

Dedication

To my treasured parents and siblings

To my cherished family and faithful friends

This dissertation is lovingly dedicated to you as a token of my deepest love, gratitude and appreciation. Your firm support, boundless encouragement, and steadfast belief in me have illuminated every step of this journey. Thank you for the strength, inspiration, and love you have so generously poured into my life.

In Found Memory of My Grandmother

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Abstract

The significance of scrutinizing media discourse has long been acknowledged by scholars in critical linguistics. Nevertheless, limited attention has been paid to the latent ideologies embedded in mainstream news reporting, particularly regarding issues of gender and sexuality. Accordingly, this study adopted a contrastive critical discourse analytical approach to examine the representation of non-cisgender individuals in British news media, focusing on forty articles drawn equally from The Guardian and The Daily Mail. The research attempts to satisfy three fundamental objectives. First, identifying textual divergences in non-cisgender individuals' representations across the two outlets. Second, analyzing the discursive strategies used to construct or challenge dominant ideologies. Lastly, evaluates the extent to which these representations reflect wider sociopolitical implications. The investigation is led through Fairclough's (1989) Three-Dimensional Framework as regards the textual analysis and Van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square Model elaborated for the analysis of the latent level. A mixed-methods approach is followed, wherein a quantitative analysis is conducted using descriptive statistics to examine potential differences in textual and discursive patterns between The Guardian and The Daily Mail, and a qualitative content analysis is applied to systematic interpretation of textual and discursive content and uncovering underlying ideologies. The analysis revealed a marked contrast between the two outlets in both textual and discursive dimensions where The Guardian advances liberal hegemonic ideologies through inclusive language that naturalize non-cisgender identities, while The Daily Mail reflects a conservative counter-hegemonic stance rooted in cultural preservation, and resistance to ideological overreach. Based on the research findings, the integration of critical media literacy into educational curricula is highly recommended, particularly to address media materials that contradict conservative moral values, and that upholds cultural safeguarding and societal cohesion without yielding to ideological extremism.

Key words: media discourse, British news media, Contrastive Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideological Square Model, non-cisgender identities, ideologies

List of Abbreviation

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

Mail: The Daily Mail

MMR: Mixed-Methods Research

QCA: Qualitative Content Analysis

UK: United Kingdom

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

In today's increasingly interconnected world, media is often championed as an agent of social change that has long been a crucial element in the making of social movements, i.e., it serves as the foundation for a group to emerge as social movement and provides the arena for groups to attract constituents, allies, followers, and members to the movement (Lopez, 2013). Hence, media is not merely a conduit for information; it is a powerful architect of social narratives and publication of ideologies. According to Kellner (2003) media are sites of power where ideologies are propagated, contested, and resisted. This implies that media holds a considerable influence in society and sets an arena where information is shared, debated, and contested.

Over the past few decades, media coverage and representation has evolved significantly driven by technological innovations and social movements. Media plays an important role in the emergence, development and dissemination of collective identities in social movements (Hilde, 2017). Non-heteronormative and non-cisgender individuals' movement is amongst the movement media strive to frame. Non-cisgender individuals are sexual minorities whose gender identity, sexual orientation or sexual characteristics differ from most of the surrounding society or population, who mainly identify as cisgender, heterosexual and non-intersex individuals (Hartney, 2020). With approximate 9% of the world population (Dyvik, 2024), non-cisgender, non-heterosexual, or non-normative gender is a label that has now become officially recognized and widely used thanks to media; the movement has significantly influenced and been influenced by the media across various platforms.

In fact, the movement is not a fortuitous event, yet is often considered to have begun in the late 1960s, particularly marked by the events surrounding the Stonewall Riots in 1969, which is often cited as a catalyst for the modern non-cisgender rights, which took place in New York as a resistance to the discrimination of non-cisgender individuals. Following the Riots, the

movement saw the establishment of annual pride marches, the formation of various advocacy groups, and significant legal and social advancements for non-cisgender rights throughout the 1970s and beyond around the world such as in United States, Canada, Germany, Brazil, Australia and the Netherlands.

These social campaigns and activism have led to a significant shift in media representation and framing related to this community. Hence, media approaches non-cisgender community with advocacy, acceptance, discrimination critiques, legitimation and equality promotion. According to Billard and Gross (2020), the media plays a key role in validating the social and political claims of minority groups, shaping how both political elites and the wider public come to regard their concerns, and even their identities, as deserving of recognition. Nowadays, hardly anyone would deny the role of media in shaping masses' perceptions and standpoints about the non-cisgender movement in the essence that media can propagate a particular idea about the movement and disseminates it to thousands of people through their manifold depictions.

With particular focus on the United Kingdom, it is considered progressive in its treatment of non-cisgender individuals compared to many other countries due to its ratification of the Equality Act (2010) and legitimization of Same-Sex Marriage (2014). This had a pivotal impact on the presence of non-cisgender individuals in various forms of UK Media spectrum, including television, films, print and digital newspapers. The Guardian and The Daily Mail are significant milestones in the UK newspaper industry; both played seminal roles in shaping public discourse and audiences' attitudes toward Homosexuality. Hence the present endeavor is concerned with the representation of non-cisgender in both British outlets at the textual level.

Upon examining the relevant literature, it becomes evident that many academic investigations have been conducted dealing with the non-cisgender representation. In this regard, one may mention Torma (2018) Collocates of Non-cisgender (s) in British Newspapers.

It was approached following a sample-assisted critical analysis. The study, then, revealed that many semantic prosodies were found and news stories surrounding individuals whose gender identity differs from the sex assigned at birth have great power. The second study to mention is Crees et al (2022) investigation of UK news Media's representation of pride and its influence on public perceptions about non-cisgender. The latter was approached through conducting a survey on image perception and headlines correlation. As a third study, we refer to Monaghan (2024) Non-cisgender Media in the Age of Streaming Videos which examines non-cisgender inclusion and discoverability in streaming videos relying on combined catalogue and interface analysis to investigate terms, categories and definitions of non-cisgender media.

Despite prior research on non-cisgender representation in media, previous studies have often been limited in scope in two key ways. First, few studies critically explore how media outlets' political leanings influence their portrayal of non-cisgender communities, resulting in a limited understanding of the ideological agendas shaping these representations. Second, few have adopted a comparative lens that critically examines how different media outlets construct and frame non-cisgender identities. Most importantly, little attention has been paid to the ideological implications of such representations across ideologically contrastive platforms. Given this gap, the present study offers an ample scope of a critical comparative discourse analysis of non-cisgender representation in two ideologically distinct British newspapers, The Guardian and The Daily Mail, to uncover how media framing and language use reflect, reinforce, or resist broader socio-political ideologies surrounding gender and sexual identity.

Aims and Significance of the Study

The study's objectives center around understanding the contrasting narratives of these outlets, examining their approaches to discourse, representation, and ideology related to non-cisgender identities. To word it differently, the study aims to examine the divergences and intersections in the inter-narratives of The Guardian and The Daily Mail as reflected in

their textual representations of non-cisgender individuals. Besides, assessing the extent to which the ideologies embedded in the textual and visual discourse of The Guardian and The Daily Mail reflect broader sociopolitical implications and either reinforce or challenge dominant norms regarding non-cisgender representation.

The significance of this inquiry stems from a growing concern about the increasing exposure of Algerian youth to Western media discourses, particularly through the widespread presence and dominance of the English language. With English now extending into nearly all domains of higher education in Algeria, adolescents and university students are increasingly consuming content from foreign media outlets that often reflect values and ideologies that may conflict with those of our cultural and religious context. Among these is the normalization of non-cisgender identities and lifestyles, which are portrayed as mainstream or progressive. This study underscores the importance and daring nature of addressing a stigmatized topic that media outlets compete to normalize in a propagandistic way. The study seeks to raise awareness about how such media discourses can gradually influence perceptions and values, particularly among impressionable youth. It energizes the public to engage in critical thinking and to be more discerning about the double standards prevalent in media framing. It is no longer acceptable to treat these topics as untouchable taboos while our new generation is being consistently exposed to them. The power of media lies in its ability to shape narratives and gradually influence attitudes over time. Therefore, critical engagement with such content is essential, not only to understand the ideological forces at work but also to safeguard the cultural and ethical foundations of the Algerian society.

Another important significance of this study lies in its attempt to address a relatively unexplored topic. It is the first research within the English Department of Mouloud Mammeri University of Tizi-Ouzou to examine this topic, and it seeks to shed light on a gap that appears to exist in the broader field of Media Studies. While modest in scope, its contrastive approach

may offer a useful perspective for future research on media dynamics and their societal implications.

Research Questions

In attempt to reach the study objectives the following research questions are advanced: **Q1.** How did the inter-narratives of The Guardian and The Daily Mail contrast in terms of textual representations of non-cisgender identities?

Q2. How do The Guardian and The Daily Mail use discursive strategies to construct, reinforce or challenge hegemonic ideologies surrounding non-cisgender identities?

Q3. To what extent did the underlying ideologies embedded in the textual discourse of The Guardian and The Daily Mail reflect broader sociopolitical implications?

Research Design and Methodology

The study consists of a contrastive analysis of two British newspapers in their framing of the non-cisgender identities. The study is, therefore, a sample-based and the selected sample is obtained by consulting their web sites. To approach the study's objectives, two theoretical frameworks are utilized. The first is Fairclough's Three Dimensional Model of CDA (1995) to examine the linguistic and discursive level of the framing. The second is Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model of CDA to analyze the latent aspect of the representations. The study adopts the mixed-methods approach for data gathering and analysis; the quantitative method will be used to analyze the linguistic representation of the non-cisgender by determining the frequency of similarities and differences between the two outlets in their textual and discursive representation following Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model; meanwhile, the qualitative method is used to analyze the hidden ideologies following Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model.

Structure of the Dissertation

The structure of this dissertation adheres to the traditional simple model. It comprises a General Introduction four chapters ranging from theoretical to practical; each chapter encompasses an introduction, body and conclusion, and a General Conclusion. **The General Introduction** is communicative. It establishes the research territory and the niche, presents the research aims, significance and questions along with the research design and methodology ending with the overall structure of the dissertation. The first chapter entitled **The Literature Review** is theoretical. It identifies key concepts of the study, review and integrate previous work connected to the study. The second chapter is **Research Methodology** which hands over a detailed Description of the Sample, the Research Method and Design, and the Data Collection procedure and analysis. The third chapter entitled **Results** is devoted to present the findings obtained from the examination of the visual and textual representation of the non-cisgender in the newspapers under study and that are analyzed in accordance to the chosen theoretical frameworks. The last chapter is named **Discussion** which discusses and interprets the results gained from the collected data, as well as compares and contrasts the findings with relevant studies to draw some conclusions. To conclude, a **General Conclusion** is established. It holds a critical synthesis of key findings, revises research objectives and questions, reflects on the Methodology, and finally offers recommendations for future research areas.

CHAPTER I
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter is theoretical in nature. It targets the main theoretical facets of the current inquiry. It comprises three sections: It begins by highlighting the key concepts pertaining to the field of research used throughout the study. Then, it sheds light on media coverage of non-cisgender community and their visibility in media together with an overview of some pertinent works regarding non-cisgender representation in the media. It, thirdly concludes by elucidating the analytical frameworks that come under the umbrella of Media discourse and Critical Discourse which enfold Fairclough's (1989) and Van Dijk's (1995) models of CDA.

1.1 Media Discourse

1.1.1 Media

As the communication landscape continues to change, the notion of the term Media has evolved significantly. The concept of media was exhaustively discussed in academic literature, and it reflects numerous denotations. In its literal sense, it refers to the plural form of 'medium' which is the channel through which messages are communicated via different semiotic means: written or spoken (Franklin et al, 2005) Meaning that Media is a broader term pertains to anything that conveys information and messages in all forms of communication. In the contemporary era, the term Media is frequently used interchangeably with Mass Media, the latter, refers to

The impersonal- in other words institutionalized -means of mass communication through which messages are transmitted to an audience. They are characterized by a '*mechanism of impersonal reproduction*' (Klapper, 1949, p.43) which acts as a go-between, connecting a speaker and relatively large, heterogeneous and non-present audience (Franklin et al, 2005, p. 143).

As noted by McQuail (2010) "The mass media (a plural form) refer to the organized means of communicating openly, at a distance, and to many in short space of time" (p. 10). In an altogether different vein, media is understood in a disciplinary sense as

the object of mass communication research, this latter pertains to the one-to-many nature of communication embodying a subset of media, and focusing attention principally on newspapers, magazines, radio, television, or the internet. These definitions of the term media tend to focus on physical and technical aspects of it. Nonetheless, it is paramount to recognize that Media, in this respect, come to be channels that are purpose-built for social interaction and that are not merely a passive vehicle but an active participant in the construction of social realities. In this context, McQuail (2010) affirms that media

Were born into the context and the conflicts of this age of transition and have continued to be deeply implicated in the trends and changes of society and culture, as experienced at the personal level as well as that of society and the 'world system'. (p. 17)

Hence, there is a consensus in literature that Media fundamentally encompass the aforementioned mediated and institutionalized aspects. This implies that social structures and values are mediated by media. Building on this insight, Thompson (1995) argues that Media are actively influencing communication process through the so-called medialization, which requires both the medium and the mediator to be present. The former attributes the devices and technologies, to name few, television, newspapers, and films, that are in charge of executing the procedure. governments, agencies and lawmakers are included in the latter, which is also referred to as the sender or media content developer (McQuail, 2010). From an institutional viewpoint, Media are regarded as “an institutional context that appropriates, organizes, and projects certain representations of the world, certain versions of knowledge and social practice according to the institution’s own purposes” (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999, p. 38). This implies that media denotes institutions that profoundly arrange and promote their chosen representation of the world, ways of knowing and behaving driven by their aims agendas, profits and ideological commitments which denotes the powerful force that media holds.

1.1.2 Discourse

Different streams of use have given the term discourse varying connotations and have come to be used with a number of different senses. In its most expansive sense, discourse “refers to any form of ‘language in use’” (Brown & Yule, 1983, as cited in Baker & Ellece, 2011), hence, to “all the phenomena of symbolic interaction and communication between people, usually through spoken or written language or visual representation” (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 6). That is, it encapsulates the entirety of communication that is namely verbal, written and visual, and comprises both production and comprehension merging in a coherent and cohesive whole (ibid). In this essence, discourse study, i.e., analysis, can cover topics like context, prior knowledge, or knowledge exchanged between the orator and the hearer.

Alternatively, Fairclough’s view of the term discourse is restrained to language use in social contexts, i.e., he considered discourse to be “language as social practice determined by social structures” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 17) in which he glossed that language is a social construct, not something outside of society; and a social product, and it is socially contingent that is, influenced by other aspects of society (Fairclough, 1989). In this respect, discourse is deemed to be a type of language that is connected to a specific depiction of a social practice from a certain perspective (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999). This implies that, the concept of discourse highlights the reality that institutional means of communication, like the media, not only rely on or discuss, but actually shape. Therefore, discourse, in one hand, is involved in systematic practices, and involves controlling, restructuring, and altering knowledge and social practices, on the other hand, in an attempt to create mediated occurrences (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999). In this regard, we ought to mention a nuanced type of discourse that is the multi-modal one, it received its name from the fact that it utilizes multiple communication modes, like that of media; specifically

speaking, a great deal of contemporary media relies on multimedia discourse to disseminate their messages. Related to this, discourse “refers to particular contexts of language use” (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p. 31), for instance, we may think of media discourse as the sort of language that is utilized in the media.

1.1.3 Media Discourse

Media discourse is an overarching term that arises from the crisscross of different knowledge areas, such as communication studies, social sciences, linguistics, and cultural studies. Hence, it has been looked at by a number of scholars. Talbot (2007) ascertains that media discourse “is a multidisciplinary field [...], it is the subject of scrutiny in linguistics- particularly conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis, ethnography of communication, linguistic anthropology, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics-” (p. 3). In this essence, media discourse, in its broadest term refers “to a totality of how reality is represented in broadcast and printed media from television to newspaper” (O’Keefe, 2006, p. 1). That is, it encompasses all forms of communication disseminated through media technologies including television, radio, newspapers, magazines, the internet, and social media.

In particular, media discourse pertains to the application of linguistics to media studies, to put it another way, it relates to how language is used in media, on account of media’s vital function it occupies in modern democracies as a public forum. Building on this regard, Wudak and Ludwig attempt to define media discourse as “a recontextualizing principle for appropriating other discourses and bringing them into a special relation with each other for the purposes of their dissemination and mass consumption” (1999, p. 39). Their definition highlights how media organizations’ influence is derived from the way they use language (Matheson, 2005). Bourdieu (1991) refers to this process as *the oracular power of dominant institutions in society*, which means, the ability of powerful institutions

like governments and major corporations, which medias are compared to, to act as authoritative sources of truth and power similar to ancient oracles; besides, their power and actions shape and influence public opinion and behavior, and this influence is often accepted without critical examination. Stated earlier, Media discourse is of a dynamic and multi-layered nature of communication and interaction that take place through numerous platforms; and as O’Keefe (2012) alluded, Media discourse is “in which the discourse is oriented to a non- present reader, listener or viewer” (p. 441). As a consequence to the seemingly endless variety of media discourses, which encapsulate a set of characteristics, we as individuals, are all influenced, our opinions shaped, reinforced and altered by our exposure to the media (Macarro, 2002), therefore, the ultimate target of media is a diversified audience in a way that is asynchronous. This acknowledges the great deal of media intricacy that pervades and surrounds us.

1.1.3.1 Characteristics of Media Discourse

Providing the fact that media discourse is a complex entity, it has certain special properties which distinguish it from other types of discourse, and which are partly attributable to the nature of its communication, as we shall examine. Researchers in the field of communication studies generally agree on the essential traits and attributes of media discourse. Media discourse, then, is deemed to be “a public, manufactured, on-record, form of interaction” (O’Keefe, 2012, p.441) that is, “it is not ad hoc or spontaneous; it is neither private nor off the record”. Media discourse as “*public*” denotes that is intended for and accessible to a wide audience, adding to that, it operates under a ‘*mediated quasi-interaction*’ (Thompson, 1990, p. 228) where the specific communicative events or text, i.e., discourse, is disseminated to a non-present audience as Fairclough stated “an obvious and important feature of media events is the mass nature of audiences” (1995, p. 39). “*Manufactured*” as the second characteristic of media discourse implies that

information selection and framing undergoes a production process, involving planning, writing, and editing before reaching the audience, i.e., it is not merely about “what” is said, yet “how” it is said, “by whom”, “to whom”, “with what effect” and “within what social and cultural contexts”. The final characteristic of media discourse is being ‘*on-record*,’ meaning that it is documented, verifiable, and publicly accessible particularly online, with archival nature that allows it to be retrieved and reviewed; which contrasts with off-the-record or off-the-cuff that lacks the mentioned criteria.

1.1.4 News Media Discourse

Considering the foregoing, this study is interested in media discourse in its narrowest sense, that is, news discourse as a communicative form. News discourse “is about the discourse that audiences encounter in news bulletins, news programmes, on news websites, or in the newspaper – discourse that reports on newsworthy events, happenings and issues” (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 2), whether it be print, broadcast, or online, news provides us with information around the clock and portrays the surrounding world. There is a consensus in communication studies that *news-as-discourse-in-communication* is still a vast discipline and It was not until the 1980s that the first systematic discursive and cognitive approaches to news creation, structuring, and interpretation emerged. Subsequently, many scholars have assigned meanings and definitions for the term news. Van Dijk (2009) described news as “forms of socially situated text or talk” (p. 191), which signifies that news is not simply objective information or a neutral event, but rather a social practice embedded in specific contexts. From the same perspective, Fowler (1991) argues on the social dependency nature of news asserting that news is a practice, a product of the social and political world on which it reports, more importantly, “it reflects, and in return shapes, the prevailing values of a society in a particular historical context” (p. 222). Besides, the notion of news is also viewed as “a ‘*construct*’, that events and facts are

turned into news when viewed through a ‘cultural prism’” (Franklin et al, as cited in Watson, 1998, p. 107). This signifies that news is a culturally mediated representation of reality, which implies the fact that news is not universally the same, yet confined to a specific society within a particular cultural prism. Furthermore, as Fowler compellingly reinforces

News is not a natural phenomenon emerging straight from 'reality', but a *product*. It is produced by an industry, shaped by the bureaucratic and economic structure of that industry, by the relations between the media and other industries and, most importantly, by relations with government and with other political organizations (1991, p. 222).

That is to say, news is a discourse of constructed narratives crafted and shaped by the media and which is constantly interplaying with other institutions, including governments, law makers and policy forces. These institutions, do not merely report facts about the world, but ideas (Fowler, 1991), this underscores the industrial and manufactured nature of the news that is shaped by multitude of factors, apart from being a neutral window onto reality. Nevertheless, no form of public communication has a higher profile than news production and management, based on the fact that news “it is a process, or rather an amalgam of many processes, which mediate information: select it, edit it, emphasize some parts of it, distort it, even manipulate it” (Watson & Hill, 2012, p. 196). This implies that news is the raw information that is eventually constructed and ultimately turned into narratives undergoing not a singular process, yet a fusion of processes where a journalist accumulates factual information and exposes them to a newspaper that is committed to reporting them with objectivity, and presenting them in a manner that is impartial and fair, employing language that is clear, accurate, and intended to be accessible and non-misleading to its readership (Fowler, 1991). This traditional journalistic ethos is common to all news media. While journalists themselves often uphold this ideal, research reveal that it stands in stark contrast to reality since news is not merely a reflection of the world, nor is it a pure construction of an alternative reality; rather, it operates within a

social context, as we have already explored (Matheson, 2005). He added that, news, “when it constructs a picture of the world, that picture is often very close to what members of that society already know” (p. 15). Similarly to Fowler (1991), who also believes that what is reported in the news is a representation of the world and that the language used is value laden, which suggests that the news reported is patterned.

1.1.4.1 Broadsheet vs Tabloid

Print media, in general, as well as the British national press, in particular, are divided into two broad categories. Quality press or the so-called *Broadsheets*, and Popular press known as *Tabloids*. The latter were introduced during the early 1900s and often referred to as small newspapers (Fabrik Brand, 2025). The term’s etymology comes to be derived from the Latin word *tabula* which means table, combining the Greek term *eidōs* which signifies form (Popović & Popović, 2014). *Tabloids* are image led newspapers with small page size, compact punchier articles, and bold captions. Synonymous to *yellow journalism* and *infotainment*, *Tabloids* are mass entertainment newspapers with a concise writing style; sensational and opinionated prose tone and imagery, due to emphasis on gossip, crime, scandals, and stories about popular culture and celebrities feuds tailored to suit everyday middle class readers rather than focusing on global events. Conversely, *Broadsheets*, also known as *heavies*, were the first form of contemporary print publication to debut in the UK during 18th century (Fabrik Brand, 2025). They literally mean a sheet of paper that is broad or large. So, they are text led quality newspapers with a high news content, hard-hitting journalism, serious and non-sensational writing style, and a large format that contains many articles and sections offering in-depth reporting and analysis of news stories and covering various aspects of national and international news, business, politics, culture, and science. They are among the most sophisticated newspaper formats which are considered to have a more educated and

politically engaged readership. The first known use of *Broadsheet* was in 1665, and continues to be the most leading publications in the British print-based journalism. In light of what has been said, The Guardian and The Daily Mail are prominent instances of both national quality and popular newspapers in the United Kingdom, and on the basis of the present endeavor's purpose, we felt compelled to make use of the nominated newspapers as the object of analysis due to their notable differences (see 2.3.3).

1.2 Previous Studies on Media and Non-Cisgender Coverage

The ubiquitous nature of the media has catalyzed the non-cisgender representation in their various platforms; consequently, a substantial body of literature has emerged. In this context, the study by Crees et al. (2022) "Exploring UK media's influences on public perceptions of non-cisgender people representations at pride festivals", is worth mentioning as it sheds light on the portrayal of pride in the UK news media and its impact on popular attitudes toward non-cisgender people. The study makes use of 'Sentiwordnet' opinion analysis software to analyze media representations of Pride in eight UK newspapers; a survey on image perception and headline correlation was used to address the latter. The main findings of this study indicated limited influence of traditional news media on participants' perceptions of Pride, despite some negative framing. Besides, fifth-power journalism emerged as positive and influential, revealing a shift in the influences of media representations.

