "is concerned with uncovering the – particularly latent – persuasive or 'manipulative' character of discursive practices. Here, we rely on our contextual knowledge and draw on social theories and other theoretical models from various disciplines to interpret discursive events" (p.24). For example, Richardson (2017) incorporates Billig's (1978) social psychological account of fascism to query the discursive practices of fascist groups in Britain, outlining how they represent a continuity with earlier fascist movements by reusing and recontextualising the latter's discursive strategies to appeal to contemporary audiences and perpetuate long-standing racist, misogynistic and authoritarian ideologies.

Text immanent and socio-diagnostic critique set the scene for a third one, namely prognostic/prospective critique. This is the form of critique which most explicitly sets out a mode of praxis for social change and emancipation itself. By drawing on the two other strands of critique, and for the purposes of fulfilling its normative aims, CDS researchers engaging in

prognostic critique should also strive to contribute to change away from the de-problematisation of ideology and from societies characterised by relations of dominance (see also: Catalano & Waugh, 2020b) . This kind of critique may be attempted by CDS practitioners for example by engaging in efforts to come up with recommendations, suggestions for improvement and guidelines on the back of their research for how they believe problematic discourses could be tackled (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; 2016) and by so doing, seek to bring about changes in discursive practices, which in turn may bring about changes at the level of ideology and, consequently, sociocultural and political relations.

Whilst Fairclough's treatment of critique conceives of CDS work as largely about awareness raising and ideological demystification, via the act of providing other actors with socio-historically grounded knowledge of the workings of discourse and ideology as a means to inform social action and change, Reisigl & Wodak push the socially transformative agenda of CDS slightly further in that they appear to propose the pursuit of discoursal changes as a design feature of CDS critical work itself, following identification of problematic ideological and discursive orders. In prognostic critique exercises, CDS practitioners are encouraged to engage directly with policy makers, institutions and the public (Wodak, 2021, p. 633) often in advisory roles and in an awareness-raising capacity. In one guise, this is similar to Fairclough's conception of the role of CDS practitioners in society. However, there appears to be slightly more room for more direct involvement (see also: Toolan, 1997) in processes of discoursal change, as in the making of recommendations and (co)design of guidelines to improve communication (though of course any recommendations made still need to be taken up by other social actors).

That said, the way in which the three elements of critical inquiry are defined reveals them to be largely geared to the study of problematic discourses. This is why one sees terms like "inconsistencies", "distorted", "manipulation", "avoiding sexist, racist discourses" when the three components of critique are presented in Reisigl & Wodak (2016). This is unsurprising considering Wodak's conceptions of power as something to be combated and ideology as largely serving dominance: consequently, the lion's share of the interest goes to unearthing, explaining and avoiding/resisting relations of dominance and power abuse in and behind discourse (Kargl et al., 1997).

1.3.3 Van Dijk's Conception of Critique and Social Change

Van Dijk's conception of critique begins not from a conceptualisation of ideology and power as a priori problematic, but from an explicit acknowledgment of researchers' political and intellectual situatedness and normative orientations, on the back of which certain ideologies and forms of exercising power can be identified as problematic. On the exercise of being critical in the study of discourse and power, he notes that:

> such a research policy presupposes an ethical assessment, implying that discourse as social interaction may be illegitimate *according to some…norms*, for instance those of *international human and social rights*. At the same time, critical analysis should be aware of the fact that such norms and rights change historically, and that some definitions of 'international' may well mean 'Western'. As a criterion, we thus call any discourse unjust if it violates the *internationally recognized human rights of people and contributes to social inequality* (van Dijk, 2009a, p. 63 - emphasis mine).

Unlike Fairclough, and to some extent Wodak, in van Dijk's words there seems to be an underlying presupposition that some ideological formations and forms of control may be, in his view, legitimate. Based on the deliberations quoted above, forms of power and ideological representation are legitimate provided they are exercised in ways that bring about and nurture a social order where overall equality of access to social resources for all social actors in that context is the norm. Thus, in van Dijk's work, patterns of discourse and ideology are subject to critical exploration mostly when deemed to be supporting social inequality and legitimising violations of human rights (van Dijk, 2009a). The legitimacy of different discourses seems instead to be assessed in light of their presumed social, and ideological, effects (van Dijk, 2012; see also: Ramírez, 2013). The critical study of discourse is therefore geared towards interrogating dominant ideologies and forms of control when they are interpreted as being conducive to illegitimate outcomes, such as increased inequality, and when they are disproportionately detrimental to historically oppressed groups (van Dijk, 1993b). Van Dijk's normative stance is clear in terms of whose interests are being sided with, i.e. "studies in CDA try to formulate or sustain an overall perspective of *solidarity with dominated groups*, e.g., by formulating strategic proposals for the enactment and development of counter-power and counter-ideologies in practices of challenge and resistance" (van Dijk, 1995a, p. 18; see also: Blommaert, 2005, p. 25).

Though van Dijk does not delineate the avenues towards social change and emancipation as explicitly as Fairclough and Wodak do with their characterisations of social Utopias, the points noted above provide a basis for inference of what social change in van Dijk's sense might mean. The emphasis he places on the social effects of discourse as measured against the set of normative criteria quoted above can be used to infer that social change ultimately involves movement away from orders of social inequality and the undermining of human rights. Thus, the success of any critical endeavour in a CDS sense must be assessed in terms of the extent to which this work can help bring forth ideological, and thus sociopolitical, changes informing the reconfiguration of social structures in ways that solidify the legitimacy of basic human rights and guarantee equal access to socially valued resources for all social actors in their condition of human beings. This is reflected early on in van Dijk's work. In contrast to Fairclough's form of viewing critique, van Dijk (1993b) makes this point when he indicates that "adequacy criteria [for CDS] are not merely observational, descriptive or even explanatory (Fairclough, 1985). *Ultimately, [the success of CDS] is measured by its effectiveness and relevance, that is, by its contribution to change.*" (p. 253 - emphasis mine). Whilst Fairclough (2018) affirms that CDS is not in itself social change, rather a basis for it, van Dijk does seem to acknowledge the socially transformative potential of CDS research in its own right. However, he does this by cautioning that "modesty is mandatory: academic contributions may be marginal in processes of change, in which especially those who are directly involved, and their acts of resistance, are the really effective change agents" (van Dijk, 1993b, p. 253).

The influence of the above treatments of critique can be seen across CDS as a whole (Forchtner, 2011). Billig (2003) follows from Fairclough's earlier conceptions of critique when he posits that the aim of all critical approaches to discourse is to interrogate the present social order and to link discourse to the structuring of social relations. A similar idea is put forth by Wodak and Meyer (2016) in their argument that any social phenomenon lends itself to critical study, i.e. "to be questioned and not taken for granted" (p.4). Crucially, this includes not just current hegemonic orders, but also alternative, and less widespread, forms of representing social reality in discourse (see Section 2.2). Hart and Cap's (2014) conception of critique echoes van Dijk's inasmuch as they highlight researchers' normative positionality and the relation of critique to societal transformation when they point out that "critique presupposes a particular political stance on the part of the researcher and is intended to be instrumental in bringing about social change" (p. 2).

1.4 Theoretical and Programmatic Foundations of this Thesis: Some Working Definitions and Normative Considerations

1.4.1 Critique and the Normative Agenda of this Thesis

For the purposes of the present thesis, critique will be defined as involving not only the study of mainstream ideologies serving power relations of domination, but of alternative ones, including relatively more symmetrical/cooperative exercises of power and the ideological representations supporting these. Consequently, critique is taken here to include the examination and denaturalisation of hegemonic ideologies, i.e. the ones afforded the status of 'common-sense' values and beliefs, but it can also involve the problematisation[1], by means of critical examination, of alternative ones. This exercise of critical examination involves tracking the manifestations of both dominant and alternative/subaltern forms of discursive representation, often tracing their (historical) evolution, and must, importantly, be performed on the basis of clear normative guidelines by which given ideological formations, whether hegemonic or alternate, can be assessed as more or less socially problematic and thus in need of transformation and/or integration to a social order. In this endeavour, I take the position that critique necessitates the exercising of recurrent self-reflexivity (Wodak, 2014) such that no ideological formation, even those purported to bring forth social equality, becomes naturalised and taken for granted. Consequently, I take the view that all ideological formations and social practices can and must be periodically interrogated by social actors, while viewed in their historicity and, ultimately, in light of their normative merits. This is assumed to lead to more consciously and transparently chosen forms of representation of reality out of the many possible manners of representation (see Coates, 2014).

Furthermore, I view the critical exercise of CDS as needing to account for and explicitly engage in the pursuit of social change (see Wodak, 2014). As noted by Wodak (2007): "proposing changes is also part of being critical" (p. 4). Increased awareness of the workings of power abuse in and behind discourse can in itself count as change away from practices related to ideological

[1] Crucially, problematisation is taken to mean interrogation, i.e. exploration and de-normalisation of ideologies of all kinds, and thus does not carry the negative import that is often associated with the term 'problem'. It merely speaks to a desire to highlight the relative nature of ideologies as one set of beliefs out of many possible others, such that discourse actors may be cognisant of their dynamic nature and evolution, and thus prevent these from being assumed to be part of a natural order, rather than historically evolved social constructions.

mystification and obfuscation in contexts where such practices are widespread in a society. In one guise, the very act of not taking ideologies for granted and inviting other social actors to do the same, as CDS writings seek to do, constitutes an alternative when the norm in a given context of study is that ideologies are *not* normally interrogated and assumed as common-sense universal truths. However, if, as van Dijk points out, the success of CDS may be measured by its contribution to change, then further steps are needed (see Martin, 2004; see Section 2.5) so that, from such exercises of awareness-raising and demystification, discoursal practices may be transformed when shown to be socially problematic, or be transparently advocated for and encouraged when viewed as conducive to more symmetrical relations of power. A broader understanding of critique can more readily make room for the study of both hegemonic and alternative ideologies, and those deemed to hold greater ethical legitimacy according to a practitioner's set of normative principles. It can also provide CDS with more explicitly conceivable avenues towards social change beyond the demystification of ethically questionable discourse practices and their associated ideological formations.

In such a treatment of critique, a distinction emerges between hegemonic/subaltern and problematic/emancipatory discourses, such that it is not assumed *a priori* that hegemonic discourses necessarily equal socially problematic discourses, and vice versa. Indeed, if the aim of critique is to, e.g. facilitate the pursuit of social equality with a focus on universal human rights, CDS work following these principles in effect seeks to make discourses legitimising social equality the norm. In such an ideal scenario, it would be such discourses that would themselves become hegemonic in the sense that they would come to be consensually accepted and reproduced, though a key requirement would be that these agendas are made transparent and the express persuasive aim of these endeavours would not be obscured, but rather expressly articulated and recurrently revisited.

In terms of how this thesis' definition of critique is to be operationalised in CDS praxis, I take inspiration from Reisigl & Wodak's (2016) model reviewed above. This is largely because, unlike Fairclough's model, this tri-partite blueprint of critique makes room for CDS practitioners to take a relatively more active role in societal transformation. Nevertheless, I subscribe to this model with one important caveat/modification. Section 1.4.2 noted how Reisigl & Wodak's model of critique was originally presented as a means to conceive of how CDS may uncover (largely) problematic discourses and ideologies of dominant actors and come up with recommendations to change them, for example by proposing guidelines of how actors can avoid, e.g. sexist

discourses (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 25). Elsewhere, though, Wodak herself (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 4) pointed out that critique can involve not just the study and problematisation of these orders but all social orders (which presumably includes less dominance-heavy ones). I thus conceive of the exercise of critique as involving the three elements identified by Reisigl & Wodak but expand its coverage so that text-immanent, socio-diagnostic and prognostic critique explicitly apply to the examination not just of discourses in which the ideologies of dominant actors are encoded, legitimised and mystified, but also other discourses more conducive to the dismantling and transformation of such orders. This is ultimately so that one may critically examine and interrogate (as is the aim of text-immanent and socio-diagnostic critique) all forms of ideological representation and power relations in a society, as Wodak claims CDS can do and in line with the way critique is understood here. Furthermore, and crucially for CDS' socially transformative agenda, expanding the scope of this tri-partite operationalisation of critique means that when conceiving of avenues for social transformation, such as when making recommendations for discoursal changes (as is the distinct feature of prognostic critique), CDS does not just work on generating guidelines of what kind of problematic discourses to *avoid*, but it crucially can also work on suggestions of how social actors could *replace* problematic discursive/ideological representations.

Naturally, engaging in critically-grounded discourse studies necessitates explicit mention of the ethical foundations upon which discourse practices, ideologies and power/social relations will be examined and assessed as more or less (il)legitimate and in need of transformation (or adoption, as the case may be). The normative stance I am taking in this thesis corresponds in part with van Dijk's in terms of an overarching aim to dismantle social inequality and uphold basic human rights (see also: Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Though there are many ways of defining social inequality which are beyond the remit of this thesis (see Warwick-Booth, 2018 for a review), social inequality will be understood here as differentiated access to consensually valued social resources (materially quantifiable or symbolic/abstract, such as education, health, money, social esteem, civic rights) on the basis of arbitrarily defined social groupings[2] by which, throughout an extended period of time, certain groups are (intentionally or unintentionally) disproportionately barred from accessing them.

[2]By using the modifier 'arbitrarily defined' to refer to social categories I am taking an explicitly socially-constructivist perspective in which categories like race, gender, and even the notion of 'human' are not pre-defined natural kinds, but a set (out of many potential alternatives) of socially/historically constructed ways of classifying reality on the basis of perceived commonalities and differences between social actors.

1.4.2 Power as Agency and Influence

From the theoretical review above it could be seen that power has traditionally been defined as synonymous with domination and/or control in canonical CDS writings. For the purposes of this thesis, however, power is defined here in terms of agency and influence (Pansardi & Bindi, 2021). Accordingly, I define power as a social actor's ability to perform an action, as well as an ability to influence the actions of others (Pitkin, 1973). Power relations, i.e. relations of influence and agency between social actors, are assumed as inherent to human interactions. Dominance/control are viewed as one possible way in which they may play out. Indeed, as has been argued elsewhere (Lewin, 1948), agency and influence can be characterised by patterns of interdependence and mutual cooperation, not just hierarchical domination or coercion (cf. Pitkin, 1973). Power is furthermore assumed to be socially ubiquitous and to exist whenever two or more actors come together in interaction. From such a perspective, power is not assumed as inherently negative nor as something to be combatted in all its forms. This is in keeping with more recent models of power (see Pansardi & Bindi, 2021) in which it is acknowledged that not only is power not inherently negative, but that depending on the context and the roles of social actors involved, it can be divided into three different types. Domination, the type of power CDS most often targets as most problematic, often defined as 'power-over' in such models, is but one way for social actors to engage power relations. Cooperation and interdependence, i.e. 'power-with', and actors' scope to perform an action, i.e. 'power-to' are other ways in which power relations can be executed, and it is the line taken here that CDS' socially transformative impetus could reap great benefits from more explicitly engaging with such models.

Specifically, one of the advantages of incorporating such a model as part of the theoretical edifice of CDS work is that it opens the door to a slight reconfiguration of traditional ways of conceiving of power and, consequently, to charting new paths along which to pursue CDS' socially transformative agenda. Rather than the exercise of battling and resisting domination being the main, or even sole, focus of critique in CDS, conceiving power not as necessarily/inherently negative, whilst making room for alternative forms of power in and behind discourse, can potentially prepare CDS practitioners to more distinctly envision social orders where domination is not viewed as the default way in which power relations (when defined as a matter of agency and influence) can be performed (see also: O'Regan & MacDonald, 2009). Indeed, in recent writings on power in the CDS literature (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 11), there appears to be a tendency to begin viewing power in this way. But in such treatments of power, this foundational concept is still equated with domination, that is, power-over, while other forms

in which social actors may enact their own agency and influence are not so typically accounted for.

Meanwhile, by acknowledging that domination is part and parcel of social relations, the focus can instead shift slightly, not towards *a priori* assuming its illegitimacy (see van Dijk, 2012) nor towards aiming to eradicate this facet of power completely, but rather in keeping its prevalence in check and avoiding its naturalisation and mystification, all while making sure that other forms of group action, via interdependence, mutual trust, cooperation, and in the interests of historically marginalised communities, are given due attention and nurtured. Ironically, though CDS explicitly sides with the interests of such communities, by equating power with domination it has in many ways assumed power to be the sole preserve of dominant groups (Ramírez, 2013).

When the above considerations are brought down to the material dimension of resource distribution, upon which crucial discussions of inequality rest in CDS (Fairclough, 2018; Wodak & Meyer, 2016), power can be further defined as social actors' ability to act in securing access to resources, whether material or symbolic, as well as the ability to influence the actions and beliefs/thoughts of others in the process of attaining said resources, including having the influence to define what comes to be valued as desirable and how, for which acts of discourse play a key part. Bringing together the normative principles upon which this thesis rests and the definition of power just espoused, domination, i.e. power-over, *becomes* illegitimate, (rather than being illegitimate by default), when repeatedly applied by groups, particularly elites, to secure access to social resources in ways that systematically preclude other group's access to the resources needed for their perceived wellbeing. Finally, tying this to the specific area of discourse action, which still remains the specific focus of CDS and this thesis, forms of exercising power in/behind discourse are viewed as illegitimate to the extent that they contribute to overall imbalances in access to socially valued resources and to the legitimation/normalisation of said disparities by means of ideological mystification (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

1.4.3 Social Change and Socially Emancipatory Discourses

Having delimited what is here understood as problematic relations of power and domination, it is now possible to move on to how social change is defined here. In terms of what social change involves, the key assumption guiding this thesis is as follows: that societal change away from social inequality and widespread power abuse may be achieved by interrogating and changing the systems of beliefs and attitudes (i.e. ideologies in van Dijk's definition) informing such social practices, and that this in turn can be achieved (at least partly) by discoursal changes. Assuming the relationship between discourse and society is mediated by ideology, and taking into consideration van Dijk's points of the cyclical relationship between these three components, it is therefore posited that social change necessarily requires ideological changes and that this, in turn, requires changes in discourse practices (see also: Fairclough, 2018).

Socially emancipatory discourses are defined as those which, taking the normative principles specified above as a reference point, are hypothesised to have the potential of facilitating more balanced, transparent power relations, either because: 1) they promote the denaturalisation and problematisation of relations of dominance/control (i.e. power over) and the ideologies supporting these; 2) they prevent relations of dominance/control from becoming the accepted default of power relations; 3) they present a challenge to status quos of systematic inequality benefiting elite actors; and/or 4) they transparently, i.e. in a way subject to periodic (re)examination, promote ideologies upholding universal human rights and the rights of minoritised groups. To use Fairclough's (2018) characterisation, these are the discourses assumed to bring about social change 'for the better', or the 'improvement of communication' in Reisigl & Wodak's (2016) terms.

Elsewhere (e.g. Luke, 2002; Bartlett, 2018), these discourses have been termed 'positive' or 'productive' discourses, and a call to set up a separate branch of discourse analysis, termed Positive Discourse Analysis has been made (Martin, 2004), in which semiotic practices largely considered to be of this type would be the main focus of study. Research in this area will be reviewed below (see Section 2.2.4), in a way that will recognise the contributions of PDA to the examination of emancipatory discourses and discoursal changes 'for the better', as well as its valid criticism that CDS has only rarely paid attention to less dominance-heavy and non-hegemonic forms of discursively constituted social relations. Notwithstanding this, it is important to note at this stage that this thesis sides with Wodak (2007) in her argument that

critique, and 'being critical', does not exclusively entail the interrogation and analysis of socially problematic discourses and ideological formations, but of all orders of discourse, even those presumed to be more conducive to emancipation and to the promotion of universal human rights (cf. Stibbe, 2014). Therefore, though PDA's criticisms of CDS' relative lack of engagement with emancipatory discourses will be acknowledged, the stance to be taken here is that a separate branch of discourse analysis, one existing as a counterpart to 'critical' orientations is not needed, and that CDS methods and orientations are perfectly suited to the study of emancipatory meaning-making practices, though admittedly they have rarely been applied to this effect. One of the main aims of this thesis is to articulate how this may be done as part of CDS itself. Ultimately, the intended contributions of this work are to be placed within the wider CDS literature, and are offered as practical and methodological advances to the CDS programme.

The next chapter will proceed by offering an overview of how CDS has worked to raise critical awareness (Fairclough, 2013b) of the existence of socially problematic/illegitimate discourses and ideologies as one way to enact critique of social inequality and power abuse. As will be seen, a great deal of CDS work has tended to tease out what problematic discourses look like in practice and, on occasions, test their presumed social/ideological effects. From the following review it will also become apparent that comparatively less investigative efforts have gone into the analysis of discourses in which power abuse and inequalities are resisted and/or in which alternative representations are brought forth, both of which are deemed, as per the definition above, forms of emancipatory discourses.

CHAPTER 2: OVERVIEW OF PAST RESEARCH AND GAPS IN CDS' SOCIALLY TRANSFORMATIVE AGENDA: TOWARDS A MODEL FOR PROGNOSTIC CRITIQUE

This chapter aims to offer a richer set of concrete (but by no means exhaustive) examples of how CDS has interrogated power relations in discourse and ideology. For the purposes of this thesis, it will be useful to divide CDS research into two areas. One area comprises research which has critiqued discursively-constituted forms of power abuse and domination, including their ideological effects. The other area comprises research which has considered patterns of resistance to domination in and behind discourse and the study of alternative discourses. A distinction is thus made here between works which interrogate and study socially problematic discourses, and works which interrogate socially emancipatory discourses, identified as potentially constituting change 'for the better' (Fairclough, 2018) as defined in the previous chapter.

It is to be noted that this division is not in itself unproblematic (see Macgilchrist, 2016). Examples abound in which discourses under scrutiny are largely classed as problematic, but contain instances of resistance to power abuses and touch upon alternative orders of discourse, and vice-versa. For example, authoritarian discourses can contain traces of pluralist discourses (Fairclough, 1995). Anti-racist discourses can sometimes contain traces of more subtle forms of racism (sometimes referred to as 'liquid' or 'ambiguous racism' -Weaver, 2011). Further, discursive acts of resistance can inadvertently work to further cement dominance-heavy orders, such as when elites co-opt these discourses in the manufacturing of consent for their interests, and conditions of power behind discourse are not in themselves interrogated and kept intact overall (Flowerdew, 1997; Lamb, 2014). Blommaert (2005) makes this point with regards to discourses of resistance when he distinguishes between resistance discourses that are anti-hegemonic as they constitute a threat to an existing order, and those which are not anti-hegemonic, insofar as the overall system remains unmoved, and in some cases even strengthened (pp. 165-166). Though this ambivalence is present in both problematic/mainly problematic, and emancipatory/mainly emancipatory discourses, the distinction is made on the basis of what the main foci was for the works reviewed, and the degree to which discourses analysed as socially problematic or emancipatory are assessed as such according to the analysts' explicit or tacit normative perspective in each piece of research.

2.1 CDS and the Study of Socially Problematic Discourses and Ideologies

As mentioned, much of CDS work has queried the manifestation of phenomena such as capitalist, racist, and heterosexist discourses, among others. It has critiqued the extent to which these reflect, and serve to further legitimise and normalise ideological formations supporting relations of domination and power abuse which ultimately prop up social inequality against members of minoritised social classes, ethnicities, gender identities and sexualities.

2.1.1 Problematic Discourses around State Power, Corporate Capitalism, and the Environment

Critiques of capitalist hegemonies, problematic uses of state power and class inequalities in CDS have come, in the majority of cases, from within Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough, 2009). One of the earliest studies exploring how power relations of domination towards subordinate groups are enacted in discourse is found in Fairclough (1995). Here, Fairclough subjects a number of text data to a critical analysis in ways which enable him to articulate and exemplify the mutually constitutive relation between language and society and to critique and expose the normalisation of power abuse at the level of social/political class. One example is his well-known treatment of the language of Margaret Thatcher and the so-called 'authoritarian populism' latent in her discursive choices. Fairclough (1995) shows how this is enacted, for example, in forms of assimilation with a purported group of 'ordinary people' via, e.g., uses of first-person plural 'we'. Through the use of such discursive strategies, he argues, a new 'common sense' of, e.g. a free-market economy and opposition to the welfare state (see also: Paprota, 2022), was presented at the time as constituting the views of 'the British people' and evading scrutiny. In the context of Turkey, Toker (2021) brings attention to attempts by the Ministry of Education to push forth Islamic values and ideologies in teacher education materials for refugees in ways that contribute to cementing these ideologies as natural and dominant.

Discourses of globalisation (Fairclough, 2006; Chun, 2018) and marketisation (Fairclough, 1993) are also a regular fixture in CDS critiques of power relations. In his analysis of the language of advertising, Fairclough (2001) points towards a number of discursive features, e.g. synthetic personalisation via the use of second-person plural pronouns, which are (as per his interpretations) constitutive of attempts to offer the appearance of proximity with, and agency for, subordinate groups, with the ultimate aim of cementing the acceptance of social orders of

market competition which on the whole favour privileged access to social goods for ruling classes in neoliberal economies.

Critiques of the normalisation of neoliberal logic and its effects can be found in Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), Fairclough (2000), Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), Fairclough (2018), Chun (2018) and Block (2018). Though identifying patterns of change and the presence of a diverse range of seemingly contradictory discourses (authoritarian but also seemingly pluralistic and counter-hegemonic -Fairclough, 1995), the discourse practices commonly targeted in these areas of enquiry are judged to be contributing overwhelmingly more to the reproduction of economic exploitation and inequality, often in quite subtle ways, rather than their subversion.

Examinations of socially problematic discourses relative to social class and capitalist hegemonies outside of Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach proper are found in, for example, Halliday (2001), who critiques dominant discourses of 'economic growth' as contributing to inequality. Critiques of the legitimation of corporate power and globalisation are also frequent fixtures of recent CDS research (Koller, 2007; Koca-Helvacı, 2017; Fuoli & Hart, 2018), and there has been a recent turn of attention towards greenwashing (Caimotto & Molino, 2011) and discourses of climate change in which the basis of capitalist values and practices that are arguably root drivers of ecological destruction and climate inequality (Molek-Kozakowska, 2024) are reproduced, rather than challenged (Alexander, 2010; Stibbe, 2014). Many of these studies have employed a mix of corpus-assisted methods, and parameters of analysis derived from Systemic-Functional Linguistics (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), Sociocognitive (van Dijk, 2009a), cognitive-linguistic (Hart, 2015 [2012]) and discourse-historical approaches (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) among others.

2.1.2 Problematic Discourses on Race, Immigration and National Identity

Discourses of race, immigration and the construction of national identities in which normatively problematic power asymmetries are naturalised and legitimised are also widespread in the CDS literature. Indeed, almost every approach in CDS has concerned itself with critiques of these practices (KhosraviNik et al., 2012; Baker et al., 2008; Hart, 2010; van Dijk, 1993a; Wodak, 2001; Bennett, 2022). Research in this area has worked to uncover how, typically in the European contexts where most of this work is produced (but see Oliveira & Resende, 2020; van Dijk, 2020), essentialist, racist and/or exclusionary ideological formations are legitimised through different

text types. Such discourses are often discussed and critiqued to the extent that they ultimately serve to legitimise social actions (including political decisions such as exclusionary immigration controls) which ultimately restrict these groups' access to social resources and weaken protections of their human rights (Rheindorf & Wodak, 2020). Generally speaking, this is typically achieved by, covertly or overtly, constructing White Western European majorities and their worldviews as the common-sense, universal baseline, whilst representing other groups, minoritised in a European context, as any combination of threatening, deceitful, violent, backward or mystifying (see also: Barnett, 2014; Said, 1995[1978]).

One widely cited example is van Dijk's (1991) pioneering study on racism in the press. In line with CDS' marked interest in how top-down forms of power are coded and enacted via discourse (see also: Wodak & van Dijk, 2000), van Dijk (1991) analysed the discursive practices of elite media groups in the UK and the Netherlands. To show how racism in media discourse operates, he undertakes a quantitative and qualitative analysis of themes, news production practices, and argumentative patterns in a range of broadsheet and tabloid data. The book provides a wide array of linguistic/rhetorical detail to make good on the postulates CDS borrows from critical theories regarding discourse being a key site for power relations and, as is the case with the datasets analysed, relations of disparagement of minoritised communities and enhancement of majoritised groups' dominance and disproportionately positive standing (van Dijk, 1993a). Across the data, he finds that communities racialised as Black, Asian, Cuban, Tamil, etc. and religious minorities were less likely to be represented as victims of violence and racism despite being often targeted by elite majorities in these contexts (cf. van Dijk, 1992). These groups were further construed as agents of negative actions, e.g. crime and anti-social behaviour, whereas police actors are constructed as responsible parties who are themselves recipients of violence, rather than agents of it.

Building on the insights in van Dijk (1991), van Dijk (1992) focusses on so-called 'everyday discourse' (e.g. in social conversations) to explore not just the degree to which racist ideologies prevail in the minds and patterns of expression and comprehension of social actors, but also the many strategies by which racist beliefs are denied and downplayed in ways that perpetuate a status quo of ingrained White supremacy in these contexts (see also Goodman & Rowe, 2014; Goodman et al., 2023 for alternatives to CDS carrying out this type of work).

Since the publication of van Dijk (1991) and (1992), van Dijk's approach to the critique of socially problematic discourses has been applied either on its own or in combination with other approaches and methodologies in a wide range of scholarly work (van Dijk, 2009b, 2018; Koca-Helvacı, 2019; Sirulhaq et al., 2023) by which racist, ethnicist and nationalist discursive practices are called out.

Another classic, and widely influential study of socially problematic discourses related to constructions of ethnicity is Reisigl and Wodak (2001), which is itself inspired by previous work by van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999). Methodologically speaking, one of Reisigl & Wodak's (2001) most distinctive contributions is its integration of van Leeuwen's (1996, 1995) catalogue of social actor representations with the argumentative strategies and topoi extracted from rhetorical studies and pragma-dialectics (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992). This synergy resulted in one of the earliest elaborations of the Discourse-Historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), through which the authors query the discursive manifestations of antisemitism, nativism and ethnicism in Austria.

Reisigl & Wodak present an extensive catalogue of micro, meso, and macrodiscursive analytical categories and ways of historically tracking patterns of intertextuality and interdiscursivity (see Fairclough, 1992b for a defintion of the terms within CDS) which enables them to contextualise the discourses under scrutiny and expose ideological formations identified as socially problematic. Throughout, the aim is to pose and answer questions around the construction of ethnoreligious and national identities and on how racism/antisemitism crystallises in text and talk via the analysis of so-called *discursive strategies*. Discursive strategies constitute "more or less intentional and accurate way of structuring discursive practices to achieve a goal, be it social, political, economic, linguistic, etc" (Wodak & Reisigl, 2015, p. 585). Referential strategies are strategies by which social actors are named, e.g. in the indeterminate nominal phrase 'Jews' whereby a group of people is defined in terms of an ethnoreligious identity. Predication strategies constitute those in which traits and behaviours are attributed to an actor e.g. in the fallacious overgeneralisation "Jews are cunning". Meanwhile, perspectivisation strategies enable actors to signal the position in which statements are uttered e.g. in "it has been said that Jews are evil". In the data studied by the authors, perspectivisation strategies are commonly used by speakers to distance themselves from accusations of racism. Further strategies include mitigation/intensification strategies, wherein the evaluative/epistemic force of utterances can be magnified or downplayed to suit the speaker's communicative goals; and argumentation

strategies, often serving in the context of analysis to pass ethnicist/racist representations as logical and legitimate propositions (e.g. “it is not racist to be concerned with immigration”). These categories of analysis are applied to three case studies using data from media and political texts and everyday conversation with the aim of critiquing exclusionary ideologies. Throughout, the authors identify a variety of ways in which essentialist beliefs around race and identity are perpetuated and coded in discourse, by which the exclusion of Jewish and Turkish communities in Austria is legitimised.

Further applications of this method of enquiry have figured prominently since in CDS and can be found, for instance, in later studies examining phenomena such as far-right populism (Forchtner et al., 2013; Wodak, 2015), Islamophobia (Richardson, 2004 -see also section 4.1), and national identity construction (Zappettini, 2020). This approach has also been fruitfully integrated alongside corpus-linguistic methods to critique problematic media representations of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in the UK (Baker et al., 2008).

Recent developments in how socially problematic discourses are studied have come from applications of Cognitive-Linguistic analytical parameters, often to decry racist and exclusionary discourses. Following a so-called ‘Cognitive Turn in CDS’ (Chilton, 2004; 2011; Hart & Lukes, 2007; Hart, 2010, 2015 [2012]), the discursive manifestations of phenomena such as conceptual metaphor (El Refaie, 2001; Musolff, 2015; Charteris-Black, 2004; Hart, 2008; Koller & Davidson, 2008d), mental/discourse spaces (Chilton, 2004; Kaal, 2012; Filardo-Llamas et al., 2017); force-dynamic patterns (Hart, 2011a) and semantic frames (Julios-Costa, 2014) have been studied in light of how they contribute to the exclusion of different marginalised groups. In Hart (see also: Hart & Lukes, 2007; 2011b), CL-CDS comes of age as a CDS approach in its own right. This chapter explicitly spells out the parallels between Cognitive Linguistics’ catalogue of construal operations (Croft & Cruse, 2004) and the list of discourse strategies most typically scrutinised by CDS analysts, illustrating the usefulness of Cognitive Linguistics to CDS methodologically, theoretically, and programmatically. One of the key advantages of a CL-CDS approach as laid out by Hart (2015 [2012]) is that it enables CDS to provide psychologically plausible accounts of how ideology, which is defined as a matter of cognitive/emotive representation and as rooted in the mind, is manifested and shaped in acts of discursive construal. Hart (2011b) showcases the strengths of a CL-CDS synergy by targeting UK media discursive practices in which immigration controls are normalised and legitimised. One of the many patterns of construal he notes being invoked in the data is that of conceptual metaphor, which he links to framing strategies (Hart,

2011a). One commonly used metaphor in the data is that of BRITAIN IS A CONTAINER. In his analysis he shows how, by representing Britain thus, it becomes possible to recruit images of fullness in ways which enable anti-immigrant actors to construe decisions to impose draconian immigration restrictions, largely affecting people of colour and/or non-Western European citizens, not as a conscious, political decision deeply rooted in xenophobia, but as natural 'common-sense' progressions in ways that avoid the problematisation of hegemonically accepted patterns of governance around the movement of certain people.

The realisation of exclusionary forms of discursive representation has also been studied in its multimodal manifestations. Work in this area has critiqued the instantiation of racist ideologies in a wide range of semiotic modes (van Leeuwen, 2014; Richardson & Colombo, 2014; Breazu, 2022). One of the earliest examples of this is van Leeuwen (2000), which offers an examination of 'visual racism' (see also: van Leeuwen, 2008b). In this study, van Leeuwen sheds light on both overt and covert ways of instantiating racist ideological constructions in textbooks, cartoons and art photography. For example, he identifies how overgeneralising representations are materialised in images of excluded outgroups when they are depicted from a distanced angle and as an undifferentiated mass (Kress & Leeuwen, 2020 [1996]). He argues that this potentially contributes to cementing ways of homogenising such groups and facilitating the attribution of evaluative properties (mostly negative) in a wholesale manner.

Since van Leeuwen (2000), a great number of studies have explored the manifestations of racist and xenophobic ideologies in multimodal forms of representation. Richardson and Wodak (2009) successfully demonstrate how argumentation strategies, often associated with written or oral modes of delivery and reception, are also realised visually in a study targeting xenophobic and racist discourses found in campaign leaflets of two far-right parties in the UK and Austria. Social media platforms, multimodal by default, have also provided rich sources of data from which to scope the persistence (and sometimes resistance) of nationalist, anti-Black, White supremacist, Islamophobic, anti-immigrant and xenophobic/ethnocentric patterns of representation (KhosraviNik & Zia, 2014; Goodman et al., 2023; McGlashan, 2020; Yılmaz et al., 2023). A very recent example of how anti-immigrant rhetoric is realised at the level of co-speech gestures can be found in Hart and Winter (2022). This study provides an account the way in which hand movements are deployed by a British political figure (Nigel Farage) when engaging exclusionary and racist discourses against migrant communities, all while denying holding such views. One example the authors identify is Farage's production of gestural motions previously found to be

associated with acts of denial and negation (Kendon, 2004, p. 248 in Hart & Winter, 2022) when attempting to distance himself from accusations of racism (see also: van Dijk, 1992).

2.1.3 Problematic Discourses on Gender and Sexuality

Methods and principles of CDS have also been applied to the critique of sexist and heteronormative/homophobic discursive practices, particularly those undermining the rights of (cis and trans) women (Lazar, 2005a; Baker, 2014; Montiel-McCann, 2023) and gay, lesbian, pan/bisexual communities (Baker, 2008; Gouveia, 2005; Wilkinson, 2019). A significant volume of work in CDS has furthermore sought to articulate and demystify how processes of gendering and constructions of sexuality are achieved and naturalised in discourse (Sunderland, 2002; 2004; Baker, 2006b; Koller, 2012), making note of how normativities around gender identity and sexualities are instituted and reproduced.

In this area of CDS, the manifestation of potentially or manifestly problematic discourses around gender and sexuality has been found to permeate different aspects of life, such as business and the workplace (Koller, 2004a; Koller, 2004b; Rojo & Esteban, 2005), policy making and politics (Lazar, 1993; 2005b), education (Sunderland & McGlashan, 2015; Curaming & Curaming, 2020; Suwarno et al., 2021), advertising (Litosseliti, 2006), child-rearing, parenting and childbirth (Sunderland, 2006; Kiaer, 1990; Rodgers, 2015), music (Henaku, 2024), among others. CDS work critiquing problematic discourses in this space has agglomerated around two parallel but distinct strands (Lazar, 2014a; Baker, 2021).

The first strand encompasses work which applies CDS methods and principles to catalogue and demystify 'gendered/gendering' discourses (Sunderland, 2002; 2004), and link these to "the social positions and institutional structures" (Litosseliti, 2006, p. 58) in which gender identities are (re)positioned as ever-relevant, naturally predetermined, categorisation devices (Talbot, 2010). The second main strand of CDS work in the gender and sexuality space emerged around the same time as the one just mentioned. Under the banner of 'Feminist CDA' (FCDA), this body of work explicitly reconfigures CDS praxis from a feminist lens, in a way which has led to "a linking together of CDA and feminist linguistics" (Baker, 2021, p. 183).

By design, the first approach concerns itself with demystifying the ways in which multiple discourses, via which gender and sexuality are constructed, can coexist in a given text(s), some

of which may support, complement or even clash against one another. Consequently, research in this strand has analysed discourse data where mostly problematic representations can be gleaned, as well as data in which both seemingly emancipatory and oppressive discourses were being deployed in tandem. Sunderland (2004, pp. 32-40) is a well-known example of work in the first strand. In a study of wedding adverts, Sunderland identified a number of socially problematic discourses existing within a patriarchal capitalist context which the wedding industry complex looks to profit from. One of them was the so-called 'fantasy discourse' which perpetuates an infantilised and sanitised version of women's roles in heterosexual relationships and the wedding ritual, with another being that of 'compulsory heterosexuality' and heteronormativity (Rich, 1980) which assumes heterosexuality as the common-sense, default order in ways which ignore the performative, politically-mediated nature of gender and sexuality (Butler, 2007). Both of these discourses, Sunderland notes, worked in tandem to prop up representations of weddings as the 'most important day of a woman's life'. This in turn furthers the proposition that a woman's top priority is to be part of a heterosexual monogamous relationship and, if taken uncritically (cf. Talbot, 2010), contributes to shaping and constraining women's behaviours to the benefit of the wedding industry's profit margins and the dominance of hegemonic patriarchal ideologies in which women's existences are largely determined by their sexual/romantic relationships to men.

Taking a look at how gender roles are socialised in children, Caldas-Coulthard and van Leeuwen (2002) explore the gendering of toys. Throughout their study, they identified patterns that were problematic in terms of how they gendered child play and reproduced discourses of domination by presenting girls as passive and obsessed with 'feminine' colours (see also: Koller, 2008c) and boys as active agents.

Noting the nuanced ways in which discourses of gender and sexuality are structured, there exist several studies which, as noted above, problematise the juxtaposition of emancipatory and problematic representations of gender identities and sexualities. For example, in an analysis of a newspaper article, Litosseliti (2006) identifies traces of multiple discourses such as the 'gender differences' and 'sexism discourses' juxtaposed with 'anti-sexism discourses' and discourses about women's sexual behaviours (pp. 57-59). Her example shows how, in the same text, one may encounter discursive representations deemed as more conducive to emancipation (e.g. discourses challenging hegemonic masculinities -Connell, 2005) and which themselves critique sexist discourses, but which may at the same time retain problematic patterns of representation,

for example by entrenching notions of the gender binary and heterosexuality as the default, natural order. Litosseliti (2006) speaks of the importance of examining competing discourses in such a way because "representations of gender are changing, becoming less coherent, more subtle and potentially more insidious" (p. 120).

Such complexities are also queried by Baker (2021) in his corpus-assisted analysis of the word 'cougar'. Citing an example from a televised interview, Baker draws attention to a number of conflicting discourses present in his data. For instance, he identifies the use of sex-positive discourses which appear to celebrate women over 50's sexuality (rather than limiting sexual fulfilment to comparatively younger women only), until a point where "the discourse moves away from a view of cougars as strong and independent, and instead draws on a third discourse…as obsessed with physical appearance and fashion…[whereby] it is [only] by dressing in trendy clothes that the cougar becomes empowered" (p. 187). This is something that is done largely for the sake of "being noticed by younger men…and thus the cougar is implied as being a sexual competitor to younger women, but also a somewhat passive one" (ibid.).

Meanwhile, work in the second strand is more outwardly explicit about its normative impetus, concerning itself almost exclusively with "critiquing discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order; that is, relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group and disadvantage, exclude and disempower women as a social group" (Lazar, 2005a, p. 6). Ultimately, like in CDS more generally, the task of FCDA "is to examine how power and dominance are discursively produced…through textual representations of gendered social practices, and through interactional strategies of talk" (ibid., p. 10).

In general, a great deal of work in FCDA has targeted subtle sexism and post-feminist discourses whereby inequalities and patterns of oppression based on gender and sexuality are downplayed as belonging to the past in ways that insulate heterosexist, patriarchal social orders from being seriously challenged and dismantled (Lazar, 2014b; Lazar, 2018; see also: Montiel McCann, 2021). Early examples of this can be found in one of the first edited volumes of FCDA proper (Lazar, 2005a), in which the studies included tend to show "that beneath the appearance of emancipation, sexist discrimination thrives in covert forms…through deep-seated, naturalised, androcentric [and heteronormative] assumptions" (Lazar, 2005a, p. 20). This is exemplified in Lazar's (2005a) study of Singaporean government adverts where fatherhood is constructed in ways which open up possibilities for involvement by male parents while still maintaining the

dominance of heteronormative orders as default and without any significant redistribution of parental responsibilities in the context of these heterosexual relations. In a US context, Talbot (2005) shows how discourses of (purported) women's emancipation are co-opted in promoting gun ownership by a profit-driven, right-wing organisation such as the National Rifle Association. And one clear example of the usefulness of an intersectional understanding of different systems of oppression working alongside gendered ones is Barát (2005). This study queries the enactment of classism, heterosexism and racism in Hungarian political media discourses, even in some cases of self-avowed feminist "liberal" voices.

Outside of this seminal volume, FCDA has been applied to explore how feminist ideals are invoked in an attempt to promote nationalism, heteronormativity and essentialising constructions of national and gender identity. In Sweden, Hornscheidt (2008) found examples of parliamentary discourses presenting feminism as the sole preserve of white, Western societies (see also: Bauer et al., 2024) in a way that ignored the fundamental contributions of feminists outside of Europe and "patronises the former colonial and today (Muslim) immigrant other" (Hornscheidt, 2008, p. 405). In the context of Anglo-speaking countries of the global North, problematic constructions of masculinities in the context of the #MeToo movements are the focus of a study by Waling (2023).

In recent times, the practice of co-opting seemingly emancipatory discourses to protect socially problematic orders, including patriarchal orders of hegemonic, heteronormative masculinity has been scrutinised in a mix of contexts. Examples include research targeting patterns of hegemonic femininity and masculinity in UK gossip magazines under the guise of celebrating women's agency and choice (Montiel McCann, 2021), gender myths in academic writing in the energy poverty space within the context of the climate crisis (Listo, 2018), and the gendering of STEM curricula in the US (Parson, 2016). The latest innovation in FCDA's critical endeavours has come from work applying intrasectional, post-colonial lenses to re-evaluate FCDA's theories and ontologies of power, all while calling for a re-examination of how CDA/CDS as a whole treats problematic discourses and power relations (Henaku, 2020). This is successfully done by Henaku (2024), who interrogates a section of music culture in Ghana in her analysis of hip-life music videos, finding a multifaceted array of social/discursive practices which both seemingly enable young Ghanaian men to reimagine themselves as socially authoritative, but via the contradictory effects of 'borderless transnational capitalism' which brings with it strongly neocolonial, gendered scripts (p. 8). The problematic nature of such scripts, the author points

out, rests on the fact that despite the appearance of offering Ghanaian young men economic power, they are strongly gendered and marginalise Ghanaian women's voices, ultimately being exemplars of music genre which facilitates "problematic discourses about women in which their bodies are often (re)circulated for neoliberal capital" (ibid.).

Beyond the two strands reviewed above, there exist a number of contemporary studies on CDS and gender and sexuality which have not explicitly followed either Sunderland's or Lazar's lead specifically, but which have made significant contributions to the critique of socially problematic discourses in this area. From a Cognitive-Linguistic perspective, Koller (2004b) applies the notion of conceptual metaphor to discuss sexism/gendering discourses in business practices (cf. Power et al., 2020), in which business activity is recurrently construed as a male pursuit and related to metaphors of WAR and EVOLUTION (see also: Koller, 2004a). Baker (2014) offers a corpus-assisted study of representations of transgender communities in the British media, identifying derogatory representations of trans women as attention-seeking, promiscuous or the target of jokes about sex organs (see also: Montiel-McCann, 2023). Also opting for a corpus-assisted approach, though combining it with Social Actor Theory (Van Leeuwen, 2008a), Santonocito (2020) focuses on how LGBTQ people are talked about in political speeches of former prime ministers David Cameron and Matteo Renzi in the UK and Italy, respectively. Different from Baker (2014), her study identifies a number of patterns indicative of representations of LGBTQ communities that, whilst not outwardly derogatory (see also: Love & Baker, 2015; Brotherton, 2023), suggest that both PMs "resort to vagueness and reticence with the ostensible reason of using non-connoted language given the high sensibility of the topic [of LGBTQ* representation]" (p. 208). Santonocito notes that, while this might be interpreted as political correctness and tact, the risk is that of "delivering a mis-representation of reality which can fuel social prejudice" (ibid.) because it does not interrogate some key underlying discourses at play (e.g. why LGBTQ representation is a sensitive topic in the first place, and to whom it is so -see also Baker, 2006b). More recently, Krendel (2023) studied the discourse of male separatists and the legitimation of violence against women (see also: Lockwood-Harris et al., 2012) in online communities. Policy text representations of women subjected to gender-based violence in a Swedish context are the focus of a study by Hoppstadius (2020).

2.1.4 CDS Research into the Ideological Effects of Socially Problematic Discourses

The above section aimed to provide a synopsis of over 30 years'-worth of work by means of which CDS proponents have interrogated the manifold ways in which power relations of domination and inequality are supported and constituted in/behind discourse across different contexts. Fundamentally, it is important to remember that CDS work, including the work reviewed above, is by its very nature interpretive, crucially entailing a recurrent exercise of argumentation and persuasion (Fairclough, 2013a in Fairclough, 2018). As part of such a process, CDS researchers ultimately endeavour to articulate the ways in which, according to systematically applied sets of text-analytical parameters, normative guidelines, and hermeneutic processes, a set of discursive patterns are deemed to be socially problematic and/or to have a potential, more or less readily actualised in the researchers' context of interest, to give rise to or dovetail the perpetuation of ideologies favouring injustice (see Fairclough, 2018). Arguably one of the main challenges for any CDS scholar is to show why and how the fruits of their critique are plausible and reliable (Forchtner, 2011) and how these can contribute to social change (Fairclough, 2018), whether this be through the problematisation of hegemony (such that social actors are encouraged to reflect on, and articulate their own worldviews and practices rather than take them for granted -Fairclough, 2013b) or more direct intervention aimed at disrupting and transforming hegemonic ideologies at the heart of inequality and power abuse.

A crucial way in which CDS researchers have sought to bolster the cogency and credibility of their insights and interpretations is via processes of triangulation (Cicourel, 1969 in Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Triangulation requires, among other things, a crossover, and at times diffusion, of disciplinary boundaries (cf. Wodak & Chilton, 2005; Fairclough, 2005b) by which researchers integrate insights from interrelated investigative work beyond their current study. Triangulation helps to explain, for instance, how and why a given discursive pattern bears traces of or constitutes a given (more or less problematic) ideological stance (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). In many cases, triangulation also involves bringing up insights of already-published research to articulate or warn against the potential social or ideological effects of certain discourses as described and interpreted by the researcher (Hart, 2023). Finally, via triangulation, staple modes of enquiry in CDS can also be complemented with empirically-driven methods that, though they may not have been canonical to CDS to begin with, are now widely accepted avenues of CDS enquiry (e.g. ethnograpy -see Krzyżanowski, 2011; corpus methods -Mautner, 2016; Baker et al., 2008; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2006).

Relatively new to CDS is the incorporation of experimental methods, typically from social and cognitive psychology (Julios-Costa, 2014; Hart, 2018; Fuoli & Hart, 2018; Meluzzi et al., 2021). One of the advantages of experimentation for the purposes of CDS is that it opens up the possibility to test the ideological effects of socially problematic discourses. In line with this, rather than resorting to triangulation with experiments carried out externally to CDS, a limited (but growing) number of researchers have tasked themselves with the application of these methods, contributing to CDS' understanding of the potential effects of given discourses on phenomena such as reader's perceptions of events and social/power relations. Experimental CDS studies have mostly contributed to text immanent and socio-diagnostic forms of critique, but have crucially done so by enabling analysts to test some of CDS' foundational claims regarding the mutually constitutive relation between discourse and ideology, most notably by focusing not only on processes of discourse production but also reception, i.e. on how discourses may be processed by different audiences, and the social/ideological effects of these.

One early example of experimentally-oriented CDS work is Julios-Costa's (2014) examination of the effects of stigmatising discourses of youth criminality on social constructions of criminal responsibility and perceptions of age. This study subscribed to a Cognitive-Linguistic approach to CDS (Hart, 2011b) and integrated a text-analytical and an experimental phase. During the first, the study combined corpus-assisted methods of discourse analysis (Hardt-Mautner, 1995) with frame semantics (Fillmore, 2006) to explore the discursive construction of under-18s, by querying lemmas like 'minor*', 'adolescent*', 'child*' in Uruguayan media in the context of a referendum on the age of criminal responsibility in the country. Following this, I tested how the recurrent associations of the word 'minor' with criminality in a sample of texts shaped the ways in which the ages of perpetrators in video images of crime events were judged. One of the main findings of this study was that readers who were repeatedly exposed to reports of crime events where perpetrators were categorised as minors were more likely (relative to a control group) to judge the age of perpetrators of violent crimes to be under 18. This was problematised to the extent that, if left unchecked, the prevalence of such representations could fuel calls for harsher punitive approaches to youth crime and bolster the acceptability of transferring adolescents as young as 16 into the adult penal system in contravention to the UN's Code of Childhood and Adolescence.

Also from a CL-CDS slant, Hart (2016) investigated the impact of syntactic differences in depictions of police-protester clashes on attributions of responsibility and judgments of aggression. Construals of confrontations which resorted to transactive verbs, in which protesters were represented as directing attacks against police, resulted in more strong attributions of blame for violence to protesters, whereas the use of reciprocal verbs worked to balance out the apportioning of blame relative to the former representations. Changes in the order in which either police or protesters were introduced in the sentence also affected the level of aggression participants perceived to be characteristic of each actor. The findings were contextualised as problematic to the extent that exposure to such representations of executions of the right to protest could affect perceptions of the acceptability of state-sanctioned violence and opened up avenues of reflection as to the management of dissent.

Differences in the deployment of conceptual metaphors to depict events were also found to impact the perceived legitimacy of using repressive measures against protesters (Hart, 2018). Similarly, judgments on the trustworthiness of corporate actors, and the legitimacy of military intervention proposed by political actors were found to be affected in line with the type of discursive strategy used to represent the interests of the relevant parties. In Fuoli and Hart (2018), single exposure to strategies designed to discredit a whistle-blower and exalt a fictional company's credibility in their About Us section of their website insulated the latter from accusations of wrongdoing. In Hart and Fuoli (2020), proposing 'military interventions' against a fictional country whose government was accused of human rights violations via the use of objectification strategies, such as those manifest in claims basing actions on so-called evidence from trusted third parties (e.g. the intelligence sector), was more successful in securing the support of participants than the use of subjectification strategies based on the speaker's own expressions of knowledge and certainty.

In one case (Hart, 2021), however, the use of extreme/dehumanising metaphors to represent migration (e.g. immigrants as swarms of insects) invited resistance against such construals vs. literal ones. This study offers an important reminder that texts can invite resistance and hostility toward discriminatory material actions when the most extreme versions of otherwise hegemonic discourses are presented, especially in contexts where explicit forms of racism (but perhaps less so for implicit ones cf. van Dijk, 1992) are largely viewed as unacceptable.

Overall, the studies reviewed above have brought both theoretical and methodological innovations to CDS. On the one hand, the incorporation of experimental methods has expanded CDS' theoretical capabilities by enabling it to test some of its foundational claims regarding the mutually-constitutive relation between discourse and ideology. Methodologically speaking, these studies exemplify how experimental techniques can be a productive addition to the praxis of critiquing socially problematic discourses.

2.2 CDS and the Study of Socially Emancipatory Discourses and Ideologies: Discourses of Resistance and Alternative Discourses

As the reviews above have shown, CDS has been extremely prolific in studying discourse as a key site for the (re)production of social inequalities and illegitimate relations of dominance. Comparatively fewer examples are forthcoming of CDS work into discourses resisting hegemonic inequalities and power abuses (henceforth referred as counter-discourses/discourses of resistance), and/or those presenting different avenues to transcend socially problematic forms of representation (i.e. alternative discourses). This is despite calls by a number of authors in CDS, and adjacent areas, for the critical examination of such socially emancipatory discourses (Martin, 2004; Luke, 2002; Flowerdew, 2008). Luke (2002 in Bartlett, 2018) makes an early call for CDS to "analytically deconstruct positive and productive configurations of power/knowledge in discourse" (p. 105).

One of the ways this has been attempted has been by considering the discursive practices of minoritised groups themselves (Kress, 2000 in Bartlett, 2018; Koller, 2008b; Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2008) and how text producers in these communities have resisted/recontextualised discursive practices tied to systemic inequality and power abuse (van Dijk, 2021a; Nartey, 2022; Oyeleye & Hunjo, 2013). In a handful of cases, the manner in which social identities and power relations of dominance are constructed and conventionalised in the first place has been interrogated, and some studies have focussed on some of the discursive practices by means of which these forms of resistance and re-contextualisation are attempted and disseminated. Below I offer an overview and discussion of examples of this comparatively small but important body of research into emancipatory discursive practices. The sections largely mirror the ones on Section 2.1 in terms of structure and thematic foci.

2.2.1 Emancipatory Discourses in Politics, the Economy and the Environment

In Fairclough (2018), a political manifesto titled 'The Kilburn Manifesto' (KM) for resisting and transcending neoliberalism (Hall et al., 2015) is examined through the lens of the latest incarnation of his dialectical approach. One of the wider aims of Fairclough (2018) is to illustrate how texts pushing for potentially emancipatory political actions can be studied in CDS, and what CDS can contribute to this endeavour. Broadly speaking, this piece of work constitutes a case study into discourses of resistance and emancipation within the realm of political action. More specifically, via the KM, Fairclough scrutinises a text that, as per his analytical observations, both problematises neoliberal logic, i.e. resists its main premises, and proposes alternative avenues, including discursive ones, to move away from this order, i.e. to 'transcend' it. Though only a limited number of examples are brought up from the actual text, Fairclough does consider a number of top-level argumentative propositions manifested in the KM. These he discusses in light of the extent to which what is proposed constitutes a form of resistance to, and problematisation of, a state of affairs deemed problematic in light of Fairclough's normative stance (and that of the authors of KM). For instance, when discussing the Framing Statement section of the manifesto, he notes exhortations being made for a radical rethink of the terms of mainstream political debates on the financial crisis, moving political action away from 'small palliative and restorative' measures to a radical reconfiguration of the 'terms of debate' which dictate what can be talked about, proposed and thus thought as possible in tackling societal collapse attributed to neoliberal economic/political practices and ideologies. Given the nature of the KM, Fairclough's analysis ends up being a largely metadiscursive one, as reflected by the fact that the core of the discourse examples analysed do themselves make mention of and challenge existing discourses, and orient towards desired actions many of which, Fairclough shows, are of a discursive nature in the first place. Thus, the KM is studied as containing traces of discourses about struggles which are discoursal in nature. Ultimately, Fairclough (2018) constitutes one example of how discourses of political resistance to socially problematic orders can be explored and supported by CDS.

The very concept of 'political resistance' and the role played by digital platforms in the dissemination and constitution of such acts of (discursive) resistance have been explored by KhosraviNik and Unger (2016). Though closer analyses of the micro-linguistic features by which resistance is linguistically/multimodally instantiated are largely missing from this piece, the authors do reflect on wider questions related to media ecology and power behind discourse,

particularly as they pertain to the potential of digital media to accelerate, dovetail, or hinder acts of dissidence to perceived power abuses by State actors. One of the observations made is that the sharing of images and videos of protests and placards via digital media provides opportunities for widening the dissemination of anti-regime messages. Many of these forms of content, the authors note, are used in establishing and reproducing intertextual links, e.g. by referring to and drawing parallels to past regime-altering protests elsewhere, therefore allowing protestors to advocate for the validity, legitimacy and success chances of their dissidence. Importantly, the authors raise the issue that the potential for digital media platforms to facilitate emancipation is critically affected by the interests of groups operating those platforms and wider patterns of dominance at a global level. At the end of two case studies, the authors remind us that, though the resistance movements under scrutiny managed to acquire a quasi-global reach partly thanks to new media ecologies, the current widespread dominance of capitalist and Anglo-centric linguistic hegemonies (e.g. where English is perceived as more prestigious than other languages) which social media companies are part and parcel of, limit these movements' scope for altering the balance of global power. That said, the value of this study to CDS' understanding of how, and the extent to which, social emancipation can be facilitated, is that it exemplifies how principles of CDS can be applied in scrutinising and accounting for discourse practices and patterns of power in and behind discourse (Fairclough, 2001) by which socially problematic orders are resisted, even if only at quasi-global levels.

Research into emancipatory discourses has also been attempted in relation to the environment. This is the centrepoint of the emerging sub-area of Ecolinguistics (Stibbe, 2014). Ecolinguistics is defined by two of its main proponents as "the study of the impact of language on the life-sustaining relationships among humans, other organisms and the physical environment. It is normatively orientated towards preserving relationships which sustain life." (Alexander & Stibbe, 2014, p. 105). This approach to CDS explicitly promotes a programmatic duality of focus, in which critique of discourses underpinning ecological destruction *and* alternative narratives which "could potentially help protect and preserve the conditions that support life" (Stibbe, 2014, p. 119) are both central (though the latter are slightly more favoured, but not the sole focus -see Stibbe, 2017). Work in Ecolinguistics typically maintains the focus on language and other semiotic manifestations. Accordingly, in this area "the question is not just whether…discourses can help inspire people to protect the Earth, but what detailed linguistic mechanisms they use to achieve this" (Stibbe, 2017, p. 165). Stibbe (2014) proposes a useful red, amber and green system by which discursive datasets can be assessed

for the extent to which they contain traces of socially problematic or emancipatory/transformative discourses and ideologies.

Ecolinguistics as a whole emerges from the contention that modern, industrialised neoliberal orders do not only cement oppression between human groups, but between humans and other species, "in ways that are undermining [entire] biological and environmental systems" (Stibbe, 2017, p. 175). Dominant discourses scrutinised in this area include, e.g. narratives prioritising the pursuit of economic growth, increased commodification and an ontological dissociation between humans on the one side, and the natural world, on the other (Stibbe, 2012; Glenn, 2004). These discourses are viewed as supporting problematic framings which need to be challenged and new ones generated and disseminated (Stibbe, 2020). Ecolinguistics consequently expands the scope of what emancipatory discourses mean beyond a focus on discursively-constructed human-human relations, to also involve those discourses that promote sustainable interplay with the natural world. It takes a constructivist approach, in which even basic categories like 'human' are deemed to be socially constructed and discursively mediated, and queries the 'stories we live by', i.e. the "matrix of narratives, agreement and symbolic systems that comprises the answers our culture offers to life's most basic questions" (Eisenstein, 2012, p. 4 in Stibbe, 2018, p. 643). Stibbe (2017) is an example of the search for "new stories to live by" (Stibbe, 2018, p. 645) by which alternative narratives to capitalist, racist, patriarchal forms of representation tied to Westernised and/or industrialised dominant orders linked to environmental destruction are explored. Examples discussed include Native American and Japanese oral traditions, or the discourses of the so-called 'Slow Food Movement'. Another instance of Ecolinguistics work is Goatly's (2017) SFL study of the representation of human agents and other animals in Wordsworth's poem 'The Prelude'. Goatly's analysis reveals the manners in which this text offers competing discourses to dominant ones, for instance by representing plants, animals, bodies of water in more agentive capacities, as actors and sayers in material and verbal processes, respectively, rather than as commodities to be mined and exploited.

2.2.2 Emancipatory Discourses in the Area of Race and Ethnic Identities

For all the extensive body of work decrying racist, antisemitic, Islamophobic and nationalist/xenophobic discourses, CDS has been overwhelmingly less prolific in the study of resistance to these and of alternative ways of conceptualising these forms of identification,

including discourses problematising the very constructs of race/ethnicity. By and large this remains a niche area in CDS. Four examples of CDS research into socially emancipatory discourses around race can be found in Young (2009), van Dijk (2021a), van Dijk (2020) and Nartey (2022). At the time of writing, virtually no CDS studies could be identified that dealt with emancipatory discourses resisting/transcending Islamophobia (but see Poole et al., 2023 for recent work on solidarity expressions on Twitter using a critical data studies paradigm), or nationalism/xenophobia, nor with alternative ways of performing ethnoreligious and nationality relations and identities.

Young (2009) is an early case of research into this niche area of CDS. This study focuses on the discursive construction of Black identity in instructional materials designed by Black US American intellectuals for Black US American children. W.E.B. DuBois' monthly magazine The Brownie Book provides the main object of study. Young combines CDS with historical analysis with the aim of scrutinising "counter-narratives or folk literacies that seek to educate" (p.2), and how the ideological orientations of their authors can be detected in the texts. In The Brownie Book, she identifies discourses of self-esteem in racial belonging (which can be useful strategies when used by minoritised communities to counteract internalised oppression -Hughes et al., 2015; but see: Brown et al., 2002), discourses promoting the normalisation of varieties of African-American language, culture, and community, discourses of positive interracial relations, and discourses of holistic education.

In van Dijk (2021a) and (2020), anti-racist discourses constitute the focus of study. Van Dijk scrutinises the history of anti-racist movements in the US, parts of Northwest Europe (France, Germany, UK) and Brasil, focusing on the discursive dimension of collective actions against racist ideologies and forms of social organisation. Both works are an attempt at composing a theory of anti-racism as a micromovement "comparable with feminism" (van Dijk, 2020, p. 1) by articulating the makeup of anti-racist social cognitions throughout different historical periods, and crucially for CDS, exemplifying some of the discourses that have constituted these.

At the level of discourse analysis, van Dijk (2021a) provides a number of examples of anti-racist representations in a wide range of genres and text types found in the US and Europe since the 15th century to present-day Black Lives Matter movements. These data range from abolitionist pamphlets, personal narratives of enslaved people, treatises and essays by Jewish and Black thinkers, lectures and social media data, which he shows are classic genres used by social

movements in general, but which he scrutinises in their sociohistorical context in terms of the types of specific antiracist arguments and ideological stances they contain and ostensibly promote. In examples of anti-racist discourses produced by groups and individuals from Black and Jewish communities, van Dijk identifies the use of irony, evaluative appraisal, (counter)argumentation strategies based on Classical rhetorics, and general patterns of positive-Self and negative-Other representation by which to delegitimise racist ideologies (van Dijk, 2021a, p. 233), e.g. in texts opposing the co-opting of science to argue for eugenics and racial hierarchies.

One important limitation of van Dijk's account of the antiracist discourses of minoritised communities as ideological discourse needs to be highlighted at this point, to prevent false equivalences between racist and anti-racist discourses. Despite pointing out the normative legitimacy and importance of disseminating anti-racist discursive practices in mainstream outlets over and above racist ones, he neglects to articulate some important differences in how anti-racist discourses make use of positive-self and negative-other representation compared to dominant racist/White-supremacist ones. The stance taken here is that these cannot be taken for granted, nor anti-racist cognitions assumed as self-evidently legitimate, and therefore I devote some space to making them explicit here.

One key difference in ideological square usage between anti-racist and racist discourses is that the use of negative-Other representations by anti-racist voices typically occurs within the context of attacks on racist practices and colonialist/Eurocentric representations, rather than as derogatory scapegoating of White groups as a wholesale category (unlike the types of essentialist overgeneralisations perpetuated in racist orders -cf. Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). On the other hand, positive self-representations do not occur in the data as a means to exalt any beliefs in the inherent racial superiority of the ingroup with which Black and Jewish authors are identified, but as a way to respond to the historical and systematic disparagement of these communities thanks to which racial hierarchies and practices (including internalised forms of racism) and unequal access to resources have been instituted and justified. Finally, given the social orders of overall inequality in favour of White groups in which the forms of resistance analysed by van Dijk are embedded, using such forms of representation for the purposes of anti-racism cannot, when considered in their collective dimension, constitute forms of power abuse and hegemonic dominance in their context of production given that the voices behind them are part of groups whose interests and access to social resources are not established dominant forces. This raises

an important point around ideological discourses: that they do not necessarily, and invariably, serve dominance relations, but can also aid in their resistance and subversion, especially when deployed without recourse to essentialist forms of identification.

Noting the importance of White allyship to anti-racism, van Dijk also analyses counter-discourses produced and taken up by White actors engaging, or attempting to engage, in anti-racist discursive practices, to differing degrees of awareness of and commitment to challenging the underlying cognitions propping up racial hierarchies in the contexts of analysis. For example, examples of 15th-18th century texts are brought up in which the writers present argumentative strategies against the mistreatment of enslaved people on accounts of values promoting equality based on religious or secular norms (i.e. all humans are equal in God's eyes/by the laws of nature), though often falling short of critiquing the system of slavery itself or slave-masters and their pursuit of self-interest. In other examples, the legitimacy of beliefs in the inherent supremacy of White European cultural and political systems are propped up even when challenging racism is a communicative and ethical aim. In these cases, equality is presented as a matter of nationalist identification (as a value supposedly owned and claimed as a defining feature of members of a country) which ultimately serves to self-exalt members of that group in ways that are taken for granted not as social constructions in need of problematisation but as essentialised, natural properties of 'Us' (despite well-meaning attempts at allyship).

Overall, van Dijk raises important questions around power behind discourse, the importance of amplifying anti-racist voices, particularly from members of historically oppressed groups but also by White allies, and degrees of commitment from White elite actors to re-examine patterns of problematic beliefs and practices that have been normalised in their context, such as those borne out of Eurocentric, colonialist, classist beliefs underpinning contemporary political and economic systems in the US and Europe. For example, one of the features of the discourse of BLM movements analysed by van Dijk is the explicit assumption that resistance to racist cognitions is not an isolated endeavour, because racism is understood as sharing underlying drivers with other forms of illegitimate dominance, such as heterosexism, classism and other forms of oppression, all of which flow from, and are part of an arsenal for instituting and protecting forms of social organisation ultimately designed to sustain a minority of cis-heterosexual patriarchal actors, most notably wealthy White European actors, globally and for the past centuries.

Expanding the focus beyond the US and Europe, van Dijk (2020) focuses on antiracist discourses in Brasil before abolition came in 1888, after it in the early 1900s, through to 2012 discourses of affirmative action. Uses of irony, counterargumentation strategies and revindication discourses of the rights of enslaved and racially minoritised communities, as well as oppositions to essentialist and colonialist (including eugenic) ways of viewing Whiteness and race in general are identified. Similarly to van Dijk (2021), van Dijk (2020) also brings up examples of discourses which have the appearance of opposing slavery and racist ideologies but which either: only did so for some groups (e.g. groups living in Brasil before it was colonised) but not others (e.g. groups enslaved and forcibly brought to South America); drew on racialised and paternalising stereotypes of 'primitiveness'; or which attempted to present Brasil as a seemingly harmonious 'racial democracy' in the eyes of the rest of the world, despite prevalent levels of inequality and discrimination along racist lines.

Anti-racism discourses have also been studied recently by Nartey (2022) via the integration of social movement theory and Social-Media CDS (KhosraviNik, 2017). Nartey investigates the Black Lives Matter's movement use of Twitter to disseminate challenges to dominant racist social orders (see also: Ahaotu & Oshamo, 2023). Three discursive strategies are identified as prevailing within the data. These involve: "(1) critiquing oppressive institutions and systemic racism; (2) denouncing white supremacy and redefining demeaning racial narratives and; (3) calling out racist attitudes and commending people who oppose such behavior" (n.p.). Nartey illustrates the use of such strategies via a wide range of examples, commenting on the racist cognitions they challenge, and concludes they have an important emancipatory function because they are used "to perform social activism by promoting critical awareness and resisting oppressive social structures and practices" (ibid.).

2.2.3 Emancipatory Discourses in the Area of Gender Identities and Sexualities

In the area of gender identities, a very recent example of work querying the semiotic manifestations of counter-hegemonic discursive acts comes from Wang and Ouyang (2023)'s study of resistance to patriarchal discourses in China. This study investigates the use of satire and irony as a hegemony-delegitimising strategy, alongside hashtags, screenshots and reposts as means of counter-discourse dissemination and neutralisation of censorship attempts. The discourses analysed in this piece are sourced from Weibo posts with the hashtag #JiangshanjiaoDoYouHavePeriod. The hashtag is studied as the coming together of opposition to

two incidents happening at the time the hashtag was coined, events shown by the authors to be rooted in nationalist and sexist/patriarchal hegemonies. One relates to a Youth Communist League social media campaign aimed at promoting nationalist pride in younger demographics via the creation of two animated figures Jiangshanjiao ('lovely land') and Hongqiman ('abundant red flags'), gendered as female and male, respectively. The second is the backlash caused at the time after a major news channel edited an interview of medical staff during the first COVID wave to remove all references to the lack of adequate sanitary support this professional reported while working in a COVID ward on her period. Pragmatically speaking, Wang and Ouyang demonstrate how the posts (in which Jiangshanjiao is asked about her period, pressures to marry, experiences of sexual shaming and rape), challenge attempts at erasure and tabooing around lived experiences of menstruation. Post creators achieve this by neglecting to display the expected response to the animated figure's communicative and persuasive goals and openly recontextualising hegemonic discourses of heterosexuality and femininity employing tones of absurdity and hyperbole. The study also lays out the manner in which attempts at stifling these counter-discourses by hegemonic actors were somewhat successfully thwarted via use of the affordances provided by Weibo (screenshots, reposts, etc.) which ensured the longevity of these counter-discourses.

The practices analysed by Wang and Ouyang (2023) can be located within wider attempts at awareness raising and resistance to gendered violence attributed to the normalisation of patriarchal values, worldviews and hegemonies. Chiluwa (2022) explores the discursive strategies employed by five women advocacy groups in Nigeria and Ghana, including how these collectives employ social media platforms to campaign for political participation and make use of imperative statements to demand change (see also: Esposito & Sinatora, 2022). The language and history of the Time is Up and #MeToo movements, and the diverse ways they have been recontextualised in more or less emancipatory ways, have been queried from within CDS by Ilyas (2021) and Armenteros Garrido (2018). In the context of Latin America, Pérez-Arredondo and Cárdenas-Neira (2022) study the performances of Chilean feminist collective 'Las Tesis', explaining how their use of lyrics, music, props and body movements, constitutes modes of resistance to symbolic, material and systemic violence against women.

With regards to emancipatory discursive practices related to sexualities, Koller (2013) explores alternative forms of representation of lesbian identities via the analysis of nomination and predication strategies in two texts authored by lesbian authors themselves. This study is

included in this section given that it involves the voices of marginalised communities themselves and the texts selected for analysis contain discursive practices which resist and subvert patterns of heteronormativity, which overarchingly dominate in their context of production and reception. However, it is also important to note that the results as presented by Koller paint a mixed picture of the extent to which these texts are more or less alternative to the hegemony. For example, while the texts challenge one (relatively more) powerful pattern of normativity, i.e. heteronormativity, Koller's critique is that they appear to be presupposing and cementing a different normativity at intragroup level, i.e. normativity within the performance of lesbian identities, in ways which set up a hierarchy in which some forms of 'being' lesbian dominate and carry more legitimacy than others. The ideological square model is used to explain these observations. For one of the texts, Koller notes that the author recurrently resorts to homogenising positive-self and negative-other representations, which, though giving voice to marginalised communities, potentially constituting emancipatory exercises of power behind discourse, still can be problematic in perpetuating essentialising rather than social constructivist ways of understanding sexualities and identities more generally. The second text, she reports, is less homogenising in its representations and presents more contextualised and less essentialising forms of representation, but still presupposes ways of performing sexuality that not every lesbian person subscribes to (e.g. by presuming monogamous relations as the default).

The use of re-appropriation of slurs and gendering terms as a hegemony-subverting strategy by gay men in Vienna is the point of interest in a study by Bunzl (2000). Amongst the lexicogrammatical features identified are gendered third-person personal pronouns e.g. *die* (she) used by gay men to refer to themselves and other gay men, feminine-gendered kinship nouns (e.g. Aunt, Sister), and the use of gendered definite articles preceding proper names e.g. *die Stefan*. The author conceives of these discursive acts as forms of gender insubordination, terming them "inverted appellations". In their context, he shows how they

> function as a micro-political means of exploding and dissolving, if only momentarily, the congruence between linguistic gender and notions of 'natural' sex…[offering] a running commentary on the naturalising fictions of heterosexism…[and] focusing on language as a central vehicle for the disruption of heteronormative gender. (ibid. p. 231).

2.2.4 Positive Discourse Analysis: Merits and Shortfalls

The study of emancipatory discourses as defined above has been the central focus of Positive Discourse Analysis, an area of discourse analysis which has at times been located within the wider CDS paradigm (Hughes, 2018) and at other times seen as parallel but distinct to CDS, seeking to break away from CDS' perceived lack of engagement with 'productive uses' of discourse (Martin, 2004). Details of the origins and history of PDA can be found in Bartlett (2018). In a similar way to the examples reviewed above, data analysed within PDA does at times contain examples of discursive resistance to existing problematic discourses but most PDA work focuses on alternative representations in which there is a more-or-less explicit aim to recontextualise/reframe discourse away from or in parallel to hegemonically problematic forms of representation.

The earliest example of PDA work is found in Martin (2004), where principles of SFL and appraisal (Martin & White, 2005) are applied to a textual exploration of a national enquiry report into historical forced-family separations carried out by the Australian government against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children. Examples of emancipatory discursive practices inspected by Martin relate to the inclusion of voices from those negatively affected by these policies and the use of discursive strategies to build solidarity and emotional alignment between affected families and the wider public. These discursive patterns are attributed by Martin to the attainment of productive social effects, most notably the organisation of a collective march in which the public demanded an official apology and by the Australian government for the third anniversary of the report.

Throughout its small but notable body of research, PDA's focus on socially emancipatory discourses can be discerned from the kind of texts typically selected for analysis: anti-colonialist speeches as a means to encourage Afro-Asian solidarity (Nartey & Ernanda, 2020), folk-song celebrations of land restoration to Gurindji communities following a legal battle to challenge the colonialist practice of land grabs (Martin, 2004), counter-stereotypical representations of Amazigh communities in Moroccan EFL textbooks (Said et al., 2024).

Questions of uptake of socially emancipatory discourses are central to PDA. Bartlett (2018) summarises the crucial importance of attempting to bridge questions of uptake:

> bearing in mind that both the majority and the minoritized, those in power and those in opposition, are interested parties in the production and dissemination of discourse…there is a need to consider the conditions of possibility under which alternative discourses may be produced, taken up and legitimated (p. 189).

Macgilchrist (2007) is an example of such a move. Macgilchrist presents a model to study the makeup and impact of alternative/marginal discourses of the Russian-Chechen War. A key concept she introduces, inspired by Cognitive Linguistics and media analysis, is that of 'radical reframing strategies', to study the extent to which a given text draws from dominant discourses or completely subverts it. She suggests criteria for judging the relative success of their uptake, including potential reasons for why the narratives she analysed as reframes of dominant narratives were published by mainstream media actors. These include noting how concepts were restructured in texts, for which she makes use of principles of Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002), that a curiosity gap was created in which alternative narratives could be seen as noteworthy and interesting, the lexicogrammatical structures used, and the fact that the narratives did resort to dominant frames at least once such that the alternative representations contained in them were not seen as intractably different by newspaper editors.

It is important to note that 'uptake' in Macgilchrist (2007) is concerned with questions of power behind discourse and the political economies of publication, specifically linked to whether or not alternative representations are taken up and published in mainstream media. She argues that if these alternative framings were written and published, they must have been taken up by editors as valid. Discussions of uptake are not concerned with reader reception processes and with whether they ultimately result in ideological changes in patterns of social cognition for different audiences. The majority of articles in her corpus are examples of dominant narratives so whether these marginal ones do go on to help transform views is less clear. These questions are largely unanswered in PDA as a whole (see also: Bartlett, 2012); whether promoting alternative narratives in mainstream media does in fact lead to ideological changes in audiences is not addressed.

In recent times, interest in PDA proper has waned (Bartlett, 2018) but some studies are still published that explicitly mention a PDA lens (Nartey & Ernanda, 2020; Said et al., 2024; Hughes,

2018). Similar agendas, but under a different name, have been pursued by Rogers (2012), most typically in the area of education and curriculum planning.

Before moving on, it is crucial to note at this stage why this thesis is located within CDS and not PDA. Firstly, and as mentioned in Section 1.4.3, I side with Wodak (2007) when she notes that one of PDA's foundational premises, which forms its raison d'etre, is in fact already part of the programmatic and ethical impetus of CDS. PDA seems to assume a critical stance to be only applicable to problematic social orders and that, because of this, discourse studies in the critical tradition are confined to study power abuses or problematic hegemonic orders in and behind discourse. However, as Wodak's three-pronged approach to critique shows, even before the onset of PDA, CDS methods can, and should, be used in studying all forms of discursive instantiations of power, including finding ways to promote more emancipatory ones, the latter being the focus of prognostic critique. As laid out in the preceding chapter, being critical, despite some misunderstandings of the term (Wodak, 2007), involves the interrogation of all ideological formations, those in which power abuses and dominance appear to be part of their design and those which promote more emancipatory practices in the way defined previously.