Monaghan's (2024) study, "Non-cisgender individuals Media in the Age of Streaming Videos", is the second study to be mentioned. It looks at non-cisgender inclusion and discoverability in streaming videos by examining terminology, categories, and definitions of non-cisgender individuals media using a combination of catalogue and interface analysis. The major aim was to explore the practices of classifying and organizing non-cisgender films and series on streaming video platforms along with the

impact of these practices on the discoverability and visibility of non-cisgender media, particularly in the Australian context. Her study examined the definition and the characteristics of non-cisgender media in the streaming videos landscape, along with the categories used by streaming video providers to organize and highlight non-cisgender films and television shows. Hence, this study has found that streaming services use various labels to categorize non-cisgender media such as “Pride” or “Rainbow Pride”. Also, the categories and subcategories created by these services contribute to the visibility of certain non-cisgender narratives while leaving other marginalized identities less represented.

Another prominent study is Ng et al. (2024) “News media coverage of non-cisgender identities over 10 years in a 400-million-word sample”. This study is the first to analyze non-cisgender portrayals in a news media dataset over a decade (2010–2020) particularly in newspaper portrayals of non-cisgender narratives through using a sample of 400 million words from Singaporean news media. The main goals of the research were to (1) track the volume of non-cisgender media coverage over time and elucidate differences in coverage of different identity markers, (2) monitor opinions regarding non-cisgender representations, and (3) identify salient narratives circulated about non-cisgender stories. The research revealed that non-cisgender coverage has generally grown over the course of the decade, with same-sex attracted individuals receiving the most coverage, and individuals whose gender identity differs from the sex assigned at birth discussed difficulties and challenges (transitioning, alienation, suicide).

Finally, we cite Bajor’s (2022) thesis entitled “Media representation of the non-cisgender individuals in Poland: Framing of politicized issues as a representation of political parallelism in the Polish public service broadcaster TVP” This thesis analyzes the representation of non-cisgender communities in the Polish media, in particular on the TVP Info channel with a strong emphasis on structural changes in the Polish media system since

the Law and Justice (PiS) party came to power in 2015. The aim was to investigate news reports and seek repeating patterns of what narratives are used to refer to and discuss the non-cisgender individuals choosing August 2020 as a timeframe, a period marked by protests in Warsaw following the arrest of non-cisgender activist Margot. The method used is qualitative analysis of media frames, enabling the identification of recurring patterns in media narratives. The main finding of this thesis reveals that the Polish media use narrative frames to discredit non-cisgender identities, representing them as ideological or violent threats, consequently, a clear correlation was found between legislative changes, such as the amendment of the broadcasting law, and the way the non-cisgender individuals are represented in the media.

In spite of that, the pre-mentioned studies primarily focused on text-based or thematic analysis, with less focus on textual and. Also, they focused on specific types of media which indicates a lack of analysis comparing non-cisgender representations across different types of media formats and over extended periods. Given these gaps, this research strives to offer a nuanced scrutiny of non-cisgender media representations, combining multimodal and critical discourse analysis with an exploration of intersectional and divergent perspectives in two distinct UK newspapers, The Guardian and The Daily Mail.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

1.1.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis is an intricate and evolving field which become a recognized approach and eclectic research program in social sciences following Norman Fairclough's publication of *Language and Power* in 1989, and he referred to it as a form of discourse analysis that attempts to systematically explore frequently opaque relationship between discursive practices, events and texts, and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes (1993). Basically, CDA analyzes discourse to critique

the hegemonic discourses that effect inequalities, injustices, and oppression in contemporary society that are expressed, produced, and reproduced through language. To put it differently, CDA examines how language use is shaped by power relations, ideologies, and social structures, and how discourse, in turn, contributes to maintaining or challenging these same structures. This highlights the core tenets of CDA that are revealing hidden power dynamics and ideological biases within text and talk, along with promoting a greater social change and justice. The literature indicates that Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun A. Van Dijk are the pivotal pioneers in the development and application of CDA, each has made distinct yet interconnected contributions to the field. Fairclough is deemed to be the founding figure of CDA, he developed a framework that emphasizes the interconnectedness of text, discursive, and social practice as he views discourse not just as text but as a form of social practice, that is, Fairclough's framework is confined to the interplay between language, ideology, power, and social change. His three-dimensional model has been developed over several prominent works, to name but few, *Language and Power* (1989), *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (1995), *Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (2003), and *Discourse and Social Change* (2003). The second study to mention is Wudak's research on CDA which centers around political discourse, prejudice, discrimination, and racism. Some of her key works are: *Disorders of Discourse* (1996), *Challenges of a Changing World: Issues in Critical Discourse Analysis* (1999), and *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2001, 2009, and 2015). Van Djik, on the other hand, is known for his focus on the relation between discourse, ideology, and social cognition. His leading works *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (1998), *Discourse and Context: A Sociocognitive Approach* (2008), and *Society and Discourse: How Social Contexts Influence Text and Talk* (2015) deemed to be valuable foundation for the discipline of CDA like all the other contributions

of Fairclough and Wudak that provide us with a critical lens for understanding how language functions in society, and how it shapes our perception of the world.

Conclusion

This theoretical chapter has reviewed and discussed the most conceivable definitions of the most fundamental concepts relevant to the central focus of this study. Divided into three main sections, this chapter has, first, provided an elaborated set of definitions and explanations of the key concepts in relation to media discourse and analysis. Second, it reviewed relevant literature in the field of media and communication studies that has an appreciable effect on the course of our investigation. The third section elucidated the theoretical framework that comes under the umbrella of media discourse.

CHAPTER II
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology adopted to investigate textual representation of the non-cisgender individuals in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail*, in an effort to unveil the different ideologies that the articles may be conveying. It is composed of four main sections. It first introduces the research methods, and then, secondly, describes the data collection procedures. After that, it introduces the sample and provides a detailed justification for the selection of the two newspapers. It ends up with a description of data analysis procedures. Our research is mixed method, thus, it uses both Quantitative Analysis and Qualitative Content Analysis to interpret the data in accordance with two analytical frameworks, i.e., Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model (1995) to scrutinize the way the non-cisgender individuals are represented linguistically, and Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model (1998) to demystify the latent ideologies behind such representations.

2.1 The Research Methods

Research methods are defined as “the forms of data collection, analysis, and interpretation that researchers propose for their studies” (Creswell, 2009, p. 31). Since our study intends to examine the way non-cisgender individuals are represented in both British newspapers textually; beside attempting to uncover the latent ideologies underlying such representations in the nominated newspapers, the mixed-methods approach is employed. By definition, it refers to “a process of research in which researchers integrate quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis to best understand a research purpose” (Clark & Ivankova, 2017, p. 23). By this, is meant that it involves a compromise of both quantitative and qualitative designs and techniques within the same study. The former is considered to be an approach that seeks to explore the relationships among variables by relying on numerical data. Such data, often expressed in numbers or

measurable scores. (Creswell, 2014), while the latter refers to

A methodology for scientific inquiry that emphasizes the depth and richness of context and voice in understanding social phenomena. This methodology is constructive or interpretive (Lim, 2023), aiming to unveil the “what,” “why,” “when,” “where,” “who,” and “how” (or the “5W1H”) behind social behaviors and interactions, rather than merely quantifying occurrences (Lim, 2024, p. 2).

Thus, MMR is an approach to inquiry that blends or associates both qualitative and quantitative forms. In this respect, qualitative data is typically characterized by open-ended items that allow for unrestricted participant responses, whereas quantitative data employs structured items with predefined, closed-ended answer options. (Creswell, 2018). The reason behind the association of both research methods in tandem is that “the overall strength of a study is greater than either qualitative or quantitative research (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, as cited in Creswell, 2009, p. 23).

Correspondingly, the quantitative technique is employed to analyze the linguistic representation of the non-cisgender individuals through calculating the frequency of the similarities and differences between both outlets in their textual and discursive, representation relying on Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model of CDA. While the qualitative technique is implemented in two folds, through Van Dijk’s Ideological Square Model of CDA to uncover the hegemonic ideologies behind such representations.

2.2 Data Collection Procedures

This study’s core goal is to critically analyze the non-cisgender representation in two leading British newspapers, and the prevailing discourse (textual and discursive) surrounding their representation. Thus, appropriate search terms encircling non-cisgender people were needed to ensure the inclusiveness within the community and the evolution of language regarding the issue. Therefore, this study used “NON-CISGENDER” and “NON-HETERONORMATIVE” as the primary search terms to obtain the core sample; these search words are the most frequently used ones. The surfing process was done through

using Boolean operator, “AND”, to combine our search: “Non-Cisgender AND *representation*”.

The selected sample of the research is extracted from two international British newspapers, The Guardian and The Daily Mail. Given that the access to print newspapers was somewhat hindered by the obvious lack of British press close at hand, we resorted to their online versions via consulting their online platforms (<https://www.theguardian.com/>),(<https://www.dailymail.co.uk>). Hence, the sample consists of twenty articles compiled from each newspaper, i.e., the total is forty articles, obtained by means of proportional selection. Based on the differences in the volume of the articles obtained from the aforementioned search terms, between The Guardian and The Daily Mail, twenty articles were selected per outlet to ensure a balanced and consistent representation of the non-cisgender related across both outlets; this sample size is manageable for my master’s dissertation scope allowing for an in-depth and equal weight in the analysis of the content of both outlets. As for the systematic selection of the sample, it was done randomly yet with insurance of both thematic and chronological selection, that is to say, twenty articles per outlet were selected randomly across one-year time period, from 2024 to 2025, along with assuring a manifold coverage of non-cisgender topics and accounting for genre variation, including news reports, opinion pieces, religious, educational, social, legal, sport, health and editorial articles. This eclectic procedure maintains the evenness of non-cisgender representation in both newspapers’ articles so that to provide an accurate analysis of their representation.

2.3 Description of the Study Sample

2.3.1 The Guardian

The Guardian is a British daily broadsheet based in Manchester, England. Founded by a liberal-minded merchant John Edward Taylor in 1821 under the name of

“The Manchester Guardian” then, the name officially changed to The Guardian in 1959. It is owned by the Scott Trust, a charitable trust, which is the backbone of The Guardian’s identity and the crucial element safeguarding its independence and preserving the paper’s editorial line. With launching its website ([/www.theguardian.com/](http://www.theguardian.com/)) in January 1999, The Guardian gained a substantial digital readership globally; the latter offers a wide range of news, viewpoint pieces, and multimedia content. The Guardian’s coverage interweaves political, social, economic, business, sport, technology, and culture news and topics both nationally and internationally. It comes in an array of formats and versions, including print, web, mobile, and podcast edition. Published in the English language, The Guardian is deemed to be a quality newspaper that caters to readers who are intellectually curious, globally aware and interested in in-depth news with a left political leaning as it promotes critical coverage of government policies, and supports progressive causes. This outlet is renowned for its editorial independence, investigative journalism, commitment to progressive ideals and criticism along with its analytical reporting style.

2.3.2 The Daily Mail

The Daily Mail is a tabloid-formatted British daily newspaper based in London that was established by Alfred Harmsworth in 1896. It is owned by Daily Mail and General Trust (DMGT), a publicly traded media company. The Daily Mail is deemed to have a right conservative political leaning as it often supports conservative parties in the UK. It is marked by its populist journalistic style characterized by sensationalist and captivating storytelling with an in-depth focus on human-interest stories, celebrity news and scandals. Although it has been criticized for being biased, prone to exaggeration, spreading of misinformation, and undermining journalistic integrity, The Daily Mail provides a voice for the voiceless and addresses issues that resonate with its audience. Hence, it targets those in the working and middle classes described as being older and more conservative

audience from many demographics. The latter boasts a sizable readership, particularly online, since launching its official online website (www.dailymail.co.uk) in 2003, allowing for multimedia content in different platforms. The Daily Mail is an English-language publication that is primarily accessible online with a diminishing print edition, yet it remains a pioneering publication with an average daily readership of 687,063 in January 2025 (Press Gazette, 2025).

2.3.3 Rational for selecting The Guardian and The Daily Mail

The rationale for choosing The Guardian and The Daily Mail out of all other newspapers is primarily based on the comparative aspect of the study upon which three major criteria have been grounded. The first to mention is the ideological or political allegiance; it is worth mentioning that both newspapers have significant political influence on the British population. However, The Guardian adheres to a progressive stand and reflects a commitment to left-leaning political ideology unlike The Daily Mail, which emphasizes a conservative viewpoint promoting a right-leaning political perspective. The second criterion is the target audience and demographic reach. Both The Guardian and The Daily Mail appeal to broader international audience, yet the former targets an upper-class readership while the latter addresses a working and middle-class audience. The third criterion is the genre of the newspapers, one quality broadsheet -here The Guardian, and one middle-market tabloid, that of The Daily Mail. Above all, both outlets shape public perceptions and impact media discourse. Thereby, to meet the objectives, time and scope frame of the study, the selection and the analysis was restricted to two newspapers.

2.4 Data Analysis Procedures

The data gathered from The Guardian and The Daily Mail are analyzed using Quantitative Analysis and Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA). The qualitative analysis is

grounded in the textual and discursive categories of Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model and Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model, while the quantitative analysis examines variations and patterns across these categories.

2.4.1 Quantitative Analysis

Quantitative data analysis involves a structured approach to gathering and interpreting data that is both measurable and verifiable. It typically uses statistical methods to summarize and present numerical information (Creswell, 2014). In this research, descriptive statistics, namely, frequency and percentage are used to identify and quantify the occurrence of specific discursive strategies and lexical choices. This method offers a clear summary of the data and facilitates the identification of prominent patterns within our sample.

2.4.2 Qualitative Content Analysis

This study adopts Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) also known as the method of analyzing documents, and denotes "the process of obtaining a condensed and broad description of the phenomenon, and the outcome of the analysis is concepts or categories describing the phenomenon" (Elo & Kyngas, 2008, p. 108), incorporating both Directed and Summative Content Analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) to examine the contrasting representations of non-cisgender identities in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail*. QCA is particularly suited for this research as it allows for a systematic interpretation of textual, discursive, and visual content, uncovering underlying ideological structures and meaning-making processes. The directed approach to qualitative content analysis "is to validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1281). It can predict both individual variables and their interrelationships. Therefore, it aligns with the study's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), enabling the interpretation of media discourse through established theoretical frameworks, namely Fairclough's Three-

Dimensional Model of CDA, and Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model.

Additionally, Summative Content Analysis is integrated to quantify specific textual and discursive elements, allowing for a statistical exploration of patterns before engaging in deeper qualitative interpretation, that is to say, "a study using a summative approach to qualitative content analysis starts with identifying and quantifying certain words or content in text with the purpose of understanding the contextual use of the words or content" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1283). Furthermore, it goes beyond mere word counts to include Latent Content Analysis. Hence, this research follows a latent-level analysis within QCA, meaning that it goes beyond explicit lexical choices to examine underlying ideologies, implicit meanings, and power dynamics embedded in media representations (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

2.4.3 Analytical Frameworks

The qualitative analysis is grounded in the textual and discursive categories of Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model and Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model, while the quantitative analysis examines variations and patterns across these categories.

2.4.3.1 Fairclough's Three-dimensional Model (1995)

The three-dimensional model of CDA is a seminal model for CDA developed by Fairclough (1989, 1992, and 1995); it operates by a three-stage procedure which accounts for language as text, discursive practice, and social practice. Each of these interrelated levels of analysis corresponds with description, interpretation and explanation, which are necessary elements in an analysis which recognizes the social role of language, and which focuses on the ways in which language, power, hegemony and ideology intersect in these three dimensions. Said previously, Fairclough's model for CDA consists of three interrelated processes of analysis which are tied to three interrelated dimensions of discourse. These three dimensions are: text, discursive practice, and social practice;

according to Fairclough, each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis: textual analysis, discursive analysis, and social analysis.

2.4.3.1.1 Text

The first level of analysis and it refers to any communicative product that can be analyzed, including speeches, advertisements, news articles, or social media posts. Textual analysis involves examining the linguistic features of the text to identify how meaning is constructed and conveyed, as well as the ways in which language use contributes to the production and reinforcement of power relations and ideologies. These linguistic features include:

Lexical Choices (Vocabulary):

- **The choice of words:** it reflects underlying ideologies and hegemonies: mainly nouns, adjectives, and pronouns.
- **Semantic Prosody:** the consistent aura of meaning that certain words or phrases evoke, i.e., positive or negative denotation, depending on the context they are used.

Grammar:

- **Modality:** the degree of certainty, necessity, possibility and commitment expressed through modal verbs to uncover hidden ideologies and biases embedded in a text.
- **Repetition:** the recurrence of words or phrases within a text to achieve specific communicative and ideological goal.

2.4.3.1.2 Discursive Practice

It bridges the gap between the text and the broader social context in which the text operates. That is, the discursive analysis focuses on how language constructs social meanings, reflects social practices, and reproduces power relations.

- **Discourse Representation and Framing:** they are intertwined processes that shape how issues and events are presented and understood within a specific discourse. Discourse

representation involves the selection of who is included or excluded, that is, whose voice is heard or marginalized, along with the linguistic choices and the rhetorical devices e.g., metaphor, irony, that influence how participants and events are portrayed. While framing is about presenting an issue or actors as morally good or bad mainly by highlighting certain aspects of an issue while downplaying or omitting others. Together, they imply a powerful process of meaning-making that reflects and reinforces underlying ideologies.

- **Agency:** looks at which social actors or doers are empowered or marginalized, based on who is given the ability to speak. Simply put, it deals with how power relations are constructed and maintained through language. It can manifest in various ways such as Active Vs Passive Voice. To conduct Fairclough's second level of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Discursive Practice, we must explore agency: who is doing what to whom, who has the power to act or speak, and how they are represented through discourse.
- **Nominalization:** the process of turning verbs or adjectives into nouns, which can obscure agency and shape ideological interpretations of events.
- **Intertextuality:** refers to the ways texts draw upon, or respond to other texts. In other terms, it is the reference to or inclusion of other texts or cultural symbols within a discourse e.g., quoting scientific studies, borrowing legitimate citations, or authoritative claims so that to legitimize an ideological perspective.

The model is illustrated in the **Figure 1** below.

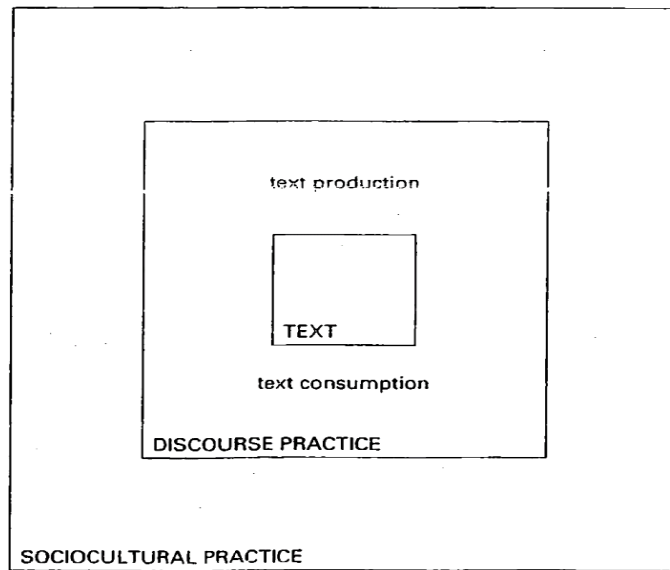


Figure 1. Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model of CDA (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 59)

2.4.3.2 Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model (1998)

It is a model introduced by Teun A. Van Dijk within his broader framework known as the Socio-Cognitive Model in his work *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (1998). The latter is a useful tool for CDA as it helps explaining how discourse constructs ideological boundaries between groups; the in-group (Us) and the out-group (Them), and how ideologies are embedded and reproduced in discourse. That is, it focuses on how social groups construct positive representations of themselves through emphasizing favorable characteristics or actions, and negative representations of others through highlighting unfavorable attributes; beside uncovering the underlying biases and power dynamics. The Ideological Square posits that media and political discourse often legitimizes power and marginalization through four strategies: emphasizing our good properties, de-emphasizing our bad properties, emphasizing their bad properties, and de-emphasizing their good properties (van Dijk, 1998).

This study adopts Van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square as an analytical tool within the broader framework of his Socio-Cognitive Model (1993), which examines the interplay between discourse, cognition, and society. It is employed to analyze the third

level of Fairclough's model, i.e., the sociocultural practice stage. By applying the ideological square, we aim to uncover how the discursive strategies employed in the articles under analysis contribute to wider sociocultural practices of power hierarchies.

It is called the Ideological Square because of its four complementary overall strategies which are illustrated in the **Figure 2** below.

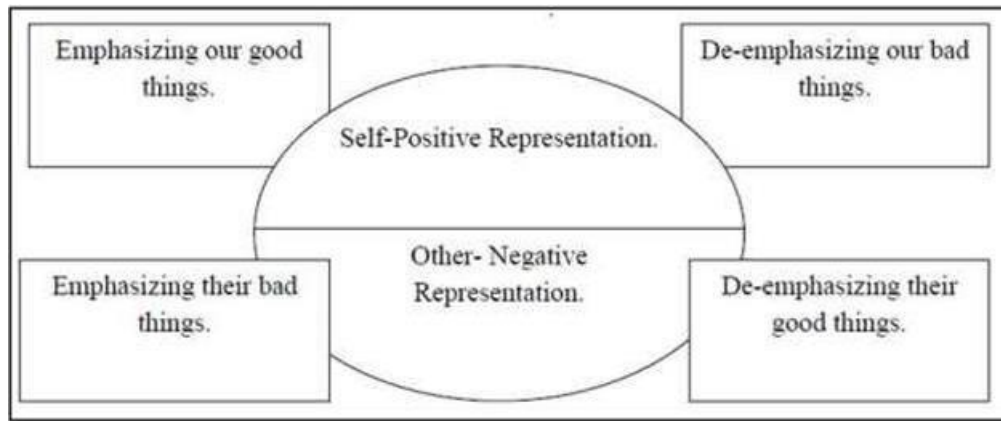


Figure 2. Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model (1998)

Conclusion

To sum up, this chapter has highlighted the research design and methodology employed to examine the non-cisgender representation in two distinct media outlets. It has explained the mixed method research approach used in this investigation. Following that, it has given an overview of the research's sample, which comprises two distinct newspapers along with a detailed explanation of the rationale behind selecting these newspapers. It has since introduced the data gathering techniques. Lastly, this chapter has outlined the methods for analyzing the data gathered, including the principles of the three adopted frameworks.

**CHAPTER III
PRESENTATION OF THE
FINDINGS**

Introduction

This empirical chapter exhibits the findings obtained from the analysis of the sample discussing the non-cisgender individuals. The analysis is carried out in the light of Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis in terms of textual and discursive analysis. This chapter is divided into two sections. Section one presents the findings of the textual analysis, namely lexis, semantic prosody, and grammar, while section two shows the results of the discursive analysis of the Articles of both outlets. The findings of the study were analyzed using Quantitative Analysis and Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA).

3.1 Results of the Textual Analysis

This part is devoted to the presentation of the findings obtained from the textual analysis of the forty news articles under investigation, which appear in **Appendix 1**. These articles are analyzed using Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model of CDA (1995) in regards to Lexical Choice, Semantic Prosody and Grammar; and the most notable instances are highlighted.

Table 1

Titles of the Newspapers and the Number of the Selected Articles

Newspaper’s Title	The Guardian	The Daily Mail
The Number of Articles	20	20

3.1.1 Lexical Choice

3.1.1.1 Content Words

Table 2 presents the distribution of lexical choices identified in the analyzed articles from The Guardian and The Daily Mail. The lexical items were manually extracted and

categorized according to their connotative value, positive or negative, based on their semantic orientation within context.

Table 2

Distribution of Lexical Choices by Source and Connotation

Source	Connotation	Frequency of lexical items	Percentage (per source)
Guardian	Positive	48	35.3%
Guardian	Negative	88	64.7%
Daily Mail	Positive	17	18.7%
Daily Mail	Negative	74	81.3%

As illustrated in the table, The Guardian exhibits a relatively more balanced use of connotative language, with 35.3% of the lexical choices being positive and 64.7% negative. In contrast, The Daily Mail demonstrates a markedly negative framing, with 81.3% of its lexical items carrying negative connotations and only 18.7% carrying positive ones. This disparity indicates that while both outlets use negatively charged language, The Guardian incorporates a greater degree of affirmative and supportive lexis, suggesting a comparatively more inclusive stance. Conversely, The Daily Mail relies heavily on negatively loaded language, reinforcing a more critical or alarmist narrative around non-cisgender issues.

Table 3 provides a selection of positively connoted lexical items identified across the sample. While the full list appears in **Appendix 1**, this table highlights representative instances to illustrate the use of positive language in both media outlets.

Table 3

Source	Lexical Item	Frequency	Lexical Type	Extract from the Articles
The Guardian	Support	5	Noun	“We need to ensure the non-cisgender community gets the support it needs.”
The Guardian	Equality	3	Noun	“Marriage equality was a milestone in the fight for non-cisgender rights.”
The Guardian	Courage	3	Noun	“The courage of non-cisgender activists should not go unnoticed.”
The Daily Mail	Inclusion	1	Noun	“Create an environment where difference is celebrated and inclusion is prioritized.”
	Safety		Adjective	“It's about being inclusive and everyone has to feel safe,” Veart said.
The Daily Mail		2		
The Daily Mail	Proud	3	Adjective	“non-cisgender youth are proud of who they are,” said the CEO of the Trevor Project.

Selected Instances of Lexical Choices with Positive Connotation

Table 4 presents selected lexical items with negative connotations drawn from the analyzed articles (For a more complete list of negative lexical choices, see **Appendix 2**)

Table 4

Selected Instances of Lexical Choices with Negative Connotation

Source	Lexical Item	Frequency	Lexical Type	Extract from the Articles
The Guardian	Suicide	18	Noun	“The suicide rate among non-cisgender youth continues to be alarmingly high.”
The Guardian	Discrimination	13	Noun	“Many non-cisgender individuals still face discrimination in healthcare and education.”
The Guardian	Transphobia	4	Noun	“Transphobia remains deeply embedded in parts of society.”
The Daily Mail	Homophobia	11	Noun	“I was definitely hearing some homophobia, even from like nine-year-olds.”
The Daily Mail	Abuse	2	Noun	“non-cisgender conversion practices are abuse.”
The Daily Mail	Evil	2	Noun	“More than one in 10 young people who identify as non-cisgender attempted suicide in 2023.”

3.1.1.2 Function Words (Pronouns)

To gain deeper insights into how The Guardian and The Daily Mail construct ideological positions through pronominal choices, the table below quantitatively compares the frequency and percentage of selected pronouns. These pronouns are classified according to their ideological alignment **In-Group** to represent solidarity and group identity, and **Out- Group** to mark distance or opposition. The distribution reveals patterns of inclusion, exclusion, and stance-taking embedded in each newspaper’s discourse on non-cisgender issues.

Table 5

Distribution of Pronouns in The Guardian and The Daily Mail with Group Alignment

Group	Pronoun	The Guardian (Freq)	The Guardian (%)	The Daily Mail (Freq)	The Daily Mail (%)
In-Group	We	52	43.70%	13	21.31%
	Us	19	15.97%	7	11.48%
	Our	14	11.76%	13	21.31%
	I	13	10.92%	5	8.20%
	Me	3	2.52%	/	0.00%
	You	5	4.20%	9	14.75%
	Your	/	0.00%	1	1.64%
Out-Group	They	8	6.72%	12	19.67
	Them	4	3.36%	1	1.64%
	Their	1	0.84%	/	0.00%
Total	11	119	100%	61	100%

The table shows the distribution of in-group and out-group pronouns in The Guardian and The Daily Mail. The Guardian uses significantly more in-group pronouns such as we (52), us (19), and our (14) suggesting a more inclusive and collective stance. In contrast, The Daily Mail uses fewer in-group pronouns but shows a slightly higher frequency of out-group pronouns like they (12) possibly indicating a greater emphasis on distinguishing or othering groups. Overall, The Guardian appears to foreground solidarity, while The Daily Mail leans more toward delineation and separation.

The table below (6) presents selected examples of pronoun usage from The Guardian and The Daily Mail, illustrating how both newspapers construct in-group and out-group identities through language. The remaining instances are included in **Appendix 2** for full reference

Table 6

Selected Instances of In-Group and Out-Group Pronoun Usage in The Guardian and The Daily Mail

Source	In-Group/Out-Group	Pronoun	Extract
The Guardian	In-Group	We	<i>We</i> stand with the non-cisgender community – in Hungary & in all member states.”
The Guardian	Out-Group	They	<i>They</i> would “force non-cisgender people completely out of the public eye”.
The Guardian	In-Group	Our	<i>Our</i> work includes recruiting 8,500 mental health workers, providing £26 million to open new mental health crisis centers and funding more talking therapies.”
The Daily Mail	In-Group	We	<i>We</i> ’ve got to accept everybody from all walks of life.
The Daily Mail	Out-Group	They	“ <i>They</i> would like to express themselves, which is very harmful. Only I should be allowed to express myself, no one else.”
The Daily Mail	Out-Group	Them	“I would strip <i>them</i> (non-cisgender people) of their right to assembly, because they are all criminals,” said Samuel Tar.

3.1.2 Grammar

3.1.2.1 Modality

Table 7 displays the distribution of modal verbs in The Guardian and The Daily Mail, both in terms of frequency and relative percentage. The percentages are calculated relative to the total modal verbs identified in each source.

Table 7

Frequency and Percentage of Modal Verbs in The Guardian and The Daily Mail

Modal Verb	The Guardian (F)	The Daily Mail (F)	Percentage (The Guardian)	Percentage (The Daily Mail)
Will	34	40	17.89%	29.63%
Would	37	18	19.47%	13.33%
Can	25	18	13.15%	13.33%
Could	22	8	11.58%	5.93%
Should	19	13	10%	9.63%
Must	6	5	3.15%	3.70%
May	6	3	3.15%	2.22%
Might	5	1	2.63%	0.74%
Have to	4	1	2.10%	0.74%
Cannot	8	4	4.21%	2.96%
Will not	3	2	1.57%	1.48%
Would not	0	5	0%	3.70%
Could not	2	0	1.05%	0%
Should not	3	0	1.57%	0%
Shall not	1	0	0.52%	0%
May not	1	0	0.52%	0%
Might not	1	0	0.52%	0%
Total	187	118	100%	100%

The table shows that modal verb usage varies across the two newspapers. In The Daily Mail, will is the most frequently used modal verb (29.63%), indicating a tendency toward expressing certainty. In contrast, The Guardian uses would most frequently (19.47%), suggesting a more speculative, or cautious tone. Other modals such as might, may, and must occur less frequently overall, though they appear slightly more often in The Guardian, possibly reflecting a more nuanced or tentative style. The distribution of negative modals (Cannot, Will not, Would not) also differs: Would not is present in The Daily Mail (3.70%) but absent in The Guardian, which may suggest subtle differences in how negation is framed.

Table 8 presents the full range of modal verbs used in The Guardian, categorized according to their primary discursive functions. Selected extracts from the articles are included to illustrate how these modals are used in the newspaper's reporting.

Table 8

Full Range of Modal Verbs Used in The Guardian and their Functions (with Selected Extracts)

Modal Verbs	Function	Extracts from the Articles
Would	Probability / Uncertainty	Noting that they <i>would</i> “force non-cisgender people completely out of the public eye”.
Will	Certainty	The more than one in 10 of 16-24 year-olds identifying as non-cisgender <i>will</i> be a crucial part of our workplaces, politics and lives.
Can	Ability	The Equal Rights Amendment <i>can</i> protect our lives.
Could	Possibility	The ONS said the increase in the number of people identifying as non-cisgender <i>could</i> be “attributed to more people being more open to identifying their own sexual orientation as being non-cisgender.
Should	Obligation	Stonewall CEO says data <i>should</i> be ‘wake-up call’ to organizations rolling back on non-cisgender rights.
Must	Necessity	Work <i>must</i> be done to get a clearer idea of who is actually harming non-cisgender people.
May	Possibility	These UK bans <i>may</i> be influenced by book censorship in the US.
Might	Possibility	The simultaneous rallies in 50 municipalities were billed as a show of strength by a non-cisgender community as people braced for what <i>might</i> lie ahead.
Have to	Obligation	If we <i>have to</i> be those rebels in basements yet again,” he added, “which is when art thrives, then that’s what we’ll become.”
Cannot	Impossibility	The 20-year-old started transitioning last August but <i>cannot</i> change their gender or name legally in Hungary
Will not	Certainty	“The government wants to silence our voice and deny our existence,” they said. “They <i>will not</i> succeed.”
Could not	Inability	But the real victims would be the non-cisgender youth, who <i>couldn’t</i> access books in which they could see their stories and find solace,” he said.
Should not	Moral Obligation	We <i>shouldn’t</i> have to put our bodies on the line for Biden to act.
Shall not	Strong Prohibition	Equality of rights under the law <i>shall not</i> be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.
May not	Probability	School library staff <i>may not</i> be trained or properly supported.
Might not	Weak Possibility	Senior leaders <i>might not</i> “understand the role or the pressures” of a school librarian, she added.

Table 9 presents the full range of modal verbs used in The Daily Mail, arranged according to their primary functions. It includes selected extracts to illustrate how modality is expressed in the newspaper’s reporting.

Table 9

Full Range of Modal Verbs Used in The Daily Mail and their Functions (with Selected Extracts)

Modal Verbs	Function	Extracts from the Articles
Will	Certainty	non-cisgender activists have also expressed concerns ban will erase their freedom of expression.
Would	Probability/ uncertainty	I would strip them (non-cisgender people) of their right to assembly, because they are all criminals.
Can	Ability	The era of (Prime Minister Sir) Keir Starmer telling us women can have penises has come to an end.
Should	Obligation	The move was in line with a ruling by Russia's Supreme Court last November that non-cisgender activists should be designated as extremists.
Could	Possibility	The rally, called by the Two-tailed Dog Party, a satirical movement, follows several other protests since Parliament, dominated by Orban's nationalist Fidesz party, passed a law last month to ban Pride on the grounds that it could be harmful to children.
Must	Necessity	“They also perpetuate the notion that to be non-cisgender is something that is wrong and that must be fixed.
May	Possibility	We are acutely aware that there is a risk in being affiliated with an organization that may speak on matters relating to the professional practice of our members, but over which the college has no direct control.
Might	Possibility	The 29-year-old said she doesn't want to leave Iraq "just because I am a non-cisgender", but "I fear that I might be forced to."
Have to	Obligation	We've got to accept everybody from all walks of life.
Would Not	Probability	Public gatherings promoting same-sex relationships would not be allowed.
Cannot	Inability	Women are women and men are men: you cannot change your biological sex.
Will not	Certainty	College chiefs say they will not renew its membership with the controversial charity when it expires in December.

3.2 Results of the Discursive Analysis

This section contains the description of the results of the four discursive strategies of Fairclough: Discourse Representation and Framing, Agency, Intertextuality, and Nominalization. Additionally, the most prominent instances extracted from the selected news stories are provided.

3.2.1 Discourse Representation and Framing

This sub-section presents the findings related to how non-cisgender issues are discursively represented and framed in The Guardian and The Daily Mail. It focuses on the selection of lexical items, expressions of stance, and patterns of inclusion or exclusion that contribute to shaping public understanding of non-cisgender. The titles and links to the original articles can be found in **Appendix 1**.

3.2.1.1 The Guardian

The first article frames the constitutional amendment as part of a broader authoritarian and anti-democratic trajectory in Hungary, and as an eraser of human rights and civil liberties, especially the non-cisgender community. Also, representing the Hungarian government, under Orbán, as parallel to the authoritarian regimes of Russia, that is weaponizing legislation to suppress dissent non-cisgender individuals, under the guise of protecting national values and sovereignty. Using terms like “legislating fear,” “fascism,” and “Putinroad” suggest the authoritarian tropes to describe Hungarian governance. Hence, the Hungarian government is framed as oppressive and aggressive through using words like “scapegoating,” “conspiracy theories”, while the protesters and right groups are framed as defenders of democracy and rights.

The second article frames the elevated suicide and self-harm rates among non-cisgender adults as a serious public health and inequality issue that demands urgent governmental action. It presents the non-cisgender individuals as a vulnerable group

suffering from disproportionately high mental health risks, and implicitly critiques societal and institutional failures to provide adequate support through using a scientific tone, that is, empirical intertextuality of ONS statistics (e.g., “2.2 times higher”, the age-standardized rate”) that reflect credibility and seriousness, also repeated phrases like “x times higher than their heterosexual peers” reinforcing the frame of inequity and disparity. Alongside an emotive language that advocates for reform (e.g., “demand actions”, “barriers”, “lives are lost”).

The third article represents a debate over pride and sexual orientation. It frames Hungary's new legislation restricting Pride as an authoritarian attack on non-cisgender fundamental rights of assembly and gathering. Negatively framing the government as increasingly authoritarian, using surveillance and legal tools to silence dissent through Terms like “authoritarian,” “crackdown,” “ban,” “brazen targeting,” “outlaws,” “constant pressure”. While positively portraying non-cisgender individuals and its allies as resilient, brave, and morally justified, and that their response is as a courageous struggle for visibility, dignity, and democracy using terms like “civic drive,” “won’t be deterred,” “resistance,” “hopeful,” and “solidarity”. Also, relying on Personal testimonies of Corvus, Marton and Janca to foster authenticity, empathy and emotional engagement (e.g., “fear and rage,” “tip of the iceberg,” “sadness”).

The fourth article frames non-cisgender rights as vulnerable but essential part of the UK’s global identity, where Stonewall, mainly Simon Blake, committed to protect non-cisgender rights, particularly through a ban on all conversion practices which are depicted as harmful, and widespread, and must be banned comprehensively, this through the use of negative terms like “physical assault,” “exorcism,” “corrective rape,” “sexual assault,” “change or correct somebody’s identity”. Conversely, portraying opponents of non-cisgender rights such Trump and the backlash from Italy and Georgia as those who might

“play down the prevalence” or “spread misinformation”.

The fifth article frames homophobia in Hollywood as a burden to equal opportunity for non-cisgender actors, using Nathan Lane’s career experience as a lens to critique the industry's latent discrimination and bias. Using language that is frank and emotionally engaging, namely Nathan’s quotes like “homophobia is alive and well”, along with negative phrases e.g., “cost him roles”, “too non-cisgender to play the part”, and “gave up long ago trying to pursue it” to emphasize exclusion and injustices.

The sixth article represents Russell T Davies concerns about non-cisgender society, frame it as being in “the greatest danger,” using strong language such as “wave of anger,” “violence,” and “resentment” to stress the seriousness of the threat. He personalizes this danger by stating, “I feel like a wave of anger, and violence, and resentment is heading towards us on a vast scale,” presenting it not only as a broader societal issue but also as something that directly affects him as a non-cisgender man. By including himself, Davies adds emotional depth to the portrayal, making the threat feel immediate and personal. Through this framing, he emphasizes urgency and highlights the most alarming aspects, particularly aggression and hostility, while leaving out less striking elements. Positioned within the context of rising hostility following Trump’s election, this framing reinforces the sense of crisis and encourages the reader to perceive the situation as a serious and growing threat to the non-cisgender individuals.

The seventh article frames non-cisgender identity and visibility as an act of courage, and parental support as both moral and necessary in the face of a hostile sociopolitical environment towards them by using positive and empowering terms like “wholeheartedly support”, “confidence and zest for life”, and “epitome of courage”. However, using negative imagery to underscore the hostility of the current climate e.g., “non-cisgender intolerance is so prevalent and hatred is splashed across every platform”,

“society finds ways to ‘other’ people”, while quoting Shakespeare (“to thine own self be true”) repeatedly lends moral weight and emphasizes authenticity and dignity under threat.

The eighth article represents a conflict between conservative state-level politics and established non-cisgender rights. It frames the republican state lawmakers’ efforts to dismantle marriage equality and broader non-cisgender rights exclusion under the guise of religious or traditional values as regressive and threatening to civil liberties, with a sympathetic perspective to non-cisgender individuals, and positioning them as defenders of justice against regressive and ideologically motivated legislation along with a negative reference to Trump’s policy that is depicted as a source of peril. Employing words like “attack”, “assailing”, “targeting”, “hateful distractions”, and “stripping away rights” emphasize aggression and injustice towards non-cisgender individuals.

The ninth article frames the non-cisgender individuals in Germany as brave and united in resisting the growing threat of far-right politics, especially the rise of the AfD party which is represented as an existential threat to non-cisgender rights. It does this through using words that show fear and danger, like “unsettled”, “harsh tone”, “under pressure”, “grappling with fear”, “scapegoat”, “legitimising discrimination and hate”, “fig leaf”, “homophobic comrades”, “machinery of fear”. While also highlighting hope and strength with phrases like “show of strength”, “Choose Love”, “love and support”, “activists for the first time”, “resistance”.

The tenth article frames Ludovic-Mohamed Zahed’s life as a painful yet courageous as both a devout Muslim and a non-cisgender man, through using words like “melancholy,” “loneliness,” and “crippling” to show his deep struggles; and “courageous,” “moving,” and “spiritual pilgrimage” to highlight his resilience. It presents homophobia as a cultural issue rather than a religious one, using phrases that challenge stereotypes, like “less prescriptive than assumed” about the Qur’an.

The eleventh article frames the increasing number and visibility of young adults identifying as non-cisgender as both a reflection of changing social norms and a call to action for greater non-cisgender inclusion for governments and organizations retreating from previously made commitments to non-cisgender rights, through using positive words such as “wake-up call,” “crucial part,” “growing,” and “deserve – and demand – equal rights”. Alongside relying on statistical data and surveys from the ONS to emphasize authority and support. Conversely, the use of “rolling back” when referring to some governments’ and organizations’ actions implies a critical stance toward any regression in non-cisgender rights.

The twelfth article frames the increase in non-cisgender identification among young Australians as a reflection of a positive sign of social progress, rooted in greater visibility, safety, and growing acceptance. The framing is done through the employment of positive phrases like “Out, loud and proud”, “Finally feel comfortable to express”, “Make their own families”, “live exactly like their siblings”, and “Generational change”. On the other hand, the article frames conversion practices and medical procedures as a legal gap and ongoing struggle and violations of non-cisgender rights.

The thirteenth article frames the historic removal of children from non-cisgender mothers as an injustice grounded in institutional homophobia and sexism. It presents the issue as a human rights failure, for which a formal governmental apology is both overdue and morally necessary. Through using phrases such as “Homophobic and sexist interpretations”, “State- facilitated interference in family life”, “non-cisgender women Militant”, “ardent feminists”, and “Bias festers in murky grey areas” (which is a metaphor of decay in judicial institutions), the article represents the UK legal system as actively discriminated against non-cisgender mothers in custody rulings. Besides, using sympathetic phrases like “My heart aches for Judi”, “All have been waiting too long for

their story to be told”, and “Bring the full picture into focus” depict non-cisgender women as being victimized and suffering under the judicial oppression.

The fourteenth article frames the struggle for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) as an urgent, moral, and democratic necessity to protect women’s and non-cisgender rights, particularly in the face of a perceived authoritarian threat from a looming Trump administration and portraying president Biden’s inaction as a betrayal of constitutional duty. The ERA is represented as a vital safeguard against discrimination and authoritarianism, while the protestors and the activists’ personal sacrifice and efforts are represented as a life- or-death battle for democratic inclusion, this is through utilizing powerful phrases like “We put our bodies on the line – because our bodies are on the line” “Not only our rights, but the fate of democracy”, “We shut down Constitution Avenue”, and “we were arrested for protesting for equality under the law”.

The fifteenth article frames public non-cisgender affection, specifically hand holding, as a symbolic act that reveals how far society still is from true equality, and as an act of caution as many non-cisgender people must assess their surroundings to avoid harassment or violence. This process is done through using words and phrases such as “snatch moments of affection,” “check people aren’t looking,” and “the stress of it all”. Hence, representing non-cisgender people hyper-vigilant and often unable to fully relax or feel safe, even in seemingly progressive environments. The use of rhetorical questions (“Who do we watch out for?”) and emotionally charged anecdotes (e.g., pretending to be cousins in Morocco) depict a sense of ongoing threat.

The sixteenth article frames the removal of non-cisgender books from UK school libraries as an act of censorship and marginalization using words and phrases such as “asked to remove” “taken off shelves” “trend of censorship” “pressure” “self-censorship” “emotional impact” and “very isolating”, while the phrase “influence from America”

depicts an unwelcome foreign ideological intrusion. Nevertheless, expressions like “inclusive resources”, “great importance and reassurance” and “seeing themselves reflected” frames non-cisgender books as vital for identity affirmation and mental wellbeing of non-cisgender students.

The seventieth article frames Israel’s use of non-cisgender symbolism during the Gaza conflict as an exploitative and a strategic manipulation of human rights discourse, a practice known as “pink-washing”. Moreover, framing the Israeli use of its progressive stance on non-cisgender rights as a distraction from or justification of its military actions and occupation of Palestinian territories through using negative words and phrases such as “co-opted” “wave of revulsion” “disgusting use” “turned my stomach” “massive violation”, “no pride in occupation”, pinkwashing” “ultranationalist” “fascist homophobe” “hypocritical” and “exploitation”. Meanwhile, phrases like “no pink door in the wall” “life of hell” and “racist hostility” represents the exclusion of non-cisgender Palestinians. So, the article frames the Israeli action as instrumentalization of non-cisgender identity for nationalistic propaganda, questioning the authenticity of Israel’s human rights narrative.

The eightieth article frames the issue of discrimination exemptions for religious schools as a conflict between anti-discrimination rights for non-cisgender individuals and the preservation of religious freedom. This article frames the legal exemptions for religious schools as outdated and discriminatory through using words such as “blanket exemptions,” “discriminate” “lawful” “repeal” “gaps in Australian laws” “too big of an opportunity to pass up” and “overlook the concerns”. Additionally, portraying the ALRC report as a credible, balanced attempt to reconcile religious freedom with non-cisgender rights by using language that favors inclusion, protection, and equity, and subtly critiques delays and resistance.

The nineteenth article frames Africa’s wave of anti-non-cisgender legislation as

both a humanitarian crisis and a product of external (western) manipulation, particularly by Us evangelical groups. Basically, delegitimizing anti-non-cisgender legislation and attributing its rise to harmful Western interference rather than organic African sociopolitical developments. Also, framing homophobia as not inherently African but rather a legacy of colonial laws and contemporary Western religious influence. The article represents anti-non-cisgender legislation as a repressive and externally driven through using strongly negative and loaded language such as “draconian” “repressive” “death penalty” “hatred” “poison” and “violence”. Also, phrases like “sowing division” and “spreading poison abroad” depict Us evangelicals as malign actors exporting hatred.

The twentieth article frames Ghana’s newly passed anti-non-cisgender legislation as a serious human rights violation that endangers and marginalizes non-cisgender individuals and activists, and intensifying discrimination and persecution of an already vulnerable group. Also it frames the new legislation as a repressive crackdown on human rights through using words like “intensifies a crackdown” “threatens prison sentences” “setback for human rights” “legalizes discrimination”, and “environment of fear and persecution”. This represents the tension between cultural/religious conservatism and universal human rights norms. On the other hand, descriptions such as “marginalize and endanger non-cisgender individuals” “harsh penalties” and “vulnerable community” represent sympathy for non-cisgender people while emphasizing the severity of the law’s impact.

3.2.1.2 The Daily Mail

The first article represents Donald Trump as a decisive and justified figure in the ongoing debate over non-cisgender athletes, particularly in women’s sports. His executive order titled “Keeping Men Out of Women’s Sports” is presented not as a controversial action but as a protective measure, reinforcing the legitimacy of his stance. Martina

Navratilova, despite being a non-cisgender and disagreeing with Trump on most issues, is quoted extensively in support of the ban, which serves to validate Trump's actions from within the non-cisgender community. Non-cisgender athletes, on the other hand, are implicitly represented as threats to fairness in sports, with phrases like "failed male athletes" and emphasis on "biological females," reinforcing a binary view of gender.