It is true, however, that CDS has not consistently been applied to the study of emancipatory discourses, and this is one criticism levelled by PDA which is accepted as valid in this thesis. It is also true, as will become clear in the next section, that prognostic critique in terms of researching the potential emancipatory functions of alternative discourses has not been attempted in CDS in any concerted way, and this leads to valid criticisms and exhortations that CDS could (with important caveats -see Chapter 3) advocate for slightly more active intervention than it has thus far (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 449; Rogers, 2020b).

The second reason to favour a CDS programme over a PDA one is closely related to the first one and follows from the problematic implications contained in the very name 'Positive' Discourse Analysis. The self-labelling of 'positive' and PDA's very creation as an alternative to CDS could be taken to presuppose that CDS must be about the 'negative' uses of discourse (Chilton & Wodak, 2005). It furthermore establishes a binary positive/negative which could oversimplify some of the complexities in discourse and power relations. As we have seen in previous sections, discourses can contain instances of both 'positive'/socially emancipatory and 'negative'/socially problematic representations to differing degrees (cf. Fairclough, 1992a; Macgilchrist, 2014; Hughes, 2018). Epistemologically speaking, PDA, at least in its original form,

appears to assume an orthogonal distinction between positive and negative discourses, when it would perhaps be more useful, as the examples above reflect, to reconfigure this as a scale, and to judge texts by their *emancipatory potential*, i.e. the extent to which they (more or less transparently) promote and realise power relations and ideological formations which, on the whole, can be deemed to be conducive to conditions of equal access to socially valued resources.

Thirdly, CDS boasts an important advantage over PDA in that, with time, it has evolved to tackle questions of reader reception and uptake by triangulating with empirical methods, while PDA has not. Unquestionably, uptake at top-down level related to power behind discourse is a crucial component in elucidating the (more or less dysfunctional, or more or less productive) relationships between discourse and society (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). However, it cannot be assumed that alternative representations will be taken up by readers, and *how* this occurs is not something PDA has much theorised on. This is a criticism that CDS has worked to tackle regarding its prior lack of focus on reader reception practices (see Richardson et al., 2014, p. xviii; Catalano & Waugh, 2020a; Breeze, 2011). That said, there still remain gaps in CDS' ways of studying and theorising on audience reception practices, some of which this thesis seeks to address.

Finally, it is crucial to point out that in making 'positive' forms of representation its express focus, PDA is at higher risk of ignoring and downplaying still extant and widespread power abuse practices in which dominance relations are accepted as the default, overstated and uncritically encouraged. This still needs to be critiqued and analysed given that power abuse relations are an inextricable part of the context in which ostensibly emancipatory discourses, whose aim is to move us away from widespread abuses and inequality, are proposed and studied. Patterns of prevalent, unequal dominance and their constitutive ideologies still need to be periodically interrogated and called out, but by focusing on 'positive' discourses this reality might be downplayed. Neglecting the study of power abuses can inadvertently fuel things like white-washing (Reitman, 2006), and sustain impressions that we exist in post-feminist/post-critical societies (Lazar, 2009). As CDS has consistently shown, such orders are predicated on a number of problematic beliefs around identity, about the nature and appraisal of social resources, and about the nature of social/power relations. These beliefs must be unearthed, resisted and (more or less) separate alternatives proposed, the latter to be judged on their social effects and normative merits (e.g. whether they nurture equal access to socially valued goods and respect

for universal human rights). By expanding what being 'critical' means, and explicitly noting that 'critique' constitutes the study of all forms of social phenomena, all while leaving the evaluation of legitimacy to be done on the basis of normative principles, also explicitly established, CDS is able to make room for, i.e. critique, both problematic and emancipatory discursive practices and orders.

2.3 How has CDS contributed to Social Change 'for the better'? The State of Prognostic Critique in CDS

One thing that becomes clear in taking stock of existing CDS work is that both the kind of research which targets discursively-constituted power abuse and dominance, and to a lesser extent that which seeks to identify and examine discourses of resistance and alternative discourses, are more easily catalogued as actualising critique in its text immanent and socio-diagnostic facets. The focus of this section is to review how CDS has realised critique in a prognostic manner, i.e. towards the pursuit of discoursal/social change beyond text-immanent and socio-diagnostic forms of critical enquiry.

On a practical level, prognostic critique can be understood as being characterised by two interrelated lines of action. One involves engaging with discourse actors in order to share the insights of CDS research as a way of raising awareness, informing and eventually facilitating the pursuit of discoursal change and/or the adoption of more emancipatory discourses and ideologies by these other actors. The second is arguably more interventionist, involving things like the "elaborating [of] proposals and guidelines for reducing language barriers in hospitals, schools, courtrooms, public offices, and media reporting institutions…as well as guidelines for avoiding sexist language use" (Wodak, 2001, p. 65).

In one guise, it could be argued that by publishing the insights of text immanent and socio-diagnostic critique, by which more or less problematic, more or less emancipatory discourses and their underpinning ideologies are queried and articulated, i.e. demystified, CDS is aiding the pursuit of social transformation. This is in the sense that when discursive/ideological mystification is widespread in the contexts of study, the academic texts produced by CDS do in themselves present a different way of treating, and talking about, what are 'common-sense' ideologies and power relations. Generating texts and talk by means of which such a way of understanding ideology is promoted and, in so doing, working against the normalisation of

inequality and domination and their associated ideologies, can be considered an example of counter-discursive action. This is one way in which the CDS community contributes towards discoursal change in contexts where power abuse and inequality are rife.

Most records of CDS work are of this type. And in most cases, CDS practitioners have engaged with other academics by disseminating their work in academic journal or book form as an awareness-raising exercise. Beyond academia, examples of engagement with other social actors, in which CDS praxis and insights are brought to policy makers, media institutions, activist networks, or communities are difficult to find, as they are seldom written up or reported (see Julios-Costa & Montiel McCann, 2025 for an example of CDS work within an anti-racist thinktank).

Recently, Catalano and Waugh (2020b) put together a concerted list of examples of CDS practice taking place not just in academic circles but other areas of public and political action. This chapter usefully collates written responses and first-hand accounts from a number of CDS practitioners (though almost exclusively based in Europe, the US and Australia, with examples from other areas of the world largely missing) of critically-driven work in different settings. Examples of activism, consultancy roles, media engagement, public speaking, provision of expert witness testimonies, and adoption/adaptation of CDS methods of discursive enquiry in the design and implementation of language teaching curricula (see also: Fairclough, 2013b) are cited and reported on (cf. Mullany, 2020; McIntyre & Price, 2018 for examples of this in Linguistics more widely. See also: Section 8.3). Wodak's work as an expert witness in a lawsuit brought by one of the heads of the Vienna Jewish community against the leader of far-right FPÖ in Austria, van Dijk's time as board member of Spanish anti-racist organisation SOS Racismo, and work by Emily Suh and Katelyn Hemmeke alongside mental health practitioners in the adoption services space are some examples. As with the majority of CDS work that engages with other academics, most of the engagement work discussed in Catalano and Waugh (2020b) aims to disseminate the insights of CDS research on problematic discourses to other social actors, and in some cases promote CDS methods of enquiry themselves, in the hope that this may eventually lead to increased awareness, self-reflexivity, and to these actors themselves considering changes in their own discursive practices (see also Sauntson, 2020).

Examples of the second line of action pertaining to prognostic critique, i.e. the proposing of explicit recommendations for change, are even harder to find than the first, either in academia

or beyond. At the time of writing, only a small handful of published CDS papers attempt to engage prognostic critique by making more explicit recommendations for change (Wodak, 1996; Kargl et al., 1997; Godin, 2021). These prognostic recommendations are typically done on the back of prior text-immanent and socio-diagnostic critiques of problematic discourses, and mostly centre on guidelines for how to *avoid* the latter.

Given all of the above, CDS' track-record in prognostic critique efforts can be summarised thus: in most cases, text-immanent and socio-diagnostic critiques of problematic discourses have been produced, and then disseminated to other social actors and stakeholders as an awareness-raising effort, in the hopes that these would lead to other social actors reviewing their discourse practices. Most of the awareness raising has come via the publication, in academic forums, of work critiquing problematic discourses, but with some examples reported in other settings beyond academia.

2.4 Something Still Missing in CDS: Theoretical and Research Gaps and How They Limit CDS' Socially Emancipatory Agenda

From the theoretical and state-of-the-art reviews attempted so far, a number of important gaps in CDS theory and research become apparent. One useful way of understanding these gaps is as constitutive, and reflective, of a larger, more noticeably underdeveloped area in CDS, namely its ability to investigate and promote discoursal changes 'for the better' as an explicit line of action.

The present section summarises these gaps in one place, explaining some of the ways in which they have limited CDS' socially transformative agenda. This sets the scene for Chapter 3, in which I will engage in an exploration of how they may be addressed, and how this thesis in particular proposes this could be done.

From the theoretical review in Chapter 1, it was noted that the way in which CDS canon has hitherto defined power made little room to envisage dynamics beyond those characterised by patterns of dominance and/or control. This, it was pointed out, arguably limited CDS' potential to explicitly theorise on other ways of performing power in and behind discourse, such as the ability of minoritised communities and allies to resist dominance or advocate for alternative social orders, or the power to promote relations of solidarity, cooperation and interdependence between groups at a macro-societal level. This limitation was visible not just in theoretical

writings about power itself in CDS, but also to the extent that, when critique was defined and operationalised, and a model was presented that explicitly oriented towards the pursuit of discoursal changes away from widespread domination and power abuse at a collective level (cf. Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), such changes were exclusively framed in terms of avoidance of such practices, rather than also delving into how to work towards their replacement.

At the level of CDS praxis, it became clear that the point made back in 2004 by Martin and positive discourse analysts as to the paucity of research into emancipatory discourses (i.e. discourses of resistance and alternative discourses) was still largely unaddressed by CDS. The review of CDS academic literature did indeed show that the volume of work devoted to socially problematic discourses and ideologies easily eclipses that pertaining to discourses of resistance and discourses appearing to present alternatives away from dominance-heavy orders of discourse. Moreover, the review revealed that even when work on socially emancipatory discourses had been attempted, research on its ideological effects on discourse actors and wider patterns of discourse action in society was still lacking. Triangulation with empirical methods, in a similar way in which CDS has attempted to query the ethical (il)legitimacy and ideological/social effects of hegemonically problematic discursive representations, does not seem to have ever been attempted for discourses with seemingly greater emancipatory potential. For instance, no research has examined whether, and in what circumstances, ostensibly emancipatory discourses do in fact tie in with the adoption of ideologies and social practices more conducive to the normative aims and principles of CDS, such as the upholding of universal human rights and the de-normalisation of inequality and power abuse.

As concerns the realisation of prognostic critique itself, there also remain noticeably untapped areas of development that limit the scope of CDS' involvement in its ultimate goal of social transformation/emancipation. Awareness-raising is the main way in which CDS has attempted to facilitate future-oriented societal change, most frequently via dissemination of CDS work in academia but with some examples of engagement brought to other areas of society, such as teaching, policy making, social activism, etc. (see Catalano & Waugh, 2020b; Fairclough, 2013b). These types of prognostic exercises have furthermore almost always been performed on the back of research into socially problematic discourses, i.e. those deemed to perpetuate inequality and power abuse, whilst awareness-raising exercises based on studies into the makeup of socially emancipatory discourses countering dominance or privileging more symmetrical exercises of power remain relatively non-existent.

Further, the review of prognostic critique examples mentioned that, beyond awareness-raising, CDS had made very limited forays into proposing recommendations for discoursal change itself. These were only found in a small handful of papers (Wodak, 1996; Kargl et al., 1997; Godin, 2021), which largely focussed on signposting towards what to challenge and avoid, with comparatively little insights provided as to how problematic discourses can be replaced by alternative, more potentially emancipatory, modes of representation. To date, no records exist of recommendations made on the back of knowledge derived from analysing what emancipatory discourses look like or the effects they have on readers, nor of reflections of how these can be transparently promoted and amplified in wider society. This is not wholly surprising if one considers that so little research exists in CDS (mainstream or otherwise) into what actually constitutes emancipatory discursive practices. Overall, it can be concluded that the second line of action by which prognostic critique is realised, i.e. the making of recommendations and suggestions for discoursal change, is extremely rare in CDS literature, and only a few examples exist of this being attempted in other spaces, and only as it pertains to the *avoidance* of problematic discourses.

Beyond the act of making recommendations, the social/ideological impact of such prognostic proposals, whether avoidance-oriented or focusing on alternatives to replace/reframe problematic discourses, remains wholly unexplored. To my knowledge, prognostic recommendations are not typically tested in any way. As a result, questions remain as to the extent to which, and the contexts in which, recommendations issued do contribute to discoursal and ideological changes. This limits the impact and validity of prognostic recommendations in non-trivial ways, inasmuch as their outcomes are seldom followed-up or reported in CDS research.

Relatedly, engagement in prognostic critique in general has almost always been dissociated from the research process itself. Prognostic critique has typically constituted a further, largely separate step once text-immanent and socio-diagnostic critique processes were complete, and has often figured quite late in the CDS lifecycle, with most CDS work appearing to consider awareness-raising via academic publications (themselves carrying their own complex power dynamics and deep-ranging issues around the economies of publishing) as the main way to involve themselves in the process towards societal transformation. It can be said, thus, that many of the existing research in CDS has not ever been *designed* for the realisation of prognostic

critique in any concerted manner, and this in turn hinders CDS capacity to support societal transformation.

Early on, in Section 1.4.3, I mentioned that the overarching objective of this thesis is to contribute to CDS' socially transformative agenda. This followed from van Dijk's (1993b) point that the success of CDS is to be judged by its contribution to social change. Having reviewed the nature and extent of CDS' involvement in the pursuit of discoursal transformation in Chapters 1 and 2, and having acknowledged some important gaps and the challenges they posed to CDS' work, the next chapter expounds on how some of these gaps may be addressed.

CHAPTER 3: INTEGRATING PROGNOSTIC CRITIQUE TO CDS RESEARCH BY DESIGN: A NEW MODEL FOR CDS PRAXIS

The first section of this chapter ventures further into the question of what might be needed to grapple with some of the gaps and challenges identified in Chapters 1 and 2 concerning CDS' theoretical and methodological engagement in prognostic critique and with more emancipatory social relations. This then sets the scene for Section 3.2, in which I specify how I am proposing to do this as part of this thesis by way of systematically and more explicitly addressing CDS' hitherto tenuous engagement with the prognostic dimensions of its critical work.

3.1 Towards a New Model for CDS Praxis

At this point I note that some of the theoretical/definitional gaps to which I made mention were largely addressed in Chapter 1. This was done following a review of the way some of the foundational figures in CDS had theorised upon notions such as discourse, ideology, power and critique. However, for the benefit of readers and by way of grounding the ensuing discussion, I briefly revisit and summarise them here.

Following van Dijk's (2009a) definition of ideology as socially shared systems of beliefs and attitudes, and Wodak and Meyer's (2016) point that critique engages CDS practitioners in the interrogation of all manner of social orders, in Chapter 1 I explicitly defined critique as involving the problematisation and interrogation not just of hegemonic ideologies, but alternative ones as well. In this way of conceptualising critique, I pointed out that it is important to avoid assuming a priori that alternative discourses will necessarily be emancipatory (as per the normative

principles established in Section 1.4.1), or that hegemonic discourses will necessarily support or perpetuate power abuses, and that one of the roles of CDS should be to examine whether and how a set of discourses, hegemonic or alternate, promotes social orders in line with the ethico-normative principles advanced in CDS. I also noted that out of existing typologies of critique, Reisigl and Wodak's (2016) was the one that most explicitly made room for a more active role in the pursuit of societal transformation by CDS practitioners, but that even to this day this model was mostly focused on demystifying and avoiding problematic discourses as the way to bring forth societal change. Noting that societal change arguably requires more than avoiding problematic discursive practices and the demystification of processes of manipulation/power abuse (cf. Martin, 2004), I extended the scope of this typology of critique, such that it explicitly included the interrogation of discourses deemed to be more emancipatory and the pursuit of discoursal changes that sought to *replace* problematic discourses and ideologies, rather than simply being about proposing changes to avoid them. In sum, I advocated for a definition of critique that made room for the recurrent interrogation of a wide gamut of ideologies, those more or less problematic or more or less emancipatory, where what constitutes problematic or emancipatory is assessed in light of a specific set of normative aims/principles and following an (empirical) exploration of how discourses and ideologies promote or undermine these in different contexts and audiences. I noted this was a necessary step if CDS work is to be geared towards its ultimate aim of societal transformation more than it has thus far.

In Chapter 1 I also identified an important notional gap in canonical theories of power in CDS, finding them to be overly focused on relations of domination and hierarchically mandated control. I pointed out that this limited CDS' scope to study ways to move away from, or which were completely different from, widespread power abuse and dominance. To open up CDS' field of vision when it comes to theorising on power relations, I first proposed power be defined in terms of agency and influence, rather than simply dominance/control. Such a definition, I argued, can allow one to avoid defining power as inherently negative, noting that power relations (i.e. agency and influence relations) are ubiquitous in complex societies and can take many forms, of which manipulative, self-interested dominance is one. On the back of this, I proposed that a slightly more recent, slightly more comprehensive, typology of power (Pansardi & Bindi, 2021) be considered for adoption/adaptation into CDS theory. I reasoned that such an update to how power relations are defined in CDS work can provide more suitable theoretical foundations upon which to explore and understand not just discursive manifestations of power asymmetries but other ways in which power relations can and do play out in social action, e.g. mutual

interdependence and cooperation between social actors and communities. This, I noted, is crucial for the purposes of studying societal transformation in line with the ethical aims and agenda of CDS, as it provides a conceptual starting point by which to then be able to detect and account for alternative ways of performing power relations. For instance, in this way of viewing power relations CDS could be more amply suited to study the acts of power in and behind discourse coming from marginalised groups, as well as those from members of majoritised groups who, in a supporting capacity, can also contribute to efforts to transcend social orders in which dominance and power abuse are, by and large, the accepted norm (consider the case of White allies in anti-racist movements previously studied in, e.g. van Dijk, 2021a).

In terms of CDS research praxis, the review of CDS academic research in Chapter 2 recognised a considerable dearth of studies focussing on the makeup and ideological effects of discourses deemed to be more potentially emancipatory. At the same time, it was revealed that existing CDS work in, and beyond, academia has hitherto fallen short of systematically attempting prognostic recommendations into how to nurture and adopt such discourse practices.

Something that also became clear from Chapter 2, though, is that texts and other semiotic artifacts often contain traces of problematic and emancipatory discourses in different proportions (Fairclough, 1992a; Stibbe, 2014), and that not all discourses will necessarily have ideological effects on readers that straightforwardly match the representations found in texts by analysts, particularly given the co-existence of other discourses not manifest in such texts but which readers still bring into given interactions. This was the case, e.g. in Hart (2021) where extreme, dehumanising metaphors of immigration triggered momentary resistance and social condemnation against explicit forms of xenophobia in non-immigrant audiences, because these texts were consumed in contexts where explicit/blatant racism is largely viewed as unacceptable, and whereby some readers, at least overtly, appeared to reject these problematic representations rather than accept them wholesale and uncritically. Meanwhile, though not subjecting their data to empirical verification of ideological effects on readers, other researchers (Koller, 2013) identified traces of potentially problematic normativities being established in discourses amplifying the voices of marginalised communities. The data in Macgilchrist (2007) cited in the same chapter was analysed at the time as an example of positive/progressive discourse analysis, yet consisted of discourses resisting criticism of Vladimir Putin and his interventions in Chechnya, where what was non-normative (i.e. discourses countering hegemonic views around Putin's imperialist tendencies) appears to have been conflated with

ethical expediency. These results offer important lessons for CDS, showing that the ethical merits (or lack thereof) of given discursive practices may not always be so obvious and cannot be dissociated from their context, nor can alternative and counter-discourses always be assumed to be necessarily and fully 'positive', and that furthermore CDS research must be able to account for a wide range of nuances and complexities when determining whether and how a set of discourses are constitutive of problematic/emancipatory ideological formations if it wants to succeed in its aim of societal transformation 'for the better'.

As mentioned previously, this thesis sides with the idea that CDS should fundamentally centre around the pursuit of societal transformation and emancipation (as defined in Chapter 1) and that it could take a slightly more active role in this than it has thus far (but see Section 3.3 for some important caveats). Noting the points of the above paragraphs, and cognisant of the need for CDS to work in identifying avenues towards discoursal transformation in line with its ultimate aim of societal emancipation, this thesis proposes, first, that discourse data in CDS come to be studied for their *emancipatory potential*.

Whereas much of CDS has typically studied discourses in light of how they reproduce/legitimise dominance and power abuses, querying discourses for their emancipatory potential instead means studying discourse practices in terms of whether and how they are more, less, not at all (or quite opposite to) being conducive to that ultimate goal of emancipation. Effectively this means that discourse practices under study can be judged by their ultimate contribution to societal orders 'for the better'. In this way, the default point of departure of CDS research questions is no longer only 'how are a set of discourses constitutive of problematic social orders and power relations?' and 'how can they be avoided?', but '(how) are a set of discourses more or less constitutive of socially emancipatory ideologies and social structures?' and 'how can problematic discourses be delegitimised/avoided and/or more emancipatory discourses adopted/legitimised?' This way of doing CDS does not assume that alternative, counter-hegemonic, or resistance discourses are necessarily conducive to ethically desirable discoursal changes in all contexts and all audiences, but makes ample room for their examination.

Noting the importance of triangulation by which practitioners' evaluations of the ethical merits of given discourses can be assessed in their ideological/social effects, I note that examining texts' emancipatory potential centrally requires empirically examining their ideological and social effects in different audiences and timeframes, beyond, or in tandem with, analysts' own

interpretations and evaluations of legitimacy and potential social/ideological effects. This is so contextually-sensitive interpretations and assessments of their ethical legitimacy and socially transformative merits (or lack thereof, if that were the case) may be possible, in the hope that this will open the door to more refined insights as to what discourses to advocate for and which to challenge, and in which contexts and conditions, rather than being made on the back of assumptions of idealised readers. This ultimately stems from an understanding that the problematic/emancipatory nature of discursive action cannot be reduced to an orthogonal, binary distinction of negative vs positive, but instead should be understood as part of a gradient where discourses and ideological formations are more or less problematic, and more or less productive/emancipatory in different contexts of production and reception.

Analysing discourses for their emancipatory potential, and empirically testing this potential as part of that analysis, can crucially enable CDS practitioners to achieve a number of important things. For one, it can lead to a more rounded understanding of the relationship between discourse, ideology and power in society, given that it can allow CDS, under one concerted model of praxis (see Section 3.2 below) that does not require schisms away from CDS itself (cf. Martin, 2004), to take an interest in both/either discursively-enacted power abuse and related ideologies *and* the makeup of ideologies and discourses aligned with the ethical aims of CDS. It can also lead to enhanced insights of what discourses work and which ones do not, in what contexts and for what audiences, for the overarching and transparently declared aim of normalising ideologies and practices nurturing equal access to socially valued resources and universal human rights. This way of structuring CDS praxis is more in line with an understanding of critique as involving the examination of all manners of ideological and discursive orders, as pointed out by Wodak and Meyer (2016), and of critique as necessitating the proposal of changes when problems are identified. It takes inspiration from the duality of focus advocated in Stibbe (2014), in which both dominant and alternative, and both problematic and emancipatory narratives are of interest. However, because the current proposal crucially prioritises societal transformation as the ultimate goal of CDS, it is biased towards seeking social change, which is assumed to require finding pathways into the (transparently advocated) normalisation of emancipatory discourses, ideologies and power dynamics. Consequently, it makes more room than hitherto provided the study of discourses which are hypothesised to hold more emancipatory potential, while crucially not neglecting the importance of understanding, exposing and denouncing discourses which are ethically objectionable in their (contextualised) effects, noting that the same discourse data could be conducive to either outcome in different

sets of circumstances of production and reception, especially considering co-existing discourses in such contexts (see Hart, 2021), and so invites CDS researchers to zoom in on these questions.

The insights gained by empirically assessing the emancipatory potential of texts in turn offer unique opportunities for filling the considerable gaps that still exist in CDS' engagement with prognostic critique. Beyond the promise of improving CDS' capability to analyse a wider variety of discourses and structuring CDS practice to study what works and what hinders societal transformation, I propose that these insights be used to make prognostic recommendations as part of the CDS research process itself. Doing so must incorporate not just the avoidance and resistance of discourses found to be problematic, but also find and suggest recommendations on how to amplify emancipatory forms of representation as they are found to work in particular audiences and contexts. In cases where discourse data are found to be more conducive to phenomena such as the adoption/promotion of ideological formations supporting the de-naturalisation/denunciation of relations of dominance, and the legitimation of basic, universal human rights, the patterns of discursive representation in them can be brought to other stakeholders and social actors for adoption, if they have previously been shown to have worked 'for the better'. If, on the other hand, discourses are found to reproduce problematic ideologies in particular settings and groups of readers, then they can be earmarked for avoidance, and/or open up further lines of enquiry into the identification of discursive practices that could work best in facilitating uptake of emancipatory ideologies.

The review in Section 2.4 noted that existing gaps in future-facing critique pertained not just to the issuing, but also to the examining of the impact of prognostic recommendations. To fill this gap, I propose that, on the back of empirical explorations of the emancipatory potential of texts and the making of recommendations for changes/adoption, these recommendations are subsequently implemented (ideally in liaison with other social actors such as agenda-setting institutions and text producers from underrepresented communities -see Section 3.3, see also Chapters 5 and 8) for the sourcing, production, and amplification of emancipatory discourse practices and, following this, that the impact of these changes be empirically tested as well.

The proposals introduced here in effect mean engaging in prognostic critique much earlier in the life-cycle of a CDS project, effectively integrating it to CDS research design as a matter of course, thus prioritising it more than has been done so far in CDS. Such proposals are designed to enable

CDS to do more apart from describing, observing, and explaining how problematic status quos and their constitutive discourses and ideological orders operate. They are designed to enable CDS research to be more explicitly involved in the researching and proposing of changes, whether they be centred on avoidance/delegitimation of problematic discourses or adoption/dissemination of emancipatory ones, noting Wodak's (2007) point that the elaboration of proposals for change is central to what it means to be critical (p. 4). If CDS is to engage more in actively promoting emancipatory discourses and discoursal change 'for the better', then the impetus of its critique needs to be more prognostic than it has been thus far.

Ultimately, this entails a subtle, but important reconfiguration of CDS work in general. Research under this model is designed with the pursuit of discoursal change towards emancipation in mind, and/or the reinvigoration of existing normativities when they are in effect supportive of social dynamics more in line with equal access to socially valued resources and respect for universal human rights. Thus far, there has not been a concerted model of CDS praxis to attempt this, with CDS, as duly pointed out by PDA proponents, almost exclusively focused on discourses enacting domination and discoursal emancipation remaining a distant, often diffuse objective. Importantly, though the priority is on finding avenues into societal transformation in line with CDS' ethico-normative principles, analysing discourses for their emancipatory potential and issuing, as well as testing, prognostic recommendations as part of the research process itself still acknowledges the very real possibility that particular discourses in particular contexts might in some way serve to uphold relations of unequal dominance, and in this way goes further than PDA.

On the back of all the above, in the following section I proceed by laying out a template for a model that updates CDS praxis such that practitioners can query texts for their emancipatory potential and make their critical work more prognostic by design, i.e. pursue societal transformation using their research. Briefly presented, this way of carrying out CDS research is meant to engage practitioners in recursive exercises of 1) identifying and researching social problems and accounting for discourses constitutive of said problematic social orders; 2) sourcing data that potentially constitutes instances of alternative or counter-discourses and testing the emancipatory potential of these discourse artifacts, i.e. their potential in facilitating ideological changes for the better in audiences of interest; 3) proposing recommendations for the adoption or modification/replacement of given discourses, depending on the results of preceding empirical explorations on texts' (written, spoken or multimodal) emancipatory

potential; and 4) implementing and testing these recommendations, which effectively means further testing the effects of exposure to new discourse artifacts once suggested changes/replacements are implemented, or once discourses earmarked for wider adoption are upscaled or extended to a different audience, and leading to the making of further recommendations and subsequent testing of social/ideological effects.

3.2 The Model and its Stages

In this section I proceed by laying out the template of a model for CDS praxis via which texts' emancipatory potential can be researched within different contexts and audiences, and prognostic recommendations for discoursal change can be made, implemented, and subsequently tested as a central part of this process. At this stage the model is purposefully broad and abstract as it seeks to provide a general template for CDS research which is approach-agnostic and potentially applicable to different social issues, discourse data and contexts, for which different approaches may have particular strengths (see Wodak & Meyer, 2016; Hart & Cap, 2014). It is, importantly, not an attempt to create a new approach to CDS, rather to provide CDS in general with a foundation upon which to continue working towards identifying and pursuing avenues for discoursal change and the adoption of emancipatory ideologies, as is arguably the shared aim of all CDS approaches in one form or another. In Part II of this thesis, I show one way in which this model can be applied from a particular CDS approach (Cognitive-Linguistic CDS) to tackle a specific social issue in the context of the UK (i.e. inequality and discrimination affecting Muslim communities). In Part III, I offer some reflections and learnings from applying this model and propose ways it could be employed following other CDS approaches (e.g. DHA and Corpus-Linguistic Approaches), opening the door for its future application by other members of the CDS community.

Figure 1 below presents a sketch of the proposed model of praxis.

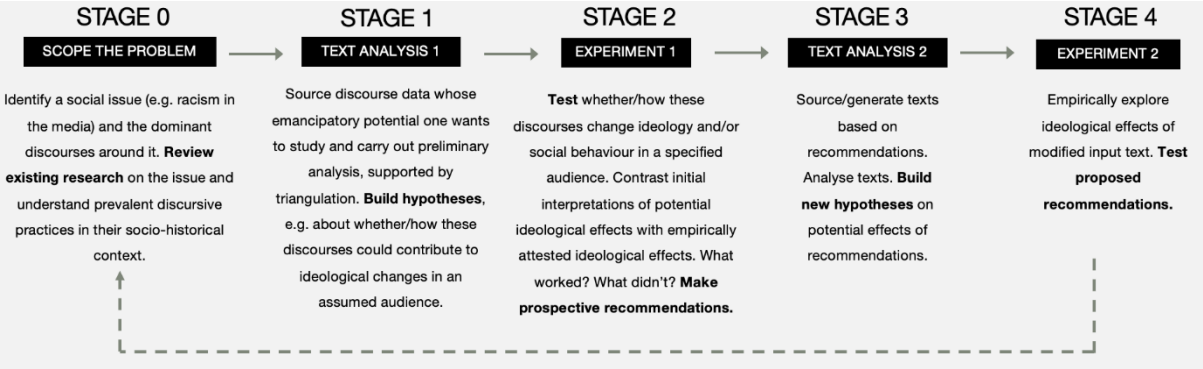

Figure 1. A Prognostically-Driven Model of CDS Research

Stage 0: Framing/Scoping the Problem

In keeping with the problem-oriented nature of CDS (Wodak, 2012), this process is initiated at Stage 0, in which a particular social problem (e.g. racism in the media) is scoped and explored in more detail. This process of enquiry would typically engage CDS practitioners in critically reviewing already existing research on the issue of interest, from multiple disciplines and sources, both part of and beyond academia (e.g. measures of social inequality, accounts of lived experiences of racism from marginalised communities themselves and/or research from other organisations and researchers can provide key sources of insight). It would crucially, and given that this model focuses on the discursive dimension of social action, involve the exploration of dominant discourses (including patterns of interdiscursivity, genre identity, etc.) that are constitutive of this problem, in their socio-historical context. Much of CDS research that exists to this day is more readily located in this step of the cycle, as it is mostly retrospective and explanatory, i.e. involving the identification of a social issue and, noting the dialectical relationship between discourse and society, undertaking the study of discourse both as the product of such issues as well as an important historical driver of the relevant status quo under study. At this stage, the focus is on understanding current states of affairs, and how such a social order was arrived at and reproduced, via examination of the socio-historical discursive processes leading up to and/or co-existing with it. As the issue at hand is contextualised and mapped out, and a sense of what problematic discourses constitute it, one can begin to narrow down what aspects of the problem emerge as candidates for transformation. For instance, one may identify a need to challenge and replace a set of hegemonic ideologies or subcomponents of these, for example the stereotypes exhibited by majoritised groups against a marginalised

other, or epistemologies naturalising market economies and overemphasising individual responsibility in neoliberal models (see Section 2.1). At the same time, one may focus on shifting problematic behavioural dispositions and discursive practices of relatively more powerful communities.

Stage 1: Sourcing Emancipatory Discourses, Analysis and Hypothesis Building

As noted previously, prognostic critique is fundamentally centered on finding inroads into societal change via ideological change 'for the better', wherein ideological change is thought to be partly driven by discoursal change in line with CDS theoretical posits. Stage 0 as described above largely involves retrospective/explanatory critique of a problematic status quo and the social, discursive and ideological dimensions that constitute it. It also requires that CDS practitioners delimit what aspect(s) of the problem at hand will be earmarked for change, particularly because many of the issues CDS concerns itself are multidimensional and complex and it is unlikely that one single study will be able to encompass them in their entirety. The insights obtained at Stage 0 pave the way for Stage 1, in which potentially more emancipatory discursive practices are scoped, and data (such as texts, multimodal resources, etc.) instantiating such discourses are selected, analysed, and hypotheses around their emancipatory social effects may be made.

Discourse data whose emancipatory potential one may wish to study, i.e. discourse artifacts like texts and other semiotic resources, can be sourced in terms of the extent to which researchers estimate/hypothesise the representations contained in them, and the patterns of power-behind discourse linked to their production, could constitute an alternative, more ethically productive manner of representing and constructing the social world. This may be for example because they appear to discursively construct group identities in less essentialising terms and delegitimise explicit and covert forms of discrimination. If available, previous research exploring whether and in what contexts these artifacts work best can be brought up to guide the selection process and narrow down potential candidates. For example, in the case study that follows, I draw from research in experimental social psychology, specifically the subfield of Contact Theory (Allport, 1954; Brown & Hewstone, 2005), within which the attitude-shaping effects of contact with narratives challenging discrimination and prejudice have been empirically accounted for via the use of experimental methods.

At this stage of the pipeline any discourse data of interest can either be produced, or if already existing, collected. If the former, there can be engagement with text producers e.g. authors from marginalised communities or more generally text producers whose discursive practices are believed to be more representative and reflective of emancipatory ideologies (in the way defined in Chapter 1), for the generation of alternative and counter-discourses (see Section 3.3). In analysing text data at this stage, CDS practitioners can apply, or adapt, existing approaches to account for the discursive makeup of text data, asking questions about the emancipatory potential of the composite of lexicogrammatical, argumentative, and/or macro-discursive patterns they believe are being reflected in the texts. On the back of the interpretations and insights arrived at via the critical analysis of these data, hypotheses can then be made as to the potential ideological/behavioural effects of being exposed to such texts in terms of whether their uptake in particular audiences may or may not contribute to changes away from problematic patterns of social action and ideological representations noted during Stage 0.

Stage 2: Testing Effects of Exposure to Emancipatory Discourses and Issuing Prospective Recommendations

This stage involves the testing of interpretations and hypotheses generated at the end of Stage 1 via the use of empirical methods. Whilst the preceding stages were largely geared towards elucidating how ideologies of text producers appeared to be encoded in particular texts, the focal point of this stage is the investigation of patterns of *reader reception*, for example, the extent to which exposure to the discourses investigated at Stage 1 can contribute (or not) to ideological change, e.g. mitigation of patterns of intergroup prejudice in majoritised communities, and/or the reproduction of attitudes and beliefs supporting social equality and the universality of human rights. Methods of empirical research called upon at this stage may vary, but can involve, for example, experimental designs measuring the impact of exposure to sourced data on attitudes, behavioural dispositions, etc. via a range of measures (surveys, focus groups, tests of implicit attitudes, ethnographic observations). Quasi-experimental studies (Díaz et al., 2015) may also be used, for example to study patterns of diachronic uptake and incidence of emancipatory discourses in different contexts (everyday online conversations, media texts, etc.). This can be attempted using corpus methods (Baker, 2006a), in combination with correlational analysis techniques, to examine whether and how this uptake historically corresponds (or not) with changes in levels of socioeconomic (in)equality, etc. At this stage, and given the multidimensional nature of constructs like ideology, practitioners should zoom in on what

specific aspects of ideology are of interest, finding ways to operationalise these, and identifying what audiences (i.e. whose ideologies) are to be studied, such as by asking questions about whether alternative discourses will cause or correlate with changes in attitudes towards a minoritised group in majoritised, i.e. relatively more powerful, communities or measures of social (in)equality. Having empirically assessed the ideological/social effects of the discourses described on Stage 1 for their emancipatory potential then opens the door for the issuing of prognostic recommendations, as well as, if necessary, for refining text-immanent and socio-diagnostic interpretations made during prior stages. For discourses found to not be contributing to the adoption of emancipatory ideologies, recommendations can be made for changes (as well as avoidance) *in the contexts and for the audiences in which they were studied*. On the other hand, for cases in which exposure to discourse artifacts of interest appears to contribute to the adoption of emancipatory ideological formations, recommendations can be made for the upscaling and recontextualisation of these discourses in, for example, other artifacts and genres, such that their adoption can be upscaled in audiences and contexts similar to the ones empirically explored at this stage, or potentially extended to different communities.

Stage 3: Enacting Recommendations and Further Text Analysis

Stage 3 consists of a follow-up discourse analysis phase in which, on the back of the results obtained via empirical examination of discourse data's emancipatory potential at Stage 2 and recommendations issued in light of this, discourse artifacts are modified or else sourced/generated following these recommendations. This stage largely mirrors Stage 1 in its overall structure insofar as it engages CDS practitioners in a successive exercise of discourse analysis and hypothesis-building, though it is supported by the insights and learnings from Stage 2 as well.

Stage 4: Assessing the Effects of Prognostic Recommendations and Making Subsequent Recommendations

At this stage, the aim is to test the impact of prognostic recommendations following their implementation at Stage 3. In practice this could mean exposing audiences to the modified discourse data and further testing the ideological effects of such exposure. This stage is similar to Stage 2 in terms of its focus on empirically testing ideological effects of discourse data (re)shaped as part of Stage 3, but the results of empirical tests are used to reflect on whether

recommendations implemented in Stage 3 do tie in with ideological changes 'for the better'. Generally speaking, recommendations made at this stage would be focused on either upscaling the reach of discourses whose emancipatory potential was found to be realised as part of the preceding stage, or on further modifications/replacement to discourse data following recommendations for change for cases in which these data's emancipatory potential was still not realised, and/or shown to reproduce problematic ideologies in the audiences of interest.

It is crucial to point out at this juncture that this model purposefully lacks a final stage. This is done noting the complex nature of many of the social problems CDS concerns itself with, which may require successive, and/or long-term commitments to researching and finding ways to contribute in shaping social action towards orders in which the ethico-normative principles and objectives pursued and transparently advocated for by CDS have a better chance of becoming widely accepted and implemented. This often occurs through processes of trial and error, and in light of this, the present model is recursive, and cyclical, by nature. At its core, this form of praxis also remains a persuasive endeavour (see Section 3.3.1), one in which the ethical principles and ideological formations being identified and pushed for are not taken for granted as universal, absolute truths, but consciously chosen and explicitly articulated (as in Chapter 1), and where the work carried out is done with these frames of reference as yardsticks.

3.3 Some general caveats, specifications and notes about this model

The reflections and caveats engaged in this section are engaged under the assumption/acknowledgment that most CDS work has been, and will likely continue to be, produced and received in dominance-heavy societal orders characterised by deep inequalities, as emancipatory ideological formations gradually become more widely adopted and accepted in the processes of societal transformation CDS practitioners and many other communities strive for. Indeed, Stage 0 of this model acknowledges this fact, as it sets off the research process starting from environments where power abuse and inequality, and ideological formations supporting these, are prevalent. Furthermore, because CDS research is still (and will likely continue to be) overwhelmingly produced in academic institutions, it must be acknowledged that, at least indirectly, CDS researchers will in some cases be reproducing existing inequalities and acts of dominance in their position as academics (Billig, 2008; Rogers, 2020a, p. 348) simply by producing this research. The challenge for CDS work in such contexts is to find ways to contribute to societal transformation more than to the reproduction of existing systems of

illegitimate dominance in which much of this research is embedded. Ultimately, attempts at iterative prognostic critique (i.e. in cycles of researching and proposing changes, and researching them again) must be very mindful to make a dent on dominance-heavy power relations and related orders of discourse more than to its reproduction.

In such contexts of study, the main contribution of the present model is that it promotes and sets out a roadmap by which CDS praxis can strengthen its involvement in researching discoursal and ideological changes deemed 'for the better' as a periodic exercise, and in issuing recommendations to other discourse actors on the back of this research. Yet to make sure CDS' contributions have a chance of being more emancipatory than problematic, caution is needed.

This subsection engages in a preliminary discussion of a number of points that emerge as requiring careful consideration before applying this model. It should be noted, however, that this list is not exhaustive and it is envisioned that some of these points may change or evolve in future refinements to the present model, for example once it is applied to different issues, contexts and discourse data. A more targeted discussion of this is attempted in Chapter 8 after said model is applied for the specific issue of intergroup prejudice towards Muslim communities in the UK.

3.3.1 Interventionism, not Prescriptivism: Towards a Principle of Prognostic Interventionism

As previously mentioned, the model presented here is designed to enable CDS researchers to engage in the pursuit of societal change beyond raising awareness of problematic ideologies and their discursive manifestations, and even beyond raising awareness of the makeup of more potentially emancipatory discourses. A defining programmatic feature of this template of praxis is that it encourages CDS practitioners to take a deeper dive into a prognostic form of critique which is slightly more *interventionist*, that is, which is concerned with actually proposing possible changes to problematic orders of discourse and working to facilitate the adoption of emancipatory ones. Ultimately, it can be said that the present model is geared towards the design and implementation of *prognostic interventions* for the pursuit of discoursal and ideological change.

Advocating for an interventionist approach to CDS research is not new, nor original to this thesis (cf. Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Rogers, 2020b). Indeed, the very existence of the notion of prognostic critique which, building on increased awareness and explanations for discursive

phenomena (cf. Fairclough, 2018) calls for the making of recommendations and proposals for change, and which can be traced as far back as 30 years ago (Wodak, 1996), is an indication of this.

What is largely original to this thesis, rather, is *how* this interventionism is understood and endeavoured. The model of praxis offered here fundamentally prioritises the pursuit of alternatives to problematic orders of discourse. It specifically encourages the empirical examination of texts' emancipatory potential such that more emancipatory discourses can be identified, amplified and prognostically promoted as a way of attempting societal transformation, so as to delegitimise and phase out discourses and ideologies constitutive of power abuses, inequality and violations of human rights. It does this by integrating existing CDS analytical methods to describe and generate hypotheses regarding texts' ideological and societal effects, and experimental approaches to test whether, and how, exposure to such discourse artifacts can be more or less conducive to the adoption of more emancipatory ideologies and behaviours amongst a specified set of discourse participants, as a way of making more effective and more convincing recommendations in this interventionist spirit[3].

Though the model possibly affords CDS practitioners a more active role in identifying avenues into social change via their research, it still views CDS as a dialectical exercise of persuasion and argumentation, transparently engaged (following Fairclough, 2018). The insights and, in this case, prognostic recommendations made by CDS practitioners as part of the research process still need to be explicitly championed for and taken up by other actors beyond experiment participants, such as institutions and the public. In this model, therefore, it is also up to discourse actors to take up recommendations and apply them more widely (i.e. beyond the limits of a particular CDS research project) to their own practices and institutions.

In this form of interventionism the aim is not to prescribe (cf. Toolan, 1997), which may often base the validity and expediency of arguments and recommendations on the status of 'expert' of the

[3] For the sake of clarity, effectiveness here means being more or less successful in helping to *effect* the adoption and legitimation of ways of seeing the world which correspond with a given set of explicitly disclosed ethical aims (as detailed in Chapter 1) and which can mobilise social actors to work in concert towards these aims. 'Convincing' recommendations, relatedly, entail recommendations that are shown, according to a specific set of aims, e.g. the reduction of aversive prejudices against minoritised groups, and following empirical examination, to be effective in driving desired changes 'for the better' in a given context of study, and in so being can place CDS practitioners in a stronger, i.e. more convincing, position when advocating for their implementation.

practitioner, in ways that may uncritically reproduce existing hierarchies of knowledge (Billig, 2008). Rather, work under this model aims to identify potential avenues of discoursal and ideological change that are viewed as more in keeping with the ethical aims of CDS, and engage with other discourse actors, particularly those who profess commitments to principles of equality (e.g. BBC, 2022), by putting these alternatives within their sphere of attention and recommending their adoption.

As part of the proposed pipeline, before insights are brought out to institutions and the wider public (e.g. Stages 3-4 onwards), the insights of preceding stages are used to make actionable recommendations and subsequently test their impact as a design feature of the model itself, assuming that other discourse actors, for instance media institutions, may be more likely (emphasis on 'may be') to take up these recommendations if they have been empirically shown to work in effecting ideological changes 'for the better'. As van Dijk points out, it is those who are directly involved in the issues under study who are the "really effective change agents" (van Dijk, 1993b, p. 253). A potential strength of this model is that it does not assume that every discourse artifact that appears to present alternatives away from orders of discourse more or less directly perpetuating power abuse and inequality will work in the same way for every audience, but instead encourages engagement in cycles of empirical exploration so that more contextually-sensitive insights might be obtained that can inform the making, and subsequent testing, of actionable recommendations for change as time goes by.

Outside of noting that insights into ideological change gained via prognostic interventions still need to be taken up by other actors, it is important to make note of one related constraint of this model at this point. Namely, by virtue of being centrally concerned with discoursal change, the remit of this model is still largely limited to observations around the dimension of discourse action and its links to ideology, even though other types of non-discursive action are also crucially constitutive of social orders and of ideology itself, but are not as explicitly touched upon in this model of praxis at present (cf. Jäger & Maier, 2016). In other words, this model is an attempt at promoting a more *active* form of support, via CDS research, towards ideological change as it pertains to the specific dimensions of discursive practice in society. But as noted by Krzyżanowski (2024), CDS cannot do everything on its own and ideological change also occurs in and is dovetailed by other forms of social behaviour, and by other communities of practice.

It is in the senses noted above that the model of praxis laid out here is interventionist.

3.3.2 Who Are the Most Likely Targets of Prognostic Interventions?

At this stage, it is important to make note of *whose* discursive practices and worldviews this model envisions could be in greater need of change in such contexts, because this will largely affect who are the most likely *targets* of these interventions. Doing so can also help delineate the scope of prognostic interventions by prioritising some areas over others, particularly while the model is still in development.

When it comes to discoursal changes 'for the better', this model of praxis currently puts most of the onus for change on elite actors and other discourse collectives who are identified, in a given context, as comparatively more powerful in terms of access to socially valued resources. This is based on the assumption that these actors' relative influence and, particularly in such social orders, controlled access to socially valued resources, including power in and behind discourse, makes any problematic practices and ideologies (whether conscious or unconsciously held) more impactful and most potentially detrimental to the ethical and programmatic aspirations laid out in Chapter 1. Consequently, it is hoped that most of these interventions would be most often targeted at transforming problematic discursive practices amongst collectives who have privileged access to socially valued resources vis-à-vis another set of social actors whose relative exclusion and deprivation is often central to dominant interests in these contexts (see van Dijk, 1993a).

At this point it should be noted that patterns of inequality and power abuse in the contexts which CDS tends to operate are complex and require both an intersectional (Esposito, 2024; Resende, 2024),¡ and intrasectional (Henaku, 2024) lens. In such contexts, dominance is typically arranged along the lines of multiple cross-cutting hierarchies (e.g. race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, economic and social capital, established norms of physical and cognitive ability), most impactfully applied by those at the very top of these hierarchies, and determined according to the *relative* distance of social actors' intersecting identities to hegemonic/normative ones (Black & Stone, 2005, pp. 243-244). Some authors reviewed previously (e.g. Henaku, 2024) remind us that some groups who may be targets of discrimination in one context, along the lines of one or more identity dimensions (for example, by virtue of being as part of an ethnic and/or class global minority), may themselves occupy positions of relative power in other contexts (e.g. if they identify as cis-gendered, heterosexual men compared to women within the same ethnic and/or

class minority). Such complexities and nuances ought to be taken into account when determining the target of interventions, though it should be noted *who* are at the very top and most benefitting from forms of competing and intersecting inequalities in a given context of study.

Prioritising tackling problematic ideological formations found in groups at the top of such hierarchies is not to say that the discursive practices of historically marginalised communities may not themselves exhibit traces of problematic ideologies (e.g. in the case internalised racism, sexism, ableism, etc. -see Lipsky, 1987; Jóhannsdóttir et al., 2022; Archakis & Tsakona, 2024). After all, that can be one of the effects of manufactured consent as noted, among others, by Fairclough (2001). For such cases, critically-driven prognostic interventions could be attempted, particularly led by CDS practitioners who have lived experiences within these communities themselves (see Section 3.3.4), to explore and propose alternatives to this, given that phenomena of the type can bolster the legitimisation of inequalities most favouring elite groups and the overall issues CDS often concerns itself with and seeks to challenge.

Fundamentally, one of the ultimate aims of this model is to challenge and move away from ideologies that are linked to the perpetuation of systemic inequalities and the erosion of human rights, wherever they may be held, but the *priority* is at this stage on scrutinising and working to shift problematic discursive practices and ideological formations present amongst groups in positions of relative privilege for the reasons stated above. These may typically be elite actors, but may also be subsets of groups that are minoritised vis-à-vis such elites, such as in specific cases when they more or less consciously internalise power abuse, and/or contribute to the exclusion and discrimination of other, even more deeply minoritised collectives (see Maxwell et al., 2024 for an example of online discourses of exclusion of transgender women by groups of cis-gendered women).

3.3.3 What/Whose Discourses are Most Likely to be Used as Catalysts for Change? Solidarity with What and Whom?

Another important factor to note is *what* kinds of discourses, and *whose,* these kind of interventions, particularly at Stages 1 onwards (i.e. once problematic discourses and ideologies have been scoped), may look to most typically explore, amplify and test for their emancipatory

potential as a way of informing prognostic recommendations. This question is intimately linked to the issue of solidarity in CDS.

Generally speaking, and in principle, any set of discourse artifacts thought to contain traces of emancipatory representations (in the way defined in Section 1.4.3) could be tested to check whether this potential is realised and how, with a view of amplifying their reach. What these discourses look like in practice will largely depend on what type, or types, of ideological formations are identified as socially problematic at Stage 0, and on which ideological formations and discourses are viewed as hypothetically more ethically legitimate alternatives.

For example, for the purposes of tackling the naturalisation of racist hierarchies and the discourses constituting and supporting these, it is most likely that texts (and multimodal artifacts) containing anti-racist social representations, promoting solidarity with marginalised communities, and/or delegitimising, problematising and replacing white-supremacist and essentialist ways of constructing social identities like race could be earmarked as potential sources of data (see Nartey, 2022 for a study of how the anti-racist Black Lives Matter movement constructs such discourses). Since it is assumed that socially problematic beliefs are not inevitable but rather historically and socially motivated, CDS can make a case for their replacement with more ethically legitimate alternatives viewed as more likely to lead to orders characterised by patterns of equality and mutual interdependence, and discourse artifacts that are hypothesised to have the potential of achieving this in different audiences are the ones that the current model of praxis prioritises for Stages 1 onwards.

Yet in this endeavour, like with questions around the targets of interventions, the identities of discourse authors and existing power dynamics in the social context in which seemingly more emancipatory discourses emerge also need to be considered very carefully. What and whose discourses may be given priority as potential sources of data in this model follows, firstly, CDS' avowed solidarity with marginalised communities. Indeed, since its inception, CDS has explicitly been grounded on principles of solidarity with those groups who are most disadvantaged, i.e. marginalised, compared to elites in the contexts of CDS praxis (Ramírez, 2013). Solidarity with oppressed groups should be strongest for the case of groups who are most marginalised, such as those whose intersecting identities are construed by actors in relative privilege as most distant from the dominant norm, in ways that serve to legitimise their relative deprivation and exclusion.

Going back to the example of anti-racist discursive practices, this may typically, but not exclusively (see below in this subsection), mean amplifying the voices of members of what, in a given context of study, are racially marginalised communities themselves. This carries an important assumption: that counter-discourses and emancipatory ideological formations are more likely found amongst discourse communities with lived experiences of social inequalities, who have a more urgent interest in change away from such social configurations. On the back of this, the current model prioritises the study and deployment of semiotic artifacts as analytical (at Stage 1) and experimental input (at Stage 2) which are produced by actors who are identified as experiencing intersecting forms of marginalisation and resisting them, and/or who regularly advocate for alternative ways of constituting power relations.

However, this solidarity needs to be practiced with a few important caveats. Work in this model of praxis, as in all of CDS, must be careful to avoid superimposing moral and ethical superiorities to subaltern/marginalised communities, or assuming their practices to be invariably in line with the ethical aims laid out in Chapter 1 simply because they have lived experiences of marginalisation and oppression. It is of the utmost importance in this interventionist model to refrain from idealising the experiences of marginalised communities, being careful to avoid attributing an emancipatory slant as a defining characteristic, an "essence" of being marginalised. Solidarity with marginalised groups is taken here because their rights to access socially valued resources and their basic human rights are, and have been, systematically eroded for the ultimate, direct or indirect, benefit of majoritised groups and elite actors throughout a given period of time. It is not conditional on any assumed moral virtue, because this may engage CDS researchers in the erasure of the nuances and complexities of human behaviour that oppressed communities may exhibit, both emancipatory and/or problematic. It must also be remembered that, as mentioned previously, with the exception of social actors at the very top of class, gender, sexuality, race, etc. intersecting hierarchies, groups that are marginalised in some contexts may not be so in others, and may even themselves engage in problematic discursive practices (such as in contexts when minoritised groups are pitted against each other and contribute to the marginalisation of other minority groups -see research by Kim, 1999; 2000 for examples). Therefore, whilst amplifying the voices and interests of members of marginalised communities themselves is a priority in this model, and it is assumed here that it is *more likely* that emancipatory and counter-hegemonic ideological formations may be present amongst these communities because they are the most affected by systematic marginalisation, this is not assumed to be an *inherent* feature of such communities, i.e. present in all cases,

especially given that one of the potential effects of power abuse is the more or less forceful assimilation of hegemonically accepted patterns of dominance, which can be (self)directed against marginalised communities themselves (as in the case of internalised forms of oppression -see Archakis & Tsakona, 2024), or against other marginalised communities (as in phenomena like competitive victimhood -see Vollhardt, 2013; Blumer, 2013).

Therefore, the priority when selecting data whose emancipatory potential one wants to study and make recommendations out of, is to work to find and amplify the *specific* discursive practices in these communities which are hypothesised to discursively represent alternatives away from domination and power abuse.

In this there is another group of discourse actors whose practices emerge as potentially valuable sources of data in supporting processes of discoursal and ideological change, namely social actors typically identified as being in positions of relative privilege, but whose discursive practices more or less actively promote and actualise alternative and counter-hegemonic construals of their own identity and relations with communities currently marginalised in a given context and time period. Examples of this may be found in the case of discourses of cis-heterosexual actors in support of LGBTQ+ collective movements (see Russell, 2011; Worthington et al., 2002) or anti-racist allyship/co-conspirator actions for the case of inequalities centered around processes of racialisation and systemic racism (Ekpe & Toutant, 2022; Kendi, 2019). Evidence exists (Mazziotta et al., 2011a -see chapter 4) that socially emancipatory attitudes may be more likely to be taken up when exhibited by members of one's own ingroup in their dealings with a derogated outgroup. Yet much like important caveats were made in the case of solidarity with minoritised communities above, an equally important caveat must be made when considering the use, and amplification, of discourse artifacts linked to actors identified with privileged collectives albeit who try to take an active role in dismantling the power structures that disproportionately benefit them but marginalise others. Namely, though it may be useful to find and pay some attention to researching the discursive practices of such actors, in the longer term it is important to avoid placing such voices as central protagonists, lest their centrality in existing social hierarchies be perpetuated.

To summarise: in this model, discourses with higher emancipatory potential, particularly those associated with members of marginalised communities, but also from members of privileged groups whose discursive practices could constitute alternatives away from patterns of inequality

and power abuse, are prioritised for exploration of their emancipatory potentials, as and when they are hypothesised to be more in keeping with the ethical aims professed in CDS work. Overall, the task of CDS research under this model of praxis is to apply the insights from earlier stages of the prognostic pipeline (Stage 0) to source discourses with higher emancipatory potential (Stage 1) and research whether, and in what conditions, such discourses may or may not work best in aiding the development and legitimation of emancipatory ideologies and power relations, most urgently in audiences in positions of relative privilege in and behind discourse, upon whom this model puts most of the onus of change (Stage 2)[4]. This can then lead to the making of recommendations for future exposures (Stage 3), that can subsequently be tested for their ideological effects, particularly in terms of whether, and how, they may or may not facilitate the adoption of emancipatory ideologies and forms of social action (Stage 4, and so on). The insights gained in the process can be either shared on an ongoing, iterative, basis with institutions and communities, or can be disseminated more widely once a given research project is complete.

3.3.4 Researcher Positionality: Some Preliminary Considerations About Who Carries out this Research

Alongside the warning against any strong prescriptivism (Section 3.3.1), specifications around who are the most likely targets for prognostic interventions (Section 3.3.2), as well as discussing what kind of sources of discourse data may be most prioritised as analytical and experimental input when designing prognostic interventions (Section 3.3.3), the positionality of the researcher also emerges as in need of due consideration in planning and executing prognostic interventions in CDS. Positionality can be defined as:

> the social location of the researcher—in terms of gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, religion, age, ability, citizenship status, and more—and its effects on the research. It should be engaged intersectionally, paying particular attention to how sociopolitical context shifts and shapes how we come to understand and experience our various social identities. This

[4] Accordingly, one of the challenges this model lays down is for CDS to take a greater interest in the discursive practices of subaltern communities when designing and implementing prognostic interventions. This can be done, for example, via periodically researching, using empirical/experimental methods, the ways in which exposing different audiences to such patterns of discursive practice may or may not open up opportunities for ideological change towards more emancipatory forms of social organisation. In this, actively involving members of these communities in the research process is key, and future work undertaken from within this model should focus centrally on this question.

> facilitates a closer examination of power and the interlocking dynamics of privilege and oppression operating within ourselves, our environments, and our research. (Jackson et al., 2024, p. 6)

I note here that in the model of praxis being suggested in this thesis, van Dijk's reminder that "modesty is mandatory" becomes even more important, most notably for CDS practitioners with several intersecting sources of privilege (both at a local and global level), but in general for all CDS practitioners due to their position as academics when one considers that universities are often institutions which only a minority of the population has access to. This means that the power structures which academics are part of need to be acknowledged and self-reflexive critique of one's own practices, epistemologies, methods of enquiry and relative privileges, need to be periodically attempted (Billig, 2003), lest CDS research contributes to the current hierarchies of power more than it does to their dismantling and replacement (Lazar, 2007).

Alongside this identity as academics, positionality in terms of other factors related to living at the intersection of socially constructed categories like gender identity, sexuality, cultural heritage, nationality, class, etc., and their resulting hierarchies, need to be factored into the design and implementation of CDS research under this model. Interestingly, open acknowledgment of ethical and political positionality is encouraged in CDS (van Dijk, 2001) and often discussed under the umbrella of self-reflexivity (Wodak, 2014), but disclosure and reflection of researchers' identities in terms of any of the other dimensions, and how these may and do filter into the research process itself and into relations with discourse actors and institutions coming into contact with this research, are often missing from CDS work. Indeed, the term 'positionality' is largely absent in much of mainstream CDS work (Lazar, 2007; Mullet, 2018). Yet in all CDS research, practitioners themselves bring an assemblage of different identities and ideological formations as well as corresponding experiences of privilege and, in some cases, degrees of social exclusion and oppression.

In the present model, reflections of how practitioners' intersecting identities factor into the research itself and on how this work is situated in and beyond academia are crucial because, by design, this model of praxis advocates for the making of suggestions and recommendations for discoursal changes for other social actors to take up, and there are so many potential points of contact between CDS practitioners and different stakeholders/communities. For example, due to the emphasis made on empirical/experimental methods in this model (itself an

epistemological choice following principles of empiricism that are not without their historicity and issues -see Chapter 7), CDS practitioners will likely come into more or less direct exchanges with research participants who are the targets of interventions. Thus, practitioners' positionality in relation to these communities and how this might impact the design of interventions, interpretation of experimental results, the type of relationship with participants, etc. need to be accounted for. Another form of contact will be with the discourse artifacts used in interventions, which will typically be authored and/or edited by one or more actors, and these actors will themselves have their own interaction with other discourse actors, communities and institutions (e.g. if authors produce a given text under the auspices of a given institution, or if they are positioned as members of a given marginalised community). And if the intent is to bring these insights to a wider public, e.g. to actors with privileged power in and behind discourse as part of efforts to inform and support potential changes to their discursive practices, there may be engagement with media institutions, policymakers, community members, etc.

Within such a process, insufficient consideration of how researchers' positionalities impact not just the interpretation of data, but how social change is defined and attempted as part of specific prognostic interventions, can make CDS practitioners inattentive of whether, and the ways in which, the research can actually effect social change, as well as the points at which existing hierarchies may be being reproduced. Thus, the complex interplay of patterns of researchers' identities, privilege and marginalisation/subalternity requires careful consideration.

Sultana (2007) notes how engaging in such efforts provide researchers with ways to locate themselves in the "grids of power relations and [account for] how that influences methods, interpretations, and knowledge production" (p. 376). The distinction between insider/outsider (Merriam et al., 2001) emerges as a useful frame of reference when accounting for the location of CDS practitioners in these matrices of power. Bayeck (2022) brings together a number of lines of thought to define these two concepts:

> An insider has similarities with participants (e.g., cultural background, race, religion, or education), which is…advantageous in understanding the culture, while an outsider [may] misconstrue the culture or practices (Bourke, 2014; Greene, 2014)…The outsider's identity does not align with participants' cultural background, experience, or race (Chavez, 2008). Yet, being an

> outsider [can] make the researcher sensitive to phenomena that the insider tends to take for granted (Bourke, 2014; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015) (p.1).

A key point in outlining one's insider/outsider situatedness is that far from it being a strict binary, it can be viewed as a dynamic gradient, where researchers may be more or less of an insider/outsider *in relation* to the different groups of (discourse) actors engaged with in the research pipeline (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). As part of the process of factoring in the CDS researcher's positionality in prognostic interventions, considering the degrees of insider/outsider identities in relation to the different actors more or less directly involved in the research can help CDS practitioners avoid, as much as possible, perpetuating patterns of hierarchical dominance even when attempting to advocate for change 'for the better' (see Lazar, 2007, p. 155 for a discussion of this within Feminist CDA).

Though at this stage it is impossible to pre-emptively account for every way in which the dynamic identities of CDS practitioners, targets of interventions, discourse producers and audiences may play out in the in the pursuit of discoursal and ideological transformation, and the design and application of prognostic interventions to contribute to the latter, an illustrative example can still be provided for the benefit of readers and practitioners interested in applying this model of praxis (see Chapters 4-7, and Appendix 1). This can hopefully offer some clarity around what is meant when it is said that practitioners' identities and positionalities vis-à-vis other identities are of worthy consideration to the extent that they fundamentally impact every stage of research under this model.

As will become clearer in the following chapters, Part II of this thesis will be putting the model of praxis in practice to tackle problematic ideological formations (e.g. aversive prejudice -Pearson et al., 2009) amongst a given majoritised group (e.g. White-British, middle-class Conservative voters in the UK) towards Muslim communities in the UK. Generally speaking, the more a CDS practitioner differs in their intersecting identities to these participants, the more of an 'outsider' status they will have *in relation* to these communities. Furthermore, as it may be unlikely that the targets of interventions will be academic themselves (though they could be in interventions aimed at, for example, transforming attitudes around decolonisation in academia in White European scholarly communities), in some way most CDS practitioners coming from academia will have at least one source of outsider identity in these cases.

To make the example more concretely applicable to this thesis, I explicitly disclose my background as a queer, cis-gendered woman of mixed (Uruguayan/Spanish) heritage, born and raised in the Global South, in a country with a history of European colonisation (Uruguay). I am part of the first generation in my family to access university education, am currently enrolled as a doctoral student in a British university and work part-time as a researcher with a racial equality think-tank (the Runnymede Trust).

Vis-à-vis the target participants of this intervention, i.e. white-British Conservative voters, I would position myself as an outsider in quite significant ways. I am not White British, am politically left-leaning, do not have a right to vote in General Elections in this country. These differences could impact, e.g. relations with such participants in the context of face-to-face data collection, and consequently in such a scenario I, and the institutions I am part of, would need to work to minimise risks to my safety. During my time in the UK, I also have had experiences of being targeted and racialised/stereotyped by members of these communities, and yet my epistemological and ethical positions mean that I do not view such attitudes and behaviours as inevitable essential properties of the members of these communities, but rather as imbricated within systems of ideologies and worldviews which I explicitly argue are in need of sustained critique and change.

As concern Muslim communities themselves, to whom the problematic (i.e. Islamophobic) ideological representations targeted in the ensuing prognostic intervention most detrimentally impact, I would position myself as an outsider in the sense that I am not Muslim, nor do I have first-hand experience of Islamophobia. However, having lived experiences of racism/xenophobia in the UK, I position myself in solidarity with such communities, and as a relative insider vis-à-vis these communities, when it comes to the having experiences of minoritisation and discrimination in general (despite some differences in the ways these manifest -see Appendix 1). Generally speaking, CDS practitioners doing this kind of work may be full outsiders if their identities are quite distinct/distant to the minoritised communities they are standing in solidarity with, but may be closer insiders if they share at least one (or multiple) aspects of their identity with these groups.

Finally, positionality with regards to other discourse actors such as institutions with power behind discourse who may pick up this research will vary depending on the kind of engagement I (as the lead researcher in this example) would be involved in, but it has important implications

around the reach and uptake of research insights. Were the results and insights be brought to a media institution, I would be an outsider in quite marked ways, as I am neither part of such institutions nor have any working relations at this time with media producers, editors, or journalists. I do not command the register, nor have the social capital, to bring insights to such actors, yet I may be able to do this with the auspices of my employer (the Runnymede Trust), who do have institutional relations with a number of media outlets.

A more developed self-reflexive exploration of my situatedness with regards to the intervention that forms the second part of this thesis can be found in Appendix 1. I conclude this section by emphasising that in this model of CDS praxis, modesty and caution are just as mandatory, and perhaps more so, as in all CDS work before. A potential challenge of this model in particular is to observe said modesty but in a way in which more profound involvement in proposing and researching discoursal changes can still be advanced in CDS praxis, in line with CDS' ultimate aim of aiding societal transformation. Indeed, modesty does not necessarily mean non-intervention. The belief underpinning this model is that more active and sustained involvement in prognostic critique *can* be engaged *while* still remaining modest and realistic of the position from which this is attempted in CDS. Researching the emancipatory potential of alternative/counter-hegemonic discourses from Stages 1 onwards, and more frequently prioritising the discursive practices of members from marginalised communities as input for prognostic interventions, whilst focusing most urgently on studying and bringing about changes in problematic discursive practices found amongst groups in relative privilege, are some ways in which the current model of praxis can enable CDS practitioners to involve themselves in societal transformation, in a way that enhances its chances of making some contribution to societal change 'for the better'. This, however, is insufficient on its own without researchers' factoring in, and explicitly acknowledging, how their positionality vis-à-vis other discourse actors and the issues under study, before, during and after prognostic interventions take place, bears on the research itself, as well as on the wider context in which this research is embedded. Though far from making this a prescription, I propose that, when embedded in contexts in which hierarchies of dominance based on, e.g. race, gender, sexuality, neurotypicality, nationality, affluence operate as the hegemonic norm, the more researchers are identified within a space of relative privilege in the contexts the research takes place, the more this research will need to be done as secondary *support* rather than seeking to *lead* emancipatory processes (see van Dijk, 1993, p. 253).

In relation to the call to modesty, it is important for CDS practitioners, particularly the more distant they are from lived experiences of marginalisation but also in general, to avoid directly or indirectly claiming to speak for marginalised communities or advocate for these without involving them in some way in their research, and not without transparently positioning themselves in the "grids of power relations" (Sultana, 2007, p. 376) in which their research and identities are embedded. CDS practitioners may make their contribution to discoursal change as more or less "outsider collaborators", pushing for less dominance-driven ideological and socioeconomic orders, and who can contribute their time and work to researching how to transform problematic discursive and related ideological formations within their own communities and contexts (including the academic one). On the other hand, CDS practitioners identified with the communities most detrimentally impacted by the problematic orders under critique could be located as a sort of "insider collaborators/activists" (see Lazar, 2007), though acknowledging the privilege afforded to them due to their institutional ties with universities and academia that may position them as an elite actor within their own communities, and thus place them in an insider-outsider space (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Throughout, as CDS continues to evolve, epistemologies outside of CDS' traditionally White Western European, patriarchally configured centre (Resende, 2024; Sanz Sabido, 2019), will need to be brought to the mainstream foundations of CDS theory and praxis (Lazar, 2007).

Having delineated some preliminary specifications, constraints and caveats around the model of praxis proposed here, it is now possible to proceed by offering an example of how this could be attempted as part of a CDS research project. Part II of this thesis reports on a case study/proof of concept application of how a prognostic intervention was designed and implemented following the model in Section 3.2, as applied to the specific issue of Islamophobic attitudes in the UK and the structural inequalities affecting these communities.

PART II – THE MODEL IN PRACTICE: A PROGNOSTIC CDS INTERVENTION AGAINST ISLAMOPHOBIC PREJUDICE IN THE UK

Part II of this thesis exemplifies how the model of praxis detailed in Part I can be applied to the pursuit of discoursal and ideological change 'for the better' as a basis for socially emancipatory transformation, in line with CDS ethico-normative agenda. In this particular instance, the model was applied in connection with the issue of Islamophobia, particularly Islamophobic prejudices and discourses in the context of present-day UK. The case study reported below thus officiates as one example of implementation of the model of praxis devised as part of this thesis. It encompasses a small-scale application of this model as proof of concept, with a view of eventually informing larger-scale discoursal changes that can help replace hegemonically problematic representations of Muslim communities in the UK. Note, moreover, that the application endeavoured as part of this thesis represents what could be achieved within the constraints of a PhD project, but Chapter 8 (Section 8.3) provides an outline of how a CDS prognostic intervention focused on tackling Islamophobia in the UK could, and would, ideally be engaged, reflecting best practice.

CHAPTER 4: STAGE 0 – ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE UK: SCOPING ITS IDEOLOGICAL, DISCURSIVE AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS

As detailed in Chapter 3, Stage 0 of the model of praxis promoted in this thesis requires scoping a social problem of interest in order to better understand how it manifests and, from there, begin identifying potential lines of action. From a CDS standpoint such a task crucially involves exploring how and what discursive practices and wider patterns of ideological and social organisation constitute it. This then sets the scene for work seeking to drive emancipatory changes (at the discourse, ideological and/or wider societal level) in connection with the problem under scrutiny. Accordingly, this chapter offers a write-up of background research carried out as part of Stage 0 to define the issue of Islamophobia in the UK, i.e. the problem to which the model of praxis is applied.

In the sections that follow I begin by offering a working definition of Islamophobia and discuss its ethical implications in light of the principles which guide the present thesis. Islamophobia is treated as a form of racism, characterised by an ideological component, i.e. Islamophobic prejudices (with prejudices being taken as subcomponents of ideology -see van Dijk, 1998b), and

a social action/behavioural component, i.e. Islamophobic acts of discrimination (including discourse acts), both of which have the effect of normalising exclusionary worldviews and legitimising social inequality in the interests of -typically white, Western European- elites. Upon arriving at a working definition of this phenomenon, I proceed by making note of how Islamophobia manifests in the UK in a number of areas, reviewing existing work on the matter both from within and outside academia[5]. Insights from public attitude surveys, as well as academic research into Islamophobic discourses are brought up and reviewed. This is followed by an overview of sociodemographic data pointing to the existence of unacceptable levels of social inequality experienced by Muslim communities in the UK in terms of working opportunities, health, social esteem/wellbeing, housing, etc. Once an account of the issue of Islamophobia in its attitudinal, discursive and socioeconomic/material dimensions has been attempted, I proceed by providing a selection of research into how Islamophobia has been contested by Muslim collectives and some non-Muslim actors in the UK. It will be noted that, despite the encouraging emancipatory orientations of such discursive practices, little is known about their ideological effects in terms of consolidating more socially emancipatory worldviews and social relations with Muslim communities in the UK for majoritised groups, those upon whom the onus of change is placed in this CDS intervention.

Once the current state of affairs in relation to the problem of Islamophobia in the UK is accounted for, I finalise this chapter by zooming in on the more specific facets of the problem the present CDS work will go on to tackle. It will be noted how Islamophobic attitudes and behaviours are an important part of the current sociopolitical hegemony in the UK despite the existence of important loci of resistance and transformation. Given the key role of discourse in the construction and perpetuation of such hegemonic structures, the present case study will focus on studying how the prevalence of Islamophobic prejudices can be reduced, by experimentally assessing the ideological effects of alternative ways of representing Muslim communities in news texts, and in so doing contribute to our understanding of what may be needed to bring about changes in levels of Islamophobia in the UK (and their eventual eradication).

The work in Stage 0 opens the door for the planning and implementation of Stage 1, in which alternative discourses with potentially higher emancipatory potential are sourced as data of interest, such that assessments of whether and how this potential may be realised in terms of

[5] Though I note that at Stage 0 CDS practitioners may sometimes wish to produce new research and insights on the problem given the dynamic nature of discourse and society.

tackling Islamophobic prejudices can be engaged as part of Stage 2 later on. At Stage 2 prognostic recommendations are made for the enactment of discoursal changes, by means of testing changes in patterns of linguistic instantiation of these discourses, as and when they are deemed as possibly effective to usher in ideological changes towards decreases to Islamophobic prejudice in majoritised communities. These are then implemented and subsequently tested at Stages 3 and 4, following the model of praxis detailed in Chapter 3.

4.1 Muslim Communities and Islamophobia: Towards A Working Definition of Islamophobia

In the UK, Muslim communities constitute the largest religious minority (Office for National Statistics, 2021), accounting for 6.7% of the population in England and Wales. The presence and visibility of Muslim communities in a UK context has a long history (see Ansari, 2018 for a historical review; Hellyer, 2007; Weller & Cheruvallil-Contractor, 2015; Ahmad & Sardar, 2012). Recent data from the 2021 UK census reveals that 71.7% of Muslims in the UK identify as British, with 51% of this subset born within Great Britain, and 32% born in either the Middle East or Asia. The same data reveal a great deal of internal diversity in terms of ethnic/heritage identification across Muslim communities living in the UK. A fifth of the total number of Muslims in the UK (22%) identify as British Pakistani, 8% identify as British Bangladeshi, 3.7% and 3.5% identify as British African and British Indian, respectively. 2% identify as British Arab, with 2.4% identifying as British White. 15.4% identify as being of Pakistani Asian heritage and 6.9% identify as being of Bangladeshi Asian roots, and 3.4% identify as White European. From these figures it is clear that Muslim identities in Britain are connected to a rich variety of heritages and geographies, despite tendencies to present them as a homogenous, single collective (see Section 4.2.2 below). Data on denominations and religious practices[6] amongst British Muslims from a survey by Ehsan and Scott (2024) reveals that close to 70% of Muslims in the UK identify as Sunni, though even within this group there exists some degree of internal diversity and plurality. Almost half of people in this subset identify as non-denominational Sunnis and more than a third of Muslims follow a specific sub-denomination within Sunni Islam (see Ahmed, 2021).

In the UK, across Europe, and in the US, etc., Muslim communities continue to be the targets of widespread prejudice and hostility (Abbas, 2020). Prejudiced attitudes on the basis of a person's

[6] See Saeed (2007) for an overview of different branches and denominations within Islam which considers both religious habits, theologies, cultural and political engagement.

perceived Muslimness[7] and/or their ostensive connection to Islam, as well as corresponding acts of othering, symbolic or material violence and exclusion/discrimination connected to such problematic ideations, are often englobed under the construct of Islamophobia[8] (The Runnymede Trust, 1997; Vakil & Sayyid, 2023). Phenomena like Islamophobia can be viewed through the lens of cultural racism (Awan & Zempi, 2020).

Despite the relative recency of the term (Bleich, 2012), the presence of such problematic patterns of social action and ideological representation of Muslims to which the term refers is not a recent occurrence. Islamophobia has been connected to the mystification and normalisation of centuries-old Orientalist discourses and epistemologies (Said, 1995[1978]; Richardson, 2004; Poole, 2002b) in which Muslims and Islam have been consistently represented as barbaric, exotic and intractably different/inferior to a White, Western-European centre and therefore as suitable targets for colonisation (see Section 4.2.2). Indeed, in much of the White global North and its offshoots, elements like the foreign policies of Western/North Atlantic governments, events such as 9/11 or 7/7, and subsequent incidents of violence perpetrated either against Muslims themselves or by perpetrators identified as Muslim, as well as every day relations with Muslim communities, are often construed and responded to in light of these ontologies (Abbas, 2020).

In recent times, definitions of Islamophobia within the UK context have come under renewed debate and scrutiny (Bhatti, 2021). One example of this can be seen in the former Conservative government's refusal to accept the definition of Islamophobia proposed by a cross-party group on British Muslims in 2019 (BBC, 2019; Hopkins, 2024). Reflecting on the racist nature of Islamophobia, the cross-party group on British Muslims defined it as "rooted in racism and [as]

[7] Throughout this thesis I use the term 'Muslim' in the exact same way it is used in The Runnymede Trust's (1997) report on Islamophobia. There, the term is used to refer to "people who *describe themselves* as Muslims, or who *were born to families where Islam is the household faith*" (p.1). One of the main strengths of this understanding of the group label and the people to whom it is applied is that, when talking about Muslims, it reflects the nuances of Muslim identities relatively well, promoting a less overgeneralising construal of 'Muslims' as a single, undifferentiated whole. This is the case, for example, when the caveat is made that "such definition does not assume that all Muslims are observant in their religious practice to the same extent and in the same ways. On the contrary, it acknowledges that Muslims vary in the ways they interpret and practise their faith and that Islam has non-observant adherents just as do all other religions" (ibid.). The writers then go on to establish a useful analogy with group identities in Northern Ireland "where to refer to someone as Protestant or Catholic is to refer to their identity within a broad cultural tradition and community, not [only or] necessarily to their personal religious beliefs and practice." (ibid.).