The second article frames the Supreme Court ruling on non-cisgender women and single-sex spaces as legal and that non-cisgender inclusion in single-sex spaces as legally and socially problematic, also as a legal affirmation of biological definitions of sex by employing phrases like "clarity and confidence", "practical difficulties", "proportionate" and "maintain the provision". That is biological sex takes legal precedence over gender identity in determining access to certain protected spaces. Terms like "exclusion" "carve-outs" and "regardless of the possession of a GRC" reinforce the acceptability of denying access to non-cisgender women even if legally recognized as female, subtly delegitimizes the identity claims of non-cisgender individuals by contrasting them with "facts" and "truth". The article also amplifies voices like JK Rowling and Kemi Badenoch, who celebrate the ruling using emotionally charged language e.g., "victory" "you cannot change your biological sex" "protected the rights of women and girls".

The third article frames Utah's law banning non-cisgender pride flags in schools and government buildings as a symbol of ideological control and suppression of identity expression through using words and phrases such as: "Infuriated," "concerns," "erase their freedom of expression," "conflict," and "protest". Meanwhile, terms like "Political neutrality" "unsanctioned flags" and "unauthorized" appear to legitimize the bill.

The fourth article frames the launch of a non-cisgender parenting guide as a necessary and constructive response to a resurgence in homophobia and harmful public discourse, particularly among children, using phrases like "Resurgence of anti-non-

cisgender language” “damaging public discourse” and “negative attitudes”. The article represents the charity *Just Like Us* as a proactive, empathetic force advocating for inclusion, respect, and education in the face of rising hostility by using words like “Support” “respect” “inclusion” “celebrate” and “nurture”. Also, relying on personal and governmental voices such as: Eve, Mx Thompson, and Jonathan Bailey.

The fifth article frames the Hungarian government’s anti-non-cisgender stance, particularly the ban on Pride marches, as part of a broader authoritarian and anti-democratic agenda, while positioning public satire and protest as a form of resistance, through using a language that conveys irony and satire e.g., Phrases like “Let’s all be the same”, “being uniform is cool”, and “death to colors”, quoted directly from protest banners, are absurd and sarcastic, while the phrase “support Orban’s efforts to stamp out diversity” is used ironically, indicating that the protesters are mocking the state’s actions, along with the Two-tailed Dog Party’s statement that states “every problem in the world stems from diversity and individualism” is a parody, meant to highlight the scapegoating logic of authoritarian regime.

The sixth article frames the mental health crisis among non-cisgender youth, particularly high suicide rates, as a direct consequence of victimization, social stigma, and political hostility. Representing external societal factors, such as bullying, lack of access to mental health care, and anti-non-cisgender legislation, as they are fueling suicidal ideation and attempts among non-cisgender youth, especially non-cisgender individuals. Employing emotive language “Staggering”, “shocking”, “troubling”, “even more troubling”, “Victimization”, “bullying”, “not being able to get mental health care” and “negatively impacted”, along with statistical language e.g., “12 percent attempted suicide” “50 percent considered” “90 percent negatively impacted by politics” to reinforce the frame. However, the article ends with a positive language that calls for an essential and immediate social

change e.g., “pride in being non-cisgender”, “allows them to succeed and thrive”.

The seventh article frames the Royal College of Psychiatrists’ withdrawal from Stonewall as a necessary and evidence-based move to protect professional impartiality and uphold scientific integrity amid a contentious public debate on non-cisgender rights, using words like “controversial charity”, “lack of impartiality”, “dubious certifications”, “deeply flawed”, and “putting evidence and the wellbeing of patients ahead of the demands of non-cisgender activist lobbyists” that signals a dichotomy between activist ideology and medical objectivity.

The eighth article the Australian government's decision to exclude non-cisgender topics from the 2026 census as a politically cowardly and socially harmful move, through using words and phrases that contrast inclusion with fear, and visibility with erasure. “Not include non-cisgender topics”, “reverse its decision”, “Strengthen the voices of discrimination and division” “weaponize anything that bespeaks a modern Australia”, and “avoid some of the nastiness”.

The ninth article frames the federal government’s decision not to include questions on non-cisgender identities in the 2026 Australian Census as an act of exclusion, which erases the visibility and rights of non-cisgender people. The government's decision is represented as regressive and disappointing and highlighting betrayal, invisibility, and harm as the primary consequences of the decision through using words and phrases such as: “rendered invisible”, “betrayal”, “devastating”, “basic human right”, “refusal to update”, “hasn’t taken this opportunity”, “back-peddalling”, “excluded”, “not recognized”, and “not valued”.

The tenth article frames Georgia’s proposed “family values” bill as a repressive and politically motivated measure that threatens non-cisgender rights and reflects authoritarian tendencies. The framing is done using phrases like “curbing non-cisgender

rights”, “wide-ranging ‘family values’ bill”, “bans on ‘non-cisgender propaganda”, “condemnation from non-cisgender activists and human rights groups”, “prevent people from changing their gender”, “ban non-heterosexual people from adopting”, “public gatherings promoting same-sex relationships would not be allowed”, and “pseudo-liberal values”.

The eleventh article frames the Biden administration’s Title IX rule to include sexual orientation and gender identity as legal and political struggle over the scope of anti-discrimination protections for non-cisgender students under federal law despite the opposition it faces from Republican-led states through using words and phrases such as: “protecting non-cisgender students from discrimination”, “blocked in 26 states”, “crafted the final Title IX regulations following a rigorous process”. In contrast, phrases like “political agenda,” “significant safety concerns,” and “unlawfully rewritten” represent the opposition that the legislation faces.

The twelfth article frames Turkey’s Pride rally as a symbol of authoritarian suppression of non-cisgender rights and civic resistance. It represents the repressive measures taken by the Turkish authorities to suppress the Pride rally while also showcasing the defiance and resilience of non-cisgender activists through using words and phrases such as: “detained at least 15 protesters”, “banned non-cisgender Pride rally”, “blocked central Istanbul... shutting down metro stations and blocking traffic”, “toughened its rhetoric against the non-cisgender community”, “we never get tired of deceiving the police” and “we will pierce the stone and find each other”, and “forced them to deal with us”.

The thirteenth article frames the non-cisgender Pride movement as a site of internal division and ideological tension, particularly over the war in Gaza, that is, it represents Pride as a contested and fragmented political space rather than a celebratory

unity, rather than celebrating Pride as a unified celebration of non-cisgender identity and progress, the article emphasizes how global geopolitical issues are reshaping and fragmenting the movement through using words and phrases like “accused one another of war crimes and support for terrorism”, “internal tensions... have seeped into the festivities”, “spurring boycotts and demonstrations”, “exposing divisions”, “called attention to genocide”, “No pride in genocide”.

The fourteenth article frames conversion therapy as a harmful, abusive, and outdated practice that must be urgently banned in Scotland, it represents the practice as a form of abuse and psychological harm, contrasting this with the need for freedom, love, and acceptance for non-cisgender individuals aligning with the activist and governmental push for legislative reform, the process is done through using phrases like “Conversion practices are abuse”, “Warns of the harms posed by conversion therapy”, “Suppress, change or inhibit who someone is”, “Not everyone is free to love on Valentine’s Day”, “Cause significant mental and physical harm”, “Perpetuate the notion that... non-cisgender is something that must be fixed”, “Subject to what, in some cases, amounts to torture”. Also, language describing the government’s position is as supportive e.g., “We are committed to ending conversion practices...”and “We fully support the Equality Network’s awareness-raising campaign”.

The fiftieth article frames the Pride Cup football match as an embodiment of inclusivity, solidarity, and universality. It presents the Pride Cup initiative as a positive, progressive movement aimed at making football a more welcoming space for the non-cisgender community. The match itself is depicted not just as a sporting event but as a symbol of broader cultural acceptance and equality, that is to say, the article constructs a narrative in which diversity is normalized, resistance is marginal, and inclusivity is integral to modern sport. Phrases like “Fantastic again”, “great crowd”, “great night”, “good

atmosphere”, “It’s a game that represents what football is about, and it’s for everybody”, “We’ve got to accept everybody from all walks of life” reinforce the framing.

The sixteenth article frames Peru’s reclassification of non-cisgender identities as mental illness as a dangerous, and internationally condemned step that perpetuates marginalization and medical pathologization of non-cisgender community identities, particularly non-cisgender individuals, also it frames Peru’s government decree as a regressive, harmful, out of alignment with human rights, and the progressive trend among neighboring countries. through using phrases like “Sparking fury among non-cisgender groups”, “Labeling them as mentally ill opens the door to conversion therapy”, “Lack of awareness of complex non-cisgender issues”, “Infuriated” “brutally raped and tortured”, and “Super-conservative society”.

The seventeenth article frames the new anti-non-cisgender legislation in Iraq as a grave violation of human rights and a deepening of oppression, violence, and marginalization against non-cisgender and gender-diverse Iraqis, and that that the new law criminalizing same-sex relations and gender non-conformity institutionalizes repression, justifies persecution, and pushes non-cisgender Iraqis into deeper fear, secrecy, and potential exile. Besides framing the non-cisgender community as vulnerable and endangered, the article also frames Iraq's broader sociopolitical climate as hostile and dangerous for non-cisgender individuals, reinforced not only by religious conservatism and social stigma, but now also by legal authority. This is done through using words and phrases that are emotionally charged, negative, and sympathetic to non-cisgender voices like “Dark days ahead”, “Criminalizes same-sex relations”, “carrying sentences of 10 to 15 years in prison”, “Attack on human rights”, “alarmed”, “runs contrary to several human rights treaties”, “Impossible for me to even visit (Iraq)”, “this is what breaks my heart”, “Exposed to various types of violence, such as murder, rape, kidnapping, and extortion”,

“Life in Iraq is not safe”, “Pushed more into the shadows”.

The eighteenth article frames the Russian government’s labeling of the non-cisgender movement as "extremist" as a continuation of its authoritarian, ideological campaign to suppress civil liberties and individual freedoms, justified under the guise of promoting traditional values. Hence, representing the Russian state as a repressive, ideologically-driven authority, while portraying non-cisgender individuals and movements as victims of an expanding regime of control and surveillance. Using phrases like “Added what it calls the “non-cisgender movement”, “Extremist and terrorist organizations”, “Contrasts with decadent Western attitudes”, and “Outlawing the promotion of ‘non-traditional’ sexual relations” denotes the extremity of the Russian government’s position.

The nineteenth article frames Woolworths' decision to ban Indigenous and non-cisgender stickers on staff name badges as an aggressive move that restricts employee expression and causes accusations of cultural insensitivity and exclusion. Through phrases like “Outrage”, “Stirred outrage from some workers”, “Display your name badge...keep it clean and tidy. No stickers are to be added” and “Hoodies and outerwear with other brand logos are not permitted” represents the frustration and dissatisfaction of the workers.

The twentieth article frames the church’s attempt to display a Progress Pride flag on the altar as a divisive and politicized act that clashes with traditional religious symbolism, and that the decision to ban it positioned as a compromise to preserve religious neutrality. Through using phrases like “Politicizing a place of worship”, “The Progress Pride flag is not a Christian emblem”, “Hijacked by political activists” it positions the flag as an intrusion into traditional worship rather than an expression of Christian solidarity with marginalized groups as it leans toward defending institutional order and religious tradition over activist expression.

3.2.2 Agency

Table 10 presents the distribution of agency across The Guardian and The Daily Mail. The analysis revealed that agency is a recurring discursive element in all examined articles, with a total of 520 instances identified.

Table 10

Distribution of Agency Across the Guardian and The Daily Mail

Outlet	Frequency	Percentage
The Guardian	304	58.46%
The Daily Mail	216	41.54%
Total	520	100%

As shown, The Guardian accounts for 304 occurrences, while The Daily Mail records 216, indicating a higher frequency of agentive constructions in The Guardian's coverage.

Table 11 presents illustrative extracts from The Guardian and The Daily Mail that highlight how agency is constructed in each outlet's reporting.

Table 11

Extracts of Agency- The Guardian and The Daily Mail

The Outlet	Extracts
The Guardian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The amendment [...], also enshrines the recognition of only two sexes...” • “The organisers of Budapest Pride said [...] 'This is not child protection, this is fascism.'” • “The government wants to silence our voice and deny our existence.” • “We need to see the UK take its place back at the top of the global leader board for non-cisgender rights.”
The Daily Mail	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “A UK Government spokesman said: 'We have always supported the protection of single-sex spaces’” • “The Trevor Project said that 'anti-non-cisgender victimization' was the main factor in young people's increased likelihood for suicide’” • “Peru has officially classified non-cisgender people as 'mentally ill'.” • “Iraq's parliament passed an anti-non-cisgender bill on Saturday that criminalizes same-sex relations’”

The examples demonstrate how different actors, such as governments, organizations, and individuals, are positioned as agents of action or authority in relation to non-cisgender issues.

3.2.3 Nominalization

Table 12 presents the distribution of nominalization across The Guardian and The Daily Mail. The analysis identified a total of 373 instances, demonstrating the use of nominalized forms as a recurring discursive feature in both outlets.

Table 12

Distribution of Nominalization in The Guardian and The Daily Mail

Outlet	Frequency	Percentage
The Guardian	234	62.7%
The Daily Mail	139	37.3%
Total	373	100%

As shown, The Guardian accounts for 234 occurrences of nominalization, while The Daily Mail records 139. This distribution indicates a greater reliance on nominalized forms in The Guardian's reporting.

The analysis has determined three categories of nominalization manifested in both outlets: action, state, and event nominalization, the diagram below demonstrate the frequency of each category in each newspaper.

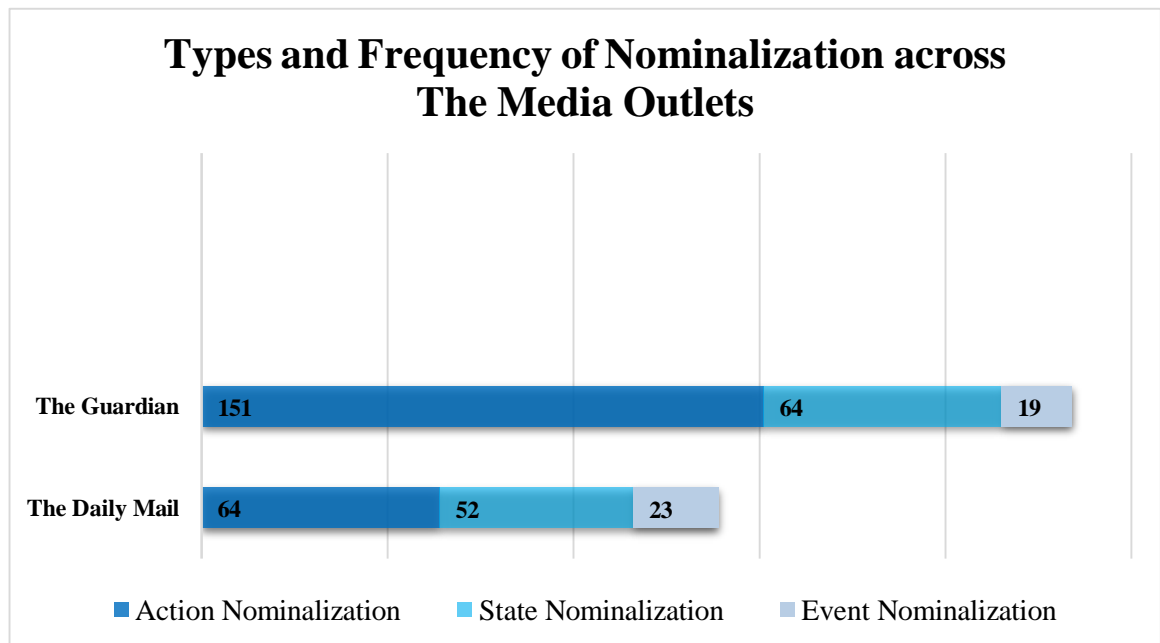


Figure 3. Types and Frequency of Nominalization across The Media Outlets

As shown in the figure, The Guardian exhibits a higher overall frequency of nominalization, with 151 instances of action nominalization, 64 of state nominalization, and 19 of event nominalization. In comparison, The Daily Mail records 64 instances of action nominalization, 52 of state nominalization, and 23 of event nominalization. This distribution reflects different patterns of abstraction and reporting style between the two media outlets.

Tables 13 and 14 present illustrative extracts from The Guardian and The Daily Mail demonstrating the use of different types of nominalization. The examples are grouped

into action, state, and event nominalization, each highlighting how abstract language is employed to shape the discourse around non-cisgender issues.

Table 13

Extracts of Nominalization Types- The Guardian

Type of Nominalization	Extracts
<p>Action Nominalization The nominalization of a process</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The amendment, which the government says prioritizes the <i>protection</i> of children’s physical, mental and moral development, also enshrines the <i>recognition</i> of only two sexes, providing a constitutional basis for <i>denying</i> the gender identities of some in Hungary. • “I’ve literally seen a difference in the way I’m spoken to as a non-cisgender man since that November election, and that’s a few months of <i>weaponizing</i> hate speech, and the hate speech creeps into the real world.”
<p>State Nominalization The nominalization of a state or condition</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Transphobia</i> is rife now in the same way that <i>homophobia</i> was 20 years ago.” • “If non-cisgender books are not ‘visible’, it is ‘<i>exclusion</i> and <i>otherness</i> by a more subtle means”
<p>Event Nominalization The nominalization of an entire event</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Murdoch says the <i>generational change</i> has been born from safety and acceptance” • Ghana’s parliament has passed legislation that intensifies a <i>crackdown</i> on the rights of non-cisgender people.

Table 14

Extracts of Nominalization Types- The Daily Mail

Type of Nominalization	Extracts
<p>Action Nominalization When a process becomes a noun</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In February, Trump signed an executive order banning non-cisgender athletes from women's sports called 'Keeping Men Out of Women's Sports'. • The "law on combating prostitution and homosexuality" sets a minimum seven-year prison term for "promoting" same-sex Relations
<p>State Nominalization When a state or condition becomes a noun</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When there is less discrimination and stigmatization in society, that helps young people to be proud of themselves. • "Every problem in the world stems from diversity and individualism," it said.
<p>Event Nominalization Naming a whole event as a noun</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "But this year, after organizers announced the march's theme would include those facing 'war and genocide,' as well as youths of color, Housing Works declined to get on board." • "This act of remembrance mediates the solidarity of Christ with the suffering of those in our community."

3.2.4 Intertextuality

This level of analysis examines how news articles incorporated, cited, or echoed other voices, genres, and discourses, what is known as intertextuality. A total of 366 intertextuality occurrences are identified across both newspapers, distributed as follows:

Table 15

Distribution of Intertextuality in The Guardian and The Daily Mail

Outlet	Frequency	Percentage
The Guardian	210	57.37%
The Daily Mail	156	42.63%
Total	366	100%

As can be noted from Table 15, The Guardian demonstrates a higher overall use of intertextuality, with 210 recorded instances, compared to 156 in The Daily Mail. This

distribution reflects differing levels of reliance on external voices, institutional reports, and referenced discourse within the two newspapers’ coverage.

The diagrams (4) and (5) below demonstrate the types of intertextuality utilized by The Guardian and The Daily Mail. Given that Fairclough (1995) does not provide a fixed list of intertextuality types within his framework. The figures indicate that The Guardian tends to employ intertextual strategies slightly more frequently than The Daily Mail. Therefore, in this analysis, we have relied on existing literature, which revealed the distinction between institutional texts, cultural narratives, and interdiscursive intertextuality. These types were identified in the works of scholars such as *Foucault* (1979), *Hall* (1997), *Van Dijk* (1998), and *Wodak* (2009).

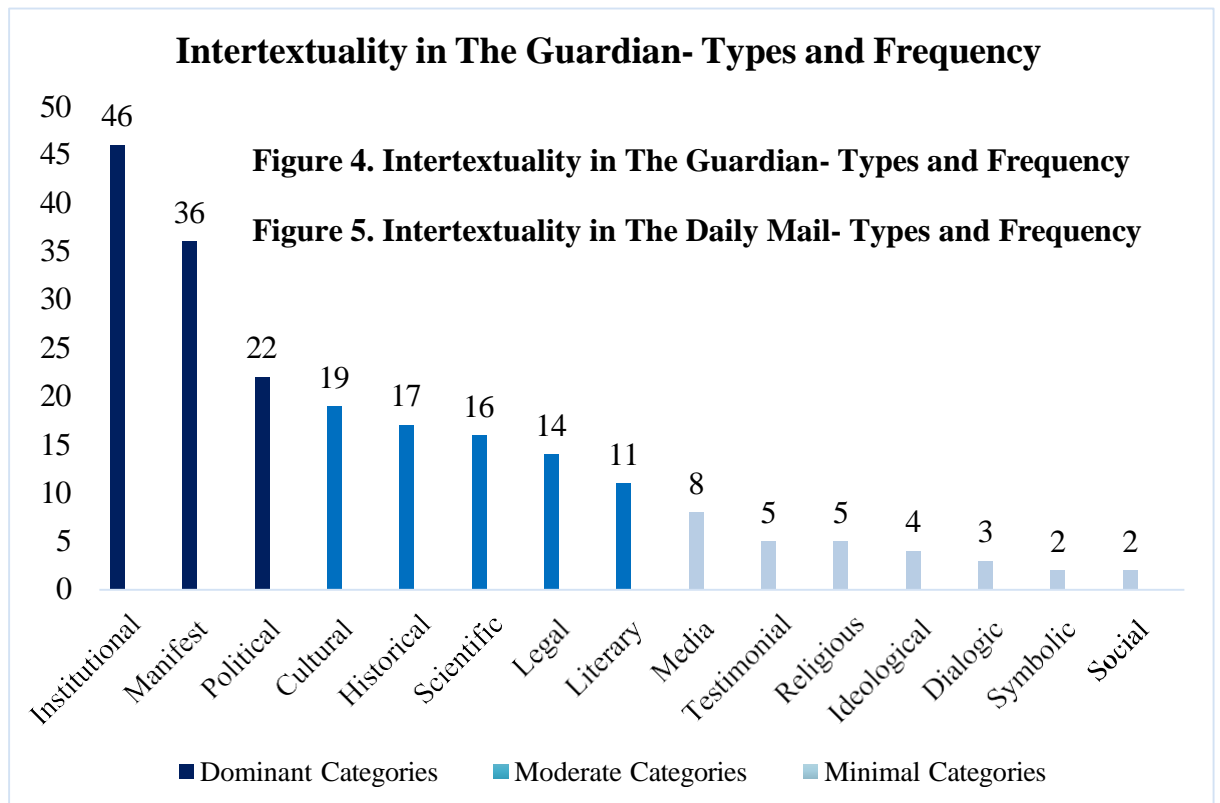


Figure 4. Intertextuality in The Guardian- Types and Frequency

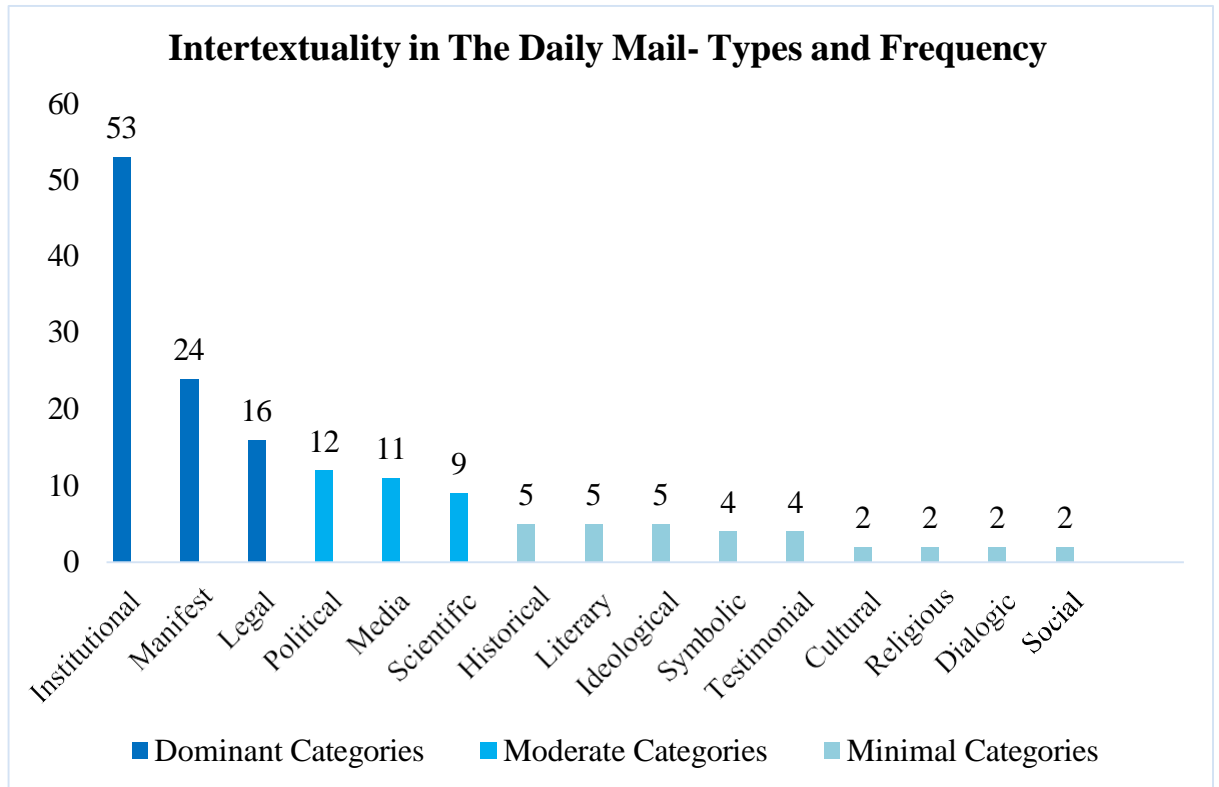


Figure 5. Intertextuality in The Daily Mail- Types and Frequency

Table 16 presents a comparative selection of intertextual references identified in articles from The Guardian and The Daily Mail. The examples are categorized according to intertextual types, including institutional, manifest, political, legal, cultural, historical, media, scientific, testimonial, literary, ideological, religious, symbolic, dialogic, and social references. Each entry is classified as either a direct or indirect reference, highlighting how both outlets draw on external voices, institutions, and discourses to construct meaning and reinforce their representations of non-cisgender issues.

Table 16

Types of Intertextuality and Reference Modes with Illustrative Extracts from The Guardian and The Daily Mail

	The Guardian	The Daily Mail
Extracts from the Articles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional: -<i>Direct Reference:</i> The ONS said the increase in the number of people identifying as non-cisgender could be “attributed to more people being more open to identifying their own sexual orientation as being non-cisgender, together with changing societal attitudes meaning a greater acceptance of different sexual orientations”. -<i>Direct Reference:</i> Blake “This is a flagship policy at a time when we know that non-cisgender rights are being attacked on a global basis, with Trump, with propaganda legislation , and those who oppose non-cisgender rights will use the opportunity to spread misinformation and perpetuate divisive arguments.” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional: -<i>Direct Reference:</i> Equalities minister Kaukab Stewart said: “We are committed to ending conversion practices in Scotland and we fully support the Equality Network’s awareness-raising campaign. “No-one should be subjected to harm because of who they are or who they love.” -<i>Indirect Reference:</i> Under the decree signed by President Dina Boluarte, non-cisgender sexualism, gender identity disorder in childhood, other gender identity disorders and fetishistic non-cisgenderism are now all recorded as mental illnesses.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manifest: -<i>Direct Reference:</i> Simon Blake, the chief executive of non-cisgender charity Stonewall said the data should be “a wake-up call to organizations and governments who are rolling back on their commitments to non-cisgender rights and inclusion”. -<i>Direct Reference:</i> Sean Meloy, vice-president of political programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manifest: -<i>Direct Reference:</i> “You can’t ignore the context that this is happening in a super-conservative society, where the non-cisgender community has no rights and where labelling them as mentally ill opens the door to conversion therapy,” he told Yahoo News. -<i>Direct Reference:</i> Sex discrimination commissioner Anna Cody was disappointed by the government's

<p>at non-cisgender Victory Fund, said: “These attacks on fundamental rights for non-cisgender Americans, including marriage equality are hateful distractions from the core issues that Americans want their government to resolve.”</p>	<p>decision, saying it would "strengthen the voices of discrimination and division that seek to disrupt the nation's social cohesion".</p>
<p>• Political: <i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Trump has ended policies giving non-cisgender Americans protection from discrimination. He has also restricted access to gender-affirming healthcare, said the US would only recognize two sexes, and barred non-cisgender people from enlisting in the military. <i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Those images from Gaza are part of a long-running international campaign that critics call “pinkwashing”.</p>	<p>• Legal: <i>-Indirect Reference:</i> The “law on combating prostitution and homosexuality” sets a minimum seven-year prison term for “promoting” same-sex relations and a sentence ranging from one to three years for men who “intentionally” act like women. <i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Last week, the UK's Supreme Court ruled that the definition of a woman is based on biological sex in a landmark judgement.</p>
<p>• Cultural: <i>-Direct Reference:</i> “Restore the natural definition of marriage, a union of one man and one woman”. <i>-Indirect Reference:</i> We’re not asking to skinny-dip in the Thames, to naked conga along Hadrian’s Wall, to have a full bacchanal in Bath.</p>	<p>• Political: <i>-Indirect Reference:</i> President Tayyip Erdogan's Islamic-rooted AK Party has toughened its rhetoric against the non-cisgender community over the past decade and banned pride marches since 2015. <i>-Indirect Reference:</i> The era of Keir Starmer telling us women can have penises has come to an end.</p>
<p>• Historical: <i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Zahed’s fears</p>	<p>• Media: <i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Some primary</p>

<p>are deepened against the background of the civil war that took place in Algeria in the 1990s, when hundreds of thousand of people were killed and Islamist guerrillas massacred as many “miscreants” as they could, including homosexuals.</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> In 1981, adding: “And that is exactly the year that rumors and whispers of a strange new virus came along, which came to haunt our community and to test us in so many ways.”</p>	<p>school children cited the social media app TikTok as the place where they had heard the word non-cisgender being used as a derogatory insult.</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> In an Instagram post, Gala for non-cisgender listed steps "to reduce the risk" of persecution, including unfollowing non-cisgender accounts, avoiding dating apps and "reducing the expression of your non-cisgender identity".</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scientific: <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> The risk of suicide and self-harm for people who identify as non-cisgender or another sexual orientation is more than twice as high as for their heterosexual peers, according to the Office for National Statistics (ONS).</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Landmark data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics released Thursday revealed almost one in 10 young people aged 16 to 24 are non-cisgender.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scientific: <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Nearly 40 percent of non-cisgender young people seriously considered attempting suicide in the past year, while 46 percent of non-cisgender young people between the ages of 13 and 17 had similar ideations.</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> According to research carried out by the charity in October 2024, 78% of primary school children and 80% of secondary school students in the UK have heard homophobic language used at school.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal: <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> The ERA consists of 24 simple words: “Equality of rights under the law</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Testimonial: <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> “I was in a primary school doing some tutoring in the past year, and I was definitely hearing</p>

<p>shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.”</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Uganda passed a draconian anti-non-cisgender law that included the death penalty for some same-sex acts and a 20-year sentence for ‘promoting’ homosexuality.</p>	<p>some homophobia, even from like nine-year-olds.”</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> “My parents don’t really realize the kind of importance of gendering someone correctly and that using their pronouns is like a basic form of respect.”</p>
<p>• Literary:</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> Shakespeare wrote: ‘This above all, to thine own self be true.’</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> It’s like something at The Lord of the Rings.</p>	<p>• Historical:</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Noting the first march was held to commemorate the 1969 Stonewall uprising, a riot that began with a police raid on a Manhattan non-cisgender bar.</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> In 2008, non-cisgender woman Azul Rojas Marin was arrested, brutally raped and tortured by a trio of police officers, but her criminal complaint was ultimately closed by the authorities.</p>
<p>• Media:</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> Speaking to the Financial Times earlier this year, one senior AfD official sought to explain the paradox in this way: “She is just non-cisgender by biology, but not by political conviction.”</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> Sam Dick’s article deeply resonated with me as a parent (A moment that changed</p>	<p>• Literary:</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Roses are red, violets are blue. “Do what you’re told, and don’t be you.”</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Protesters carried banners saying ‘being uniform is cool’ and ‘listen to your heart, death to colors’.</p>

<p>me: I was 16, non-cisgender and bullied for it. Then my father wrote to the Guardian ..., 5 March).</p>	
<p>• Testimonial:</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Shayne Wilde, a 67-year-old non-cisgender campaigner, can remember when non-cisgender people were sent off for electric shock therapy. She can remember hearing about a boy, roughly her age, who came out to his father, who then stripped him naked and beat him. Mainly she can remember the isolation.</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> “I never heard the word non-cisgender or homosexuals,” Wilde says. “When I was 26, I was homosexual. And, you know, from a working-class family, these things weren’t discussed back then.”</p>	<p>• Ideological:</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> “It’s a game that represents what football is about – and it’s for everybody.”</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> As part of a shift under President Vladimir Putin towards what he portrays as family values that contrast with decadent Western attitudes, Russia has tightened restrictions over the past decade on expressions of sexual orientation and gender identity.</p>
<p>• Religious:</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Zahed buries himself in scripture and, as many have done, finds that the Qur’an is in fact far less prescriptive about sexuality than is usually assumed.</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Last year the pope and the archbishop of Canterbury denounced the criminalization of homosexuality.</p>	<p>• Symbolic:</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> “His experience of rejection and physical torture is not unknown to non-cisgender people. This act of remembrance mediates the solidarity of Christ with the suffering of those in our community.”</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> An advocacy group representing non-cisgender Middle Easterners and North Africans, say they will seek to "center Palestine" during the march, hoisting Palestinian</p>

		<p>flags as they chant, "No pride in genocide.</p>
	<p>• Ideological:</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> The homophobia, the transphobia we are seeing is from the west. It is mostly peddled by extreme American evangelicals,” argues the Ugandan activist Frank Mugisha.</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Musk, the de facto head of the “department of government efficiency”, bought the social networking site Twitter, which he renamed X. A study by the University of California, Berkeley found hate speech on the platform rose by 50% in the months after it was bought by the billionaire.</p>	<p>• Cultural:</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> The news came hours after the prestigious Sundance Film Festival announced it was leaving its home for the past 40 years in conservative Utah for a new location in liberal Colorado.</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> Wicked and Bridgerton star and Just Like Us patron Jonathan Bailey said: “There should be no shame in parents not understanding or knowing how best to support their non-cisgender children and their straight children to be allies – only shame in parents who don’t endeavor to protect, nurture, and celebrate their non-cisgender children.”</p>
	<p>• Dialogic:</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> “We will be on the streets in some form on June 28,” Jojo Majercsik, the spokesperson for Budapest Pride, said. “We won’t be deterred or scared.”</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> “This new law has shown how vulnerable our rights are,” said Krisztián Marton.</p>	<p>• Religious:</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> The petition read: 'On this altar table, in each act of worship, we remember the death of Christ.'</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Supporters of Shiite Muslim leader Moqtada Sadr burn a rainbow flag outside the Swedish embassy in Baghdad, after they breached the building over the burning of the Koran by an Iraqi living in Sweden.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Symbolic: <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> We carried the torch for constitutional sex equality.</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> We're non-cisgender, we're here.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dialogic: <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Greens non-cisgender spokesman Stephen Bates accused the government of backpedalling on its promises to the community.</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Multiple government departments have cut ties with the charity in recent years with concerns first emerging in 2020 about its value to the taxpayer.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social: <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> It has hit Lili Janca, 30, and her fiancée, Laurka Lanczki, 26, very hard. So hard they are now thinking about leaving the country.</p> <p><i>-Direct Reference:</i> “The public mood has been so depressing and hopeless for so long that we withdrew and resigned ourselves to being passive victims.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social: <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> In years past, Black Lives Matter activists briefly disrupted Pride events to call attention to promote more inclusion of people of color.</p> <p><i>-Indirect Reference:</i> Meanwhile in Argentina, three women were killed in an arson attack last week after a man lobbed a Molotov cocktail at the home of two non-cisgender couples in Buenos Aires.</p>

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the key findings of the analysis of the sample under study by means of Fairclough's and Van Dijk's models. It is divided into three sections; the first section introduced the results derived from the textual analysis, illustrated through tables. Then, the second section examined the findings derived from the discursive analysis, illustrated through tables and diagrams. Hence, the following chapter is dedicated to a nuanced discussion and interpretation of these results.

CHAPTER IV
DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Introduction

In this chapter, we aim to discuss the findings presented in the previous chapter obtained from the analysis of The Guardian's and The Daily Mail's representation of the non-cisgender. The discussion is based on the third level of Fairclough's (1989) model of Critical Discourse Analysis, that is, the sociocultural practice, and Van Dijk's (1998) Ideological square model. This chapter is divided into two sections, which attempt to provide answers to the previously asked questions in the General Introduction. The first section is dedicated to the findings of the textual and discursive aspects of the analysis, while the second section deals with the sociopolitical implications of the underlying ideologies embedded in the textual discourse of The Guardian and The Daily Mail.

4.1 Discussion of the Textual Findings of Non-Cisgender Representation

The sociocultural dimension of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis framework involves examining the broader societal, cultural, political, and institutional contexts that give rise to particular discourses shaping and shaped by media discourse, i.e., it is a macro-analysis level of social structures and ideology. However, the Ideological Square model of Van Dijk's connects the linguistic features observed at the text level to macro-societal ideologies, and reveals the discursive strategies that sustain hegemony, in other words, it reflects a micro-level strategy within discourse that serves macro ideologies.

The findings displayed in the previous chapter reveal that The Guardian, as a liberal-leaning British newspaper, reflects and reinforces progressive discourses surrounding non-cisgender identities, in contrast to The Daily Mail's discourse, which is disposed to its institutional alignment with conservative politics.

4.1.1 Discussion of Vocabulary Choices

4.1.1.1 The Guardian

The Guardian's use of highly connotative and value-laden vocabulary, as seen in **Table 2**, such as "equality", "diversity", "support", "rights", and "pride" signals its alignment with liberal and inclusive ideologies. Besides, by repeatedly associating non-cisgender identities with notions of "courage" "love" and "wellbeing" the newspaper constructs these identities as morally legitimate and socially valuable; recent studies, such as Harcup and O'Neill (2017), show that liberal-leaning outlets use vocabulary such as "inclusion", "rights" "pride", "equality", "visibility", and "community." These terms emphasize empowerment, resilience, and social justice. Also, they resonate with prior studies, particularly those by Baker (2005) and Valentine and McDonald (2004), who noted that liberal media outlets tend to frame non-cisgender individuals within narratives of progress, equality, and resilience. Meanwhile, negative lexical choices, see **Table 3**, such as "discrimination" "violence" "persecution", and "hate" are associated with anti-non-cisgender sentiment, laws or cultural contexts, especially in non-Western or conservative societies such as Ghana, Algeria, and Georgia. This difference highlights an ideological split: Western liberalism is depicted as enlightened and progressive, whereas opposing views are frequently shown as oppressive, threatening, or even "evil". This binary framing illustrates a hegemonic narrative where liberal values are subtly regarded as universal standards, that is, liberal outlets advance a counter-hegemonic narrative that challenges exclusionary norms. In this regard, and based on Van Dijk's (1998) ideological square model, progressives and liberals who support non-cisgender rights, be they allies or activists, are perceived as in-group and are positively self-presented by emphasizing their own progressive values e.g., "We stand with the non-cisgender community in Hungary and in all member states", "We are taking action to address risk factors, preventing suicide and

saving lives”. The Guardian itself is implied as a champion of inclusivity and diversity, this is shown through its editorial sections and articles that praise its inclusive views for equality regardless of race, gender, or sexual orientation. Along with its authors and reporters who highlight their focus on non-cisgender rights, social inclusion, and justice. In opposition to conservative and traditional views that are depicted as out-group owing to their criticism and opposition to non-cisgender matters, hence, they are negatively other-presented by highlighting their bad attributes e.g., “Hundreds of thousand of people were killed and Islamist guerrillas massacred as many “miscreants” as they could, including homosexuals”.

Regarding pronouns, Van Dijk (2006) asserted that they “are perhaps the best known grammatical category of the expression and manipulation of social relations, status and power, and hence of underlying ideologies” (p. 123). That is to say, they could express inclusion or exclusion, solidarity and power, or collectivity or individuality.

As demonstrated before, The Guardian strong use of the inclusive, collective pronouns we (52), us (19), and our (14) aligns with Van Dijk’s ideological square in emphasizing in-group solidarity and shared identity, that is to say, to align itself with the non-cisgender community, advocates, and allies without speaking on their behalf. These pronouns are all used in direct quotes by activists, protesters, or individuals speaking to The Guardian. However, the publication of these testimonies itself implies The Guardian sees these speakers as legitimate, credible, and morally aligned with its editorial stance. This strategy allows The Guardian to show solidarity through representation rather than direct assertion, maintaining journalistic distance while supporting progressive causes. Basically, The Guardian positions itself as a platform for the non-cisgender community by selecting and amplifying these voices, rather than narrating them itself. Instances like “We stand with the non-cisgender community”, “Let’s collectively prevent them from leading

us down the Putin road and depriving us of our freedom”, and “We stand with the non-cisgender community in Hungary and in all member states” reflect what van Dijk (1998) identifies as ideological inclusion, where the in-group is constructed as heroic, just, ethical, and united, conforming to the first aspect of the Square model, i.e., Emphasize Our Good. Contrariwise, the use of they (8), them (4), and their (1) highlight oppression, censorship, and authoritarian control, fitting van Dijk’s principle of emphasizing the bad actions of the out-group, for example, “They would “force non-cisgender people completely out of the public eye”, and “Judges applied their own homophobic and sexist interpretations of child protection guidelines” frame the out-group as oppressive, controlling, and unjust.

4.1.1.2 The Daily Mail

The lexical field employed by The Daily Mail reveals a consistent alignment with conservative ideologies that marginalize non-cisgender identities. Lexical items, see **Table 5**, such as “failed male athletes”, “mentally ill”, “abuse”, “torture”, “illegal”, “threats”, and “extremist” create a discursive frame in which non-cisgender people are constructed as deviant, dangerous, or pathological. These choices resonate with Van Dijk’s (2006) Ideological Square, which posits that polarized discourse emphasizes the negative attributes of the out- group (them), for example, “I would strip them (non-cisgender people) of their right to assembly, because they are all criminals”, said Samuel Tar”; while highlighting the positive attributes of the in-group (us), for instance, “The era of (Prime Minister Sir) Keir Starmer telling us women can have penises has come to an end” Kemi Badenoch, Conservative Party Leader. This aligns with previous findings by Baker (2005), who noted that right-leaning British tabloids often conflate non-cisgender issues with societal decline or moral panic. Similarly, Richardson and Monsef (2020) observed that negative media portrayals tend to “other” non-cisgender individuals by associating them with criminality, risk, or contagion narratives that are clearly visible in The Daily Mail’s

frequent use of terms such as “hate crime”, “murder”, “rape”, and “violence”. In sociocultural terms, such discourse reflects broader anxieties around gender non-conformity, shifts in family structures, and challenges to heteronormativity. The repeated employment of phrases like “pseudo-liberal values” and “decadent Western attitudes” reveals a moralized nationalistic rhetoric that positions non-cisgender rights as a threat to traditional values, echoing what Foucault (1978) termed the “bio-political management” of sexuality. Furthermore, The Daily Mail often employs emotionally charged terminology such as “fear”, “shame”, “invisible” excluded”, and “angry” which, while appearing empathetic on the surface, it actually tends to reinforce a victimized, disempowered identity for non-cisgender people. This narrative strengthens the perception of the non-cisgender individual as always being in danger and constant crisis. Additionally, it reflects a wider cultural contradiction: although non-cisgender visibility has risen in Western societies, there has been an accompanying backlash, as noted by researchers like Duggan (2003) in her theory of “homonormativity.” In this light, right-wing media positions itself as morally upright by recasting non-cisgender rights as disruptive, while at the same time portraying non-cisgender people as both menacing and pitiable. Put differently, the right-wing press invokes what Gramsci (1971) called “common-sense conservatism”, in which traditional values are naturalized and change is framed as dangerous.

What is more, in The Daily Mail, the in-group is discursively built around conservative figures, state actors, and critics of gender and non-cisgender ideologies. Pronouns such as we (21), us (10), and our (17) serve to foster unity and legitimacy. Examples such as “The court has given us the right answer” and “Campaigners against the flag's had claimed our altar table has been hijacked by political activists” show how the pronouns align the speaker with institutions perceived as defenders of traditional values. In Van Dijk’s terms, these reflect the first quadrant: emphasizing our good things. This

positive self-representation paints the in-group as just and protective of societal norms. Additionally, minimizing negative traits of the in-group, the third aspect, that is, de-emphasizing our bad things, is evident in how controversial views are framed as defensive rather than oppressive. For instance, Kemi Badenoch's comment, "The era of Keir Starmer telling us women can have penises has come to an end" is delivered with political gravitas, not as transphobia, thereby neutralizing potential backlash. On the other hand, the out-group, constructed with pronouns like they (19), their (5), and them (4), includes non-cisgender individuals, advocates, and protesters. These are often embedded in contexts of confrontation, irrationality, danger, or deviance. These quotes "They would like to express themselves, which is very harmful", "I would strip them (non-cisgender people) of their right to assembly, because they are all criminals" these quotes align with Van Dijk's second aspect, which is emphasizing their bad things. Here, the non-cisgender community is associated with disturbance, threat, or moral decay. Even when non-cisgender voices express vulnerability in instances like "I don't want to leave Iraq 'just because I am a non-cisgender', but I fear that I might be forced to" and "By living your true self, you are now challenging the state", they are often placed in marginal frames and with skepticism, limiting empathy or identification, and downplaying their rights. These reflect the fourth aspect of the ideological square: de-emphasizing their good things.

Based on the insights gained from the analysis, it is evident that Ng et al. (2024) observed similar lexical patterns in their sample-based study, particularly noting that certain non-cisgender identities were associated with sensational or negative themes, consistent with The Daily Mail's framing in your data. Similarly to Bajor (2022) who identified lexical choices in Polish public media, framing non-cisgender communities as ideological threats, which closely aligns with The Daily Mail's discursive patterns. Moreover, Crees et al. (2022) acknowledged the presence of emotionally charged language

in headline-image combinations but found limited impact on audience perception. In contrast, our findings suggest that such lexical choices do play a significant role in shaping ideological positions. Monaghan (2024), on the other hand, did not focus on specific lexical items but noted that platform categorization practices often fail to capture the diversity of non-cisgender identities. This parallels The Daily Mail's limited and lexical representation.

4.1.2 Discussion of Grammar

4.1.2.1 Modality

4.1.2.1.1 The Guardian

The previous chapter, see **Table 6**, shows that the modal verbs introduced by Fairclough (1989) are all present in The Guardian's news stories. The Guardian makes significant use of modal verbs to construct non-cisgender discourse, and these modal choices are not merely grammatical; they act ideologically to represent certain worldviews and relationships of power, responsibility, and resistance. Modal verbs such as would (37), could (22), may (6), and might (5) express probability and uncertainty, which allows The Guardian to highlight risks, hopes, and anticipations within the sociopolitical climate surrounding non-cisgender rights. While the high-frequency of would (37) in the Guardian is projected in two folds: 1) it highlights anticipated harms and consequences faced by non-cisgender individuals. 2) it serves as a rhetoric device to criticize injustice, i.e., build solidarity, while preserving journalistic caution, i.e., leaving rooms for multiple interpretations, for instance, "They would "force non-cisgender people completely out of the public eye" implies a probabilistic warning, where "would" projects a near-certainty of harm under oppressive policies. This kind of modality reflects what Fairclough (2001) calls possibility modals, which is used to prefigure future realities or hedge criticism while maintaining an activist voice. On the other hand, modal verbs like should (19), must (6),

and have to (4) express moral and social imperatives. These indicate that The Guardian does not merely report events but takes a normative stance, urging society and institutions toward action. For example, “Stonewall CEO says data should be a wake-up call” and “Work must be done to get a clearer idea...” express urgency and necessity for societal responsibility, which justifies the overuse of the modal verb should. These verbs mirror the findings of Fowler (1991), who emphasized that modality indexes ideological commitment, in this case commitment to equality, inclusion, and historical continuity of non-cisgender resistance. This use of strong modality supports a pro-non-cisgender agenda, presenting progressive values as moral obligations. Correspondingly, the modal verb can (25) tends to elucidate possibility, ability, yet more importantly, agency and empowerment, for instance, “The Equal Rights Amendment can protect our lives” confesses the ERA as an active agent for non-cisgender protection, having the power and the capability to do so. Additionally, the over recurrences of the modal verb will (34), along with its negative form will not (3), expresses certainty, confidence, and determination, constructing non-cisgender futures as both inevitable and resilient, for example, “They will be a crucial part of our workplaces...”, “They will not succeed” in silencing non-cisgender voices”, reflect defiance and resistance. These statements are examples of what Halliday (1994) calls high modality with positive polarity that is used to signal commitment to a future-oriented, progressive reality. Whereas, the negated modals, should not (3), may not (1), might not (1), reflect ideological stances around critique of injustice e.g., “We shouldn’t have to put our bodies on the line for Biden to act”, and institutional failure or risk e.g., “School library staff may not be trained or properly supported”, and “Senior leaders might not ‘understand the role or the pressures’ of a school librarian”. Along with cannot (8) and could not (2) that are used to demystify systemic barriers and oppression, for instance, “They cannot change their gender legally in Hungary”. This use of negative modality reflects a critical

stance toward institutional power and highlights structural inequality echoing scholars like van Dijk (1998), who emphasizes how linguistic modality often mirrors power asymmetries in discourse.