[8] Related terms like Muslimphobia, anti-Muslim hate/prejudice are also used (Runnymede Trust, 1997). In this case the decision to use the term Islamophobia to designate the social issue under scrutiny is made partly out of solidarity with the many Muslim civil rights organisations (Runnymede Trust, Aziz Foundation) that use this term as a means to draw awareness to the problem of prejudice and discrimination against Muslims in the UK, and partly because in much of the CDS literature relevant to this thesis, *Islamophobia* is the term used to refer to problematic attitudes and behaviours against Muslim communities rooted in Orientalism (Richardson, 2004; Poole, 2002a).

a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness" (APPG, 2019, p. 50).

Definitions such as the above usually recontextualise that of a 1997 Runnymede Trust's report on Islamophobia and its prevalence in public life, politics, healthcare and education in the UK. There, Islamophobia was broadly defined as anti-Muslim prejudice, i.e. "as fear or dislike of all or most Muslims" (The Runnymede Trust, 1997, p. 1) and of expressions of Muslim identities. The report crucially linked Islamophobia to the practical consequences of such hostility "in unfair discrimination against Muslim individuals and communities, and to the exclusion of Muslims from mainstream political and social affairs" (ibid., p. 4). By conceiving of Islamophobia in this way, this definition emphasised that attitudes towards Muslims and Islam need to be seen, and problematised, in terms of their social effects. In the same vein, the report highlighted that not all expressions of disagreement and divergence from Islamic dogma and related practices were necessarily Islamophobic, but that they could be, and indeed were so in many cases when they were co-opted to dispense and justify hostility and discrimination against Muslim communities in ways that further inequality and violence towards them. Importantly for the purposes of this thesis and the way in which emancipatory discourses are conceived throughout, this definition makes a distinction between 'closed' and 'open' understandings of Islam and Muslim identities. 'Closed' views of Muslims and Islam include, for example, ways of conceiving Islam as monolithic and static, and Muslims as an inherently separate (and often violent, deficient) 'other', echoing Orientalist worldviews. 'Open' views, on the other hand, tend to represent Islam as an internally diverse and dynamic religious belief and cultural system, one which is interdependent, rather than in competition with other world religions and cultures. In setting this distinction, the Runnymede Trust's (1997) definition appears to include a critique of essentialist ideological formations, while also offering ways to transcend them (presumably via the adoption of more 'open' discourses about Islam and Muslim communities).

The impetus to define Islamophobia in relation to its wider societal effects is mirrored in a more recent (2017) definition, released in a follow-up Runnymede report on the subject. In this case the discussion moved on from the question of whether or not critiques of Islam are Islamophobic by default noting that, in the current context, such a discussion is often utilised to side-step accusations of racism and Islamophobia. The concept is instead almost exclusively centred on questions of its human impact, i.e. the more or less pernicious social effects on members of Muslim communities themselves in contexts where inequality persists. This definition also

crucially includes acts of othering as ways in which Islamophobia is perpetuated. The report thus describes Islamophobia as:

> any distinction, exclusion or restriction towards, or preference against, Muslims (or those perceived to be Muslims) that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life. (The Runnymede Trust, 2017, p. 7)

Relative to the 1997 report, this definition appears to be more markedly explicit about the ethico-normative foundations from which attitudes and behaviours can be defined as more or less Islamophobic. A way of reading this later definition is that what makes a behaviour towards Muslims Islamophobic is if it has (or has had) the cumulative effect of undermining the fundamental human rights which apply to all individuals and groups regardless of their identity or origins.

More recently, in a briefing presented to the Office of the UN High Commissioner of Human Rights, and as a way to account for expressions of Islamophobia on digital media, Awan and Zempi (2020) advocated for the following definition, citing the Runnymede Trust's definitions as inspiration:

> A fear, prejudice and hatred of Muslims…individuals that leads to provocation, hostility and intolerance by means of threatening, harassment, abuse, incitement and intimidation of Muslims…both in the online and offline world. [sic] Motivated by institutional, ideological, political and religious hostility that transcends into structural and cultural racism which targets the symbols and markers of a being a Muslim (p.2).

This third definition -perhaps given the current geopolitical climate-, places the spotlight on the most extreme components of Islamophobia (using terms like 'hatred', 'intimidation', and 'abuse'), both offline and online. Like the two definitions before, it also highlights the systemic nature of Islamophobia, as a form of racism that is both a reflection of social orders rife with inequality and power abuse and also a driving force in them.

From the three definitions of Islamophobia reviewed here, a number of elements emerge as key aspects by which I will define the problem of Islamophobia for the purposes of this thesis, and from there, make note of ways to involve oneself as a CDS practitioner in active solidarity against such forms of prejudice and discrimination.

In all three definitions presented above one can distinguish at once a cognitive/affective component (i.e. Islamophobia as a system of problematic attitudes/beliefs towards Muslims), and a behavioural component of Islamophobia (i.e. Islamophobia as a system of problematic behaviours towards Muslim communities). For instance, in the first definition, the use of 'anti-Muslim prejudice' evokes a distinctly attitudinal phenomenon (Eagly & Diekman, 2005) -see below in this subsection). On the other hand, the use of 'discrimination' and 'exclusion' points towards the behavioural manifestations of Islamophobia. The second definition appears to place greater emphasis on the behavioural facets of Islamophobia, noting actions like 'exclusion' and 'restriction', though the attitudinal component of Islamophobia is not lost, as evident in the use of terms such as 'preference against' and 'distinction', which can manifest both as patterns of cognition/affect (e.g. in beliefs of the existence of inherent differences between Muslims and non-Muslims) and as behaviours (e.g. in discursive acts of othering and exclusion -see Section 4.2.2). The third definition mentions 'ideological hostility' (which the authors relate to systems of beliefs and attitudes, not unlike how CDS studies ideology), and includes behavioural terms, many of which are of a discursive nature, inasmuch as they can be seen as speech acts in themselves -such as 'threats' and 'incitement'.

Common to all three definitions is also the implication that individual actors holding Islamophobic attitudes and engaging in such behaviours do not do so in isolation, but that these attitudes and behaviours are part of socially shared systems. This is very much in line with the way CDS would conceive most of the issues it concerns itself with, including Islamophobia. Brought to the specific context of this thesis, Islamophobia will thus be studied, and indeed addressed, as being constituted in socially shared patterns of cognition/affect (ideological in nature) and behaviours (including discursive action) targeting Muslim communities.

All three definitions also highlight the social effects of Islamophobia as a defining feature of the term and, crucially, underscore its links to inequality and oppression. What effectively makes a given set of social attitudes and practices Islamophobic is intimately tied to whether the

attitudes and behaviours under scrutiny ultimately (regardless of whether this is explicitly intended or not) serve to legitimate inequality to the benefit of the actors engaging in such practices and ideations and, particularly for the second and third definitions, usher in, or help justify, more or less severe violations of Muslim communities' fundamental human rights and collective wellbeing. In this sense, all three definitions also appear to stem from a similar set of ethical principles: specifically, commitments to equality and the protection of fundamental human rights, which is in line with the ethical and normative aims specified in Chapter 1.

On the basis of the three definitions reviewed above, for the purposes of this case study I define Islamophobia as:

Aversive[9] attitudes (i.e. prejudices) and behaviours targeting members of Muslim communities or those perceived to be Muslim, which either lead to, or have the purpose and/or the effect of creating and reproducing a status quo of systemic inequality that limits Muslim communities' (and more widely other minoritised groups) access to socially valued resources, and that insulates the privileges enjoyed by the holders of Islamophobic attitudes and behaviours, and/or those groupings of people around whom the lion's share of socially valued resources concentrate in a given society and historical period. Islamophobic attitudes and their corresponding behaviours (discursive and otherwise) are distinctively rooted in essentialist understandings of group identities (such as race, culture, national identity) and of intergroup relations, and are typically held to justify and/or perpetuate inequality and cultural/racial hierarchies through othering, (c)overt discrimination, symbolic and material exclusion/violence.

This understanding of Islamophobia assesses the ethical legitimacy of such beliefs/ideological representations and behaviours/social actions not in light of the ostensive intentionality of the actors engaging in them, but in light of their more or less harmful social effects. This necessitates giving due consideration to the degree to which such prejudices and actions are subservient to a social order normalising domination and power abuse, ultimately in the interests of actors at the

[9] Aversive typically means hostile, but it can also account for seemingly more subtle, and even superficially 'positive' or ambivalent prejudices (such as when Muslims are depicted as entrepreneurial, but this is brought up mostly in contexts where they are being valued ultimately by their contributions to 'Our' British society). In using this classifier I have taken inspiration from the concept of 'aversive racism' (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004), which is used in social psychology to account for the fuller, and wide-ranging, spectrum of prejudiced attitudes that include, but go beyond, overt hostility and which also manifest in persistent avoidance and othering of an outgroup. In turn, prejudiced attitudes are defined here as involving the attribution of evaluative traits and generalised evaluative impressions towards a group or member of a group as if these traits were intrinsically defining properties of these groups and their members in ways that often discount the highly contextual (and ideologically mediated) nature of such evaluations.

top of racial/cultural hierarchies and in direct contravention of the ethical principles established in Chapter 1[10].

Finally, when defining and making inroads into tackling Islamophobia, it is important to remember that such problematic forms of ideological representation and social action do not affect all members of the Muslim community in the same way. For example (and see Section 4.2 below) in the UK Muslim women tend to be targeted on multiple levels (for being Muslim and women) and these complexities need to be acknowledged when CDS practitioners involve themselves in challenging Islamophobic discourses and other forms of problematic social action. This point is raised in a 2024 report by the Aziz Foundation focusing on strategies to tackle Islamophobia, which reminds policy makers and practitioners that "instead of understanding Islamophobia as a universalised, unvariegated social force impacting all Muslims in the same way, we must recognise…disparate experiences and agency." (p. 11)

The following section is focused on surveying the extent to which Islamophobia prevails in the context of the UK, and the mounting evidence of the different, and deepening, inequalities facing different sectors of Muslim communities in the UK, which can be connected to systemic Islamophobia (and racism more widely). Upon providing this background, I move on to delineating the facets of the problem that I will seek to tackle following the model of praxis in Chapter 3.

4.2 Islamophobia in the UK: Evidence from Public Surveys, Media and Political Discourses, and Sociodemographic Data

The ensuing overview of manifestations of Islamophobia in the UK is not meant to be flawlessly representative of the diversity of lived experiences of Muslim communities, especially when noting the many layers of intersecting Muslim identities at play (see Mirza, 2019) and the differences in experiences of inequality and racism across different sectors of UK Muslim communities themselves (Moll, 2007). However, it is hoped that the evidence reviewed at this stage will contribute to paint a fuller picture of the problem overall, so that potential ways forward based on a principle of prognostic interventionism may be identified and one may be able to

[10] It is important to note that in the face of this problem not everyone may be (or desire to be) aware they hold some degree of Islamophobic beliefs and worldviews, and many such ideations are often normalised as harmless 'common-sense', and inform behaviours at multiple levels: individual, group and systems level (such as in the workings of institutions).

propose what, from a CDS standpoint, could be done to tackle this issue. Scoping the issue in this way may also hopefully further clarify why/how CDS practitioners would consider taking a stance of more active solidarity in identifying and studying potential ways by which changes away from the normalisation of Islamophobic attitudes and practices (discursive and otherwise) may be attempted.

4.2.1 Islamophobic Attitudes in the UK

Evidence of Islamophobic attitudes in the UK non-Muslim public is observable from a wide range of survey data. A (2015) YouGov online poll reported that 40% of non-Muslims in Britain exhibited negative feelings towards Muslim communities compared to 22% who declared holding positive sentiments. More recently, in a YouGov (2019b) poll of attitudes towards different religious groups, the number of people reporting 'favourable feelings' towards Islam stood at 13% (with 32% reporting fairly or very unfavourable attitudes), compared to a 39% holding positive attitudes towards Christianity (with 13% reporting unfavourable attitudes towards this religion). In the same year, a Hope Not Hate (2019) survey found that 35% of respondents in believed in conspiracy theories about the existence of Sharia no-go zones.

It is important to remember at this stage that the incidence of people holding problematic views about Muslim communities such as the ones summarised here may well be higher than those reported, given that social norms proscribing negative prejudices and favouritisms may make respondents less presently aware of, or indeed less willing to report, their own aversive views (Blair et al., 2015). Indeed, markedly more hostile views are often observed when respondents are not asked to report on whether they feel negatively or positively towards Muslim communities explicitly, but instead are asked their views on related subjects, such as whether the act of wearing face coverings by Muslim women should be restricted. In a 2018 Pew survey, 72% of UK respondents said they supported restrictions on women wearing the veil, a year after the Manchester Arena attack (Pew Research Center, 2018) despite the fact that this incident was planned and carried out by a male perpetrator. Meanwhile, 47% of people in the same dataset said they would not be willing to accept Muslims as members of their family, second only to respondents from Italy (ibid.).

In the UK, aversive attitudes towards Muslim communities appear to be sustained across time. A 2022 report by Hope Not Hate found that 43% of people reported that terror attacks in the UK

have made them more suspicious of Muslims (despite the fact that terror attacks are also committed by far-right perpetrators -Hope Not Hate, 2022). A study by Jones and Unsworth in the same year (2022) found Muslims were the second least-liked group in the UK behind Gypsy and Irish Traveller communities, who still remain one of the most demonised groups in the UK. A quarter of the respondents in their sample (25.9%) reported holding negative views (9.9% held 'very negative' views) about Muslim communities. Meanwhile, ideas of a blanket ban on 'Muslim immigration' to the UK found up to 4-7% more support (18%) than for other religious groups like Christians (14%), Jewish (12%) and Sikh (11%).

In their study, Jones and Unsworth (2022) also surveyed attitudes and beliefs on Islam as a religion and a way of life. At the beginning of the survey, the authors included an open question around world religions and whether respondents believed these had had a negative impact on society. Islam was mentioned as having 'the worst impact' by 64% of participants who responded to this question (a subsample of 20% of the total survey population). Misperceptions around Islam were apparent in the fact that participants were three times more likely to claim Islam demands totally literalistic understandings of the Q'uran, compared to other religions. Interestingly, despite being more likely to believe inaccurate and overgeneralising statements about Islam (and ignoring the internal diversity of views, patterns of religious worshipping and denominations within Islam), 59.3% of respondents claimed they were confident in their judgments about Islamic scripture.

In a recent attitude survey report following the events of 7th October 2023 in Palestine and Israel, Malik (2024) underscored the worrying normalisation of these views:

> Anti-Muslim hatred in the UK has been described as passing the 'dinner-table test', whereby its presence has become normalised and unchallenged within large swathes of society…Polling over the last few years has consistently found a third of the population maintain negative attitudes towards Muslims. (p.4)

In the same report it was noted that between January 2022 and July 2024 perceptions of Islam being a threat to the 'British way of life' increased by 14%, from 30% to 44%, with the most marked increase coming after the events of 7th of October 2023 in Palestine and Israel.

Overall, the above figures represent participants' views collated across a total sample of non-Muslim respondents (typically members of the White-British public). Many of these problematic attitudes are even more evident in older generations, and are especially insidious (but crucially not unique) amongst men and right-leaning voters.

For example, the 2019 report by Hope Not Hate cited above also revealed that 44% of voters of the (up until recently) ruling Conservative Party considered Islam to be posing a threat to the 'British' way of life (revealing the presence of assumptions that Islam is antithetical to, and therefore not part of, British identity). 50% of people who believed there were areas in the UK refusing entry to non-Muslims were over 65 years of age. A British Social Attitudes survey in the same year revealed that more than a fifth of people aged 55 and over held negative views of Muslim communities, compared to over a tenth of respondents aged 18-34 (NatCen, 2019).

Jones and Unsworth (2022) cited above unveiled a similar trend, noting that "when asked their views about Muslims, or most other ethnic or religious minority groups, older people, men, working-class people and Conservative and Leave voters are consistently less likely to hold positive views and more likely to hold negative views" (p.8).

Focusing on age specifically, their results indicated that 35.5% of over-65s have a negative view of Muslims, in comparison with 16.5% of 18-24s (ibid.). In the same report, they find that 57.3% of Conservative voters in their sample believed Islam posed a threat to the 'British' way of life, a higher proportion than in the 2019 study cited above. When considering the issue of conspiracy theories around Sharia no-go areas, the same report highlighted that "the proportion of older people, Conservative voters and Leave voters accepting the conspiracy theory is nearly three times higher than it is for younger people, Labour voters and Remain voters" (ibid., p. 28). Misconceptions around Islam as a religion and way of life appeared to be more prevalent in ABC1 occupational groups than C2DE (23.2% and 18.4% respectively). C2DE respondents were in turn more likely to support blanket bans on 'Muslim immigration' (reported as statistically significant).

Also zooming in on intersectional patterns pertaining to problematic beliefs and attitudes towards Muslim communities, Malik (2024) noted that in 2023, the likelihood of respondents viewing Islam as a threat to 'British way of life' was four times higher in people aged 65+ than in 18-24 year olds. Following the events of 7th October, over 41% of 65+ respondents reported

either remaining hostile to British Muslims or reported becoming more hostile, compared to 44% who reported remaining neutral, 15% continuing to hold positive attitudes and less than 2% reporting increased positive sentiments towards British Muslims. Apart from these numbers clustering around age, there were differences in the prevalence of aversive anti-Muslim attitudes and beliefs depending on the gender identities of respondents. More than a third of men across the sample (34%) believed Islam to be a threat to 'the British way of life' compared to 25% of women.

Against this backdrop of problematic social attitudes towards Muslim communities, it is important to note the fact that, for the most part, large sectors of the non-Muslim population do not have frequent contact with Muslim communities, let alone much cross-group intimacy (e.g. friendships, family and affective relations), the absence of which is intrinsically connected with the perpetuation of prejudice and discrimination. Indeed, in 2018 a 68% of non-Muslim people reported having limited knowledge about Islam (Ipsos, 2018) and 91% of over 65s and 87% of 50-64 year olds reported never having been inside a mosque (YouGov, 2018). An earlier 2010 survey found that 57% of members of Muslim communities interviewed by YouGov indicated having none or only a few non-Muslim friends. Moreover, an analysis of the 2011 census showed that only 4% of White British respondents were in an inter-ethnic relationship (Office for National Statistics, 2011). Though the number of inter-ethnic friendships or family relations with members of Muslim communities were not reported specifically, this very small number of romantic relations is suggestive of a considerable lack of first-hand close contact between Muslim communities and majority White-British non-Muslims.

4.2.2 Islamophobia in Media and Political Discourse

Whilst the evidence above points to the widespread and normalised presence of deeply problematic attitudes towards Muslim communities in the UK public, it is important to go back to the point that such attitudes are not isolated phenomena, nor do they occur in a vacuum. In the UK, prejudiced attitudes and acts of discrimination against Muslims are also common in the news media (Said, 1997; Poole, 2002a; Richardson, 2001; Richardson, 2004; Richardson, 2009; Moore et al., 2008; Baker et al., 2013) and the realm of British politics (Abbas, 2020). The degree and presence of Islamophobic ideations in such contexts is particularly worrying when one considers that at least 55% of non-Muslims surveyed by ComRes in the UK reported relying on the media for knowledge about Muslim collectives (ComRes, 2016). Given the widespread

influence of media and political discourses on public attitudes and perceptions, no review of the problem of Islamophobia would be complete without an understanding of how media and political leaders contribute to this problem.

The following paragraphs review research both within and outside CDS into Islamophobic discourses in the UK. In essence, the aim of this subsection is to account for how Islamophobia has been found to be constructed/perpetuated by and in media and political discourse, not only to present one major facet of the problem of Islamophobia in the UK and how it manifests, but as a means to inform the task of sourcing alternative discourses to potentially replace problematic discursive representations of Muslims from Stage 1 onwards.

In the UK, early evidence of Islamophobic discourses in media outlets is reported in detail in Elizabeth Poole's (2002) study of British print news representations of Muslims and Islam. Overall, Poole's analysis revealed widespread patterns of derogatory, essentialising representations of Islam as foreign, outdated and primitive, and as a threat to self-appointed 'Western' values such as progressiveness and democracy. A central argument of Poole (2002) is that such patterns can be seen as instantiations of Orientalist discourses, which in the UK often manifest in Islamophobia. For example, her quantitative content analysis revealed that most stories followed converging frames of Islam as an "undifferentiated global aggressor" (p. 250) in ways subservient to US foreign policies, and most frequently focused on covering Muslims and Islam outside of the UK, possibly deepening associations of Islam and Muslims as 'foreign'. Though most of the coverage was of Islam and Muslims abroad, on some occasions, these perspectives did appear to be transposed to British Islam and British Muslims themselves. Articles covering the latter largely represented these communities and their lived experiences in a reductive fashion, with little opportunities for Muslims to represent themselves (see also: Ahmed, 2009) and where "Islam is [construed as] static and…Muslims are resistant to progress, engage in antiquated and repressive practices that abuse human rights, and often use their religion to manipulative ends" (ibid.). Across the data, Orientalist representations appeared to be hegemonic and relatively minor spaces for alternative construals of Islam were identified, with conservative coverages dominating the reporting space.

Such problematic and reductive modes of representation were also found reflected by Poole (2002) as part of a more detailed qualitative content analysis of two tabloids and two broadsheets. Amongst her most notable findings was the observation that stories in these

newspapers tended to be "relatively consistent in their application of relevant aspects of the Orientalist discourse" (p. 248), where the greater the distance of events from a UK-centric node, the more essentialist attributions about what were viewed as defining properties of Islam and Muslims were reinforced. Such representations appeared to cover the whole breadth of the political spectrum in the UK, albeit in different ways depending on the newspaper. When British Islam in particular was covered, outlets like *The Guardian* (with its distinct secularist position) contributed to representations of Islamic religious and cultural practices as backward and barbaric despite offering some challenges to widely held derogatory views about other minorities. Meanwhile, *The Sun* presented British Muslims as objects of ridicule and as excluded from 'Britishness'. This was often supplemented by and subservient to patterns of representation in which the dominant majority was presumed to be superior in terms of its values and practices, in which principles of equality and human rights are touted as the preserve of 'Britain' and the 'West'.

Crucially, Poole (2002) also included a reception study of three focus groups: Muslims, non-Muslim participants who are in frequent contact with Muslims and non-Muslims with no contact with members of the Muslim community. This third pillar of her analysis focuses on exploring how the frames of representation contained in a sample of texts from her larger dataset bore on audiences' construals of Islam and British Muslims more specifically. For the third group (those with little to no direct contact with Muslim communities), evidence was found indicating the reproduction of the interpretive frames about both Islam and Muslims found in the media. For the second group (those in contact), this was found mostly for the case of Islam "even when contrary evidence existed in the realm of [their] personal experience" (p. 241), though less so for Muslims as a group of people. On these findings, and when envisioning avenues for the contestation and dismantling of such landscapes of problematic representation, she notes that though

> cultural or religious proximity is important for decoding culturally encoded texts [reproducing problematic hegemonies]…rather than simply knowing others, it is crucial that the contact includes knowing about and understanding complex identities and being able to recognize and deconstruct one's own cultural values in relation to others (Poole, 2002a, p. 241; see also: Mansouri & Vergani, 2018, pp.; see also Chapter 5, this thesis)

The presence of very similar patterns was reported shortly after in Richardson (2004), whereby the discursive practices of British broadsheets' concerning representations of Islam and Muslim communities, individuals and institutions are critiqued. Drawing from analytical categories of the Discourse-Historical Approach in CDS, Richardson (2004) links patterns of discursive representation to their linguistic instantiations (across e.g. referential, predicational, argumentative strategies -Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) and surveys wider journalistic practices making note of the socioeconomic, racial and political hegemonies and interests in which they emerge.

Richardson's (2004) analysis provides ample evidence of the manifestation of Islamophobia across all three levels of discourse analysis (linguistic, ideological and social). Van Dijk's Ideological Square is brought in to keep tabs on the different ways in which racism against Muslims, via strategies of division and rejection (Martin-Rojo, 1995), as well as exaltation of the Self (defined according to the interests of Western elites), is coded in the data across different key events at the time. In terms of negative-Other representation, recurrent topoi identified include constructions of Muslims as inherently linked to extremism, Muslim countries as military threats, British Muslims in positions of leadership as suspect threats to democracy, and Muslim men as a menace to women and notions of gender equality appropriated by Western voices, all reflective of Orientalist epistemologies. On the other hand, Richardson (2004) showcases how representations of the Self as a civilising influence flow into manichean (Good vs Evil) distinctions of political actors and dovetail transitory extensions to the identity of 'We' in specific cases (e.g. Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories) to occasionally include actors which in other contexts would be construed as 'foreign Others', provided these actors align with 'Our' interests.

Whilst Poole (2002) and Richardson (2004) covered datasets prior to 9/11, Poole (2011) identifies several areas of continuity in such patterns of reporting post 9/11. These discourses have also been flagged in a number of studies employing corpus-based discourse analysis methods, allowing for the analysis of larger datasets. For example, Baker et al. (2013) report that, across an eleven-year period, the term 'Muslim' was frequently used in constructing Muslim communities as a homogeneous, monolithic whole (p. 275) and as agents or enablers of social conflict and extremism across different print media outlets. Al-Hejin (2012) notes a similar pattern for the case of representations of Muslim women in the BBC news portal throughout a period of 6 years (see also: Al-Hejin, 2015).

For the case of UK televised news, Flood et al. (2012) analysed an assortment of broadcasts by BBC News at 10 between 2006-2008 about Islam and Muslim communities, finding that 17% of reports were dedicated to Islam alone, and that the US and allies' occupation of Iraq, terrorism, conflict in Afghanistan and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict accounted for over 72.4% of the most frequent topics in the sample. Again, the results were suggestive of a pattern of association between Islam and conflict. In their qualitative analysis of these patterns, the authors point out that the overarching focus on so-called 'national security', with few alternative voices presented to challenge major state policy inclinations in the BBC, contributed to representations of relations with Muslim communities within the UK and the world as marked by tension and negativity, where Muslim communities were presented as agents of threat, in ways that can be seen as subservient to, and at the same time propping up, broader discourses of securitisation (Broecker, 2022).

More recent analysis of British news media representations of Muslims and Islam have flagged similar trends (Clarke et al., 2021; Piela, 2021; Sindoni, 2018; Poole & Williamson, 2023), showing that Orientalist/Islamophobic discourses persist, with only some changes in the registers and lexicogrammatical forms by which they are linguistically instantiated (Baker & McEnery, 2019). Such patterns of representation are also found in other forms of media, such as TV programs shown and/or produced in the UK (Khan et al., 2022), social media (Awan, 2016; Kuperberg, 2021), and consumer campaigns (Jafari & Saleh, 2024). In multiple cases, discourses of Islamophobia intersect with heterosexist ones (Piela, 2021; Khokhar, 2022). For example, Muslim women are still being discursively constructed as subdued, with their oppression presented as an inherent property of their faith/culture rather than (when it does present itself) as linked to patriarchal ideologies more generally, with these representations being deployed in the service of exaltation of the (typically White non-Muslim) ingroup (Chakraborti & Zempi, 2012; Zempi, 2020).

Alongside the discursive practices of media institutions, problematic discourses targeting Muslims and their cultural practices are also espoused by many UK political leaders. Montiel-McCann's (2024) study on Boris Johnson's Islamophobic representations of women wearing the Burqa in The Telegraph underscores the complicity between media outlets and prominent mainstream politicians. In recent times, acts of protest calling for an end to Israel's continued attacks and human rights violations on Palestinians were framed as 'hate marches' by former

Home Secretary Suella Braverman (Syal et al., 2023). Such patterns of derogation are not limited to Conservative figures. Speeches of cabinet ministers of New Labour, itself responsible for the introduction of the *Prevent* 'anti-radicalisation' program , were also found to reproduce generalisations, stereotypes and problematic assimilationist discourses about Muslims by Moosavi (2015). The presence of such discourses in leading figures of the two main British political parties appears to be in a mutually sustaining relationship with that of (now mainstreamed) figures like Nigel Farage, who can often be found intermingling anti-Immigrant racist narratives with Islamophobic discourses to amplify the vilification of immigrants (particularly from countries with Muslim populations) and/or British Muslims alike (see Durrheim et al., 2018; Cap, 2017; Hart & Winter, 2022).

4.2.3 Islamophobia and Social Inequality: A Snapshot of an Unacceptable Status Quo

Muslim communities in the UK are not only disproportionately targeted in the discourses and ideological formations of vast sectors of elite and non-Muslim populations. This problematic status quo is, unsurprisingly if one considers the mutually-sustaining relationship between discourse, ideology and social power, also evident in a range of socioeconomic markers. On the whole, UK Muslims are particularly disadvantaged in areas such as the labour market, housing and healthcare (see Muslim Council of Britain, 2024), compared to non-Muslim White-British groups. They are moreover altogether more likely than any other religious group to be the targets of hate crimes, many of which are most frequently carried out against Muslim women in particular (Copsey et al., 2013; TellMama, 2024).

In 2016, a BBC investigation of recruitment practices found that job seekers with an ostensively 'Muslim name' were three times less likely to be invited for an interview than those with a non-Muslim 'English' name (Adesina & Marocico, 2017). These findings are in line with the lived experiences of Muslim job seekers themselves. Both this issue, and its psychological impact, were in fact explicitly flagged by young Muslims (aged between 18 and 35 years old) in a structured focus group study completed by the Social Mobility Commission, an independent advisory body to the UK government (Social Mobility Commission, 2017). Today, Bangladeshi and Pakistani people (92% of whom identify as Muslim -see Muslim Council of Britain, 2024) are three times more likely to be unemployed than their White counterparts (9% compared to 3% for White people) according to Government figures (Office for National Statistics, 2024). When distinguishing by (binary) gender, the number rises to 11% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women

in unemployment, compared to 7% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi men, and 3% of White women. In 2017, only 1 in 5 Muslim people had a full-time job, compared to over 1 in 3 of the total population, suggesting that job insecurity may be higher for Muslim communities than the average population.

Attempts to explain disparities in the labour market (sometimes referred as a "Muslim penalty") as rooted in the 'sociocultural attitudes' of Muslims towards employment, including attributions made by proponents of these explanations around Muslim people's adherence to traditional gender/family roles and their impact on (un)employment, have been challenged in a study by Sweida-Metwally (2022). Drawing on multi-level logistic regression modelling of the UK Household Longitudinal Study, the study found that "considerable penalties remain for Muslims even after adjusting for so-called 'sociocultural attitudes', challenging the assumption that value orientations offer a suitable explanation for the Muslim penalty" (p. 359). More generally, the study presented substantial evidence of a "British labour market hierarchized by colour (ethnicity) and religion (culture)" (ibid.).

Muslim communities in the UK also face disparities when it comes to housing. Census data aggregated by the Muslim Council of Britain revealed that 40% of Muslims lived in deprived areas of the UK, compared to 20% in the overall population, and 26.9% lived in crowded or inadequate housing, the highest of any group when clustered by religious affiliation (Muslim Council of Britain, 2024). Muslims also appear to face added barriers to secure housing in the private rental sector (Siddique & Duncan, 2018).

Health outcomes are also disproportionately less positive for Muslims in the UK. The proportion of Muslim people aged 65 years and over with self-declared ill-health is, and has remained since 2001, higher than the total population (Muslim Council of Britain, 2024). This rises to twice as high amongst women (ibid.), in ways that compound the already existing health inequalities in the UK between women and men more generally (Winchester, 2021). It is well documented that lived experiences of discrimination and exclusion have a negative impact on health outcomes and a person's sense of wellbeing (Williams et al., 2003; Stopforth et al., 2022; Paradies et al., 2015), and that this can also intensify disengagement with institutions due to a lack of sense of belonging and visibility (Elsayed, 2023). In the first seven months of the COVID pandemic, Muslim communities had the highest mortality rates amongst any religious group in the UK, and Bangladeshi and Pakistani men had some of the highest mortality rates by ethnicity/nationality

between the first wave in 2020 and the ascent of the Delta variant in 2021 (Office for National Statistics, 2023).

Hate crime statistics in the UK also reflect the existence of widespread Islamophobic attitudes and discrimination. Religious hate-crimes tend to be consistently higher for Muslim people in England and Wales than for any other religious group, as per official Home Office figures. As of March 2023, 39% of hate crimes recorded on the basis of the protected characteristic of religion had Muslims as the target[11]. Incidents of Islamophobic violence rose by 395% in the week after Boris Johnson referred to Muslim women wearing the burqa as "letterboxes" and "bank robbers" in a Telegraph article (TellMama, 2019), and 692% the week after the Christchurch terrorist attack in New Zealand (TellMama, 2020) which was livestreamed by its perpetrator. It would be hard to deny that in both these distinctly Islamophobic events discursive actions are a major constitutive component, tapping into deep-seated veins of Islamophobic sentiment, and galvanising further acts of violence (many of which are constituted in communicative acts, such as verbal harassment). Meanwhile, Muslim communities appear to be overrepresented in discussions of terrorism and counter-terrorism policies and policing, as can be seen for example in *Prevent* referral figures within the healthcare sector (Amnesty International, 2023), again reflective of deep-seated Orientalist stereotypes about Islam and Muslims being suspect and dangerous.

4.3 Hope on the Horizon? How Islamophobia is Being Challenged – Some Examples of Counter-Islamophobic and Alternative Discursive Practices in the UK

Compared to the body of research denouncing the prevalence of Islamophobic discourses in the UK, research into alternative and counter-discursive practices against Islamophobia appears to be relatively rare. This is perhaps unsurprising (though still not ideal) noting that more-or-less deeply Islamophobic discourses and ideologies are, as can be gathered from the evidence presented above, hegemonic 'common-sense' in UK settings and the study of the discursive practices of Muslim communities themselves, and/or those in solidarity, appears to attract less interest.

[11] These figures are likely to be much higher if one considers that many hate crimes often go unreported to the relevant authorities .

Given the nature of the present case study, and for reasons of scope -not least the fact that the current work is ultimately geared towards changes at the level of discursive practice- I will limit myself to scoping existing pockets of resistance and change away from Islamophobia via some form of discursively-constituted action. For efforts to challenge Islamophobia in policy-making and via the work of third sector organisations not reported in academia, I direct readers to the work of organisations such as The Runnymede Trust, the Aziz Foundation, and the Muslim Council of Britain, though it should be noted that many of these lines of action, despite not being studied or devised in their discursive dimensions as such, do in some way deal with discourse practices as a central component. This can be seen, for example, in the Runnymede Trust's reports campaigning for Islamophobia to be recognised as a term, so that it may be challenged, whilst offering possibilities for alternative (discursive) representations in 'open' views of Islam.

Within the domain of discourse studies, there exist a small but notable number of examples of research into the workings of counter-Islamophobic discursive action. While mainstream news media and political discourses in the UK appear to be dominated by Orientalist/Islamophobic patterns of representation, counter-Islamophobic and alternative representations of Muslim communities have been identified for example, in social media, non-mainstream Muslim media and in the realm of musical expression and production.

A recent case of research investigating potential challenges to Islamophobia is Poole et al., (2023) in which representations of Islam and Muslim communities on Twitter are examined and different kinds of discursive acts of solidarity are identified and discussed. Data are collected around the times of three important 'trigger' events, namely: the 2017 Christchurch Mosque attacks; Brexit around the 2019 General Election and the so-called 'Brexit Day' in January 2020; and the COVID-19 pandemic around Eid 2020 and the annual gathering of a Sunni Islam movement in India. On the basis of these data, Poole et al. (2023) apply a critical data studies approach (Dalton et al., 2016), combining quantitative and qualitative content analyses, in order to tease out the nuances and complexities of how solidarity for Muslim communities is enacted in the Twittersphere and the potential of such expressions to sustain socially productive counter-narratives over time. For their Brexit dataset (the one most readily placeable in a UK context), Poole et al. (2023) found that expressions of solidarity appeared more prevalent than anti-Muslim expressions during the period around the GE2019. Their qualitative examination revealed, however, that "tweets were largely 'clicktivist' reactions to [racist acts from] the ruling Conservative party, or individual responses that leveraged allegations of Islamophobia to

support wider criticisms of anti-immigration right-wing movements" (p. 5). Such acts are in keeping with what Poole et al. (2023) call 'expedient' solidarity, a more superficial form of solidarity in which, for their specific data, critiques of Islamophobia appear as a means for left-leaning, anti-Brexit voices to advocate for anti-conservative politics. And yet despite this predominantly 'clicktivist' solidarity engaged by (largely non-Muslim) anti-Brexit voices, Poole et al. (2023) argue that in a context in which Islamophobic and White-supremacist right-wing discourses operated as key aspects of Brexit campaigning (Evolvi, 2019), these tweets could still be seen as representative of one of the defining features of anti-Brexit political action, wherein a "sustained contestation of Islamophobia…" becomes an integral part of "counter-hegemonic articulations of…left-wing values" (p. 7) in this context.

The role of Muslim communities themselves in countering Islamophobic tropes around the COVID-19 response and their widespread scapegoating as 'super-spreaders' are studied by Ouassini et al. (2022). In this article, Ouassini et al. observe that counter-Islamophobic discourses on Twitter are constituted in three ways. One is via the recontextualisation of discourses that place Islamic jurisprudence and ethics as aligned rather than opposed to state-sanctioned guidelines of social distancing, travel restrictions, and quarantining. For example, in the dataset users frequently cited Mohameddan maxims used in the past to urge people not travel into a place of an outbreak, or not leave it if they are already there. Through the recontextualisation of such speech acts, a parallelism of aims and values between Islamic social mores and current public health and wellbeing guidelines could be established. The second way in which Ouassini et al., (2022) find Muslim users countering Orientalist tropes is by highlighting the efforts of Muslim communities and key workers and stressing collective wellbeing commitments to wider society. This was done on Twitter via the dissemination of messages by authority figures from the practising Muslim community on "the Islamic legal principle that protecting one's community from harm is more valuable in the eyes of God than a mere religious ritual" (p. 202), in which, for instance Ramadan requirements were relaxed for the case of key workers so they could aid in the collective efforts against the virus. The third way in which Islamophobic discourses in the context of COVID-19 are contested by Muslim communities is by means of direct addresses to Muslims to highlight their individual responsibility to their community, and by engaging speech acts of censorship towards individuals who, e.g. engaged in hoarding of essential goods.

Further examples of patterns of contestation of Islamophobic discourses are collected in a study by Downing and Dron (2020) in the context of the 2017 Grenfell fire. Downing & Dron's dataset consists of a subset of the 5% most influential tweets in the 96 hours after the fire in which the lexemes 'Grenfell' and 'Muslims' were mentioned. This study combined (thematic) discourse analytical and social-network analysis methods to articulate the synergies between social media and mainstream news media content, and how this content is spread and engaged with. It moreover sought to assess the overall evaluative slant of the narratives that had the widest reach. In general Downing and Dron found that, despite attempts at spreading fake-news and heightened attention being given to news stories and tweets (e.g. from *The Telegraph* and far-right site *InfoWars*) perpetuating associations between Muslims and terrorism and unverified reports that Muslims celebrated the disaster, the vast majority of the most influential constructions of the role of Muslim communities in the aftermath of Grenfell were positive, highlighting the actions of Muslims in providing aid to the victims of the fire, even as the state response lagged behind, and contrasting their actions with far-right violence against mosques. Interestingly, some of the most influential tweets were from mainstream news media outlets, in multimedia posts depicting how Muslims observing Suhoor during Ramadan were awake at the time the fire started and were thus able to come to the aid of Grenfell residents even before the fire services, while far-right groups marched outside of Mosques. The interpretive framework used by Downing & Dron (2020) relates these constructions to possibilities for destabilising essentialist Orientalist portrayals of Muslim identities in Britain (which they call "blurring the boundaries" -p. 452), even if only in the immediate aftermath of the fire (cf. Poole et al., 2023). The authors quote Alba (2005) in noting how, in order to blur the ontological Us/Them boundaries drawn up by Orientalist (and other racist) epistemologies, "individuals [need to be] seen as simultaneously members of groups on multiple sides of the boundary" (Alba, 2005, p. 25 in Downing & Dron, 2020). In their dataset this happens when actors are simultaneously identified in light of their identities as members of the Muslim community, and also part of the humanitarian relief effort during one of the most significant national disasters in British living memory. Downing & Dron (2020) importantly warn that such portrayals may also still be used to cement dichotomies between 'good' and 'bad' Muslims, in which it is presupposed that religious identity can be morally evaluated as 'good' or 'bad' such that assessments of the moral fibre of people are partly defined by their assumed religious/cultural identity, unless rationales which uncritically support such Manichean distinctions are more directly contested.

Another source of counter-Islamophobic, counter-Orientalist representations comes from young Muslims' music production practices as studied by Morris (2016). In opposition to monolithic and simplistic understandings of cultural identity, Morris engages with the challenges and opportunities for culturally constructing social identities in a hybrid and nuanced way, by exploring the work of contemporary British Muslim musicians in which traces of currently hegemonic British cultural expressions are found next to minoritised, alternative ones. This, according to Morris, gives rise to

> a new and distinctive wave of cultural producers…an emergent generation, deeply thoughtful and religious, as well as rooted in the intricacies and dynamics of Britain's contemporary social and cultural landscape (n.p.).

Such forms of musical/vocal expression (e.g. *nasheeds*, hip-hop, *Qawwali* singing, pop music, soul, jazz) are of note because they arguably go beyond constituting mere mixes of orthogonally distinct cultural manifestations, such that an emergent British Muslim identity, different from the sum of its parts, obtains from this process, which by its very existence could challenge ideas of culture as a fixed, natural kind, and hegemonic White Britishness as the central cultural default. Such practices can be interpreted as presenting important challenges to essentialising and reductionist cultural assimilationist imperatives, by enabling both differences and similarities in hegemonic and alternate expressions of social identity and practices to be found and used for culturally productive purposes.

Opportunities to challenge similarly monolithic constructions of British Muslimness by non-Muslims and Muslims themselves are discussed by Moll (2007). This paper draws data from 12 issues of two Muslim-run magazines in the UK (*emel* and *Q-News*) with a largely 'liberal' slant, aimed at young (18-35), largely middle-class British Muslim professionals with higher education. The magazines are selected as case studies given that they engage in constructions of *British* Muslims explicitly, as it is noted that other Muslim-run media outlets either promote an assimilationist perspective, or one in which Britishness and Muslimness are presented as inherently irreconcilable (p. 10), which presumably replicates hegemonic views of Britishness as associated with a culturally essentialist view of Whiteness, and Muslimness as separate from Britishness. Across the data, six themes (which could also be viewed as macro-level argumentative propositions) are identified by Moll (2007), and interpreted as constitutive of a larger 'enculturation' ideology, and simultaneously as a challenge to purely assimilationist or

strictly separatist worldviews. These thematic cores represent that: 1) Muslims are victims of racism, contrastingly to Orientalist notions of Muslims as an inherent aggressor, and Islamophobia should be duly acknowledged and attended to as an important issue; 2) moderate Islam is the 'real' Islam in the views of text producers and many of the voices and perspectives included in the texts analysed; 3) Islam and the West are in fact compatible (a type of discourse also found by Downing & Dron, 2020 reviewed above); 4) British Muslims have a duty to assert their belonging through participation in the mainstream; 5) British Muslim identity is uniquely 'new' [in 2007, when the study was published] and part of Western Islam; and 6) Muslims in the West have a 'prophetic' role to play by working towards the recognition of Muslim identities and Islam as also constitutive of the West (much as Christianity is). One of the conclusions of Moll's analysis was that the media analysed "construct an identity that simultaneously redefines conceptions of the West and Islam, all the while embracing both". According to Moll (2007) this potentially shows how "there are multiple ways of being Western, being Muslim" (n.p.) outside presently defined normativities (cf: Koller, 2013). Further, such an order of discursive representation is "counter-hegemonic to that other far more dominant and visible discourse on Islam/Muslims, the one most people encounter daily in the mainstream British (and Western) press and through which runs, as numerous studies have documented, an undercurrent of latent Orientalism" (n.p.) In terms of the wider relevance of such discourses in the UK context, Moll notes that accounting for the intersection with social class is needed in view of the extent to which these discourses may/may not provide inroads towards status quos of social equality for Muslims in the UK. Notably, Moll (2007) acknowledges that such forms of identity construction appear to be largely available to middle-class, young, educated Muslims, yet not to many other sectors of Muslim communities in the UK.

4.4 Framing a CDS Contribution Against Islamophobia: What the present case study will address and how it seeks to do so

Having reviewed some important facets of the problem of Islamophobia in the UK and identified some pockets of counter-hegemonic and alternative discourses about Muslim communities and Islam, it is now possible to zoom in on what aspects of the issue the present case study will focus on in the next stages of the CDS prognostic interventionism pipeline.

One major component of the problem of Islamophobia as defined in 4.1 relates to the levels of prejudice against Muslims, i.e. Islamophobic prejudice, that continue to exist in large sectors of

the non-Muslim British public, particularly older, conservative-leaning demographics. Another major area of concern emerged from the problematic patterns of representation of Muslim communities perpetuated by many news media institutions and political figures which, despite some minor exceptions (see Section 4.3) continue to recurrently portray Muslim communities and Islam as an inherently different, inferior, often threatening 'other'. In the above sections the point was made that, given the reach of mainstream media and political discourse, and the current levels of social distance between many Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the UK, such problematic patterns of representation in media and political discourse could likely be drawn upon in more or less direct ways by members of the public, facilitating the adoption and perpetuation of Islamophobic prejudice and corresponding acts of discrimination that disadvantage Muslim communities as expounded in 4.2 above.

While alternative representations of Muslim communities and acts of counter-discursive solidarity were identified in some contexts (mostly in social media and non-mainstream media spaces and areas of cultural expression), the present status quo in the UK still appears to be one in which Orientalist/Islamophobic representations of Muslim communities prevail, particularly amongst non-Muslim White-British demographics and mainstream media and political institutions. Amongst large sectors of these communities alternative discourses and counter-narratives, though present, are relatively marginal and thus not so widespread, whilst many members of these demographics continue to have privileged access over social resources at the expense of Muslim communities and other minoritised groups (also shown in 4.2).

An important question that remains unanswered from the work reviewed in 4.3 relates to the degree to which such forms of alternative representation of Muslim communities could yield emancipatory ideological effects amongst the groups in which Islamophobia/Orientalism appears to be most likely and persistent (i.e. non-Muslim, older White conservative groups). Though answering such a question was admittedly not the aim of the studies reviewed, if the wider objective is to advocate for more socially emancipatory alternative representations of Muslim communities and facilitate their adoption, further work is needed to better understand how discourses invoking such alternatives can be constituted, how they operate, and whether and how their wider dissemination (or suitable re-contextualisations of these) can contribute to changes towards the dismantling of Orientalist/Islamophobic patterns of ideological and discursive representation in non-Muslim majoritised communities, as a basis for more emancipatory change.

In light of this, the present intervention will proceed by exploring the question of whether and what kinds of mainstream news media texts could be used to bring about reductions in Islamophobic prejudice in non-Muslims, rather than perpetuate them.

The decision to specifically explore the makeup of alternative discourses within the genre of news media to attempt ideological change as an avenue to social change 'for the better' takes into account the degree of influence of news media discourse practices on how reality is constructed and understood (Mutz & Goldman, 2010), and the fact that, as mentioned already, wide sectors of the non-Muslim population in the UK are often reliant on mainstream media-based representations of Muslim communities (ComRes, 2016). Such representations have been shown elsewhere to correlate with increased levels of anti-Muslim prejudice when problematic discourses of these communities are widespread and go unchallenged in news media spaces (Pickel & Öztürk, 2018). Therefore, for the present case study alternative representations of Muslim communities will be studied as they are manifested in the genre of news media.

As previously noted, Islamophobic attitudes are most prevalent in older (over 45), conservative audiences. As it is older populations who show higher levels of engagement in elections (YouGov, 2019a, 2017), it is their worldviews which are arguably more likely to figure prominently in policy-makers' decisions, and so problematic ideological formations in these groups emerge as being in particularly urgent need of transformation. Such groups, particularly White-British older adults, also tend to have oversight of agenda-setting institutions such as the media (Ross Arguedas et al., 2024) in which Orientalist/Islamophobic discourses continue to be disseminated. Finally, it was non-Muslim conservative voters in particular amongst which the highest levels of Islamophobia prevailed (and a Conservative government was in power at the time the research was carried out). In light of this, I will focus my prognostic efforts on tackling the Islamophobic prejudices of 45+, White conservative, non-Muslim groups in particular.

On the whole, the aim of the present case study in terms of prognostic criticality is to explore how representations of Muslim communities in mainstream news media can be constructed 'for the better', specifically for the purposes of dismantling and replacing Islamophobic prejudice in the UK context. In order to pursue these aims the following stages of the pipeline will proceed, in a first instance, by scoping and assessing whether/what kind of alternative discursive

constructions hold realistic promise as sources of potentially more emancipatory ways of representing Muslim communities in non-Muslim majoritised communities, rather than as places in which Islamophobic social cognitions are nurtured and perpetuated as currently seems to be the hegemonic order of discourse in the UK landscape. At Stage 2, I proceed by empirically assessing whether contact with news texts in which some of these patterns of alternative discursive representation are present could in fact drive ideological changes at the level of intergroup prejudice for the audiences previously specified. The results of this empirical exploration then give rise to the issuing of recommendations for any (re)production of emancipatory discursive representations of Muslim communities in news texts, their implementation and hermeneutic evaluation (Stage 3), and subsequent empirical testing to verify whether they worked as intended for majoritised non-Muslim audiences (Stage 4).

The overall rationale for this particular case study is that exposing majoritised audiences to alternative (more emancipatory) representations of Muslim communities could be helpful in bringing about some form of ideological change towards the mitigation of Islamophobic prejudice. Additionally, to the extent that these discourses may be successfully promoted via news media artifacts, media actors may be more motivated to replace their currently problematic practices more widely if evidence exists that exposure to such discourses can lead relatively more privileged groups towards less reliance on prejudiced ideations. This is so that, in time, broader discursive and attitudinal changes may be supported towards wider socially emancipatory discursive, ideological and social orders. The hope is that by knowing what kind of discourses in news media texts can help modulate the reliance of non-Muslim, majoritised audiences on Islamophobic prejudices and patterns of perception, this may later help inform wider changes in publication and broadcasting standards, as a way of replacing the currently hegemonic patterns of discourse practices in media representations of Muslim communities and hopefully supporting efforts to dismantle the many forms of discrimination that disfavour Muslim communities (and other minoritised groups) in the UK.

Before proceeding, it should be noted that the work undertaken as part of this case study is meant to be an initial, small-scale proof of concept application of the model of CDS praxis proposed as part of this thesis. What is learned via this work will hopefully later feed into the planning of larger-scale projects, over a longer period and with larger datasets not just for Islamophobia, but other forms of discrimination and problematic worldviews. The hope in this case study is that this may be used to advocate for transforming socially problematic news

media practices “for the better”, particularly if/when discursive changes in terms of representation of Muslim communities are found to dovetail the adoption of more emancipatory, e.g. non/less prejudiced, social attitudes in majority group readers.

CHAPTER 5: STAGE 1 – DATA SOURCING, ANALYSIS AND HYPOTHESIS-BUILDING: A DESCRIPTIVE AND HERMENEUTIC EXAMINATION OF COUNTER-ISLAMOPHOBIC/ALTERNATIVE DISCURSIVE REPRESENTATIONS

5.1 Data Sourcing and Collection: Where to Start - A Call for Interdisciplinarity

As has been noted before, and as bears repeating at this juncture, many of the issues CDS concerns itself with, of which Islamophobia is one, require a multidisciplinary outlook. This is most relevant at present given the gaps that still exist in CDS research pertaining to the study of alternative/counter-hegemonic discourse data, as well as explorations of their more or less emancipatory social and ideological effects. Though the model presented in Chapter 3 provided a general pathway and an array of potential options by which these gaps may be addressed, and real-life examples of counter-Islamophobic and alternative discourses were brought up by the studies in Section 4.3, it still remains the case that further research is needed into the discursive makeup of such discourses and their emancipatory potentials. Furthermore, it remains to be seen how such discourses may be instantiated in mainstream media texts, which as previously established, appear to hold great sway over public attitudes about Muslim communities.

One area of scholarly enquiry that has been successful in using texts and other semiotic artifacts to attain modulations in intergroup prejudice and discrimination is Contact Theory (henceforth CT -see Hewstone & Swart, 2011). Of particular relevance to the present thesis is that a growing body of research within CT focuses specifically on studying how exposure to a variety of different representations of outgroups (e.g. Muslims in a majority non-Muslim context) from TV, text, radio material can result in reductions of intergroup prejudice and discrimination towards these groups (Mazziotta et al., 2011a; Vezzali et al., 2014; Harwood et al., 2016; Vezzali et al., 2019; Belet, 2018). One of the ways in which CT investigates this is via the application of experimental methods, whereby participants read/view different kinds of mediated representations of (to-them) outgroups, and changes in social attitudes, perceptions and behaviours are tracked before and after coming into contact with such representations, and/or in relation to a control

group which did not interact with an outgroup (using surveys/questionnaires, measures of implicit attitudes -see Petty et al., 2008-, psychometric scales of affect, (de)humanisation, preferred social distance, support for a given policy, etc.). At this juncture, it is the hope that knowing what kind of outgroup representations have been successfully used in existing CT research to transform social attitudes and behaviours can be used to inform the process of sourcing suitable texts as potential sources of input for the present prognostic intervention, whose specific aim is to modulate Islamophobic prejudices studying whether and how news-media texts can be used for these purposes.

As will be seen, Contact Theory, like CDS, favours an interventionist approach to the issues it studies (Hewstone, 2000, 2003) and so it is methodologically well-placed not just to help in the process of sourcing suitable linguistic data for the present intervention, but to help one test the prejudice-mitigating effects of such materials (for Stage 2 and beyond). The overall argument will be for the integration of this research tradition into the present intervention (though on occasions it will be noted how CT does in fact offer more general benefits and possibilities for triangulation in CDS in general, a point brought up again in Chapter 8 when future directions are discussed).

5.1.1.1 A Brief Overview of Contact Theory: Theoretical and Methodological Principles[12]

Contact Theory receives its name from Gordon Allport's *contact hypothesis*. One of the central tenets of Allport's postulation, made in the context of the civil rights movements against the racial segregation of Black communities in the US and shortly after the end of WWII (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1986), was that contact between different groups could be a key prejudice-mitigation and deterrence strategy if/when a number of 'optimal conditions' were met. Among these optimal conditions were 1) that some or part of the contact between groups engaged them in the pursuit of common goals; 2) that mutual, equal interdependence, not competition on the basis of group identity, be highlighted as part of this contact; 3) that the contact be sanctioned and encouraged by social norms and/or social institutions; and that 4) common interests and common humanity between group members be highlighted (Allport, 1954; see also: Williams, 1947). The predictions made by Allport have since inspired a steady stream of scholarly work aimed at better understanding the relation between intergroup contact and prejudice. Updates,

[12] Across it different branches (Hewstone & Swart, 2011), Contact Theory is ultimately concerned with studying the ways in which different forms of contact between ethnic groups, nations, classes, etc. can work in reducing intergroup prejudice, discrimination and related phenomena (Pettigrew, 1998).

adjustments and extensions to Allport's initial postulations have been forthcoming in the past 30 years (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005; Mazziotta et al., 2011b; Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Wright et al., 1997; Schiappa et al., 2005), earning the contact hypothesis the status of 'theory' (Hewstone & Swart, 2011).

Methodologically, most work in CT has taken the form of correlational studies and experiments. The former have been applied in probing how existing networks and patterns of intergroup interaction, e.g. incidence of cross-group friendships between two groups in conflict (Paolini et al., 2004), correlate with levels of prejudice and related processes (e.g. Andrighetto et al., 2012). Correlational studies have also been deployed to track the diachronic co-evolution of contact and intergroup prejudice levels in a variety of contexts (e.g. Eller et al., 2011), so that ways to improve relations and mitigate conflict may be thought of and explored. One of the ways in which CT has done the latter is by means of so-called 'contact interventions', which are specifically aimed at empirically identifying ways in which the problems of intergroup prejudice and discrimination can be tackled via different types of intergroup contact (Paluck, 2009; Lemmer & Wagner, 2015).

Interestingly, the fact that contact experiments are often referred to as 'interventions' (Tausch & Hewstone, 2010; Hewstone, 2000) in the CT literature, reflects an impetus similarly to CDS', not just to understand current states of affairs -mostly done via correlational studies-, but an active commitment to pursue change in some form (Hewstone et al., 2014). This is attempted by means of experimental interventions aimed at mitigating levels of intergroup prejudice and discrimination[13]. Further, if one considers that in most instances of intergroup contact communication figures in some way (in text, talk, gesture, etc.), and that CT is interested in identifying what kinds of intergroup interactions, and in what contexts these can be fostered to tackle prejudice and discrimination, then CDS and CT can be said to have quite complementary

[13] N.B. For the avoidance of confusion, I will henceforth refer to contact interventions simply as 'contact experiments'. In the present thesis, I use intervention to refer to the whole process (from Stage 0 to Stage 4 onwards) embarked upon under the principle of interventionism detailed previously. This is done noting that future-facing societal change requires both understanding current and past states of affairs (retrospective critique) as well as experimenting with potential alternatives (prognostic critique). This can be done via contact interventions, like the one that will be attempted here at Stages 1-4, but the word intervention is used in a more encompassing way than in CT. It is used to define a principle of research praxis attempting to change a given problematic status quo via researching how discoursal change can be engaged to bring about emancipatory shifts in social action and ideology from a problematic status quo. In the present case this is one way in which the issue of Islamophobia was tackled (via promoting contact with alternative representations of Muslim communities). However, it is noted that CDS practitioners may seek to plan other types of *interventions* to attempt discoursal change, for example, not to change attitudes towards specific outgroups as contact interventions tend to do, but other problematic beliefs about the natural world, the economy, human identity, the nature of power relations, etc. that also underpin inequality and the normalisation of dominance-heavy power relations.

foci of interest. Indeed, if intergroup contact requires social interaction (whether face to face or mediated), what CT has to say in terms of how this contact can be harnessed to tackle prejudice and discrimination against marginalised groups could be productively brought to CDS to help it identify viable possibilities for identifying and promoting prejudice-mitigating communicative practices, such that problematic discourses, ideologies and power relations can be progressively replaced, thereby enhancing CDS' prognostic critique capabilities.

5.1.1.2 Mediated Contact and its Impact on Outgroup Prejudice: Evidence from CT Research

5.1.1.2.1 Parasocial and Vicarious Forms of Contact as Mediated Contact

In studying the relation between intergroup contact and prejudice, work in CT has identified and taxonomized different types of 'contact' according to factors like physical proximity, synchronicity, degree of self-involvement in interaction, and the material means by which the contact takes place, etc. (Harwood, 2010). Two forms of contact that are of interest to the present thesis are parasocial (Schiappa et al., 2005) and vicarious contact (Mazziotta et al., 2011a).

Both parasocial and vicarious contact are forms of 'indirect' contact (White et al., 2021; Vezzali et al., 2014). In the case of parasocial contact, for example, what participants come into contact with is not outgroups themselves but a mediated representation of an outgroup, i.e. they observe/read *about* members of outgroups in videos, texts, audio, image, rather than interacting with them directly. Parasocial contact is therefore always mediated in some way as it depends on the use of discursive artifacts by which outgroup representations can be accessed. In vicarious contact, on the other hand, participants observe/read about *someone else's experiences of contact*, for example they witness a member of an outgroup talking to, or interacting with, a member of participants' ingroup and viceversa, i.e. contact is experienced second-hand, or vicariously (Mazziotta et al., 2011a). This contact can be witnessed in person (in a bystander capacity) or like with parasocial contact, mediated via video, written texts, photography, radio such that what participants are coming into contact with are semiotic representations of someone else's interactions with an outgroup. This later type is often called 'mediated vicarious contact' (Vezzali & Stathi, 2021).

Differences between parasocial and mediated vicarious contact are not always clear-cut, and discussions in CT around these distinctions and their theoretical and empirical implications are still ongoing (Harwood et al., 2005; Harwood, 2021). One helpful way of telling them apart, as proposed by Vezzali & Stathi (2021), is in terms of the thematic foci of the narratives which participants come into contact with. In mediated vicarious contact experiments, episodes of contact between groups are the central theme of the materials which participants view/read/listen to, whilst in parasocial contact the narratives presented include representations of outgroups in their own right (e.g. their lives, actions, other people's evaluations of them), and may also relay episodes of intergroup and intragroup contact, though not as one of the main foci of these portrayals. In all examples of mediated contact, however, one thing is certain: texts and other modes of semiotic representation of events and social groups are fundamental for this type of contact to take place.

Evidencing the capacity of parasocial and vicarious contact to impact social attitudes, a recent meta-study by Banas et al. (2020) established that these two types of contact can be influential on intergroup attitudes in, to use the terms of this thesis, more or less problematic and more or less socially emancipatory ways, depending among other things, on the type of outgroup representations facilitated as part of the contact. In the previous chapter I brought up extensive evidence of the presence of problematic discursive representations of Muslim communities in the UK media and the prevalence of Islamophobic attitudes in areas of the non-Muslim public. In CT, empirical evidence of the adverse attitudinal effects of problematic portrayals of outgroups -i.e. in largely 'negative' parasocial and mediated vicarious contact- is well-documented both for the case of Muslims (Saleem et al., 2016) and other minoritised communities (Schemer & Meltzer, 2020; Mastro et al., 2007), in news and other media (Saleem & Anderson, 2013). For example, findings from Saleem et al. (2017) suggest that prolonged exposure to stereotypically negative portrayals of members of Muslim communities (i.e. as terrorists) in news media positively predicted support for military occupation and for policies eroding the civil rights of these communities in non-Muslim audiences. And in New Zealand, Shaver et al. (2017) found evidence that anger and warmth towards Muslim minorities varied reliably with the type of representation of these groups in the news - even when accounting for existing party-political adherences. This all lends support to the argument made previously that currently hegemonic news media representations of Muslims in the UK could be partly responsible for the current prevalence of Islamophobic prejudices in non-Muslim audiences and, more generally, that the

kind of outgroup representations that people come into contact with can shape worldviews and beliefs about these groups, a foundational claim of CDS itself.

Of course, the contribution of CT research that is of chief interest here is in connection to the ways in which parasocial and mediated vicarious contact have been studied for their prejudice and discrimination-mitigating potentials: or in terms of this CDS thesis, in their more socially emancipatory capabilities. In many ways, the data analysed by the studies reviewed in Section 4.3 consists of (alternative and counter-Islamophobic) representations of Muslim communities -who were being talked about in social media and magazine texts by themselves or others-, and of their interactions, i.e. contact, with wider 'mainstream' British society. Seen from a CT lens, for non-Muslim White-British demographics, encountering such representations amounts to experiencing contact with Muslim communities both parasocially and vicariously to different degrees. An important question that remained unanswered from these studies, however, was whether such patterns of alternative/counter-hegemonic discursive representation could do anything to mitigate existing levels of Islamophobia in non-Muslim audiences.

The ensuing section showcases some of the ways in which mediated contact with different outgroups (Muslim and otherwise) via a range of media (text, talk, image, etc.) has been found to help in tackling prejudice, discrimination and related phenomena. The results and learnings obtained via this body of research offer hope that some of the alternative/counter-Islamophobic ways of representing Muslim communities identified by researchers in 4.3 could indeed have the capacity to shift attitudes in emancipatory ways. Insights from CT research, combined with those from the studies reviewed in 4.3, provide the starting point from which to source suitable data for the present prognostic intervention. As will be shown, research into the prejudice-mitigating capabilities of mediated contact can help us pin down some general patterns of themes and representational resources which have been found to be at least partly responsible for the effects obtained in mediated contact experiments aimed at reducing intergroup hostility and discrimination. Having a general sense of the kind of themes/patterns of representation that work in mitigating prejudice, a search for suitable discourse data can be subsequently carried out with a view of finding (if available) examples of news texts that, within their specific generic identities, instantiate some of the macro-level discursive features that have been empirically verified in CT as having prejudice-mitigating potential. In line with the pathway charted in Chapter 3, once sourced, such data can be subjected to a process of closer discourse-analytical enquiry, by way of more systematically accounting for how counter-Islamophobic/alternative discourses

are linguistically instantiated in the data and what it is that might make them more potentially emancipatory alternatives. Following this, I empirically test whether this is indeed the case for non-Muslim, 45-75 year-old conservative demographics, as a way of examining the emancipatory potential of such discourses in modulating Islamophobic prejudices in these groups.

5.1.1.2.2 The Promise of Mediated Contact: How Mediated Contact Has Been Found to Work in Socially Emancipatory Ways

According to CT research, one of the ways in which parasocial and mediated vicarious contact can work in shifting attitudes is when the contact facilitates "new information about a minority group and [fosters] a sense of trust, respect, or attraction with representatives of a minority group" (Schiappa et al., 2005, p. 112). The meta-study by Banas et al. (2020) cited above reported that the socially productive effects of such forms of contact generally work by increasing empathy towards outgroups and reducing intergroup anxiety and feelings of threat experienced by ingroup members, all of which in turn helps transform attitudes.

When describing the issue of Islamophobia in Chapter 4, I briefly defined intergroup prejudice as involving the generalised attribution of traits and evaluative impressions to a group or member of a group as if these traits were inherently defining properties of these collectives, or 'essences'. For a sense of trust, respect or attraction towards an outgroup to emerge, such that prejudiced attitudes may be revised, Harwood et al. (2016) add that "people's group memberships need to be salient and/or the outgroup people should be viewed as having good 'fit' with their group" (p. 939) in some way.

I note here, pursuant to CDS postulates, that elements like degrees of group membership salience, alongside those mentioned by Schiappa et al. (2005), crucially need to be invoked in some way via macro-thematic, lexicogrammatical and other semiotic/discursive features in the material used in these experiments, as will be noted in Section 5.2, so that

> when group memberships are foregrounded [in mediated contact], perceptions of the outgroup person generalize to perceptions of their group. If you are not thinking about someone's group membership or view them

> as atypical of the group ("they're not like MOST ____ people") then contact has weaker effects (Harwood et al., 2016, p. 939)

on attitudes and dispositions towards that group. An early example of research where mediated contact was found to modulate outgroup prejudice comes from Schiappa et al. (2005), where changes in attitudes of heterosexuals towards gay men were gauged upon exposure to audiovisual TV portrayals of the latter. In one experiment, lower levels of prejudice toward gay men were attained compared to a control group after viewing multiple episodes of a number of televised series (Queer Eye for the Straight Guy, Six Feet Under). The authors measured the degree to which gay characters in these series were linked to perceptions of homophily, i.e. similarity with the self, social and physical attractiveness and/or perceptions of competence by viewers after watching 10 episodes of these series (Bond & Compton, 2015). Participants' attitudes towards gay men were measured before and after exposure using the Attitudes Toward Gay Men (ATG) scale (Herek, 1988), and correlated with homophily and attractiveness scores. Overall, increased perceptions of homophily and attractiveness were negatively correlated with negative attitudes towards gay men. Importantly for CDS purposes, it was the videos themselves, in the way that gay men were portrayed, that were viewed as greatly responsible for facilitating increases in homophily and attractiveness which in turn was associated with improved attitudes, as seen from the fact that the same effects were not obtained for a control group who was not exposed to these media. The results in Schiappa et al. (2005) therefore say something important about what representations of outgroups may need to do in order to facilitate prejudice-mitigating effects: in one way or another, these portrayals need to, in tandem with other factors (participants' individual differences, the experimental design itself), help participants to construe outgroups as closer to the self, and/or as socially/physically appealing.

In a recent study by Gallardo et al. (2024) changes in the degree to which Muslim communities are (de)humanised and anti-Muslim policies are supported (e.g. a blanket ban on 'Muslim' immigration) by non-Muslims were probed upon exposure to short video clips of young Muslims' reacting to Islamophobic comments made in response to an online news report of a fire in a US Muslim preschool. In the videos used as experimental input, Muslim youths are depicted reading and reacting to Islamophobic comments in either a mocking (in the style of 'Mean Tweets' videos first seen in late night shows in the US) or a serious tone[14]. Overall, both sets of videos (humorous

[14]This was done by changing the outgroup members' response to the tweets from a satirical/humorous to a grave response -though note that no description is given of how this is instantiated via gesture and/or speech.

vs serious) helped decrease the dehumanisation of Muslims in comparable ways, which the authors attribute to the fact that both videos provided a diverse but representative selection of members of the young Muslim community who were depicted as 'relatable' (though more in-depth discussions as to how this is actually instantiated, semiotically speaking, are not forthcoming). Importantly, the Gallardo et al. (2024) set of studies also found that support for anti-Muslim policies was not significantly reduced when the videos depicted outgroups responding to Islamophobic speech via irony and humour, as the reactions depicted also made participants less likely to consider Islamophobia as a the serious issue and more likely to discount how serious Muslims themselves perceived Islamophobic hate speech to be (potentially explaining why participants were less disposed to explicitly oppose anti-Muslim policies themselves). On the other hand, they found that when the videos showed Muslims responding to the comments as serious acts of violence, participants were instead more likely to oppose anti-Muslim policies, provided the tone of the video was indeed assessed as more serious and participants judged outgroup members to be perceiving violence against their group as a grave issue.

For the case of parasocial contact experiments using written texts, (Vezzali et al., 2015) obtained reductions in outgroup prejudice from exposing participants to passages of a children's fantasy novel in which discrimination towards characters from a (fictional) marginalised group was actively challenged by the novel protagonists (some of whom were members of these groups). Relative to a control group, participants exposed to these texts exhibited reductions in hostility towards minoritised groups such as immigrants, refugees and gay communities (measured via questionnaires adapted from Esses & Dovidio, 2002; Vezzali & Giovannini, 2012; Aberson & Haag, 2007). For the specific case of text-mediated parasocial contact with Muslim communities, a study by Gallardo et al. (2022) found that presenting participants with short narratives of so-called 'prosocial acts' carried out by Muslim organisations, asking after each text how much participants believed these positive actions were reflective of Muslims as a whole, was associated with reductions in dehumanisation and support for anti-Muslim policies. These representations also made participants less likely to assign blame collectively for terrorist attacks (e.g. the 2016 Belgium attacks) to Muslims. Importantly, the experimental materials consisted not just of stories about Muslims but also of Christians engaging in the same prosocial actions. The order in which texts were presented to participants was found to be a determining factor in the levels of humanisation and anti-Muslim policy support: in fact it was when prosocial acts by Muslims were presented and evaluated first and Christians second (compared to a

random and an inverted Christian-Muslims order), that participants were less likely to later assign blame for terrorism to Muslims in general, to dehumanise them or support anti-Muslim policies. This was attributed to participants possibly becoming aware of discrimination in their ratings at text reading phase (as they rated Muslim positive acts in the texts first and Christians second and could not go back to change their responses for Muslims), and experiencing cognitive dissonance which led them to review their attitudes before the dependent variables of interest (dehumanisation, collective blame, support for anti-Muslim policies) were measured. It is important to note, however, that whether participants' improved (compared to control groups) ratings of dehumanisation, policy support and collective blame were merely made to compensate for this discrimination as a way to save face, or because the texts did indeed lead them to review their attitudes compared to other groups, was less clear.

From the above examples it can be seen that social attitudes/perceptions and behavioural dispositions towards outgroups can be improved in some ways when texts/video materials in experiments portray them as any combination of: likable, socially/physically attractive, as representative of the outgroup, and when such portrayals include a diverse, (non-stereotypical) intersectional selection of outgroup members, and their perspectives, agency and abilities to engage complex emotions are brought to the fore. Mediated vicarious contact research adds to the insights obtained in parasocial contact research by showing that portraying outgroup members in episodes of intergroup contact as a main thematic focus can also be beneficial for the purposes of improving attitudes and behavioural dispositions towards them.

The rationale for studying narratives of contact for their prejudice/discrimination-mitigating effects follows social cognitive theory (Bandura, 2001), and works on the assumption that exposing participants to examples of harmonious intergroup interactions can show members of the public that, and how, socially constructive interactions with members of a disparaged outgroup may be achieved (see Mazziotta et al., 2011a) and by so doing provide a template to guide subsequent instances of intergroup contact, as well as reduce feelings of anxiety and threat that can eventually translate to reductions in hostile prejudice and discrimination. Importantly for the purposes of this case study, vicarious contact has been found to be particularly useful in improving affect towards outgroups in participants with higher levels of identification and belonging to their own ingroup (Harwood et al., 2016), which is likely to be the case for the audiences selected in this case study (White-British conservatives over 45+), making it worthy of consideration here.

In the vicarious contact literature, many studies have explored the potential of narratives of contact in educational settings (Liebkind & McAlister, 1999; Mäkinen et al., 2019; Cameron et al., 2006; Vezzali et al., 2019; Turner et al., 2007). In Husnu et al. (2018), changes in behavioural intentions (to befriend a person from the outgroup) and increased levels of trust between Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot children were reported following a 3-week experimental study where students were presented with short stories of acts of solidarity between children of each group, and asked to complete a questionnaire measuring each dependent variable (desire to befriend a member from the outgroup and trust towards them adapted from Liebkind & McAlister, 1999)[15]. Cameron & Rutland (2006) found that attitudes and willingness to engage in activities with disabled students reportedly improved after contact with storybooks presenting themes of friendship and co-operation (e.g. flying a kite together) between disabled and non-disabled children.

More recently, Vezzali et al. (2021) exposed Italian high school students to passages of negative outgroup contact narrated from the perspective of a fictional disadvantaged group in 'The Hunger Games' novels and found increases in participants' disposition to engage in collective action in favour of (relatively disadvantaged) immigrant groups in real life. Vezzali et al. (2021) is notable in that the example of intergroup contact given to participants was negative. This suggests that examples of such type of contact can still be effectively used to encourage advantaged groups to engage in collective actions against injustice. However, this is with the caveat that the outgroups whose perspective is being represented should not be viewed as in direct conflict with the ingroup (Sherif et al., 1961), as this may increase the degree of identity threat experienced by participants and cancel out any prejudice-modulating effects (for example if the outgroup in the story is evaluating the majoritised group to which participants identify with in a strongly negative light -cf. Blanz et al., 1995).

For the specific case of narratives of contact between Muslims and non-Muslims, Belet (2018) offers an exploration of the interplay of mediated vicarious and face-to-face contact in relation to attitudes towards Moroccan-Belgian communities in Belgium (many of whom are Muslim). Results of this study revealed that the effects of exposure to stories of contact between Belgian and Moroccan characters (mostly of friendship activities, but also, crucially, of the discrimination suffered by Moroccan students) on attitudes of non-Moroccan Belgians were

[15] Though note that no control group was used in this case, and so causal links were not explored.

stronger if face-to-face contact was also frequent. Interestingly, exposure to the same text reduced awareness of the existence of real-world discrimination against Moroccans for non-Belgians and for Belgians with high levels of identification to their group, suggesting that portrayals of friendship between Moroccans and Belgians may have led these groups to downplay the inequalities suffered by Moroccan communities in Belgium even if it improved their overall feelings of warmth towards these outgroups.

Analogous to the point that 'positive' discourses may not always/necessarily yield emancipatory ideological effects made in Chapter 2, a similar observation can be made from Vezzali et al., (2021) and Belet (2018). The results in these studies lend support to the argument that even when overall positivity of outgroup representations helps, practitioners should consider a number of important nuances in how such portrayals are realised and the conditions in which they are disseminated (including the audiences that are exposed to these and existing power relations in the context in which the studies are carried out).

CT research shows this to be particularly relevant in the context of the UK and relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. A recent study by Abu-Rayya and Brown (2023) found that contact narratives containing themes of 'integration endorsement' in which Muslim youth positively evaluated the efforts of White British friends to show cultural awareness of Islamic traditions and praised White British culture did not improve affective evaluations, behavioural intentions, and beliefs in the importance of future contact with Muslim communities for White British participants, though it did for Muslims towards White-British groups. Though no analysis is forthcoming of the text materials themselves used in this study, they are included in the supplementary materials. A closer look at these materials reveals that both narratives are largely told from the perspectives of the White-British characters and positive appraisals of them (as kind, considerate, lovely) abound. Meanwhile, Muslim characters are mostly represented as passive (being helped by their White British friends), shy and trying to avoid inconveniencing others, which may partly explain the asymmetry of the effects. One important learning that can be derived from such work is that what counts as 'positive contact' or 'positive portrayals' needs to be further defined and qualified in more detail (as previously pointed out in Section 2.2.4), given that differences in how broad themes of contact are portrayed can in turn yield different effects on attitudes and behavioural intentions. At the very least, the results obtained by Abu-Rayya and Brown (2023) could be used to challenge narratives pushing for mere 'integration' and related acculturation themes in experimental input when the aim of the research is to pursue

changes in the attitudes of relatively more privileged, majority ingroup members, and not just in hostile prejudice but its more 'benevolent' forms (Fiske, 2012; Ramasubramanian & and Oliver, 2007; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Further, the results of this study show the potential dangers of seeking to address the attitudes of minoritised groups insofar as, like with face-to-face contact (Saguy & Chernyak-Hai, 2012), vicarious contact experiments that target participants from minoritised groups run the risk of discouraging these groups from challenging majoritised groups' privileges and acknowledging the existence of inequality and discrimination that disproportionately affects them. Such considerations seem to validate the decision to only tackle the prejudiced attitudes of members of majoritised communities in the present intervention (see also: Saguy et al., 2009; Dixon et al., 2012b).

Though a great deal of mediated vicarious contact research is carried out in children or younger demographics (university students, for example), Paluck (2009) offers an example of a contact experiment which was successful in attaining changes to social norms of older audiences (up to 87 years old). In the context of Rwanda post-1994, exposure to an educational radio soap opera portraying interactions between two fictional ethnic communities was found to modify normative attitudes towards intermarriage, trust, empathy, cooperation, trauma, etc., though individual beliefs (e.g. ideas about whether mass violence emerges suddenly or gradually, or whether recovery from trauma is possible, etc.) were largely unchanged compared to a control condition. Results led the author to conclude that contact narratives can also work to shift social conventions about intergroup relations, i.e. that intermarriage, trust, cooperation are socially permissible and acceptable, even if personal beliefs about intergroup conflict and violence remained unchanged. Most importantly for the present CDS intervention, such a study indicates that the ideological formations of older demographics also have the potential for some form of change, at least in the context in which this study was carried out.

It is to be noted that all of the examples above of both vicarious and parasocial contact experiments made use of fictional written, spoken and/or audiovisual material. In vicarious contact research literature, there are a number of growing examples of successful use of contact narratives in the genre of news media (cf. Gallardo et al., 2024 Study 1). An example of this is Cernat (2011). One of the main findings of this study was that exposure to newspaper articles modelling so-called 'positive' contact with Roma people, specifically in the form of articles featuring close ingroup-outgroup friendships with these communities, and which included the perspective of a person of Romani descent, significantly improved affective responses towards

Roma communities versus a control group and those portraying outgroup-outgroup (i.e. intragroup) contact.

The specific benefits of mediated vicarious contact vis-à-vis parasocial contact have been queried by Harwood et al. (2016), for the case of televised news reports about musical collaborations between White-US and Arab-Middle Eastern artists. Exposure to these reports of contact were found to be more effective at enhancing "a desire to experience intergroup communication, relative to other forms of contact" (p. 937) such as parasocial contact. It is argued that these results came at least partly because the experimental material portrayed instances of coordinated communication between musicians in which "their physical movements are highly correlated, and they share an identity of purpose that is coordinated at the level of milliseconds" (ibid.), which, among other things offered examples of "outgroup members as being capable of close human relationships" (p. 942), which in turn appeared to translate into more positive attitudes about the outgroup.

One important observation that can be derived from the above examples is that despite its success in teasing out how exposure to representations of outgroups and intergroup contact can be used in socially productive ways, much of CT has paid -relative to CDS- little attention to the more specific linguistic/semiotic instantiations of some of the themes and semantic features of the material used in experiments. A notable exception to this is Graf et al. (2020), who experimented not just with overall text valence but finer manipulations in the word classes used to label group identity of a member of the Roma community in a report about a street assault presented to non-Roma readers[16]. Report valence, which was manipulated in terms of whether the outgroup member intervened to help the victim (positive valence) or was the perpetrator of the attack (negative valence), was positively correlated with self-reported feelings of warmth (Fiske et al., 2002) towards Roma communities. On the other hand, manipulations in social identity labelling were operationalised in terms of whether ethnicity of the outgroup member was instantiated as part of nominal constructions, as in 'a male Roma' -Roma being here a modified noun; or as a modifier, as in 'a Roma man' -Roma being an adjectival modifier. Interestingly, the authors reported that "labelling ethnicity with nouns resulted in more [preferred social distance] than adjectives" (n.p.) and this was independent of the general valence of the report.

[16] The news report itself was artificially created, but participants were excluded if they reported noticing the events in the text had been invented by the experimenters.

5.1.1.3 Articulating a CT-CDS Synergy: What CT Offers CDS For the Study of Alternative Discourses and Their Emancipatory Potentials

In the particular case of parasocial and mediated vicarious contact, it can be said that when elements like 'intergroup solidarity', 'member typicality', 'perspectivity', 'proximity to the self', etc. are found to affect levels of prejudice, this is partly due to the ways in which these elements are semiotically represented which, in interaction with readers' prior assumptions and knowledge (much of which will be derived from contact with previous instances of discourse interaction -see Wodak et al., 1994), partly influence what a participant's construal of outgroups will look like. In turn, such construals may presumably have an impact on whether or not more entrenched patterns of social identification (as is the case for prejudices) may be slowly replaced by alternative ones when such materials provide alternative forms of construing outgroups and other relevant aspects of social reality ((including ingroup's own representations of themselves -see Dovidio et al., 2007).

The previous section hopefully went some way into identifying some of the themes and broad representational features that the written/spoken/audiovisual texts in contact experiments need to put forth in order to contribute to emancipatory shifts in attitudes and behavioural dispositions of experiment participants towards a given outgroup. To summarise, these were: themes of contact between groups, acts of mutual solidarity, collaboration and cross-group friendship; inclusion of the perspectives of outgroups as a central component, and depiction of outgroups as engaging in complex and nuanced (but on the whole positively-valenced) affect; inclusion of a diverse selection of outgroup representatives; and highlighting points of similarity/parallels between outgroups members and the self (i.e. homophily and relatability). From the CT literature reviewed above we know that contact with some of these manners representation can impact a number of facets of social cognition, affect and behavioural dispositions, such as the level at which outgroups are: perceived as human beings (or less than); elicit feelings of warmth and/or their perspectives and experiences are considered important and worthy of attention; whether any improvements in attitudes extend to the whole group category; whether blame for conflict is assigned or not to the entire group as a defining feature; whether discrimination and violence against minoritised outgroups are flagged as worthy of attention and (de)legitimised; whether different policies affecting their lives and fostering (in)equality are (dis)agreed with, etc.

Though not reported in this way, some of the themes and features identified in mediated contact research as having prejudice-mitigating potential also appeared to be present in some of the data analysed by the studies reviewed in Section 4.3. In Poole et al. (2023) for example, sustained challenges to outgroup discrimination from members of the ingroup were engaged in tweets that targeted Islamophobia in politically conservative actors. In other studies, the data examined centrally featured the voices and perspectives of Muslim communities themselves (Ouassini et al., 2022; Moll, 2007; Morris, 2016; Downing & Dron, 2020) and highlighted discourses of collaboration and prosocial acts involving Muslim communities (ibid.), as well as richer and more nuanced depictions of Muslim identities and their complex interplay with hegemonic notions of Britishness. While, as mentioned previously, none of these studies specifically tackled the question of whether these representations do indeed result in shifts in social attitudes such as prejudice, research within CT in which similar patterns of representation were present in different media, suggests that these construals could indeed provide some potential for ideological change were they to be adopted by majoritised groups. Even more important to the present case study are findings from CT that indicate that the presence of some of these semantic/thematic features in news texts about contact could also help transform social attitudes towards minoritised 'Others', even from a single exposure.

At this stage it is important to note the fact that studies into the longevity of effects of parasocial and vicarious contact, and whether they transfer to other contexts are still ongoing in CT, and so it is not assumed for all cases that any socially productive effects will persist beyond the moment experiments are completed (Harwood, 2017; Gim & and Harwood, 2024). At the same time, it should also be pointed out that a large proportion of CT research investigates changes in attitudes and perceptions of younger demographics (but see: Gim & and Harwood, 2024; Paluck, 2009), whereas the targets of the present intervention are older adults. Nonetheless, the research presented above does offer a measure of hope that alternative representations of outgroups and of contact with outgroups in text, talk and video can be deployed as a means of pursuing attitudinal shifts in members of majoritised groups. It moreover offers a source of methodological inspiration which CDS can apply to the task of empirically attesting the emancipatory potentials of alternative discourses in the ways proposed in Part I, e.g. by measuring the extent to which these representations do bring forth attitudinal changes in the groups and contexts in which a given social problem is studied and confronted. Thus, I argue that mediated contact research within CT presents exciting possibilities for CDS prognostic efforts.

Whilst it is true that ways to tackle intergroup prejudice and discrimination could be sourced from many different disciplines and areas of enquiry (see Dijkema et al., 2024 for alternatives), given the manifest aim of societal transformation CT shares with CDS and its track-record in testing alternatives away from prejudiced social perception using different kinds of semiotic artifacts to attempt this, CT appears to be particularly well suited to be brought into any CDS research seeking to empirically assess the viability of alternative discourses, specifically in terms of whether contact with texts instantiating such discourses may encourage attitudinal shifts in ways that dismantle and weaken intergroup prejudices and discrimination -two issues of great concern to CDS. All things considered, I argue that integrating CT-inspired investigative modalities to CDS work looking to tackle phenomena like prejudice and intergroup violence can greatly nurture CDS' capacity to engage in prognostic critique and thus aid social transformation, as one way to implement the model of praxis presented in this thesis. This is specifically because CT can help CDS scope possibilities for alternative discourses that in other contexts have been found to work in socially emancipatory ways, while providing useful methodological tools to empirically assess the ideological effects that may result from contact with certain types of texts and other semiotic artifacts. On the back of these insights, viable prognostic recommendations 'for the better' may begin to be attempted, implemented and iteratively tested more concretely and systematically than hitherto done, following the pathway charted in Chapter 3.

5.1.2 Sourcing Data for The Present Case Study

On the back of the insights derived from previous research into counter-Islamophobic discourses in the UK cited in 4.3, and having a better sense of some of general narrative features and themes that have been found to help in facilitating attitudinal changes in majoritised groups, it is now possible to proceed with sourcing discourse data for the present case study. The work done until now effectively provides a starting point from which to begin a search for potential candidates of more seemingly emancipatory alternative patterns of representations of Muslim communities in a UK context. The specific objective at this point of Stage 1 is thus the following: to find if there are any examples of mainstream news text(s) that include/recontextualise some of the general themes found in mediated contact experiment materials to help in mitigating outgroup prejudice by CT, or else to generate them.

When engaging in this stage of the model of praxis, news-media data could either be sourced from existing news media texts if available, or produced as artificial texts of some form, following

the register and genre conventions of news media texts and instantiating some of the thematic features of the materials used in mediated contact experiments such that it may be possible to support emancipatory ideological changes in the audiences of interest.

5.1.2.1 The Case of 'Crossing Divides': Rationale for Text Selection

At the time a search for discourse materials for Stages 1-2 was being carried out, one source which emerged as a possible locus of alternative, potentially more emancipatory discursive representations of Muslim communities in the UK opportunely presented itself in a limited journalistic series by the BBC World Service titled 'Crossing Divides'. The 'Crossing Divides' series was originally piloted for a week in 2017 and showcased news stories centred on interactions between groups in conflict, or on reports in parts of the world where intergroup relations were marked by patterns of discrimination and aversion.

One text in the 'Crossing Divides' series focused exclusively on interactions between Muslim communities and non-Muslim White-British people in the backdrop of the construction of the first mosque in the city of Lincoln, UK. In this way, this text had 'Intergroup Contact' as one main thematic focus, insofar as constructing a mosque in a traditionally White-British locality constitutes a form of contact between two communities. Given this thematic focus, this text will be referred to as an example of a 'contact narrative' or 'contact text' of the type used in mediated vicarious contact research when seeking to study changes in outgroup prejudice and discrimination by majoritised ingroups.

Besides a focus on intergroup contact, this particular news piece also depicts the progression of a member of the ingroup, from opposing to supporting the construction of the mosque and from having no knowledge or contact with the Muslim community to befriending the chair of the city's Islamic Association and being accepted into the Muslim community. Thus, alongside the theme of 'Contact', the text also delves into the theme of 'Attitudes and Attitudinal Change towards Outgroups', in which perceptions about this contact shift from hostility and reluctance into (potentially) increased trust and empathy (cf. Banas et al., 2020; Schiappa et al., 2005).

Following the logic of contact research while incorporating a CDS lens, this text arguably showcases how less dominance-driven relations with an outgroup can be nurtured and how social actor's attitudes about contact and about the outgroup as a whole change towards a

decrease in intergroup segregation and animosity. Though the text was not produced by a member of the Muslim community specifically, it was authored by a Tamil-British journalist and prominently includes, as will be seen in Section 5.2, the voices and experiences of members of Muslim communities in Lincoln obtained via face-to-face interviews. At the same time, it is notable that these texts are not part of mainstream BBC News services, which have on occasions been found to perpetuate problematic representations of Muslim communities (Al-Hejin, 2012, 2015). BBC World Service is, contrastingly, better known for (at least sporadically) platforming stories from traditionally underrepresented collectives in different parts of the world.

'Long-form' journalistic texts of the type used in the 'Crossing Divides' BBC World Service series employ the narrative techniques of short prose to follow a subject, or subjects, for a period of time and produce a non-fictional news report of a topic or event(s) of interest (van Krieken, 2025). These texts differ from short-form journalistic pieces not just in average length but also by their representation of events through a longer period of time rather than only depicting recently occurring, more immediate incidents. One advantage of such text types is that they enable a topic (e.g. intergroup contact, attitudinal change) to be fleshed out in more detail than in a breaking news piece or shorter articles, allowing for a more thorough exploration of the social actors and actions being represented. By being written to a greater level of detail, they can potentially cover more of the features that CT research has previously found to be helpful in improving attitudes.

5.2 Data Analysis

5.2.1 Towards a Discourse-Analytical Framework for the Study of Contact Narratives

Having identified an example of a naturally-occurring news media text in which alternative/counter-Islamophobic ways of representing Muslim communities appear to be forthcoming, it is now time, as specified in the model in Chapter 3, to subject this data to a more in-depth CDS-driven analysis. This is with a view of better understanding whether/how the representations in this text could in fact constitute preferrable, more ethically productive depictions of Muslim communities as per the normative principles taken in this thesis, so they can then be tested for their ideological effects as a way to verify whether they can indeed yield any emancipatory changes in prejudice levels within the demographics which this intervention targets. I note that for reasons of space and resource constraints in relation to the experimental

design, images and other multimodal features of this text are not covered in the present analytical framework (see Chapter 8 for future directions) and were thus removed before being presented to experiment participants.

5.2.1.1 Outgroup Representation in Contact Narratives: Reference and Predication

Out of the many ways in which the discursive makeup of contact narratives could be studied from within CDS, I am interested in exploring how minoritised outgroups are discursively represented in the text selected for the present prognostic intervention and, more specifically, how these representations could potentially be constitutive of more potentially emancipatory construals of Muslim communities in the context of the UK. Scrutinising patterns of (out)group representation in contact narratives such as this one ultimately involves exploring how *social identities* are constructed in these texts (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Koller, 2012).

To better understand why this is the case, and why this is important here, it is useful to return to the definition of prejudice drawn upon in this thesis (see footnote 9). In a nutshell, prejudice was defined as involving the attribution of evaluatively-laden traits to a social group and their members, as if these traits were inherent properties of these social actors. Ultimately this means that prejudices held about a group are a constitutive part of how this group's social identity is understood by a given perceiver (which in the case of a contact experiment are study participants). If one reads this through a CDS lens it becomes apparent that prejudice entails (a particular kind of) discursive representation of social identity, where outgroup prejudices entail more or less generalised, affectively-laden social actor representations instantiated in text and talk (see van Dijk, 1993a), which are often the result but also a driver of discrimination and inequality against these collectives. On the back of this observation, what follows is that alternative discourses would need to provide forms of discursive portrayal which make it possible to contradict, deconstruct or destabilise prejudiced outgroup representations such that by offering different ways to speak about outgroups and group identity more generally, they could provide alternative ways to *think*/*feel* about, and relate with, these groups as well.

One main way to put forth alternative forms of outgroup representation, as shown by vicarious contact research, is by discursively portraying ingroups and outgroups as engaging in some form of (overall) positive contact, and/or displaying solidarity and helping behaviours with each

other[17]. The dominance and centrality of such representations in a given text makes contact narratives what they are, i.e. gives them their particular genre identity (see Vezzali & Stathi, 2021). Some researchers (Graf et al., 2020) have furthermore recognised that the ways in which social identity is indexed, e.g. in how groups are labelled, when representing contact behaviours in a text is important. Ultimately, because contact interventions are about modulating prejudice (among other phenomena), and prejudice reflects a particular way of identifying/representing a group and its members, the discursive study of contact narratives has to be about exploring the discursive construction of group/social identity in these narratives.

The above is in fact consistent with how much of CDS has been studying social identity in text, talk and image. In discourse, social identity can be linguistically represented by indexing who a social actor *is* (sometimes referred to as 'nomination/referential strategies' -see Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), and what they *do* (and/or is done to/with them -also known as 'predication strategies' -ibid.). The former can be studied for example by observing the labels and/or traits attributed to a social actor in a given label, whereas the latter can be accounted for in the actions, processes and events linked to them in a narrative. Overall, then, the ensuing analysis will scrutinise the ways in which Muslim communities (the 'outgroup' in this instance[18]) are labelled, as well as the kind of (inter)actions in which they are involved (as agents, patients or any other kind of role) -most of which, in a contact narrative, will be of instances of contact but which crucially involve other kind of events as well.

In CDS, reference and predication have been studied by observing so-called 'nomination strategies' and 'predication strategies' respectively, where a strategy is a "…more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 45) . Linguistically speaking, nomination strategies can be instantiated via more or less complex nominal labels realising an appellative reference. Predication strategies are instantiated, prototypically, through constructions denoting action processes wherein a given actor participates, though in many cases nominal constructions themselves can also realise predicative attribution.

[17] By representing ingroups and outgroups behaving in this way, it is expected that trait impressions about the actors who exhibit such behaviours would be transformed. Put differently, it is assumed that the way in which participants view a group, which in the context of an intervention is mostly through (negative) prejudiced perceptions, would alter once the targets of such impressions are represented as behaving in ways that implicitly or explicitly contradict the (prejudiced) assumptions previously held about them.

[18] This classification is done by taking into account the identities of the participants of the intervention, for whom Muslim communities would constitute an outgroup.

Two CDS analytical models for studying nomination and predication are found in van Leeuwen (1996, 2008a) and Reisigl & Wodak (2001), who adapt van Leeuwen's system network of social actor representation, including some of its main categories of analysis. The present framework will follow part of the basic structure of these two models by also isolating and analysing the different appellative references in the text and any corresponding predications attributed to the actors being labelled, but will do so taking inspiration from some analytical parameters of Cognitive Linguistics (Croft & Cruse, 2004; Langacker, 1987, 1991). As such, it is situated within a CL-CDS approach to the study of discourse (Hart & Lukes, 2007).

5.2.2 Towards a CL-CDS Framework for The Study of Nomination and Predication Strategies in Contact Narratives

The decision to select CL-CDS as the approach for text analysis is consistent with the theoretical position taken in Chapter 1 wherein ideology was defined as a matter of social cognition, and with the definition of Islamophobic prejudices advanced in Chapter 4 as specific types of socially shared representations of Muslim identities, constituted in overgeneralising/essentialising evaluative attitudes about these groups, which are part of a given group of discourse actors' beliefs, worldviews and attitudes (i.e. ideological formations), and which support patterns of discrimination and inequality (i.e. problematic orders of social action such as the ones scoped in Section 4.2.3). As such, because ideology is defined as a social cognitive phenomenon, and Islamophobic prejudice as a component of problematic ideological ideations, and noting that one of the aims of the present intervention is to attain ideological changes towards more emancipatory ways of discursively representing group relations and identity for the case of Muslim communities, an approach which deals with the relationship between discourse and social cognition in the way CL-CDS does can be particularly useful at this juncture.

When making the case for a CL-inspired approach to CDS, Hart (2011b) notes how within CDS "Wodak (2006, p. 180) recognises that discursive processes, such as identity construction [discursively performed to a great extent via strategies of nomination and predication], inherently involve cognitive processes, which she suggests need to be spelled out" (p. 172). The promise of CL, according to Hart (2011b) is that "it can disclose the conceptual processes that play a fundamental part in the communication [and configuration] of ideology" (p. 173), including social identity. In this way CL offers a psychologically plausible account of how language and other

forms of discursive action are employed during the process of constructing (and also challenging and replacing) ideological representations, including beliefs about group identity and (power) relations with an outgroup.

Following from the notion that outgroup prejudice is of a social cognitive nature by definition, therefore, an approach to the study of discourse that systematically accounts for how the properties of text and talk interact with, shape, and are shaped by, patterns of social cognition (and their transformation) emerges as particularly fruitful for the task of accounting for how outgroup identities are discursively construed in contact narratives. Furthermore, and in light of the integration of Contact Theory and CDS attempted here, I note that it may be helpful to apply a CDS approach which is, at least in a broad sense, conversant with some of the theoretical formulations and terminological particularities of Social and Cognitive Psychology, which CL, and by extension CL-CDS in fact greatly draw upon. Indeed, out of the different CDS approaches, CL-CDS can be said to be the one that has most in common with Contact Theory by virtue of being based on CL (which draws heavily from Cognitive Psychology itself) and thus would arguably require less theoretical/definitional adaptations for an interdisciplinary CT/CDS synergy to operate. On the other end of this synergy, CT itself has, since its inception, made a great deal of emphasis on processes of social cognition and categorisation underpinning intergroup prejudice, discrimination and alternative ways of conceiving and structuring group relations (Allport himself conceived of prejudice, and its modulation, as group-level cognitive/affective processes, contextually and historically determined). In this endeavor, CT research as seen above often pays attention to processes of categorisation, attention, perspectivisation, typicality, etc. as they are brought up in contact situations (Harwood et al., 2005; Brown & Hewstone, 2005). I note that these concepts, and/or similar renditions of them, are of central interest both to Cognitive Linguistic CDS (Hart, 2015 [2012]), as a CL-inspired approach to the study of discourse, ideology and power relations (Hart, 2011b), and to CL (see Croft & Cruse, 2004) as a paradigm for the study of language, cognition and human interaction more generally. Therefore, the following stages will bring CL-CDS principles and methods of analysis on board for the case of the present intervention.

5.2.2.1 CL and CL-CDS: Some Important Terms and Foundational Principles

Before proceeding, it will be necessary to offer a brief introduction of some CL and CL-CDS theoretical tenets and key analytical constructs from which the categories used to account for

discursive instantiations of nomination and predication strategies in contact narratives were conceived and designed. For a more complete overview of CL terminology and concepts, I direct the reader to Croft and Cruse (2004); Evans and Green (2006); Taylor (2002). See Hart (2011b) for an overview of CL-CDS parameters of analysis.

One foundational theoretical tenet within Cognitive Linguistics is that the system of language is significantly shaped by the use speakers make of it, and that language is not a wholly discrete, standalone module in the mind. Instead, as per CL, language use and comprehension involve the dynamic integration of multiple cognitive faculties (memory, affective processing, attention, sensorimotor perception) to the task of making sense of reality and of sharing these construals in acts of communication with other language users.

A key concept in CL, which CL-CDS heavily draws upon, is that of construal. One of the foundational hypotheses of CL itself is that "conceptual structures cannot be reduced to a simple truth-conditional correspondence with the world" (Croft & Cruse, 2004; p. 3). According to this view, concepts, e.g. the impressions that some people have of 'Muslims', do not emerge from a one-to-one, neatly linear correspondence with an absolute, natural and predetermined reality. Rather, in real-life experiences, people, entities and events in the world must by default be constructed/conceptually assembled somehow, i.e. construed. Human beings sift their experiences in the world through their mental faculties, and construct representations of these experiences, which are influenced by human-specific patterns of embodiment and their prior experiences, including their individual and social characteristics and the context they are situated in. Consequently, most, if not all, aspects of human experience according to CL "are subject to construal, including the structure of categories [by which people try to organise their world] and the organisation of knowledge itself" (ibid.) in the mind.

From a CL perspective, language itself is key to studying how construal operates, as well as how it evolves. "A major aspect of human cognitive ability is the conceptualization of the experience to be communicated (and also the conceptualization of the linguistic knowledge we possess)" (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 3). In particular, CL argues that "[lexico]grammatical constructions play a major role in construing the experience to be communicated" (ibid.) and in (re)organising our knowledge on the back of these experiences.

CL-CDS 'piggybacks' on these tenets to account for how language (and discourse more generally) is fundamentally constitutive of ideology, with ideology viewed as a matter of cognition/affect. In explaining the ideological substrates of construal, Hart (2011b) brings up the analogy posed by Langacker in which he compares construal with the process of visually capturing a scene: "in viewing a scene, what we actually see depends on how closely we examine it, what we choose to look at, which elements we pay most attention to, and where we view it from" (2008, p. 55).

According to this logic, and relevant to the present thesis, the process of transforming beliefs and attitudes about Muslim communities, i.e. bringing about ideological change, would require new ways of "seeing" these groups which, to follow Langacker's analogy, translates to new ways of speaking about these groups. An analogous principle is actually noted in CT to the extent that it is argued that representations of outgroups in texts and other experimental input could only work to challenge existing prejudices if they offer "new information about a minority group and [foster] a sense of trust, respect, or attraction with representatives of a minority group" (Schiappa et al., 2005, p. 112) that was not so readily adopted by participants at starting point.

In studying linguistic construal, Cognitive Linguistics argues that, because communication "necessarily involves conceptualisation, and language is based on the same system that we use in thought and action, linguistic structure affords indirect access to conceptual processes" (Hart, 2011b, p. 173). Following from Langacker's visual analogy, language is conceived as "a window to the mind" (Fauconnier, 1999, p. 96) across Cognitive Linguistics.

Accordingly, different linguistic constructions will reflect a different construal of experience, by giving rise to, and resulting from, different emergent combinations of cognitive operations in speakers' minds during communication. Looking at language use from a CL lens can thus provide us with a way of accounting for the patterns of construal and underlying worldviews of text producers, but crucially social actors' linguistic/discursive constructions can also influence how other discourse actors, like news media audiences, may themselves construe an event or group of people from the linguistic instantiations they encounter and process during interaction (see Langacker, 1991). The analytical framework introduced in the following sections makes note of this to account for how Muslim communities are discursively represented, and speculates on the kind of construals that could be facilitated in readers' minds when encountering such semiotic structures.

In the following paragraphs, I will touch upon a number of construal operations and processes that are of key importance to the present framework. Another central aim of this analytical set-up is to describe, from a CL-CDS perspective, and informed by CT, how nomination and predication strategies in a news-based contact narrative are instantiated, and assess the extent to which potentially more emancipatory representations of outgroup identities and actions could be arrived at by means of these strategies. While only those processes of construal that will be relevant for the text sourced for analysis and empirical exploration, a non-exhaustive, but quite detailed typology of different construal operations and the corresponding cognitive faculties they draw upon can be found in Croft and Cruse (2004).

Across much of CL, the organisation of knowledge in the mind is accounted for using the concept of ***semantic frames/domains***. Briefly defined, *semantic frames* is the name given to networks of interrelated concepts in language users' minds, which are associated with a given area(s) of experience. During communication, different linguistic constructions can help 'invoke', i.e. activate/prompt, different semantic frames, sometimes multiple frames simultaneously. For example, the plural noun 'muslims' could typically bring up concepts such as MUSLIMS, ISLAM, RELIGION[19] and (contingent on the degree of (de)humanisation of these actors held by a given language user) the frame HUMAN and/or interrelated frames of EMPATHY, HUMANITY, DIGNITY, among others. Furthermore, depending on the connotations of a word or phrase for a given participant(s), a given construction may elicit more or less positive, more or less negatively valenced, cognitive-affective responses during construal. For some discourse actors, the lexeme 'Muslims' may more readily activate a semantic frame of TERRORISM if this is strongly associated in the mind of said actors (for example from repeated exposures to these associations in news media and political discourse, as detailed in Section 4.2).

Semantic frames, as understood in CL, tend to be quite broad and complex, multidimensional networks of meaning. Consequently, during construal it is rarely possible (or perhaps impossible) for the entirety of these networks to be activated at all times, to the same degree of comprehensiveness and salience. According to CL, language use, and human thought with it, are by its very nature selective (Croft & Cruse, 2004). Different linguistic constructions encountered in interaction will direct attention to different portions of a domain of meaning, or semantic

[19] N.B. I follow CL conventions in representing concepts in capital letters, and their linguistic instantiations in lowercase.

frame, i.e. they will ***profile*** different areas of it and make certain portions more salient (i.e. noticeable) in attention than others. This can help invoke different construals of reality depending on where, and how, attention is focused in texts, and can work ideologically (Hart, 2014b).

Take the example '1 in 5 Brit Muslims' sympathy for jihadis' from a (now retracted) headline in The Sun newspaper referring to a Survation poll that had asked British Muslim people whether they held any sympathy for "fighters in Syria" (Brione, 2015, n.p.). The use of the nominal lexeme 'jihadis' potentially directs attention to a more specific type of 'fighters in Syria' (which was what the survey question originally asked about). This latter nomination, on the other hand, opens the possibility that what is being supported could also be rebels fighting against the Assad regime, individual soldiers from different countries involved in the fighting, and anyone caught fighting in the war (and crucially does not necessarily entail condoning the actions of such fighters). However, in the headline, the nomination 'jihadis' selectively focuses attention on a partial subset of the actual group being asked about in the original survey. At the same time, given the evaluative connotations of the term, it tinges the possessive predicational attribution in question in highly negative terms, by potentially making the TERRORISM frame more salient as a consequence (as opposed to, e.g. REBELS which could also have been profiled but was not), all while possibly favouring a construal of British Muslims as terrorism sympathisers.

Meanwhile, in the partitive construction '1 in 5 Brit Muslims', the ratio '1 in 5' foregrounds a specific subset of the surveyed population, and backgrounds the remaining number (the 4 in 5, or 80% majority that hold no such sympathies). The use of '1 in 5' could be seen as favouring what in CL is called a more ***fine-grained*** construal than if, e.g. '20%' had been used to refer to the same quantity. We say 'fine-grained' because in '1 in 5 Brit Muslims' sympathy', individual members can be more easily picked out and 'visualised' more concretely than in '20% of Brit Muslims' sympathy' (which is in turn an arguably more ***coarse-grained*** representation of this same proportion). Note, furthermore, that though denoting a minority ratio (1 in 5), the connection of this minority with all Muslims is still kept within scope of attention by virtue of being placed in a partitive prepositional phrase '1 in 5', which imagistically locates this (metonymical) unit (1) closer to the whole population (5), and even as 'contained' in it (potentially reminiscent of discursive construals about religious extremists being infiltrated *in* Muslim communities and Manichean distinctions of good/bad Muslims -see Downing & Dron, 2020). Granularity differences are also relevant for the case of finite clauses (not just nominal constructions) which

are typically how predication strategies are linguistically realised. An example of a fine-grained vs a more coarse-grained construal for the case of a finite predication can be seen when one compares a clause like 'Tanweer and Ian went together twice' (invoking two easily identifiable instances of a single visit in some conceived past) vs 'Tanweer and Ian went together all the time' (multiple visits, made repeatedly throughout a period in the past and less readily picked out individually).

Another important concept in CL which is of central importance to the present analytical framework used here for the examination of nomination and predication strategies in 'Crossing Divides', is that of ***schematicity***. In CL, the term schema (or its plural schemas/schemata) refers to a set of generalised conceptual templates which result from abstracting away the commonalities of specific, more concrete instances of past experiences/events/entities, and give rise to a more encompassing, broad-brush and/or more general conceptual categories. In fact, the use of a more specific 'jihadis' over a more hyperonymic 'fighters' reveals a difference not just in the portions of semantic frames being profiled, but also in their schematicity. A useful analogy to understand the notion of schema is to think of a schema as a skeletal structure, in which more specific concepts/instances of a schema 'flesh out' and add substance and/or further details to these structures (i.e. they *elaborate* them).

From a CL lens, acts of reference and predication in discourse can be seen as more specific instantiations of two very schematic, and primordial conceptual semantic frames, an OBJECT/THING and an ACTION/PROCESS frame, respectively. Language may be deployed to point towards specific instances of an OBJECT/THING semantic frame, for example via the noun 'Mosque', or ACTION/PROCESS semantic frames in which an OBJECT/THING is placed in some kind of temporal relation, e.g. in a finite clause such as 'It makes me feel proud that I have been accepted'. Virtually every concept (whether instantiating an OBJECT or an ACTION/PROCESS frame) has a more or less substantial degree of schematicity vis-à-vis another one within the same/similar semantic frame, so schematicity can usually only be defined by contrasting one set of concepts with another. Compare the lexeme 'Muslims' which is more schematic (and also more coarse-grained) vis-à-vis 'Muslims in Lincoln', which refers to a more specific Muslim group, which is itself more coarse-grained than 'Two Muslims in Lincoln'. Of interest here is that one consequence of such differences in construal could be that any positive or negative predications made about a more schematic label such as 'Muslims' are potentially more likely be extended to the whole frame MUSLIMS than if a more specific 'Muslims in Lincoln' (see

Section 5.2.3) were to be deployed, and this could have different effects on attitudinal formations such as prejudice. Alongside differences in schematicity/specificity, differences in abstractness/concreteness in construal are also relevant to the analysis below. The concept elicited by a noun like 'interaction' is more abstract (and comparatively more schematic) than 'phone call', which represents a more easily visualisable, imagistic, concrete instance of an instance of contact. Compare also the more abstract construal invoked in the metonymic, metaphoric predication 'East has met West in Lincoln' compared to a more literal, more concrete construal invoked in 'The site for the mosque was built less than 100m from the city's WWII memorial'.

In the same way that language use involves a process of selection of which aspects of reality to draw attention towards and which to background or omit altogether in construal, different utterances may privilege different ***perspectives*** or, to continue with the visual metaphor used by Langacker, favour certain ***vantage points*** over others from which such selections are engaged. It should be noted that in CL all instances of linguistic construal are viewed as *subjective* representations, insofar as they involve specific language users in a process of selectively attending to certain aspects of reality during construal to the exclusion of other alternatives, i.e. construal is always engaged by one or more *subjects* and no two construals will be fully identical (even when they may bear significant similarities borne out of shared experiences, contextual factors and shared semiotic conventions, for example). Importantly, the presence and realisation of these subjectivities in language can be made more or less overt and noticeable. Usage of reported speech/thought and markers of deixis, as well as patterns of evidentiality, epistemic, affective and deontic modality, are typically recruited to signal to different viewpoints and present the information in an utterance as more or less subjective/objective[20]. Following from the example above, a statement like '1 in 5 Muslim Brits' sympathy for jihadis' can be said to invite a relatively more 'objective-sounding' construal as it is presented as an overarching assertion and the source of the information is not explicitly specified or marked, and may thus be potentially more difficult to retrieve without further information. In contrast, had the headline been 'Survation poll: 1 in 5 Muslim Brits' sympathy for jihadis', the source of these figures would have been more overtly indexed and thus it would become comparatively easier to scrutinise this information, and subsequently to counter the proposition advanced in this headline once new information is obtained (particularly the fact that the figures do not refer to support for jihadis but

[20] Note that objectivity/subjectivity are not absolute categories, and in CL, as well as CL-CDS, the interest lies not in whether a state of affairs is objectively 'true' or not, but how it may be more or less readily *construed* as such to different degrees.

rather the people fighting in Syria more generally). In the forthcoming analysis this will become important in connection to the task of making out whose voices are included in the contact narrative, and whether representations of outgroups are qualified in any way by the perspectives of a given actor in the text, or presented as more objective, more or less 'veridical', and positive/negatively valenced, predications.

One of the foci of interest of CL when it comes to accounting for construal is on how users may achieve a more or less integrated and holistic construction of reality. Following the catalogue of construal operations compiled by Croft & Cruse (2004), during linguistic interaction, it can be said that construals of events involve arriving at a ***gestalt***, i.e. a conceptual assemblage of the constitutive parts and entities involved in an event out of the different components that are selected in attention during language use and comprehension from a given (more or less overtly retrievable) vantage point. In predications like 'East has met West in Lincoln' (see Appendix 4) there is an image schema of (fictive) MOTION, in which two entities come closer to one another in a conceived space, i.e. 'meet', while the 'East' and 'West' nominal constructions impose schematic construals that are perhaps evocative, in the context, of frames of ISLAM (East/Other) and BRITAIN (West/Us), whereas 'in Lincoln' contextualises/limits the scope of predication by adding further information about the geographical space in which this (largely metaphorical) meeting is conceived. At the same time, given the perfective aspect construction, the process in question can be said to be largely ***bounded*** as the action of 'meeting' has already taken place in conceived time ('i.e. East *has met* West' in the mental image invoked by these words). An ***unbounded*** process, in comparison, would be one such as 'East is meeting West in Lincoln for the first time ever'. The seemingly positive appraisal afforded to the event in the example 'East has met West in Lincoln', can be inferred from the context in which the dynamic, bounded predication is inserted in the text (see Section 5.2.3 below), as told from the perspective of an ingroup actor (in a direct speech quotative). This essentially completes the assemblage of parts of meaning[21] such that readers can arrive at a more or less whole construal from the lexico-grammatical components of the example, in interaction with prior background knowledge and experience (about EAST and WEST and related concepts profiled in this context, about the meeting of two ENTITIES, about location in SPACE, about the IDENTITY of the speaker and the

[21] Note also that the verb phrase itself is part of what is called a dynamic process as connoted by the sense of motion in the 'meeting' of two entities and the use of the present perfective aspect (compare to stative copular process like 'The mosque is located 100m away from the WWII memorial' -this is beyond the scope of the present analysis but see Taylor, 2002 for a more in-depth explanation on the difference between dynamic/stative and grounded/ungrounded processes).

appraisal/perspective that he seems to be taking of this event, inferable from previously parsed constructions, i.e. gestalts, encountered while reading the text). Importantly, differences in degrees of ***boundedness*** are also relevant at the gestalt constitution stage for nominations, as these can help users distinguish between a single individual, bounded unit being brought up in a speech act of reference such as in 'Tanweer Ahmed', 'The Islamic Association of Lincoln'; a single, but unbounded (and more coarse-grained) unit as in 'the Muslim community in Lincoln', or an unbounded, plurality/multiplicity of actors 'Muslims in the UK', or a more bounded (and more fine-grained) plurality in 'Tanweer and Ian'. These distinctions can help one assess what parts of the collective 'Muslims' are being referred to and predicated, and possibly whether any potentially prejudice-modulating predications are more or less likely to be applied by readers to the outgroup during reading in ways that counteract Islamophobic patterns of construal.

Now that some basic concepts and theoretical notions in CL have been covered, it is possible to move on to explain how they are applied to the task of teasing out how nomination and predication strategies appear to be engaged in 'Crossing Divides'.

5.2.3 A CL-CDS Analysis of Nomination and Predication Strategies in 'Crossing Divides'

5.2.3.1 Nomination Strategies: How are Outgroup Actors Labelled in the Text?

Nomination Analysis: Step 1

The analysis of outgroup nominations for the data in question proceeded in four stages. As a first step I identified and extracted any and all mentions of a Muslim actor in the text. I observed whether an outgroup reference is lexically realised by either a 'simple' actor label, i.e. one composed of a single nominal constituent, for example a [FIRST NAME] + [LAST NAME], or a A + [NOUN] construction; or a 'complex' one, i.e. nominal constructions that also contain adjectival modifiers, prepositional phrases, possessives, appositives, etc. besides the head noun.

For each complex nomination, I also observe whether there are any additional outgroup labels in subordinated elements of the phrase and extract these for further analysis. In the data, some embedded nominations are simple nominal constructions appearing in apposition to one another and giving rise to a complex nomination, whilst other nominations are complex ones embedded in a larger, also complex nomination. For example, in the nominal construction 'the

mosque's initial planning bid' there are two different outgroup labels embedded in this larger one: one -an objectification of action carried out by the outgroup in 'initial planning bid'- as the head noun, and a second one in the possessive modifier 'the mosque's' (this last one being complex given the addition of the genitive marker at the end of the 'THE + [NOUN]' construction). Another example of a complex nominal construction with multiple outgroup nominations embedded in it can be found in the appositive 'Tanweer Ahmed, chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association'. In this example the outgroup is nominated three times in total; in the simple nomination 'Tanweer Ahmed', and in two complex ones in 'chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association' and 'the Lincoln Islamic Association', embedded in the former.

This way of isolating and counting nominations enables one to get a more exhaustive and comprehensive tally of any time the outgroup is referred to in the text. Overall, in the 'Crossing Divides' news text, the outgroup is nominated 142 times.

Table 1 below depicts a subset of these nominations and how they appear in the analysis.

	Nomination	**In:**
1	Lincoln's first-ever mosque	Meet the British Army Veteran supporting Lincoln's first-ever mosque
2	those bloody Muslims	What are you going to do about those bloody Muslims?
3	its [towering facade, jade green dome and glistening gold crescent]	With its towering facade, jade green dome and glistening gold crescent
4	towering facade	
5	jade green dome	
6	glistening gold crescent	
7	Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque	Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque is already settling into the city's skyline
8	The new mosque	The new mosque can hold more than 500 worshippers
9	more than 500 worshippers	

Table 1. First 9 Outgroup Nominations in 'Crossing Divides'. *Items in bold on the 'Nomination' column correspond to the head noun of a nominal complex/simplex where applicable. Rows in grey correspond to*

text from captions, which are included in the analysis (accompanying images are not included in the present analysis as they were not shown to participants on the experiment following from this analysis).

Nomination Analysis: Step 2

Once all instances of outgroup nominations are extracted and tallied, it is possible to take a closer look at some qualitative features of the labels used to realise them, and the kinds of outgroup identification that appear to be facilitated through them.

This second stage of outgroup nomination analysis consists, firstly, of classifying each outgroup label depending on whether the semantic feature HUMAN is profiled in some way, e.g. in 'Muslims in the city', 'people', 'my children'; or not e.g. in 'the mosque', 'Eid celebrations'. Nominations of the outgroup in which the semantic feature HUMAN is not invoked are considered to reference the outgroup obliquely, and as such as labelled as 'Obliques'.

The present text contains 66 such nominations. On the other hand, outgroup nominations where the semantic feature 'HUMAN' is profiled occur 76 times in the text.

In the present framework, human actor nominations are further classified according to four categories. For this I avail myself of the notions of *plexity* and *granularity* presented Talmy (2000b) and Langacker (1987) respectively (see also Croft & Cruse, 2004). The notions of plexity and granularity are applied in studying how entities/objects (as well as processes -see Talmy, 2000) are structurally configured in construal, depending on how attention is focused and how a gestalt (i.e. a 'meaningful whole') may be assembled in language users' minds (Croft & Cruse, 2004). The two dimensions of plexity and granularity are relevant here because social actors labelled via nominal constructions can be seen as instantiations of a general OBJECT/THING schematic frame (see Langacker, 1987; see also Croft, 1991) and there are a variety of ways to construe them in a given nomination -some more intricate and complex than others (see Wierzbicka, 1980), and each with potentially different cognitive effects vis-à-vis outgroup perceptions in readers. In this text, differences in plexity and granularity affect how quantities of people/entities are defined and how any resulting groupings are delineated and as such are important sites of representation of human groups and their more or less individual members, all of whom are the targets of social attitudes/prejudices.

On the basis of the above, I proceed by classifying each human social actor reference depending on whether the relevant nomination profiles a single individual (a uniplex) or a grouping of multiple members (a multiplex). If the latter, I note whether this multiplex nominal invokes a more granular/individualised or coarse-grained/collectivised construal of these pluralities. In scanning more granular/individualised multiplexes, separate members of the outgroup are more easily picked out (e.g. 'Tanweer and other Muslims') than in more coarse-grained/collectivised construals (e.g. 'Muslims in the city'). On the whole, this leaves us with three classes of human outgroup actors, termed here 'individuals' (e.g. 'Tanweer Ahmed'), 'clusters' (e.g. 'Tanweer and other Muslims'; 'Some of my colleagues') and 'collectives' ('Muslims in the city'; 'the Muslim community'). A fourth category, that of 'entity' is added to cover instances where the notion HUMAN is active yet the outgroup actor in question is an institution and/or an objectification of a human group, e.g. in the nominal phrase 'Lincoln Islamic Association'.

Overall, classifications at this stage allow us to observe what kind of outgroup actors are most often talked about in the input text: whether it is a non-human object or abstraction obliquely linked to the outgroup by cultural association; a single, individual member of the outgroup; aggregates of more than one individual; or the group as a whole entity. This is of crucial importance when tracking changes in (prejudiced) attitudes towards an outgroup because, as will be detailed further, the operationalisation of outgroup prejudice in ensuing experiments examines semantic associations between the collective MUSLIMS and more positively/negatively valenced concepts in participants, and these associations are tested via the presentation of single-word adjectival constructions (e.g. 'monstruous', 'empathic', 'dignified') presented after the generic lexeme 'muslims'. Thus, exploring what portion of outgroup actors any predications in the text are linked to could potentially enable us to make inferences about whether conceptually invoking the group obliquely, through individual members, a group of more than one person, or a combination of these types of social actor references in any alternative/counter-Islamophobic predications is most effective at modifying prejudice against MUSLIMS, seeing as how prejudice towards these groups will be operationalised as the more or less positive/negative evaluative associations held towards Muslims as a (largely unified) collective.

In all mediated contact experiments reviewed previously it was the case that input texts normally narrated episodes of contact involving only individual group members and it was expected that any alternative/novel and otherwise prejudice-mitigating predications would be extrapolated to

the wider category provided these individuals were represented as 'typical' members of the outgroup (Brown & Hewstone, 2005) and/or explicitly labelled via social category identifiers (e.g. 'Roma male' -see also Section 5.2.3.2) such that they could be construed as representatives of the outgroup. Yet in naturally occurring news-based contact narratives like the one used here, there is more than one individual, as well as larger collectives being represented and, as such, the present framework includes CL-assisted systematic criteria for distinguishing between these type of nominations (but see also van Leeuwen, 1996) so that their contribution to changes in group attitudes may be assessed. This is particularly relevant because news media representations of outgroups, including contact narratives, often rely on a combination of collectivised and individualised representations of outgroup actors where both groups and individuals are reported on, and both could arguably play a role in the construction (and modification) of evaluative attitudes towards a schematic frame such as MUSLIMS.

Nomination Analysis: Step 3

Having made note of the degree of activation -or lack thereof- of the semantic frame of HUMAN and the structural configuration of HUMAN actors in a given nomination, I proceed by zooming in on the specific 'social categorisation profile' of each nominal label. In a nutshell, doing this involves examining whether/how social group membership is brought up in a given nomination.

As pointed out in Reisigl & Wodak (2001) a distinctive feature of discriminating/racist discourses is the overrepresentation of reductive racialised nominations whereby an actor is only known in connection to their membership of a given ethnic outgroup. This was seen in the vast proportion of the representations of Muslims studied by Richardson (2004) and Poole (2002). Determining the ways in which membership categorisation is instantiated in the input text enables us to keep track of how a relevant social identity category is invoked through language and whether or not a contextually richer, more nuanced way of representing an outgroup actor's social identity is also forthcoming (cf. the data in Downing & Dron, 2020).

Accordingly, for every outgroup label (human or oblique) I first determine whether a semantic relationship of social category membership is invoked. Specifically, because the present intervention aims to counter anti-Muslim prejudice, it is first noted whether an outgroup's

ethnoreligious identity, i.e. in this case consistent with being a member of, or in the case of oblique nominations being associated with, the Muslim community, is invoked in any way[22].

For example, the collective label 'British Muslims' explicitly foregrounds an actor's ethnoreligious identity and membership of this group, whereas in the input text the oblique reference 'the mosque' invokes the outgroup category obliquely given the -semantically conventionalised- connection between MOSQUE to the people who use them (i.e. MUSLIMS). These relationships are noted down under the tag '**Membership**' on Table 2 below.

In some cases, though, it is not ethnoreligious social categories which are foregrounded, i.e. the relevant social actor is not necessarily nominated in connection with membership of a Muslim community as such. Rather, other social categories are brought up, such as gender, family membership ('my **wife**'; 'my **children**'), professions ('600,00 **soldiers**'), and in some cases membership of the more general category 'human' (e.g. in the nomination 'Some **people**'). For the cases where these markers of identity are used, a subtag (e.g. **HUM** for human, **ARMY** for army, **FAM** for family) is added to the '**Membership**' tag, indicating the presence other social categories.

In many cases of simple nominal constructions in this text -both of human and non-human actors-, no membership of a social category is directly invoked but rather one (or more) of the semantic relations mentioned above on their own, for example pronominal relations ('He'[23]), a quantity/number ('Some'), or a behaviour/action ('the application'). Finally, in some simple oblique nominations, neither a social category nor any other of the above semantic relations is foregrounded, such as in the objectifications 'traffic', 'the building', 'leaflets'. In such cases, a '**NM/NR'** (no membership/no relation) tag is used.

[22] This could be adapted to account for other types of social identities in other applications of this discourse-analytical framework (e.g. gender, sexuality, nationality, etc.)

[23] Technically, in such cases a semantic relationship of gender identity (male) and number (singular) is invoked, however for the purposes of this intervention gender identity is not singled out in the social categorisation profile, and the singular/plural distinction is picked up by the multiplex/uniplex analytical distinction during Stage 2.

Table 2 below shows the distribution of some of these tags in the data.

	Nomination	In:	Type of OG Participant	Social Categorisation Profile
1	Lincoln's first-ever **mosque**	Meet the British Army Veteran supporting Lincoln's first-ever mosque	Oblique	Location + Ordinal + **Membership**
2	those bloody **Muslims**	What are you going to do about those bloody Muslims?	Collective	Distance + Trait + **Membership**
3	its [towering facade, jade green dome and glistening gold crescent]	With its towering facade, jade green dome and glistening gold crescent	Oblique	Possessor + Pronominal
4	towering **facade**		Oblique	Possessed + Trait + **NM**
5	jade green **dome**		Oblique	Possessed + Trait + **NM**
6	glistening gold **crescent**		Oblique	Possessed + Trait + **Membership**
7	Lincoln's first purpose-built **mosque**	Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque is already settling into the city's skyline	Oblique	Location + Ordinal + Behaviour + **Membership**
8	The new **mosque**	The new mosque can hold more than 500 worshippers	Oblique	Temporal + **Membership**
9	more than 500 worshippers		Cluster	Number + **Behaviour + Membership**
10	the 2m **building**	In a few weeks, the 2m building will open	Oblique	Trait + **NM**
11	its [first planning application]	Almost a decade after its first planning application was submitted to the council	Oblique	Possessor + Pronominal
12	first **planning application**		Oblique	Possessed + Ordinal + **Behaviour**

13	the **mosque**	Ian was one of the mosque's most vociferous opponents	Oblique	**Membership**

***Table 2. First 13 Outgroup Nominations**, displayed alongside type of Outgroup (OG) actor and social categorisation profiles according to Step 2 and Step 3.*

For the case of complex nominal constructions in particular, it is often the case that adjectival modifiers, prepositional phrases or possessive pronominal markers are typically present in some way. In the present text, these are important because they potentially serve to compound the social categorisation profile of a nomination and often help contextualise and/or incorporate additional information about an outgroup actor, potentially enriching the way in which the outgroup is being represented and affecting how salient a given social category assigned to an actor is (see Step 4). Some of the semantic relations invoked in the present text are: location, (e.g. 'Muslims **in the city**'), trait attribution (e.g. '**the new** mosque'; '**Muslim** people'), role (e.g. '**chairman** of the Lincoln Islamic Association'), more or less explicit specifications of number or quantity ('e.g. '**Some** people'; '**600,000** soldiers'), actions/behaviours (e.g. '**purpose-built** mosque'; 'the mosque's **opening ceremony**'), temporal or ordinal relations ('the **first-ever** mosque'; '**Last year's** terrorist attacks[24]'), and relations of juxtaposition where an ad-hoc cluster or collective is created ('**Ian Durrant** and **Tanweer Ahmed**'; '**Tanweer** and **other Muslims**'; 'the **English** and **Muslim communities**'), in most cases integrating the two groups (Muslims and non-Muslim Lincoln residents) in one nomination.

Naturally, for the aim of modifying problematic semantic associations borne by MUSLIMS in participants' ideological formations, it is the case that social actor nominations would need to, in some way, be semantically linked with 'Muslims' in a text such that this facet of a social actor's identity is invoked and any alternative predications attributed to outgroup actors can be perceived as relevant/applicable to the group against which participants are prejudiced (see Hewstone, 1996; Crisp, 2010). Ultimately, for aversive attitudes towards Muslim communities to be mitigated/deconstructed, any alternative, and potentially prejudice-dismantling predications must be (more or less consciously) perceived as relating to Muslim actors in some way. However, this does not prevent actor nominations from also invoking other social category memberships - a phenomenon known as 'multiple categorisation', which is associated with precluding/inhibiting the formation of outgroup prejudice by providing a more multi-faceted,

[24] In the present analysis this nomination is attributed to the outgroup on the assumption that participants would be likely to associate terrorist attacks with Muslim communities (see D'Orazio & Salehyan, 2018).

diverse representation of a person or group's social identity (see Prati et al., 2021). Furthermore, the necessity to ensure that alternative predications are linked to the outgroup does not prevent text producers from adding extra information by which less genericised forms of single social category identification may be foregrounded. And finally, it does not mean that actor references where no social category is invoked are not possible in the same text (a phenomenon known as *decategorisation*; ibid.). By examining each social actor label as detailed above, this analytical framework enables us to more comprehensively and systematically track the wide range of ways in which group categorisation is linguistically realised and social membership conceptually invoked in a given nomination (cf. Graf et al., 2020).

Nomination Analysis: Step 4

A further point made by Reisigl & Wodak (2001; see also: van Dijk, 1998a) is that in many cases racialised/ethnicised nominations are realised by generic hypernyms e.g. 'Immigrant/s', 'Muslim/s' such that any ensuing (and predominantly debasing) predications are conceived as applying to the entire social category (when they involve a group actor) or are explicable by virtue of membership of the category (when involving an individual actor), with the consequence that any internal diversity or social identity complexity is strategically backgrounded and discounted. Noting this point, and following CL-inspired analytical parameters, the fourth stage of the outgroup nomination analysis involves scoring each nomination in terms of the degree to which the genericised concept MUSLIMS is more or less *salient* in a given actor label (see van Oudenhoven et al., 1996 for evidence outside of CDA and CL of how category salience affects attitudes and perceptions of social actors). This is particularly important inasmuch as MUSLIMS (in the plural) is the concept whose semantic associations will be queried pre and post exposure at Stage 2, such that outgroup prejudice is operationalised as the degree to which the concept MUSLIMS is associated with negative more than with positive notions (see Section 6.3). For actors with higher degrees of prejudice associated with this generic category, it is expected that hypernymic nominal references would prompt largely negative responses and therefore it is necessary to keep tabs on whether or not an input text activates this genericisation saliently. Ultimately, this warrants a discussion (see Appendix 3) about whether to avoid using such form of nomination or to only do so sparingly in an intervention text, justifying the necessity of tracking its salience in outgroup actor labels[25].

[25] Note that for interventions tackling prejudice against other social minorities, the same step can be taken but the degree of salience being assessed would be of whichever group category concept is being queried for its evaluative connotations at the experimental stage (e.g. 'WOMEN', 'ROMA', 'ASIANS' or any multi-word variety of these).

In the present framework the degree of salience of the genericised concept MUSLIMS is scored along three levels: low/no salience ('We', 'Some', 'the mosque', 'Tanweer Ahmed'; '250 worshippers'), medium salience ('Muslim people', 'Muslims in the city') and high salience ('Some Muslims'; 'local Muslims'). Low salience nominations are scored as such because no explicit activation of MUSLIMS is forthcoming in the relevant label. Medium salience nominations are tagged as such when the lemma 'Muslim' is present but not in its genericised form and/or when it is deployed as a modifier (e.g. 'Muslim people'), and/or a post-modifier is added to 'Muslims' which enables a more specific/concrete identification of human outgroup actors where 'Muslims' competes for attention with another entity (e.g. '**Muslims** in **the city**'; '**Tanweer** and **other Muslims**'). High salience nominations, in turn, activate MUSLIMS with a comparatively higher degree of prominence and genericity, by either being constituted by the collective noun 'Muslims' on its own, or where the nominal is at phrase-final position and is pre-modified e.g. 'those bloody Muslims'; 'local Muslims'.

Ultimately, by noting what kind of outgroup actors are involved in the narrative, whether human or not, whether individual or multiple, and whether defined by dint of a (de)contextualised ethnoreligious identity or something else, we can then make interpretations in terms of the degree to which any alternative predications made in the input text could/would then be extrapolated as relevant and applicable to the outgroup schematic collective MUSLIMS, in ways which redirect readers' attention away from highly essentialised negative attributions linked to the group as a whole and result in changes in the semantic associations held by the concept, and thus in social attitudes like outgroup prejudice. Table 3 shows a sample of nominations as they appear in the analysis once the four steps have been completed.

	Nomination	In:	Type of OG Participant	Social Categorisation Profile	Salience of MUSLIMS
50	local Muslims	In reality, he says, local Muslims simply wanted "to feel comfortable"	Collective	Location + Membership	HS
51	he	So he decided to act, by knocking on every door in the area	Individual	Pronominal	LS
52	us	A lot of people welcomed us, but a few were not happy	Cluster	Pronominal + Membership	LS
53	We	We were giving them leaflets,	Cluster	**Pronominal** + Membership	LS
54	leaflets		Oblique	NM/NR	LS
55	them	and they were throwing them straightaway into the bin	Oblique	Pronominal	LS
56	Tanweer	Tanweer says	Individual	Membership	LS
57	Muslim **people**	Even Muslim people questioned his moves	Cluster	Trait + MembershipHUM	MS
58	My [wife]	My wife was saying	Individual	Possessor + MembershipFAM	LS
59	wife		Individual	Possessed + MembershipFAM	LS
60	you	Why are you doing that?	Individual	Pronominal	LS
61	my [children]	And my children were worried someone could harm me	Individual	Possessor + MembershipFAM	LS
62	children		Cluster	Possessed + MembershipFAM	LS
63	me		Individual	Pronominal	LS

64	Some of my **colleagues**	Some of my colleagues were also worried about safety	Cluster	Number + MembershipPROF	LS
65	(my)		Individual	Possessor + Pronominal	LS

Table 3. Full Display of Analytical Parameters for the Study of Nominations in Crossing Divides*. LS = Low Salience. MS = Medium Salience. HS = High Salience.*

Results

For reasons of space, and given that in the end this intervention focused mainly on patterns of predicational attribution when making and implementing prognostic recommendations (see Section 6.4), I refer the reader to the full report of results provided in Appendix 3. The following section will report some of these results as and when they pertain to the discussion and the wider interpretations as to the potential ideological effects of patterns of nomination in the contact narrative under study.

Discussion

One of the most notable findings emerging from the analysis of nomination strategies in 'Crossing Divides' is that not one type of actor nomination clearly dominates. References to individuals (most notably of the outgroup protagonist) are almost as frequent as references to the group as a collective, and references to non-human actors, i.e. oblique outgroup references, are only slightly less prevalent (8.8% less frequent) than those of human actors. This suggests that the discursive construction of outgroup identity is relatively multi-faceted in its instantiations. Most notably, from the observed figures (see Appendix 3) it is apparent that the outgroup is not recurrently depicted as an undifferentiated whole (cf. Baker et al., 2013), rather, the structural complexity of the group is brought to bear throughout the text, being conceptualised in varying degrees of granularity and numerosity. This potentially enables construals of the outgroup which invoke a greater degree of internal diversity and richness (cf. Schiappa et al., 2005; Gallardo et al., 2020 reviewed in Section 5.1.1.2).

Also interesting is the fact that the outgroup's ethnoreligious identity is most often indirectly referenced rather than explicitly and uniformly invoked. A semantic relation of social category membership is brought up 62% of the times, yet the lemma 'Muslims' is only ever used in 13 out

of the total 135 outgroup nominations, and in those 13, the genericised hypernym MUSLIMS is highly salient only 5 times. This indicates that throughout the input text outgroup references are not overly, nor overtly, ethnicised and there are a variety of ways of referring to the outgroup identity being deployed. Most importantly, even in references to conceptually larger numbers of outgroup members (in clusters and collectives), instantiations of MUSLIM or MUSLIMS are supplemented by contextualising information in the form of location modifiers, partitives and membership categorisation devices invoking other social categories (related to membership of human, family and professional groups). When 'Muslim*' is deployed, this is in most cases within either connotatively positive predications (e.g. when referring to the ingroup protagonist's pride at 'being friends with Muslim people' and the 'shared history' between British and Muslim communities as well as contributions of Indian Muslim soldiers in WW1 and WW2) or predications which serve to challenge potentially spurious assumptions about Muslim communities (e.g. that they are 'taking over') and which foreground the effect of terrorism on Muslim communities themselves; e.g. when making reference to the 'sense of unease' brought to 'Muslims in the city' after the 2017 string of attacks on Westminster, London Bridge, Parsons Green and the Finsbury Park Mosque.

The significance of these preliminary findings will be further scrutinised as results of Study 1 are obtained as part of Stage 2. In the event that the input text does indeed contribute to a reduction in negative outgroup prejudice, it may then be pointed out that it is possible to make reference to an actor's group identity, in this case ethnoreligious membership, without overstating its role in human action and without any assumption that these facets of an actor's identity are essential properties or natural kinds, but rather one possible alternative out of many others by which social reality is categorised and structured (and this to different degrees of prominence). It is to be noted that the aims of the present intervention are to reduce already existing (largely) negative prejudices towards an outgroup and so patterns of representation achieving this may be slightly different from those which one may deploy in order to prevent overgeneralised and essentialised negative attributions from taking root in the first place. Specifically, whilst in preventing prejudices from becoming prevalent it is decategorisation (Crisp, 2010), i.e. making no or little reference to a given ethnicity, nationality, gender identity, etc., and recurrent individuation which may be most effective (such that any connotatively evaluative traits and behaviours are precluded from being assigned as defining characteristics of a whole group), a mixture of multiple categorisation, decategorisation and richer single categorisation (such as when additional contextualising information is appended to a nomination) could be most conducive to

reductions in attitudinal hostility (see Pettigrew, 1998) towards a given outgroup when these are already present in some way. In Graf et al. (2020) we saw indications that the ways in which social actors in contact were nominated could affect aspects of social attitudes such as preferred social distance. The present framework is an attempt towards a more comprehensive, linguistically-plausible and sophisticated way of accounting for patterns of outgroup actor labelling in contact texts.

Further analysis of outgroup predications is expected to shed more light into how exactly contact and other action processes involving the outgroup are being represented and what construals of Muslim identities these representations may enable. For instance, it would be possible to see what kind of predications are assigned to individual members, clusters and collectives as well as non-human entities and from whose perspectives, as well as who is involved in connotatively evaluative predications and whether the veracity of such predications are more or less disputed in any way.

5.2.3.2 Predication Strategies – How Are Outgroups Traits and Behaviours Represented? Event Frames, Transitivity and Patterns of Affect, Veridicality and Normativity

Like with the study of nomination strategies, predication strategies in 'Crossing Divides' are analysed taking cues from CL's analytical repertoire (and, when necessary, supplemented by insights from cognate fields of enquiry -see for example Step 4). As will be seen, the present framework seeks to provide a rather comprehensive, in-depth tally of outgroup predications. This is so one may account for as many instances in which such strategies are engaged in as possible, given that these may impact patterns of reader reception in different ways (to be tested at a later stage of the pipeline), and in this sense it becomes important to be thorough at this stage (particularly as this framework of analysis of nomination and predication strategies in contact narratives is still in its infancy). Patterns of grammatical aspect were accounted for in an earlier iteration of this framework following Taylor (2002, Chapter 7), but are excluded from the present analysis to reduce the number of analytical categories and steps involved in it. Importantly, because the present framework was developed in collaboration with researchers from the field of Social, Cognitive and Experimental Psychology who were not linguists themselves, it was also expedient to keep the categories as accessible as possible (even within the technicalities and jargon of Cognitive Linguistics and discourse analytical methods).

Like with the analysis of nomination strategies, the study of strategies of outgroup predication in 'Crossing Divides' is also carried out in four steps.

Predication Analysis: Step 1

As a first instance, all actions, events and processes involving the outgroup are extracted and tabulated for further analysis. Note that the present framework takes quite an inclusive approach to what constitutes a predication, and so what is said of/by the outgroup is noted down whether this appears in finite constructions, non-finite ones -both with and without an explicitly nominated outgroup participant-, as well as in nominations themselves where predications can also be realised at the same time as an actor is being referenced via a given nominal label (e.g. 'Chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association' implies that this person *chairs* and is part of this local Islamic Association and in this way reveals something about the identity of this actor). At this stage I also note whether a given predication applies to a human or non-human social actor (i.e. oblique outgroup actors), and if the former, whether an individual, cluster, collective or entity actor is involved in any way.

By way of example, in the article headline there are three outgroup predications -specifically of the mosque in this case- that one could extract for further analysis in that one clause complex. In other words, there appear to be three things presented to readers about the mosque: that it is supported by a British Army Veteran, that it is the first-ever mosque in the city and that it is located in Lincoln.

Predication	Relevant Outgroup participant	Type of participant	In:
Being supported by British Army Veteran	Lincoln's first-ever mosque	Oblique	Meet the British Army Veteran supporting Lincoln's first-ever mosque
Being the first-ever mosque in Lincoln	Mosque	Oblique	Lincoln's first-ever mosque
Being in Lincoln	First-ever mosque	Oblique	Lincoln's first-ever mosque

Table 4. Outgroup Predications in Article Headline.

In Crossing Divides there are a total 203 outgroup predications across 74 clause complexes. 39.5% of predications involve non-human actors, while 60.5% are of human outgroup actors. Having arrived at a general tally of this, it is possible to look into these predications to examine what outgroups are construed as being, saying, doing, or what is said to/of them and done to/about them. In other words, one may look further into any actions, events, and processes that are linked in some way to the outgroup. This paves the way for us to interpret the extent to which these patterns may or may not be constituting alternatives to Islamophobic/Orientalist discursive representations.

Predication Analysis: Step 2

This step of the analysis queries what 'Event frames' appear to be instantiated in each of the 203 outgroup predications in the text. Event frames (EFs) in CL (particularly the area of frame semantics -Fillmore, 1982, 2006) can be defined as a particular kind of semantic frame by which experiences and, as the name suggests, events in the world come to be construed and organised as part of conceptual networks. For the present analysis, event frames are viewed as relatively schematic (i.e. broad) mental representations of a situation/occurrence involving or relating to outgroup participants in some way in the text, which may be instantiated via different lexicosemantic means (and in which outgroups may have a role as active agents, recipients, circumstantial participants or their actions may be invoked as part of nominalisations).

In Section 5.1 I observed how two type of themes that were of central importance to contact narratives revolved around episodes of contact, and also instances in which actors involved in the narrative more or less explicitly communicated what they feel/think of this contact and of each other, i.e. their attitudes and assessments of the social reality and relations around them. Building on the principle that discursive representations of contact and cognitive/perceptual/affective assessments of, and by, outgroups are instrumental in shaping prejudice towards these groups, the present framework seeks to keep tally of the different lexicosemantic instantiations of themes of contact and social actor assessments.

To these ends, predications are scoped in terms of whether Event Frames (EFs) of **CONTACT** and/or **ASSESSMENT** are being invoked in some way. The aim of this step is essentially to note *what* is happening in terms of *contact* and outgroup *evaluations* in this text. At this point, this is regardless of whether the contact and/or any outgroup assessments are aimed towards the

outgroup by the ingroup, by the outgroup itself or the author, or are engaged by Muslim actors themselves -distinctions alongside the dimensions of agency/transitivity are queried during Step 3. Note that in this framework I use the label 'Assessment' for such EFs instead of 'Evaluation' (as originally intended) because the former can encompass not just affective evaluations (in which an outgroup or an action involving the latter is evaluated more or less positively, ambivalently or negatively), but also enables one to keep track of the perspectives, thoughts and voices of social actors brought into this narrative, as well as how truth/likelihood of events are construed, all of which are taken here to be different kinds of cognitive/perceptual/affective assessments of reality and which may impact readers' construals of outgroups in different ways, and specifically of prejudices -which arguably elicit both cognitive and affective processes.

On the back of the points made above, I proceed by recording how many times a **Contact EF** is invoked in a predication. In one guise, Contact EFs are considered to be activated whenever the outgroup is depicted as being visited/approached by a member of the ingroup, e.g. in '**He's attended so many events -**like Eid and mosque open days that many worshippers recognise him in the street…' or an outgroup visits/approaches an ingroup actor ('**If we visit them**, they might feel more comfortable asking questions'). In CL terms, such instances are considered largely explicit and salient instantiations of a schematic frame of CONTACT between two or more social actors. Put differently, a Contact event is considered here to be a largely concrete(ly conceptualised) instance of interaction in which two or more actors move towards one another and/or reach some spatial proximity (literally or metaphorically speaking). Referring back to the relations between frames and how some were more or less schematic/elaborated than others, the event frame CONTACT can itself be viewed as a more elaborate version of the image schematic frame of MOTION/APPROACH, introduced in Section 5.2.2. In the example just provided, an EF of Contact between an ingroup member ('he') and an oblique outgroup member ('many events') is activated via the (more or less metaphorical) sense of MOTION/APPROACH prompted in the finite clause 'he'**s attended** so many **events**'. In this text (similarly to narratives used in mediated vicarious contact experiments), CONTACT can also be invoked when there is some kind of reference to acts of communication whereby a transfer of information between two or more actors is portrayed (e.g. '**Someone sent me an e-mail** saying 'we're running a series of talks'…') such as when an actor is verbally addressed. Finally, though this is not the case in the present text, in contact narratives it would not be rare to encounter examples of more explicit, activations of CONTACT being prompted not by means of a finite clause or verb phrase, but by means of nominal constructions, for instance. This would be the case if lexemes like 'contact',

'visit' or 'chat' were presented as nominalisations, e.g. 'Ian was not expecting such a visit'. Here, the concept of CONTACT is activated by the nominal 'a visit', which is itself part of a presupposition, i.e. the contact is conceptualised as having happened in some conceived space (see Step 4 for further distinctions around whether Contact events are construed as happening or not, or as projected to happen/not happen). For the cases detailed here, when instances of more or less physical/spatial and verbal contact are construed, a predication is assigned the tag '**Contact_Explicit**' on Table 5 below.

Something that is very frequently observable in the present text is that Contact EFs may be indexed in less obvious ways in a predication than when face-to-face and/or verbal interactions between two or more actors are depicted. In such cases, we may say that the CONTACT frame and the MOTION/APPROACH image schema are not explicitly profiled, though they are arguably still within the scope of attention and are inferable in some way. In these cases, an EF of Contact is considered to be invoked implicitly. An example of this can be seen in the utterance '**We'll burn the mosque**'. Here, though what is profiled is a frame related to concepts of ATTACK (by FIRE) this presupposes some form of CONTACT and path of MOTION/APPROACH towards the outgroup (the mosque in this case) for the attack to happen, even if a CONTACT frame is not profiled as saliently and explicitly as if actors were depicted engaging in some trajectory of motion towards the mosque. Another example in which a Contact EF is being implicitly invoked can be found in the noun phrase 'Lincoln's first-ever mosque'. In cases like this one it can be argued that, from the perspective of the ingroup (potentially more closely associated with Lincoln as a typically White-British locality), the fact that there is a mosque in Lincoln, as denoted by the use of the genitive marker, represents a form of contact with the outgroup -even if it does not constitute an instance of explicit intergroup contact given that no MOTION/APPROACH process is directly elicited, but some more static state of PROXIMITY is-. In cases where a frame of CONTACT is not directly profiled, but can be presupposed or is entailed because of the conventional conceptual associations concerning the frames that are being foregrounded, such forms of contact are labelled as '**Contact_Implicit**'.

Considering that, as suggested before, this input text is not only about situations of contact and interaction between non-Muslim and Muslim communities in Lincoln, but about the cognitive and affective appraisals and evaluations engaged by members of each community with regards to contact, to each other, and to people within their own respective groups, I also account for

instances in which an **Assessment** EF appears to be profiled in a predication in more or less explicit/implicit ways.

In general, and from the standpoint of the present framework, Assessment EFs are considered as activated anytime either a verbiage, a cognitive appraisal, and/or evaluative appraisal of/by the outgroup or processes involving the outgroup is directly or indirectly engaged by someone (the author, the outgroup itself or someone from the ingroup). Generally speaking Assessment EFs are counted in this analysis when, for example: someone is (in)directly quoted and/or their thoughts, views, opinions and feelings are conveyed in some way (e.g. in '**Some people thought** we would try and get rid of the local war memorial'; '**My wife said to me** 'why are you doing that [interacting with non-Muslim locals]?'). Assessment EFs are furthermore also counted whenever an outgroup predication appears to carry some form of affectively evaluative connotation (to be queried further in terms of strength of affective modality alongside a positive/negative pole -see Step 4); or when outgroup actors/actions are descriptively modified/qualified in some way, e.g. via the use of adjectival modifiers, or in possessives or relative clauses.

Like with instances of Contact EFs, distinctions between explicit/implicit activations also apply for the case of Assessment EFs. An example of an explicit activation of this event frame can be seen in the following example: '**I took pride** in being friends with, and talking to, Muslim people', or in '**it makes me feel proud** that **I have been accepted**'; in which a member of the ingroup is overtly describing his emotions about his friendships and engagement with Muslim people. Assessment EFs are also considered to be activated more explicitly/overtly in clauses like 'After the initial bid failed, a subsequent application **was approved**', in which 'a subsequent application' is assessed more or less favourably (as indicated by the use of 'approve'). When someone's thoughts are being reported -regarding the outgroup or actions involving them, or about the ingroup and actions by the ingroup when these thoughts are expressed by an outgroup actor-, these are also considered to be profiling Assessment EFs more explicitly (e.g. '**Some people thought** we would try and get rid of the local war memorial'). Overall, explicit activations of Assessment EFs are counted whenever schematic frames such as THOUGHT_EXPRESSION, EMOTION_EXPRESSION, APPROVAL/DISAPPROVAL are profiled via the use of verb phrases in which the actors making an assessment, or about whom an assessment, is made are foregrounded in some way. Assessment EFs are also tagged as 'Explicit' when an OBJECT/ENTITY is directly modified by descriptive adjectives. Adjectival constructions like '**glistening gold crescent**' or '**jade green dome**' offer extra information about parts of the mosque and potentially

impose a richer aesthetic, and more imagistically concrete, representation than if 'crescent' or 'dome' had been used alone.

The table below shows a breakdown of predications in clause complex 18, and the corresponding EFs (and their subtypes) profiled in each predication.

Predication	Relevant Outgroup participant	Type of participant	In:	Clause Complex	Profiled Event Frame
Failing	the mosque's initial planning bid	Oblique	After the mosque's initial planning bid failed	18	Assessment_Explicit
Having an initial planning bid	the mosque	Oblique	the mosque's initial planning bid	18	Contact_Implicit (making a planning bid entails contact with local authorities)
Being approved	subsequent application	Oblique	a subsequent application at a former dairy site was approved	18	Assessment_Explicit
Coming after the initial planning bid/being subsequent to	application	Oblique	a subsequent application	18	Assessment_Explicit

Table 5. Breakdown of Predications and Corresponding Event Frames in Clause Complex 18.

Contrastingly, some predications are considered to profile Assessment EFs less saliently and more implicitly/indirectly, such as in 'Last year's **terrorist attacks**' or '**With the help of other members** of the Muslim community, Tanweer knocked on every door in the area' (in which 'help' is inferred as having positive evaluative connotations in this context). In the quotative '**Tanweer said** he had been trying to find a site for the mosque for years', Tanweer is represented as saying something about himself and his process for finding a place for the mosque, which entails the making of a subjective construal of a state of affairs in the world by Tanweer. In the nominal predication 'Lincoln's Muslim Population' the author herself says something about the Muslim

population, i.e. that they are a specific kind of Muslim population, namely that of Lincoln[26]. The relative clause '**where the mosque was planned to be built**' embedded in the clause complex 'In 2017, **the site where the mosque was planned to be built** burned down in unexplained circumstances' acts as a classifier for the 'site'. In this case, the relative clause denotes the fact that a mosque (a more specific kind of OBJECT/ENTITY) was planned to be built in a specific site and offers further descriptive information about the oblique actor that is involved in the finite clause complex (i.e. the site for the mosque), via an activation of a PROCESS frame in the gerund clause 'was planned to be built'. Importantly, saying '**the site where the mosque was planned to be built** burned down in unexplained circumstances' could be seen as favouring a slightly different construal than if the clause had been '**the mosque** burned down in unexplained circumstances'. Specifically, the construal privileged in the text presents a construction site and not a mosque itself the target of the negatively-valenced instance of contact (i.e. of someone burning down the site for the mosque, where the implication is that it was done by members of the EDL, hence why this is also tagged as an instantiation of a Contact EF) to which readers are vicariously exposed via this narrative (see Discussion in Section 6.3).

Before moving on to Step 3, two important notes must be made. The first is that since depictions of inter/intragroup contact often entail some form of process of assessment (e.g. in which the construal of this contact may be epistemically modulated, and/or suffused with more or less strongly valenced connotations, such as in the example of 'Participants shouted chants like: 'Burn the poppy and we'll burn the mosque''), in some cases the same predication, and even the same clause constituent may prompt both Contact and Assessment EFs simultaneously (see Table 6 below). In the example just provided, i.e. '**we'll burn the mosque**', there is a (future-projected) process of intergroup contact entailed in the burning of the mosque carried out by a 'we', and this state of affairs also carries strongly negative undertones given the associations of 'burn'. As such, an Assessment EF can also be said to be invoked through this construction (in which the ingroup expresses something negative about the mosque, i.e. the desire, and threat, to burn it).

[26] This is an interesting construal choice in this contact narrative given the fact that Lincoln is presumbaly more hegemonically (and problematically) associated with non-Muslim White British population at this point in time, and this could potentially serve to approximate the frame MUSLIMS to a frame such as LINCOLN so that it may eventually become part of the network of conventionalised meaning of LINCOLN in the same way that LOCALS (i.e. White British, non-Muslims residents) are. At the same time, however, it could also serve to reinforce the minority status of the Muslim population -unless constructions such as 'Lincoln's White non-Muslim population' became more frequently marked in discursive constructions of this city's demographic makeup.

Furthermore, it is important to mention that at this point the aim here is to keep tally of as many instances as possible in which any explicit or implicit Contact and Assessment EFs appear to be invoked in a predication (irrespective of patterns of transitivity and agency, and irrespective of whether assessments are of an epistemic, affective, descriptive nature, etc.). In Step 2 the analysis does not yet distinguish between who and towards whom Contact is engaged, nor about what/whom a given Assessment is made, which is instead the focus of Step 3. Counting instances of a Contact and Assessment EFs at Step 2 reports *that* some kind of contact and some kind of epistemic/affective/descriptive deliberation is potentially forthcoming from a given predication, but not *how* such Contact or Assessments are qualitatively configured. Such qualitative considerations involve querying aspects such as who is represented as initiating the contact, or making an assessment, and about whom, all of which is loosely connected to the construct of transitivity. In addition, delving more deeply into how Assessment and Contact EFs are represented also involves determining whether these events are likely to be parsed as involving positively/negatively laden connotations, or presented as more or less matter of objective 'truth', which is connected with patterns of mood/modality.

Finally, it is to be mentioned that in a naturally-occurring text such as this one, a small number of outgroup predications may not involve instances of Contact or Assessment EFs at all. Noting this, I quantify all non-contact and non-evaluation EFs as instances of a more general *Differentiation* event frame. This event frame is implicated on occasions when an outgroup member is named, which can in itself be an act of outgroup predication insofar as, by assigning a label to a given actor in which said label could somehow indicate to the reader that the relevant actor is NOT a member of the ingroup (in this case, whenever an actor is labelled as something other than a 'local' or 'British'), this actor is attributed an ***out***group identity out of many possible alternatives (this creates some small overlap with nomination strategies, but it is to be remembered that in naturally-occurring language these often do overlap and the same discursive construction can realise both strategies). Whilst most instances of Differentiation are linked to entities/actors, in this text, a few instances of Differentiation EFs involve the use of verb phrases in which the actions involved serve to say something about the actors who engage them. This happens, for example when an outgroup actor is placed as part of a grounded copular-be construction. In 'Tanweer knows his job isn't over', the complementiser clause 'his job isn't over', entails two predications, one of which attributes a 'job' to Tanweer, and another that *this job* (i.e. of looking for opportunities to engage mutually with the non-Muslim community) **is not** over. This latter predication is counted as containing an instance of Differentiation involving an oblique OG

participant (i.e. 'the job'), which ascribes something to an outgroup referent (i.e. the quality of not being over, the need for it to be ongoing), and because the evaluative implications of 'his job isn't over' in the context and the fact that it is the complement to 'he knows that…', is also counted as profiling an Assessment EF (in this case an assessment made by Tanweer). For reasons of space and given the focus on Contact and Assessment and the fact that these are by far the most frequently activated EFs of the set, Differentiation EFs are not analysed further (though see Appendix 4 and 7 for examples of when these do appear).