4.1.2.1.2 The Daily Mail

The Daily Mail, and in alignment with Fairclough's (1995) claim that modality reflects power, authority, and alignment with dominant ideologies, uses all the modal verbs in its articles, as displayed in **Table 7**, The most frequent modal, will (40), is used to assert outcomes as inevitable and imply certainty and factuality e.g., "non-cisgender activists have also expressed concerns ban will erase their freedom of expression". This aligns with Fairclough's (2001) view that such modal constructions support dominant ideologies by naturalizing them as "common sense". In more precise terms, it positions anti-non-cisgender legislation or sentiment as expected, unavoidable, or even justified. Baker (2005) has also shown that in right-leaning media, as The Daily Mail, high-modality expressions like "will" are often used to present value-laden statements as objective truths, reinforcing conservative ideologies while avoiding accountability. Followed by would (18), which is used to create what is called a "discursive buffer", this latter is a discursive distancing tools enables The Daily Mail to include extreme opinions, discriminatory or harsh attitudes toward non-cisgender people without directly taking responsibility for them. That is what van Dijk (1998) refers to as "ideological mitigation", a way for media to introduce biased content while appearing neutral or objective. This technique reflects Billig's (1992) concept of "banal nationalism" as well, where media normalize exclusionary narratives without overtly promoting them, enabling audience alignment with discriminatory ideologies while avoiding explicit hate speech e.g., "I would strip them (non-cisgender people) of their right to assembly, because they are all criminals". On the other hand, the modal verb can (18) is often used by The Daily Mail to challenge or reject certain non-

cisgender identities, for instance, “The era of (Prime Minister Sir) Keir Starmer telling us women can have penises has come to an end”. This use of “can” supports a more radical, traditional view of gender and identity, reflecting the paper’s conservative stance on non-cisgender issues. As noted by Sunderland (2004), modality can subtly undermine claims by shifting focus from rights to biological or social possibility, aligning with the media’s tendency to treat gender diversity as biologically implausible or socially deviant, and as a threat to “common sense” norms. Moreover, the modal verbs should (13), must (5), and have to (1) are used to express moral obligation or necessity with a clear ideological slant. In instances such as “The move was in line with a ruling by Russia's Supreme Court last November that non-cisgender activists should be designated as extremists”, and “They also perpetuate the notion that to be non-cisgender is something that is wrong and that must be fixed”, these high- modality verbs assert what ought to happen, typically reflecting conservative moral values, and reflect strong judgment. Machin and Mayr (2012) argue that such modality is typical in media that seek to naturalize power relations, by presenting dominant values as common sense while constructing non-cisgender identities as morally deviant or socially corrupting. However, the rare use of low-modality verbs, could (8), may (3), and might (1) which express uncertainty or possibility, reflect discursive rigidity, where there is little room for doubt or alternative views. When these words do appear, it is usually in quotes from non-cisgender individuals, which are marginalized and individualized, not institutionalized or legitimized, rather than in the journalist’s own voice. These quotes often describe fear or danger, like “...Since Parliament, dominated by Orban's nationalist Fidesz party, passed a law last month to ban Pride on the grounds that it could be harmful to children.”, and “The 29-year-old said she doesn't want to leave Iraq “just because I am a non-cisgender”, but they’re presented as personal experiences rather than broader social issues, this conforms to Richardson (2007), who notes that conservative

media often exclude ambivalence to preserve ideological clarity. Lastly, the negated modal verbs would not (5), cannot (4), will not (2) function to deny legitimacy e.g., “Women are women and men are men: you cannot change your biological sex”, set limits and restrictions e.g., “Public gatherings promoting same-sex relationships would not be allowed”, and signal refusal and denial for inclusion e.g., “College chiefs say they will not renew its membership with the controversial charity when it expires in December”. This aligns with Foucault’s (1978) idea that discourse both enables and constrains what can be said or done, particularly around sexuality and identity. In sum, The Daily Mail reaffirms dominant sociocultural ideologies that favor normative gender and sexuality constructs.

Our results corroborate the findings of Ng et al. (2024), which reflects similar patterns, particularly the use of passive constructions when discussing “non-cisgender” individuals. Bajor (2022) similarly found that Polish media employed passive forms to obscure responsibility and diminish non-cisgender agency. However, Crees et al. (2022) and Monaghan (2024) did not analyze grammar. Hence, our work adds depth by demonstrating how grammatical structure contributes to ideological positioning.

4.1.2.2 Repetition

4.1.2.2.1 The Guardian

Repetition in The Guardian operates as a discursive strategy of reinforcement that reflects and reproduces wider sociocultural discourses about non-cisgender inclusion, human rights, and justice. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, repeated positive nouns such as “rights” (29 instances), “support” (5), “love” (4), “equality” (3), and “proud” (3), see **Table 3**, work cumulatively to frame non-cisgender individuals as deserving of dignity, legal protections, and affirmation. According to Fairclough (1995), such repetition within discourse contributes to the naturalization of particular ideologies, in this case, The

Guardian's portrayal of non-cisgender identities as legitimate and integrated members of society. These repeated invocations of humanizing and victimizing terms serves not only to inform but also to morally position the reader, inviting them to align with inclusive and egalitarian values. As Fairclough (2013) suggests, this form of repetition is never ideologically neutral; it reflects broader institutional practices and sociopolitical allegiances. The phrase "equality, equality, equality", which occurs in a direct quote, is particularly illustrative of this point. The triple repetition intensifies the ideological message, embodying what Van Dijk (1998) terms "ideological reproduction", that is, the strategic reinforcement of in-group values (in this case, egalitarianism). Previous scholarship supports this interpretation. Crees et al. (2022) found that liberal media repeatedly uses affirmation-based lexis to symbolically include non-cisgender communities within a broader liberal human rights framework. Similarly, Bajor (2022) noted that repetition of "rights" and "equality" in liberal newspapers reinforces a narrative of moral and civic progress. Conversely, The Guardian also repeatedly uses negatively connoted nouns, see **Table 3**, such as "suicide" (18), "self-harm" (12), "discrimination" (13), "homophobia" (11), "conversion practices" (7), and "violence" (5). These recurrences help The Guardian highlight systemic injustices and threats to non-cisgender lives, aligning with Van Dijk's (1998) concept of ideological square: emphasizing the bad actions of the out-group e.g., homophobic governments, institutions, while emphasizing the good of the in-group, the inclusive and supportive community. In addition, repeated references to suicide and self-harm constructs a discourse of urgency and crisis. This aligns with Ng et al. (2024), who found that media emphasis on mental health outcomes among non-cisgender youth functions to invoke reader sympathy and legitimizing protective interventions. Moreover, the recurrence of "conversion practices" (7 mentions), "threat" (2), assault (2), and "death penalty" (3) across multiple articles also contributes to a stark

representation of structural violence and the illegitimacy of anti-non-cisgender policies. Fairclough (2001) contends that repeated use of particular lexical patterns, such as framing certain groups consistently with negative or positive language, guides readers toward interpreting social issues through the process of “oppressor versus oppressed”. This repetition naturalizes specific ideologies by presenting one group as victims of injustice and another as the source of harm, encouraging readers to accept these roles as commonsense. Thus, this repetitive patterning contributes to the construction of The Guardian’s ideological stance as affirming and protective of non-cisgender communities as it positions non-cisgender community as integral to democratic society and casts homophobic or transphobic ideologies as regressive and dangerous.

4.1.2.2.2 The Daily Mail

Fairclough (2001) argues that language use in media texts is never neutral, especially when it comes to contentious social issues like non-cisgender rights. In the Daily Mail dataset, lexical repetition of negative terms, see **Table 4**, overwhelmingly outweighs the repetition of positive ones, see **Table 5**. For example, suicide (11 instances), abuse (4), mental illnesses (3), derogatory (3), and threats (3). These linguistic choices portrayed non-cisgender identities as being associated with instability and crisis by commonly highlighting danger, injury, pathology, and conflict. According to Crees et al. (2022) and Ng et al. (2024), British tabloids, like the Daily Mail, regularly create a crisis narrative about non-cisgender communities, promoting heteronormative standards and depicting non-cisgender people as the source of conflict or victims of social decay. This is consistent with their findings. The frequent use of terminology like violence, crime, and abuse as well creates a semantic field of deviance around non-cisgender identities and validate a public fear. This aligns with Van Dijk’s Ideological Square, which emphasizes how “Our group is morally superior” while “Their group is threatening or deviant”. In the light of the above,

Fairclough (2003) notes that repetition is central to ideological hegemony as it helps discursive norms become taken for granted. By contrast, even neutral or positive-sounding terms e.g., diversity, freedom of expression, appear in ironized or delegitimized contexts, such as satirical movements or critiques of pseudo-liberal values. Whereas, positive terms e.g., support, inclusion, pride, appear rarely, which highlight their discursive marginalization. This supports Monaghan's (2024) findings that the Daily Mail operates within a restrictive moral framework, which selectively amplifies negativity around non-cisgender issues while tokenizing or under-representing progressive frames.

4.2 Discussion of the Discursive Findings of Non-Cisgender Representation

4.2.1 Discourse Representation and Framing

4.2.1.1 The Guardian

In The Guardian, we witness the evolving of 5 major themes. The first theme to mention is political and legal debates, which is identified in articles 1, 2, 7, 10, 11, 13, 17, and 18 that mostly revolve around political and legal issues. These articles often focus on how non-cisgender people, particularly non-cisgender individuals, are centered in political or legal debates, to name few, Trump's executive order, rulings from the U.S. Supreme Court, or laws passed in places like Russia and Iraq. The language employed in these articles highlights legal authority, for instance, "executive order". Yet, this authority is depicted in two ways: sometimes it is depicted as empowering non-cisgender rights, and other times it is framed as undermining or endangering them. As shown in Monaghan (2024), legal discourse can depersonalize and delegitimize non-cisgender experiences by prioritizing bureaucratic language over individuals' identities. Van Dijk's Ideological Square is also reflected in, where the articles draw a line between "us", i.e., the lawmakers or institutions seen as rational and legitimate, and "them", i.e., non-cisgender people or activists, who are sometimes portrayed as challenging or destabilizing the system.

Moreover, in articles 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, and 19 non-cisgender people are made invisible or ignored by institutions reinforcing the second theme, marginalization. The above articles highlight the focus on governments failing to collect data on non-cisgender individuals, like in Australia, or refusing to legally recognize certain identities, such as in Peru and Iraq. The language used in these articles includes strong, emotionally charged words like “betrayal”, “erased”, and “rendered invisible”, which emphasizes how non-cisgender people are being excluded and portrayed as victims, while criticizing governments for their lack of action. Bajor (2022) and Ng et al. (2024) both found that media often marginalize non-cisgender groups by simply leaving them out of official or bureaucratic discussions. Similarly, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) argue that formal, bureaucratic language can hide deeper ideological biases, making exclusion seem neutral or objective. Another identified theme in *The Guardian* is resistance and solidarity, which is captured in articles 3, 5, 6, 12, 14, and 15. Within which non-cisgender people are portrayed as active, strong, and united in standing up against injustice or repression as fighters, taking part in protests, sports events like the Pride Cup, or reclaiming symbols, like using satire or rainbow flags. These articles often utilize humor or irony to challenge oppression e.g., “Death to colors”. Also, words like “celebrate”, “thrive”, and “inclusion” create a positive tone that supports non-cisgender activism as well. Crees et al. (2022) found that progressive outlets like *The Guardian* often show non-cisgender people as “underdog heroes”, in practical terms, bravely pushing back against oppressive systems. This also reflects Van Dijk’s idea of the “good us”, in our case liberals, against the “bad them”, that is repressive forces. Vulnerability and Victimhood, a fourth theme that is identified in news stories 6, 16, 17, and 18. Where non-cisgender people are depicted as vulnerable, especially non-cisgender people and non-cisgender youth; with a focus is on their suffering, like mental health struggles, discrimination, or being erased from government

data. These articles often include emotional and alarming words, like “shocking” or “staggering”, and back them up with statistics to show how serious the problems are e.g., suicide rates among non-cisgender youth. Baker (2005) and Ng et al. (2024) note that showing vulnerability can make readers care. The fifth theme is normalization; where non-cisgender people are shown as just a normal part of society, in the 4th and 15th articles. These articles treat non-cisgender identities as something ordinary, like playing in a local sports event or giving parenting advice. Positive everyday language is used, like “support”, “celebrate”, and “nurture”. Simply put, non-cisgender presence is shown as joyful and socially accepted. In this regard, Bajor (2022) and Crees et al. (2022) argue that this kind of portrayal helps fight stigma as it makes non-cisgender life seem familiar and integrated, especially in liberal newspapers like The Guardian.

4.2.1.2 The Daily Mail

Within The Mail’s coverage, four major themes emerge. Protecting traditional gender norms is identified particularly in articles 1, 2, 7, and 20. These articles often framed non-cisgender rights debates around fairness, especially in contexts like sports or religion. For example, arguments like “keeping men out” of women’s spaces suggest an effort to preserve what’s seen as normal or natural. Van Dijk’s ideological square helps make sense of this through “emphasizing our good” e.g., fairness, biology, while implying “their bad” e.g., disruption. This aligns with what Baker (2005) and Caldas-Coulthard (1996) describe about discourses that resist change under the guise of objectivity or tradition. Another theme, especially in Articles 8, 9, and 19, was a form of subtle exclusion, where non-cisgender identities are not attacked, but simply erased. This happened in discussions around corporate policies or census data, where non-cisgender people were left out or deprioritized. This absence can be just as powerful as overt negativity. Scholars like Machin and Mayr (2012) have written about institutional

silencing, and Hall (1997) reminds us that being excluded from representation is a way of being denied socially. All together highlighting the theme of marginalization. Furthermore, we witness the evolvement of mental health vulnerability as a theme in articles 6, 14, 16, and 17 which painted a picture of non-cisgender people, especially youth and non-cisgender individuals, as being at risk of discrimination, violence, or mental health crises. These articles highlighted rising hate crimes, trauma from conversion therapy, and the psychological burden of social rejection. The tone here was of concern and empathy. While this can raise awareness, it can also risk reducing non-cisgender people to victims. Scholars like Meyer (2003) have explored how minority stress impacts mental health, and these pieces often echoed that framework. However, few articles, 4, 11, and 15 leaned into celebration and normalization of non-cisgender people, the fourth theme. The articles focused on stories of support, joy, and everyday inclusion. Whether it was about inclusive workplaces or openly non-cisgender football players, the message was that these identities are part of normal life. Cameron and Kulick (2003) argue for this kind of normalization in public discourse as a sign of real progress.

4.2.2 Agency

4.2.2.1 The Guardian

In the case of The Guardian, agency is largely distributed to non-cisgender individuals, activists, and allies, who are framed as legitimate social actors resisting oppressive policies. This agency is linguistically constructed through grammatical choices, i.e., active verbs and first-person pronouns as “we” and “our”. To illustrate this, the following excerpts: “The organizers of Budapest Pride said ‘This is not child protection, this is fascism.’”, “The government wants to silence our voice and deny our existence”, and “We need to see the UK take its place back at the top of the global leader board for non-cisgender rights” foreground non-cisgender actors such as pride organizers, activist

voices, and inclusive national identity, as active, vocal agents; and the grammatical construction often uses active voice, direct quotations, and assertive verbs e.g., want, said, need, which align with Machin and Mayr's (2012) observation that active structures reveal who is doing what to whom, thereby enhancing perceived agency; and adheres to the strategy of Van Dijk (1998), emphasizing the positive actions of the in-group in this case non-cisgender communities and allies in instances such as asserting rights, mobilizing for change, or demanding inclusion. From a Faircloughian perspective, these choices are not neutral. They reflect a sociocultural context where The Guardian aligns with liberal democratic values that support human rights, inclusion, and diversity; besides it supports a counter-hegemonic discourse, where the media outlet actively challenges dominant narratives such as binary notions of sex and anti-non-cisgender legislation. According to Browne & Nash (2010), The Guardian's approach resists depoliticization by explicitly identifying perpetrators and power structures. Similarly, to Baker (2005), who found that liberal newspapers are more likely to depict non-cisgender individuals as agents of change and to criticize institutions that suppress them. Thus, state actors and opposing governments are constructed as authoritarian and regressive adhering to Van Dijk's (1998) strategy of Emphasizing the negative actions of the out-group, in this case conservative governments and exclusionary policies in instances like "silence our voice", "deny our existence", and "this is fascism".

All in all, agency in The Guardian is constructed within a broader ideological and societal framework that supports non-cisgender rights and resists dominant heteronormative norms.

4.2.2.2 The Daily Mail

In The Daily Mail, agency is predominantly granted to state institutions, political actors, and legal authorities that uphold heteronormative and traditional values. That is to

say, active, legitimized agency is concentrated in courts, government actors, and conservative commentators, as shown in the following excerpts, “Peru has officially classified non-cisgender people as ‘mentally ill’”, “Iraq's parliament passed an anti-non-cisgender bill...”, “The Court ruled that sex is binary...” and “Five Supreme Court justices unanimously ruled...”. Hence, these institutions and political figures aligned with conservative ideology are praised and constructed as rational defenders of tradition, matching Van Dijk’s (1998) first aspect of the framework, i.e., emphasizing our good things. However, The Daily Mail strips non-cisgender subjects of agency, positioning them more frequently as objects of legislation, on one hand, and passive recipients of oppression, on the other. This aspect is reinforced by various studies, including Machin and Mayr (2012), who argue that agency in conservative discourse often lies with institutions, i.e., judges, politicians, laws, whereas minority groups are stripped of agency or framed as reactive or deviant. In instances like “Non-cisgender women would not be able to participate...” and “India Willoughby said the ruling marked a ‘dark day’...” The Daily Mail renders non-cisgender agency passive, secondary, or oppositional, meaning that they are not the doers but the affected; this highlights their marginalization along with the normalization of anti-non-cisgender sentiment. Therefore, they are portrayed as disruptive and threatening, equating Baker (2010) and Lazar (2005) studies that noted that right-leaning outlets like The Daily Mail tend to frame non-cisgender identities as threats to social cohesion, morality, or tradition, and Van Dijk’s (1998) second aspect, i.e., emphasizing their bad thing.

Agency is also obscured through passive voice. Statements such as “Their well-being was negatively impacted due to recent politics”, “Victimization includes bullying...”, and “There were calls to amplify non-cisgender voices...” downplay specific actors or avoid attributing blame, shifting focus away from policy-makers, and further

diminishing non-cisgender agency. Besides, interestingly, when conservative policies cause harm e.g., increased suicide risk, invisibility in censuses, such impacts are reported in detached, passive terms, which aligns with Van Dijk's (1998) third aspect, i.e., de-emphasizing our bad things, on one hand, and conforms to Browne and Nash (2010) perspective of depoliticization of systemic violence against non-cisgender people, often seen in The Daily Mail's global reporting e.g., Russia, Iraq, Peru, where state violence is acknowledged but rarely critiqued.

Building on the works of Ng et al. (2024), Bajor (2022), and Monaghan (2024), our study's findings resonate with their findings on agency, which frequently portray and frame non-cisgender as passive victims. However, it diverges with Crees et al. (2022) study, as it did not focus on agency. This is a contrast to our finding that The Daily Mail exercises ideological power through agency manipulation.

4.2.3 Nominalization

4.2.3.1 The Guardian

Nominalization is a critical linguistic strategy in media discourse. In The Guardian's coverage of non-cisgender issues, the heavy use of nominalization reveals complex ideological and discursive patterns. Based on the quantitative findings, see **Figure 3**, action nominalizations (151) dominate the text and frequently obscure agency. Instance like "All Australians deserve equal protections before the law", "Blocking same-sex couples from adopting children", and "The legislation would result in restrictions on the right of peaceful assembly" often remove the actor from the process, allowing the text to focus on outcomes or institutional processes, which supports a depersonalized and bureaucratized discourse. According to Fairclough (2001), this depersonalization reflects the technocratic discourse common in neoliberal societies, where policies are framed as neutral "actions" that appear free from ideological underpinning. Saying that "Ideologies

become most effective when they are not recognized as ideologies, when they are naturalized. The more naturalized the ideology, the less visible it becomes” (p. 76). This strategy supports the positive self- presentation of the in-group by neutralizing controversial actions and concealing power relations. The second category is state Nominalizations with 64 instances, which includes abstract states such as fear, hostility, intolerance, and danger. They define societal conditions as static and naturalized, often without attributing causes or agents. These nominalizations contribute to naturalization as well, often by backgrounding the actor e.g., conservative regimes, subtly blaming them without naming them, and reinforcing their negative other- presentation while avoiding overt confrontation. The third identified category, event nominalization with 19 instances, describes social or historical shifts as if they happen on their own, without human involvement, that is objective phenomena. Words like rise, increase, revolution, and backlash hide the people responsible for these changes; they make events look like natural developments instead of the result of deliberate political action. This allows The Guardian’s writers to promote a favorable view of their own group and a more critical view of the opposing group, using implication rather than explicit blame or praise.

4.2.3.2 The Daily Mail

As displayed in **Figure 3**, nominalization is less employed in The Daily Mail compared to The Guardian. Action Nominalization is the most frequent type of nominalization with 64 instances, including terms like ban, participation, judgment, decision, and support. This latter reflects a discursive strategy that transforms political and social processes into abstract, fixed, and depersonalized entities, rather than contested practices in an attempt to conceal the agent, allowing controversial actions to appear neutral. Simply put, this process is identified by Fairclough (2003) as the process of reification. For example, the phrases “Trump’s banning of non-cisgender athletes” or “the

decision to exclude non-cisgender topics” obscure the agency behind these actions, presenting them as impersonal outcomes. This discursive pattern supports findings from previous studies. Baker (2005), for example, showed that right-leaning UK newspapers often deploy grammatical strategies like nominalization and passivization to position non-cisgender people as outsiders or sources of conflict. Similarly, Richardson and Wodak (2009) found that action nominalizations in conservative media contribute to the construction of social threats, framing issues like non-cisgender rights as part of a broader “moral panic”.

All above conform to Van Dijk's (1998) emphasize their bad actions, representing non-cisgender visibility or support as needing regulation or limitation without explicitly stating the agents doing so. Moreover, with 52 occurrences, state nominalizations play a prominent role in The Daily Mail's discourse. Nouns like acceptance, inclusion, neutrality, victimization, diversity, oppression, and division turn complicated social and emotional experiences into something easy to count or control as if they were physical objects or facts rather than ongoing human experiences. As Fairclough (2001) suggests, state nominalizations freeze socially contested meanings, transforming relational or ideological concepts into unquestioned states. For example, the phrase “victimization of non-cisgender youth” present suffering without addressing responsibility, thereby depersonalizing harm and power structures. Scholars such as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), and Machin & Mayr (2012) have emphasized that state nominalizations allow right-leaning media to frame socio-political debates in terms of moral psychology or social order, rather than justice or rights. In this way, The Mail constructs non-cisgender existence and advocacy not as struggles for equity, but as conditions that challenge societal equilibrium. Though less frequent with 23 instances, event nominalizations, such as resurgence, increase, crackdown, removal, implementation, conflict, and development,

serve a different ideological function. These nouns often lack clear agents or causes. In phrases like “a resurgence in homophobia” or “an increase in anti-non-cisgender sentiment”, the nominal forms portray these shifts as impersonal trends rather than consequences of media narratives, political, or institutional policies. Fairclough (1995) labels this strategy mystification, where causal structures are hidden from public view. From Van Dijk’s perspective, this technique supports ideological distancing that allows The Daily Mail to imply without explicitly stating that such movements destabilize social harmony, activating the “emphasize their bad actions” function of the Ideological Square. Simultaneously, by framing negative actions as general events rather than orchestrated actions, the newspaper shields dominant institutions from critique, an instance of de-emphasizing our bad actions. As Wodak and Meyer (2015) argue, event nominalizations help construct a narrative of “crisis” or “chaos” while obscuring systemic responsibility, particularly in relation to social justice movements. This reinforces conservative discourses that suggest non-cisgender visibility and rights claims are sources of instability.