Predication Analysis: Step 3

The third level of the analysis of outgroup predications looks into patterns of agency in Contact and Assessment EFs in order to get a better sense of how roles are distributed in these events. Here I assess who and towards whom any Contact/Assessments are targeted, taking cues from the notion of figure/ground alignment (Talmy, 2000 -see paragraphs below for this step) and notions of transitivity, to further query the flow of agency in these EFs. At this point this involves determining whether Contact and Assessments are initiated and enacted by the outgroup towards a member or entity associated with the ingroup, or vice-versa (by the ingroup towards an outgroup); and whether there are any instances of *intra*group Contact and/or Assessment EFs (contact and assessments made between/by members of the same outgroup).

Apart from enabling one to query the patterns of social actor involvement in Contact and Assessment EFs, this step enables us to attend to how the perspectives of outgroups and other actors assessing outgroups are represented in the text, as well as the vantage points from which instances of contact with outgroups are construed. As noted in some of the CT research cited above (Cernat et al., 2011; Abu-Rayya and Brown, 2023), both role distributions and assessments of outgroups in mediated contact, as well as differences in perspectivity could impact how outgroups were perceived, and potentially whether any problematic construals may be weakened/reshaped in some way. A similar point was made by Hart (2016) with respect to how, among other things, patterns of transitivity in representations of social unrest (and specifically physical contact between protestors and police authorities) shifted how perceptions of blame and responsibility for violent exchanges are arrived at by readers.

To illustrate how this step works for the present case, I return to the example of negative contact brought up in Step 2 of **''Burn the poppy and we'll burn the mosque''**. In this clause complex I

mentioned there were two sources of predicative attribution involving the outgroup. In each of these two predications, there are in turn two Contact and two Assessment EFs being activated (both implicit ones).

The first predication can be found in the clause constituent 'burn the poppy' which depicts an unspecified 'You' (inferable from the elided conditional '*If you* burn the poppy, we'll…'), hypothetically committing an act of violence towards an ingroup cultural symbol (i.e. the poppy). In this example, non-Muslim actors are attributing Muslims as a group the (projected -see Step 4) act of burning the poppy and as such this is included in the tally of predications involving *Collective* actors in the analysis (see third column on Table 6 below).

Predication	Relevant OG Participant	Type of OG Participant	In:	Clause Complex	Event Frames
Burning the poppy	(Muslims)	Collective	Burn the poppy	12	Assessment_Implicit + Contact_Implicit
Being burnt	the mosque	Oblique	and we'll burn the mosque	12	Assessment_Implicit + Contact_Implicit

Table 6. Breakdown of Predications and Event Frames in Clause Complex 12.

As pertains the theme of intergroup contact, it can be said that the act of burning the poppy entails a scenario of Contact by the outgroup *towards* this ingroup cultural symbol. These kinds of relations can be accounted for on the basis of the concept of ***figure and ground alignment*** introduced by Talmy (2000) and mentioned above. Though typically used to account for how (largely asymmetrical) spatial relations between entities are construed in language, this distinction has shown to be productive when studying construals of events and more abstract relations between entities (such as when the expression of thoughts, feelings and opinions is presented. i.e. when assessments are made). When explaining the distinction between figure and ground and its role in construal, Croft & Cruse (2004) follow Talmy (2000) in arguing "all spatial relations in language – both location or motion – are expressed by specifying the position of one object, the **figure**, relative to another object, **the ground"** (p. 56 -emphasis mine).

In the first predication of the current example, Muslim actors (figure) are construed as engaging in contact with the poppy (the ground), and hence the flow of this intergroup contact is classed as coming/emerging *from* the OG (hence the X mark on the third column of Table 7).

Intergroup Contact	Intragroup Contact	By/From OG	To OG	Of/ Towards OG	By OG	For/ On Behalf of OG	Of Action Involving OG as Agent	Of Action Involving OG as Patient/ Recipient/Part of Circumstantial Adjunct
X		X		X	X	X	XP	
X			X	XP				X

Table 7. Type of Contact (Column 1-2) and Role Distributions for Contact and Assessment EFs involving the Outgroup in Clause Complex 12 *(i.e. "Burn the poppy and we'll burn the mosque"). Orange is used in connection with CONTACT and Blue is used in connection with ASSESSMENT.*

Some of the general properties that can help one distinguish between figure and ground in a given construction are listed in Figure 2 below.

Figure	*Ground*
location less known	location more known
smaller	larger
more mobile	more stationary
structurally simpler	structurally more complex
more salient	more backgrounded
more recently in awareness	earlier on scene/in memory

Figure 2. Figure – Ground Alignment Parameters. Some general characteristics to determine which constituent may function as the figure and which the ground in construal. Adapted from Talmy (2000a)

Before delving into the distribution of roles and agency in Assessment EFs, it is useful to note here that the strongly negative type of Contact invoked via construing Muslims as burning the poppy in an imagined space is part of a counterfactual construction, meaning the burning of the poppy attributed to the outgroup cannot be assumed to have happened except as a hypothetical

projection, and as such this pattern of representation would potentially have a different effect on readers' construal than if it was reported as 'A group of Muslims took to the streets and burned poppies in Lincoln last night'. I return to this in Step 4, in which such differences are further analysed in terms of patterns of mood/modality.

What is also important to note during this step is that given the makeup of the conditional clause complex in the example, there is a second predication in the main clause, which concerns contact with an outgroup actor (i.e. the mosque), in 'we'll burn the mosque'. In this particular case, a situation in which a 'We' (a group of participants in an EDL march) burns the mosque (an oblique outgroup actor) is being depicted, and as such it is considered an activation of a Contact EF, given that the potential of an attack on the mosque is brought to the scope of attention following the first condition (that the poppy is burnt). Again, the burning of the mosque itself cannot be said to have happened except as part of a hypothetical scenario of retaliation should the first condition be fulfilled (the burning of the poppy -see Step 4)[27]. However, in this second predication the figure-ground alignment is reversed such that the contact flows toward the OG from the IG (see second row, fifth column on Table 7 above).

Given the negative connotations of 'burn[ing] the poppy' and 'burn[ing] the mosque', Assessment EFs are also implicitly instantiated in this example. Because Step 3 is also focused on accounting for *who* makes these assessments and how the OG are represented in this, I make note here of whether an Assessment is made **about/towards** an OG member, **by** them, **on behalf/for** them (such as when indirect reported thought is used). Because Assessment EFs can also involve making assessments of processes/actions themselves, and not just entities, I also make note of whether the assessment is of **an action** involving the OG in an **agentive capacity** or done to/involving the OG **as a patient/recipient** or if the assessment is part of a **circumstantial adjunct** (such as in 'In a few weeks, the 2m building will open, ***almost a decade after its first planning application was submitted to the council***'). The blue columns on Table 7 above show how these distinctions were noted down for the example of 'Burn the poppy and we'll burn the mosque'.

[27] That said, here is a third instance of Contact that is construed as taking place (as reported by the writer), namely in the threat (burn the poppy and we'll burn the mosque) which is a performative speech act itself, and entails an act of communication directed at the Muslim community.

In the first predication indexed in the clause 'burn the poppy', the assessment that is implicit in this choice of words primarily pertains to the *action* of burning the poppy. Specifically, the burning of the poppy is (presumably) being evaluated negatively by the ingroup speakers (leading to the threat of burning the mosque), and as such it is considered the primary source of activation of an Assessment EF, i.e. what is primarily being imbued with negative connotations is an action carried out by the outgroup (hence the mark XP, P standing for 'Principal' on column 8 on table 7 above). Yet this same utterance can also be said to be involving an indirect assessment of the Muslim community themselves (by connecting them with such an act of violence). Furthermore, because this is a hypothetical action attributed *to* Muslims, and thus made on behalf of them by the ingroup, the speakers construing such a scenario are *also* attributing the making of an assessment by the Muslim community themselves (presumably the poppy is being burnt because Muslims are represented as evaluating it negatively/as harbouring animosity towards it).

Note that in the present analysis instances such as these are not counted as separate activations of discrete Assessment EFs, but as a composite *whole* (i.e. a gestalt) which integrates several simultaneous assessments and relates to multiple social actors in one single predication (and thus is counted once rather than as four activations of an Assessment EFs). It is the columns in blue, which are the ones filled as part of Step 3 that instead account for these complexities in more detail: in the example, because there are multiple assessors in this one predication and entities being assessed (as well as hostile assessments being attributed to Muslims), there is more than one X mark on the same row (and a XP is used when noting what is considered to be the main/principal focus of the Assessment EF under observation).

Finally, in the second constituent of the clause complex in this example (i.e. 'we'll burn the mosque'), an implicit assessment is noted as being made of/towards an oblique outgroup actor (the mosque, in the act of burning it which entails it is assessed negatively) as the primary Assessment event taking place in the narrative. Yet, given the negative connotations of 'burn' itself the Assessment EF is also indirectly/more passively activated here in connection to an action carried out by the ingroup in which the mosque is a patient/recipient (hence the presence of an additional X mark on the corresponding column).

Predication Analysis: Step 4

As a fourth and final step, the present framework delves into patterns of mood/modality emerging from outgroup predications. Mood/Modality is queried along three dimensions: affect, veridicality and normativity/obligation.

When assessing how affective import is being invoked in outgroup predications, I make note of whether a given predication appears to favour a more or less strongly positive, more or less negative construal of/by outgroups themselves and/or actions involving them. This is relevant insofar as it could influence how Muslim communities and their members may be potentially construed in a more or less positive/negative light in readers' minds coming into contact with this text (and by extension with Muslim communities), and may thus impact levels of prejudice for which evaluative/affective impressions are paramount. Though in most cases the elicitation of some kind of affective modality device is done within the activation of an Assessment event (and this was certainly the case in the example used to explain step 3), this is not always *necessarily* the case (i.e. not ALL affective appraisals are instantiations of an Assessment EF as made by a social actor in the narrative or the author herself). This occurs in projected predications such as when the outgroup protagonist depicts the Muslim community visiting locals, e.g. at the memorial, in which this visiting has positively evaluative connotations but the way the process is construed does not communicate the making of any assessment by the outgroup, i.e. in this case there is arguably no outgroup actor (evaluatively) assessing the ingroup and yet in the context of this narrative an action such as 'visiting them' carries potentially positive connotations.

An important learning from the reviews of CT and some work on more emancipatory discourses coming from CDS and other fields is that positive and negative representations of social groups in interaction often co-exist in a narrative, and that moreover some carry considerable levels of ambivalence. This is true for the present text, in which there are also instances of affectively-laden predications that are tagged as 'Non-Negative' or 'Non-Positive', in a way that extends the positive/negative binary of affective modality to become more of a gradient, ultimately to enable one to account for more ambivalent expressions of affective mood/modality. I argue that such distinctions are important in order to account for the complex nuances of social attitudes construed in a text, which as argued in this thesis and elsewhere (Blanz et al., 1995) may be better conceived of as part of a spectrum rather than an orthogonal dichotomy of positivity/negativity. This became especially necessary on this occasion when, for example, negative and positive

scenarios were themselves negated or their polarity appears reversed in some way. In a clause complex such as 'He wanted to show locals that the presence of Islam ***wouldn't*** **threaten their way of life**' it is implied that Islam is *not* a threat, and a negative appraisal about Islam made by the ingroup is negated (and as such this predication is tagged as Non-Negative). In 'Why the hell are you doing that?' [i.e. befriending and talking to the Muslim community], the positivity potentially involved in the act of befriending and talking to the Muslim community is instead construed as something baffling and/or undesirable by other members of the non-Muslim community given it is embedded in a construction of the type 'Why the hell X?', typically used to expressed surprise, anger or confusion. Hence this kind of intergroup contact involving Muslims as a collective is construed as a less than positively appraised event by non-Muslims (reported by the ingroup protagonist), and as such is classed as Non-Positive (and also as activating an Assessment EF applied to a Contact event).

Besides the above qualitative differences in affective modality, I also look into the degree to which a given predication can be construed as more or less veridical or non-veridical. Note that though Cognitive Linguistics has, to my knowledge, seldom made use of the term 'veridicality' as a theoretical construct (see Giannakidou & Mari, 2021), it is used here as a more inclusive term than evidentiality and epistemic modality, because it opens up the possibility to query whose perspective is included in a given predication and the potential impact of different ways of presenting predications concerning the outgroup as more or less objective/general 'truths' in construals of outgroups, whether these are marked using modal verbs, reported speech, etc. or not. In the field of natural language processing, de Marneffe et al. (2012) observe that "natural language understanding depends heavily on assessing veridicality—whether events mentioned in a text are viewed *as happening or not*" (p. 301; emphasis mine), or in other words as veridical or non-veridical. In the present instance, querying patterns of veridicality allows one to note not just when a predication more or less readily specifies the source of information and degrees of likelihood of events to which it refers (evidentiality and epistemic modality respectively), but also cases in which perspectives are not specified or omitted altogether, which in itself is matter of construal and a more or less conscious choice by text producers (and other actors reported in the narrative).

In the present case, since it is assumed that readers come with some degree of Islamophobic prejudice to the intervention, it is important to note how veridical a given predication could be construed as being, especially when it could offer a counter-narrative to readers' existing

preconceptions of social reality and Muslim identities. If an actor is quoted as saying something positive happened in connection to the outgroup (e.g. a Contact event in which two actors engage in acts of solidarity), or that someone said something negative about someone else (e.g. an Assessment event), this typically involves more overt indexing of a given actors' subjective perspective than if it were presented as an assertion made by the writer of the text without any further, directly observable, qualifications with regards to perspectivity or vantage point. I note that this has important implications for construal in at least two ways. On the one hand, representing something 'subjectively' via the use of reported speech, or other markers of perspectivity, can favour perspective-taking (by potentially inviting a more empathic view of events, shown to be important in shaping group attitudes by CT research -Gallardo et al., 2020). At the same time, predications of/by the outgroup emerging from instances of reported speech or thought can be used to discount information in the relevant proposition as 'hearsay' or less veridical/non veridical in construal. This is particularly important in this text, for example, when discrimination and moral panic discourses about Muslim communities and intergroup contact are being reported in some way and the veridicality of the predications being advanced is countered/denied, such that Islamophobic representations may be challenged in some way (something which can also impact prejudices and related processes -see Vezzali et al. 2014). On the other hand, construing an outgroup predication in more 'objective' terms (such as when the source of the information shared is omitted and an utterance is constituted in an assertive speech act) can instead serve to construe an event as more veridical (e.g. that it did/will happen, or is projected/expected to happen to a higher degree of certainty, depending on relevant markers of tense, aspect and epistemic modality). Countering such a construal would typically require additional steps of retrieval of presuppositions and speaker's identities/viewpoints which may be connected to states of affairs elsewhere in the text or 'outside' it (see example discussed previously in section 5.2.2 above).

As a final move, Step 4 delves into patterns of normativity, i.e. deontic modality, in terms of whether a state of affairs or action in an outgroup predication is represented as more or less necessary/obligatory (e.g. when Tanweer Ahmed says "**it was important for him and Ian to step into each other's sacred spaces and embrace each other's cultures** without sacrificing their own identities"). This allows one to examine the kind of states of affairs that different social actors (including the author) deem to be more or less expedient and necessary.

Having provided a descriptive step-by-step account of the ways in which the present analytical framework of outgroup predications proceeds, it is possible to move on to reporting some of the results in terms of how outgroup predication strategies are actually engaged in the data selected for Stages 2-3 of the prognostic pipeline.

Results

As previously mentioned, 203 predications involving the outgroup are made in this narrative, across 74 clause complexes. Contact EFs are invoked in over half of the outgroup predications in the text. Assessments of/by the outgroup (or actions and processes involving the outgroup, including but not limited to episodes of contact) are engaged 168 out of 203 times, also reflective of how important the expression of thoughts, perspectives and affective evaluations are in narratives of intergroup contact such as this one.

Overall, for all outgroup actors combined, positively-valenced predications are 47% more frequent than negative ones, suggesting that the way that outgroups are represented overall tends to be more positive than negative (with only a few cases of non-positive and non-negative outgroup predications). That said, for the case of outgroup predications that are classed as high-intensity, negative predications surpass positive ones by 11% (see Section 6.3). Most of the most strongly negative predications are connected to the mosque, the mosque's planning application, and come from members of the non-Muslim local groups, most often at the beginning of the text before attitudes are construed as shifting to some extent. Instances of medium and low strength affective evaluations related to the outgroup (note that these can be of the outgroup but also made by them, or on behalf of them -see Appendix 9) are more frequent in terms of positive than negative valence. For medium and low strength affective predications, positively-valenced predications surpass negative ones by 62.5% and 85% respectively. Non-Positive and Non-Negative predications are rare, and almost exclusively apply to obliques and collectives.

The representation of Contact, Assessment and patterns of transitivity and modality are analysed further according to each type of outgroup actor in the coming subsections.

Throughout the text, 39% (80 out of 203) outgroup predications are made in connection to non-human social actors such as 'the mosque'. In some cases, predications involve more abstract metonymical representatives of the outgroup like 'Eid celebrations', 'the mosque's opening ceremony', 'planning application', 'East'. Overall, most oblique predications relate to actors such as the mosque, the planning application and/or the mosque's opening ceremony.

Oblique outgroup actors are implicated in 35 Contact events, most of which (31 out of 35) are instances of ***inter***group contact, i.e. interactions with/by the ingroup and/or with spaces and places associated with the ingroup. Two examples of Contact events applicable to obliques can be found in the sentences 'Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque ***is already settling into the city's skyline***', and 'He hopes to ***bring his friends along*** *[to the mosque's opening ceremony]*'. 86% of representations of contact invoke CONTACT implicitly.

In terms of patterns of outgroup participation within contact events, it is interesting to note that the 'flow' of contact involving oblique actors is evenly distributed between contact which is *by/from* an outgroup actor and contact directed *towards* them (17 by/from compared to 18 towards). The first kind tends to occur in non-finite constructions such as in 'Lincoln's first-ever mosque' (in which the mosque is profiled as a figure against the backdrop of Lincoln, acting as the ground), or when invoking the mosque as a participant in stative, and/or nominalised processes of contact -such as when the mosque is said to ***be located in Lincoln,*** or in the noun phrases '..***a subsequent application…***', '…***the presence of Islam*** in the area…'). In a few cases one can find clauses with an oblique outgroup actor as an agent of dynamic processes (e.g. 'In a few weeks, the £2m building **will open**', in which the process of opening is also considered an instance of Contact, albeit one that is projected/planned but has not yet come to pass). Contact directed *towards* the mosque and other oblique actors is typically realised via predications in which a member of the ingroup comes into or is in contact with a cultural artifact or building connected to the outgroup, as in the conditional clause 'If **they come to mosques**…', tagged as an example of explicitly invoked Contact EF.

This relatively balanced distribution between contact *from* and *towards* oblique actors potentially favours construals in which a more equally apportioned "division of labour" in terms of contact efforts may be arrived at. The mosque and other artifacts are represented as being

in/coming into contact with the ingroup and spaces associated with them, as much as they are represented as being approached by ingroups. For the specific case of the mosque, such patterns could more readily open the door for the mosque to be construed as an important constitutive part of the city of Lincoln, as a cultural marker whose existence may be increasingly more accepted in the space in which the Muslim and non-Muslim local community are linked to one another, and could thus serve to help legitimise the presence of Muslim community cultural symbols in the space that is (presumably by the audiences in the present intervention) more likely to be seen as the preserve of non-Muslim White-British communities.

Assessment EFs are invoked 70 times for oblique actors, 39 of which are implicit (56%) and 31 (44%) of which are explicit. Most instances of Assessment EFs involve some kind of affective appraisal of/towards oblique outgroup actors, or of actions involving them in some way (either as agents, recipients/patients or in circumstantial adjuncts), though some are examples of descriptive appraisals, typically in modified nominals like 'jade green dome' in which the dome of the mosque is classified as 'jade green'. Most assessments are made *of* the mosque, the planning application, and Islamic traditions and practices, by some (more or less overtly profiled) human actor/assessor, sometimes more than one. For instance, in the sentence 'he wanted to show locals that the presence of Islam in their area wouldn't threaten their way of life', there is an implicit, presupposed assessment made about the presence of Islam by the locals (that Islam would threaten their way of life) and a counter-assessment by an outgroup member (that it would *not* threaten their way of life, alongside a desire to show this projected state of affairs to be more potentially veridical -see below).

In terms of patterns of affective modality, negatively-valenced predications outnumber positive ones by a margin of 17.9% (28 negative to 23 positive), suggesting that the former tend to be, albeit marginally so, more readily applied in relation to oblique social actors in the text. That said, many of these affectively negative appraisals are invoked in the context of showcasing the discrimination faced by Muslim communities and the defacement of their places of worship (e.g. 'the mosque has been pelted with stones'), or when describing the initial opposition exhibited by Ian Durrant (the ingroup protagonist) to the mosque's first planning application (e.g. 'he set up a group trying to stop the application'). In both these cases it is important to note that there is simultaneously a negative evaluation *of* the outgroup made by a member of the ingroup (e.g. in attacking the mosque, or trying to stop its first planning application), but also the outgroup figures as *the recipient* of actions/processes which themselves carry negative evaluative import

(consider the connotations of 'pelted with stones') and which may serve to shape norms of social behaviour (see discussion). Though this way of accounting for the evaluative valence of a predication may appear to be redundant, I argue that for the case of studying prejudiced attitudes and the impact of alternative narratives on the latter, keeping tally of different overlapping layers of affective import is relevant because not only are the ways in which the outgroup is evaluated by other actors in the narrative key sites of outgroup identity representation, but also merely placing outgroup actors as participants in events which carry negatively-valenced connotations (even if this is not their responsibility, as in the case of being 'pelted with stones') may also affect the broadly generalised evaluations of negative (or positive, in the case of positively valenced predications) affect that are constitutive of prejudiced social attitudes (see Nelson & Olson, 2023).

Importantly, the first positive predications involving the outgroup appear in the headline of the article itself, in 'Meet the British Army veteran ***supporting Lincoln's first-ever mosque***', in which an implicit, positive evaluation of the mosque by a member of the ingroup is forthcoming, while at the same time the act of supporting itself is imbued with positive connotations in the context of this narrative. In the body of the text itself, positively-valenced predications of oblique actors often follow negative ones. An example of a positive predication following from a negative one can be seen in a clause such as 'After the mosque's initial planning bid ***failed***, a subsequent application at a former dairy site ***was approved***'. These are often used to represent processes of attitudinal change in non-Muslim actors. Furthermore, throughout the text, the mosque and cultural events by the Muslim community are evaluated positively not just by a member of the ingroup (e.g. 'I sat in the front on my own and ***it [a talk about British Muslim culture and the history of Islam] was fascinating***') but also the writer (e.g. '**With its towering façade, jade green dome and glistening gold crescent**, Lincoln's first-ever mosque **is already settling into** the city's skyline'). Positive appraisals of actions/processes involving the mosque (beyond appraisals of the mosque itself) are construed when one outgroup member speaks of the possibility for the mosque to '***offer space within the building for non-Muslims to run activities***, such as children's clubs or exercise classes', an action by the mosque that is considered to have positive connotations, and in the ingroup's display of affect related to the mosque and the Muslim community, e.g. 'Ian's **excited about the mosque's opening ceremony** and hopes to **bring his friends along**'.

In some cases, a subcomponent of a predication presupposes what could be a negatively-valenced event but the latter is heavily modulated by other components around it, such that this negativity becomes less prominent and opportunities for positively-valenced contact are more readily accessible. For example, in '**a lot of people don't know what happens inside the mosque**' -expressed by a member of the outgroup, the implication is that this lack of knowledge about the mosque is *not* a desirable state of affairs (hence the classification as a Non-Positive affective appraisal), but at the same time it is not presented as a negative trait of the ingroup, or as an overt indictment of the actions of the latter in relation to the mosque. Rather, the aim of this declarative statement appears to be to contextualise/explain the cause of his efforts to create spaces for engagement with the ingroup and to make room for recognising the current lack of knowledge about the mosque (and Muslim communities in the UK). Non-Positive evaluations are almost exclusively applied to obliques (and collectives, see relevant section below).

Meanwhile, patterns of veridicality for the case of predications involving oblique outgroup actors are weighed in relation to whether whatever is being communicated with regards to the outgroup could be construed as: veridical/non-veridical (whether the state of affairs denoted did/did not occur); a projection into the future (either from predictions or desideratives); or in terms of whether the predication involves some estimation of capability of the outgroup actor (something they *can/cannot* do).

Most predications of oblique outgroup actors (82.5%) are constituted in factual declarative statements and/or presuppositions, and are classified as veridical to some degree. For instance, '**the new mosque is located just 100m from the War memorial**' presupposes that a mosque exists (and describes it as new), and also asserts that it is placed near the War memorial. Most depictions of actions and events happening to the outgroup, when narrated by the author of the text (rather than when they are told from the perspective of other actors) are classed as medium strength (as one assumes they are unlikely to be contested directly by readers in terms of veridicality while parsing the narrative). This is unless additional markers of certainty/factuality are added on top. This does not happen for the case of oblique actors, but for the sake of illustration, the way a predication could be classed as imposing a higher degree of veridicality (i.e. that it *definitely* happened) could be if the author made a statement such as 'Members of the EDL were **seen bringing incendiary devices to the mosque by numerous eyewitnesses**' in which the source of the relevant predication (that the mosque was a target for an EDL arson

attack) is foregrounded by the use sensory perception, factive verbs ('seen') and the addition of the subject (i.e. 'numerous eyewitnesses') of the finite clause contained in the sentence. Contrastingly, an example of a 'low strength' veridical predication can be seen in '**East has met West in Lincoln**'. In the text, this utterance describes a novel state of affairs in terms of (metaphorical/metonymical) contact between the outgroup and the ingroup, but the factual/veridical nature of such a proposition is somewhat modulated by virtue of it being part of a quotative construction which reports upon an evaluation made by a member of the ingroup (and the state of affairs depicted, about Eastern and Western culture meeting in Lincoln, could be more easily questioned because it is construed as the subjective perspective of a specific actor and it is done in highly metaphorical terms).

For the case of oblique actors, 12.5% of predications involve some kind of projected state of affairs or events, typically constituted as part of statements expressing, for example, hope about future occurrences and possibilities opening up concerning the mosque. This can be seen in the following two clauses, which appear towards the end of the narrative: 'Tanweer **hopes the mosque can help** by offering space for non-Muslims to run activities…', '[Ian] **hopes to bring his friends along**'. Some projections are constituted via (reported) speech acts of threat, e.g. in '**We'll burn** the mosque' uttered by far-right White supremacist groups like the EDL, or rumours by locals as in 'the mosque **would have loudspeakers**'. These tend to occur at the beginning of the text (for context, before changes in ingroup attitudes are reported on and the potential benefits of the mosque in the city are expressed).

A very small number of predications involving oblique actors are tagged as non-veridical, as they are used when countering rumours about the mosque. These can be seen, e.g. in the negative evaluative predication '…**the mosque would have loudspeakers doing the call to prayer five times a day**'. The states of affairs construed in this predication are classed as non-veridical because this predication (that the mosque would have loudspeakers) is presented as an unsubstantiated rumour, as evidenced in the clause components that precede it ('There were rumours flying around that…', implying that the state of affairs described is *not* veridical). Meanwhile, its degree of 'non-veridicality' is classed as medium strength due to the explicit mention of 'there were rumours', and the fact that it is part of a statement made by one of the interviewees, in which a claim about a third party is advanced, such that this evaluation of the ingroup's statements/rumours about the mosque is engaged from a specific perspective rather than presented as an unmodified statement of fact (which would perhaps be more likely

construed in this way if this statement was not presented in a quotative but as a declarative by the author of the article making explicit reference to the falsehood of these propositions[28]).

Predications related to capability/potential are also scarce in the case of oblique actors, and can be seen for instance when the mosque is attributed the potential to do something in, e.g. 'The new mosque **can hold up to 500 worshippers**' or 'the mosque **can help by offering space**…'. For the case of obliques there are no predications expressing normative/deontic modality.

Individuals

21% of outgroup predications (43 out of 203) are made in connection to single members of the group, and most are of/by outgroup protagonist Tanweer Ahmed, or actions involving him.

Contact EFs involving individual outgroup members are invoked 17 times in 43 predications. Most of the instances of Contact involving these actors flow from the outgroup protagonist towards the ingroup (e.g. '**So he reached** out to Ian', '**Someone [Tanweer] sent me an e-mail** saying 'We are running a series of talks, would you like to come'?', '**Tanweer wanted to show locals** that the presence of Islam in the area wouldn't threaten their way of life') and/or locations/events likely to be associated with the ingroup ('**He's attended** Remembrance Day for the last 6 years', 'Tanweer **knocked on every door** in the area'). In 10 out of 17 instantiations of this EF (59% of the times), CONTACT is invoked implicitly (e.g. '**With the help of other members** of the Muslim community, Tanweer…'), whereas explicit contact is brought up 41% of the times (e.g. 'Tanweer **has attended** Lincoln's Remembrance Day for the last 6 years', 'Tanweer **knocked on every door** in the area'').

Almost every instance of intergroup contact by Tanweer is construed as a dynamic process (e.g. 'Tanweer **knocked** on every door', 'he **reached out** to Ian', 'Tanweer **has attended** Remembrance Day for the last 6 years', 'Someone [Tanweer] **sent me** an e-mail'). Both these patterns appear to construe Tanweer Ahmed as an active participant in engaging with the ingroup, in ways that can potentially serve to counter discourses which construe Muslim communities as seeking to avoid contact with other members of UK society (and which is

[28] Though I note that even in cases where statements are presented as facts, they are still from the perspective of a particular writer and according to their specific construal of reality.

sometimes brought to the level of conspiracy theories about Sharia self-exclusion areas -see Discussion section).

Some, albeit few, examples of *intra*group contact can be found when members of the Muslim community address Tanweer to express their scepticism and safety concerns about Tanweer's efforts at engaging with non-Muslim locals.

Assessment EFs are invoked 35 times in 43 predications of individual outgroup members. The vast majority, or 77%, are implicit (27 out of 35). More than half of these (12 out of 27) involve cognitive or affective assessments made *by* an individual outgroup member, in which their thoughts, opinions and views are represented in some way (e.g. '**Tanweer** hopes the new mosque can help', or 'My **wife** was saying 'why are you doing that?''). Almost a third (8 in 27) constitute assessments *of*/about an individual member of the outgroup engaged by the author, the ingroup protagonist and other Muslims. Three illustrative examples of this are in the predications '**Tanweer has attended Lincoln's Remembrance Day for the last 6 years**' (said by the author, and wherein his attendance is assumed to be positively connotative in the context), 'I said to them '**Tanweer Ahmed is not here out of invite, but by right**', and '**With the help of other members of the Muslim community**, Tanweer knocked on every door in the area'. This latter example implies that other members of his community are willing to help him and thus arguably officiates as a positive endorsement of Tanweer (while at the same time it brings up a positively valenced action linked to the Muslim collective -see Discussion below).

The remaining instantiations of Implicit Assessment EFs appear in connection to actions involving outgroup individuals either as agents or as recipients/patients of a process. One example of the first can be seen in 'So he reached out to Ian': in this context the act of reaching out engaged by Tanweer is considered to bear positive connotations and as such is considered to be invoking an Assessment EF in connection to Tanweer (albeit implicitly).

When it comes to patterns of affective modality, positively-valenced predications relating to individual members of the outgroup outnumber negative ones by double the amount (for every negative appraisal involving the outgroup there are 2 positive ones). Most instances of positive representations of/by ingroup individuals are linked in some way to contact events involving the outgroup, as in 'I said to them '**Tanweer Ahmed is…here…by right**'' whereby the ingroup protagonist asserts the right of a member of the outgroup to be in a space typically associated

with the White non-Muslim community, or in Tanweer's own evaluation of the mosque and its projected role in the community in '**he hopes the mosque can help** by offering spaces for non-Muslims to run activities', in which the outgroup protagonist construes the mosque as an object of hope.

Negatively-valenced appraisals linked to individual members of the Muslim community are, as indicated above, much less frequent. They occur, for example, when contextualising the motivations for Tanweer Ahmed's continued engagement in the local community, and his opinion that the best way forward is for Muslims to keep working to engage with non-Muslims, in 'He thinks the Muslim community needs to keep engaging with locals **to prevent any more trouble**'. In 'to prevent any more trouble' there is a degree of negative affect elicited by the use of 'trouble', which in the context appears as a euphemism which possibly means discrimination and Islamophobic abuse as a result of non-Muslim majoritised communities collectively blaming Muslims for terrorism.

Patterns of veridicality for individual actor predications are mostly constituted as declaratives by the writer or presuppositions of a factive nature (by the writer or an outgroup actor). An example of the first is found in the predication made about Tanweer in 'With the help of other members of the Muslim community, **Tanweer knocked on every door in the area**', which is part of an assertive by the author and classed as (medium strength) veridical. This same clause contains another embedded predication of the same degree of veridicality, as part of 'with the help of other members…', which presupposes that Tanweer was helped by members of the Muslim community in his outreach efforts. Most veridical predications involving individuals are classed as 'medium strength' (27 of 37, or 73%), while 10 predications (27%) are assigned a low veridicality rating. The latter occur when an individual actor attributes a verbiage or thought to a third party, i.e. something someone else said/thought, whereas the fact that this actor did say something (as reported by the author) is classed as medium veridicality.

Clusters

15% of predications in the text (31 out of 203) are of/by the outgroup as a cluster multiplex, e.g. predications related to '250 worshippers', 'Tanweer and Ian', 'Tanweer and other Muslims'. As explained in the section on nominations, clusters can allow for the ad-hoc creation of novel groupings, and at times for a flexible juxtaposition of outgroup and ingroup members involved in

some kind of contact and/or positive assessment in tandem, potentially contributing to a blurring of any strict boundaries of group belonging.

In the text there are 18 Contact events involving outgroup actors as clusters. In 72% of these (13 out of 18) CONTACT is invoked implicitly. One example of this is 'In 2012 he got a pleasant surprise when Tanweer and other Muslims turned up, **carrying wreaths and wearing poppies**', or in 'A lot of people **welcomed us**'. Explicit Contact events (5 out of 18 Contact events) can be seen in, for example, '**Tanweer and other Muslims turned up** [at the memorial]', 'it was important for **him and Ian to step into each other's sacred spaces**' and 'Some Muslims were sceptical about **attending the memorial**'. In most cases of Contact involving clusters, the flow of contact is from the outgroup *towards* the ingroup, though there are a few examples in which it is bidirectional/co-ordinated. The latter occurs, for example, when the outgroup and ingroup protagonists are juxtaposed in the same nomination instantiating the subject of a clause or head of a prepositional phrase, e.g. 'It was important for **him and Ian** to step into each other's sacred spaces' (in one of the examples just presented), '**Ian and Tanweer** have become good friends', '**Ian Durrant and Tanweer Ahmed** at the door of the new mosque'.

Assessment EFs are invoked 24 times in the 31 predications involving clusters. Two thirds of all assessments are implicit (67%), e.g. in 'Tanweer and other Muslims turned up **carrying wreaths and wearing poppies**', '**embracing each other's cultures**', and in the clause '**even Muslim people questioned his moves**'. The rest are more explicitly evaluative as in 'In 2012, Ian **got a pleasant surprise** when Tanweer and other Muslims' and 'People were saying '**it's good to see them joining the community**'' (said by the ingroup protagonist before reminding his peers that Tanweer was 'there not out of invite but by right'). Most assessments (37.5%) are of actions or processes involving the outgroup, and the outgroup itself (37.5% also).

Positively-valenced appraisals for cluster groupings surpass negative ones by 143%. In other words, the former are 2.43 times more frequent than the latter. All contact events carry some form of positively-valenced import for the case of clusters, such as when it is reported that 'In WW1, **400,000 Indian Muslim soldiers fought for Britain**', whilst talking about Tanweer Ahmed's desire to remind locals of the participation of Muslims in the wars and highlight their shared history with (non-Muslim) British communities. Negatively-valenced expressions of affective modality are used when representing the conflicted emotions and split opinions within sectors of the Muslim community about attending the war memorial and observing

Remembrance Day, and their concerns with safety, again highlighting the perspectives of Muslim actors themselves about contact. There is one example of non-negative evaluative modality when one outgroup member comments on the importance of 'step into each other's sacred spaces and embrace each other's cultures, **without sacrificing their own identities**'.

Collectives

In the present contact narrative, 24% (49 out of 203) outgroup predications implicate the Muslim community as a group, as seen in those which include outgroup labels such as 'We', 'Us', 'Muslim community', 'Muslims in Lincoln', as well as those in which no label is explicitly brought up but which can be inferred to be about/by the Muslim community from context.

Outgroup collective actors are involved in 31 Contact events, most of which (26 out of 31) are construals of contact with the ingroup (intergroup contact), and 5 are of contact with another member of the outgroup or the mosque (intragroup contact). 23 (74%) of all Contact predications instantiate the schematic frame CONTACT implicitly, as in 'I **served in Kuwait with Muslims**', or in the subheading '**Joining Remembrance Day**'. Explicit instantiations of contact events can be found in examples such as 'It's important that **we visit them**, but at the same time **they're coming to us**'.

Most intergroup contact is *by/from* the outgroup collective, such as in 'Muslims in the city' or 'We live in this country'. In some cases, mostly towards the end of the narrative when the process of attitudinal change by the ingroup protagonist is complete, the direction of contact is more markedly reciprocal, for instance in predications such as 'I **served** in Kuwait **with Muslims**' and 'Tanweer also wanted to highlight both **the English and Muslim community's shared history**'. Episodes of contact *towards* outgroup collectives are evenly distributed between those carried out by or in some way involving the individual ingroup protagonist (I took pride in being friends with and **talking to Muslim people**') and non-Muslim locals as a group interacting with the Muslim community (e.g. in 'But at the same time, **they're coming to us**').

Assessment EFs involving collective outgroup actors are invoked 40 times in the text. 27 out of these 40 Assessment EFs are implicit (or in other words the Assessment EF is activated implicitly), whilst the remaining 13 involve more explicit Assessments of the collective, by the collective, or of actions involving the outgroup as a collective.

Across the board, positive appraisals involving Muslims as a collective outnumber negative ones by double (a ratio of 2:1, or a relative increase of almost 100%). Almost all positively-valenced predications but one are connected to contact situations involving Muslims as a collective in which either the contact or the outgroup actor involved in the contact is making or being the target of a positive appraisal, such as 'I **took pride** in **being friends with Muslim people**', '**it makes me feel proud** that **I have been accepted [by the Muslim community]**' (this acceptance presupposes a Contact event). In such cases a positive predication is realised not just via the connotations of the actions appearing in connection with the outgroup such as 'being friends with' and 'being accepted' in themselves, but also via the positive appraisal that is being made by a member of the ingroup, in which a complex emotion such as pride is experienced from his contact with the outgroup. Expressions of complex emotions (which have been linked to increases in levels of humanisation -see Gallardo et al., 2020) in which the perspective of the Muslim community is made salient appear when, for instance, the outgroup protagonist reminds readers that 'In reality, **local Muslims simply wanted to feel comfortable**' as a counterargument to rumours and conspiracy theories about Muslim's plan and desire to destroy the local war memorial.

As indicated previously, negative predications (11 in total) are much less frequent than positive ones (22 in total) for the case of collectives. When they do occur, however, they are evenly distributed across the text (rather than occurring more frequently at the beginning or the end of the narrative as was the case for obliques). Negative assessments of the outgroup as a collective and the construal of negatively-laden contact events involving them can be seen, for instance, when a member of National Front speaks to Ian Durrant asking him 'What are you going to **do about those bloody Muslims**?'. Here, the use of the construction 'Do something about X' signals towards acts of exclusion and violence against Muslims that the speaker assumes/expects the ingroup protagonist will engage in, and also presents Muslims as a problem (given the semantic import of a construction such as 'Do something about X'). In the text, this is brought up just before this actor is confronted and removed from the property by the ingroup protagonist, as an indirect way of challenging them and their views. Negative predications are also realised when rumours about the presence of the Muslim community in Lincoln are being dispelled, where the outgroup protagonist mentions 'some people thought **we would try and get rid of the local war memorial**' (an implicit negative appraisal of an action linked to the Muslim community), and when the concerns of the Muslim community about the

risk of being targeted in contact with locals are presented in the text, such as in the subheading 'Safety worries'. In the text, the impact of terrorist attacks on the emotional wellbeing of Muslims is highlighted when noting that 'Last year's terrorist attacks have **created a sense of unease for Muslims in the city**'. This is something which is not commonly touched upon in hegemonic representations of Muslim communities, who are often confined to the role of perpetrators of terrorism and as collectively blameworthy, whilst less attention is placed on the impact of this violence and the backlash from non-Muslims on Muslim communities themselves.

Non-Positive predications are relatively scarce, amounting to only a small proportion, i.e. 6 instances (with only one instance of a Non-Negative predication). These are in almost all cases appraisals of situations of intergroup contact involving the collective. This is seen for example when unspecified members of the ingroup express doubts about Ian Durrant's friendships with members of the Muslim community 'why the hell are you doing that?' [i.e. 'that' being an anaphoric reference to the act of talking and befriending Muslim people]. It is also present in cases where Muslim communities themselves ask Tanweer Ahmed 'why do we need to go there?' [in relation to observing Remembrance Day and visiting the local war memorial].

In terms of degrees of veridicality of outgroup collective predications, like with all other type of Muslim actors, the overwhelming majority of predications of these outgroup actors are constituted in declaratives and presuppositions classed as veridical to some degree, something which is perhaps in keeping with the fact that this is a news media article and assertives are common in the genre. An example of this can be seen in the following statement by the author: 'In two weeks the 2m building will open, almost a decade after its **first planning application was submitted to the council**'. Here, the existence of a planning application made by the Muslim community is presupposed, appearing as part of a circumstantial adjunct meant to modify the finite process of the mosque's opening (i.e. specify that the process took almost a decade). As it is presented as an assertion by the author, its degree of veridicality is classed as medium strength. Another case of a medium strength veridical predication can be seen in the subheading 'Safety Worries', which entails that the Muslim community are/were worried about their safety and presents the fact that these worries exist as a fact. A very small number of predications are classed as veridical to lower degrees of strength, when appearing as part of a verbiage about, or by, a member of an outgroup in which an action/evaluation is attributed to a third actor. In row 120 of Table 32 (see Appendix 4), the predication relating to 'People' (from the Muslim community) depicts them in contact with Tanweer Ahmed in the quotative '**People were saying**

'Why do we need to go there?'. This predication (that 'People' were questioning the need to go to the mosque) is classified as low strength veridical in this case, given that it is part of a direct speech quotation by one of the interviewees, in which he makes a claim about something the collective 'People' allegedly said to him. For the case of collectives, projected predications are typically constituted in conditional statements 'if we go to their space', and conjectures/imagined scenarios around the future outcome of a process '...**they will feel much more comfortable** building a relationship with us'.

While for the case of oblique outgroup actors no instances of normative/deontic modality were detected, expressions of this kind of modality do occur in a few cases involving collective actors. These are, for instance, brought up to communicate expectations (e.g. '**What are you going to do** about those bloody Muslims?') and express necessity with regards to things/instances of contact the Muslim community are having to engage in ('On Friday - the most important day in Islam, **it has to rent a larger community hall** to accommodate about 250 worshippers', and 'Tanweer thinks **the Muslim community needs to keep engaging with locals** to prevent any more trouble').

Discussion

Looking at the number of predications according to type of actor, it can be noted that human actors are by far the ones most frequently predicated type of outgroup actor (123 predications of 203, or 61%). However oblique actors are in themselves quite an important site of outgroup representation judging by the fact that they account for more than a third of outgroup predications (39%), which is more or less aligns with the observations made with regards to nomination strategies in Section 5.2.3.1 in terms of prevalence.

When looking more closely at the 123 predications involving human actors, one can note that those for individual and clusters make up 60% of the total predications applicable to human actors, with collectives accounting for 40% of these (there is only one predication involving the outgroup constituted as an entity). Like with nominations, it appears that predications of the outgroup apply to an internally complex and diverse set, insofar as not one type of outgroup actor clearly dominates when it comes to predication strategies in this text. Rather, different types of outgroup actors are talked about and involved in the narrative in ways that can potentially lead

to more complex and nuanced construals of Muslim communities in the socially shared representations of non-Muslim, majoritised readers.

In most cases CONTACT is invoked more indirectly/implicitly (75%) than explicitly (25%). Across all different types of outgroup participants, it was previously noted that the overwhelming majority of instances of Contact EFs are of an intergroup nature (82.2%). In terms of the 'flow' of contact within this subset, 64.8% represent contact *from* the outgroup *towards* the ingroup, and 35.2% from ingroup actors towards the outgroup. These numbers are presented in Table 8 below.

Within *implicit* instantiations of Contact EFs, intragroup contact is rare. Within the subset of implicit activations of *inter*group contact, the distribution is quite similar to the one observed across the sample of ALL Contact EF activations: 67.9% instances of contact are from the outgroup *towards* the ingroup, and 31.1% have the ingroup as the approaching entity, or the figure (as per the figure-ground alignment distinction introduced previously). For the case of *explicit* activations of Contact EFs in the text (intergroup), interestingly, the division of labour is more equally balanced in terms of the flow of contact. 55.6% of explicitly prompted Contact EFs are of the outgroup towards the ingroup, and 44.4% construe the ingroup as the figure entity of this contact.

Taking all of the above observations around the construal of contact events, one may venture a few tentative observations about the way in which the text could be serving to provide some degree of alternative, counter-hegemonic, discursive portrayals of Muslim communities. As mentioned previously, most of the contact is *by* the outgroup into ingroup spaces and/or towards ingroup human actors, or it locates the outgroup as a figure and the ingroup as the ground. When interpreting these patterns vis-à-vis hegemonically dominant Orientalist discourses, this kind of representations could be taken as defying Orientalist tropes around Muslim communities' unwillingness to connect with non-Muslims (which as mentioned previously are often turned into conspiracy theories around 'Sharia no-go areas'). When the flow of contact is observed along further subdivisions between explicit and implicit construals of Contact EFs, it can be said that for explicit instances of contact (e.g. such as when an actor physically approaches another actor, or communicates with them) both groups have a fairly balanced role to play in terms of who approaches whom, compared to when CONTACT is activated *implicitly* in which most of the impetus of contact is from the outgroup to the ingroup. Interestingly, on a few occasions (12 instances) the contact is bidirectional, such as in 'It was important for him and Ian **to step into**

each other's sacred spaces'. Taken together, patterns like these could potentially serve to counter beliefs that non-Muslim and Muslim communities are irreconcilably separate and that sustained, more harmonious interactions between these two are futile or impossible (see below for further analysis on the affective import of Contact EFs).

	Intergroup Contact	Intragroup Contact	By OG	To OG
Frequency	83	18	65	42
Percentage	82.2%	17.8%	64.8%	35.2%

Table 8. Transitivity Distribution for Contact EFs Across all Types of OG Participant

	Intergroup Contact	Intragroup Contact	By OG	To OG
Implicit	75.2%	83.4%	73.8%	69.0%
Explicit	24.8%	16.7%	26.2%	31.0%

Table 9. Transitivity Distribution for All Contact EFs in Percentages, Divided by Subtype of EF Activation *(Implicit vs Explicit)*

	By OG	To OG
Implicit	67.9%	31.1%
Explicit	55.6%	44.4%

Table 10. Transitivity Distribution for Intergroup Contact EFs in Percentages, Divided by Subtype of EF Activation *(Implicit vs Explicit)*

Most of the times, Assessment EFs are also invoked implicitly (65% of the times compared to 35% explicit activations of Assessment EFs). Across both types (implicit and explicit), Muslim actors are most frequently the *targets* of assessments. (48.5% of the times). Importantly, however, Assessment EFs are more or less equally frequently invoked in contexts in which actions/processes involving the outgroup (both as an agent/doer or in a more patient-like/non-agentive position) are being assessed, and in situations in which outgroup actors themselves are the makers of assessments (16.6% and 18.9%, respectively). For the 18.9% of Assessment EF activations that are invoked when talking about actions in which the outgroup is the agent (see

fourth column on Table 11 below) more than a third are of actions carried out by collectives, and the rest is divided between those carried out by individuals and clusters, and these are assessments which are construed as being engaged by Muslims themselves, or ingroup members.

Of / Towards OG	By OG	For / On Behalf of OG	Of Action Involving OG as Agent	Of Action Involving OG as Patient / Recipient / Non-Agentive / Circumstance
82	28	3	32	24
48.5%	16.6%	0.02%	18.9%	14.2%

Table 11. Transitivity Distribution for Assessment EFs

Most instantiations of Assessment EFs in which the outgroup is the target of a cognitive/affective/descriptive evaluation (column 1, Table 12 below) are implicit ones, yet this difference (56.1% implicit to 43.9% explicit) is not as large as for the other kinds of assessments on Table 12.

	Of / Towards OG	By OG	For / On Behalf of OG	Of Action Involving OG as Agent	Of Action Involving OG as Patient / Recipient / Non-Agentive / Circumstance
Implicit	56.1%	75.0%	100%	71.9%	83.3%
Explicit	43.9%	25.0%	0%	28.1%	16.7%

Table 12. Transitivity Distribution for Assessment EFs Divided by Subtype of EF Activation *(Implicit vs Explicit)*

Meanwhile, positively-valenced appraisals for outgroup actors are 47% more frequent than negative ones (something already brought up in the relevant Results section above). Except for the case of obliques, positively-valenced predications tend to outnumber negative ones for all human outgroups (individuals, clusters and collectives).

Across the board, most predications in which a Contact EF is instantiated in some way also include some kind of positively-valenced appraisal, meaning that the type of contact events brought up in the text are mostly positively evaluated in more or less overt ways (by actors in the narrative or the author herself), or when they are being invoked (but not noticeably assessed by anyone specifically), they carry some positively-valenced connotation of or by the outgroup even

though there is no retrievable 'assessor' (e.g. in predication 165 on table 32 in Appendix 4, 'visiting' carries positive connotations in the context of this narrative).

Most explicit activations of Assessment EFs that involve some kind of affective appraisal (42 in total) are also positively-valenced (26 out of those 42, or 61.9%, are positive) and most of them are High (e.g. '**It makes me feel very proud** that **I have been accepted**') or Medium strength ('Tanweer **says it was important for him and Ian** to step into each other's…spaces'). For implicit activations of Assessment EFs, it is interesting that positive/non-negative and negative/non-positive ones are distributed somewhat evenly (62 positive/non-negative to 51 negative/non-positive, or 54.8% to 45.2%). One possible advantage of this distribution for implicitly activated Assessment EFs which carry some affective import is that it can help avoid overstating the occurrence of positively-valenced Assessment EFs, which may appear to present an implausible state of affairs given that exclusion of Muslim communities is still normalised in the shared social cognitions of many members of the public. At the same time, this is also helpful because by presenting an overly sanitised state of affairs in terms of intergroup assessments participants may otherwise downplay or ignore the current levels of discrimination and aversion directed towards Muslim communities by non-Muslim White-British majorities (cf. Gallardo et al. 2020; Belet, 2018).

At this point it is important to further examine the role and presence of negatively-valenced predications, as though in broad terms they are less frequent than positive ones, they still fulfil important functions and can impact construals of outgroups for readers of this text. Though having the potential to further entrench prejudiced attributions concerning Muslim communities, activation of Contact and Assessment EFs that are negatively-valenced (particularly for oblique actors) can also serve to present a more nuanced representation of Muslim communities and how they are considered in the UK, especially since many of these negatively-valenced predications appear to be made to showcase the discrimination targeted at Muslims and their cultural symbols, which can serve to avoid idealised construals of the relationships between the two communities and the treatment of Muslim communities by majoritised groups in the UK (which could lead to readers discounting the severity and seriousness of Islamophobia -see Gallardo et al., 2020). In this text, it is obliques who are the targets of most of the negative predications involving the outgroup, particularly the mosque (and its planning application) being a main target of these. Importantly, these typically occur during the first half of the narrative, when opposition to the presence of the Muslim community is expressed by non-Muslim locals

before some of the attitudinal changes are described. On the one hand, I note that making non-human actors the main target of hostility and discrimination can be useful in enabling texts to talk about experiences of discrimination and rejection faced by Muslim communities instead of playing them down, though with less risk of gratuitously reproducing acts of violence targeted against human actors which risk normalising this animosity by, among other things, processes of mere exposure (Burgess & Sales, 1971; Zajonc, 1968) or desensitisation. At the same time, however, such choices could also be subservient to discourses in which opportunistic distinctions are sometimes made between opposition/hostility to Islam and opposition/hostility to Muslims as a human group, wherein any hostilities from majoritised groups are presented as (purportedly) not explicitly targeted at Muslim people (and thus not Islamophobic), but instead at Islam as a religion and/or a culture which tends to be viewed as a more acceptable form of opposition to a different 'Other' (see Poole, 2002). I note that this can preclude realisations that hostility and rejection towards cultural objects of Islam may still be rooted in Islamophobia, particularly in their social effects, though as a more socially 'acceptable' form of Islamophobic prejudice. Which of these interpretations best accounts for the text's impact on the attitudes of the audience of interest remains to be seen. This will be reassessed in light of the results of the experiment reported in Chapter 6, which is a write up of Stage 2 of the present intervention.

5.3 General Discussion and Hypothesis Building

From both the nomination and predication analyses undertaken in this chapter, there could be some cause for optimism around the way in which contact narratives such as the one in Crossing Divides may provide suitable alternative ways of representing Muslim communities and relations with majoritised communities, such as White-British non-Muslim ones -which all of the participants in the coming experiment reportedly identified as part of. From the exploration of nominations strategies in Section 5.2.3.1, it appeared that Muslim communities were being referenced with a certain degree of internal complexity and richness, such that different ways of conceptualising and prompting towards Muslim identities were brought up and included in the narrative. Linguistic labels used to invoke these social identities directed attention not just to 'Muslims' as a generic group, but individuals, smaller/more granular groupings, and also their cultural practices and symbols. One of the benefits of the framework of analysis used here when it comes to accounting for nomination strategies is that it takes into consideration the fact that, even when representing groups of people as a plurality, there are different degrees of structural complexity, granularity, and salience by which relevant social categories may be prompted in a

nominal label (as the way to instantiate nomination strategies par excellence). One thing that became clear from the CT literature is that prejudices towards outgroups may be influenced by representations of a diverse set of outgroup actors (beyond individuals), and so a more sophisticated analysis of how these identities are brought up becomes expedient.

Turning to the ways in which Muslim communities were attributed different traits and behaviours in this narrative, which was accounted for via the analysis of predication strategies, one notable finding was that, broadly speaking, the representation of all the different types of (human) social actors involved in the narrative seemed to be largely positive in terms of valence. The depiction of different instances of contact also followed this trend, such that in most cases in which frames of CONTACT were invoked in some way, the construals in the text were also mostly positive. That said, the present analysis also revealed important pockets of affective negativity in the narrative, in ways that speak to the complexity and evaluative ambivalence in which social identities may be represented in naturally-occurring contact narratives. This text stands in contrast to the kind of texts often used in mediated contact experiments in the CT literature, which tend to be artificially created by experimenters, and in which the broad valence of the text is controlled for, such that texts are either considered to favour positive *OR* negative representations of contact and of outgroups and where, consequently, some important nuances tend to be de-emphasised (see Section 5.1.1.2). Much of the negativity targeted the mosque and in a few (albeit important) cases the Muslim community in Lincoln and individual members, and came from assessments by ingroup actors *as* groups and in some cases by individual actors, particularly at the beginning of the narrative.

All in all, a preliminary observation (which will be subject to experimentation in the next phase) is that this text does appear to offer some important loci of contestation to currently hegemonic Orientalist/Islamophobic discourses, mostly by offering alternative ways of representing Muslim identities and their contact with non-Muslim majoritised groups. In this way, this narrative arguably brings up a different way of representing Muslim communities in the UK. The question that remains, however, is whether such patterns of representation can indeed have any emancipatory effects at the level of ideological representation, specifically around levels of Islamophobic prejudices held by readers. In short, whether having the opportunity to come into contact with these types of discursive constructions of Muslims actually *changes* perceptions and attitudes about these groups in majoritised communities towards reductions in Islamophobic prejudice still needs to be explored and verified.

On the basis of the analysis carried out in this chapter, and as a segue into the next stage of the prognostic intervention pipeline, I begin by outlining the hypothesis that will be at the heart of Stage 3 of the model of CDS praxis proposed by this thesis. The following chapter will report on how this hypothesis was put to the test, including important considerations about experimental design, operationalisation of variables of interest (particularly of 'Islamophobic prejudice'), and participant recruitment.

The hypothesis (and corresponding null hypothesis) that guides the experimental work undertaken at Stage 3 is as follows:

H1: Exposure to the target text will lead to a reduction in prejudice towards Muslim communities in 45-75 year-old, White, socially conservative audiences.

H0: Exposure to the target text will **not** lead to a reduction in prejudice towards Muslim communities in 45-75 year-old, White, socially conservative audiences.

CHAPTER 6: STAGE 2 - TESTING THE EMANCIPATORY POTENTIAL OF A NEWS-BASED CONTACT NARRATIVE ON THE ISLAMOPHOBIC PREJUDICES OF NON-MUSLIM WHITE CONSERVATIVE ADULTS (45+)

6.1 Method

6.1.1 Participants

40 participants aged 45-75 years (Mean age: 56) with normal or corrected-to-normal vision were recruited via the online platform Prolific. For this experiment, participants were selected if they were: Conservative, UKIP, DUP, Brexit Party voters in the 2017 and 2019 elections; Leave voters in the EU Referendum; English monolinguals who considered themselves to be monocultural, who lived in the UK since birth, and identified as White British. Participants were moreover recruited if they were of any religious denomination except for Muslim, were right-handed, had never been diagnosed with dyslexia and had no medical history of cognitive impairments (such as dementia, Alzheimer's, etc.). The criteria for selection implemented here had the purpose of identifying participants who could be more likely to hold some form of Islamophobic prejudice. That participants would exhibit these patterns of ideological representation towards Muslim communities could not, however, be assumed a priori, and this is also one reason that levels of Islamophobic prejudice were measured at baseline (i.e. prior to exposure to the text of interest) as the following section will detail. One participant had to be excluded from the sample after receiving a cognitive impairment diagnosis a week after completing the experiment, which left a total sample of 39 participants. All participants (including the omitted participant) were compensated at a rate of £9.50 p/h for their time.

6.1.2 Materials and Procedure

This study was divided in four parts and was performed entirely online. Participants made use of their own laptop or desktop computer to complete the experiment. All data was collected via the Gorilla Experiment Platform, and participants had up to 1h30 to complete the full study.

Part 1: First Round of Evaluative Decision Task

In the first part of the study, participants were randomly assigned to either an Experimental (N=20) or Control (N=19) group upon confirmation of their year of birth (to ensure only participants aged 45-75 took part). After reading the relevant information sheet and providing consent, participants completed an evaluative decision task (EDT) using the response window procedure first reported in Draine and Greenwald (1998) and applied in studies by Otten and Wentura (1999) and Klauer et al. (2007).

What is the Evaluative Decision Task and How is it Used to Measure Implicit Attitudes?

Evaluative Decision Tasks are a tool frequently used in social psychological research as a way to measure implicit attitudes (Fazio et al., 1986; Klauer & Musch, 2003). In EDTs, primes of interest are often evocative of social groups that one may want to empirically examine in terms of the degree of evaluative bias they command in participants' social cognitive schemata. In a typical EDT, participants are shown a prime, such as social category noun labels (e.g. words such as 'muslims', 'britons' as in this study) or images representative of a social group, followed by an evaluatively-laden target stimulus (e.g. positive and negative words or images) in very quick succession. Upon presentation of target stimuli, participants are typically asked to categorise these as either good/pleasant or bad/unpleasant. Participants are asked to make these classification decisions (stimuli come from a set of target and prime words) several hundreds of times, typically amounting to between 50-400 repetitions, which are called 'trials' (see below for more details for the number of trials in this specific study).

A typical finding in EDTs is that, overall, participant responses normally tend to be faster and/or more accurate when a prime is followed by a target which matches the overall evaluative connotation of the prime (i.e. target is evaluatively congruent with the prime) compared to one which contrasts with it (i.e. target is evaluatively incongruent). For example, when a prime appears to be, generally speaking, more negatively/positively evaluated by participants (deemed suggestive of a level of prejudiced ideation -Fazio et al., 1995; Axt et al., 2024), categorising a negative/positive adjective, i.e. an evaluatively congruent target, after the prime will be done faster and/or more accurately. Meanwhile, classifying a target whose valence contrasts with that of the prime will tend to be more difficult (i.e. take longer and incur lower levels of accuracy) as it first requires participants to suppress or counteract the initial evaluative response they may

have had towards the prime. The difference in response patterns to congruent and incongruent pairings, measured in terms of differences in average Accuracy and/or RTs, is what is known as the 'Congruence effect' (Fazio & Olson, 2003) . There are different, and in some cases competing, explanations for the origin and scope of these effects (see Discussion in 6.3, see also Klauer & Musch, 2003; Ortells et al., 2016). However, the congruence effect is often used in affective priming studies as a measure of participants' implicit attitudinal dispositions towards a given aspect of reality, in terms of the overall degree of evaluative bias they exhibit towards it. If positive adjectives are responded to more quickly *and* more accurately than negative ones, this is taken as indicative of a positive bias or, if the reverse occurs following presentation of the prime(s) of interest, negative bias.

It is important to note that congruence effects are a *relative*, not an absolute, measure, insofar as they account for how much *faster* and/or *more accurately* the classification of valenced stimuli is following presentation of a congruent (vs incongruent) prime stimulus. Implicit biases observed via RTs are theorised as being indicative of processing fluency and affective readiness, reflected in how a given prime helps/hinders how fast (i.e. how fluently) correct evaluative classifications can be made (see Wentura & Degner, 2010). Meanwhile, accuracy rates are indicative of the degree to which a prime makes it easier/more difficult for participants to assess the evaluative import of a subsequent target correctly, and press the correct button for classifying it (ibid.). In the present study, prejudice towards Muslim communities is operationalised as the overall effect of Congruence on trials where participants are primed with 'muslims' both in terms of accuracy and speed. As will be noted (see Section 6.2), trials with the prime 'britons' are also included for statistical and conceptual comparison of Congruence effects.

Trial Sequence in the EDT

In each trial of the EDT used here, participants were briefly presented with a fixation cross for 1000ms on their screen, followed by a random string of consonants (e.g. cdhtfzcqynwpy, which did not overlap with any consonants found in the words 'muslims' or 'britons' -see Klauer et al., 2007), which acted as a 'forward mask'. This forward mask was replaced after 66 ms with a prime word, either 'muslims' or 'britons' (the latter included as a way to compare if changes in congruence effects are prime-specific -see Otten & Wentura, 1999), which was embedded with three random consonants either side (e.g. vdh**muslims**pfw -bold type used here for contrast

only), and displayed for 66ms. Presentation of the prime was followed by a second mask (another string of random consonants), called a 'backward mask'. This backward mask was replaced after 16ms by a target word, i.e. a positive or negative adjective which remained on the screen for 333ms. In this study, primes of interest were masked such that conscious visibility of these social category labels could be precluded, as a way to prevent participants from exerting explicit control over their motor responses (when they pressed the relevant key to classify an adjective as positive/negative -see Section 6.3, this chapter).

Following presentation of the target adjective, an exclamation mark appeared on the screen and remained there for up to 2000ms. Participants were advised that the exclamation mark indicated the beginning of a response window, during which they were asked to make their responses, i.e. classify the adjective on the screen according to whether it was good/pleasant or bad/unpleasant. If responses were issued within the window, which extended to 150ms, the exclamation mark turned bright pink. The exclamation mark remained black if participants responded later than the 150ms after the target word disappeared, and did not appear if they responded while the target was on the screen (i.e. too quickly). This was done to encourage participants to develop a steady rhythm of responses so any effects could more readily be concentrated on their accuracy scores rather than their response times which would, in principle (but see Results and Discussion sections), mitigate the so-called speed-accuracy trade-off (Heitz, 2014). That said, participants were not obliged to respond within this window, only encouraged, so responses that fell outside the window were still recorded and analysed at a later stage (see Sections 6.2 and 6.3).

For this particular study, the set of target words participants were asked to classify according to their valence comprised a total of 52 negative and 52 positive adjectives extracted from the VAD lexicon (Mohammad, 2018). Both sets of adjectives, positive and negative, were controlled for arousal, concreteness (following Brysbaert et al.'s, 2014 norming study), character number, number of characters shared with the primes, and word frequency in the SUBTLEX-UK corpus (van Heuven et al., 2014). This was done to mitigate any uncontrolled variation between positive and negative adjectives as much as possible, and thus make valence the main source of difference between the two sets of targets, making it easier to measure implicit bias (defined as differential positivity or negativity) towards a social group.

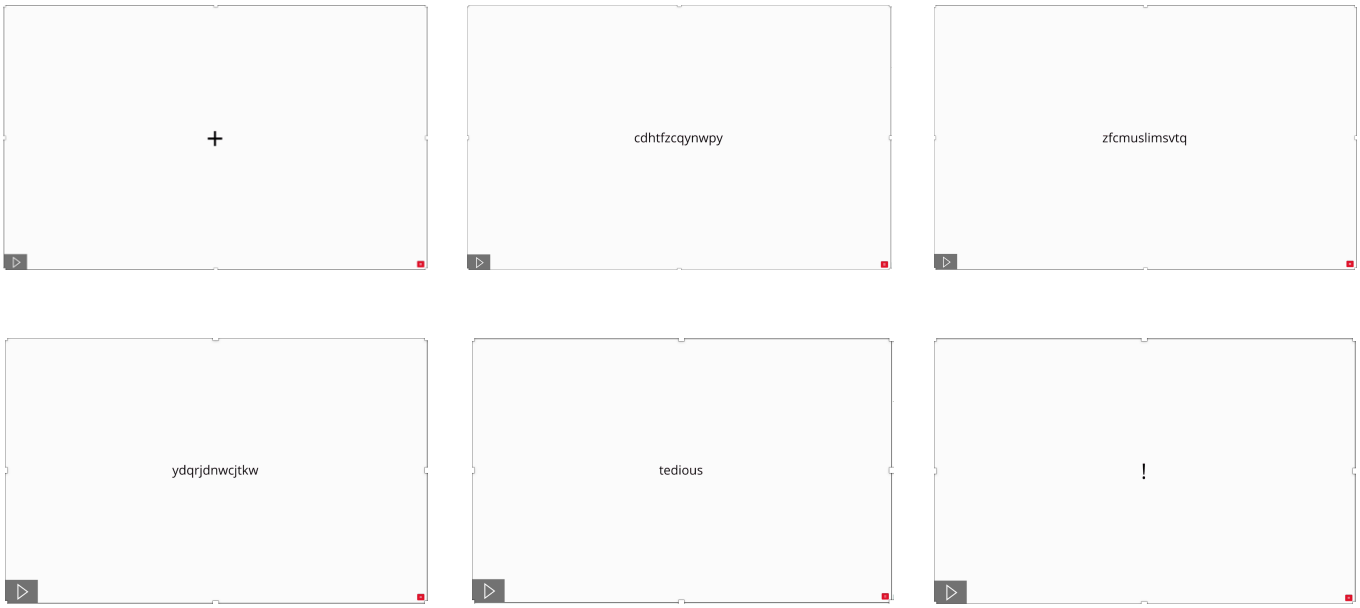

Figure 3. Stimuli Sequence in an EDT trial (follow from left to right, and top to bottom)

The present study also used the *adaptive* response window technique developed by Draine and Greenwald (1998) in which onset of the response window is adapted to each participant's individual performance from block to block. This is done as a way to prevent ceiling and floor effects which would distort the data: one of the aims of the EDT is to force errors by asking participants to make a classification decision under pressure, making it more likely that they will rely on implicit biases (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). In the present study, onset of the response window was brought forward by 33ms in a subsequent block if participants achieved over 80% accuracy *and* their average response time was faster than 508ms (333ms, which was the duration of the target, plus half of the duration of the response window, plus 100ms -see Draine & Greenwald, 1998). It was, contrastingly, delayed 33ms if their accuracy score was under 20% *and* average response time was greater than 508ms. If none of these conditions were met, the onset of the response window remained the same. Only two participants out of the total sample required any adjustments to the onset of the response window.

As a means to enable participants to become acquainted with the task and the response window procedure, they were provided with 140 practice trials to complete before going through the four test blocks. 20 of the 140 practice trials contained only target words and were designed to help participants familiarise themselves with the keyboard response configuration ((counterbalanced in both groups to control for the effect of handedness -see Serrien et al., 2012). The following 40 trials included the prime words, sandwiched between masks, followed by targets. The remaining 80 trials also included prime, masks and target, but introduced the response window. The test

phase proper consisted of 208 trials per participant, divided in four blocks of 52 trials. All in all, participants completed 104 trials containing the prime 'muslims' (containing 52 negative and 52 positive targets) and 104 of 'britons' (same configuration of target). Presentation of primes and targets, and block order was randomised throughout.

Part 2: Exposure to Input Texts and Summarising Task

Following completion of the first round of the EDT, participants were told they would randomly be assigned a text to read, and that they would be asked to summarise the gist of it in 2-3 sentences to someone who had not read the text. Those in the Experimental condition received the input text analysed previously and those in the Control condition were shown an unrelated text about the challenges faced by Traveller communities in securing adequate housing in Scotland.

Part 3: Second Round of Evaluative Decision Task

After reading the text, participants completed a second and final round of the same EDT
Once participants had read and summarised their assigned text, they completed a second run of the same evaluative decision task (with only 20 practice trials this time, all of them including the response window).

Part 4: Exit Demographic Questions and Social Dominance Orientation Measurements

In the last part of the study, participants were presented with a set of exit demographic questions (about age, education, gender identity, etc.) and the social dominance orientation 7-item scale (Ho et al., 2015) SDO-7,. The latter is reportedly an important modulating variable for social attitudes (ibid.), and is often triangulated with results from evaluative decision tasks, or included as a co-variate in regression models. It is included here to further account for any potential differences in the effects of the present intervention, but is not incorporated to the statistical model reported below to reduce the latter's complexity.

6.1.3 Experimental Design: Dependent and Independent Variables under Observation

The present study sought to test the effects of four independent variables on the rate of accurate responses and reaction times when classifying congruent and incongruent targets following presentation of the prime 'muslims' or 'britons'[29] (see Section 6.2). Each independent variable in this study had two levels, making this a 2x2x2x2 factorial design. The four independent variables of interest were: Congruence (its two levels being: congruent vs incongruent) x Stage (Pre vs Post) x Group (Experimental vs Control) x Prime (muslims vs britons).

This study followed a within-between-subjects design. The variable Group varied *between* subjects (subjects were assigned to only one group and remained in that same group throughout the experiment) but Stage varied *within* subjects, and Congruence and Prime varied *within* the task itself, which itself varied according to Stage. This within-subject and within-task configurations are reflected in the fact that subjects performed the evaluative decision task *twice*, Pre and Post exposure, and they responded to *both* congruent and incongruent trials, for *both* the prime muslims and the prime britons, in *both* iterations of the evaluative decision task. Inclusion of trials with a contrasting prime such as 'britons' in the design was initially done to enable comparisons with those trials showing the prime 'muslims', as the present intervention is focused on attitudes towards Muslim communities. Introducing a less socially stigmatised prime, and particularly one related to participants' ingroup, acted as a control within the EDT itself, and could allow for more nuanced and fine-grained analysis of whether/how the intervention did indeed modulate implicit biases towards Muslim communities (measured as congruence effects in relation to the prime 'muslims') vs. how/whether it also affected implicit biases towards the ingroup (measured as congruence effects in relation to 'britons') rather than being prime-specific.

On the basis of the design specifications just laid out, and the way prejudice towards Muslim communities is being operationalised in this experimental study, it is useful to reframe the main hypothesis introduced in the previous chapter. One key feature of the present study is that implicit attitudes are being quantified as congruence effects, and that these effects are

[29] Negative targets are referred to as congruent trials and positive targets as incongruent ones following the assumption that the set of participants recruited here are arguably likely to display an overall implicit bias towards Muslim communities in the form of more accurate (and faster) responses to negative targets than to positive ones. This way of structuring the variable of Congruence is common in studies measuring attitudes of majoritised groups towards minoritised groups.

computed as differences in Accuracy, on the one hand, and RTs on the other, when participants classify congruent vs incongruent adjectives following presentation of a prime. Accordingly, the main hypothesis is divided into two distinct, albeit related (see Discussion) hypotheses -and corresponding null hypotheses, which are as follows:

H1) Accuracy-based congruence effects pertaining to 'muslims' will be mitigated following exposure to 'Crossing Divides' compared to exposure to an unrelated text.

H0) Accuracy-based congruence effects pertaining to 'muslims' will NOT be mitigated following exposure to 'Crossing Divides' compared to exposure to an unrelated text.

H2) RT-based congruence effects pertaining to 'muslims' will be mitigated following exposure to 'Crossing Divides' compared to exposure to an unrelated text.

H0') RT-based congruence effects pertaining to 'muslims' will NOT be mitigated following exposure to 'Crossing Divides' compared to exposure to an unrelated text.

6.2 Results

6.2.1 Inferential Statistical Models: Logistic and Linear Mixed-Effects Models

One appropriate way of testing hypotheses H1 and H2, which require observing changes in Accuracy and RTs for a within-between-subjects study, is by performing multi-level statistical regressions (see Winter, 2019) on the data obtained from participants, to better assess whether any changes are due to the kind of text participants are exposed to or due to something else. As noted above, dependent variables in EDT experiments are affected at different levels (group level, participant/subject level, task/trial level). Multi-level models duly allow for the examination of effects at the level of between-subjects variables (such as Group) and within-subject ones (Stage, Prime and Congruence). Connected to the fact that both within and between-subject predictors/variables can be accounted for by multi-level modes, such type of statistical modelling also enables researchers to account for dependencies in the data, which come from repeating a measurement more than once (see Winter, 2019). This is certainly the case here, as measurements at Pre and Post stages are not *independent* observations from different sources, but are obtained from the *same* participant.

Another crucial advantage of multi-level regression models is that they allow researchers to account for the impact of random variation that can and does affect dependent variables of interest in ways that are not predictable and cannot be easily controlled (ibid., p. 233). One important source of random variation typically comes from participants' individual differences, e.g. some participants may be faster and more accurate responders than others, above and beyond the influence of independent variables. Moreover, the fact that different participants used different devices and internet connections when completing this study introduces errors in measurement (particularly in terms of RTs), and these need to be somehow separated from those effects that actually come from the experimental manipulations of interest. Consequently, since all of these sources of variation affect dependent variables in non-trivial ways, and noting that Accuracy and RTs are impacted at multiple levels in this study, multi-level models emerge as the appropriate statistical tool to test H1 and H2.

At their core, both hypotheses aim to ascertain whether exposure to alternative discursive representations of Muslim communities in a news-based contact narrative makes any dent on participants' implicit prejudices towards these communities. It was previously mentioned that Congruence effects were to be computed here as differences in Accuracy, on the one hand, and RTs on the other, when participants are asked to classify congruent vs incongruent adjectives upon presentation of two different primes. At the level of statistical analysis, Accuracy and RTs differ in that the former is a *discrete* outcome variable (as responses can either be correct or incorrect, coded as 1 and 0), and the latter is *continuous* (e.g. from 1ms to 2ms there can be a continuous, and infinite range of numbers in between).

In light of the above, the kind of multi-level model that emerged as best suited to the task of computing Accuracy scores against a set of multi-level variables is known as a 'logistic mixed-effects model' (where binary dependent variables follow a logistic, or Bernoulli, distribution -see Winter, 2019, Chapter 12). On the other hand, linear mixed-effects models emerged as the appropriate choice for the task of computing RTs against those same independent variables. Note that though the below lines make reference to effects on 'RTs', RT values were transformed as is standard practice into a natural logarithmic scale.

As a first port of call, two statistical models were computed, in which *all* levels of *all* four independent variables (Congruent vs Incongruent -for Congruence, Pre vs Post -for Stage,

Experimental vs Control -for Group, and muslims vs britons -for Prime) mentioned in Section 6.1.3 were regressed against the dependent variables Accuracy and RTs. This was so their effects, and the effects of two or more of these variables in interaction with one another, could be computed, and finally inferences could be drawn about how each variable (and their interactions) affected each outcome variable/DV of interest.

In both statistical models (RTs and Accuracy), the four independent variables (Congruence, Stage, Prime and Group) referred to previously were modelled as *fixed effects*, while intercepts for Participant were allowed to vary *randomly*. For the sake of clarity, 'fixed effects' is the name used in multi-level regression models for those independent variables that are manipulated in arguably 'controlled' ways (e.g. Stage is changed from Pre to Post, and Congruence from congruent trials to incongruent trials, Group varies between Control and Experimental and Prime alters between 'muslims' and 'britons'). As part of the experimental design, it is the researcher who defines and *fixes* how these variables change in the study, hence their name. 'Random effects', on the other hand, is the name used for those variables whose pattern of variation is not being fixed by the researcher, but nonetheless ought to be accounted for in some way. Following the points made in the previous paragraph, it is assumed that not all participants will respond in the same way to the EDT, due to various sources of individual differences between participants which one cannot easily predict nor control (thus this variation is assumed to be *random*).

Note, furthermore, that like in most tasks of this nature (see Wentura & Degner, 2010; Koppehele-Gossel et al., 2020) a response-time cutoff was established so that responses issued outside 300ms and 1000ms after prime presentation were excluded from the final dataset. Cutoffs such as these are commonly applied (see Berger & Kiefer, 2021) on the understanding that responses that are made too early are indicative of 'fast guesses' (which often lead to accuracy being at chance level, i.e. the ratio of correct to incorrect responses will approach 50:50), and those that come too late in the process are likely to be affected by explicit, more consciously deliberate control by participants. This upper cutoff is particularly important in studies where social attitudes such as intergroup prejudice/implicit biases are being examined insofar as the focus of interest are the automatic processes that underpin social evaluations, that can and do inform social behaviour in non-trivial ways. Finally, for the analysis of effects on RTs only correct trials are used as datapoints.

The most important insights derived from these models are summarised here (but see Appendix 5 for a more detailed account). From these four-variable models, it appeared that Congruence effects were quite robust across all conditions, suggesting that the EDT was successful at detecting implicit bias (operationalised as Congruence effects). In other words, the models confirmed that, overall, participants were faster *and* more accurate at classifying congruent than incongruent adjectives. Importantly, how much faster/slower and more/less accurate participants were at classifying target adjectives varied depending on what Stage participants were in; i.e. on whether they were in the first or second round of the EDT. This suggests that, overall, participants got better at the EDT after having done it twice. This is indicative of the presence of so-called learning effects, which seem to have surpassed possible fatigue effects (which normally result in participants becoming slower and less accurate in their responses).