All in all, the analysis affirms that The Daily Mail systematically constructs non-cisgender subjects through a lens of othering, often wrapped in the appearance of neutrality or concern. Consequently, Ng et al. (2024) and Bajor (2022) support our findings by echoing the patterns found in The Daily Mail. Yet neither Crees et al. (2022) nor Monaghan (2024) explicitly addressed nominalization, suggesting that our study contributes original insights in this area by linking linguistic abstraction to ideological intent.

4.2.4 Intertextuality

4.2.4.1 The Guardian

In The Guardian, intertextuality plays a central role in constructing a supportive narrative for non-cisgender communities. The newspaper uses intertextual references, see

Figure 4, to embed non-cisgender representation within accepted, powerful discourses, particularly institutional, political, historical, and cultural sources. This reflects how discourse is shaped by and reinforces societal values, norms, and power structures. The most frequent references are institutional (46), manifest (36), and political (22). By citing institutions like the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and political actors such as Stonewall or Sean Meloy, *The Guardian* aligns non-cisgender issues with authoritative voices which legitimizes their rights. Additionally, by highlighting inclusive policies, condemning anti-non-cisgender laws abroad e.g., Uganda and Hungary, and exposes figures like Trump, whose actions are framed as threats to non-cisgender rights, *The Guardian* positively portray the in-group, i.e., emphasizing “our good actions” (liberal, progressive forces), while emphasizing the hostility of the out-group and de-emphasizing “our bad actions” (conservative, anti-non-cisgender actors). Furthermore, cultural (19), historical (17), and scientific (16) references work to normalize non-cisgender identities. By referencing historical oppression e.g., Algerian civil war, AIDS crisis, and quoting scientific research e.g., suicide rates among non-cisgender youth, the newspaper builds empathy and positions non-cisgender identities within a long struggle for survival and recognition. This is reinforced by previous research, such as Baker (2005), who found that progressive media often draws on diverse intertextual sources to present non-cisgender subjects as legitimate and morally compelling. Likewise, Lazar (2005) points out that feminist and non-cisgender texts often reuse and reshape the language of powerful institutions to support and empower marginalized groups. Although less frequent, references to religion (5), social testimony (5), and ideology (4) are still powerful. They provide lived experience, moral framing, and symbolic resistance, such as quoting Pride slogans or referencing the Pope’s critique of anti-non-cisgender laws.

This reflects Fairclough’s notion of discourse as both shaped by and shaping

ideology. In this way, The Guardian promotes a more inclusive social attitude through these indirect signals. Even when they appear rarely, dialogic (3) and testimonial intertextuality (5), such as someone recalling the trauma of electric shock therapy for being non-cisgender, play an important role. Dialogic intertextuality means including other people's voices directly in the text, like through interviews or quotes. This gives a sense of conversation or interaction. These references help turn abstract issues into personal and emotional ones, which aligns with Van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square, where positive stories about the in-group, like non-cisgender individuals and the harm they've faced from the out-group, like oppressive systems, are used to build sympathy and strengthen solidarity. This reflects a deliberate ideological alignment that challenges heteronormative structures while reinforcing progressive norms, a pattern observed in other academic studies on liberal media discourse like that of Machin and Mayr (2012) and Richardson (2007).

4.2.4.2 The Daily Mail

The Daily Mail draws on a variety of intertextual sources, see **Figure 5**, but in a way that maintains a cautious or even skeptical tone towards non-cisgender topics. The dominance of institutional (53) and manifest (24) intertextuality shows that The Mail relies heavily on formal authority figures and statements from officials, often quoting politicians or state rulings that present non-cisgender rights as controversial or disputed. This aligns with Van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square, which outlines how discourse constructs "us" vs "them" categories. In this case, The Daily Mail tends to highlight negative actions of the out-group e.g., foreign or liberal governments promoting non-cisgender rights, and positive attributes of the in-group e.g., British law, order, or tradition. For example, quoting a Supreme Court decision that defines "woman" in strictly biological terms reinforces a conservative view of gender, supporting dominant social norms. In

addition, legal (16) and political (12) often bring in rulings, legislation, and political rhetoric that frame non-cisgender issues as social or legal controversies. This helps create a distancing effect, where non-cisgender inclusion is treated more as a debate than a human rights concern. Media sources (11) are often mentioned in ways that highlight conflict or controversy, for example, references to TikTok or Instagram suggest that non-cisgender visibility is linked to young people and seen as possibly unsettling or disruptive. Equally important, scientific intertextuality, with 9 mentions, is used selectively, mostly to highlight mental health struggles among non-cisgender youth. While this can evoke sympathy, it also portrays non-cisgender identities as associated with trauma or instability, which previous studies Baker (2005) and Monk (2011) say can lead to pathologizing rather than normalizing non-cisgender experiences. Similarly to Baker (2014) and Motschenbacher (2020), who critiques how right-leaning media incorporate sympathetic narratives while still upholding heteronormative hegemony. Historical intertextuality (5), such as the Stonewall riots or the abuse of non-cisgender individuals by state agents, invoked to frame contemporary struggles. However, such references are often selectively employed, emphasizing victimhood rather than resistance, thus limiting their potential to disrupt dominant narratives. This aligns with Motschenbacher's (2020) observation that even when referencing non-cisgender histories, conservative outlets may depoliticize or sanitize them.

Furthermore, literary references, such as poetry or slogans function metaphorically to mock or delegitimize non-cisgender expression. This use of stylized literary expressions also aligns with Van Dijk's ideological polarization, subtly casting non-cisgender discourse as deviant from mainstream values. Ideological intertextuality (5), that is references to global politics (e.g., Putin's "family values") frames non-cisgender issues as Western decadence. This supports the ideological square's strategy of associating the in-group with

morality and the out-group with excess or danger. Symbolic intertextuality (4), like the crucifixion or the rainbow flag, are used to connect non-cisgender issues with bigger cultural or emotional ideas. For example, comparing the suffering of non-cisgender people to the suffering of Jesus makes their experience seem deeply tragic and emotional and link them to universal human struggles so that to present non-cisgender people mostly as victims, as their main role is to suffer or be pitied. Cultural intertextuality (2), references to different cultural settings or values, such as comparing conservative Utah with liberal Colorado. The outlet uses these examples, probably, to show that traditional values are under threat when non-cisgender people become more visible. This follows Foucault's (1978) idea that culture and identity are shaped through regulated discourse, here, conservative culture is positioned as threatened by non-cisgender visibility. Moreover, the media includes religious voices (2). Sometimes, religious figures are quoted in support of non-cisgender people. Other times, the focus is on religious groups attacking non-cisgender rights, like burning a rainbow flag. So the coverage can go both ways, but it often presents a kind of war between religion and non-cisgender identities. This supports Van Dijk's idea that dominant groups like traditional religious communities are often shown as "us," while non-cisgender people are portrayed as the "other" or a challenge to tradition. Whereas, including social movements and events, like Black Lives Matter, joining Pride events or reporting on violent attacks against non-cisgender people. These stories highlight real problems and show that non-cisgender people often face danger or rejection. But by constantly showing them as victims.

Scholars like Ahmed (2012) and Puar (2007) have argued that such representations may simultaneously make non-cisgender people seem like they are always in danger or always causing disruption, which affects how the public sees them. Moreover, references to testimonial and dialogic intertextuality are present but minimal, at 4–2

instances. They are represented through reported speech, quotes from public figures, and references to protests or policy critiques, and function to create a semblance of debate. But here, their limited use could mean the newspaper often failed to center their voices directly.

These findings substantiate Foucault's (1978) argument that media often speaks *about* marginalized groups rather than allowing them to speak *for* themselves, corresponding to Fairclough's (1992) assertion that dialogicality is not inherently democratic; it is shaped by power relations that determine whose voices are legitimized or marginalized. Taken together, the Daily Mail's diverse intertextual strategies serve to anchor non-cisgender identities within a discourse of vulnerability and deviation. By the end, it is evident that Ng et al. (2024), Bajor (2022), Crees et al. (2022), and Monaghan (2024) similarly found a range of intertextual strategies. However, our study extends this by applying Fairclough's sociocultural dimension and Van Dijk's Ideological Square.

4.3 Socio-Political Implications of The Guardian and The Daily Mail's Ideologies

This analytical layer connects the textual and discursive patterns, from levels one and two, to power structures, ideologies, hegemonies, institutions, historical developments, and cultural structures. In practical terms, it locates texts within their institutional, historical, and sociopolitical contexts, investigates the production, distribution, and consumption of texts, and more importantly, considers how texts reproduce or contest social ideologies and power relations.

In this vein, The Guardian's reporting on non-cisgender issues, in particular Pride bans, anti-non-cisgender bills, and mental health, reflects a broad commitment to progressive human rights and intersectional justice. On the social practice level, this discourse confirms and naturalizes a broadened worldview in which non-cisgender identity is not discrete from other but by no means limited to racism, colonialism, and mental

health inequality. This is consistent with the long-standing, left-of-center editorial bias of the paper and broader ideological position that often elevates concerns of equality, global justice, and institutional oppression. Consequently, its non-cisgender reporting tends to locate non-cisgender identities in contexts of structural injustice, such as criminalization of the non-cisgender in the Global South, or the psychological impact of exclusionary politics. From a production standpoint, it mirrors its position in British media as socially liberal and activist-driven reporting. From a consumption point of view, this approach resonates with the expectations and beliefs of its primary readership, often urban, educated, politically liberal audiences who are likely to support non-cisgender. These readers are not only consuming news; they are also reaffirming their political identities and values through media that reflects their worldview. The Guardian therefore creates a feeling of solidarity and international togetherness among readers, calling readers to see non-cisgender rights as fundamentally linked to broader struggles for equality and human dignity.

Basically, the findings obtained from the in-depth analysis of (1) lexical choices: more frequent humanizing terms like “activist”, “community”, and the use of inclusive empathetic headlines reflect liberal-progressive ideologies, (2) agency: non-cisgender people often shown as active agents e.g., “calling out”, “demanding rights”, portrays empowerment, (3) intertextuality: Inclusion of expert voices, non-cisgender advocates, and references to legislation or academic research provides legitimation and supports counter-hegemonic discourse, and (4) nominalization: more person-oriented than abstract or ideological terms, all together aligns with liberal democratic discourses supporting equality, diversity, and representation, contributing to the normalization of non-cisgender inclusion in mainstream public policy and culture. Broadly speaking, The Guardian reproduces hegemony in three ways: (1) normalizing progressive ideologies: by consistently framing non-cisgender rights as common-sense, and inclusivity and diversity

as default societal values, (2) selective intertextuality: through prioritizing voices from activists, experts, and supportive political figures, which legitimizes one ideological stance while marginalizing opposing perspectives, and (3) positive lexical framing: through using empathetic language to humanize non-cisgender identities, reinforcing liberal values as dominant and socially normative. On the other hand, Van Dijk's Ideological Square model is echoed in the paper's emphasis of the good of the in-group, those aligned with inclusive, human rights-based politics, by consistently framing diversity, intersectionality, and non-cisgender resilience as positive and necessary. Simultaneously, The Guardian emphasizes the bad of the ideological out-group, often positioning conservative policies, right-wing governments, and exclusionary legislation as harmful, authoritarian, or regressive. Likewise, any good intentions or legitimate concerns raised by conservative or religious groups are generally underrepresented. Through this framing, The Guardian not only reflects its audience's values but also actively participates in the construction of a polarized sociocultural discourse where inclusion and equality are championed, and resistance to them is morally delegitimized.

The opposite holds true for The Daily Mail's coverage of non-cisgender issues which reveals discursive patterns that are deeply embedded within broader sociocultural and ideological frameworks. When examined through the third level of Fairclough's CDA model, it becomes evident that the newspaper's discourse participates in the reproduction of conservative, heteronormative, and neoliberal logics that both reflect and shape public understanding. One dominant discursive cluster in the data concerns law, order, and gender essentialism, notably in articles related to U.S. political developments e.g., Trump's re-election campaign, Supreme Court decisions, and UK policy debates, e.g., Title IX implications, and definitions of sex in law. These texts construct non-cisgender identities primarily as illegal, immoral, and social threats, drawing on ideologies of biological

determinism and legal essentialism. Within this framework, the Daily Mail appears to align with right-wing discourse traditions, including republican narratives in the U.S. and gender-critical feminism in the UK. The rhetorical emphasis on biological truth and the protection of women and children serves to legitimize exclusionary policies.

Besides, Van Dijk's framework assists in uncovering how ingroup vs. outgroup ideologies are discursively constructed by emphasizing "our good things" and "their bad things" while downplaying "our bad" and "their good. In The Daily Mail, this is evidenced by the lexical emphasis on ingroup values such as "protecting children", "biological reality", and "free speech", contrasted with the portrayal of outgroup threats, often framed as a "non-cisgender agenda", "ideological imposition", or "erasure of women's rights". Through this discursive construction, The Daily Mail actively sustains an "us versus them" narrative, consistent with Van Dijk's ideological square, thereby reinforcing a broader cultural dichotomy between tradition and social radicalism. Interestingly, and based on the obtained findings: frequent use of negative or pathologizing language around non-cisgender identities e.g., "radical", "agenda", reflects conservative ideological alignment; non-cisgender individuals often rendered passive or absent, which obscures agency and aligns with marginalizing discourses; use of quotes from conservative politicians or marginal groups to construct "legitimacy" for oppositional views, reinforcing ingroup ("traditional values") vs. outgroup ("woke ideology"); and finally, abstract language like "non-cisgenderism" or "non-cisgender agenda" depersonalizes and ideologizes identities, The Daily Mail's discourse participates in the reproduction of hegemony in three main ways: (1) naturalizing dominant ideologies, i.e., through presenting traditional views on gender and sexuality as obvious or commonsense, (2) delegitimizing counter-hegemonic movements, i.e., through casting non-cisgender activism and advocacy as extreme or harmful, and (3) externalizing oppression to foreign contexts by shifting

attention away from local issues, i.e., through framing foreign governments as brutal and backward, positioning the UK by contrast as a safe society. Through these strategies, the newspaper sustains an ideological environment that resists sociocultural transformation, reinforces existing power structures, and restricts the possibilities for the inclusion of non-cisgender communities. Therefore, and on closer examination, The Daily Mail aligns with right-wing, populist discourses, reflecting UK political cleavages over identity politics; in addition to, appealing to a readership that values stability, tradition, and moral clarity, thus reinforcing a socially conservative worldview of safeguarding public order.

In summation, discourses in The Guardian and The Daily Mail not only represent but also construct sociopolitical dominant ideologies. While, The Guardian fosters a counter-hegemonic, inclusionary discourse that supports progressive policy reforms, The Daily Mail reinforces traditionalist ideologies and moral panic discourse, thereby legitimizing exclusionary narratives. Both are part of the UK's ongoing discursive polarization of non-cisgender identities, as represented in media, politics, and public opinion. Nevertheless, these ideological framings in both outlets reveal the UK's broader "culture war" over national identity, family values, and diversity. Although a great deal of recent academic scholarship critiques conservative media representations of non-cisgender topics, it is important to acknowledge that The Daily Mail represents a valid and substantial segment of public opinion that adheres to tradition, family, and social orders. The outlet's emphasis on safeguarding tradition, protecting vulnerable populations e.g., children, and scrutinizing rapid sociocultural change aligns with a worldview that prioritizes social cohesion and normative stability. From a discourse analytical perspective, such representations serve not merely as exclusionary but also as expressions of a broader ideological resistance to what some perceive as the politicization of identity, concerns that continue to resonate across the UK. From a conservative one, this

perspective underlines what is felt as a very clear erosion of the UK's commitment to its own heritage values and institutions. Despite its history as a powerful empire rooted in the preservation of age-old traditions and mores, full support of non-cisgender rights by the regime appears to contradict its conservative disposition, which is traditionally regarded by conservatives as a deviation from cultural solidity and moral sanity towards a supposed broader societal trend of decadent morals that undermine the country's historical identity. For many, these inevitable divergences of ideo-hegemonic discourses by political and media elites, typically seen in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail*, create and expose a sense of internal conflict within Britain's regime and political direction, in one sense, and discloses the cultural divide in contemporary British society, on the other sense.

As a part of this research process, it is important to clarify my own position as a researcher, as this inevitably shapes the way I engage with the topic under investigation. I identify as a faithful Muslim, and my worldview is consequently informed by Islamic teachings, values, and principles. From this perspective, I hold certain moral and cultural understandings regarding sexuality and gender, which differ from the frameworks within which non-cisgender issues are commonly discussed in Western academic and media contexts. I recognize that research is never entirely neutral, and that researcher's perceptions are always shaped by their identities, assumptions, and social contexts. Acknowledging this standpoint does not imply a rejection of the academic significance of the topic, yet I fully recognize the need to critically examine how media discourse represents non-cisgender identities, as these representations shape public attitudes and cultural debates towards the normalization of such phenomena. Therefore, my beliefs as a Muslim compels me to oppose this phenomenon and to not support the broader non-heteronormative movement. My opposition is based initially and above all on the principles of my faith, which regard gender and sexual relations as divinely ordained, as

well as on the values of the community in which I was raised where gender is traditionally understood as binary: a woman is recognized as a woman and a man as a man, with clearly defined roles and identities. Within this context, the act of practicing what is referred to as the non-cisgender identity is regarded as illegal and subject to punishment under the law. Moreover, even the discussion of such issues is largely considered taboo, reflecting deep cultural and religious sensitivities. These legal, cultural, and social realities have influenced both my worldview and my standpoint as a researcher.

By drawing on frameworks such as Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis model and Van Dijk's Ideological Square, I seek to provide a systematic and critical examination of linguistic and discursive strategies used in such propagandistic representations, while remaining true to my own faith-based convictions. Thus, my aim is to analyze how newspapers construct, frame, and circulate discourses around these identities while opposing and criticizing them through upholding my conservative values and Islamic convictions.

Conclusion

In sum, this chapter has provided a discussion and interpretations of the results of the textual and discursive analyses of the non-cisgender representation in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail*. The findings have been discussed relying on Fairclough's (1989) socio-cultural dimension and Van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square model. The interpreted results have allowed us to respond to the research questions advanced earlier in the General Introduction

GENERAL CONCLUSION

General Conclusion

The current study has endeavored the ideological representation of non-cisgender individuals in British news discourse in two ideologically distinct outlets, namely The Guardian and The Daily Mail. The major aim of the current study was to utilize a contrastive critical discourse approach in analyzing the narratives of these outlets in their representation of the non-cisgender to uncover the underlying ideologies shaping media discourse and explore their broader sociopolitical implications.

As previously mentioned in the General Introduction, three major objectives were set to be investigated. The study first attempted to investigate the divergences and intersections in the textual representations of non-cisgender across both outlets. As a second objective, the study aimed at investigating the divergences and intersections in the discursive representation of non-cisgender in the newspapers under study. As a third objective, we sought to unveil the demystified ideologies embedded in the textual and discursive discourse of The Guardian and The Daily Mail and their extent to reflect broader sociopolitical implications.

To achieve the previously mentioned objectives and answer the research questions as well, the analysis was framed by two theoretical frameworks; Fairclough's (1989) Three-Dimensional Model of CDA, with a specific focus on the sociocultural practice level, in combination with Van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square Model from his framework of Socio- Cognitive Model. In accordance with such models, the study investigated how linguistic choices and intertextual strategies contribute to reproducing or challenging prevailing ideologies within media texts. Through a comparative analysis of 20 articles from The Guardian and The Daily Mail, the study investigated lexical patterns, constructions of agency, nominalization types, and intertextuality to articulate how each newspaper discursively constitutes non-cisgender identities and situates them in broader sociopolitical

debates. By focusing on the sociocultural dimension, the research went beyond surface-level content to reveal the ideological underpinnings and power structures that shape each newspaper's representation of non-cisgender.

In line with a mixed-methods research approach, this study employed a compromise of quantitative and qualitative data gathering methods where the quantitative techniques have been employed to analyze the linguistic representation of the non-cisgender through calculating the frequency of the similarities and differences between both outlets in their textual and discursive representation relying on Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model of CDA. While the qualitative technique has been implemented through Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model of CDA to uncover the hegemonic ideologies behind such representations.

In answer to the first research question stated how did the inter-narratives of The Guardian and The Daily Mail contrast in terms of textual representations of the non-cisgender? the findings reveal that The Guardian consistently employed affirming, inclusive, and humanizing language viz., lexis and modals, that positions and represent non-cisgender individuals as valued members of a progressive society, beside reinforcing a more welcoming inclusivity on the light of Van Dijk's framework, through emphasizing the good of the non-cisgender and their proponent, and de-emphasizing the bad of their dissents. Whereas, The Daily Mail used more negative loaded or cautionary terms reflecting concern and skepticism toward non-cisgender visibility, constructing non-cisgender topics as socially contentious, by clearly emphasizing their good, i.e., the conservatives, along with de-emphasizing their bad, while emphasizing the bad of non-cisgender activists and allies.

The second research question addressed how The Guardian and The Daily Mail vary in terms of application of discursive strategies to make, confirm, or undermine hegemonic ideologies about non-cisgender identities. To that effect, the research findings indicate that The Guardian constructed a liberal-progressive hegemonic discourse in which non-cisgender

inclusion is ethically necessary, legally mandated, and culturally inescapable. This is confirmed through selective intertextuality, authors' voices, supportive legislators, and non-cisgender activists. So, the result is a normalized, naturalized framing of non-cisgender rights. Yet, it marginalizes conservative or dissenting viewpoints. In contrast to The Daily Mail that constructed a conservative counter-discourse characterized by ideological resistance to perceived social instability. The newspaper placed tradition, family values, and child protection above any positive representations of non-cisgender lives in the background. The discourse articulated deep concerns about institutional overreach, democratic erosion, and identity politicization.

The last question is concerned with the sociopolitical implications of the underlying ideologies of the textual and discursive discourse of The Guardian and The Daily Mail. The comparative discourse analysis of the two news media texts has demonstrated that The Guardian's framing mainstreams diversity and inclusivity of non-cisgender issues, and silences or delegitimizes counter-positions, like those of The Daily Mail. The latter's framing provides voice for nationalistic and conservative concerns, fueling culture-war rhetoric, and influencing political debates on education, law, and family. Ultimately, as may be observed, the discourses of both outlets are engaged in the reproduction of hegemony albeit in different ideological directions. Above all, methodologically, the combination of Fairclough's model and Van Dijk's ideological theory was fruitful in capturing the dynamic interplay between language, power, and ideology since the multi-level approach allowed for a nuanced analysis of both textual features and broader sociopolitical meanings.

Despite the substantial investment of effort in this dissertation, it is essential to acknowledge its limitations. Initially, we aimed to conduct a multimodal critical discourse analysis of the forty selected articles, that is a visual analysis of forty images and textual analysis of forty news outlets, however, due to hampered image availability in the chosen

articles and time constraints, an insightful multimodal analysis of the forty articles was not possible within the scope of this study, thus, the researcher felt the urge to eliminate the multimodal aspect from the research. Acknowledging this limitation is essential, as it underscores the multifaceted nature of this research area and warrants continued investigation.