When looking at the Accuracy model, the main effects of Stage differed significantly between Experimental and Control groups, i.e. *how* much more accurate participants got from baseline to the second EDT diverged between Experimental and Control groups. Congruence effects on Accuracy for 'muslims' moreover displayed important qualitative differences from those for 'britons'. Though both primes commanded robust Congruence effects, classifications of adjectives following 'muslims' show participants were generally more accurate when classifying negative vs positive adjectives across both Stages and both Groups, indicative of the presence of differentially negative biases at the level of Accuracy, while the reverse was true for 'britons'.

For RTs, Congruence effects varied in magnitude *and* direction according to what participants were primed with ('muslims' or 'britons'), and also seem to have been affected by what Stage of the study they were in. Overall, therefore, it appeared that there were important differences between Pre and Post stages in the direction and magnitude of Congruence effects elicited by the prime Muslims vs Britons, which hinted at the possibility that changes from Pre to Post were prime-specific (see Discussion).

When looking at H1 and H2 above, one thing that becomes clear is that the focus of the present study was ultimately to determine whether/how Congruence effects linked to the prime 'muslims' changed following exposure to the input text selected as discourse data for Stages 1-2 of the present prognostic intervention, and whose emancipatory potential it was the aim of this study to test empirically such that prognostic recommendations could be made.

In terms of the current experimental design, this means that it was of central interest to test whether Congruence effects pertaining to the prime 'muslims' were moderated by both/either Stage and Group, that is, whether they differed from Pre to Post exposure, and/or between Experimental Group (who read the text of interest) vis-à-vis the Control Group (who read an unrelated text, albeit from the same BBC World series). Given the fact that the present study sought to empirically account for the prejudice-mitigating potential (or lack thereof) of alternative narratives of Muslim communities and relations between Muslim and non-Muslim communities, in order to test whether/how prejudice towards Muslim communities in particular may be altered via exposure to these narratives, a smaller-scale analysis, one which only looks at trials with 'muslims' as the prime was necessary.

This more specific, smaller-scale statistical analysis is the one reported below. Accuracy and RTs were once again modelled via logistic mixed-effects and linear-mixed effect models respectively, but *only* for the trials where 'muslims' was the prime, thereby treating the trials where 'britons' was the prime as distractors and omitting these from this analysis. As a result, two models with three independent variables (Group, Congruence and Stage) were fitted. Intercepts were again allowed to vary randomly according to each individual participant.

6.2.2 Reporting Fixed Effects and Simple Effects from Accuracy and RTs Subset Models

Tables 13 and 14 below display the fixed effects of both the Accuracy and RT subset models (focusing on trials with prime 'muslims' only).

Effect	Estimate	SE	exp(B)	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	z	p
Group (Control - Experimental)	0.3482	0.3034	1.417	0.782	2.567	1.148	0.251
Stage (Post - Pre)	0.0934	0.0607	1.098	0.975	1.237	1.537	0.124
Congruence (Incongruent - Congruent)	**–0.3361**	**0.0607**	**0.715**	**0.634**	**0.805**	**–5.541**	**< .001**
Stage × Group	0.2016	0.1215	1.223	0.964	1.552	1.660	0.097
Congruence x Stage	–0.0905	0.1213	0.914	0.720	1.159	–0.746	0.456
Congruence x Group	–0.0138	0.1212	0.986	0.778	1.251	–0.114	0.909
Congruence x Stage × Group	0.3395	0.2424	1.404	0.873	2.258	1.401	0.161

Table 13. Fixed Effects for Accuracy Subset Model ('muslims' prime only). *Significant main effects and interactions highlighted in bold.*

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	df	t	p
Stage (Post - Pre)	**-0.00848**	**0.00420**	**-0.01672**	**-0.00024**	**6108.2**	**-2.017**	**0.044**
Group (Control - Experimental 1)	0.04711	0.06176	-0.07394	0.16817	37.0	0.763	0.450
Congruence (Incongruent - Congruent)	**-0.01903**	**0.00421**	**-0.02728**	**-0.01078**	**6108.4**	**-4.521**	**<.001**
Stage × Group	-0.00160	0.00841	-0.01808	0.01487	6108.2	-0.191	0.849
Congruence x Stage	**0.01899**	**0.00840**	**0.00253**	**0.03545**	**6108.1**	**2.261**	**0.024**
Congruence x Stage	-0.01389	0.00842	-0.03039	0.00261	6108.4	-1.650	0.099
Congruence x Stage × Group	-0.01867	0.01680	-0.05159	0.01425	6108.1	-1.111	0.266

Table 14. Fixed Effects for RTs Subset Model ('muslims' prime only). *Significant main effects and interactions highlighted in bold.*

If one takes the above figures in tandem, it seems that participants of both groups became more accurate *and* faster at classifying adjectives following presentation of the prime 'muslims' towards the end of the study (i.e. Post Stage), compared to baseline (i.e. the Pre Stage). This is reflected in the fact that main effects of Stage were significant in both models. Furthermore, differences in levels of Congruence impacted both Accuracy and RTs significantly (main effects of Congruence were significant). Both results follow the trend of the full-scale models inasmuch as Congruence and Stage were also found to affect both Accuracy and RTs significantly in those models (see Appendix 5).

A surprising finding pertains the *direction* of Congruence effects on RTs. While the effects of Congruence on Accuracy followed the expected trend, and participants were overall more accurate when classifying congruent adjectives compared to incongruent ones for the prime 'muslims', these effects were reversed for the case of RTs. On trials with the outgroup prime, participants were overall *faster* at arriving at the correct classification for incongruent (positive) vs congruent (negative) adjectives, even if they were *not* more accurate at doing this overall (it was negative adjectives that were classified more accurately following the prime 'muslims' than positive ones).

These Congruence effects observed on RTs were importantly moderated by Stage (as indicated by the significant interaction of Congruence x Stage). This means that there appeared to be important differences in the nature of Congruence effects on RTs that apparently depended on which Stage of the study participants were in. The potential implications and significance of these results are explored further in Section 6.3. However, at this juncture, and noting the above interactions in light of H1 and H2, it is necessary to further explore *whether/how* it was that Congruence effects differed according to the Stage participants were in, since the above fixed effects alone do not allow one to definitively test H1 and H2.

One way to do this is by looking at the so-called 'simple effects' of Congruence. Different from main effects, simple effects are obtained by observing the effects of one single variable (in this case Congruence) across all the different levels of the other variables (Pre, Post, Experimental and Control), and testing whether these simple effects differ significantly from zero (effects very close to zero indicating an absence of effects).

Tables 15 and 16 display simple effects of Congruence (only for trials with 'muslims' as the prime), broken down by Group and by Stage.

Group	Stage	Contrast	Estimate	SE	exp(B)	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	z	p
Experimental	Pre	Incongruent - Congruent	−0.199	0.111	0.819	0.659	1.018	−1.79	0.073
Experimental	Post	Incongruent - Congruent	−0.383	0.112	0.682	0.548	0.849	−3.42	**< .001**
Control	Pre	Incongruent - Congruent	−0.459	0.129	0.632	0.491	0.813	−3.57	**< .001**
Control	Post	Incongruent - Congruent	−0.303	0.132	0.738	0.570	0.956	−2.30	**0.022**

Table 15. Simple Effects of Congruence on Accuracy, broken down by Group and Stage.

Group	Stage	Contrast	Estimate	SE	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	t	p
Experimental	Pre	Incongruent - Congruent	-0.02625	0.00834	-0.0426	-0.00990	-3.147	**0.002**
Experimental	Post	Incongruent - Congruent	0.00208	0.00839	-0.0144	0.01853	0.247	0.805
Control	Pre	Incongruent - Congruent	-0.03081	0.00857	-0.0476	-0.01401	-3.595	**<.001**
Control	Post	Incongruent - Congruent	-0.02115	0.00833	-0.0375	-0.00482	-2.538	**0.011**

Table 16. Simple Effects of Congruence on RTs, broken down by Group and Stage.

From these tables it appears that, for the case of the dependent variable Accuracy, Congruence effects were significant for both groups at Post stage (after each group read and summarised their assigned texts), but only for Controls at baseline. For the case of RTs, Congruence effects were present for *both* groups at baseline, but seemed to have been mitigated (and in fact to almost disappear altogether, given the zero-approaching *t* value of 0.2497 -see second to last row on Table 16) for the Experimental group following exposure to 'Crossing Divides'.

6.2.3 Post-Hoc Power Analysis of Simple Effects: Why It Matters

Before moving on to the discussion and interpretation of results, post-hoc power simulations were run to verify the extent to which the significance values of simple effects of Congruence obtained above were in fact reliable. Assessing effects for reliability in this setting means assessing whether one can trust the model's calculations, both in cases where p-values of different effects of interest are found to be significant, and those in which they are not. Tables 17 and 18 report post-hoc power calculations for simple effects of Congruence for both subset models (Accuracy and RTs) in the present study.

Group	Stage	Estimate	SE	exp(B)	z	p	Power
Experimental	Pre	–0.199	0.111	0.819	–1.79	0.073	0.53
Experimental	Post	–0.383	0.112	0.682	–3.42	**< .001**	0.92
Control	Pre	–0.459	0.129	0.632	–3.56	**< .001**	0.94
Control	Post	–0.303	0.132	0.738	–2.30	**0.022**	0.78

Table 17. Post-hoc Power for Simple Effects of Congruence on Accuracy *(last column).*

Group	Stage	Estimate	SE	t	p	Power
Experimental	Pre	-0.026	0.0083	-3.147	**0.002**	0.95
Experimental	Post	0.0021	0.0084	0.247	0.805	0.08
Control	Pre	-0.031	0.0086	-3.595	**<.001**	0.99
Control	Post	-0.021	0.0083	-2.538	**0.011**	0.81

Table 18. Post-hoc Power for Simple Effects of Congruence on RTs *(last column).*

Note that in almost all cases power was close to or above 0.8 (80%), which is usually the minimum acceptable level of power. This means the effects obtained by the model and the calculations of their statistical significance appear to be reliable (in effect this means they were replicated in over 80% of the simulations computed when calculating power). The only notable exceptions are at the level of Accuracy for the Experimental group at baseline (i.e. Pre-exposure -see Table 17), and at the level of RTs for the Experimental group, Post-exposure (Table 18).

These two power computations, however, reflect slightly different patterns. For the case of Congruence effects on Accuracy for Experimentals at baseline, the low power of 0.53 (or 53%) and the p-value of 0.073 (approaching significance but still higher than the cutoff of 0.050) are together indicative that it may be likely that this effect was in fact larger than what was computed, meaning that participants were probably more likely to hold negative biases towards 'muslims' in terms of the Accuracy of their evaluative classifications, but these effects were just not detected by the model in this instance (what is typically called a Type II error). Meanwhile, for Experimentals at Post, the very low power of 0.08 (or 8%) is instead suggestive of the fact that there was probably no effect to detect at all, which may be interesting in and of itself depending on a study's aims and hypotheses (and in this case is -see Discussion). In circumstances where power is small, effects are very close to zero and p-values are close to 1, it is more likely that there is in fact a true absence of effects. In this case, as seen from second row of table 13 where power is very low at 0.1, effect sizes are near to 0 at 0.247 and p is close to 1 at 0.805, one may

conclude that there was simply no Congruence effect on RTs Post exposure for the Experimental group, meaning this Congruence effect disappeared/was neutralised almost completely (see Discussion).

6.3 Discussion

6.3.1 Did Exposure to 'Crossing Divides' Mitigate Prejudice towards Muslims?

From the above results one of the most notable findings is that there appear to be important qualitative differences in how implicit bias towards Muslim communities manifested itself and evolved during the study. Overall, the experimental manipulation did seem to make a significant dent on implicit prejudice towards Muslims as expressed in RTs but not Accuracy, thereby corroborating only H2 but not H1.

At most levels of Group and Stage, Accuracy subset models reliably detected the presence of implicit biases towards Muslims. This was with the notable exception of the Experimental group at baseline (Pre Stage). At first glance, the fact that there was no Congruence effect for this group at baseline (before text exposure) but there *was* a significant one following contact with the contact narrative of interest could be suggestive that exposure the kind of alternative discursive representations identified in 'Crossing Divides' may have backfired and even *amplified* the expression of implicit negative biases from Pre to Post. However, a post-hoc power analysis revealed that power for the effects of Congruence at baseline in the Experimental group was relatively low (achieving only 53% out of the optimal minimum of 80%). Low power suggests these effects are likely to be larger than detected by the model. A look at Congruence Effects and error terms side by side for both groups at both timepoints can help determine this further. Figure 4 below shows a bar plot visualisation of Congruence effects for each group at each stage.

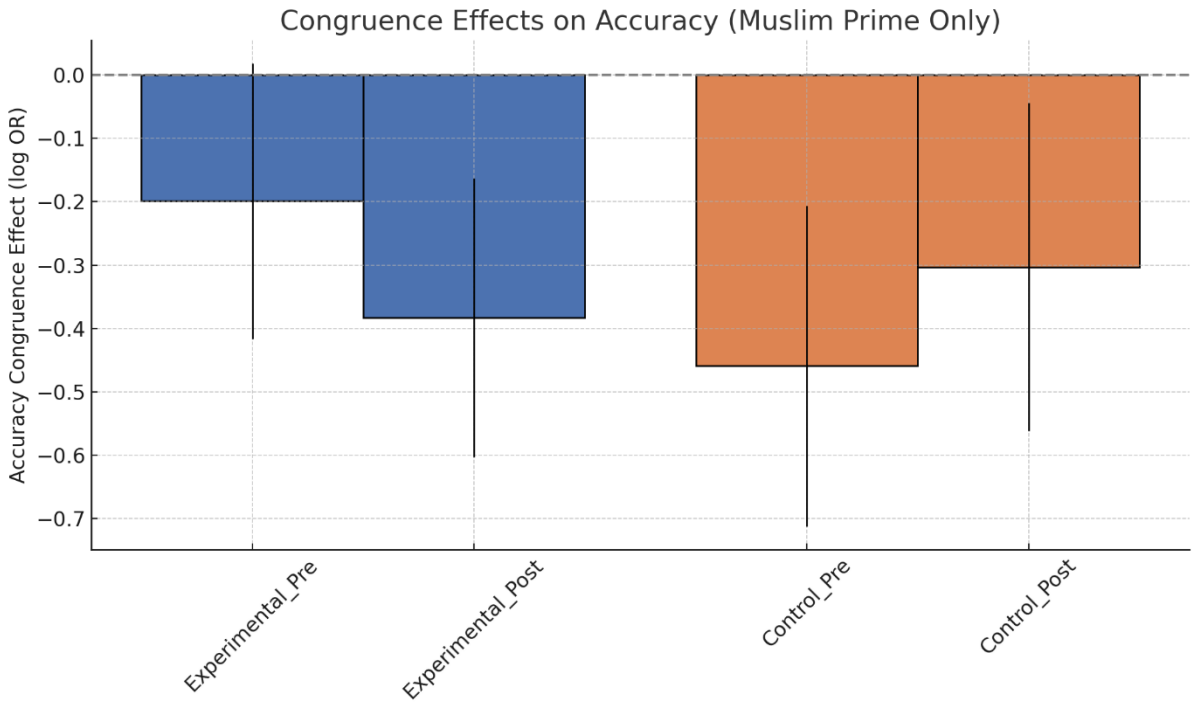

Figure 4. Congruence Effects on Accuracy ('muslims' prime only)

On the above graph it can be noted that despite Experimental_Pre effects approaching zero, when one considers that these effects could have been much larger (as suggested by the post-hoc power analysis), then it seems that exposure to alternative (and potentially more emancipatory) discursive representations of Muslim communities via the text studied in Chapter 5 did *not* significantly increase negative bias towards Muslims.

At this stage, however, it is important to return to H1, which predicted that Accuracy-level Congruence effects would be mitigated Post exposure. Even if the present mediated contact experiment does not appear to have worsened implicit prejudices as measured by Congruence effects on Accuracy, it did not modulate them either. In other words, exposure to 'Crossing Divides' had no prejudice-mitigating effect towards Muslims at the level of response accuracy; participants were correctly classifying negative targets differentially to positive ones, i.e. significantly more accurately when primed with 'muslims'. Therefore, H1 could not be confirmed for the participants in this study.

The picture is slightly different, though less straightforward, for implicit prejudices expressed at the level of reaction speed, which is the focus of H2. The previous section reported that, at baseline, all participants were on average faster at categorising *positive* targets than *negative* ones correctly, contrary to the expectation that being primed with the social category 'muslims'

would shorten response times towards negatively-valenced adjectives compared to positive ones. This effect was, importantly, modulated by Stage and Group, because this pattern held for both groups at baseline but Post exposure it ONLY applied to Controls.

In order to assess H2, such that we may derive a clearer idea of whether prejudices were mitigated in any way for the Experimental group, it is first necessary to delve deeper into the patterns observed for Congruence effects on RTs at baseline (Pre Stage). The trends reported by the model could be indicative of one of two things. One potential interpretation is that participants in both Experimental and Control groups did not hold negatively-oriented automatic biases towards Muslim communities before the intervention and instead evaluated them in much the same way as their ingroup (represented in the label 'britons'), i.e. displaying a largely positive bias towards both groups. The other interpretation is that these results at baseline reveal the presence of 'reverse priming' (Glaser & Banaji, 1999).

When both reaction times and accuracy data are taken together, it is the latter explanation which is more plausible. Positive adjectives were responded to altogether faster when a correct classification was made, but participants were more accurate when classifying negative adjectives. In order to conclude that participants held any largely positive biases towards Muslim communities, one would expect the differential positivity that was observed in RTs to show up in both measures of evaluative processing (as was indeed observed for 'britons' -see Appendix 5).

In past studies, reverse priming effects from RT data obtained via evaluative priming tasks have been reported by Klauer et al. (2009); Glaser and Banaji (1999). These effects have been found even when stimuli were masked and presented very quickly (Boy & Sumner, 2010). Situations in which congruent targets are classified more slowly than incongruent ones are thought to emerge as a result of participants needing more time to inhibit, and at times even counteract, the initial evaluative response that was evoked in them by the prime (Ocampo & Finkbeiner, 2013). This can reflect the almost complete mirror reversal of an early priming effect that went in the expected direction (Boy & Sumner, 2010).

It is important to devote some space to reflecting what could have driven this effect. One key factor to consider is the existence of social norms discouraging blatant prejudice (though not necessarily subtler forms) in the UK. The SDO-7 data help illustrate this point further. Both Control and Experimental group participants displayed medium to low scores in the Social

Dominance Orientation measure (that did not differ between groups -see Appendix 5). As previously mentioned, SDO is an explicit measure wherein participants' self-reported beliefs around the validity of hierarchical dominance structures and/or egalitarianism are queried. SDO tendencies are considered to be a relatively stable individual (though socially mediated) characteristic and a strong moderator of prejudice expression (Hiel & Mervielde, 2005), i.e. of whether and how participants will manifest their biases blatantly or not. These scores suggest that participants already came to the experiment with a motivation to (at least externally) endorse egalitarian values, and this may have made them more likely to compensate for their automatic biases against outgroups such as Muslim communities.

The question remains as to why reverse priming was observed at the level of RTs but not Accuracy at baseline (Pre Stage). A theoretical model that explains these apparent disparities is Patricia Devine's Processing Dissociation Model (Devine, 1989b, 1989a). A central feature of Devine's model is that it distinguishes "between the *knowledge* of a social stereotype and the *belief in the accuracy* of that stereotype. According to Devine, both low-prejudice and high-prejudice individuals tend to be familiar with the contents of prevailing cultural stereotypes. However, the two groups differ with respects to their belief in the accuracy of these stereotypes" (Gawronski & Creighton, 2013, p. 6). Furthermore, according to this model, social decision-making processes engage an admixture of two distinct, albeit closely related, types of processes. One is a more automatic processing stream, which comprises entrenched, fast (evaluative) stimulus-response associations and ingrained patterns of response to social category stimuli (like the concept of MUSLIMS). Controlled processes, on the other hand, are constituted in more cognitively complex, higher-level heuristics, which integrate beliefs, norms and goals into decision-making processes.

The reverse priming effect observed at RT level could be viewed as an indicator of the fact that the social pressure to avoid endorsing negative stereotypes (though not to avoid perceiving them as accurate) in connection with outgroups such as Muslim communities is so strong that participants show hesitance when having to categorise an adjective as 'negative' when the actual adjective on the relevant is, indeed, negatively-valenced. Though this could be indicative of some measure of bias-control processing being engaged, this type of controlled processing appears to have been recruited largely to conceal, avoid and overcorrect an early negative automatic response upon presentation of the word 'muslims'. An important distinction here is that it does not seem that participants were necessarily faster at categorise positive adjectives correctly, but

rather that they inadvertently slowed down their responses to negative adjectives specifically. Indeed, participants could have responded to, and weighed, both sets of targets and stimuli in a relatively balanced manner, in accordance to more genuinely, actively and reflexively engaged norms of egalitarianism, such that the time it took them to respond correctly to positive and negative target stimuli would not be influenced by crude, automatic evaluative associations of 'muslims = negative, and prejudice = bad'. The fact that participants took longer to make a decision when 'negative' was the correct answer, but that they still were comparatively more accurate when classifying negative vs positive stimuli in 'muslims' trials, is in itself ultimately indicative that the concept MUSLIMS did evoke a negative automatic response quite early on in the decision-making process in the EDT. All in all, in terms of decision-making speed, participants engaged in some level of controlled processing (though as an avoidance mechanism), but the negative associations of 'muslims' facilitated how much more likely they were to arrive at 'negative' classifications correctly than to 'positive' ones.

The figure below shows a visual representation of congruence effects (reverse for all cases, except for Experimental group Post exposure, in which they are cancelled out).

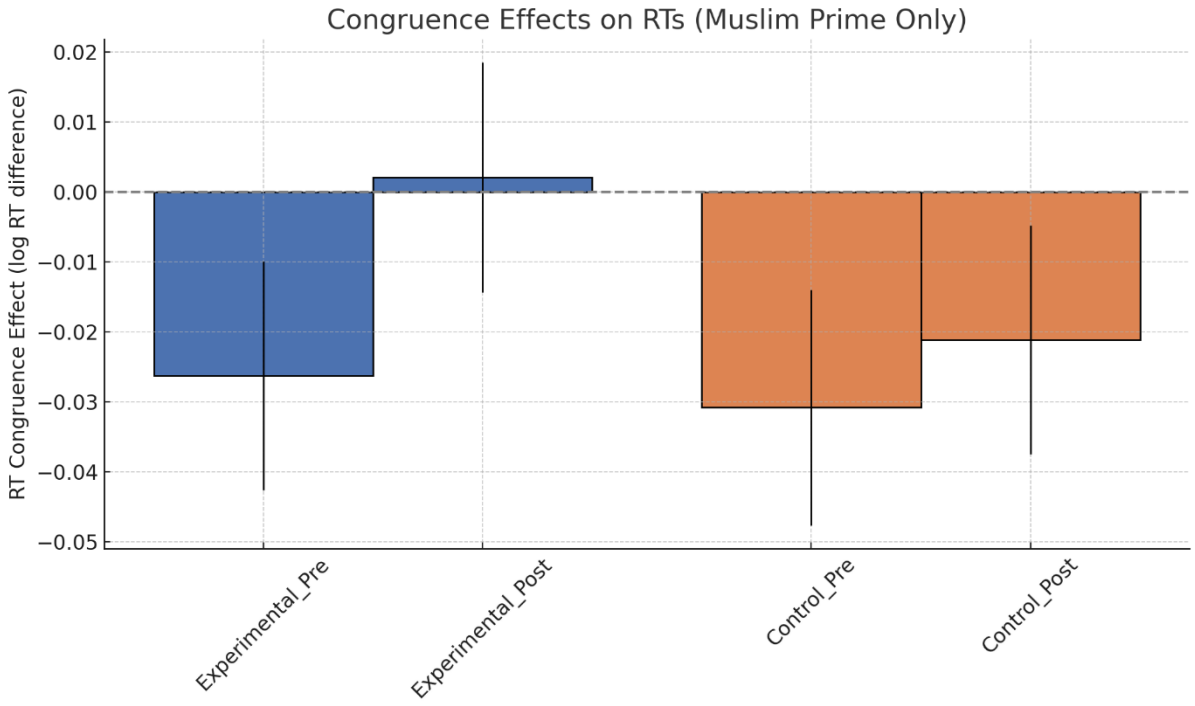

Figure 5. Congruence Effects on RTs ('muslims' prime only)

Yet if reverse priming was observed Pre-exposure for both Experimentals and Controls in terms of the speed at which they arrived at the correct target classification, while they still implicitly endorsed the association 'Muslims = negative' as differentially more accurate than 'Muslims = positive', what can be said about the fact that no Congruence effects on RTs were forthcoming for the Experimental group *after* text exposure, while Accuracy still reflected the presence of attitudinal negativity and negative trait endorsement?

Presumably, if Congruence effects on RTs were neutralised after contact with 'Crossing Divides', when they initially seemed to have been indirectly indicative of a negative (albeit reversed) bias, this suggests that the prime 'muslims' no longer had a significant impact on speed of classification, and that Congruence effects related to 'muslims' appears to be neutralised. In this sense, H2 appears to have been confirmed.

And yet, the existence of reverse priming effects that are indicative of bias correction which then seem to disappear could be potentially problematic if one takes them to mean that after reading the text participants simply became even less able to control the expression of their biases. However, the patterns observed are instead suggestive of the fact that participants were instead no longer hesitant or avoidant in categorising negative adjectives when primed with 'muslims'. If after reading the text they simply were no longer able or felt obliged to compensate for their biases in terms of speed of reaction, the observed pattern would likely have been that the speed at which they classified negative adjectives would have been facilitated by the activation of 'muslims' and the traditional congruence effects would have likely been observed and mirrored those from the Accuracy model. Instead, presentation of the word muslims no longer differentially facilitated speed of classification of positive vs negative stimuli.

Meanwhile, the relatively unchanged Congruence effects on Accuracy reflect that exposure to a contact narrative like 'Crossing Divides' did not completely dismantle the automatic associations between 'muslims' and 'negative'. Had this been the case, it would have resulted in participants achieving similar accuracy scores in negative and positive trials Post exposure. Having seen such effects post-exposure would have ultimately been reflective of a level of mitigation of the largely negative associations incurred by the group category 'muslims' in participants' entrenched social schemata, and in terms of the PDM, a modulation of the degree to which such associations are implicitly endorsed and employed when making quick evaluative decisions.

The Accuracy results obtained post exposure thus suggest that automatic prejudice activation still prevails, but there does seem to be some indication that participants are no longer activating these negative associations as promptly, so the prime is no longer driving a differential slowing down effect in RTs as a compensatory mechanism. The latter could indicate that participants are no longer shying away from processing negative stimuli when primed with 'muslims', and that they are engaging with both positive and negative input in a more balanced way in terms of the speed at which they are processing their affective import, such that the speed at which they make correct classifications is not impacted by the negative associations they appear to harbour with regards to 'muslims'.

A final, important point to make at this juncture is that such patterns were only observable for the prime 'muslims'. Positivity biases for 'britons' remained unchanged Pre and Post exposure and both at the level of processing speed (RTs) and Accuracy. This suggests that any significant changes were prime-specific and the experiment did not work to neutralise positivity biases towards the ingroup (i.e. ingroup favouritism -Otten & Wentura, 1999), which is also an important ideological driver of social inequality. Though this was not the purpose of the present intervention, it still offers an important reminder that future research could work to neutralise social actors' reliance on unequal evaluative overgeneralisations towards their own ingroup, into more contextually-sensitive, malleable ones that are less reliant on arbitrary, essentialised social categories and used to legitimise animosity and inequality.

6.3.2 Limitations and Future-Facing Recommendations: Charting a Pathway Towards Prognostic Critique

One way to summarise the findings of the empirical study just completed is thus: while the experimental condition seems to have altered the *readiness* with which negative evaluations of Muslim communities were engaged by relevant participants, the outcome of these evaluations still remained the same: participants continued to associate Muslim communities with largely negative traits. These results are indicative of the fact that, while more sophisticated and nuanced levels of cognitive/affective processing were reflected at the level of reaction times, this did not filter through to the level at which participants implicitly endorsed these comparatively more negative evaluations. The latter is of course crucial to achieve in terms of facilitating deep-ranging ideological changes, but it could be said that at the very least coming into contact with

alternative (counter-stereotypical) discursive representations of Muslim communities and intergroup relations appears to have altered at least part of the initial trajectory of participants' implicit evaluations towards Muslim communities, as reflected in RT changes, though not quite the final decision outcomes, reflected on the fact that Accuracy levels remained roughly the same.

According to the model of praxis presented in Chapter 3, once the first part of Stage 2 is complete, the latter portion of the same stage engages researchers in the devising of prognostic recommendations for discoursal changes on the back of the insights forthcoming from empirically testing the emancipatory potential of alternative discourses. Recommendations issued at this point are then to be implemented at Stage 3, and empirically examined at Stage 4, following the iterative nature of the model of praxis advanced in this thesis. In the general model presented before, it was noted that prognostic recommendations made towards the end of Stage 2 could be geared towards facilitating the wider adoption of patterns of discursive representation for cases in which the latter's emancipatory potential was indeed attested. However, if, as in this case, ideological changes 'for the better' were not facilitated as initially hoped for, it was opportune to engage with questions as to why this may have been the case and how such forms of ideological transformation may be attained going forward.

Considering the results above, two possibilities are entertained here as to why exposure to Crossing Divides may not have driven the desired results in terms of emancipatory ideological effects. To begin with, it could be said that a single exposure may not have been enough to impact the outcomes of evaluative decisions and further exposures may be required. Note that studies which found changes in attitudes from a single exposure (Graf et al., 2020; Cernat, 2011) queried the effects of their experimental interventions via more explicit measurements, which may be more susceptible to change, given participants' motivations to avoid appearing prejudiced. Another important difference with these studies is that while the current study employed a within-between-subjects design in which attitudes were measured at baseline and following exposure for an experimental and a control group, those reviewed previously only used between-subjects designs. Establishing any causal relations beyond correlations are thus incumbered in such studies, and so any reported changes between groups may simply be because the contact narratives participants were exposed to simply reminded participants of the social norms around prejudice rather than modifying their underlying attitudes towards outgroups in any way.

Another possibility that could help explain the above results is in connection with the text itself and the patterns of discursive representation of Muslim communities reflected in it. Though the preliminary discourse-analytical exploration at Stage 1 found cause for optimism, there may be a number of features in the text that may need to be lined up for change and re-assessment. In the model in Chapter 3 it was noted that it may be necessary to revisit text-immanent and socio-diagnostic interpretations made during Stage 1 in light of the evidence obtained following empirical examinations of the text's emancipatory potentials.

Out of those two limitations, it is the second one that will be directly dealt with on Stages 3 and 4 going forward. One of the main reasons for this is due to resource constrains and the smaller-scale nature of the prognostic intervention attempted here. Though potentially more ideologically and socially transformative, longer-term longitudinal studies -such as those which would resort to multiple exposures-, would require significantly more financial and logistic resources which are beyond the capabilities and scope of this project. Stages 3 and 4 work following such a pathway would potentially also require the sourcing of a much wider set of semiotic artifacts that would each need to be subjected to discourse-analytical exploration so as to (pre)assess their emancipatory potentials, and a subsequent empirical examination of their ideological effects in terms of their prejudice-mitigation capabilities.

The task of making prognostic recommendations for changes to the text itself requires engaging with the following question: given that the emancipatory potential of Crossing Divides to mitigate Islamophobic prejudice was only partially realised, what aspects of it (if any) may be hindering the mitigation of Islamophobic prejudices in the audiences of interest? From a CDS standpoint, engaging with this question ultimately entails some level of review, recalibration and reassessment of the interpretations arrived at after subjecting this text to a process of text-immanent and socio-diagnostic critique during Stage 1 (the first discourse-analytical and hypothesis building phase).

The choice to reassess the text-immanent and socio-diagnostic critiques made in Stage 1 subsequently opens the question around *what* aspects of Crossing Divides could and should be modified in light of the insights from Stage 2 work, if the aim is to determine whether this could be enough to effect changes to the more entrenched, schematic associations of 'muslims = negative' that participants of the target demographics of interest in this intervention appeared to

harbour and implicitly endorse, and which appear to be constitutive of these groups' Islamophobic ideations.

6.4 Going Back, Going Forward: Revisiting Stage 1 Interpretations and Stage 2 Empirical Observations for the Making of Prognostic Recommendations

One major observation derived from the discourse-analytical procedure followed as part of Stage 1 (see Chapter 5) is that in the text used as experimental input in this intervention, Contact EFs and Assessment EFs were quite prevalent, in keeping with the generic identity of the types of texts used in Contact Theory experimental work. In this text, moreover, human actors were at the centre of the narrative in terms of frequency. The mosque and other oblique actors were also central sites of outgroup representation, and were of key importance in portraying how intergroup relations between Muslim and non-Muslim communities evolved. Positively-valenced predications outnumbered negative ones by 47% when all subtypes of social actors (obliques, collectives, individuals, clusters, entities) were taken together. When subtler classifications (Non-Positive and Non-Negative instances of affective modality) were incorporated, the ratio was more balanced, and positive/non-negative predications were 20% more frequent (down from 47% for positive:negative ones) than negative/non-positive ones. This was originally interpreted as providing a source of evaluative nuance, one which introduced different layers of affective construal when it came to discursive representations of intergroup relations and particularly of Muslim social actors.

When broken down by outgroup participant, oblique actors were the ones to whom most negative predications applied to, and the balance of positive to negative predications for these actors was in fact tipped in favour of negatively-valenced predicative attributions. Expressions of negative affective modality were overall 20% more frequent than positive ones. Highly negative valenced appraisals were 2.2 times more frequent than highly positive ones for the case of oblique actors. The analysis detailed in Chapter 5 noted that most of these negatively-valenced predications appeared at the beginning of the narrative, before attitudinal changes and closer patterns of intergroup relations were reported. There were, importantly, also some instances of strongly negative predicational attribution being realised with respect to collective actors, such as when far-right actors are represented as marching and disseminating false rumours about the Muslim community in Lincoln planning to vandalise the city's WWII memorial.

The fact that the text includes some prominent depictions of the discrimination and animosity faced by Muslim communities could have in some ways inadvertently contributed to activating and reinforcing, perhaps even legitimising, crude associations between Muslim communities and negative traits, even when these acts had Muslim communities as the targets and the primary agents of such acts were from the non-Muslim White-British community. Examples of this at the beginning of the text come when members of National Front use the slur 'those bloody Muslims'. In the first third of the text there are instances in which Ian Durrant's opposition of the mosque is foregrounded, such as when he is construed as being 'one of the mosque's most vociferous opponents'. Towards the latter third of the narrative, we are told how 'the old mosque has been pelted with stones' and 'Tanweer himself has been verbally abused'. Though in most cases these representations are challenged and at times followed by depictions of the human impact on Muslim communities (as told by members of these communities themselves), the mere presence of relatively hostile views from members of the ingroup may in itself have been enough to prevent a more comprehensive and deep-ranging decoupling of the evaluative associations of Muslim communities with largely negative traits and impressions. This is especially the case given the fact that negatively-valenced associations were already prevalent at baseline for many of these participants, and predications such as these could have served to activate negative associations more saliently and intensely in processes of construal, and may have subsequently overshadowed the largely more humanising, constructive ones that participants may have been less familiar with.

Considering the above, negative predications in Crossing Divides could be further modulated and qualified, as a possible way to attain prejudice-modulating effects that are reflective of a reduction in participants' endorsement of negative evaluative impressions of Muslim communities. Noting that Assessment EFs are the ones in which such evaluative construals reside, one way this could be done during Stage 3 is via changes to Assessment EFs, particularly via changes to the overall makeup of affective modality patterns in this contact narrative.

CHAPTER 7: STAGES 3 & 4 – APPLYING PROGNOSTIC RECOMMENDATIONS AND TESTING THEIR EFFECTS

As mentioned at the end of Chapter 6, the prognostically-oriented transformations proposed for Stages 3-4 follow-up studies bank on modifying the balance of evaluative modality in Crossing Divides. An important consideration at this point is that, within the realm of possibility, efforts were made to keep the distribution of other patterns (Contact EF activations, patterns of veridicality and normativity, etc.) roughly the same so that, should any emancipatory ideological effects (of lack thereof) be reported, one may be able to connect these more definitively to the specific linguistic/lexicosemantic changes made to the text at the level of affective modality, as is the focus of Stages 3 and 4 of the present intervention. Importantly, the modifications proposed were restricted to the level of lexicosemantic patterns *within* the text itself.

The following sections offer an overview of the lexicosemantic changes made to the contact narrative under scrutiny. Within the context of the present intervention, after these modifications were implemented, they were accounted for using the CL-CDS analytical framework created for the study of contact narratives. These two steps were part of Stage 3. Finally, as part of Stage 4 the modified contact narrative was subject to further empirical testing so as to assess whether exposure to this version was, after all, conducive to ideological changes at both dimensions of prejudice representation (reaction times *and* accuracy scores) rather than just one (reaction times). With this in mind, Stage 3 and 4 work of the present intervention aimed to reconfigure not just the initial trajectory of social evaluations (whose pattern of change was reflected in the time people took to make evaluative decisions before and after exposure to a contact narrative involving Muslim communities in Stage 2), but also to shape the *outcomes* of these evaluations in audiences of interest. Effectively, therefore, such follow-up work sought to achieve reduced/neutralised negativity biases against Muslims (as measured again via two runs of the EDT), such that participants were no longer -or less likely to- rely on these crude automatic associations and to apply them in their decision-making processes.

7.1 Stage 3: Implementing Prognostic Recommendations

7.1.1 Transforming 'Crossing Divides' – A Sampler of Lexicosemantic Changes

At this point it will be helpful to provide a few illustrative examples to showcase the logic behind some of the lexicosemantic modifications made to the original version of 'Crossing Divides'. In the following paragraphs, I proceed by performing a brief side-by-side qualitative analysis of two excerpts from the original text, shown alongside their transformed equivalents in the modified version. The full revised version of Crossing Divides, which I will refer to as 'Crossing Divides - Modified' can be found on Appendix 6.

As noted during Stage 1, and as brought up again at the end of Stage 2, one key observation forthcoming from the discourse-analytical work done on the text was that many of the most prominent sources of negatively-valenced predications, which were typically connected to displays of intense hostility towards Muslim communities, could be found towards the beginning of the narrative, and in the latter third when the impact of terrorism and Islamophobic abuse on Muslim communities was revisited. Table 19 and 20 below display two sets of excerpts. The first set comes from the earlier sections of the narrative (see Table 19), and the second one, found on Table 20, from the latter third.

Original	Modified
Ian was one of the mosque's most vociferous opponents. The former soldier -who served 25 years in the Army- set up a group trying to stop the application…But he says his reservations were about traffic.	Ian once opposed the building plans for the initial site.
The site where the mosque was planned to be built burned down in unexplained circumstances. Worried that his campaign against the mosque was being hijacked by Anti-Islamic groups, Ian felt compelled to act.	However, he soon realised that this was being hijacked by hate groups as a way to stir up conflict. So he felt compelled to act.

Table 19. Side by side comparison of original and modified versions (example from first third of the narrative).

In the original 'Crossing Divides' text, when the ingroup protagonist's initial attitudes towards the mosque are explored, he is presented as proactively and vehemently opposing the construction of a mosque, as can be reflected in the extract to the left-hand side of Table 19. It can be argued that the choice to highlight the level of opposition and rejection of the mosque by a prominent member of the ingroup in such a way could have had the unintended effect of lending legitimacy to socially problematic actions aimed at preventing Muslim communities from occupying spaces in their local community. In the modified version (right hand side of Table 19), the ingroup protagonist's initial opposition is still depicted, in line with the fact that one of the general thematic foci of the text is 'attitudinal change' towards intergroup contact and so his initial resistance is a central point of the narrative. However, the intensity of such opposition is modulated and is construed as slightly more distal in time. Linguistically, this is achieved via the use of the adverbial marker 'once', and by construing Ian's opposition as directed towards the building plans for the initial site, which is still connected to the Muslim community (albeit less directly), and which presumably achieves a comparatively less salient activation of the frame MUSLIMS in the context of a schematic frame of OPPOSITION/REJECTION than 'mosque'.

Furthermore, in the modified version, the ingroup protagonist's involvement in setting up a group to command support for his opposition to the mosque is omitted altogether. Changes such as these were implemented in line with a wider aim to de-normalise and avoid facilitating construals of ingroup members' resistance to a Muslim place of worship as a general common-sense position, which in the original text could have somehow contributed to legitimising the exclusion and disparagement of Muslim communities as a natural occurrence, and to participants implicitly perceiving general negativity as accurately representative of, and justified against, Muslim communities. Another source of negatively-valenced predicative attributions concerning the Muslim community which was removed from the revised version pertains to the burning down of the mosque's construction site in 'unexplained circumstances' (which in the context is loosely linked to prior threats by the EDL and other hate groups).

When it comes to portraying the consequences of Ian Durrant's campaigning against the mosque, there are also some important changes made to the way this was represented in the second iteration. As can also be seen on Table 19, the finite clause 'He soon realised that this was being hijacked by hate groups' replaced the non-finite gerund clause 'Worried that his campaign against the mosque was being hijacked…'. The level of veridicality invoked is strengthened in the modified example via the use of a factive construction ('he realised'), which

arguably construes the co-opting of Durrant's opposition by Islamophobic parties as a more definitive event, though more saliently highlighting the (presumably unintended) real consequences of his campaign, all while making his opposition bounded, and finalised, in the past via the use of the simple past construction (in 'he soon realised'). In this sense, while his opposition is still alluded to, it is presented as having begun *and* ended in the past, in ways that may more readily facilitate construals in which his past attitudes command a firmer contrast with his present attitudes towards the end of the narrative. Finally, 'Anti-Islamic groups' is replaced by the more schematic nominal construction 'hate groups', noting that one of the hallmarks of Orientalist/Islamophobic discourse is that they attempt to construe hostility towards Muslims as social actors as limited to the abstract category of 'Islam', in ways that decontextualise and ignore the social/human effects of such opposition in terms of justifying inequalities and hostility against people connected with Muslim backgrounds. For this reason, the groups co-opting Ian Durrant's resistance to the mosque for the promotion of Islamophobic/anti-Muslim violence are nominated as 'hate groups'.

Original	Modified
Last year's terrorist attacks have created a sense of unease for Muslims in the city. Tanweer himself has been verbally abused, and the old mosque has been pelted with stones.	"Whatever their origin, religion or views most people don't want to live in conflict or feel uneasy in the spaces they share.
He [Tanweer] thinks the Muslim community needs to keep engaging with locals to prevent any more trouble.	And this [referring to both communities making a point of visiting each other's spaces] has hopefully gone a long way into making Lincoln an example in the UK of how this can actually work"

Table 20. Side by side comparison of original and modified examples (from last third of the narrative).

In the second example set, found on Table 20, the original text reports that 'Tanweer himself has been verbally abused' and 'the old mosque has been pelted with stones' in the wake of a string of terror incidents attributed to the Muslim community. In Section 6.4 above I noted that negatively-valenced representations such as these could have potentially bypassed or neutralised the impact of any counter-stereotypical, and/or more socially productive predications linked to Muslim communities. In this specific case, this may be because the lexicosemantic choices facilitated the activation TERRORISM frames in non-Muslim White

British readers. Modifications were therefore made to these representations such that notions of TERRORISM were less strongly salient but still potentially within scope, via the activation of the more schematic frame of CONFLICT. Furthermore, notions of a mutual intent to co-exist and share spaces safely were highlighted, and the outgroup is included within a more overarching category label of 'most people' (which also includes the ingroup).

Besides aiming to modulate/temper some of the most strongly negative patterns of representation in the text, it was also important to avoid legitimising problematic discursive construals in which the onus was placed on minoritised communities themselves to prevent and tackle Islamophobic abuse and discrimination. Representations such as those invoked in clauses like 'He thinks the Muslim community needs to keep engaging with locals to prevent any more trouble' in the example set above were thus modified to instead highlight how reciprocal intergroup contact in the context of Lincoln may officiate as an example for the UK more generally (following the logic of vicarious contact research reviewed in Chapter 5). This was also in keeping with a general aim to move towards more readily constructing interdependence in social/power dynamics as practicable and feasible, potentially increasing its legitimacy and importance, and presenting it as a more socially productive alternative than over-reliance on dominance-driven forms of power (with power defined as agency and influence, as per the definitional bases set in Chapter 1). Finally, whereas the thoughts and emotional states linked to the outgroup were brought up indirectly in the original example, direct quotatives of the outgroup protagonist were used in this transformation to amplify the viewpoint of the outgroup.

7.1.2 Predication and Valence in a Transformed Contact Narrative – A Comparative View

Once the relevant transformations were made to the text, I moved on to applying the CL-CDS analytical framework to the modified version to better account for how patterns of discursive representation differ between the original and revised versions. For reasons of space, and because the main difference between the original and modified versions largely lies in the instantiations of patterns of affective modality, the following paragraphs focus on reporting these distinctions. The full predication analysis table can be found in Appendix 9, with all modified predications highlighted in green. As can be seen there, the incidence of other analytical categories (e.g. total number of predications, number of Contact and Assessment EFs) remained roughly the same in terms of their overall frequency of occurrence between the two texts.

The following tables display the raw frequencies of affective modality realisations in the original and transformed versions (Tables 21 and 22), and ratios of positive and negative predications for both versions (Tables 23 and 24) by way of keeping track of the overall balance of affective polarity in each text.

	Positive	Negative	Non-Negative	Non-Positive
High	17	19	0	1
Med	27	16	2	1
Low	37	20	2	13

Table 21. Raw Instances of Affective Modality Realisations Divided by Valence and Strength (Original Version)

	Positive	Negative	Non-Negative	Non-Positive
High	26	4	0	0
Med	32	5	3	1
Low	50	5	2	19

Table 22. Raw Instances of Affective Modality Realisations Divided by Valence and Strength (Modified Version)

	Ratio Positive : Negative
High	0.89
Med	1.69
Low	1.85
Pos:Neg (Aggregate Ratio)	**1.47**
w/ Non-Pos & Non-Neg	**1.21**

Table 23. Ratio Distributions of Valenced Predications (Original Version)

	Ratio Positive : Negative
High	6.50
Med	6.40
Low	10.00
Pos:Neg (Aggregate Ratio)	**7.71**
w/ Non-Pos & Non-Neg	**3.32**

Table 24. Ratio Distributions of Valenced Predications (Modified Version)

As previously mentioned, the proportion of valenced predications in the original text was slightly tilted in favour of positive predications, except for the case of high intensity ones, in which negatively-valenced predications which were slightly more frequent than positive ones. The modified version of Crossing Divides led to significant restructuring of this ratio. As shown on tables 21-24, the volume of positively-valenced predications was slightly increased in the modified version compared to the original. Most importantly, though, on the basis of the supposition that the mere presence of highly negative predications connected to Muslim communities could have contributed to boosting the salience of the 'muslims = negative' associations in participants exposed to the original, it was mostly the more strongly negative predications which were modulated in this iteration. In other words, most lexicosemantic alterations made to the text were not geared towards a sharp increase in positive predications in connection to outgroups, but largely focused on mitigating the incidence and intensity of negatively-valenced predications connected to the outgroup (either those made *of*/towards Muslim communities, or in some cases *by* them about the ingroup or actions involving the latter).

In the end, such modifications resulted in the ratio of positive to negatively-valenced predications increasing from 1.47 to 7.71, meaning that for every negative predication connected to the outgroup there were 1.47 positive ones in the original version, and 7.71 in the modified text.

On the back of the changes made to the patterns of predicational attribution in Crossing Divides, I proceeded by empirically testing whether these modifications did anything to alter the expression of implicit prejudices towards Muslim communities in 45-75 non-Muslim White British audiences.

7.2 Stage 4: Testing the Ideological Effects of a Modified Contact Narrative

7.2.1 Participants, Method and Design

This second experiment was an exact replication of Study 1 (and shared the same hypotheses), with the only difference that participants in the Experimental condition (N=22) were exposed to the modified version of Crossing Divides. Due to resource constraints, the data for Controls obtained at Stage 2 (Study 1) was re-used in this study, i.e. the Control group was the same in Study 1 and 2[30]. The hypotheses made at Stage 1 apply here as well, with the sole difference that, in this case, they pertain to the modified version of 'Crossing Divides'.

7.2.2 Results

The main observation to be derived from this follow-up study is that experimental effects closely resemble those of Study 1 with only some differences. Congruence effects were still quite robust across all conditions. Again, how much faster/slower and more/less accurate participants were at classifying target adjectives varied depending on what Stage participants were in. The full fixed effects table for both the Accuracy and RT full models (i.e. which modelled trials with both primes) can be found in Appendix 8.

The subset model which only includes trials for 'muslims' also follows a very similar pattern from that of Study 1, both at the level of Accuracy and RTs (log transformed). For Accuracy, only Congruence effects were significant (see Table 25). In the case of RTs (see Table 26), there was a

[30] But the Experimental group was different from Study 1.

main effect of Congruence, Stage, and the interaction Congruence x Stage was also significant, similarly to Study 1.

Effect	Estimate	SE	exp(B)	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	z	p
Group (Control – Experimental)	0.2951	0.2780	1.343	0.779	2.316	1.0613	0.289
Congruence (Incongruent – Congruent)	**–0.2855**	**0.0604**	**0.752**	**0.668**	**0.846**	**–4.7286**	**<.001**
Stage (Post – Pre)	0.0796	0.0605	1.083	0.962	1.219	1.3171	0.188
Group × Congruence	–0.1907	0.1207	0.826	0.652	1.047	–1.5796	0.114
Group × Stage	0.2279	0.1209	1.256	0.991	1.592	1.8849	0.059
Congruence × Stage	0.0119	0.1207	1.012	0.799	1.282	0.0990	0.921
Group × Congruence × Stage	0.2874	0.2414	1.333	0.831	2.139	1.1906	0.234

Table 25. Fixed Effects for Accuracy Subset Model ('muslims' prime only). *Significant main effects and interactions highlighted in bold.*

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	df	t	p
Stage (Post – Pre)	**–0.0108**	**0.0041**	**–0.0189**	**–0.0028**	**6447.3**	–2.632	**0.009**
Congruence (Incongruent – Congruent)	**–0.0216**	**0.0041**	**–0.0297**	**–0.0136**	**6447.5**	–5.266	**< .001**
Group (Control – Experimental)	0.0400	0.0563	–0.0704	0.1505	39.0	0.710	0.482
Stage × Congruence	0.0156	0.0082	–0.0005	0.0317	6447.1	1.898	0.058
Stage × Group	0.0031	0.0082	–0.0131	0.0191	6447.3	0.371	0.711

Congruence × Group	–0.0086	0.0082	–0.0249	0.0075	6447.5	–1.051	0.293
Stage × Congruence × Group	–0.0118	0.0164	–0.0440	0.0203	6447.1	–0.721	0.471

Table 26. Fixed Effects for RTs Subset Model ('muslims' prime only). *Significant main effects and interactions highlighted in bold.*

Simple effects for Accuracy (see Table 27 below) follow the same direction as those in Study 1 for both stages and both groups. Like in Study 1, significant congruence effects on Accuracy were obtained for both Control and Experimental group at Post, and *only* for Controls at baseline (Pre Stage). For the Experimental group at baseline, though congruent trials were classified more accurately than incongruent ones, the Congruence effect was small and non-significant.

Group	Stage	Estimate	SE	exp(B)	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	z	p
Experimental 2	Pre	–0.124	0.111	0.883	0.710	1.099	–1.12	0.264
Experimental 2	Post	–0.256	0.109	0.774	0.625	0.959	–2.34	**0.019**
Control	Pre	–0.459	0.129	0.632	0.491	0.814	–3.56	**<.001**
Control	Post	–0.303	0.132	0.739	0.570	0.956	–2.30	**0.022**

Table 27. Simple Effects of Congruence on Accuracy, broken down by Group and Stage.

A post-hoc power analysis reveals that the study was underpowered to detect effects for the Experimental group at Pre stage (attained power was 20% -see Table 28), meaning the effect estimates provided by this model should be interpreted with caution. In fact, given the strong and robust Congruence main effects in both models in both studies and existing literature on evaluative priming, it is more likely that Congruence effects were indeed present at baseline for the Experimental group but were masked by different sources of noise and measurement error, rather than suggesting no negative biases were present in connection with Muslim communities. It should be remembered that these studies were carried out entirely online and participants used their own devices (with different connection speeds and hardware). Statistically speaking, the fact that the confidence interval has a lower bound below 1 but an upper bound that goes beyond 1 also means that there is a considerable amount of variance in the data. If a confidence interval includes 1 within its range, the estimate is unlikely to reach statistical significance (e.g. CI for the estimate of Experimental 2 Pre ranges from 0.710 to 1.099, so 1 is included in that range). Furthermore, it is sometimes the case that when Congruence effects are small (like in the case of Experimental group at baseline) whether due to random noise or

other factors, it may take a larger sample than accessible to the present project to detect them, or their lack thereof, reliably. Finally, model diagnostics, confirmed that about 75% of variance in the data was likely due to noise and random error over and above the experimental manipulations and participant effects (which all account for 25% of the observed data). For Controls at baseline, there was a large and significant Congruence effect (reliably detected as indicated by the 94.5% power value), and the effect was still significant at Post, though it was smaller (though note that computed power was lower than 80%). Meanwhile, for Experimentals at Post, Congruence effect sizes were small so slightly less likely to be computed reliably with this sample. This can be seen from the 65% power and the wide confidence interval, whose upper value is quite close to 1 (0.959 -see seventh column starting from the left, second row of Table 27 above).

Group	Stage	Estimate	SE	exp(B)	z	p	Power
Experimental 2	Pre	–0.124	0.111	0.883	–1.12	0.264	0.201
Experimental 2	Post	–0.256	0.109	0.774	–2.34	**0.019**	0.651
Control	Pre	–0.459	0.129	0.632	–3.56	**<.001**	0.945
Control	Post	–0.303	0.132	0.739	–2.30	**0.022**	0.631

Table 28. Post-hoc Power for Simple Effects of Congruence on Accuracy *(last column).*

Simple effects of Congruence on RTs are also very similar from those of Study 1 in terms of direction. Again, we see reverse priming at Pre for both Control and Experimental groups, and this effect again seems to disappear at Post for Experimental group but not Controls. Power is high for Congruence effects for Experimental and Control groups at Pre, but the achieved power for Congruence effects at Post does not quite reach 80% for Controls at Post. For the case of Experimentals, this is again suggestive of the disappearance of Congruence effects after reading the text, while for Controls this appears to be because the Congruence effect observed at Pre becomes smaller (but does not disappear).

Group	Stage	Estimate	SE	exp(B)	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	z	p
Experimental 2	Pre	–0.0281	0.0080	–0.0437	–0.0124	6447	–3.51	**< .001**
Experimental 2	Post	–0.0066	0.0079	–0.0221	0.0089	6447	–0.83	0.405
Control	Pre	–0.0308	0.0086	–0.0476	–0.0140	6447	–3.59	**< .001**
Control	Post	–0.0211	0.0084	–0.0375	–0.0048	6447	–2.53	**0.011**

Table 29. Simple Effects of Congruence on RTs, broken down by Group and Stage.

Group	Stage	Estimate	SE	t-value	df	p	Power
Experimental 2	Pre	–0.02807	0.00800	–3.511	6447	**< .001**	0.94
Experimental 2	Post	–0.00659	0.00791	–0.833	6447	0.405	0.13
Control	Pre	–0.03080	0.00858	–3.588	6447	**< .001**	0.95
Control	Post	–0.02115	0.00835	–2.534	6447	**0.011**	0.72

Table 30. Post-hoc Power for Simple Effects of Congruence on RTs *(last column).*

From the above results, the null hypothesis for Congruence effects on Accuracy (H0 as already detailed in Section 6.1) could not be rejected. In other words, it does not seem that exposure to the modified version of a contact narrative had any detectable prejudice-mitigating effects on participants when it came to their endorsement of negative associations connected to the concept of MUSLIMS. Meanwhile, the null hypothesis for Congruence effects on RTs (H0') does appear to have been rejected. This means that the modified version of Crossing Divides did disrupt the readiness with which negative implicit prejudices were activated. However, these results must be interpreted with caution given the moderate power of 72% obtained for Control groups at Post.

7.2.3 Discussion and Limitations

One major limitation of Study 2 was the fact that achieved power for some of the simple effects needed to test H1 and H2 was very low. As mentioned in the preceding section, these results should thus be interpreted cautiously. On the whole, however, what can be said looking at the results above is that there do not seem to be any major qualitative differences with Study 1 in the sense that, like in Study 1, implicit bias towards Muslim communities as manifested in Accuracy rates was not mitigated, though it was indeed modulated at the level of RTs. This means that, after exposure to this version of Crossing Divides, entrenched evaluative associations towards Muslim communities were no longer likely to differentially affect the *speed* at which negative and positive laden stimuli were classified, though associations between 'muslims' and 'negative' were still implicitly endorsed by participants. The lexicosemantic transformations made during Stage 3, by which the overall ratio of positively-valenced predications in the contact narrative was increased, still did *not* result in significant changes to the outcome of participants' implicit evaluations of Muslims in terms of their overall, and prevailing, negativity. Therefore, what can be said from Study 2 is that the changes implemented by following the prognostic

recommendations made at the end of Chapter 6 were unsuccessful in driving deeper-ranging ideological transformations, which was the main aim of this intervention. A single exposure to alternative discourses was, unsurprisingly, not enough, though it was used to illustrate how the model of praxis proposed as part of this thesis could work.

At this point it is important to mention that the attitudinal changes that were hoped for were not that participants would change the polarity of their evaluations towards differential positivity (i.e. replacing negative implicit prejudices with positive ones), but that an overall tendency to quickly activate *and* endorse overarching evaluative judgments out of an entire social group (positive and/or negative) would be disrupted. An important question emerges here with respect to whether any obtained lack of differential negativity/positivity in the speed and overall implicit endorsement of prejudiced evaluative associations could instead be evidence that participants became more ambivalent in their attitudes towards Muslims, not that they were simply no longer engaging overgeneralised affective impressions and were gradually better able to avoid readily endorsing essentialising, wholesale negative attributions in connection to an arbitrary social category. Though the latter is the ultimate goal, it is to be noted that ambivalence, when present, has been found to be an important precursor to deeper attitudinal change (Petty et al., 2006). In this way, even managing to shift differential negativity towards ambivalence may be considered a step forward.

If one expresses all the above in terms of the model proposed in this thesis and CDS' socially emancipatory aims, it does seem that alternative/counter-hegemonic discursive representations of minoritised communities *can* have some degree of prejudice-dismantling effects. In the context of the prognostic intervention that has formed the bulk of Part II of this thesis specifically, exposure to counter-Islamophobic and alternative discourses amongst Conservative, 45-75 old audiences, holds some potential to short-circuit one key underlying driver (and effect) of discrimination and social inequality against Muslims, as is Islamophobic prejudice, and in this way it can aid the pursuit of emancipatory social effects.

Note that the above is not to say that the changes effected by a single exposure upon the speed at which participants activate their prejudices will be sustained in time, but these results may offer a glimpse of hope that Islamophobic ideological representations can be in some way shaped and tampered with by alternative discursive construals of Muslim communities such as the ones in 'Crossing Divides', which did appear to hold some moderate emancipatory potential.

Structures of power-in-discourse can thus be challenged and altered, at least modestly. But further work is needed.

7.2.4 Conclusions and Prognostic Recommendations

From the above insights, a key question that arises is the following: how can emancipatory ideological effects be attained in deeper and more wide-ranging ways, such as to impactfully alter the trajectory of discrimination and inequality against Muslim communities at a larger scale? These are key questions for further iterations of this specific CL-CDS intervention and any CDS work seeking to contribute to challenging Islamophobic racism (and for CDS work in general under this model of praxis -see Chapter 8).

A prognostic recommendation that can be ventured at this point would be to amplify the reach of discourses such as the ones that appeared to be encoded in the text used here; to identify other ways in which they can be manifested and realised in language and other semiotic artifacts, and finally continue testing their effects across time. This is noting that a single exposure to the alternative/counter-hegemonic discursive representations of Muslim communities found in Crossing Divides was not in itself enough to bring about ideological changes in terms of holistic modulations and deeper disavowals of Islamophobic prejudices in majoritised communities. The latter could be endeavoured, for example, via the design and execution of a larger-scale longitudinal research projects in which alternative discourses such as those identified as part of Stage 1 and Stage 3 could be disseminated more widely and over a more extended time period. After all, emancipatory effects are more often than not cumulative. Work along this route could be attempted via assessing and empirically testing the emancipatory potentials of multiple sources of discursive representation and semiotic artifacts of/by Muslim communities in the UK (e.g. multimedia content, and other sources of discourse input appearing to favour more emancipatory representations of Muslim communities -see Section 4.3). An extended intervention such as this one could have the added benefit of greater ecological validity and hold the promise of more medium-to-long term ideological effects (see Devine et al., 2012 for an example this was achieved within the field of Social Psychology). That said, the caveats made in Chapter 3 around positionality still very much apply. Furthermore, given that the onus of social change is most often to be placed on majoritised communities in the model of praxis promoted here, it could be especially relevant if majoritised group participants are explicitly invited and encouraged to get involved as an opportunity to examine their own attitudes and ways of

understanding and construing outgroups and social action (others but also their own), and to engage in self-reflexive consideration of the real-world impacts of racism, prejudice and discrimination and, more fundamentally, of dominance-focused power relations. Noting the conditions that have been found to be detrimental to the success of intergroup contact work (see Chapter 5), future-facing longer-term interventions would still need to be done in an environment that encourages self-reflexive critique (or promote it as a preparatory step), while minimising the risk of identity threat, and where work is not predicated on the premise that majoritised communities' privilege and patterns of inequality from which they disproportionately benefit is an inherent, inevitable, natural kind property of these groups' entitlement (rather than partly the result of sociohistorical, systemic processes in which domination and power abuse are often themselves presented as part of a natural order and have common-sense status). Ideally, this work would be done in collaboration with civic grassroots and larger organisations (anti-racism charities, journalist groups, for example).

Beyond discussions around the degree and range of exposure that may be required to disrupt the endorsement of (negative) prejudices towards Muslim communities and more generally to the underlying processes by which overgeneralising evaluations are appended to arbitrary social categories, there is another important reflection to make at this point with regards to the ways in which the emancipatory potential of alternative discourses were measured/accounted for in Study 1 and 2. The use of tasks such as the EDT, and the way in which prejudices are operationalised through them do need to be critically reviewed and interrogated periodically. As was seen, particularly from Study 2, the kind of effects needed to test hypothesis around the ideological impacts of exposure to alternative discourses can usually be, and are, extremely small and measurements can be extremely noisy. Reliable measures may thus be difficult to obtain unless samples are much larger than may be available. At the same time, despite their overall robustness, there are still ongoing discussions as to the construct validity of implicit prejudice measures such as these particularly around the nature of Congruence effects (see Klauer & Musch, 2003; Harris, L., pers. com.), including of Congruence effects obtained via masking paradigms such as the ones used here (Klauer et al., 2007).

Future work may thus consider other ways of measuring prejudice towards Muslim communities in CDS prognostic interventions. One close alternative for the present CL-CDS intervention would be to still observe such prejudices in their implicit manifestations, but abandon the adaptive response-time modality of the EDT. This could be done via other priming tasks (affect

misattribution procedure, lexical decision tasks, or a more traditional evaluative priming task - Wentura & Degner, 2010), noting that the inclusion of a response window in this instance may have interfered with RT measures. Furthermore, though implicit attitudes as measured via priming studies have sometimes been positively correlated with discriminatory behaviours, there are other sub-dimensions that are important constituents of the wider, multidimensional construct of prejudiced social attitudes and behaviour. Indeed, though the contact narrative studied here did not seem to make a dent on the endorsement of negative implicit attitudes, exposure to the discursive construals of Muslim communities in it could still have made an impact on other drivers and outcomes of prejudiced ideations, such as processes of more or less blatant/subtle dehumanisation and support for anti-Muslim policies (see Gallardo, 2020; 2024). This possible route-map would also require branching out into other dimensions of problematic ideological representations beyond social attitudes themselves, such as the sociocognitive/affective heuristics that enable prejudiced attitudes in the first place, e.g. essentialising construals of social/human identity and behaviours, particularly around race, nationality, class, gender and ethnicity, and more or less conscious naturalisation of hierarchically-driven social relations, (see Haslam et al., 2002). At the same time, it may be necessary to adopt a two-pronged approach which not only problematises attitudes and ideological representations towards Muslim communities, but also those that majoritised groups hold about their own group and their place in intergroup relations, particularly as reflected in discourses of exceptionalism, nationalism and ingroup favouritism.

CHAPTER 8: A MODEL FOR PROGNOSTIC CRITIQUE: CONCLUDING REMARKS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

8.1 How the Model Has Been Applied

The model of CDS praxis presented as part of this thesis is an attempt to lay the foundations for more direct and systematic engagement with prognostic facets of critique, in line with CDS' avowed commitment to discoursal, ideological and societal transformation. In its essence, it is designed to encourage the periodic (re)examination of a wide range of orders of discourse, ideology and power structures, tracking down the emancipatory potential of different forms of semiotic representation of social reality, while encouraging the making, and subsequent empirical testing of the impact of recommendations for discoursal transformation, following a principle of modest prognostic interventionism.

By way of illustrating how this model of CDS praxis could be applied, in Part II of this thesis I focused on the specific social issue of Islamophobia within the UK, asking how hegemonically Islamophobic discourses and prejudiced ideations in this context could potentially be challenged and replaced using news-based contact narratives in which intergroup relations between Muslim and non-Muslim communities, and processes of attitudinal change, were depicted.

At Stage 0 of the pipeline, which effectively constitutes a preliminary reconnaissance stage in this model, I engaged with questions around the notion of Islamophobia, and articulated how this form of racism has been found to manifest in media, political and public discourse, with material psychological and societal impacts to Muslim communities and UK society in general. During this preliminary stage, I also brought up examples of research into alternative discourses challenging the currently hegemonic order of widespread Islamophobia in Britain. Noting the wide-ranging influence of media narratives in shaping and reflecting social attitudes and the fact that (more or less blatant, more or less implicit) Islamophobic ideations appear most insidiously amongst 55+ right-leaning demographics, I resolved to explore whether/the extent to which Islamophobic discursive practices could be delegitimised and replaced in any way, in the hope of modulating the prevalence of Islamophobic attitudes in groups of White-British 45-75 year olds.

By Stage 1, and on the back of the insights derived from Stage 0 preliminary work, I proceeded by looking for a suitable exemplar of a text, or texts, in which potentially more emancipatory representations of Muslim communities were being invoked. This search led me to the case of a news media narrative which, at first blush, appeared to offer some examples of alternative, counter-hegemonic representations of British Muslim communities, unlike most news narratives of its kind. More specifically, this particular text prominently touched upon themes of intergroup contact between Muslim and non-Muslim communities, and of attitudinal change, the exposure to which has been connected with modulations in prejudice and related processes (dehumanisation, support for Islamophobic policies) in the Contact Theory literature. Before moving to experimentally assessing the emancipatory potential of this text around its prejudice-mitigating capabilities, however, I performed a fine-grained examination of how these themes of contact and attitude change were lexicosemantically realised in the text, focusing on the instantiation of nomination and predication strategies by adapting a range of analytical

categories of Cognitive Linguistics that could enable me to account for patterns of construal of intergroup contact and attitudes towards Muslim communities in this text.

In Stage 2, I drew inspiration from a number of experimental techniques and methods used in Contact Theory and the social attitudes literature within Experimental Psychology, and exposed a sample of participants (non-Muslim White-British nationals aged 45-75) to the contact narrative analysed at Stage 1. Upon discovering that exposure to this text only partially impacted levels of Islamophobic attitudes, not in terms of their overall evaluative import (which remained negative) but around the readiness with which these associations became activated in participants' processes of social cognition, I re-examined some of the interpretations from Stage 1 and identified potential areas of change to this text that could have interfered with more deep-ranging modulations in Islamophobic attitudes.

The prognostic recommendations made at the end of Stage 2 were implemented and analytically accounted for at Stage 3. Special emphasis was placed on making changes to patterns of affective modality and their lexicosemantic instantiations in this modified version, which were deemed as potentially counterproductive to the prejudice-modulating aims of this intervention.

Stage 4 constituted a follow-up experiment by which the impact (or lack thereof) of these text-level transformations as assessed. Results from this second experiment almost mirrored those from the previous one, and thus an invitation was made to design and implement longer-term interventions rather than rely on a single exposure if deeper ideological changes in terms of social attitudes towards minoritised groups (and those from relatively more privileged groups themselves) are to be sought after in future iterations of this work.

8.2 Limitations

I note first and foremost that Part II of this thesis constituted a small-scale, proof of concept prognostic intervention by way of exemplifying how the model of praxis offered here could be applied from within a CL-CDS approach to the issue of Islamophobia. All empirical examinations of alternative discursive representations of Muslim communities were based on one single exposure to one text (and a modified version of it). Though this text was deployed as an illustrative exemplar of how alternative representations of Muslim communities could look like, it still remains the case that sustained ideological change will require longer-term and more extended

uses, explorations and dissemination of a critical mass of diverse modes of semiotic representation such that the ideological formations which pave the way for Islamophobia and dominance-driven social orders may be reviewed, denaturalised and replaced. As such, the work done in this instance is nowhere near enough to drive more deep-ranging changes to what are multidimensional and complex social phenomena.

Limitations also should be noted with respect to the way Islamophobic prejudices were operationalised and statistical inferences drawn from experimental manipulations. As noted in Section 7.2.4, and as discovered by means of Study 1 and 2 of Stages 3 and 4 respectively, evaluative priming tasks can sometimes suffer from issues of reliability and replicability. Resource constraints, moreover, did not allow the expansion of the participant pool, something which could have potentially improved the reliability of the effects found via these two empirical studies.

8.3 Areas for Improvement, Future Directions and Closing Remarks

In light of the limitations noted above, it is worth considering how the implementation of the model of praxis engaged in this thesis in regards to the problem of Islamophobia in the UK could be improved and expanded, reflecting best practice. One of the key limitations of how the model was implemented in this thesis is connected to the 'solo researcher' modality via which the intervention in Part II was done. Noting the principles and specifications made in Chapter 3, it should be the case that each stage of the model would be implemented via different streams of more meaningful explicit collaboration and engagement with relevant social actors, particularly with those communities which are most disproportionately impacted by orders of inequality and power abuse. In effect, furthermore, every stage of this model could be a collaborative, interdisciplinary research project in itself.

Indeed, it can be argued that Stage 0 work in this thesis mostly resorted to 'armchair' sociodiagnostic critique, in that it made use of and reviewed secondary sources of data and analysis, even if it cited and included a volume of work by scholars and activists from Muslim communities themselves (see Section 4.3). Stage 0 ('Scoping the Problem' stage) work which more meaningfully and explicitly engages with relevant social actors involved in this issue could, for example, seek to bring CDS methods of enquiry to the work of third sector research organisations and the charity sector, collaboratively adopted and adapted, so these groups may

have one more tool to surface, account for and denounce the problematic discursive practices that make Islamophobia what it is. Something along these lines was attempted in relation to racist immigration discourses from Parliament and print media by Julios-Costa and Montiel McCann (2025), working as research associates within anti-racist think-tank The Runnymede Trust. The co-production of public workshops, podcasts and other forms of dissemination (see Price & McIntyre, 2023 for examples) of CDS principles and methods of research, and/or of already completed studies, can and also should be considered for the benefit of activist communities (grassroots organisations in the UK such as Maslaha, PreventWatch) and policy-shaping NGO bodies (such as The Aziz Foundation and the Muslim Council of Britain).

Stage 1, as noted in Section 5.1.2.1, on the other hand, did not make use of discourse data that was directly produced by discourse actors with lived experiences of Islamophobia and/or anti-racist work. It also involved single exposures to alternative discourses contained within one single text. Ideally, CDS research at this stage would operate collaboratively with text producers from Muslim (and other disadvantaged) communities to co-create and curate a wider range of semiotic artifacts (written, audiovisual, etc.) via which alternative and counter-Islamophobic/counter-dominant discourses and narratives of contact could be sourced, instantiated and showcased. For the specific issue of delegitimising Islamophobic representations in news media and political communications as currently constitutes the hegemonic status quo in the UK, and for the task of sourcing alternative representations of Muslim communities and majoritised White British ones in contact with the former, work with organisations such as the National Union of Journalists and civic pressure groups (e.g. Migrants Rights Network, via their “Words Matter” campaign) could be undertaken in consultancy and/or advocacy capacities (see Mullany, 2020; Koller & Ereaut, 2020).

As pertains Stage 2, which mostly engaged with majoritised communities and targeted attitudes and behaviours that were evaluated as problematic and constitutive of Islamophobia, it is the case that the current intervention made use of implicit attitudes measures and sought to map out short-term alterations in degrees of Islamophobic prejudice using the EDT (specifically congruence effects on reaction times and accuracy) as a proxy measurement. A better-resourced version of such an intervention (see Jeffries et al., 2018 for a reflection on the challenges of resourcing similar work) could expand the participant pool, as well as consider additional ways of tracking the effects of exposure to alternative discourses on non-Muslim White British communities, and other formats of exposure in their own right -e.g. discussion

groups, focus groups or ethnographic studies, taking place over longer intervals. Future iterations could also proceed by explicitly involving majoritised communities in anti-racism exercises whereby they may examine and denaturalise their own ideological formations and ways of understanding and construing outgroups and social action (others but also their own), and to engage in self-reflexive consideration of the real-world impacts of racism, colonialism, prejudice and discrimination and, more fundamentally, of dominance-focused power relations. Such future interventions would need to somehow promote an environment that encourages this and fosters more nuanced and sophisticated ways of engaging in social categorisation and the construction of collective identities and transparently promoted, shared values. As such, the research ethics of such work are of central import; not just in terms of researcher and participant safeguarding, data protection and anonymity, but also in terms of improved transparency by making the aims and principles of the intervention more explicit to participants, in line with CDS' commitment to transparent self-reflexive critique. The making of recommendations at this stage could (and ideally should) also be developed in consultation with discourse actors from different sectors of Muslim communities (particularly those who are in their own right aligned to this kind of research and goals -see Section 3.3.3), which can be researchers and/or activists themselves, once experimental results are obtained and processed. This builds into Stages 3 and 4 research, which can either constitute a follow-up and modified application of Stage 1-2 as described above, or can form part of projects in their own right depending on learnings and previous results. The issue of communication and uptake of results amongst, for example, media practitioners, regulators and policy makers needs further consideration. If the aim of the kind of work proposed here is to ultimately transform discourse practices which rest on Islamophobic tropes and Orientalist ideologies, and media discourses are the main semiotic environment through which these changes are sought, then this research would ideally be done with a clear engagement strategy in mind. Because one of the aims is, at this point, not necessarily to work directly with media outlets, but with pressure groups and grassroots communities, it would be an important feature of this work that it be embedded within these collectives to begin with, many of whom have expert engagement teams set up, with CDS practitioners working as activists and advocates themselves (Nartey, 2023; Mullany, 2020).

In general, and beyond the issue of Islamophobia and Islamophobic discourses in media itself, applications of this model could look to the implementation of interventions for discoursal and ideological change related to issues around homophobia, transphobia, misogyny and other forms of racism and discrimination. Moreover, and as has been noted elsewhere (Dixon et al.,

2012a) the eradication of phenomena like systemic inequality require more than just reducing prejudice towards outgroups. Thus, it is also paramount that future prognostic interventions also continue CDS tradition by challenging the premise that majoritised communities' privilege and the patterns of inequality from which they disproportionately benefit are an inherent, natural kind property of these groups, and instead intentionally, and openly, account for such orders as a result of sociohistorical, systemic processes in which domination and power abuse are constructed as if they were part of a natural, immutable order. Different ways of operationalising/measuring attitudes and other dimensions of ideological representation and group behaviour, as explored in the discussion section of Chapter 7, could also be considered when it comes to empirically assessing the social effects of Stage 3-4 CDS-oriented work and any prognostic recommendations made. Last, but not least, any such work should also be done in collaboration with civic organisations (anti-racism charities, for example) and alongside members of marginalised communities themselves.

In Chapter 3 I posed the caveat that the aim of my thesis was not to form a new approach to CDS in the style of the DHA, the dialectical-relational approach or van Dijk's Sociocognitive approach. Rather, the methodological principles explored and promoted here are meant to undergird and add to CDS as a whole, such that other CDS practitioners may engage this kind of (modest and positionality-conscious) prognostic interventionism from within their respective approaches, much in the same way as the principle of triangulation became a staple component of CDS enquiry in general.

Finally, and noting the frequent use of terms like 'impact' throughout this thesis, it is pertinent to devote a few words to how it intersects with and where its use here differs from the way it is deployed in the UK within the Research Excellence Framework (REF). The aim of CDS work is distinctively to interrogate and upend power imbalances, including those borne out of and within academia. Impact, in a CDS way, orients towards resistance to power abuse, teleological and axiological reflexivity and principles of equality and the upholding of universal human rights. The 'effects' of discourse on society are mostly related to querying how discourse impacts and is impacted by the ideologies of different social groups by which they structure their collective behaviours. Social change 'for the better' relates to work that can delegitimise orders of inequality and transparently promote values such as the ones outlined in Chapter 1, and this is the kind of impact CDS practitioners most often look to have.

REF notions of impact may sometimes align with these goals and principles (see McIntyre & Price, 2018), but it is worth nothing that they are not an explicitly articulated aim of the REF, where impact is defined as "effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia" (REF, 2014, p. 4). It is not the explicit aim of the REF to tackle social inequality, but rather to be of 'use' to society and taxpayers in some way via considerations of 'value for money' of the research and accountability for public funds (McIntyre & Price, 2018). It is important to point out that what benefits 'the economy' for example, or is of benefit to, e.g. business, may not necessarily benefit human rights and social equality normative agendas (see Section 2.1.1). A challenge for future CDS work, especially if done within or in concert with academia, is to carefully and regularly monitor the level of alignment between CDS' ethico-normative principles and REF demands and conditions for funding (or other similar initiatives outside the UK). Of course, research requires resources, and one of the most obvious sources of funding for research come from within universities and government bodies. At the same time, it is important to note that not all CDS research can and should necessarily be carried out within academia or under the auspices of governmental bodies, and finding ways to bring CDS methods and principles to the work of organisations and groups amongst the general public (amongst student populations, as proposed in Fairclough, 2013b; but also communities outside of formal education -see Freire, 2005) may well be necessary for CDS to make good on its postulates and socially transformative aims to begin with. For that, however, this model needs to be adopted both within and beyond academia, so the urge is for CDS practitioners to also consider completing their research more closely and regularly within the third sector as members of staff or associate staff.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 – Why Islamophobia? A Position of Active Solidarity to Muslim Communities and Anti-Racist Principles

In undertaking this work, it is important to explicitly articulate what my overall motivations and positionality were in relation to Muslim communities and the issue Islamophobia itself, as well as reflect on how that shaped the ways in which the model of CDS praxis was developed and applied here.

As was illustrated above, and more importantly as keeps being flagged by countless members of the Muslim community, Islamophobia is a form of racism that continues to be widespread in the UK. In this sense it is not difficult to understand why anyone in CDS, and/or anyone who subscribes to anti-racist principles, would want to take a more active role in helping delegitimise these forms of socially problematic perception and action. The work here is offered as a form of active support and solidarity with Muslim communities, and with anti-racist principles more generally.

In so doing, however, I explicitly point out that I am not from a Muslim background, I am not religious (though I was for a significant portion of my life), and I do not have a first-hand lived experience of Islamophobia in the UK or anywhere else. I am also not actively part of the cultures, branches and traditions of Islam. In my everyday life I am not usually racialised/targeted as a member of the Muslim community. At the time of writing, only a few of the people I am in regular contact with are Muslim (mostly work colleagues at the Runnymede Trust). I recognise my (privileged) status as a citizen from the European Union, acquired via my Spanish heritage, which has enabled me to reside and study in the UK in (relative) stability for 12 years. On the back of this is that I situate myself as a relative outsider vis-à-vis Muslim people in the UK and my solidarity should be understood in these terms. Thus, I do not seek, nor intend to take a primary or central role in challenging Islamophobia in the UK but rather look to engage in active solidarity with these communities, who can and should be supported in this struggle, and with this thesis being one way in which I, as an anti-racist CDS practitioner, sought to do this.

In this specific instance, however, I do not position myself as a *total* outsider either. I see important points of convergence in the kind of lived experiences of othering, exclusion and

calculated systemic ignorance that stem from Islamophobia and the ones I have experienced in relation to homophobia, heteronormativity, misogyny, ableism and racism, directed my way as a queer, neurodivergent, immigrant woman born and raised in the colonised Global South (Uruguay). Indeed, one can say the strategies and methods that enable these forms of discrimination towards me on the one hand, and Islamophobia on the other, often follow a similar blueprint and have striking commonalities: they all reflect and are meant to sustain and legitimise historic inequalities and the continuation of social, political and economic systems that were built upon these injustices. Along these lines, my stance is that we are part of a common struggle against a common problem: the normalisation of identitarian, essentialist and dominance-driven ideological formations and the legitimation of inequalities that weaponise our identities either as a means to an end (to protect the relative privileges of the people engaging such forms of exclusion and othering), or an end in itself (to remove and erase us from the spaces we reside in). Beyond solidarity with Muslim communities and the injustices attempted against them and, as the sections above illustrated, historically carried out, this work is an effort to draw attention to the general root issues of power abuse and systemic inequality and, crucially, to the ways in which ethically suitable alternatives, specifically at the level of discursive social practice, may be sought. Though the present intervention focuses specifically on Islamophobia, many of the patterns of practice and insights brought up in making an effort to tackle this issue will also hopefully be applicable to confronting the wider problems of systemic racism and social inequality.

In positioning myself in solidarity with Muslim communities and against the normalisation of marginalisation and orders of inequality an important question emerges, one which permeates this whole thesis. Does my express solidarity with the targets of Islamophobia and systemic racism mean I consign those who most frequently, and impactfully, espouse Islamophobic and other systematically racist views, and who are disproportionately more comfortable in orders of inequality (e.g. White-British, older, typically centrist and right-leaning heterosexual men) to the role of villains? In the same way that the traits attributed to Muslims in Islamophobic/Orientalist discourses are considered by myself (and many other CDS practitioners) to be constructions rather than primordial essences dictated by ‘nature’ or the invisible forces of ‘culture’, with a history and a place in which they are created and adopted, I do not view Islamophobia (nor indeed homophobia, racism, misogyny or other forms of othering and marginalisation) as inherent properties of the people who engage them. That these socially shared patterns of cognition, affect and behaviour are often widespread and continue to undergird entire systems of

governance, (inter)national relations and modes of production and consumption still does not make them inevitable or in fact insurmountable. Systems are ultimately *of* people, with Islamophobic ideological formations and interrelated social actions, including discourse, regarded here as one possibility out of the many in which social identities, ways of thinking and (power) relations between communities could play out.

Noting the above, therefore, one long-term goal of work under this model is to make socially problematic forms of representation such as Islamophobia inexpedient in society, while expressly and transparently advocating for the adoption and normalisation of alternatives with greater potential of bringing about social orders in which inequalities on the basis of arbitrary categories like culture and religion (or indeed sexuality, gender, nationality, neurotypicality) become an anomaly rather than business as usual.

I also make note of the fact that I am coming at this largely from the context of academia, with this thesis being one way in which I may or may not be formally recognised as a member of this community. The present work should be seen as an attempt to confront Islamophobia using methods and epistemologies often generated by people who are working through the mechanisms of academic enquiry (which itself has historically been a major part of the very orders CDS is meant to challenge). I of course do not view this as the only way in which tackling socially problematic attitudes and behaviours such as Islamophobia can be attempted, which is partly the reason why I also do research beyond academic institutions (Julios-Costa & Montiel McCann, 2025). This takes a concerted effort from different stakeholders and communities, of which academics are and should be one.

Finally, even if part of this work is presented as one example of how the model of CDS praxis advanced in this thesis can be implemented, it should not be simply understood as *just* providing a case study/proof of concept design so I may show how to promote my own model of CDS praxis. The model of praxis I advocate for in fact emerges partly *thanks* to this specific case study, and will be hopefully developed more in future when it is applied to other pressing social issues. As mentioned previously, this project began as one way in which I, as a CDS practitioner, hoped to use my skillset for anti-racist work against what is a very widespread form of prejudice in the country in which I have lived for one third of my life. Islamophobia, like racism in general, is a serious issue with material, psychological and human consequences. Targeting Islamophobia continues to emerge as an urgent area of focus for anti-racist CDS involvement, and it is my

position here that CDS practitioners, like academia more generally, have a responsibility to be proactive in challenging this (with the considerations and principles of modesty spelled out in Section 3.3). This is not just because challenging Islamophobia is important enough on its own, but *also* because challenging Islamophobia by extension means confronting inequality and the normalisation of dominance-heavy social orders more generally (which manifest in Islamophobia, Anti-Black, Anti-Traveller prejudice, xenophobia, heterosexism, ableism etc.), all of which are taken here to be ethically unacceptable.

Taking anti-racist values as the point of departure and the fact that I often apply experimental and CL-CDS approaches in my research (see Julios-Costa, 2014; 2017), the initial aim of my thesis was to showcase how methods of experimental CDS research and Cognitive-Linguistic text analysis could be used to go beyond explaining how/why socially problematic phenomena like racist prejudice and discrimination operate and how they manifest in discursive action. To begin with I envisioned the contribution of my thesis would be that it went beyond retrospective, explanatory critique of problematic status quos. To these ends I set out to explore how experimental methods could be brought forth to enact critique in a more prognostic manner. I originally sought to apply the principle of triangulation with experimental methods to investigate avenues into how media discourses could contribute to the mitigation of Islamophobia rather than further its normalisation, particularly by empirically testing the ideological effects of discourses that seemingly offered more ethically expedient representations of reality, including of minoritised groups and relations with these (see Section 5.2). But I soon became aware of how the insights and processes engaged could be relevant to the CDS programme as a whole. I eventually realised that many of the steps involved in this specific intervention for this specific social issue, undertaken from my own specific approach (Cognitive-Linguistic CDS) could be extended and offered to CDS as a whole. For example, triangulation with empirical/experimental methods applied to investigate the emancipatory potential of alternative discourses about Muslim communities could be applied for other forms of discursive representation, and to improve CDS capabilities to identify, test and advocate for discursive practices that offer alternatives to problematic status quos aligned with CDS ethical commitments. CL-CDS is the particular analytical approach I take here, but texts and other semiotic artifacts whose emancipatory potential one may wish to study could be analysed by means of any of the other approaches to CDS. This case study does not just have a bearing on applications of CDS methods, but it led me down a path of reviewing some of CDS' wider theoretical and foundational principles such that further possibilities for active (yet still modest and self-reflexive)

involvement in societal transformation, not just against Islamophobia but other forms of racism and other forms of power abuse and inequality, could be opened up.

With the above in mind, this thesis recorded my attempts to engage the principle of prognostic interventionism with the aim to facilitate ideological change against the legitimation of Islamophobia and in favour of more symmetrical, mutually interdependent, power relations via the use of CDS and experimental methods.

STAGE 1 & 2 APPENDICES

Appendix 2 – 'Crossing Divides' - Original Version

Crossing Divides: Meet the British Army Veteran supporting Lincoln's first-ever mosque

Image Caption: Ian Durrant admits the flags in his garden sometimes give off the wrong impression.

It's hard to miss Ian Durrant's house in Lincoln.

A Union flag and the cross of St George flutter 20ft high in his front garden.

Ian says they're there "because I'm a veteran and I'm proud to be English".

But he admits the flags sometimes give off the wrong impression.

"Someone came to talk to me, and he said, 'Congratulations on flying the flag, what are you going to do about those bloody Muslims?' I said, 'Are you National Front?'

'Yes I am, brother,' he said. So I advised him - using army language - to get out of my garden."

A decade of waiting

With its towering facade, jade green dome and glistening gold crescent, Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque is already settling into the city's skyline.

Image Caption: The new mosque can hold more than 500 worshippers.

In a few weeks the £2m building will officially open - more than a decade after its first planning application was submitted to the council.

Ian was one of the mosque's most vociferous opponents. The former soldier - who served for 25 years in the army - set up a group trying to stop the application.

But he says his reservations were about traffic.

"There was no parking, there would have been nearly 90 cars, and the building only provided 12 parking spaces."

'We'll burn the mosque'

However, things then got nasty. The site where the mosque was planned to be built burned down in unexplained circumstances.

On three separate occasions, groups including the English Defence League (EDL) and East Anglian Patriots marched through the city centre.

Participants shouted chants like "Burn the poppy, and we'll burn the mosque".

Worried that his campaign against the mosque was being hijacked by anti-Islamic groups, Ian felt compelled to act.

"We had a letter campaign in the press against the EDL, asking people, 'If you see them, turn your back on them and walk away.' And they did," he says.

Rumours flying

Lincoln's Muslim population is small compared with cities such as Leicester or Birmingham, but it's long outgrown its current mosque. On Friday - the most important day of the week in Islam - it has to rent a larger community hall to accommodate about 250 worshippers.

Image Caption: Ian Durrant and Tanweer Ahmed at the door of the new mosque

After the mosque's initial planning bid failed, a subsequent application at a former dairy site was approved. This placated people like Ian who had been unhappy about the original location, but others were still sceptical about the mosque's intentions.

Tanweer Ahmed, Chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association, says there were rumours flying around that the new mosque would have "loudspeakers doing the call to prayer five times a day - and some thought (we Muslims) would try and get rid of the local war memorial".

In reality, he says, local Muslims simply wanted "to feel comfortable".

So he decided to act. With the help of other members of the Muslim community, Tanweer knocked on every door in the area.

Safety worries

"A lot of people welcomed us - but a few people were not happy. We were giving them leaflets, and they were throwing them straightaway into the bin," Tanweer says.

Even Muslim people questioned his moves.

"My wife was saying, 'Why are you doing that?', and my children were worried that someone could harm me. Some of my colleagues were also worried about safety. And there were some that just didn't want to do it."

Image Caption: Tanweer said he had been trying to find a new site for a mosque for years

Tanweer also needed to show locals that the presence of Islam in their area wouldn't threaten their way of life. So he reached out to Ian.

"I knew nothing about Islam, and someone sent me an email saying, 'We're running a series of talks - would you like to come?' So I did. I sat in the front on my own and it was fascinating," Ian says.

He's attended so many events - including Eid celebrations and mosque open days - that many worshippers recognise him on the street. But he's raised eyebrows within his own community.

"I took pride in being friends with, and talking to, Muslim people. Other people would say, 'Why the hell are you doing that?' And I said, 'They're people.'"

Joining Remembrance Day

"If I look out of the window to the left, I can see the cathedral in its glory," says Ian, as he draws a net curtain. "If I look right I see the mosque. East has met West in Lincoln."

Lincoln is best known for its beautiful 1,000-year-old cathedral. But it also has links with the armed forces - it was the birthplace of the military tank, and produced the renowned Royal Lincolnshire Regiment.

Image Caption: Ian (1st right) served in the army for 25 years. This photo was taken in Borneo in 1965

So Remembrance Day is a big deal for local residents. Ian and other veterans parade at their local war memorial, just 100 metres from the new mosque.

In 2012, he got a pleasant surprise when Tanweer and other Muslims turned up, carrying wreaths and wearing poppies.

"People who I knew have said, 'It's good to see them [Tanweer and other Muslims] joining in the community.' I said, 'Tanweer Ahmed is here - not out of invite, but by right!'"

Shared history

Tanweer says some Muslims were sceptical about attending the memorial.

"People were saying, 'Why are you going there? Why do we need to go there?' I said to them, 'We live in this country, and these people have given their lives to save this country.'"

He also wanted to highlight both the English and Muslim communities' shared history. In World War One, 400,000 Indian Muslim soldiers fought for Britain, and in World War Two, 600,000 soldiers took part.

Image Caption: Tanweer has attended Lincoln's Remembrance Day for the last 6 years

Tanweer says it was important for him and Ian to step into each other's sacred spaces and embrace each other's cultures, without sacrificing their own identities.

"Locals feel much more comfortable if we go to their space, they can ask us questions - but if they come to mosques, they might not feel comfortable asking questions," says Tanweer.

"So it's important that we visit them. But at the same time, they're coming to us".

Focusing on the future

Tanweer will be relieved once the mosque opens. But he knows his job isn't over.

Last year's terrorist attacks have created a sense of unease among Muslims in the city. Tanweer himself has been verbally abused, and the old mosque has been pelted with stones.

He thinks the Muslim community needs to continue engaging with locals to prevent any more trouble. He hopes the new mosque can help by offering space within the building for non-Muslims to run activities, such as children's clubs or exercise classes.

"A lot of people don't know what happens in the mosque, so if they're using the mosque on a regular basis, they will feel much more comfortable building a relationship with us," Tanweer says.

Image Caption: Ian and Tanweer have become good friends

Ian's excited about the mosque's opening ceremony, and hopes to bring his friends along. He admits that their opinions about Islam have changed over the years - largely thanks to him.

"My guys - apart from one - don't mention Muslims any more to me. I'd like to think they're accepting my way of thinking. I don't like prejudice.

"I served in Kuwait with Muslims. I served in Borneo with Muslims. It makes me feel very proud that I have been accepted."

Appendix 3 – Nomination Analysis Table and Results

Nomination Analysis Table

	Nomination	In:	Type of OG Participant	Salience of MUSLIMS	Categorisation Profile
1	Lincoln's first-ever **mosque**	Meet the British Army Veteran supporting Lincoln's first-ever mosque	Oblique	LS	Location + Ordinal + **Membership**
2	those bloody **Muslims**	What are you going to do about those bloody Muslims?	Collective	HS	Distance + Trait + **Membership**
3	its [towering facade, jade green dome and glistening gold crescent]	With its towering facade, jade green dome and glistening gold crescent	Oblique	LS	Possessor + Pronominal
4	towering **facade**		Oblique	LS	Possessed + Trait + **NM**
5	jade green **dome**		Oblique	LS	Possessed + Trait + **NM**
6	glistening gold **crescent**		Oblique	LS	Possessed + Trait + **Membership**
7	Lincoln's first purpose-built **mosque**	Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque is already settling into the city's skyline	Oblique	LS	Location + Ordinal + Behaviour + **Membership**
8	The new **mosque**	The new mosque can hold more than 500 worshippers	Oblique	LS	Temporal + **Membership**
9	more than 500 worshippers		Cluster	LS	Number + **Behaviour + Membership**
10	the 2m **building**	In a few weeks, the 2m building will open	Oblique	LS	Trait + **NM**
11	its [first planning application]	Almost a decade after its first planning application was submitted to the council	Oblique	LS	Possessor + Pronominal
12	first **planning application**		Oblique	LS	Possessed + Ordinal + **Behaviour**
13	the **mosque**	Ian was one of the mosque's most vociferous opponents	Oblique	LS	**Membership**
14	the **application**	The former soldier -who served 25 years in the Army- set up a group trying to stop the application	Oblique	LS	**Behaviour**
15	**traffic**	But he says his reservations were about traffic	Oblique	LS	**NM/NR**
16	**parking**	There was no parking	Oblique	LS	**NM/NR**
17	90 **cars**	There would have been 90 cars	Oblique	LS	Number + **NM**
18	the **building**	And the building only provided 12 parking spaces	Oblique	LS	**NM/NR**
19	12 **parking spaces**		Oblique	LS	Number + **NM**
20	the **mosque**	We'll burn the mosque	Oblique	LS	**Membership**
21	**The site** where the mosque was planned to be built	The site where the mosque was planned to be built burned down in unexplained circumstances	Oblique	LS	**Location** + Behaviour
22	(the mosque)		Oblique	LS	**Membership**
23	the **mosque**	Burn the poppy and we'll burn the mosque	Oblique	LS	**Membership**

24	the **mosque**	Worried that his campaign against the mosque was being hijacked by Anti-Islamic groups, Ian felt compelled to act	Oblique	LS	**Membership**
25	Lincoln's Muslim **population**	Lincoln's Muslim population is small compared to cities such as Leicester or Birmingham	Collective	MS	Location + Trait + **MembershipHUM**
26	**cities** such as Leicester or Birmingham		Oblique	LS	**Location**
27	**it**	But it has long outgrown its current mosque	Collective	LS	**Pronominal**
28	its [current mosque]		Collective	LS	Pronominal + Possessor
29	current **mosque**		Oblique	LS	Possessed + Temporal + **Membership**
30	the most important **day** in Islam	On Friday - the most important day in Islam	Oblique	LS	Trait + **NM**
31	(Islam)		Oblique	LS	Membership
32	**it**	it has to rent a larger community hall	Collective	LS	**Pronominal**
33	250 **worshippers**	to accommodate about 250 worshippers	Cluster	LS	Number + **Behaviour + Membership**
34	**Ian Durrant and Tanweer Ahmed**	Ian Durrant and Tanweer Ahmed at the door of the new mosque	Cluster	LS	**Juxtaposition** + Membership
35	**the door** [of the new mosque]		Oblique	LS	Location
36	the new mosque		Oblique	LS	Trait + **Membership**
37	the mosque's [initial planning bid]	After the mosque's initial planning bid	Oblique	LS	Possessor + **Membership**
38	initial **planning bid**		Oblique	LS	Ordinal + **Behaviour**
39	a subsequent **application**	a subsequent application at a former dairy site was approved	Oblique	LS	Ordinal + **Behaviour**
40	the original **location**	This placated people like Ian who had been unhappy about the original location	Oblique	LS	Trait + **Location**
41	the mosque's [intentions]	But others were still sceptical about the mosque's intentions	Oblique	LS	Possessor + **Membership**
42	**intentions**		Oblique	LS	**Behaviour**
43	**Tanweer Ahmed**	Tanweer Ahmed, chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association says there were rumours flying around	Individual	LS	**Membership**
44	**chairman** of the Lincoln Islamic Association		Individual	LS	**Role**
45	(the Lincoln **Islamic Association**)		Entity	LS	Location + **Membership**
46	the new **mosque**	that the new mosque would have loudspeakers doing the call to prayer five times a day	Oblique	LS	Trait + **Membership**
47	**loudspeakers** doing the call to prayer five times a day		Oblique	LS	**NM** + Behaviour

48	(the call to prayer)		Oblique	LS	**Behaviour** + Membership
49	**we**	"And some thought we would try and get rid of the local war memorial"	Collective	LS	**Pronomina**l + Membership
50	local **Muslims**	In reality, he says, local Muslims simply wanted "to feel comfortable"	Collective	HS	Location + **Membership**
51	**he**	So he decided to act, by knocking on every door in the area	Individual	LS	**Pronominal**
52	**us**	A lot of people welcomed us, but a few were not happy	Cluster	LS	**Pronominal** + Membership
53	**We**	We were giving them leaflets,	Cluster	LS	**Pronominal** + Membership
54	**leaflets**		Oblique	LS	**NM/NR**
55	**them**	and they were throwing them straightaway into the bin	Oblique	LS	**Pronominal**
56	**Tanweer**	Tanweer says	Individual	LS	**Membership**
57	Muslim **people**	Even Muslim people questioned his moves	Cluster	MS	Trait + **MembershipHUM**
58	My [wife]	My wife was saying	Individual	LS	Possessor + MembershipFAM
59	**wife**		Individual	LS	**Possessed + MembershipFAM**
60	**you**	Why are you doing that?	Individual	LS	**Pronominal**
61	my [children]	And my children were worried someone could harm me	Individual	LS	Possessor + MembershipFAM
62	**children**		Cluster	LS	Possessed + **MembershipFAM**
63	**me**		Individual	LS	Pronominal
64	Some of my **colleagues**	Some of my colleagues were also worried about safety	Cluster	LS	Number + **MembershipPROF**
65	(my)		Individual	LS	Possessor + Pronominal
66	**some**	And some just didn't want to do it	Cluster	LS	**Number**
67	**Tanweer Ahmed**	Tanweer Ahmed says he had been trying to find a place for a mosque for years	Individual	LS	**Membership**
68	**he**		Individual	LS	**Pronominal**
69	**a place** [for a mosque]		Oblique	LS	**Location**
70	a mosque		Oblique	LS	**Membership**
71	**Tanweer**	Tanweer also needed to show locals that the presence of Islam in their area wouldn't threaten their way of life	Individual	LS	**Membership**
72	**the presence** of Islam in their area	the presence of Islam in their area	Oblique	LS	**Behaviour** + Location
73	(Islam)		Oblique	LS	Membership
74	**he**	So he reached out to Ian.	Individual	LS	**Pronominal**
75	**someone**	"Someone sent me an e-mail saying	Individual	LS	**MembershipHUM**

76	**We**	We're running a series of talks, would you like to come?'	Collective	LS	**Pronominal**
77	a **series of talks**		Oblique	LS	Number **+ Behaviour**
78	**events**	He's attended so many events -like Eid celebrations and mosque open days	Oblique	LS	**NM/NR**
79	Eid **celebrations**		Oblique	LS	Membership + **Behaviours**
80	mosque **open days**		Oblique	LS	Membership + **Behaviours**
81	many **worshippers**	that many worshippers recognise him in the street	Cluster	LS	Number + **Behaviour + Membership**
82	Muslim **people**	I took pride being friends with, and talking to, Muslim people	Collective	MS	Trait + **MembershipHUM**
83	**They**	And I said "They're people"	Collective	LS	**Pronominal** + Membership
84	**people**		Collective	LS	**MembershipHUM**
85	the **mosque**	If I look right I see the mosque	Oblique	LS	**Membership**
86	**East**	East has met West in Lincoln	Oblique	LS	**Location** + Membership
87	the new **mosque**	just 100 meters away from the new mosque	Oblique	LS	Trait + **Membership**
88	**Tanweer and other Muslims**	In 2012 he got a pleasant surprise when Tanweer and other Muslims turned up, carrying wreaths and wearing poppies	Cluster	MS	Juxtaposition + **Membership**
89	**them**	People who I knew were saying "it's good to see them joining the community!"	Cluster	LS	**Pronominal** + Membership
90	**Tanweer Ahmed**	I said "Tanweer Ahmed is not here out of invite, but by right!"	Individual	LS	**Membership**
91	**Tanweer**	Tanweer says some Muslims were sceptical about attending the memorial	Individual	LS	**Membership**
92	some **Muslims**		Collective	HS	Number + **Membership**
93	**People**	"People were saying 'why are you going there? Why do we need to go there?'	Collective	LS	**MembershipHUM**
94	**you**		Individual	LS	**Pronominal**
95	**we**		Collective	LS	**Pronominal** + Membership
96	**I**	I said to them	Individual	LS	**Pronominal**
97	**them**		Collective	LS	**Pronominal**
98	**We**	We live in this country, and these people have given their lives to save this country'"	Collective	LS	**Pronominal** + Membership
99	**He**	He also wanted to highlight	Individual	LS	**Pronominal**
100	both the English and Muslim communities' [shared history]	both the English and Muslim communties' shared history	Collective	MS	**Juxtaposition** + Possessor + Membership

101	shared **history**		Oblique	LS	Possessed + **Juxtaposition + Membership**
102	400,000 Indian Muslim **soldiers**	In WW1, 400,000 Indian Muslim soldiers fought for Britain	Cluster	MS	Number + Trait + Membership + **MembershipARMY + Behaviour**
103	600,000 **soldiers**	And in WW2, 600,000 soldiers took part	Cluster	LS	Number + **Behaviour + MembershipARMY**
104	**Tanweer**	Tanweer has attended Lincoln's Remembrance Day for the last 6 years	Individual	LS	**Membership**
105	**Tanweer**	Tanweer says	Individual	LS	**Membership**
106	**him and Ian**	it was important for him and Ian	Cluster	LS	**Juxtaposition**
107	each other's [spaces]	to step into each other's sacred spaces	Cluster	LS	**Juxtaposition** + Possessor
108	**spaces**		Oblique	LS	Location
109	each other's [cultures]	and embrace each other's cultures,	Cluster	LS	**Juxtaposition** + Possessor
110	**cultures**		Oblique	LS	Membership
111	their own [identities]	without sacrificing their own identities.	Cluster	LS	**Possessor + Pronominal + Juxtaposition**
112	**identities**		Oblique	LS	Membership (assuming identities relates to their ethnic/religious identities)
113	**we**	"Locals feel much more comfortable if we go to their space,	Collective	LS	**Pronominal** + Membership
114	**us**	they can ask us questions	Collective	LS	**Pronominal** + Membership
115	**mosques**	But if they come to mosques, they might not feel comfortable asking questions"	Oblique	LS	**Membership**
116	**Tanweer**	says Tanweer	Individual	LS	**Membership**
117	**we**	"So it's important that we visit them	Collective	LS	**Pronominal** + Membership
118	**us**	But at the same time they're coming to us"	Collective	LS	**Pronominal** + Membership
119	**Tanweer**	Tanweer will be relieved	Individual	LS	**Mmebership**
120	the **mosque**	once the mosque opens	Oblique	LS	**Membership**
121	**he**	But he knows	Individual	LS	**Pronominal**
122	his [job]	his job isn't over	Individual	LS	**Pronominal**
123	**job**		Oblique	LS	**Behaviour**
124	Last year's **terrorist attacks**	Last year's terrorist attacks	Oblique	LS	Temporal + **Membership**
125	**Muslims** in the city	have created a sense of unease for Muslims in the city	Collective	MS	**Membership** + Location
126	**Tanweer himself**	Tanweer himself has been verbally abused	Individual	LS	**Membership**

127	the old **mosque**	And the old mosque has been pelted with stones	Oblique	LS	Trait + **Membership**
128	**He**	He thinks	Individual	LS	**Pronominal**
129	the Muslim **community**	the Muslim community needs to keep engaging with locals to prevent any more trouble	Collective	MS	Trait + **MembershipHUM**
130	**He**	He hopes	Individual	LS	**Pronominal**
131	the new **mosque**	the new mosque can help by offering space	Oblique	LS	Trait + **Membership**
132	the **building**	within the building for non-Muslims to run activities, such as children's clubs or exercise classes	Oblique	LS	**NM/NR**
133	the **mosque**	A lot of people don't know what happens inside the mosque,	Oblique	LS	**Membership**
134	the **mosque**	so if they're using the mosque on a regular basis,	Oblique	LS	**Membership**
135	**us**	they will feel much more comfortable building a relationship with us	Collective	LS	**Pronominal** + Membership
136	**Tanweer**	Tanweer says	Individual	LS	**Membership**
137	**Ian and Tanweer**	Ian and Tanweer have become good friends	Cluster	LS	**Juxtaposition** + Membership
138	the mosque's [opening ceremony]	Ian's excited about the mosque's opening ceremony	Oblique	LS	**Membership** + Possessor
139	**opening ceremony**		Oblique	LS	Possessed + **Behaviour**
140	**Islam**	He admits their opinions about Islam have changed over the years	Oblique	LS	**Membership**
141	**Muslims**	I served in Kuwait with Muslims	Collective	HS	**Membership**
142	**Muslims**	I served in Borneo with Muslims	Collective	HS	**Membership**

Nomination Analysis Results

In the ensuing sections, I offer a sampler of the results obtained by analysing outgroup references in the ways detailed in Section 5.2.3.

Oblique Outgroup References

Within the 66 Oblique outgroup nominations present in the text, the concept MUSLIMS is never overtly/explicitly salient (100% of these nominations are scored as Low-Salience). However, slightly over 53% of these nominations invoke a semantic relationship of Outgroup Membership such as in 'the **mosque**', 'glistening gold **crescent**', '**Eid** celebrations', because cultural artifacts and/or practices conventionally linked to Muslim communities are being mentioned, and the concepts being profiled are still (presumably) semantically associated with MUSLIMS. A substantial proportion of Oblique nominations (25 out of 66) are of the newly-built mosque/mosques in general, suggesting the mosque is an important site of outgroup representation and intergroup contact, such that not only contact with human actors but related cultural artifacts could possibly shape attitudes towards the outgroup.[31] The analysis of outgroup predications zooms in on whether these artifacts are involved in contact events of any kind, as well as whether they are presented as participants in more or less positive/negative affectively-laden predications, and makes observations in terms of how these representations could constitute an alternative to hegemonically problematic discursive characterisations of Muslim cultural artifacts, and by extension Muslim communities, in British media.

Individual Actors

Of the 76 human actor nominations in this text, over 39% are of a single individual, Tanweer Ahmed, who is a central voice in the narrative. His identity as a member of the Muslim community is signalled

[31]References to the mosque by the main ingroup protagonist reflect an attitudinal progression, from initial qualms and opposition -specifically to the traffic planning around the initial proposed site, to expressions of excitement about the mosque's opening day and a desire to involve other members of the ingroup, as well as a sense of pride at being accepted by his Muslim neighbours. It is to be noted that, though anti-Muslim prejudice is at times (fallaciously) justified as not being about Muslim people themselves but about Islam or cultural artifacts like mosques, this does not appear to be the case for the ingroup protagonist in this report: his claim that his past opposition to the mosque was about traffic and not about the fact that it was being constructed near him in the first place is given credibility by the fact that the mosque was eventually built and opened up to the public, to the ingroup protagonist's positive appraisal and 'excitement', at a location which was just 100m from the local WWII Memorial, a cultural site itself strongly associated with the White-British ingroup and valued by both the ingroup (a British Army Veteran himself) and outgroup protagonists.

towards in 12 out of 30 nominations, and the remaining nominations are realised via third and first person pronominals (he, I), possessives (my, his) with no explicit social category being invoked in the relevant label.

In the 12 labels where ethnoreligious identity *is* invoked, all of them are tagged as Low-Salience. This is because in none of these cases is the concept MUSLIMS (nor its singular MUSLIM) explicitly invoked. Tanweer Ahmed's membership of the outgroup would potentially be inferred by participants by virtue of his first and last name, which participants with higher degrees of anti-Muslim prejudice (and potentially with a view of nationality as a racialised/biologised concept -see Keller, 2005) would be unlikely to associate with membership of the 'British' ingroup (whose member prototype is likely to be of White British-born social actors). Interestingly, in the input text, he is only twice referred to as 'Muslim', and that is by association in the cluster (not individual) actor nomination 'Tanweer and other Muslims' and the collective 'local Muslims' (when he says 'local Muslims simply wanted to feel comfortable' following the use of 'we' in an immediately preceding sentence). Also, in a number of occasions (12 times), he is located as part of the outgroup in the meronymic collectivisations 'We'/'Us', e.g. in 'some thought we would try and get rid of the local war memorial' whereby he designates himself as part of the 'We' (i.e. the Lincoln Muslim community).

Generally speaking, the prominence of a single individual in the present input text is consistent with the genre identity of long-form journalism and 'human interest' stories (Valkenburg et al., 1999), which often follow the experiences of a handful of individuals in the backdrop of newsworthy events. What is perhaps most interesting is that in the text his identity as a member of the outgroup is represented on many occasions, but done so implicitly, in ways which avoid repetitive and widespread activation of concepts such as MUSLIM or MUSLIMS, which would be likely to (more or less unconsciously) co-activate negatively-valenced concepts such that any alternative predications of this outgroup actor could run the risk of being discounted or rejected. At this stage it is important to note that the use of explicit ethnoreligious category labels is not in itself problematic and it is not the view taken here that they should be altogether avoided in representations of intergroup contact, particularly in pragmatic acts of self-labelling by members of the Muslim community themselves. However, it is nonetheless noted that the lemma 'Muslim' and multi-word items such as 'Muslim people' could likely come with the burden of negative connotations in the case of participants with higher degrees of Islamophobic prejudice. So in order for any alternative predications to be more effectively linked to the outgroup in a way in which past negative attributions are modulated and replaced by non-essentialist forms of perception, the ethnoreligious identity of outgroup actors is

probably better invoked implicitly and in a number of different ways rather than just a single one, in a manner more representative of the diversity of ways in which social categorisation can be realised in a language, and as recommended in Schiappa et al. (2005). By so doing, the connotative associations of these terms may be gradually re-signified given that the ways nominations are made in the text still allow for a connection of these actors with the category 'Muslims', and in this -more indirect- way the term 'Muslims' may be reclaimed and/or eventually understood by White non-Muslim majoritised groups without recourse to essentialised (and mostly negative) trait characterisations such as those constitutive of Islamophobic prejudices.

Clusters

Cluster actor nominations make up 25% of all human nominations in the input text. Though they are second lowest in frequency amongst human actor references (the lowest being entity actor nominations which occur only once), their significance is increased when one considers that, together with individual actor nominations, both account for 64% of all outgroup nominations in the input text. The relatively high proportion of individual and cluster actor nominations suggests that the outgroup is not just represented as a homogeneous whole, but the internal structural granularity of the collective MUSLIMS group category is within the scope of attention, leading to a structurally more complex, richer and potentially nuanced construal of outgroup actors. Also interesting is the fact that a third of these cluster nominations are of an ad-hoc cluster where the outgroup and ingroup protagonists are nominated together in contact events (the analysis of actor predications sheds further light on this) such as in '**Ian and Tanweer** at the door of the new mosque', '**him and Ian**', 'step into **each other**'s sacred spaces'. The lemma 'Muslim' appears in 3 cluster nominations, and in all these cases the genericisation MUSLIMS is only medially salient (e.g. 400,000 Indian Muslim soldiers; Tanweer and other Muslims).

Collectives

Nominations of the outgroup as a collective occur 34% of the times, placing them in close second to nominations of individual members in terms of frequency. Understanding their role in this narrative is central in terms of estimating whether any alternative, prejudice-mitigating predications (of contact and other events) would also be linked to the outgroup as a collective and not just individual members or more granular clusters. Membership of the ethnoreligious category 'Muslims' is implicit in almost all labels, though in five cases the head noun in the relevant nomination invokes membership of the

more schematic category 'Human' in the head noun (e.g. in 'Muslim **people**', '**People**', 'Lincoln's Muslim **population**' and 'the Muslim **community**'). A majority, 60% (or 16 out of 26) of 'Collective' labels are classed as 'Low-Salience', particularly because in 11 out of these 16 cases there is use of pronominals 'We'/'Us'/'them'. Importantly, almost all of these pronominal references are uttered by the outgroup protagonist, including 'them' which he uses when referring back to 'People', which itself is a lexical cataphoric reference to 'Some Muslims' in 'Some Muslims were sceptical about attending the [Remembrance Day] memorial'. Also interesting is that the one instance of 'They' used by a member of the ingroup comes in the copular construction 'They're people' used by the ingroup protagonist when responding to questions from his own community about why he took pride in being friends with the Muslim community. In terms of instances of medium and high salience of MUSLIMS, one other highly significant aspect of nominations of the group as a collective is that, despite the fact that most labels are classed as 'Low Salience', compared to individuals and clusters it is in collective nominations where all high and most medium-salience labels are found. Out of the five high-salience labels found in the text, one is deployed by a member of the racist group National Front who is quoted at the beginning of the narrative asking the ingroup protagonist what he plans to do 'about those bloody Muslims', only to be explicitly and immediately expelled by the ingroup protagonist from his property. One other high-salience label is deployed in a hybrid quote attributed to the outgroup protagonist where he is given space to speak about the Lincoln Muslim community's motivation for building a mosque and provide a direct counterpoint to 'rumours we would have loudspeakers doing the call to prayer five times a day'. Here he refers to a desire by 'Local Muslims' (this label is used by the writer and is part of an indirect quote preceding a direct one) to ''simply [want] to feel comfortable'' (this is presented after having described the decade-long process which the Muslim community had to embark upon to be able to build the first dedicated prayer and community space in the city). Two other high-salience nominations come in close succession towards the end where the ingroup protagonist points out he served with 'Muslims' in Borneo and Kuwait, and that 'it makes [him] feel very proud that [he has been] accepted'.

Appendix 4 – Predication Analysis Table

Predication Analysis Table – Steps 1 and 2

	Predication	Relevant OG Participant	OG Particle	In:	Clause Complex	Event Frame
1	**Being supported by British Army Veteran**	**Lincoln's First-ever mosque**	**Oblique**	**Meet the British Army Veteran supporting Lincoln's first-ever mosque**	**1**	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
2	Being the first-ever mosque in Lincoln	Mosque	Oblique	Lincoln's first-ever mosque	1	Assess_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
3	Being in Lincoln	First-ever mosque	Oblique	Lincoln's first-ever mosque	1	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp
4	Being referred to as 'those' and 'bloody' / Being othered	Muslims	Collective	those bloody Muslims	2	Assess_Exp + Diff_Exp
5	**Being expected to be done something about**	**those Muslims**	**Collective**	**What are you going to do about those bloody Muslims?**	**2**	Assess_Imp (do X about Y) + Cont_Imp
6	**Waiting for a decade**	**(Muslim Community)**	**Collective**	**A decade of waiting**	**3**	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp
7	**Settling into the city's skyline**	**Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque**	**Oblique**	**With its towering facade, jade green dome and glistening gold crescent, Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque is already settling into the city's skyline**	**4**	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
8	Having a towering facade	(Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque)	Oblique	With its towering facade	4	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
9	Having a jade green dome	(Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque)	Oblique	jade green dome	4	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
10	Having a glistening gold crescent	(Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque)	Oblique	glistening gold crescent	4	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
11	Being in Lincoln	first purpose-built mosque	Oblique	Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque	4	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp
12	Being the first purpose-built mosque	purpose-built mosque	Oblique	first purpose-built mosque	4	Assess_Exp
13	Being purpose-built	mosque	Oblique	purpose-built mosque	4	Assess_Exp
14	Having been built by someone	mosque	Oblique	Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque	4	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp
15	Being new	Mosque	Oblique	The new mosque	5	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
16	**Being held by the mosque**	**500 worshippers**	**Cluster**	**The new mosque can hold more than 500 worshippers**	**5**	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp

17	**Being able to hold more than 500 worshippers**	**The new mosque**	**Oblique**	**The new mosque can hold more than 500 worshippers**	**5**	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (Ability)
18	Being 2m	building	Oblique	the 2m building	6	Assess_Exp
19	**Opening in a few weeks, almost a decade after its first planning application was submitted to the council**	**The 2m building**	**Oblique**	**In a few weeks, the 2m building will open, almost a decade after its first planning application was submitted to the council**	**6**	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
20	**Being submitted to the council**	**First planning application**	**Oblique**	**its first planning application was submitted to the council**	**6**	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp
21	Submitting an application to the council	(Muslim Community)	Collective	its first planning application was submitted to the council	6	Cont_Imp
22	**Being vociferously opposed by Ian**	**The mosque**	**Oblique**	**Ian was one of the mosque's most vociferous opponents**	**7**	Diff_Imp (mosque) + Assess_Exp
23	**Someone trying to stop X / Having a group trying to stop X**	**The application**	**Oblique**	**The former soldier -who served 25 years in the Army- set up a group trying to stop the application**	**8**	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (the application)
24	**Being had reservations about**	**Traffic**	**Oblique**	**But he says his reservations were about traffic**	**9**	Assess_Imp (reservations) + Diff_Imp (traffic)
25	**There being no parking**	**Parking**	**Oblique**	**There was no parking**	**10**	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (parking as it relates to the OG)
26	**There potentially being 90 cars**	**90 cars**	**Oblique**	**There would have been 90 cars**	**10**	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (cars)
27	**Only providing 12 parking spaces**	**The building**	**Oblique**	**And the building only provided 12 parking spaces**	**10**	Diff_Imp (the building) + Assess_Imp (only provided) + Cont_Imp
28	**Being burnt**	**the mosque**	**Oblique**	**'We'll burn the mosque'**	**11**	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (the mosque)
29	**Burning the poppy**	**(Muslim Community)**	**Collective**	**Burn the poppy and we'll burn the mosque**	**12**	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
30	Being burnt	**The mosque**	Oblique	We'll burn the mosque	12	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (the mosque)
31	Being the site for the mosque	The site	Oblique	The site where the mosque was planned to be built	13	Assess_Imp
32	**Burning down in unexplained circumstances**	**The site where the mosque was planned to be built**	**Oblique**	**The site where the mosque was planned to be built burned down in unexplained circumstances**	**13**	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
33	Planning to build a mosque	(Muslim Community)	Collective	the mosque was planned to be built	13	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp (the site where the mosque was planned to be built) + Assess_Imp
34	Being planned to be built	The mosque	Oblique	the mosque was planned to be built	13	Diff_Imp

35	Being opposed by groups	(Islam)	Oblique	Anti-Islamic Groups	14	Assess_Imp
36	**Campaigning against the mosque/Being campaigned against**	**The mosque**	**Oblique**	**Worried that his campaign against the mosque was being hijacked by Anti-Islamic groups, Ian felt compelled to act**	**14**	Assess_Exp (campaign against the mosque) + Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp
37	**Having outgrown its current mosque/Outgrowing its current mosque**	**it (Lincoln's Muslim population)**	**Collective**	**But it has long outgrown its current mosque**	**15**	Assess_Imp (long outgrown) + Diff_Imp (outgrowing the mosque)
38	Being outgrown	current mosque	Oblique	It has long outgrown its current mosque	15	Assess_Imp
39	Being the current mosque	mosque	Oblique	its current mosque	15	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp (its - the possessive - interacting with the mosque)
40	**Being small compared to cities such as Leicester or Birmingham**	**Lincoln's Muslim population**	**Collective**	**Lincoln's Muslim population is small compared to cities such as Leicester or Birmingham**	**15**	Assess_Exp
41	Having a current mosque	its (Lincoln's Muslim population)	Collective	its current mosque	15	Diff_Imp (its current mosque)
42	Being in Lincoln	Muslim population	Collective	Lincoln's Muslim population is small compared to cities such as Leicester or Birmingham	15	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp + Diff_Exp
43	**Having to rent a larger community hall to accommodate about 250 worshippers**	**it (Lincoln's Muslim population)**	**Collective**	**On Friday - the most important day in Islam, it has to rent a larger community hall to accommodate about 250 worshippers**	**16**	Assess_Imp (it has to)
44	Having a most important day	Islam	Oblique	On Friday - the most important day in Islam	16	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp
45	Being the most important day in Islam	Friday	Oblique	On Friday - the most important day in Islam	16	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp (the most important day in Islam)
46	Being accommodated in the community hall	250 worshippers	Cluster	to accommodate about 250 worshippers	16	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp
47	Renting a larger community hall	it (Lincoln's Muslim population)	Collective	it has to rent a larger community hall	16	Cont_Imp (rent a larger community hall)
48	Accommodating about 250 worshippers	(it - Muslim population)	Collective	to accommodate about 250 worshippers	16	Cont_Imp
49	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	the new mosque	17	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp
50	**Being at the door of the new mosque with Ian**	**Tanweer Ahmed**	**Cluster**	**Image Caption: Ian Durrant and Tanweer Ahmed at the door of the new mosque**	**17**	Cont_Imp (Ian and Tanweer) + Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed)
51	**Being approved**	**Subsequent application**	**Oblique**	**After the mosque's initial planning bid failed, a subsequent application at a former dairy site was approved**	**18**	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp (subsequent application)

52	Failing	Mosque's initial planning bid	Oblique	After the mosque's initial planning bid failed, a subsequent application at a former dairy site was approved	18	Assess_Exp (failed)
53	Coming after the initial planning bid/being subsequent to	Application	Oblique	a subsequent application	18	Assess_Exp
54	Having an initial planning bid	the mosque	Oblique	the mosque's initial planning bid	18	Diff_Imp (the mosque) + Diff_Imp (initial planning bid) + Cont_Imp (planning bid)
55	Placating people like Ian	This (the approval)	Oblique	This placated people like Ian	19	Assess_Imp
56	**Being unhappy about / Eliciting unhappiness**	**the original location**	**Oblique**	**This placated people like Ian who had been unhappy about the original location**	**19**	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp (the original location)
57	Being the original location	the location	Oblique	the original location	19	Assess_Exp
58	**Being sceptical about**	**the mosque's intentions**	**Oblique**	**But others were still sceptical about the mosque's intentions**	**20**	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
59	Having intentions	the mosque	Oblique	the mosque's intentions	20	Diff_Imp (intentions) + Assess_Imp
60	**Saying there were rumours flying around**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Tanweer Ahmed, chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association says there were rumours flying around that the new mosque would have loudspeakers doing the call to prayer five times a day**	**21**	Assess_Imp(saying sth about rumours)
61	**There being rumours about OG participant**	**the mosque**	**Oblique**	**There were rumours flying around that the new mosque would have loudspeakers doing the call to prayer five times a day**	**21**	Assess_Imp
62	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	the new mosque	21	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
63	Having loudspeakers doing the call to prayer five times a day	the new mosque	Oblique	that the new mosque would have loudspeakers doing the call to prayer five times a day	21	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp (people thinking mosque would have loudspeakers calling to prayer)
64	Being chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association	Tanweer Ahmed	Individual	Tanweer Ahmed, chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association	21	Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed) + Assess_Exp
65	Being in Lincoln	Lincoln Islamic Association	Entity	Lincoln Islamic Association	21	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp
66	Doing the call to prayer five times a day	loudspeakers	Oblique	that the new mosque would have loudspeakers doing the call to prayer five times a day	21	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (doing call to prayer five times a day)
67	**Being thought of as trying and getting rid of the local war memorial**	**We**	**Collective**	**"And some thought we would try and get rid of the local war memorial"**	**22**	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp (We)
68	Trying to get rid of the local war memorial	We	Collective	we would try and get rid of the local war memorial	22	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (by Muslim community)

69	Simply wanting to feel comfortable in reality	local Muslims	Collective	local Muslims simply wanted to feel comfortable	23	Assess_Imp (wanting to feel comfortable)
70	**Saying that in reality local Muslims simply wanted to feel comfortable**	**he (Tanweer)**	**Individual**	**In reality, he says, local Muslims simply wanted "to feel comfortable"**	**23**	Assess_Imp (in reality) + Assess_Exp (he says)
71	Being local	Muslims	Collective	local Muslims	23	Diff_Exp (local Muslims) + Assess_Exp
72	**Deciding to act**	**he**	**Individual**	**So he decided to act**	**24**	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp
73	Helping Tanweer	other members of the Muslim community	Collective	With the help of other members of the Muslim community	25	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
74	Being helped by other members of the Muslim community	Tanweer	Individual	With the help of other members of the Muslim community	25	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
75	**Knocking on every door in the area with the help of…**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**With the help of other members of the Muslim community, Tanweer knocked on every door in the area**	**25**	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
76	**Being worried about safety**	**(Muslim Community)**	**Collective**	**Safety worries**	**26**	Assess_Imp
77	**Saying that a lot of people welcomed them but a few were not happy**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**A lot of people welcomed us, but a few were not happy. We were giving them leaflets and they were throwing them straightaway into the bin' Tanweer says**	**27**	Assess_Imp (Assess by Tanweer)
78	Being welcomed	us	Cluster	A lot of people welcomed us	27	Assess_Imp (Assess by IG of OG members) + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (us)
79	Saying that people were throwing them straightaway into the bin	Tanweer	Individual	and they were throwing them straightaway into the bin	27	Assess_Imp
80	Having a few people not be happy about their actions	(Tanweer and MC giving out leaflets)	Cluster	but a few were not happy	27	Assess_Exp
81	**Being given to them (non-Muslim locals)**	**leaflets**	**Oblique**	**We were giving them leaflets**	**27**	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp
82	Giving them leaflets	we	Cluster	We were giving them leaflets,	27	Cont_Imp
83	Being thrown straightaway into the bin	leaflets/them	Oblique	and they were throwing them straightaway into the bin	27	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (them)
84	**Questioning his moves**	**Muslim people**	**Cluster**	**Even Muslim people questioned his moves**	**28**	Assess_Imp/Cont_Imp (OG-OG contact)

85	Having moves/engaging with non-Muslims	his	Individual	his moves	28	Diff_Imp/Cont_Imp
86	**Having his moves questioned**	**his moves**	**Individual**	**Even Muslim people questioned his moves.**	**28**	Diff_Exp + Assess_Exp (questioned his moves)
87	**Asking Tanweer "why are you doing that?"**	**Wife**	**Individual**	**My wife was saying "Why are you doing that?"**	**29**	Assess_Imp + Cont_Exp
88	Having a wife	My wife	Individual	My wife	29	Diff_Imp + Diff_Imp
89	Doing that (reaching out to the non-Muslim community)	you/Tanweer	Individual	why are you doing that	29	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp
90	**Being worried someone could harm Tanweer**	**My children**	**Cluster**	**And my children were worried someone could harm me**	**30**	Assess_Imp (he says) + Assess_Exp
91	Having children	My/Tanweer	Individual	my children	30	Diff_Imp
92	Being harmed	Me/Tanweer	Individual	someone could harm me	30	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (someone could harm me)
93	**Being worried about safety**	**Some of my colleagues**	**Cluster**	**Some of my colleagues were also worried about safety**	**31**	Assess_Exp
94	Having colleagues	My/Tanweer	Individual	Some of my colleagues	31	Diff_Imp
95	**Not wanting to do it**	**Some**	**Cluster**	**And there were some that just didn't want to do it**	**32**	Assess_Imp
96	Doing it	(Some)	Cluster	some just didn't want to do it	32	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp
97	**Saying he had been trying to find a place for a mosque for years**	**Tanweer Ahmed**	**Individual**	**Tanweer Ahmed says he had been (trying to find a place for a mosque for years)**	**33**	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed)
98	Trying to find a place for a mosque for years	he	Individual	he had been trying to find a place for the mosque for years	33	Assess_Imp (non-factive?) + Diff_Imp
99	Someone trying to find a place for X for years	a mosque	Oblique	Tanweer says he had been trying to find a place for the mosque for years	33	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp (in the trying to find a place for the mosque?)
100	Not threatening their way of life	the presence of Islam in their area	Oblique	the presence of Islam in their area wouldn't threaten their way of life	34	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
101	**Needing to show locals that the presence of Islam in their area wouldn't threaten their way of life**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Tanweer also needed to show locals that the presence of Islam in their area wouldn't threaten their way of life**	**34**	Diff_Imp (the presence of Islam) + Assess_Imp
102	Showing locals that the presence of Islam in their area wouldn't threaten their way of life	(Tanweer)	Individual	To show locals that the presence of Islam in their area wouldn't threaten their way of life	34	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
103	Being present in the(ir) area	Islam	Oblique	the presence of Islam in their area	34	Cont_Imp

104	**Reaching out to Ian**	**he**	**Individual**	**So he reached out to Ian.**	**35**	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
105	**Saying they're running a series of talks**	**(Someone)**	**Individual**	**saying 'We're running a series of talks, would you like to come?'**	**36**	Assess_Imp (saying something = construing something)
106	Running a series of talks	We	Cluster	we're running a series of talks	36	Diff_Imp (we) + Diff_Imp (running a series of talks)
107	**Sending Ian an e-mail**	**Someone**	**Individual**	**"Someone sent me an e-mail saying 'We're running a series of talks, would you like to come?'**	**36**	Diff_Imp (someone) + Cont_Exp
108	Saying we're running…	e-mail	Oblique	We're running a series of talks, would you like to come?'	36	Diff_Imp (saying)
109	Being sent by someone	e-mail	Oblique	Someone sent me an e-mail	36	Diff_Imp (email)
110	Being run	series of talks	Oblique	we're running a series of talks	36	Diff_Imp
111	Inviting Ian	(Someone)	Individual	Would you like to come?	36	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (invitation)
112	Coming to the talks	(talks)	Oblique	Would you like to come?	36	Cont_Exp
113	**Being attended by Ian**	**(talks)**	**Oblique**	**So I did.**	**37**	Cont_Exp
114	**Talks being fascinating**	**it (series of talks)**	**Oblique**	**I sat on the front on my own and it was fascinating**	**38**	Assess_Imp + Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
115	**Recognising Ian in the street**	**Many worshippers**	**Cluster**	**that many worshippers recognise him in the street**	**39**	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (worshippers)
116	**Being attended**	**Events / Eid celebrations and mosque open days**	**Oblique**	**He's attended so many events -like Eid celebrations and mosque open days**	**39**	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
117	**Being taken pride of being friends with and talking to X**	**(Muslim people)**	**Collective**	**I took pride in being friends with, and talking to, Muslim people**	**40**	Assess_Exp
118	Being befriended	Muslim people	Collective	took pride in being friends with	40	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
119	Being talked to	Muslim people	Collective	and talking to, Muslim people	40	Cont_Exp + Diff_Exp
120	**People asking why the hell he is being friends and talking to Muslim people**	**(Muslim people)**	**Collective**	**People were asking "Why the hell are you doing that?"**	**41**	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
121	**Being people**	**They**	**Collective**	**And I said "They're people"**	**42**	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp
122	**Joining Remembrance Day**	**(Muslim community)**	**Collective**	**Joining Remembrance Day**	**43**	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
123	**Being seen**	**the mosque**	**Oblique**	**If I look right I see the mosque**	**44**	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (the mosque)
124	**Meeting West**	**East**	**Oblique**	**East has met West in Lincoln**	**45**	Assess_Imp + Cont_Exp + Diff_Imp
125	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	the new mosque	46	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp

126	**Being 100m away from local War Memorial**	**the new mosque**	**Oblique**	**just 100 meters away from the new mosque**	**46**	Cont_Imp
127	**Giving Ian a pleasant surprise**	**(Tanweer and other Muslims)'s actions**	**Cluster**	**In 2012 he got a pleasant surprise when Tanweer and other Muslims turned up, carrying wreaths and wearing poppies**	**47**	Assess_Exp + Assess_Imp
128	Carrying wreaths	(Tanweer and other Muslims)	Cluster	carrying wreaths	47	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
129	Wearing poppies	(Tanweer and other Muslims)	Cluster	wearing poppies	47	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
130	Turning up at the memorial	Tanweer and other Muslims	Cluster	Tanweer and other Muslims turned up at the memorial	47	Cont_Exp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp
131	**Being praised for joining the community**	**them**	**Cluster**	**People who I knew were saying "it's good to see them joining the community!"**	**48**	Assess_Exp + Diff_Exp
132	Joining the community	them	Cluster	it's good to see them joining the community	48	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
133	**Saying Tanweer is not there out of invite but by right (being spoken about)**	**Tanweer Ahmed**	**Individual**	**I said "Tanweer Ahmed is not here out of invite, but by right!"**	**49**	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed)
134	Not being there out of invite	Tanweer Ahmed	Individual	Tanweer Ahmed is not here out of invite	49	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
135	Being there by right	(Tanweer Ahmed)	Individual	but by right	49	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
136	**Saying some Muslims were sceptical about attending the memorial**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Tanweer says some Muslims were sceptical about attending the memorial**	**50**	Assess_Imp
137	Being sceptical about attending the memorial	some Muslims	Cluster	Tanweer says some Muslims were sceptical about attending the memorial	50	Diff_Exp + Assess_Exp
138	Attending the memorial	(some Muslims)	Cluster	attending the memorial	50	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
139	Needing to go there	We	Collective	Why do we need to go there?	51	Diff_Imp (we) + Assess_Imp (needing to go there) + Cont_Exp
140	**Asking Tanweer why he goes there and why they need to go there (questioning contact)**	**People**	**Collective**	**"People were saying 'why are you going there? Why do we need to go there?'**	**51**	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (people)
141	Being asked by people why he's going there and why they need to go there	Tanweer	Individual	"People were saying 'Why are you going there? Why do we need to go there?'"	51	Cont_Imp
142	Going there	you/Tanweer	Individual	why are you going there?	51	Cont_Exp
143	**Saying to them that they live in this country and those**	**I/Tanweer**	**Individual**	**I said to them 'We live in this country, and these people have given their lives to save this country'"**	**52**	Diff_Imp (we) + Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp (Assessing IG efforts)

	people have given their lives to save it					
144	Living in this country	We	Collective	We live in this country, and these people have given their lives to save this country'"	52	Cont_Imp
145	**Being told by Tanweer that they live in this country**	**them**	**Collective**	**I said to them 'We live in this country, and these people have given their lives to save this country'"**	**52**	Cont_Exp
146	**Wanting to highlight the English and Muslim communities' shared history**	**He**	**Individual**	**He also wanted to highlight both the English and Muslim communities' shared history**	**53**	Assess_Imp
147	Sharing history with English community	Muslim Community	Collective	both the English and Muslim communities' shared history	53	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp (Muslim community)
148	**Taking part in WW2**	**600,000 soldiers**	**Cluster**	**And in WW2, 600,000 soldiers took part**	**54**	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
149	**Fighting for Britain in WW1**	**400,000 Indian Muslim soldiers**	**Cluster**	**In WW1, 400,000 Indian Muslim soldiers fought for Britain**	**54**	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp
150	**Attending Lincoln's RD for the last 6 years**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Tanweer has attended Lincoln's Remembrance Day for the last 6 years**	**55**	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
151	Not sacrificing their own identities	They (Tanweer and Ian)	Cluster	without sacrificing their own identities.	56	Assess_Imp
152	Being important to step into each other's sacred spaces and embrace each other's cultures	him and Ian	Cluster	it was important for him and Ian	56	Assess_Exp
153	Having a sacred space	(him and Ian)	Cluster	each other's sacred space	56	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp (spaces being defined as sacred)
154	**Saying it was important for him and Ian to step into each other's….**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Tanweer says it was important for him and Ian to step into each other's sacred spaces and embrace each other's cultures, without sacrificing their own identities**	**56**	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp
155	Having a culture	each other's	Cluster	each other's cultures	56	Diff_Imp
156	Having an identity	their own identities	Cluster	their own identities	56	Diff_Imp
157	Stepping into each other's sacred spaces	(him and Ian)	Cluster	to step into each other's sacred spaces	56	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
158	Embracing each other's cultures	each other's	Cluster	and embrace each other's cultures,	56	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
159	**Saying locals feel more comfortable….**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**"Locals feel much more comfortable if we go to their spaces, and they can ask us questions. But if they come to mosques, they might not feel comfortable asking questions" says Tanweer**	**57**	Assess_Imp

160	Being felt more comfortable about	We/Muslims going to their space	Collective	"Locals feel much more comfortable if we go to their space,	57	Assess_Exp
161	Going to their space	we	Collective	if we go to their space	57	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp
162	Being asked questions	us	Collective	they can ask us questions	57	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp
163	Being come to/being visited	mosques	Oblique	But if they come to mosques, they might not feel comfortable asking questions"	58	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
164	Being asked questions (Not feeling comfortable)	(Us)	Collective	Not feel comfortable asking questions	58	Cont_Exp + Assess_Exp
165	**Being important that they visit locals**	**Muslims visiting locals**	**Collective**	**"So it's important that we visit them**	**59**	Assess_Exp
166	Visiting locals	we	Collective	we visit them	59	Diff_Imp (we) + Cont_Exp
167	**Being come towards**	**us**	**Collective**	**But at the same time they're coming to us"**	**59**	Cont_Exp + Diff_Imp (us)
168	**Focusing on the future**	**(Tanweer)**	**Individual**	**Focusing on the future**	**60**	Assess_Imp
169	**Being relieved once the mosque opens**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Tanweer will be relieved once the mosque opens**	**61**	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp (Tanweer)
170	Opening	the mosque	Oblique	Tanweer will be releived once the mosque opens	61	Diff_Imp + Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp
171	Not being over	Tanweer's job	Oblique	But he knows his job isn't over	62	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp
172	**Knowing his job is not over**	**he**	**Individual**	**But he knows his job isn't over**	**63**	Assess_Imp
173	**Creating a sense of unease for Muslims in the city**	**Last year's terrorist attacks**	**Oblique**	**Last year's terrorist attacks have created a sense of unease for Muslims in the city**	**64**	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp
174	There being terrorist attacks last year	terrorist attacks	Oblique	Last year's terrorist attacks	64	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
175	Feeling unease	Muslims in the city	Collective	a sense of unease for Muslims in the city	64	Assess_Imp
176	Having a job	his/Tanweer's job	Individual	his job (isn't over)	64	Diff_Imp
177	being in the city	Muslims	Collective	Muslims in the city	64	Diff_Exp + Cont_Imp
178	Being old (compared to new mosque)	the mosque	Oblique	the old mosque	65	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp
179	**Being verbally abused**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Tanweer himself has been verbally abused**	**65**	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp
180	**Being pelted with stones**	**the old mosque**	**Oblique**	**And the old mosque has been pelted with stones**	**65**	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp
181	Preventing any more trouble	the Muslim community	Collective	to prevent any more trouble	66	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
182	There being trouble	(the Muslim community)	Collective	to prevent any more trouble	66	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp (trouble presumably refers to attacks)
183	**Thinking the Muslim community needs to keep engaging with…**	**He/Tanweer**	**Individual**	**He thinks the Muslim community needs to keep engaging with locals to prevent any more trouble**	**67**	Assess_Exp

184	Being thought of as needing to keep engaging with locals to prevent any more trouble	the Muslim community	Collective	the Muslim community needs to keep engaging with locals to prevent any more trouble	67	Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp
185	Engaging with locals	the Muslim community	Collective	engaging with locals	67	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
186	**Hoping the new mosque can help by offering space within the building…**	**He/Tanweer**	**Individual**	**He hopes the new mosque can help by offering space within the building for non-Muslims to run activites such as…**	**68**	Assess_Exp
187	(Potentially) helping by offering space within for non-Muslims to run activities	the new mosque	Oblique	the new mosque can help by offering space within the building for non-Muslims to run activities, such as children's clubs or exercise classes	68	Assess_Imp
188	Offering space within	the new mosque	Oblique	the new mosque [can help] by offering space	68	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
189	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	the new mosque	68	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
190	Not knowing what happens inside X	the mosque	Oblique	A lot of people don't know what happens inside the mosque,	68	Assess_Imp
191	Being felt more comfortable about a relationship with X	Us	Collective	they will feel much more comfortable building a relationship with us	69	Assess_Exp (by IG) + Assess_Imp (of IG)
192	Being used on a regular basis	the mosque	Oblique	so if they're using the mosque on a regular basis,	69	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp
193	Being built a relationship with	Us	Collective	building a relationship with us	69	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp (implicit Assess of the action of building a relationship)
194	**Saying that a lot of people don't know what happens inside the mosque**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**"A lot of people don't know what happens inside the mosque, so if they're using the mosque on a regular basis, they will feel much more comfortable building a relationship with us" Tanweer says**	**69**	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
195	**Becoming good friends with Ian**	**Tanweer**	**Cluster**	**Ian and Tanweer have become good friends**	**70**	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
196	**Being excited about/being source of excitement**	**the mosque's opening ceremony**	**Oblique**	**Ian's excited about the mosque's opening ceremony**	**71**	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
197	**Friends of Ian being brought to X**	**(mosque's opening ceremony)**	**Oblique**	**And hopes to bring his friends along**	**71**	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
198	Having an opening ceremony	the mosque	Oblique	the mosque's opening ceremony	71	Cont_Imp
199	**Opinions about X changing**	**their opinions about Islam**	**Oblique**	**He admits their opinions about Islam have changed over the years**	**72**	Assess_Exp (admits) + Assess_Imp (opinions changing)
200	Having opinions about Islam/Being had opinions about	Islam	Oblique	their opinions about Islam	72	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp

201	**Serving in Kuwait with Muslims**	**Muslims**	**Collective**	**I served in Kuwait with Muslims**	**73**	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp
202	**Serving in Borneo with Muslims**	**Muslims**	**Collective**	**I served in Borneo with Muslims**	**74**	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp
203	**Being proud about being accepted**	**(Muslim community' actions)**	**Collective**	**It makes me feel very proud that I have been accepted**	**75**	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp
204	Accepting Ian	(Muslim community)	Collective	I have been accepted	75	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp

Table 31. Stage 1 - Predication Analysis Table: Steps 1 and 2

Predication Analysis Table – Steps 3 and 4

	Predication	Relevant Participant	Type of Participant	Event Frame	Modality and Appraisal	Intergrp Contact	Intragrp Contact	By OG	to OG	Of/ Towards OG	By OG	For/ On Behalf of OG	Of Action Involving OG as Agent	Of Action Involving OG as Patient/ Recipient/ Non-Agentive/ Circumstance
1	Being supported by British Army Veteran	**Lincoln's First-ever mosque**	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High + Affect_Positive_Med	X			X	XP				X
2	Being the first-ever mosque in Lincoln	Mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low					XP2				
3	Being in Lincoln	First-ever mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X		XP				
4	Being referred to as 'those' and 'bloody' / Being othered	Muslims	Collective	Assess_Exp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_High					XP				
5	Being expected to be done something about	**those Muslims**	Collective	Assess_Imp (do X about Y) + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Normative_Expectation_High + Affect_Negative_Med	X			X	XP				X
6	Waiting for a decade	(Muslim Community)	Collective	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low								XP	
7	Settling into the city's skyline	**Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque**	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		XP			X	
8	Having a towering facade	(Lincoln's first purpose-	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med					XP				

		built mosque)												
9	Having a jade green dome	(Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque)	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low					XP				
10	Having a glistening gold crescent	(Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque)	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High					XP				
11	Being in Lincoln	first purpose-built mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X		XP				
12	Being the first purpose-built mosque	purpose-built mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
13	Being purpose-built	mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
14	Having been built by someone	mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med		X			XP				
15	Being new	Mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
16	Being held by the mosque	**500 worshippers**	Cluster	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Potential		X							
17	Being able to hold more than 500 worshippers	**The new mosque**	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (Ability)	Veridicality_Potential_Med		X			XP			X	
18	Being 2m	building	Oblique	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
19	Opening in a few weeks, almost a decade after its first planning	**The 2m building**	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Negative_Low	X		X		X			X	XP

	application was submitted to the council													
20	Being submitted to the council	**First planning application**	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
21	Submitting an application to the council	(Muslim Community)	Collective	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
22	Being vociferously opposed by Ian	**The mosque**	Oblique	Diff_Imp (mosque) + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_High					XP				X
23	Someone trying to stop X / Having a group trying to stop X	**The application**	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (the application)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Med + Affect_Negative_Med	X			X	XP				X
24	Being had reservations about	**Traffic**	Oblique	Assess_Imp (reservations) + Diff_Imp (traffic)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Low					XP				
25	There being no parking	**Parking**	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (parking as it relates to the OG)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Low					XP				
26	There potentially being 90 cars	**90 cars**	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (cars)	Veridicality_Projection_Low + Affect_Negative_Low		X			X				XP
27	Only providing 12 parking spaces	**The building**	Oblique	Diff_Imp (the building) + Assess_Imp (only provided) + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Low		X			XP			X	

28	Being burnt	**the mosque**	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (the mosque)	Veridicality_Projection_HighLikelihood + Affect_Negative_High + Affect_Negative_High	X			X	XP				X
29	Burning the poppy	(Muslim Community)	Collective	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Negative_High + Affect_Negative_High	X		X		X	X	X	XP	
30	Being burnt	**The mosque**	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (the mosque)	Veridicality_Projection_HighLikelihood + Affect_Negative_High + Affect_Negative_High	X			X	XP				X
31	Being the site for the mosque	The site	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
32	Burning down in unexplained circumstances	**The site where the mosque was planned to be built**	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Med	X			X	XP				X
33	Planning to build a mosque	(Muslim Community)	Collective	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp (the site where the mosque was planned to be built) + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med		X	X			XP	X	X	
34	Being planned to be built	The mosque	Oblique	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Projection									
35	Being opposed by groups	(Islam)	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_High					XP				
36	Campaigning against the mosque/Being campaigned against	**The mosque**	Oblique	Assess_Exp (campaign against the mosque) +	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_High	X			X	XP				X

				Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp										
37	Having outgrown its current mosque/Outgrowing its current mosque	it (Lincoln's Muslim population)	Collective	Assess_Imp (long outgrown) + Diff_Imp (outgrowing the mosque)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low					XP			X	
38	Being outgrown	current mosque	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									XP
39	Being the current mosque	mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp (its - the possessive - interacting with the mosque)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med		X			XP				
40	Being small compared to cities such as Leicester or Birmingham	Lincoln's Muslim population	Collective	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_NonNegative_Low					XP				
41	Having a current mosque	its (Lincoln's Muslim population)	Collective	Diff_Imp (its current mosque)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
42	Being in Lincoln	Muslim population	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X		XP				
43	Having to rent a larger community hall to accommodate about 250 worshippers	it (Lincoln's Muslim population)	Collective	Assess_Imp (it has to)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Normative_Necessity_High + Affect_NonPositive_Low					XP			X	
44	Having a most important day	Islam	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med						XP	X		

45	Being the most important day in Islam	Friday	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp (the most important day in Islam)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High					XP	X	X		
46	Being accommodated in the community hall	250 worshippers	Cluster	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low		X	X	X					
47	Renting a larger community hall	it (Lincoln's Muslim population)	Collective	Cont_Imp (rent a larger community hall)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
48	Accommodating about 250 worshippers	(it - Muslim population)	Collective	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low		X	X	X					
49	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
50	Being at the door of the new mosque with Ian	Tanweer Ahmed	Cluster	Cont_Imp (Ian and Tanweer) + Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed)	Veridicality_Veridical_High (as image caption)	X		X	X					
51	Being approved	Subsequent application	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp (subsequent application)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med					XP				
52	Failing	Mosque's initial planning bid	Oblique	Assess_Exp (failed)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Med					XP				
53	Coming after the initial planning bid/being subsequent to	Application	Oblique	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				

54	Having an initial planning bid	the mosque	Oblique	Diff_Imp (the mosque) + Diff_Imp (initial planning bid) + Cont_Imp (planning bid)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
55	Placating people like Ian	This (the approval)	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonNegative_Low									XP
56	Being unhappy about / Eliciting unhappiness	the original location	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp (the original location)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Med					XP				X
57	Being the original location	the location	Oblique	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
58	Being sceptical about	the mosque's intentions	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Low					XP				X
59	Having intentions	the mosque	Oblique	Diff_Imp (intentions) + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Low					XP				
60	Saying there were rumours flying around	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Imp (saying sth about rumours)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Low						XP	X		
61	There being rumours about OG participant	the mosque	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Low								XP	
62	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				

63	Having loudspeakers doing the call to prayer five times a day	the new mosque	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp (people thinking mosque would have loudspeakers calling to prayer)	Veridicality_NonVeridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Low					X			XP	
64	Being chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association	Tanweer Ahmed	Individual	Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed) + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
65	Being in Lincoln	Lincoln Islamic Association	Entity	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
66	Doing the call to prayer five times a day	loudspeakers	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (doing call to prayer five times a day)	Veridicality_NonVeridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Medium	X	X	X		XP			X	
67	Being thought of as trying and getting rid of the local war memorial	We	Collective	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp (We)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Med					XP	X		X	
68	Trying to get rid of the local war memorial	We	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (by Muslim community)	Veridicality_NonVeridical_Med + Veridicality_Projection_MedProb + Affect_Negative_High	X		X					XP	
69	Simply wanting to feel comfortable in reality	local Muslims	Collective	Assess_Imp (wanting to feel comfortable)	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Med						XP		X	
70	Saying that in reality local	he (Tanweer)	Individual	Assess_Imp (in reality)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low					X	XP 2			

	Muslims simply wanted to feel comfortable			+ Assess_Exp (he says)										
71	Being local	Muslims	Collective	Diff_Exp (local Muslims) + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
72	Deciding to act	he	Individual	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low					XP				
73	Helping Tanweer	other members of the Muslim community	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med		X	X	X				XP	
74	Being helped by other members of the Muslim community	Tanweer	Individual	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med		X			XP	X			
75	Knocking on every door in the area with the help of…	Tanweer	Individual	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X		XP			X	
76	Being worried about safety	(Muslim Community)	Collective	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Med						X	XP		
77	Saying that a lot of people welcomed them but a few were not happy	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Imp (Assess by Tanweer)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Med									
78	Being welcomed	us	Cluster	Assess_Imp (Assess by IG of OG members) + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (us)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_High	X			X	XP				X

79	Saying that people were throwing them straightaway into the bin	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_NonPositive_Low						XP			
80	Having a few people not be happy about their actions	(Tanweer and MC giving out leaflets)	Cluster	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Med								XP	
81	**Being given to them (non-Muslim locals)**	**leaflets**	**Oblique**	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low	X		X						
82	Giving them leaflets	we	Cluster	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low	X		X						
83	Being thrown straightaway into the bin	leaflets/them	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (them)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_High					XP				X
84	Questioning his moves	Muslim people	Cluster	Assess_Imp /Cont_Imp (OG-OG contact)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Low		X				XP	X		
85	Having moves/engaging with non-Muslims	his	Individual	Diff_Imp/Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
86	Having his moves questioned	his moves	Individual	Diff_Exp + Assess_Exp (questioned his moves)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Med + Affect_Negative_Low					X (even)	X	X	XP	
87	Asking Tanweer "why are you doing that?"	Wife	Individual	Assess_Imp + Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Low		X				XP		X	
88	Having a wife	My wife	Individual	Diff_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
89	Doing that (reaching out	you/Tanweer	Individual	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low	X		X						

	to the non-Muslim community)													
90	Being worried someone could harm Tanweer	My children	Cluster	Assess_Imp (he says) + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Med						XP 2	X		X
91	Having children	My/Tanweer	Individual	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
92	Being harmed	Me/Tanweer	Individual	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (someone could harm me)	Veridicality_NonVeridical_Low + Affect_Negative_High + Affect_Negative_High	X		X		XP				X
93	Being worried about safety	Some of my colleagues	Cluster	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Med						XP	X		
94	Having colleagues	My/Tanweer	Individual	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
95	Not wanting to do it	Some	Cluster	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Med						XP	X	X	
96	Doing it	(Some)	Cluster	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Projection	X		X						
97	Saying he had been trying to find a place for a mosque for years	Tanweer Ahmed	Individual	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Desiderative_NonPositive					X	XP			
98	Trying to find a place for a mosque for years	he	Individual	Assess_Imp (non-factive?) + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low					X			XP	
99	Someone trying to find a place for X for years	a mosque	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp (in the trying to find a place for the mosque?)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_NonPositive_Low									XP

100	Not threatening their way of life	the presence of Islam in their area	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonNegative_Med	X		X		XP			X	
101	Needing to show locals that the presence of Islam in their area wouldn't threaten their way of life	Tanweer	Individual	Diff_Imp (the presence of Islam) + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Normative_Obligation + Affect_NonPositive_Med					XP	X	X	X	
102	Showing locals that the presence of Islam in their area wouldn't threaten their way of life	(Tanweer)	Individual	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X					XP	
103	Being present in the(ir) area	Islam	Oblique	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low	X		X		X				
104	Reaching out to Ian	he	Individual	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med strength + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		X			XP	
105	Saying they're running a series of talks	(Someone)	Individual	Assess_Imp (saying something = construing something)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low					X	XP	X		
106	Running a series of talks	We	Cluster	Diff_Imp (we) + Diff_Imp (running a series of talks)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low									
107	Sending Ian an e-mail	Someone	Individual	Diff_Imp (someone) + Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						

108	Saying we're running…	e-mail	Oblique	Diff_Imp (saying)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low									
109	Being sent by someone	e-mail	Oblique	Diff_Imp (email)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low									
110	Being run	series of talks	Oblique	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low									
111	Inviting Ian	(Someone)	Individual	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (invitation)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X			X	XP		
112	Coming to the talks	(talks)	Oblique	Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Projection	X			X					
113	Being attended by Ian	(talks)	Oblique	Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X			X					
114	Talks being fascinating	it (series of talks)	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High + Affect_NonPositive_Low (being on his own in an OG space)					XP				XP
115	Recognising Ian in the street	Many worshippers	Cluster	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (worshippers)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
116	Being attended	Events / Eid celebrations and mosque open days	Oblique	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med (so many events)	X			X					XP
117	Being taken pride of being friends with and talking to X	(Muslim people)	Collective	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High								X	XP
118	Being befriended	Muslim people	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High	X			X	XP			X	
119	Being talked to	Muslim people	Collective	Cont_Exp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X			X	XP				X
120	People asking why the hell he is being	(Muslim people)	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_NonPositive_High	X			X					XP

	friends and talking to Muslim people													
121	Being people	They	Collective	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Low					XP				
122	Joining Remembrance Day	(Muslim community)	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		X			XP	
123	Being seen	the mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (the mosque)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low	X			X					
124	Meeting West	East	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X	X	XP			X	
125	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
126	Being 100m away from local War Memorial	the new mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X	X					
127	Giving Ian a pleasant surprise	(Tanweer and other Muslims)'s actions	Cluster	Assess_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med								XP	XP
128	Carrying wreaths	(Tanweer and other Muslims)	Cluster	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		XP	X		X	
129	Wearing poppies	(Tanweer and other Muslims)	Cluster	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		XP	X		X	
130	Turning up at the memorial	Tanweer and other Muslims	Cluster	Cont_Exp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		XP	X		X	
131	Being praised for joining the community	them	Cluster	Assess_Exp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Med + Affect_Negative_Low					X			XP	

132	Joining the community	them	Cluster	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		X			XP	
133	Saying Tanweer is not there out of invite but by right (being spoken about)	Tanweer Ahmed	Individual	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
134	Not being there out of invite	Tanweer Ahmed	Individual	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_NonVeridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X	X	X			XP	
135	Being there by right	(Tanweer Ahmed)	Individual	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X	X	X			XP	
136	Saying some Muslims were sceptical about attending the memorial	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Low					X	XP			
137	Being sceptical about attending the memorial	some Muslims	Cluster	Diff_Exp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Low						X	X	XP	
138	Attending the memorial	(some Muslims)	Cluster	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		X			XP	
139	Needing to go there	We	Collective	Diff_Imp (we) + Assess_Imp (needing to go there) + Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Normative_Necessity + Affect_NonPositive_Low			X			X	X	XP	
140	Asking Tanweer why he goes there and why they need to go there (questioning contact)	People	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (people)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Normative_Necessity + Affect_NonPositive_Low		X	X		X	XP	X	X	

141	Being asked by people why he's going there and why they need to go there	Tanweer	Individual	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low		X			X	XP	X	X	
142	Going there	you/Tanweer	Individual	Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
143	Saying to them that they live in this country and those people have given their lives to save it	I/Tanweer	Individual	Diff_Imp (we) + Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp (Assessing IG efforts)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_High		X				XP (of IG)			
144	Living in this country	We	Collective	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
145	Being told by Tanweer that they live in this country	them	Collective	Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med		X	X	X					
146	Wanting to highlight the English and Muslim communities' shared history	He	Individual	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Desiderative + Affect_Positive_Low + Affect_Positive_Med					XP	X		X	
147	Sharing history with English community	Muslim Community	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp (Muslim community)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X	X					XP
148	Taking part in WW2	600,000 soldiers	Cluster	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		XP			X	
149	Fighting for Britain in WW1	400,000 Indian	Cluster	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X		XP	X	X	X	

		Muslim soldiers												
150	Attending Lincoln's RD for the last 6 years	Tanweer	Individual	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X		XP	X	X	X	
151	Not sacrificing their own identities	They (Tanweer and Ian)	Cluster	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_NonNegative_Med					X	X		XP	
152	Being important to step into each other's sacred spaces and embrace each other's cultures	him and Ian	Cluster	Assess_Exp	Normative_Necessity_Med + Affect_Positive_Med						X		XP	
153	Having a sacred space	(him and Ian)	Cluster	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp (spaces being defined as sacred)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High					XP	X			
154	Saying it was important for him and Ian to step into each other's….	Tanweer	Individual	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med					X	XP	X	X	
155	Having a culture	each other's	Cluster	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
156	Having an identity	their own identities	Cluster	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
157	Stepping into each other's sacred spaces	(him and Ian)	Cluster	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X	X	XP	X		X	
158	Embracing each other's cultures	each other's	Cluster	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_High	X		X	X	XP			X	

159	Saying locals feel more comfortable….	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med						XP			
160	Being felt more comfortable about	We/Muslims going to their space	Collective	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_High								XP	
161	Going to their space	we	Collective	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Projection	X		X		XP			X	
162	Being asked questions	us	Collective	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Potential + Affect_Positive_Low	X			X					XP
163	Being come to/being visited	mosques	Oblique	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Projection	X			X		X			XP
164	Being asked questions (Not feeling comfortable)	(Us)	Collective	Cont_Exp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Negative_Low	X			X		X			XP
165	Being important that they visit locals	Muslims visiting locals	Collective	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Med						X		XP	
166	Visiting locals	we	Collective	Diff_Imp (we) + Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		X			XP	
167	Being come towards	us	Collective	Cont_Exp + Diff_Imp (us)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low	X			X					
168	Focusing on the future	(Tanweer)	Individual	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Veridicality_Projected + Affect_Positive_Low						X		XP	
169	Being relieved once the mosque opens	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp (Tanweer)	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Med					X	XP	X		X
170	Opening	the mosque	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						

171	Not being over	Tanweer's job	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low					XP	X	X		
172	Knowing his job is not over	he	Individual	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Normative_Obligation					X	XP	X	X	
173	Creating a sense of unease for Muslims in the city	Last year's terrorist attacks	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Med					X	X	XP		
174	There being terrorist attacks last year	terrorist attacks	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_High	X		X					X	XP
175	Feeling unease	Muslims in the city	Collective	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Med + Affect_Negative_Low						XP	X		
176	Having a job	his/Tanweer 's job	Individual	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
177	being in the city	Muslims	Collective	Diff_Exp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
178	Being old (compared to new mosque)	the mosque	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
179	Being verbally abused	Tanweer	Individual	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_High + Affect_Negative_High	X			X	XP				X
180	Being pelted with stones	the old mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_High + Affect_Negative_High	X			X	XP				X
181	Preventing any more trouble	the Muslim community	Collective	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Low					X	X		XP	
182	There being trouble	(the Muslim community)	Collective	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp (trouble	Veridicality_NonVeridical_ Low + Affect_Negative_Low	X			X				X	XP

				presumably refers to attacks)	(trouble - presupposed as already being there and the aim being to not make it worse)									
183	Thinking the Muslim community needs to keep engaging with…	He/Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Projection + Normative_Necessity + Affect_Positive_Med					X	XP	X		
184	Being thought of as needing to keep engaging with locals to prevent any more trouble	the Muslim community	Collective	Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Normative_Necessity					XP	X		X	
185	Engaging with locals	the Muslim community	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		XP	X		X	X
186	Hoping the new mosque can help by offering space within the building…	He/Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Desiderative_Positive + Affect_Positive_Low					X	XP	X		
187	(Potentially) helping by offering space within for non-Muslims to run activities	the new mosque	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Veridicality_Potential + Affect_Positive_Med + Affect_Positive_Low					XP	X	X	X	
188	Offering space within	the new mosque	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Prjection + Affect_Positive_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X	X	X	X		XP	
189	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				

190	Not knowing what happens inside X	the mosque	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_NonPositive_Low						X			XP
191	Being felt more comfortable about a relationship with X	Us	Collective	Assess_Exp (by IG) + Assess_Imp (of IG)	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_High + Affect_Positive_Low						XP			XP
192	Being used on a regular basis	the mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X			X	X	X			XP
193	Being built a relationship with	Us	Collective	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Med	X			X	X				XP
194	Saying that a lot of people don't know what happens inside the mosque	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med						XP	X		
195	Becoming good friends with Ian	Tanweer	Cluster	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X	X	X			XP	X
196	Being excited about/being source of excitement	the mosque's opening ceremony	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High					XP			X	
197	Friends of Ian being brought to X	(mosque's opening ceremony)	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X			X	X				XP2
198	Having an opening ceremony	the mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
199	Opinions about X changing	their opinions about Islam	Oblique	Assess_Exp (admits) + Assess_Imp (opinions changing)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low + Affect_NonPositive_Low					X				XP2

200	Having opinions about Islam/Being had opinions about	Islam	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Low					XP				
201	Serving in Kuwait with Muslims	Muslims	Collective	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X	X	X			XP	
202	Serving in Borneo with Muslims	Muslims	Collective	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X	X	X			XP	
203	Being proud about being accepted	(Muslim community' actions)	Collective	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High	X		X			X	X	XP	
204	Accepting Ian	(Muslim community)	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_High	X		X		X	X	X	XP	

Table 32. Stage 1 - Predication Analysis Table: Steps 3 and 4

Appendix 5 – Study 1 Fixed Effects Table and Results (Full 2x2x2x2 Model)

Effect	Estimate	SE	exp(B)	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	z	p
Group (Control - Experimental 1)	0.36258	0.3163	1.437	0.773	2.671	1.1462	0.252
Stage (Post - Pre)	**0.12266**	**0.0429**	**1.130**	**1.039**	**1.230**	**2.8569**	**0.004**
Congruence (Incongruent - Congruent)	**–0.29244**	**0.0429**	**0.746**	**0.686**	**0.812**	**–6.8214**	**< .001**
Prime (Britons - Muslims)	0.00381	0.0429	1.004	0.923	1.092	0.0890	0.929
Group × Stage	**0.20925**	**0.0859**	**1.233**	**1.042**	**1.459**	**2.4373**	**0.015**
Group × Congruence	0.02163	0.0857	1.022	0.864	1.209	0.2523	0.801
Stage × Congruence	0.03028	0.0857	1.031	0.871	1.219	0.3534	0.724
Group × Prime	–0.06745	0.0857	0.935	0.790	1.106	–0.7870	0.431
Stage × Prime	0.06107	0.0857	1.063	0.899	1.257	0.7127	0.476
Congruence × Prime	0.09042	0.0857	1.095	0.925	1.295	1.0551	0.291
Group × Stage × Congruence	0.20880	0.1712	1.232	0.881	1.724	1.2194	0.223
Group × Stage × Prime	0.02064	0.1713	1.021	0.730	1.428	0.1205	0.904
Group × Congruence × Prime	0.23373	0.1713	1.263	0.903	1.767	1.3648	0.172
Stage × Congruence × Prime	0.08933	0.1712	1.093	0.782	1.530	0.5217	0.602
Group × Stage × Congruence × Prime	–0.25133	0.3416	0.778	0.398	1.519	–0.7357	0.462

Table 33. Stage 2 - Logistic Mixed-Effects Model (Accuracy): Fixed Effects Table. *Significant main effects and interactions are highlighted in bold.*

From these figures it seems that the variables Congruence and Stage had a significant effect on Accuracy. Besides these main effects, it seems only the Stage x Group interaction was significant in this case.

The fact that the Congruence main effect was significant is indicative that the EDT functioned as it should, and suggests that, as usually occurs in such priming tasks, incongruent trials were responded to more slowly than congruent ones (as indicated by the Odds Ratio score below 1 - see exp(B) column), thus indicating that congruence did appear to facilitate response fluency overall.

The main effect of Stage in turn suggests that across all groups, participants got better at classifying adjectives accurately between the first and second rounds of the EDT (at Post Stage participants were on average 1.13 times more likely to get the correct answer -see fourth column, second row of Table 33 above). This is not surprising given that participants had a second opportunity to carry out the same task and this seems to have resulted in them getting better at it between the first and second times they completed the EDT.

Another important point to be noted here concerns the interaction Stage x Group. Simply put, the fact that this interaction achieved significance seems to suggest that how much better participants got at categorising target adjectives correctly from Pre to Post differs significantly between Groups. Another way of phrasing this is by noting that the effect of Stage on participants was moderated by what group they were in: in short, how much more accurate participants got from Pre to Post depended on what group they were in, and ultimately what text they were exposed to given that this was the only difference from Pre to Post Stage between the Experimental and Control group (see Section 6.3).

Following from the analysis of Accuracy scores, a table of modelled fixed effects and interactions for the case of RTs is presented in Table 34 below.

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	df	t	p
Stage (Post - Pre)	**−0.00793**	**0.00294**	**−0.01369**	**−0.00216**	**12278.3**	**−2.6958**	**0.007**
Group (Control - Experimental)	0.04892	0.06174	−0.07208	0.16992	37.0	0.7924	0.433
Congruence (Incongruent - Congruent)	**0.01777**	**0.00294**	**0.01201**	**0.02353**	**12278.1**	**6.0470**	**< .001**
Prime (Britons - Muslims)	0.00293	0.00294	−0.00283	0.00868	12278.0	0.9971	0.319
Stage × Group	−8.86e−4	0.00588	−0.01241	0.01064	12278.3	−0.1506	0.880
Stage × Congruence	0.00458	0.00587	−0.00693	0.01609	12278.0	0.7804	0.435
Group × Congruence	−0.00512	0.00588	−0.01664	0.00640	12278.1	−0.8715	0.384
Stage × Prime	5.59e−4	0.00587	−0.01095	0.01207	12278.0	0.0952	0.924
Group × Prime	0.00527	0.00587	−0.00624	0.01679	12278.0	0.8980	0.369

Congruence × Prime	**0.07302**	**0.00588**	**0.06149**	**0.08454**	**12278.3**	**12.4136**	**< .001**
Stage × Group × Congruence	−0.00392	0.01175	−0.02694	0.01911	12278.0	−0.3334	0.739
Stage × Group × Prime	0.00173	0.01175	−0.02129	0.02475	12278.0	0.1475	0.883
Stage × Congruence × Prime	**−0.02902**	**0.01174**	**−0.05203**	**−0.00600**	**12278.0**	**−2.4706**	**0.014**
Group × Congruence × Prime	0.01796	0.01176	−0.00509	0.04102	12278.3	1.5270	0.127
Stage × Group × Congruence × Prime	0.02895	0.02349	−0.01709	0.07498	12278.0	1.2324	0.218

Table 34. Stage 2 - Linear Mixed-Effects Model (Reaction Times): Fixed Effects Table. *Significant main effects and interactions are highlighted in bold.*

From the results above it can be seen that, like for the case of Accuracy scores, RTs were significantly affected by the levels of Congruence of the target adjectives participants had to classify (Congruent targets were classified more rapidly overall), and also by which Stage they were in the process (overall, targets were correctly classified more rapidly on the second round). These results are indicative of the fact that participants got faster at responding from one stage to the next.

Unlike Accuracy, where only the Stage x Interaction was significant, for the case of RTs, a two-way interaction (Congruence x Prime), and one three-way interaction (i.e. Stage x Congruence x Prime), yielded significant effects.

The significant Congruence x Prime interaction suggests that Congruence effects on RTs (which is one of the ways in which degree of implicit bias is computed in this study) varied reliably depending on what social category label participants were primed with (i.e. whether the prime was ‘muslims’ or ‘britons’). More specifically, from the tables above it appears that the Congruence effect on RTs (computed as the difference in RT between congruent and incongruent trials) was generally larger when participants were primed with ‘britons’ than ‘muslims’. This means that participants were faster in categorising congruent vs incongruent adjectives, after being primed with ‘britons’ compared to when ‘muslims’ was the prime, something that reveals that some of the Congruence effects observed here are prime-specific (see Section 6.2.2 on simple effects).

Meanwhile, the three-way interaction seems to suggest that the degree to which Congruence effects varied by Prime depended on what Stage participants were in. This suggests that the way Congruence effects evolved from Pre to Post is different for trials showing 'muslims' compared to those showing 'britons'. One way to read this is to note that the Stage x Congruence x Prime interaction achieving significance indicates that there were changes in bias Pre to Post that were prime-specific, i.e. these changes from Pre to Post were significantly different depending on which prime is being observed, something that will be touched upon in the discussion and interpretation of results sections below.

A possible explanation for effects to be more readily observable on RTs than accuracy was that the response window could have proven to be too short, and thus unsuccessful in fulfilling its aim of encouraging participants to respond within it. The length of the response window may have led to participants perceiving the task as too onerous in terms of succeeding in pressing a button within 150ms of the target disappearing and this may have led to participants ignoring or de-prioritising this part of the instructions. In the data, most of participants' responses did indeed fall outside the window, so it would seem participants made less of an effort to respond within the window and instead focused on accuracy even if their responses fell outside the window (which are still included in the statistical analysis).

For one, it is important to note that many of the participants recruited were experienced Prolific members who may have taken part in reaction time studies before. Arguably in most of these studies RT tasks simply encourage participants to respond as quickly and as accurately as possible, without encouraging responses within a specific time window. Because of this, participants may have brought forth the strategies learned from previous experience with reaction time studies to this one, despite some of its subtle but important modifications in terms of task design. In the present case, and following Draine & Greenwald (1998) participants were instead instructed to try to keep most or all their responses within a response window of 150ms whilst aiming for 70% or higher percentage of correct responses. At the end of each block participants were given feedback on their average response time, percentage accuracy and percentage of responses made within the window. This is important if one considers that participants were given a concrete goal for correct responses, and no specific target which they should aim at in terms of proportion of responses within the window, which could have

contributed to their prioritising correct responses over responses made within the appropriate window and thus taking longer than the time allotted within the response window.

Another, related, factor to consider is the age of participants and the fact that the overwhelming majority of reaction time studies are carried out in younger populations. To my knowledge, no published studies which used an evaluative decision task with an adaptive response window have been carried out in older adult populations. Whilst the inter-trial interval was increased in this study to account for the potential of slower reactions in older adults (Deary & Der, 2005), and data points were excluded if responses were slower than 1000ms (following Deary et al.'s study on how reaction times increased with age), the response window was kept to 150ms like in most studies using this technique. For further iterations, options would be to forgo the response window technique altogether or to lengthen the response window, perhaps following preliminary testing for an optimal response window time in older participants.

PNUM – Control	SDO-7 Score	PNUM – Experimental 1	SDO-7 Score
C1_1	10	E1_1	28
C1_2	26	E1_2	27
C1_3	15	E1_3	27
C1_4	25	E1_4	19
C1_5	35	E1_5	18
C1_6	45	E1_6	38
C1_7	11	E1_7	29
C1_8	39	E1_8	28
C1_9	23	E1_9	33
C1_10	26	E1_10	38
C1_11	27	E1_11	29
C1_12	34	E1_12	15
C1_13	21	E1_13	21
C1_14	22	E1_14	28
C1_15	23	E1_15	16
C1_16	38	E1_16	22
C1_17	28	E1_17	16
C1_18	26	E1_18	8
C1_19	26	E1_19	28
N/A	N/A	E1_20	16
MeanSDO	**26.3**	**MeanSDO**	**24.2**

Table 35. Stage 2 - Social Dominance Orientation (SDO-7) Scores *(maximum possible score is 56)*

STAGE 3 & 4 APPENDICES

Appendix 6 – 'Crossing Divides' - Modified Version

Crossing Divides: Meet the British Army Veteran supporting Lincoln's first-ever mosque.

Image Caption: Ian Durrant admits the flags in his garden sometimes give off the wrong impression.

It's hard to miss Ian Durrant's house in Lincoln.

A Union flag and the cross of St George flutter 20ft high in his front garden.

Ian says they're there "because I'm a veteran and I'm proud to be English".

But he says some people get the wrong idea about what this means.

"I've had one or two people come to my door saying all sorts of hateful things and thinking that this meant I was against the Muslim community. So I made it clear to them that it was actually their behaviours which have no place here."

A decade of waiting

With its towering facade, jade green dome and glistening gold crescent, Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque is already settling into the city's skyline.

Image Caption: The new mosque has space for about 500 people.

In a few weeks the £2m building will officially open – about ten years after its first planning application was submitted to the council.

Ian once opposed the building plans for the initial site.

However, he soon realised that this was being hijacked by hate groups as a way to stir up conflict and antagonism. So he felt compelled to act.

"We had a letter campaign against groups like the National Front, telling people, 'If you see them, please turn your back on them and walk away.' And they did" he says.

Dispelling the rumours

Lincoln's Muslim population is small compared with cities such as Leicester or Birmingham. In spite of this, the Muslim community used to have to rent a community hall every Friday - the most important day in the Muslim faith- to accommodate people coming for prayers.

Image Caption: Ian Durrant and Tanweer Ahmed at the door of the new mosque

After many comings and goings, an application at a vacant old dairy site was finally approved. This new site was optimal to accommodate the people who attended prayers.

It wasn't always plain sailing, though. Tanweer Ahmed, chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association says there were rumours from a few people that a new mosque being built "meant the local war memorial would disappear".

So he decided to start a dialogue. With the help of other members of the Muslim community, Tanweer met and talked with everyone living in the area.

A series of talks

"A lot of people welcomed us - but a few people were still not too happy that we were asking to have a conversation with them" Tanweer says.

"Some members of my family were themselves a bit uneasy that we would not be welcome."

Image Caption: Tanweer said he had been trying to find the right site for a mosque for some time.

Apart from wanting to start a conversation between the two communities, Tanweer wanted to show locals that the presence of a mosque did not at all mean that they would lose their spaces. And one day he contacted Ian.

"I admit I knew nothing about Islam, and I got an e-mail saying, 'We're running a series of talks - would you like to come?' So I did. I sat in the front and thought it was fascinating to learn all of these things I had absolutely no idea about." Ian says.

Ian tells us he regularly attend events organised by Tanweer and the Muslim community – such as Eid celebrations and open days – and that many people recognise him and greet him on the street.

"I took pride in being friends with, and talking to, Muslim people. Some people did not understand it at first. I told them this city is for all of us to be a part of, they are our neighbours and friends too, and I find it important to live by those principles"

Joining Remembrance Day

When we visit his house, Ian is standing by the window. "If I look out to the left, I can see the cathedral in its glory," says Ian, as he draws a net curtain. "If I look right I see the mosque. East has met West in Lincoln."

Lincoln is best known for its beautiful 1,000-year-old cathedral. But it also has links with the armed forces - it was the birthplace of the military tank, and produced the renowned Royal Lincolnshire Regiment.

Image Caption: Ian (1st right) served in the army for 25 years. This photo was taken in Borneo in 1965

So Remembrance Day is a big deal for local residents. Every year, Ian and other veterans parade at their local war memorial, just 100 metres from the new mosque.

In 2019, he got a pleasant surprise when Tanweer and other Muslims turned up, carrying wreaths and wearing poppies.

"Some people saw this as Tanweer and others visiting *our* space, but their parents and grandparents also fought to save this country. I said 'Tanweer Ahmed is here - not out of invite, but by right!'"

Shared history

Tanweer says that going there was his way to honour the history shared by the English and Muslim communities.

In World War One, 400,000 Indian Muslim soldiers fought for Britain, and in World War Two, 600,000 soldiers took part.

Image Caption: Tanweer has attended Lincoln's Remembrance Day for the last 6 years

Both Ian and Tanweer agree that it was important for the two communities to step into each other's sacred spaces and embrace each other's cultures.

“This did not mean anyone would have to sacrifice their own customs or beliefs” says Ian.

"In most cases I’ve found people who are not familiar with Muslim culture feel much more comfortable when we visit them.

In those visits I noticed a lot of people do want to ask questions and know a bit more; they sometimes just do not know how to start the conversation, so that’s what I try to do!" says Tanweer.

"So it's important that we visit them. And at the same time, like Ian, they end up visiting us"

Focusing on the future

Tanweer will be relieved once the mosque opens.

He hopes the new mosque can help by offering space within the building for non-Muslims to run activities, such as clubs and exercise classes.

"A lot of people don't really know what happens in the mosque and this might all be new to them, so when they're using the space in the mosque on a regular basis, they do feel much more comfortable building a relationship and talking.

“And that is to the benefit of the whole of Lincoln. Whatever their origin, religion or views most people don’t actually want to live in conflict or feel uneasy in the spaces they share.

It wasn’t always easy for me and Ian to put this idea across at first, but us coming together was never a way to erase each other, but rather to celebrate each other.

And this has hopefully gone a long way into making Lincoln an example in the UK of how this can actually work" Tanweer says.

Image Caption: Ian and Tanweer have become good friends

Ian's looking forward to the mosque's opening ceremony, and hopes to bring his friends along. He notes that their opinions about the Muslim community in Lincoln have changed over the years - largely as a result of his and Tanweer's example.

"My guys – maybe apart from one very stubborn friend who is a bit too set in his ways – are much more accepting and are joining the opening day. I just don't like prejudice, plain and simple. I honestly feel no one benefits from it."

"I served in Kuwait with Muslims. I served in Borneo with Muslims. It makes me feel very proud that they I have been accepted."

Appendix 7 – Predication Analysis Table

Predication Analysis Table – Steps 1 and 2

	Predication	Relevant Participant	Type of Participant	In:	Clause Complex	Event Frame
1	**Being supported by British Army Veteran**	**Lincoln's First-ever mosque**	**Oblique**	**Meet the British Army Veteran supporting Lincoln's first-ever mosque**	**1**	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
2	Being the first-ever mosque in Lincoln	Mosque	Oblique	Lincoln's first-ever mosque	1	Assess_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
3	Being in Lincoln	First-ever mosque	Oblique	Lincoln's first-ever mosque	1	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp
4	**Being said hateful things about**	**(Muslim community)**	**Collective**	**(I had one or two people come to my door) saying all sorts of hateful things**	**2**	Assess_Exp (the things said about MC) + Assess_Imp (of the action involving MC)
5	Someone thinking Ian is against them	Muslim community	Collective	And thinking that this meant I was against the Muslim community	2	Assess_Exp + Diff_Exp
6	Someone being against them	Muslim community	Collective	I was against the Muslim community	2	Assess_Exp
7	**Having a place in Lincoln**	**(Muslim community)**	**Collective**	**It was actually their behaviors which have no place here**	**3**	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
8	**Waiting for a decade**	**(Muslim Community)**	**Collective**	**A decade of waiting**	**4**	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp
9	Having a jade green dome	(Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque)	Oblique	jade green dome	5	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
10	**Settling into the city's skyline**	**Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque**	**Oblique**	**With its towering facade, jade green dome and glistening gold crescent, Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque is already settling into the city's skyline**	**5**	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
11	Having a towering facade	(Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque)	Oblique	With its towering facade	5	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
12	Having a glistening gold crescent	(Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque)	Oblique	glistening gold crescent	5	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
13	Having been built by someone	mosque	Oblique	Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque	5	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp
14	Being the first purpose-built mosque	purpose-built mosque	Oblique	first purpose-built mosque	5	Assess_Exp
15	Being purpose-built	mosque	Oblique	purpose-built mosque	5	Assess_Exp
16	Being in Lincoln	first purpose-built mosque	Oblique	Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque	5	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp

17	**Having space for about 500 people**	**the new mosque**	**Oblique**	**The new mosque has space for about 500 people**	**6**	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp
18	Mosque having space for them	**500 people**	Cluster	The new mosque has space for about 500 people	6	Cont_Imp
19	Being new	Mosque	Oblique	The new mosque	6	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
20	**Opening in a few weeks, about ten years after its first planning application was submitted to the council**	**The 2m building**	**Oblique**	**In a few weeks, the 2m building will open, about ten years after its first planning application was submitted to the council**	**7**	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
21	Being 2m	building	Oblique	the 2m building	7	Assess_Exp
22	**Being submitted to the council ten years ago**	**First planning application**	**Oblique**	**its first planning application was submitted to the council**	**7**	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp
23	Submitting an application to the council	(Muslim Community)	Collective	its first planning application was submitted to the council	7	Cont_Imp
24	**Being opposed by Ian**	**building plans for the initial site**	**Oblique**	**Ian once opposed the building plans for the initial site.**	**8**	Assess_Exp + Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp
25	**There being hate groups against Muslims**	**(Muslim community)**	**Collective**	**(However, he soon realised that) this was being hijacked by hate groups**	**9**	Assess_Imp
26	Conflict being stirred about X	(Muslim community)	Collective	as a way to stir up conflict	9	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
27	**Dispelling rumours**	**(Muslim Community)**	**Collective**	**Dispelling the rumours**	**10**	Assess_Imp
28	**There being rumours about OG participant**	**(Muslim Community)**	**Collective**	**the rumours**	**10**	Assess_Imp
29	**Being small compared to cities such as Leicester or Birmingham**	**Lincoln's Muslim population**	**Collective**	**Lincoln's Muslim population is small compared to cities such as Leicester or Birmingham**	**11**	Assess_Exp
30	Being in Lincoln	Muslim population	Collective	Lincoln's Muslim population is small compared to cities such as Leicester or Birmingham	11	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp + Diff_Exp
31	**Once having to rent a community hall every Friday**	**Muslim community**	**Collective**	**In spite of this, the Muslim community used to have to rent a community hall every Friday -the most important day in the Muslim faith- to accommodate people coming for prayers.**	**12**	Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp
32	Renting a community hall every Friday	Muslim community	Collective	In spite of this, the Muslim community used to have to rent a community hall every Friday -the most important day in the Muslim faith- to accommodate people coming for prayers.	12	Cont_Imp
33	Being rented by the Muslim community	Community hall	Oblique	to rent a community hall every Friday	12	Cont_Imp

34	Having a most important day	Islam	Oblique	On Friday - the most important day in Islam	12	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp
35	Being the most important day in Islam	Friday	Oblique	On Friday - the most important day in Islam	12	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp (the most important day in Islam)
36	Accomodating people coming for prayers	Muslim community/community hall	Oblique	to accommodate people coming for prayers.	12	Cont_Imp
37	Being accommodated	people coming for prayers	Collective	people coming for prayers	12	Cont_Imp
38	Coming for prayers	people	Collective	people coming for prayers	12	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp
39	**Being at the door of the new mosque with Ian**	**Tanweer Ahmed**	**Cluster**	**Image Caption: Ian Durrant and Tanweer Ahmed at the door of the new mosque**	**13**	Cont_Imp (Ian and Tanweer) + Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed)
40	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	the new mosque	13	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp
41	**Being approved after many comings and goings**	**Application at a vacant old dairy site**	**Oblique**	**After many comings and goings, an application at a vacant old dairy site was finally approved.**	**14**	Assess_Imp (many comings and goings) + Assess_Exp (being approved) + Diff_Imp (application) + Cont_Imp (application)
42	**Being optimal to accomodate the people who attended prayers**	**This new site**	**Oblique**	**This new site was optimal to accommodate the people who attended prayers.**	15	Assess_Exp
43	**Being new**	**This site**	**Oblique**	**This new site**	15	Assess_Exp
44	Being accomodated	People who attended prayers	Collective	to accommodate the people who attended prayers	15	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp
45	Attending prayers	People	Collective	People who attended prayers	15	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp
46	**Not being all plain sailing**	**It**	**Oblique**	**It wasn't all plain sailing, though.**	**16**	Assess_Exp
47	Being chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association	Tanweer Ahmed	Individual	Tanweer Ahmed, chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association	17	Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed) + Assess_Exp
48	Being in Lincoln	Lincoln Islamic Association	Entity	Lincoln Islamic Association	17	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp
49	**Saying there were rumours from a few people**	**Tanweer Ahmed, Chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association**	**Individual**	**Tanweer Ahmed, chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association says there were rumours from a few people that a new mosque being built "meant the local war memorial would disappear".**	**17**	**Assess_Imp**
50	There being rumours about OG participant	a new mosque being built	Oblique	there were rumours from a few people that a new mosque being built meant the local war memorial would disappear	17	Assess_Imp
51	Being new	mosque	Oblique	a new mosque being (built meant the local war memorial would disappear)	17	Assess_Exp

52	Being built	a new mosque	Oblique	a new mosque being built (meant the local war memorial would disappear)	17	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp
53	Construction of it causing the disappearance of the local war memorial	a new mosque being built	Oblique	a new mosque being built meant the local war memorial would disappear	17	Assess_Imp
54	**Deciding to start a dialogue**	**He**	**Individual**	**So he decided to start a dialogue.**	**18**	Assess_Imp
55	Starting a dialogue	He	Individual	to start a dialogue.	18	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (starting a dialogue, connotations of the action itself)
56	Helping Tanweer	other members of the Muslim community	Collective	With the help of other members of the Muslim community	19	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
57	Being helped by other members of the Muslim community	Tanweer	Individual	With the help of other members of the Muslim community	19	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
58	Meeting with everyone living in the area	Tanweer	Individual	Tanweer met and talked with everyone living in the area.	19	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp (meeting everyone) + Assess_Imp (Tanweer's eval) + Diff_Imp
59	**Talking with everyone living in the area with the help of other members from the Muslim community**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**With the help of other members of the Muslim community, Tanweer met and talked with everyone living in the area.**	**19**	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
60	**There being a series of talks**	**A series of talks**	Oblique	**A series of talks**	**20**	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp_Obj
61	**Saying that a lot of people welcomed them but a few people were still not too happy that they were wanting to start a conversation with them**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**A lot of people welcomed us, but a few people were still not too happy that we were wanting to start a conversation with them' Tanweer says**	**21**	Assess_Imp (Assess by Tanweer)
62	Being welcomed	us	Cluster	A lot of people welcomed us	21	Assess_Imp (Assess by IG of OG members) + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (us)
63	Not being happy about them wanting to start a conversation with them	We	Cluster	a few people were still not too happy that we were wanting to start a conversation with them	21	Assess_Exp
64	Wanting to start a conversation with them	We	Cluster	we were wanting to start a conversation with them	21	Assess_Imp (from OG) + Diff_Imp
65	Starting a conversation	(We)	Cluster	(we were wanting) to start a conversation with them	21	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (of action itself)

66	**Feeling a bit uneasy they would not be welcome**	**Some members of my family**	**Cluster**	**"Some members of my family were themselves a bit uneasy that we would not be welcome."**	**22**	Assess_Exp (expressing unease) + Assess_Imp (connotations of action of feeling uneasy itself)
67	Having a family	My family	Cluster	my family	22	Diff_Imp
68	Being Tanweer's family	family	Cluster	my family	22	Diff_Imp
69	Not being welcome	We	Collective	We would not be welcome	22	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (We)
70	**Saying he had been trying to find the right site for a mosque for some time.**	**Tanweer Ahmed**	**Individual**	**Tanweer says he had been trying to find the right site for a mosque for some time.**	**23**	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (Tanweer)
71	trying to find the right site for a mosque for some time	he	Individual	he had been trying to find a place for a mosque for some time	23	Assess_Imp (non-factive?) + Diff_Imp
72	Someone trying to find the right site for X for some time	a mosque	Oblique	he had been trying to find a place for a mosque for some time	23	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp (in the trying to find a place for the mosque?)
73	**Wanting to start a conversation between the two communities**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Apart from wanting to start a conversation between the two communities**	**24**	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
74	Starting a conversation between the two communities	Tanweer	Individual	start a conversation between the two communities	24	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
75	Starting a conversation with	(Muslim community) the two communities	Collective	start a conversation between the two communities	24	Assess_Imp + Cont_Exp
76	**Wanting to show locals that the presence of a mosque did not at all mean they would lose their spaces**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Tanweer wanted to show locals that the presence of a mosque did not mean that they would lose their spaces**	**24**	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
77	Being present	the mosque	Oblique	the presence of a mosque	24	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp
78	Not meaning locals would lose their spaces	the presence of a mosque	Oblique	the presence of a mosque did not at all mean that they would lose their spaces	24	Eval_Imp
79	Showing locals that the presence of the mosque did not at all mean locals would lose their spaces	Tanweer	Oblique	(Tanweer wanted to show) locals that the presence of a mosque did not at all mean that they would lose their spaces	24	Eval_Imp + Cont_Imp
80	**Contacting Ian**	**he (Tanweer)**	**Individual**	**And one day he contacted Ian**	25	Cont_Exp
81	**Being known nothing about**	**Islam**	**Individual**	**I admit I knew nothing about Islam**	26	Assess_Imp + Diff_Impj (Islam)
82	**Sending Ian an e-mail**	**Someone**	**Individual**	**"Someone sent me an e-mail saying 'We're running a series of talks, would you like to come?'**	**26**	Diff_Imp (someone) + Cont_Exp

83	Saying they're running a series of talks	(Someone)	Individual	saying 'We're running a series of talks, would you like to come?'	26	Assess_Imp (saying something = construing something)
84	Running a series of talks	We	Cluster	we're running a series of talks	26	Diff_Imp (we) + Diff_Imp (running a series of talks)
85	Saying we're running…	e-mail	Oblique	We're running a series of talks, would you like to come?'	26	Diff_Imp (saying)
86	Being sent by someone	e-mail	Oblique	Someone sent me an e-mail	26	Diff_Imp (email)
87	Being run	series of talks	Oblique	we're running a series of talks	26	Diff_Imp
88	Inviting Ian	(Someone)	Individual	Would you like to come?	26	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (invitation)
89	Coming to the talks	(talks)	Oblique	Would you like to come?	26	Cont_Exp
90	**Being attended by Ian**	**(talks)**	**Oblique**	**So I did.**	**27**	Cont_Exp
91	**Being thought as fascinating to learn about**	**all of these things**	**Oblique**	**I thought it was fascinating to learn all of these things I had absolutely no idea about**	**28**	Assess_Exp
92	Being learnt about	all of these things	Oblique	it was fascinating to learn all of these things I had absolutely no idea about	28	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (all of these things..)
93	Being had absolutely no idea about	all of these things	Oblique	all of these things I had absolutely no idea about	28	Assess_Imp
94	**Being attended regularly**	**events organised by the Muslim community**	**Oblique**	**Ian tells us he regularly attend events organised by Tanweer and the Muslim community**	**29**	Assess_Imp + Cont_Exp
95	Organising events	Tanweer and the Muslim community	Collective	Ian tells us he regularly attend events organised by Tanweer and the Muslim community	29	Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp (Tanweer and the Muslim community)
96	Being organised	events - such as Eid celebrations and open days	Oblique	Ian tells us he regularly attend events organised by Tanweer and the Muslim community – such as Eid celebrations and open days	29	Diff_Imp_Obj (events)
97	Recognising Ian on the street	many people	Collective	and that many people recognise him and greet him on the street.	29	Diff_Imp_Obj (many people) + Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (of Ian)
98	Greeting Ian on the street	many people	Collective	and that many people recognise him and greet him on the street.	29	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
99	**Being taken pride of being friends with and talking to X**	**(Muslim people)**	**Collective**	**I took pride in being friends with, and talking to, Muslim people**	**30**	Assess_Exp
100	Being befriended	Muslim people	Collective	took pride in being friends with	30	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
101	Being talked to	Muslim people	Collective	and talking to, Muslim people	30	Cont_Exp + Diff_Exp

102	**Not understanding being talked to**	**(Muslim people)**	**Collective**	**Some people did not understand it at first**	31	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
103	**Being referred to as being part of the city**	**all of us**	**Collective**	**I told them this city is for all of us to be a part of**	32	Assess_Imp
104	Being part of the city	all of us	Collective	this city is for all of us to be a part of	32	Cont_Imp
105	Being neighbors and friends	they	Collective	they are our neighbours and friends too	32	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp (they)
106	**Joining Remembrance Day**	**(Muslim community)**	**Collective**	**Joining Remembrance Day**	**33**	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
107	**Being seen**	**the mosque**	**Oblique**	**If I look right I see the mosque**	**34**	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (the mosque)
108	**Meeting West**	**East**	**Oblique**	**East has met West in Lincoln**	**35**	Assess_Imp + Cont_Exp + Diff_Imp
109	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	the new mosque	36	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
110	Being 100m away from local War Memorial	the new mosque	Oblique	just 100 meters away from the new mosque	36	Cont_Imp
111	**Giving Ian a pleasant surprise**	**(Tanweer and other Muslims)'s actions**	**Cluster**	**In 2019 he got a pleasant surprise when Tanweer and other Muslims turned up, carrying wreaths and wearing poppies**	**37**	Assess_Exp + Assess_Imp
112	Carrying wreaths	(Tanweer and other Muslims)	Cluster	carrying wreaths	37	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
113	Wearing poppies	(Tanweer and other Muslims)	Cluster	wearing poppies	37	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
114	Turning up at the memorial	Tanweer and other Muslims	Cluster	Tanweer and other Muslims turned up at the memorial	37	Cont_Exp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp
115	**Being seen as visiting the locals' space**	**Tanweer and others**	**Collective**	**Some people saw this as Tanweer and others visiting *our* space**	**38**	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
116	Visiting the locals' space	Tanweer and others	Collective	Tanweer and others visiting our space	38	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
117	**Also fighting to save the country**	**their parents and grandparents**	**Collective**	**but their parents and grandparents also fought to save this country.**	**38**	Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp
118	having parents and grandparents	Tanweer and others	Collective	their parents and grandparents	38	Diff_Imp
119	Being parents and grandparents of someone	Parents and grandparents	Collective	parents and grandparents (their)	38	Diff_Imp
120	**Saying Tanweer is not there out of invite but by right (being spoken about)**	**Tanweer Ahmed**	**Individual**	**I said "Tanweer Ahmed is not here out of invite, but by right!"**	**39**	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed)
121	Not being there out of invite	Tanweer Ahmed	Individual	Tanweer Ahmed is not here out of invite	39	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
122	Being there by right	(Tanweer Ahmed)	Individual	but by right	39	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp

123	**Saying that going there was his way to honour the history shared by the English and Muslim communities.**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Tanweer says that going there was his way to honour the history shared by the English and Muslim communities.**	**40**	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
124	Going there	(Tanweer)	Individual	going there	40	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
125	Honouring the history shared by the English and Muslim communities	(Tanweer)	Individual	honouring the history shared by the English and Muslim communities.	40	Assess_Exp
126	Sharing history with the English community	Muslim community	Collective	the history shared by the English and Muslim communities.	40	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp (Muslim community)
127	**Fighting for Britain in WW1**	**400,000 Indian Muslim soldiers**	**Cluster**	**In WW1, 400,000 Indian Muslim soldiers fought for Britain**	**41**	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp
128	Taking part in WW2	600,000 soldiers	Cluster	And in WW2, 600,000 soldiers took part	41	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
129	**Attending Lincoln's RD for the last 6 years**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Tanweer has attended Lincoln's Remembrance Day for the last 6 years**	**42**	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
130	**Agreeing/Saying it is important for the two communities to step into each other's sacred spaces and embrace each other's cultures.**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Both Ian and Tanweer agree that it was important for the two communities to step into each other's sacred spaces and embrace each other's cultures.**	**43**	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp
131	Agreeing with Ian / there being agreement with Ian	Tanweer	Individual	Both Ian and Tanweer agree…	43	Assess_Imp
132	It being important for X to step into each other's sacred spaces and embracing each other's cultures	Muslim community (the two communities)	Collective	it was important for the two communities to step into each other's sacred spaces and embrace each other's cultures.	43	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
133	Stepping into each other's sacred spaces	each other's	Cluster	to step into each other's sacred spaces	43	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
134	Having a sacred space	each other's	Cluster	each other's sacred spaces	43	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp (spaces being defined as sacred)
135	Embracing each other's cultures	each other's	Cluster	and embrace each other's cultures,	43	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
136	Having a culture	each other's	Cluster	each other's cultures	43	Diff_Imp
137	IG member saying the intergroup contact did not mean anyone (including MC) had to sacrifice own customs and beliefs	anyone	Cluster	**"This did not mean anyone would have to sacrifice their own customs or beliefs" says Ian.**	44	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp

138	Having to sacrifice own customs and beliefs	anyone	Cluster	“(This did not mean) anyone would have to sacrifice their own customs or beliefs” says Ian.	44	Assess_Imp
139	Having own customs and beliefs	their (anyone)	Cluster	their own customs or beliefs	44	Diff_Imp
140	**Saying in most cases he's found that….**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**"In most cases I’ve found people who are not familiar with Muslim culture feel much more comfortable when we visit them. In those visits I noticed a lot of people do want to ask questions and know a bit more; they sometimes just do not know how to start the conversation, so that’s what I try to do!"**	**45**	Diff_Imp
141	Not being familiar about	Muslim culture	Oblique	people who are not familiar with Muslim culture	45	Assess_Imp
142	Being felt comfortable about when visiting	We	Collective	feel much more comfortable when we visit them	45	Assess_Exp
143	Visiting them	(Muslim community)	Collective	When we visit them	45	Cont_Exp
144	**Visiting**	**We**	**Collective**	**In those visits (I noticed a lot of people do want to ask questions and know more)**	**46**	Cont_Exp
145	Noticing a lot of people do want to ask questions….	I (Tanweer)	Individual	I noticed a lot of people do want to ask questions and know more	46	Assess_Exp
146	Wanting to ask questions to X	(Tanweer)	Individual	a lot of people do want to ask questions	46	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
147	Wanting to know a bit more on X	(Muslim community/Muslim culture)	Oblique	a lot of people do want to (ask questions) and know a bit more	46	Assess_Imp
148	Not knowing how to start a conversation with X	(Tanweer)	Individual	they sometimes just do not know how to start the conversation	46	Assess_Imp + Cont_Exp
149	Trying to start a conversation	I (Tanweer)	Individual	so that’s what I try to do!	47	Assess_Imp
150	Starting a conversation	I (Tanweer)	Individual	so that’s what I try to do!	47	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
151	**Being important that they visit locals**	**Muslims visiting locals**	**Collective**	**"So it's important that we visit them**	**48**	Assess_Exp
152	Visiting locals	we	Collective	we visit them	48	Diff_Imp (we) + Cont_Exp
153	**Being visited**	**us**	**Collective**	**And at the same time, like Ian, they end up visiting us"**	**48**	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
154	**Focusing on the future**	**(Tanweer)**	**Individual**	**Focusing on the future**	**49**	Assess_Imp
155	**Being relieved once the mosque opens**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Tanweer will be relieved once the mosque opens**	**50**	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp (Tanweer)
156	Opening	the mosque	Oblique	Tanweer will be releived once the mosque opens	50	Diff_Imp + Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp

157	**Hoping the new mosque can help by offering space within the building…**	**He/Tanweer**	**Individual**	**He hopes the new mosque can help by offering space within the building for non-Muslims to run activites such as…**	**51**	Assess_Exp
158	Offering space within	the new mosque	Oblique	the new mosque [can help] by offering space	51	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp
159	(Potentially) helping by offering space within for non-Muslims to run activities	the new mosque	Oblique	He hopes the new mosque can help by offering space within the building for non-Muslims to run activities, such as children's clubs or exercise classes	51	Assess_Imp
160	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	the new mosque	51	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
161	**Saying that a lot of people don't know what happens inside the mosque**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**"A lot of people don't know what happens inside the mosque, so when they're using the space in the mosque on a regular basis, they do feel much more comfortable building a relationship and talking" Tanweer says**	**52**	Eval_Imp_Pr + Diff_Imp_Obj (Tanweer Ahmed)
162	Not knowing what happens inside X	the mosque	Oblique	A lot of people don't know what happens inside the mosque,	52	Assess_Imp
163	being new to them	this (mosque visits)	Oblique	and this might all be new to them	52	Assess_Imp
164	Being used on a regular basis	the space in the mosque	Oblique	so when they're using the space in the mosque on a regular basis,	52	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
165	Being felt more comfortable about building a relationship and talking with X	(Muslim community)	Collective	they do feel much more comfortable building a relationship and talking.	52	Assess_Imp + Assess_Exp
166	Being built a relationship with	Us	Collective	building a relationship	52	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp (implicit Assess of the action of building a relationship)
167	Being talked to	(Muslim community)	Collective	and talking	52	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp
168	Talking to locals	(Muslim community)	Collective	and talking	52	Cont_Imp
169	**Becoming good friends with Ian**	**Tanweer**	**Cluster**	**Ian and Tanweer have become good friends**	**53**	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp
170	**Saying that (building a relationship and talking) is to the benefit of the whole of Lincoln….**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**“And that is to the benefit of the whole of Lincoln.**	**54**	Assess_Imp
171	Being to the benefit of the whole of Lincoln	That	Oblique	That is to the benefit of the whole of Lincoln	54	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp

172	**Saying that whatever their origin, religion, or views, most people don't want to live in conflict or….**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**Whatever their origin, religion or views most people don't actually want to live in conflict or feel uneasy in the spaces they share.**	**55**	Assess_Imp
173	Having an origin	their/people	Collective	Whatever their origin, religion or views	55	Diff_Imp
174	Having a religion	their/people	Collective	Whatever their origin, religion or views	55	Diff_Imp
175	Having views	their/people	Collective	Whatever their origin, religion or views	55	Diff_Imp
176	Not wanting to live in conflict	most people	Collective	most people don't actually want to live in conflict or feel uneasy in the spaces they share.	55	Assess_Imp
177	Not wanting to feel uneasy	(most people)	Collective	most people don't actually want to live in conflict or feel uneasy in the spaces they share.	55	Assess_Exp + Assess_Imp
178	Sharing spaces	they (most people)	Collective	in the spaces they share.	55	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
179	**Saying that building a relationship and talking has hopefully gone a long way into making Lincoln…**	**Tanweer**	**Individual**	**And this has hopefully gone a long way into making Lincoln an example in the UK of how this can actually work"**	**56**	Assess_Imp
180	Going a long way into making Lincoln an example	this (building a relationship and talking to the Muslim community)	Oblique	And this has hopefully gone a long way into making Lincoln an example in the UK of how this can actually work"	56	Assess_Imp
181	Making Lincoln an example in the UK of how this can actually work	this (building a relationship and talking to the Muslim community)	Oblique	making Lincoln an example in the UK of how this can actually work"	56	Assess_Imp
182	Working	this (building a relationship and talking to the Muslim community)	Oblique	How this can actually work	56	Assess_Imp
183	**Being excited about/being source of excitement**	**the mosque's opening ceremony**	**Oblique**	**Ian's excited about the mosque's opening ceremony**	**57**	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp
184	**Friends of Ian being brought to X**	**(mosque's opening ceremony)**	**Oblique**	**And hopes to bring his friends along**	**57**	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
185	Having an opening ceremony	the mosque	Oblique	the mosque's opening ceremony	57	Cont_Imp
186	**Noting that opinions about MC have changed**	**the Muslim community in Lincoln, and in general**	**Collective**	**He notes their opinions their opinions about the Muslim community in Lincoln, and in general, have changed over the years**	**58**	Assess_Exp (notes) + Assess_Imp (opinions changing)
187	Having opinions aboutX/Being had opinions about	the Muslim community in Lincoln	Collective	their opinions about the Muslim community in Lincoln, and in general	58	Assess_Exp + Diff_Exp

188	Opinions about X changing as a result of Ian and Tanweer's Example	the Muslim community in Lincoln and in general	Collective	their opinions about the Muslim community in Lincoln, and in general, have changed over the years	58	Assess_Imp
189	Being in Lincoln	the Muslim community	Collective	the Muslim community in Lincoln	58	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp
190	Being an example	(Ian and) Tanweer	Cluster	Ian and Tanweer's example	58	Assess_Imp
191	**Being accepted**	**(Muslim community)**	**Collective**	**My guys – maybe apart from one very stubborn friend who is a bit too set in his ways – are much more accepting**	**59**	Assess_Imp
192	Being joined	the open day	Oblique	My guys(….) are joining the opening day	59	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp
193	**Serving in Kuwait with Muslims**	**Muslims**	**Collective**	**I served in Kuwait with Muslims**	**60**	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp
194	**Serving in Borneo with Muslims**	**Muslims**	**Collective**	**I served in Borneo with Muslims**	**61**	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp
195	**Being proud about being accepted**	**(Muslim community' actions)**	**Collective**	**It makes me feel very proud that I have been accepted**	**62**	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp
196	Accepting Ian	(Muslim community)	Collective	I have been accepted	62	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp

Table 36. Stage 3 - Predication Analysis Table: Steps 1 and 2

Predication Analysis Table – Steps 3 and 4

	Predication	Relevant OG Participant	OG Particle	Event Frame	Modality and Appraisal	Intergrp Contact	Intragrp Contact	By OG	to OG	Of/ Towards OG	By OG	For/ On Behalf of OG	Of Action Involving OG as Agent	Of Action Involving OG as Patient/ Recipient/ Non-Agentive/ Circumstance
1	Being supported by British Army Veteran	**Lincoln's First-ever mosque**	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High (from Ian) + Affect_Positive_Med	X			X	XP				X
2	Being the first-ever mosque in Lincoln	Mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low					XP2				
3	Being in Lincoln	First-ever mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X		XP				
4	Being said hateful things about	**(Muslim community)**	Collective	Assess_Exp (the things said about MC) + Assess_Imp (of the action involving MC)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_High + Affect_Negative_High					X				XP
5	Someone thinking Ian is against them	Muslim community	Collective	Assess_Exp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Low					XP				
6	Someone being against them	Muslim community	Collective	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Negative_High					XP				

7	Having a place in Lincoln	(Muslim community)	Collective	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X				XP				
8	Waiting for a decade	(Muslim Community)	Collective	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low								XP	
9	Having a jade green dome	(Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque)	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low					XP				
10	Settling into the city's skyline	**Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque**	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		XP			X	
11	Having a towering facade	(Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque)	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med					XP				
12	Having a glistening gold crescent	(Lincoln's first purpose-built mosque)	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High					XP				
13	Having been built by someone	mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med		X			XP				
14	Being the first purpose-built mosque	purpose-built mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
15	Being purpose-built	mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
16	Being in Lincoln	first purpose-built mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X		XP				
17	Having space for about 500 people	**the new mosque**	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med		X	X						
18	Mosque having space for them	**500 people**	Cluster	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med		X		X					

19	Being new	Mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
20	Opening in a few weeks, about ten years after its first planning application was submitted to the council	**The 2m building**	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_NonPositive_Low (links the delay to lack of acceptance perhaps?/there is an implied lack of acceptance - no info abt how long permission takes)	X		X		X			XP	
21	Being 2m	building	Oblique	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
22	Being submitted to the council ten years ago	**First planning application**	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
23	Submitting an application to the council	(Muslim Community)	Collective	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
24	Being opposed by Ian	**building plans for the initial site**	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Med	X			X	XP				X
25	There being hate groups against Muslims	(Muslim community)	Collective	Assess_Imp	Evidential_Factive_Med + Affect_Negative_High					XP				
26	Conflict being stirred about X	(Muslim community)	Collective	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Med	X			X	X				XP
27	Dispelling rumours	**(Muslim Community)**	Collective	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low					X			XP	

28	There being rumours about OG participant	**(Muslim Community)**	Collective	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low					X				XP
29	Being small compared to cities such as Leicester or Birmingham	Lincoln's Muslim population	Collective	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_NonNegative_Low					XP				
30	Being in Lincoln	Muslim population	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X		XP				
31	Once having to rent a community hall every Friday	Muslim community	Collective	Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Normative_Necessity_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low					X		X	XP	
32	Renting a community hall every Friday	Muslim community	Collective	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
33	Being rented by the Muslim community	Community hall	Oblique	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
34	Having a most important day	Islam	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med						XP	X		
35	Being the most important day in Islam	Friday	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp (the most important day in Islam)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High					XP	X	X		
36	Accomodating people coming for prayers	Muslim community/community hall	Oblique	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low		X	X	X					

37	Being accommodated	people coming for prayers	Collective	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low		X	X	X					
38	Coming for prayers	people	Collective	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med		X	X	X					
39	Being at the door of the new mosque with Ian	Tanweer Ahmed	Cluster	Cont_Imp (Ian and Tanweer) + Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed)	Veridicality_Veridical_High (as image caption)	X		X	X					
40	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
41	Being approved after many comings and goings	Application at a vacant old dairy site	Oblique	Assess_Imp (many comings and goings) + Assess_Exp (being approved) + Diff_Imp (application) + Cont_Imp (application)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X		XP			X	X
42	Being optimal to accomodate the people who attended prayers	This new site	Oblique	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High					XP				
43	Being new	This site	Oblique	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
44	Being accomodated	People who attended prayers	Collective	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low	X		X	X					
45	Attending prayers	People	Collective	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med		X	X	X					
46	Not being all plain sailing	It	Oblique	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low								XP	

47	Being chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association	Tanweer Ahmed	Individual	Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed) + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
48	Being in Lincoln	Lincoln Islamic Association	Entity	Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
49	**Saying there were rumours from a few people**	**Tanweer Ahmed, Chairman of the Lincoln Islamic Association**	**Individual**	**Assess_Imp**	**Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low + Affect_Negative_Low**						**XP**		**X**	**X**
50	There being rumours about OG participant	a new mosque being built	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Med					X			X	XP
51	Being new	mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
52	Being built	a new mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_NonVeridical_Low		X	X	X					
53	Construction of it causing the disappearance of the local war memorial	a new mosque being built	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_NonVeridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Med	X		X		X			XP	X
54	Deciding to start a dialogue	He	Individual	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low (his decision) + Affect_Positive_Low					XP	X		X	
55	Starting a dialogue	He	Individual	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (starting a dialogue, connotations of the action itself)	Veridicality_NonVeridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X					XP	

56	Helping Tanweer	other members of the Muslim community	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med		X	X	X				XP	
57	Being helped by other members of the Muslim community	Tanweer	Individual	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med		X			XP	X			
58	Meeting with everyone living in the area	Tanweer	Individual	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp (meeting everyone) + Assess_Imp (Tanweer's eval) + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X		X	X		XP	
59	Talking with everyone living in the area with the help of other members from the Muslim community	Tanweer	Individual	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High	X		X	X	X	X		XP	
60	**There being a series of talks**	**A series of talks**	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp_Obj	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
61	Saying that a lot of people welcomed them but a few people were still not too happy that they were wanting to	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Imp (Assess by Tanweer)	Evidential_Factive_Low + Affect_Positive_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low						XP			

	start a conversation with them													
62	Being welcomed	us	Cluster	Assess_Imp (Assess by IG of OG members) + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (us)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_High	X			X	XP	X			X
63	Not being happy about them wanting to start a conversation with them	We	Cluster	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_NonPositive_Med					X	X		XP	
64	Wanting to start a conversation with them	We	Cluster	Assess_Imp (from OG) + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Desiderative_Positive + Affect_Positive_Low						XP		X	
65	Starting a conversation	(We)	Cluster	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (of action itself)	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X					XP	
66	Feeling a bit uneasy they would not be welcome	Some members of my family	Cluster	Assess_Exp (expressing unease) + Assess_Imp (connotations of action of feeling uneasy itself)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Negative_Low + Affect_Negative_Low					X	XP	X	X	
67	Having a family	My family	Cluster	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
68	Being Tanweer's family	family	Cluster	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									

69	Not being welcome	We	Collective	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (We)	Veridicality_NonVeridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Low + Affective_NonPositive_Low	X			X	XP				X
70	Saying he had been trying to find the right site for a mosque for some time.	Tanweer Ahmed	Individual	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (Tanweer)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low					X	XP			X
71	trying to find the right site for a mosque for some time	he	Individual	Assess_Imp (non-factive?) + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_NonPositive_Low					X			XP	
72	Someone trying to find the right site for X for some time	a mosque	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp (in the trying to find a place for the mosque?)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_NonPositive_Low									XP
73	Wanting to start a conversation between the two communities	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med + Affect_Positive_Low					X	XP		X	
74	Starting a conversation between the two communities	Tanweer	Individual	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low								XP	
75	Starting a conversation with	(Muslim community) the two communities	Collective	Assess_Imp + Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X	X				XP	X

76	Wanting to show locals that the presence of a mosque did not at all mean they would lose their spaces	Tanweer	Individual	Diff_Imp + Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low					X	XP		X	
77	Being present	the mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Projection	X		X		XP			X	
78	Not meaning locals would lose their spaces	the presence of a mosque	Oblique	Eval_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_NonNegative_Med					XP			X	
79	Showing locals that the presence of the mosque did not at all mean locals would lose their spaces	Tanweer	Oblique	Eval_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Low					XP	X (Tanweer's eval of the presence of the mosque)		X	
80	Contacting Ian	he (Tanweer)	Individual	Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
81	Being known nothing about	Islam	Individual	Assess_Imp + Diff_Impj (Islam)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonPositive_Low					XP				X
82	Sending Ian an e-mail	Someone	Individual	Diff_Imp (someone) + Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
83	Saying they're	(Someone)	Individual	Assess_Imp (saying	Veridicality_Veridical_Low					X	XP	X		

	running a series of talks			something = construing something)										
84	Running a series of talks	We	Cluster	Diff_Imp (we) + Diff_Imp (running a series of talks)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low									
85	Saying we're running…	e-mail	Oblique	Diff_Imp (saying)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low									
86	Being sent by someone	e-mail	Oblique	Diff_Imp (email)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low									
87	Being run	series of talks	Oblique	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low									
88	Inviting Ian	(Someone)	Individual	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (invitation)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X			X	XP		
89	Coming to the talks	(talks)	Oblique	Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Projection	X			X					
90	Being attended by Ian	(talks)	Oblique	Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X			X					
91	Being thought as fascinating to learn about	all of these things	Oblique	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High				X	X				XP
92	Being learnt about	all of these things	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (all of these things..)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X			X					

93	Being had absolutely no idea about	all of these things	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_High + Affect_NonPositive_Low					X				XP
94	Being attended regularly	events organised by the Muslim community	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X			X	XP				X
95	Organising events	Tanweer and the Muslim community	Collective	Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp (Tanweer and the Muslim community)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X					XP	
96	Being organised	events - such as Eid celebrations and open days	Oblique	Diff_Imp_Obj (events)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
97	Recognising Ian on the street	many people	Collective	Diff_Imp_Obj (many people) + Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp (of Ian)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X			XP		X	
98	Greeting Ian on the street	many people	Collective	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X			XP		X	
99	Being taken pride of being friends with and talking to X	(Muslim people)	Collective	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High								X	XP
100	Being befriended	Muslim people	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High	X			X	XP			X	
101	Being talked to	Muslim people	Collective	Cont_Exp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X			X	XP				X

102	Not understanding being talked to	(Muslim people)	Collective	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_NonPositive_Low	X			X					XP
103	Being referred to as being part of the city	all of us	Collective	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low					XP			X	
104	Being part of the city	all of us	Collective	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Projectioh + Affect_Positive_Med	X	X	X	X	X			XP	
105	Being neighbors and friends	they	Collective	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp (they)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High	X		X	X	XP			X	
106	Joining Remembrance Day	(Muslim community)	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		X			XP	
107	Being seen	the mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Diff_Imp (the mosque)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low	X			X					
108	Meeting West	East	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X	X	XP			X	
109	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
110	Being 100m away from local War Memorial	the new mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X	X					
111	Giving Ian a pleasant surprise	(Tanweer and other Muslims)'s actions	Cluster	Assess_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med								XP	XP
112	Carrying wreaths	(Tanweer and other Muslims)	Cluster	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		XP	X		X	
113	Wearing poppies	(Tanweer and other Muslims)	Cluster	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		XP	X		X	

114	Turning up at the memorial	Tanweer and other Muslims	Cluster	Cont_Exp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		XP	X		X	
115	Being seen as visiting the locals' space	Tanweer and others	Collective	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_NonPositive_Low					XP			X	
116	Visiting the locals' space	Tanweer and others	Collective	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X					XP	
117	Also fighting to save the country	their parents and grandparents	Collective	Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_High					XP			X	
118	having parents and grandparents	Tanweer and others	Collective	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
119	Being parents and grandparents of someone	Parents and grandparents	Collective	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
120	Saying Tanweer is not there out of invite but by right (being spoken about)	Tanweer Ahmed	Individual	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp (Tanweer Ahmed)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
121	Not being there out of invite	Tanweer Ahmed	Individual	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_NonVeridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X	X	X			XP	
122	Being there by right	(Tanweer Ahmed)	Individual	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X	X	X			XP	
123	Saying that going there was his way to honour the history	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med						XP			

	shared by the English and Muslim communities .													
124	Going there	(Tanweer)	Individual	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X			X		XP	
125	Honouring the history shared by the English and Muslim communities	(Tanweer)	Individual	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_High					X	XP		X	
126	Sharing history with the English community	Muslim community	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp (Muslim community)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low								XP	
127	Fighting for Britain in WW1	400,000 Indian Muslim soldiers	Cluster	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X		XP	X	X	X	
128	Taking part in WW2	600,000 soldiers	Cluster	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		XP			X	
129	Attending Lincoln's RD for the last 6 years	Tanweer	Individual	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X		XP	X	X	X	
130	Agreeing/Saying it is important for the two communities to step into each other's	Tanweer	Individual	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Med					X	XP	X	X	

	sacred spaces and embrace each other's cultures.												
131	Agreeing with Ian / there being agreement with Ian	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low (viceversa)						XP		X	
132	It being important for X to step into each other's sacred spaces and embracing each other's cultures	Muslim community (the two communities)	Collective	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Normative_Necessity_Med + Affect_Positive_Med						X		XP	
133	Stepping into each other's sacred spaces	each other's	Cluster	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X	X	XP	X		X	
134	Having a sacred space	each other's	Cluster	Diff_Imp + Assess_Exp (spaces being defined as sacred)	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_High					XP	X			
135	Embracing each other's cultures	each other's	Cluster	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_High	X		X	X	XP			X	
136	Having a culture	each other's	Cluster	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
137	IG member saying the intergroup contact did	anyone	Cluster	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_NonNegative_Low	X		X	X	X			XP	X

	not mean anyone (including MC) had to sacrifice own customs and beliefs													
138	Having to sacrifice own customs and beliefs	anyone	Cluster	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_NonVeridical_Low + Affect_Negative_Med					X			XP	
139	Having own customs and beliefs	their (anyone)	Cluster	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
140	Saying in most cases he's found that….	Tanweer	Individual	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
141	Not being familiar about	Muslim culture	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med						XP			X
142	Being felt comfortable about when visiting	We	Collective	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Projection					X	X		XP	
143	Visiting them	(Muslim community)	Collective	Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X						
144	Visiting	We	Collective	Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X						
145	Noticing a lot of people do want to ask questions….	I (Tanweer)	Individual	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low +									

146	Wanting to ask questions to X	(Tanweer)	Individual	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicaity_Projection + Affect_Positive_Med	X			X					
147	Wanting to know a bit more on X	(Muslim community/Muslim culture)	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicaity_Projection + Affect_Positive_Med									
148	Not knowing how to start a conversation with X	(Tanweer)	Individual	Assess_Imp + Cont_Exp	Veridicaity_Veridical_Low + Affect_NonPositive_Low	X			X		XP			X
149	Trying to start a conversation	I (Tanweer)	Individual	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Low					X	XP		X	
150	Starting a conversation	I (Tanweer)	Individual	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X			X		XP	
151	Being important that they visit locals	Muslims visiting locals	Collective	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Med						X		XP	
152	Visiting locals	we	Collective	Diff_Imp (we) + Cont_Exp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X		X			XP	
153	Being visited	us	Collective	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Verificality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X			X		X			XP
154	Focusing on the future	(Tanweer)	Individual	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Low						X		XP	
155	Being relieved once the mosque opens	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp (Tanweer)	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Med					X	XP	X		X
156	Opening	the mosque	Oblique	Diff_Imp + Diff_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						

157	Hoping the new mosque can help by offering space within the building…	He/Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Desiderative_Positive + Affect_Positive_Low					X	XP	X		
158	Offering space within	the new mosque	Oblique	Assess_Imp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Prjection + Affect_Positive_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X	X	X	X		XP	
159	(Potentially) helping by offering space within for non-Muslims to run activities	the new mosque	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Veridicality_Potential + Affect_Positive_Med + Affect_Positive_Low					XP	X	X	X	
160	Being new	the mosque	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med					XP				
161	Saying that a lot of people don't know what happens inside the mosque	Tanweer	Individual	Eval_Imp_Pr + Diff_Imp_Obj (Tanweer Ahmed)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med									
162	Not knowing what happens inside X	the mosque	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_NonPositive_Low						X			XP
163	being new to them	this (mosque visits)	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_NonPositive_Low					X	XP			X
164	Being used on a regular basis	the space in the mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Evidential_Projection + Affect_Positive_Low + Affect_Positive_Low	X			X	X	XP			X

165	Being felt more comfortable about building a relationship and talking with X	(Muslim community)	Collective	Assess_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Med + Affect_Positive_High					X	XP			X
166	Being built a relationship with	Us	Collective	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp (implicit Assess of the action of building a relationship)	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Med	X			X	X				X
167	Being talked to	(Muslim community)	Collective	Cont_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_Med	X			X	X				XP
168	Talking to locals	(Muslim community)	Collective	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low	X		X						
169	Becoming good friends with Ian	Tanweer	Cluster	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High + Affect_Positive_Med	X		X	X	X			XP	X
170	Saying that (building a relationship and talking) is to the benefit of the whole of Lincoln….	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med						XP			
171	Being to the benefit of the whole of Lincoln	That	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_High	X			X		X	X		XP

172	Saying that whatever their origin, religion, or views, most people don't want to live in conflict or….	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med						XP				
173	Having an origin	their/people	Collective	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Projection										
174	Having a religion	their/people	Collective	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Projection										
175	Having views	their/people	Collective	Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Projection										
176	Not wanting to live in conflict	most people	Collective	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_NonNegative_Med + Affect_Positive_Low						XP	X	X		
177	Not wanting to feel uneasy	(most people)	Collective	Assess_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_NonNegative_Med							XP			
178	Sharing spaces	they (most people)	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Low	X	X	X	X				XP		
179	Saying that building a relationship and talking has hopefully gone a long way into making Lincoln…	Tanweer	Individual	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med						XP				
180	Going a long way into making Lincoln an example	this (building a relationship and talking to the Muslim community)	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_High						X		XP		

181	Making Lincoln an example in the UK of how this can actually work	this (building a relationship and talking to the Muslim community)	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_High						X			
182	Working	this (building a relationship and talking to the Muslim community)	Oblique	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_High						X		XP	
183	Being excited about/being source of excitement	the mosque's opening ceremony	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Diff_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High					XP			X	
184	Friends of Ian being brought to X	(mosque's opening ceremony)	Oblique	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affect_Positive_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X			X	X				XP2
185	Having an opening ceremony	the mosque	Oblique	Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
186	Noting that opinions about MC have changed	the Muslim community in Lincoln, and in general	Collective	Assess_Exp (notes) + Assess_Imp (opinions changing)	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low + Affect_NonPositive_Low									XP
187	Having opinions aboutX/Being had opinions about	the Muslim community in Lincoln	Collective	Assess_Exp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affective_NonPositive_Low					XP				X
188	Opinions about X	the Muslim community in	Collective	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affective_Positive_Low					X				XP

	changing as a result of Ian and Tanweer's Example	Lincoln and in general												
189	Being in Lincoln	the Muslim community	Collective	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med	X		X						
190	Being an example	(Ian and) Tanweer	Cluster	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affective_Positive_Med					XP				
191	Being accepted	(Muslim community)	Collective	Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_High					XP				
192	Being joined	the open day	Oblique	Cont_Imp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Projection + Affective_Positive_Med + Affective_Positive_Med	X			X	XP				X
193	Serving in Kuwait with Muslims	Muslims	Collective	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X	X	X			XP	
194	Serving in Borneo with Muslims	Muslims	Collective	Cont_Imp + Diff_Exp + Assess_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_Low	X		X	X	X			XP	
195	Being proud about being accepted	(Muslim community' actions)	Collective	Assess_Exp + Cont_Imp	Veridicality_Veridical_Med + Affect_Positive_High	X		X			X	X	XP	
196	Accepting Ian	(Muslim community)	Collective	Cont_Imp + Assess_Exp	Veridicality_Veridical_Low + Affect_Positive_High	X		X		X	X	X	XP	

Table 37. Stage 3 - Predication Analysis Table: Steps 3 and 4

Appendix 8 - Study 2 Fixed Effects Table and Results (Full 2x2x2x2 Model)

Effect	Estimate	SE	exp(B)	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	z	p
Group (Control - Experimental 1)	0.31696	0.2867	1.373	0.783	2.408	1.1054	0.269
Stage (Post - Pre)	**0.13908**	**0.0429**	**1.149**	**1.057**	**1.250**	**3.2454**	**0.001**
Congruence (Incongruent - Congruent)	**–0.29050**	**0.0428**	**0.748**	**0.688**	**0.813**	**–6.7881**	**<.001**
Prime (Britons - Muslims)	0.00496	0.0428	1.005	0.924	1.093	0.1160	0.908
Group × Stage	**0.17578**	**0.0857**	**1.192**	**1.008**	**1.410**	**2.0512**	**0.040**
Group × Congruence	0.01820	0.0856	1.018	0.861	1.204	0.2127	0.832
Group × Prime	–0.06979	0.0855	0.933	0.789	1.103	–0.8159	0.415
Stage × Congruence	0.03072	0.0855	1.031	0.872	1.219	0.3591	0.719
Stage × Prime	0.12270	0.0855	1.131	0.956	1.337	1.4348	0.151
Congruence × Prime	–0.00575	0.0855	0.994	0.841	1.176	–0.0673	0.946
Group × Stage × Congruence	–0.10270	0.1709	0.902	0.646	1.261	–0.6009	0.548
Group × Stage × Prime	0.20772	0.1708	1.231	0.881	1.720	1.2161	0.224
Stage × Congruence × Prime	**0.42592**	**0.1709**	**1.531**	**1.095**	**2.140**	**2.4921**	**0.013**
Group × Congruence × Prime	0.04097	0.1709	1.042	0.745	1.456	0.2398	0.811
Group × Stage × Congruence × Prime	–0.15451	0.3403	0.857	0.440	1.669	–0.4540	0.650

Table 38. Stage 4 - Logistic Mixed-Effects Model (Accuracy): Fixed Effects Table. *Significant main effects and interactions are highlighted in bold.*

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	df	t	p
Group (Control – Experimental 2)	0.04532	0.05638	–0.06518	0.15583	39.0	0.8039	0.426
Stage (Post - Pre)	**–0.01431**	**0.00290**	**–0.02000**	**–0.00862**	**12962.4**	**–4.9259**	**<.001**
Congruence (Incongruent - Congruent)	**0.02051**	**0.00290**	**0.01483**	**0.02620**	**12962.1**	**7.0705**	**<.001**
Prime (Britons - Muslims)	–2.08e–4	0.00290	–0.00589	0.00548	12962.0	–0.0718	0.943
Group x Stage	0.01187	0.00581	4.81e–4	0.02325	12962.4	2.0427	0.041
Group × Congruence	–0.01060	0.00580	–0.02197	7.70e–4	12962.1	–1.8273	0.068
Group × Prime	**0.01155**	**0.00580**	**1.79e–4**	**0.02291**	**12962.0**	**1.9908**	**0.047**
Stage × Congruence	0.00732	0.00580	–0.00405	0.01869	12962.0	1.2620	0.207
Stage × Prime	–0.00702	0.00580	–0.01839	0.00434	12962.0	–1.2110	0.226
Congruence × Prime	**0.08418**	**0.00581**	**0.07279**	**0.09557**	**12962.3**	**14.4899**	**<.001**
Group × Stage × Congruence	0.01689	0.01160	–0.00584	0.03962	12962.0	1.4561	0.145
Group × Stage × Prime	–0.00939	0.01160	–0.03213	0.01335	12962.0	–0.8096	0.418
Group × Congruence × Prime	–0.00436	0.01162	–0.02713	0.01841	12962.3	–0.3753	0.707
Stage × Congruence × Prime	–0.01677	0.01160	–0.03951	0.00596	12962.0	–1.4462	0.148
Group × Stage × Congruence × Prime	0.00446	0.02320	–0.04101	0.04992	12962.0	0.1922	0.848

Table 39. Stage 4 - Linear Mixed-Effects Model (Reaction Times): Fixed Effects Table. *Significant main effects and interactions are highlighted in bold.*

When looking at the Accuracy model, main effects of Stage again differed significantly between Experimental 2 and Control groups, i.e. *how* much more accurate participants got from baseline to the second EDT differed for Experimental 2 and Control groups. At the same time, there was a significant three-way interaction of Group x Congruence x Prime in this second study that was not there for the first study. This indicates that, in this case, the effects of Prime on Congruence varied significantly by Group (see section on Simple Effects). This can be explained by the fact that Congruence effects for the Experimental 2 group were not detected at baseline, but they were significant for the Control group when it came to the 'muslims' prime at baseline. Meanwhile, for Controls, the model did not detect any significant Congruence effects at baseline or post exposure.

For RTs, Congruence effects varied in magnitude *and* direction according to what participants were primed with ('muslims' or 'britons') and also seem to have been affected by the text they were exposed to -which was the only main difference between participants in Experimental and Control groups. Overall, therefore, it appeared that there were important differences between Experimental 2 and Control groups in the direction and magnitude of Congruence effects, which hinted at the possibility that changes in implicit bias were at least in part being affected by (among other things) the text participants read, and that these were prime-specific, suggesting the intervention altered biases towards Muslims, but did not seem to have modified those towards the ingroup (see section on Simple Effects).

PNUM - Control	SDO-7 Score	PNUM – Experimental 2	SDO-7 Score
C1_1	10	E2_1	26
C1_2	26	E2_2	29
C1_3	15	E2_3	24
C1_4	25	E2_4	32
C1_5	35	E2_5	24
C1_6	45	E2_6	35
C1_7	11	E2_7	20
C1_8	39	E2_8	17
C1_9	23	E2_9	29
C1_10	26	E2_10	10
C1_11	27	E2_11	30
C1_12	34	E2_12	27
C1_13	21	E2_13	54
C1_14	22	E2_14	17
C1_15	23	E2_15	31
C1_16	38	E2_16	19
C1_17	28	E2_17	35
C1_18	26	E2_18	38
C1_19	26	E2_19	30
		E2_20	27
		E2_21	21
		E2_22	33
MeanSDO	**26.3**	**MeanSDO**	**27.6**

Table 40. Stage 4 - Social Dominance Orientation (SDO-7) Scores *(maximum possible score is 56)*

Appendix 9 – Stage 1 & 3: Predication Analysis (Snapshot of Results)

Stage 1 - Predication Analysis Snapshot

	Positive	Negative	NonNegative	NonPositive
High	17	19	0	1
Med	27	16	2	1
Low	37	20	2	13

Ratio Pos:Neg	
High	0.894736842
Med	1.6875
Low	1.85

Pos:Neg	1.473
w/ Non-Pos & Non-Neg	1.214

	Assessment	Contact
Implicit	109	77
Explicit	60	25
Implicit %	0.644970414	0.76237624
Explicit %	0.355029586	0.24752475

Affective Modality	
Affect_Positive_HighStrength	17
Affect_Positive_MedStrength	27
Affect_Positive_LowStrength	37
Affect_NonNegative_HighStrength	0
Affect_NonNegative_MedStrength	2
Affect_NonNegative_LowStrength	2

Affect_Negative_HighStrength	19
Affect_Negative_MedStrength	16

Affect_Negative_LowStrength	20
Affect_NonPositive_HighStrength	1
Affect_NonPositive_MedStrength	1
Affect_NonPositive_LowStrength	13

Veridicality	
Veridical High	1
Veridical Med	117
Veridical Low	46

NonVeridical High	0
NonVeridical Med	0
NonVeridical Low	3

Veridicality Projection	29
Veridicality Potential	4

Normative Modality	
Necessity	
Expectation	

	Intergroup	Intragroup	By OG	To OG	Of/Towards OG/mosque	By OG	For/On Behalf of OG	Of Action Involving OG as Agent	Of Action Involving OG as Patient/Recipient/Non-Agentive/Circumstance
Total	83	18	65	42	82	28	3	32	24
% Total	82.2	17.8	60.7	39.3	48.5	16.6	1.8	18.9	14.2
Imp	62	15	48	29	46	21	3	23	20
Imp %	74.7	83.3	73.8	69.0	56.1	75.0	100.0	71.9	83.3
Exp %	25.3	16.7	26.2	31.0	43.9	25.0	0.0	28.1	16.7

Table 41. Stage 1 – Transitivity Distributions for Contact and Assessment EFs

Stage 2 - Predication Analysis Snapshot

	Positive	Negative	NonNegative	NonPositive
High	26	4	0	0
Med	32	5	3	1
Low	50	5	2	19

Ratio Pos:Neg	
High	6.5
Med	6.4
Low	10

Pos:Neg	7.710
w/ Non-Pos & Non-Neg	3.320

	Assessment	Contact
Implicit	106	70
Explicit	51	25
Implicit %	0.675159236	0.736842105
Explicit %	0.324840764	0.263157895

Affective Modality	
Affective_Positive_HighStrength	26
Affective_Positive_MedStrength	32
Affective_Positive_LowStrength	50
Affective_NonNegative_HighStrength	0
Affective_NonNegative_MedStrength	3
Affective_NonNegative_LowStrength	2

Affective_Negative_HighStrength	4
Affective_Negative_MedStrength	5
Affective_Negative_LowStrength	5
Affective_NonPositive_HighStrength	0

Affective_NonPositive_MedStrength	1
Affective_NonPositive_LowStrength	19

Veridicality	
Veridical High	2
Veridical Med	109
Veridical Low	39

NonVeridical High	0
NonVeridical Med	0
NonVeridical Low	5

Veridicality Projection	31
Veridicality Potential	1

Normative Modality	
Necessity	2
Expectation	0

	Intergroup	Intragroup	By OG	To OG	Of/Towards OG/mosque	By OG	For/On Behalf of OG	Of Action Involving OG as Agent	Of Action Involving OG as Patient/Recipient/Non-Agentive/Circumstance
Total	83	12	68	48	62	27	2	41	18
% Total	87.4	12.6	58.6	41.4	41.3	18.0	1.3	27.3	12.0
Imp	56	12	48	35	32	14	1	32	14
Imp %	67.5	100.0	70.6	72.9	51.6	51.9	50.0	78.0	77.8
Exp %	32.5	0.0	29.4	27.1	48.4	48.1	50.0	22.0	22.2

Table 42. Stage 3 – Transitivity Distributions for Contact and Assessment EFs

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