In essence, the findings of this endeavor have important implications in the field of media studies and critical discourse underscoring the need for critical media literacy, especially regarding how language can conceal ideological intent and play a performative role in the culture wars. Additionally, warranting readers, educators, and policymakers to be aware of the ways linguistic strategies shape perceptions, polarize publics, and affect cultural values, but most importantly, the findings encourage the development of educational curricula that train students to decode ideological positioning in the media, fostering more informed and reflective consumption of news, especially those contradicting with our conservative ethical mores and values. Last but not least, and broadly speaking, this research urges the establishment of a monitoring system to track and filter threatening and decadent content as a step toward a safeguarded media system, a system that upholds ethical standards, protects cultural integrity, and does not succumb to ideological extremism or cultural erosion. Such a system would not only enhance media accountability but also promote the preservation of foundational societal values.

For starters, we recommend that future researchers build upon this study by addressing its limitations, particularly the scope of the data. This research was confined to forty articles; therefore, an expansion of the sample to 50–60 articles per outlet would offer a more comprehensive textual base for comparison. Furthermore, a time frame of 5–10 years would provide researchers with enough opportunities to trace diachronic shifts in ideological positioning and framing strategies. Furthermore, the inclusion of 2–3 more UK-based

newspapers with varying editorial ideologies would render the discursive continuum more nuanced. Further comparative research might also compare other English-speaking countries' media landscapes, such as the United States, Canada, or Australia, and examine how national ideologies shape non-cisgender representation differently across cultural and political contexts. Finally, follow-up research has to move out of traditional print media by looking at other media outlets, for example, UK television and social and digital media, for instance, Facebook status, X (formerly Twitter) tweets, TikTok clips, or Instagram reels.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 01: The Forty Selected Articles

The Guardian Articles

No.	Publishing Date	Title & Link
1	14-04-25	Hungary passes constitutional amendment to ban non-cisgender gatherings
2	09-04-25	Suicide and self-harm risk twice as high in non-cisgender adults in England and Wales
3	28-03-25	‘We won’t be deterred or scared’: Hungary’s non-cisgender community fights for right to march in Pride
4	28-03-25	Stonewall will fight to ban all non-cisgender conversion practices, says new chief non-cisgender rights
5	25-03-25	Nathan Lane says ‘homophobia is alive and well’ in Hollywood
6	16-03-25	Russell T Davies: non-cisgender man society in ‘greatest danger I’ve ever seen’ after Trump win
7	07-03-25	I’m so proud of my non-cisgender daughter for coming out in this intolerant climate
8	03-03-25	Republican state lawmakers galvanize to attack same-sex marriage
9	21-02-25	Non-cisgender community in Germany rally against rise of far right ahead of elections
10	17-02-25	The Koran and the Flesh by Ludovic-Mohamed Zahed review – the trials of a non-cisgender Muslim
11	29-01-25	One in 10 young adults in UK identify as non-cisgender– ONS
12	01-12-24	‘Generational change’: why more young Australians are identifying as non-cisgender
13	18-12-24	These women lost their children because they were non-cisgender – why can’t the government say sorry?
14	11-12-24	We just got arrested for demanding that Biden codify sex equality
15	03-10-24	Why do so many non-cisgender people still have to snatch moments of affection when we know others aren’t looking?
16	19-08-24	Dozens of UK school librarians asked to remove non-cisgender books, survey finds
17	16-06-24	‘No pride in occupation’: non-cisgender Palestinians on ‘pink-washing’ in Gaza conflict
18	21-03-24	Landmark report calls for removal of non-cisgender discrimination exemptions for Australia’s religious schools
19	13-03-24	The Guardian view on Africa’s homophobic legislation: western influences are encouraging hatred
20	28-02-24	Ghana intensifies crackdown on rights of non-cisgender people and activists

The Daily Mail Articles

No.	Publishing Date	Title and Link
1	23-04-25	Donald Trump is RIGHT to ban non-cisgender athletes from women's sports, says Martina Navratilova - as she claims it's 'obviously not fair' to let them compete
2	16-04-25	Non-cisgender women with gender certificate can be barred from...
3	12-04-25	State is first to ban non-cisgender pride flags from schools... but some MAGA fans are furious
4	29-03-25	Charity launches guide for parents of non-cisgender children to...
5	14-02-25	Protesting Hungarians mock Orban's anti non-cisgender moves....
6	24-02-25	Nearly 50% of non-cisgender teens considered suicide last year - with nearly one-fifth of non-cisgender men attempting to end their lives, shocking survey finds
7	10-10-24	Royal College of Psychiatrists cut links with Stonewall amid concerns over non-cisgender rights stance
8	25-09-24	'Show courage': Labor MP rebels on non-cisgender census topics
9	29-08-24	Non-cisgender people to be 'rendered invisible' in 2026 census
10	25-08-24	Georgia to move ahead soon with bill curbing non-cisgender rights
11	01-08-24	Biden administration rule protecting non-cisgender students...
12	30-06-24	Turkey arrests at least 15 protesters at Pride rally
13	28-06-24	As non-cisgender Pride's crescendo approaches, tensions over...
14	04-06-24	Non-cisgender billboard campaign warns of conversion therapy...
15	01-05-24	Pride game is what football's about: Victory coach
16	15-05-24	Non-cisgender people are officially classified as 'mentally ill' in Peru, sparking fury among non-cisgender groups
17	30-05-24	non-cisgender Iraqis fear dark days ahead after anti-non-cisgender law
18	22-03-24	Russia adds 'non-cisgender movement' to list of extremist and...
19	24-02-24	Outrage as woolworths workers are no longer allowed to wear indigenous or non-cisgender stickers on their name badges
20	16-02-24	Church is banned from displaying a Pride flag with a cross on its altar 'for non-cisgender people' after campaigners complained that it was 'politicizing' a place of worship

Appendix 02: Extracts from the Articles: Lexis and Modality.

Table 1

Complete List of Lexical Choices with Positive Connotation- The Guardian

Lexical Item	Lexical Type	Frequency	Extracts from the Articles
Suicide Prevention	Noun	2	The charity Samaritans said publication of the data was an important step forward for <i>suicide prevention</i> and it painted “a bleak picture that demands action”.
Right(s)	Noun	29	“We need to see the UK take its place back at the top of the global leaderboard for non-cisgender <i>rights</i> and a government committed to this.”
Love	Noun	4	Having the courage to do that when transphobia is rife is worthy of <i>love</i> and respect, writes Rachael Stevenson.
Respect	Noun	2	Having the courage to do that when transphobia is rife is worthy of love and <i>respect</i> , writes Rachael Stevenson.
Heaven	Noun	2	Israel presents itself as an non-cisgender <i>haven</i> in the region.
Rise	Noun	1	A sharp <i>rise</i> in the number of young people identifying as non-cisgender was a key reason for the increase, said the ONS.
Increase	Noun	2	A sharp rise in the number of young people identifying as non-cisgender was a key reason for the <i>increase</i> , said the ONS.
Opportunities	Noun	1	They will deserve – and demand – <i>equal rights and opportunities.</i> ”
Diversity	Noun	1	Support the view that society is becoming more welcoming towards <i>diversity</i> in sexual identity.
Acceptance	Noun	1	Murdoch says the “generational change” has been born from safety and <i>acceptance</i> .
Ally	Noun	1	And anyone who considers themselves any sort of <i>ally</i> .
Visibility	Noun	1	For all of non-cisgender people’s increased <i>visibility</i> , not everyone has got used to us.
Wellbeing	Noun	1	“With harsh penalties for both non-cisgender individuals and activists, this bill threatens the safety and <i>wellbeing</i> of an already vulnerable community.”

Equal	Adjective	1	They will deserve – and demand – <i>equal</i> rights and opportunities.”
Comfortable	Adjective	1	I think we’re just getting a real reflection because people finally feel <i>comfortable</i> to express that.
He/They	Pronoun	1	Nguyen, who uses <i>he/they</i> pronouns, sits on the Mardi Gras board and helps run the activist group Pride in Protest.

Table 2

Complete List of Lexical Choices with Negative Connotation-The Guardian

Lexical Item	Lexical Type	Frequency	Extracts from the Articles
Two Sexes	Noun	2	The amendment...also enshrines the recognition of only <i>two sexes</i> , providing a constitutional basis for denying the gender identities of some in Hungary .
Freedom	Noun	4	Let's collectively prevent them from leading us down the Putin road and depriving us of our <i>freedom</i> .
Sexual propaganda	Noun	1	Orbán and his government have said their aim is to protect children from what they describe as " <i>sexual propaganda</i> ".
Freedom of Expression	Noun	1	Issued a joint statement saying they were deeply concerned that the legislation would result in "restrictions on the right of peaceful assembly and the <i>freedom of expression</i> ".
Risk	Noun	12	The <i>risk</i> of suicide and self-harm for people who identify non-cisgender is more than twice as high as for their heterosexual peers.
Self-harm	Noun	12	Our analysis highlights groups within the non-cisgender community where the relative risk of intentional <i>self-harm</i> or suicide is particularly high compared with their straight or heterosexual counterparts.
Death	Noun	2	In Mauritania, Somalia and parts of Nigeria, as well as Uganda , same-sex relations are punishable by <i>death</i> .
Existence	Noun	1	The government wants to silence our voice and deny our <i>existence</i> .
Inequality issue	Noun	1	These figures must now force the government to address this <i>inequality issue</i> before more lives are lost.
Outrage	Noun	1	The legislation has prompted <i>outrage</i> and protest.
Victims	Noun	4	It would be horrible for me, but the real <i>victims</i> would be the non-cisgender youth.
Pressure	Noun	2	The pair had never been physically assaulted, but they lived under "constant <i>pressure</i> ".
Sadness	Noun	1	Within me, there's <i>sadness</i> , fear and rage."

Fear(s)	Noun	5	It not only legalizes discrimination but also fosters an environment of <i>fear</i> and persecution,” he said.
Conversion practices	Noun	7	Stonewall will fight to ban all non-cisgender <i>conversion practices</i> , says new chief.
Rage	Noun	1	Within me, there’s sadness, fear and <i>rage</i> .”
Non-cisgender inclusive ban	Noun	1	Stonewall and the wider non-cisgender sector, after Labour committed in its manifesto to a “full <i>non-cisgender-inclusive ban</i> ” on conversion practices.
Attacks	Noun	3	He said that the progress of Labour’s bill may be exploited by those pursuing global <i>attacks</i> on non-cisgender rights.
Assault	Noun	2	The charity is releasing new research on Friday that finds that 17% of non-cisgender Britons have experienced physical <i>assault</i> .
Exorcism	Noun	1	10% have experienced “ <i>exorcism</i> ” practices.
Danger	Noun	3	Russell T Davies: non-cisgender society in ‘greatest <i>danger</i> I’ve ever seen’ after trump win.
Anger	Noun	2	Doctor Who writer says he feels ‘a wave of <i>anger</i> heading towards us’ and hostility in UK as well as US.
Hostility	Noun	3	Doctor Who writer says he feels ‘a wave of anger heading towards us’ and <i>hostility</i> in UK as well as US.
Violence	Noun	5	Criminalization legitimates and fuels homophobia and <i>violence</i> .
Resentment	Noun	1	As a non-cisgender man, I feel like a wave of anger, and violence, and <i>resentment</i> is heading towards us on a vast scale.
Peril	Noun	1	But the <i>peril</i> the non-cisgender community now faced, he said, was even greater than that in the 1980s.
Threat	Noun	2	The <i>threat</i> from America, it’s like something at The Lord of the Rings.
Anti-Non-cisgender Sentiment	Noun	1	Community grapples with fear over ‘proliferation and normalization of <i>anti-non-cisgender sentiment</i> in politics and the media’

Anti-non-cisgender policy	Noun	1	We are looking at political actors openly including anti-non-cisgender policy in their campaigns as part of a larger effort to scapegoat marginalized groups for bigger social issues.
Hate	Noun	1	We are looking at political actors openly including anti-non-cisgender and anti-non-cisgender policy in their campaigns as part of a larger effort to scapegoat marginalized groups for bigger social issues, while simultaneously legitimizing discrimination and hate towards them.”
Exclusion	Noun	2	The AfD’s manifesto for the upcoming election defines family as a “father, mother and children”, to the exclusion of all other forms of families.
Non-cisgender cult	Noun	1	It calls for minors to be protected from what it describes as “the non-cisgender cult , early sexualisation and gender ideology”.
Gender ideology	Noun	1	It calls for minors to be protected from what it describes as “the non-cisgender cult, early sexualisation and gender ideology ”.
Taboo	Noun	1	Zahed is convinced that the taboo against homosexuality in the Arab-Muslim world is mostly a cultural phenomenon rather than a religious edict.
Struggle	Noun	1	This courageous, melancholy memoir, about the author’s struggle to reconcile his faith with his sexuality, argues that homophobia is a cultural phenomenon, not a religious edict.
Effeminacy	Noun	1	Who hated his son’s effeminacy .
Stigma	Noun	3	Until that day comes, non-cisgender communities will continue to face disadvantage, discrimination and stigma .
Hate crime(s)	Noun	3	There’s been a rise in hate crime against non-cisgender people.
Censorship	Noun	1	There appears to be something of a “trend” of censorship targeted at books written by non-cisgender authors or featuring non-cisgender characters.
Otherness	Noun	1	If non-cisgender books are not “visible”, it is “exclusion and otherness by a more subtle means”

Racist hostility	Noun	1	But those who smuggle themselves across the separation wall into Israel from the occupied territories in search of a more non-cisgender-friendly environment often find instead <i>racist hostility</i> , bureaucratic red tape and a state of long-term vulnerability.
Vulnerability	Noun	1	But those who smuggle themselves across the separation wall into Israel from the occupied territories in search of a more non-cisgender-friendly environment often find instead racist hostility, bureaucratic red tape and a state of long-term <i>vulnerability</i> .
Exploitation	Noun	1	They struggle to access shelter and therefore face abuse and exploitation .
Hatred	Noun	2	Western influences are encouraging <i>hatred</i> .
Horror	Noun	1	There was widespread <i>horror</i> and condemnation last year when Uganda passed a draconian anti-non-cisgender law.
Condemnation	Noun	1	There was widespread horror and <i>condemnation</i> last year when Uganda passed a draconian anti-non-cisgender law.
Death penalty	Noun	3	Uganda passed a draconian anti-non-cisgender law that included the <i>death penalty</i> for some same-sex acts and a 20-year sentence for “promoting” homosexuality.
Jail	Noun	2	Willful promotion, sponsorship or support of non-cisgender activities” punishable with up to five years in <i>jail</i> , and identifying as non-cisgender with up to three years’ imprisonment.
Imprisonment	Noun	1	Willful promotion, sponsorship or support of non-cisgender activities” punishable with up to five years in jail, and identifying as non-cisgender with up to three years’ <i>imprisonment</i> .
Homophobic crime	Noun	1	South Africa has constitutional protections against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, and has continued to enact legislation to protect non-cisgender rights, though <i>homophobic crime</i> persists.
Criminalization	Noun	2	<i>Criminalization</i> legitimates and fuels homophobia and violence.

Crackdown	Noun	1	Ghana’s parliament has passed legislation that intensifies a <i>crackdown</i> on the rights of non-cisgender people and those promoting non-cisgender, non-cisgender or other non-conventional sexual or gender identities in the West African country.
Prison sentence	Noun	1	The new legislation passed on Wednesday imposes a <i>prison sentence</i> of up to five years for the “wilful promotion, sponsorship or support of non-cisgender activities”.
Penalties	Noun	2	Those advocating for non-cisgender rights could be subject to harsher <i>penalties</i> .
Persecution	Noun	1	It not only legalises discrimination but also fosters an environment of fear and <i>persecution</i> ,” he said.
Us	Pronoun	3	The tone against <i>us</i> is getting harsher, and liberal democracy is under pressure.” However, for all of non-cisgender+ people’s increased visibility, not everyone has got used to <i>us</i> .
Them	Pronoun	2	Let’s collectively prevent <i>them</i> from leading us down the Putin road and depriving us of our freedom,” it said. our society finds ways to “other” people for being different, and looks for reasons to vilify <i>them</i> .

3.1.1.2 The Daily Mail

Table 3

Complete List of Lexical Choices with Positive Connotation-The Daily Mail

Lexical Item	Lexical Type	Frequency	Extracts from the Articles
Anti-Discrimination	Noun	1	Whether someone with a gender recognition certificate (GRC) recognizing their gender as female should be treated as a woman under anti-discrimination legislation.
Difference	Noun	1	Create an environment where difference is celebrated and inclusion is prioritized.”
Inclusion	Noun	1	Create an environment where difference is celebrated and inclusion is prioritized.”
Preferred Pronouns	Noun	1	Non-cisgender people who had their preferred pronouns used and had access to gender- affirming clothing and school bathrooms 'had lower rates of attempting suicide compared to those who did not.'
Less Discrimination	Noun	1	We know that when you see images of people who are successful, when there is less discrimination and stigmatization in society, that helps young people to be proud of themselves and that allows them to succeed and to thrive.'
Less Stigmatization	Noun	1	We know that when you see images of people who are successful, when there is less discrimination and stigmatization in society, that helps young people to be proud of themselves and that allows them to succeed and to thrive.'
Pride	Noun	1	We are seeing that 85 percent of non-cisgender young people are have pride in being non-cisgender,' Paley said in 2021.
Inclusive	Noun	2	"It's about being inclusive and everyone has to feel safe," Veart said.
Proud	Noun	1	The CEO and executive director of the Trevor Project, told CBS News three years ago that non-cisgender youth are proud of who they are.
Safe	Noun	1	"It's about being inclusive and everyone has to feel safe ," Veart said.
Us	Pronoun	3	Just Like Us .

Table 4

Complete List of Lexical Choices with Negative Connotation- The Daily Mail

Lexical Item	Lexical Type	Frequency	Extracts from the Articles
Failed Male Athletes	Noun	1	Navratilova, 68, has long voiced her opposition to non-cisgender sportspeople coming against biological females, calling them ' <i>failed male athletes</i> ' - despite being subjected to stinging attacks as a result.
Banning	Noun	1	In February, Trump signed an executive order <i>banning</i> non-cisgender athletes from women's sports.
Discrimination	Noun	5	Saying it would "strengthen the voices of <i>discrimination</i> and division that seek to disrupt the nation's social cohesion".
Exclusion	Noun	1	The intention must have been to allow for the <i>exclusion</i> of those with the protected characteristic of gender reassignment.
Freedom of Expression	Noun	1	Non-cisgender activists have also expressed concerns ban will erase their <i>freedom of expression</i> .
Negative Attitudes	Noun	1	The resource is much needed because of an increase in <i>negative attitudes</i> towards non-cisgender people.
Homophobia	Noun	2	I was definitely hearing some <i>homophobia</i> , even from like nine-year-olds, towards each other."
Derogatory Insult	Noun	1	Some primary school children cited the social media app TikTok as the place where they had heard the word non-cisgender being used as a <i>derogatory insult</i> .
Satirical Movement	Noun	1	The rally, called by the Two-tailed Dog Party, a <i>satirical movement</i> , follows several other protests since Parliament, passed a law last month to ban Pride on the grounds that it could be harmful to children.
Criminals	Noun	1	"I would strip them (non-cisgender people) of their right to assembly, because they are all <i>criminals</i> ,"
Diversity	Noun	1	The Two-tailed Dog Party said with heavy irony that it called the rally to support Orban's efforts to stamp out <i>diversity</i> .
Suicide	Noun	11	More than one in 10 young people who identify as non-cisgender attempted <i>suicide</i> in 2023.

Risk	Noun	1	Non-cisgender men were the most at <i>risk</i> .
Victimization	Noun	2	The Trevor Project said that 'anti-non-cisgender <i>victimization</i> ' was the main factor in young people's increased likelihood for suicide.
Bullying	Noun	1	Victimization includes <i>bullying</i> .
Division	Noun	1	Saying it would "strengthen the voices of discrimination and <i>division</i> that seek to disrupt the nation's social cohesion".
Mental Health Struggles	Noun	1	The Trevor Project said more acceptance is the prescription for the elevated <i>mental health struggles</i> non-cisgender youth are facing.
Health Disparities	Noun	1	Non-cisgender people face significant <i>health disparities</i> compared to the rest of the population.
Betrayal	Noun	1	Equality Australia chief executive Anna Brown says the government's refusal to update the census feels like a <i>betrayal</i> to the non-cisgender community.
Lack of Inclusion	Noun	1	This <i>lack of non-cisgender inclusion</i> will hurt health outcomes for those in the community.
Curbing non-cisgender Rights	Noun	1	Georgia to move ahead soon with bill <i>curbing non-cisgender rights</i> .
Bans	Noun	1	Georgia's parliament will shortly begin debating a wide-ranging "family values" bill that will include <i>bans</i> on "non-cisgender propaganda" and gender reassignment surgery, the speaker of parliament was quoted as saying on Tuesday.
Non-cisgender Propaganda	Noun	2	The bill would ban " <i>non-cisgender propaganda</i> " in the education system and stop broadcasters from showing intimate scenes involving same-sex relationships.
Anti-non-cisgender Agenda	Noun	1	The opposition has said that Georgian Dream's <i>anti-non-cisgender agenda</i> is an attempt to shore up its support among conservatives and distract voters from economic problems ahead of parliamentary elections due by October.
Pseudo-Liberal Values	Noun	1	The ruling party says the bill is necessary to defend against " <i>pseudo-liberal</i> " values that undermine traditional family relationships.
Conversion Therapy	Noun	1	Non-cisgender billboard campaign warns of <i>conversion therapy</i> 'abuse'.

Abuse	Noun	4	“Non-cisgender conversion practices are <i>abuse</i> .”
Harms	Noun	1	An non-cisgender charity has launched a billboard campaign on Valentine’s Day warning against the <i>harms</i> posed by conversion therapy.
Mental and Physical Harm	Noun	1	“These harmful practices still happen across a variety of spaces and in many guises across Scotland and they cause significant <i>mental and physical harm</i> .”
Fear	Noun	1	“Scotland must move forward with ending these practices, so that all non-heteronormative people in Scotland can be free to live their lives without <i>fear</i> , shame, or being subject to what, in some cases, amounts to torture.
Shame	Noun	1	“Scotland must move forward with ending these practices, so that all non-heteronormative people in Scotland can be free to live their lives without fear, <i>shame</i> , or being subject to what, in some cases, amounts to torture.
Torture	Noun	2	Rights groups presented Azul's case to the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights (IACHR), which in 2018 decided that her treatment constituted <i>torture</i> and discriminatory violence.
Homophobic Abuse	Noun	1	Was subjected to <i>homophobic abuse</i> from some Victory fans in 2022.
Mental Illnesses	Noun	3	Non-cisgender sexualism, dual-role non-cisgenderism, gender identity disorder in childhood, other gender identity disorders and fetishistic non-cisgenderism are now all recorded as <i>mental illnesses</i> .
Intolerance	Noun	1	The South American nation has garnered a reputation for <i>intolerance</i> of non-cisgenderism and non-cisgender.
Discriminatory Violence	Noun	1	Rights groups presented Azul's case to the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights (IACHR), which in 2018 decided that her treatment constituted torture and <i>discriminatory violence</i> .
Lack of Awareness	Noun	1	Percy Mayta-Tristan, a medical researcher at Lima's Scientific University of the South, said it revealed a <i>lack of awareness</i> of complex non-cisgender issues.

Attack(s)	Noun	2	The legislation has been condemned by rights groups as an "attack on human rights" which reinforces an environment where non-cisgender and gender-diverse people have long faced <i>attacks</i> and discrimination.
Hate Crime	Noun	1	The May 6 attack, widely seen as a <i>hate crime</i> , shocked many in a nation that considers itself to be a pioneer of non-cisgender rights in Latin America.
Threats	Noun	3	When Saif Ali fled Iraq last year to escape <i>threats</i> and abuse over his sexual orientation, he always dreamed of someday returning.
Crime	Noun	1	The new law, based on amendments to a 1988 anti-prostitution statute, also makes "biological sex change based on personal desire and inclination" a <i>crime</i> .
Violence	Noun	1	Members of the non-cisgender community are already "exposed to various types of <i>violence</i> , such as murder, rape, kidnapping, and extortion", said Ali, founder of the Gala for non-cisgender group.
Murder	Noun	1	Members of the non-cisgender community are already "exposed to various types of violence, such as <i>murder</i> , rape, kidnapping, and extortion", said Ali, founder of the Gala for non-cisgender group.
Rape	Noun	1	Members of the non-cisgender community are already "exposed to various types of violence, such as murder, <i>rape</i> , kidnapping, and extortion", said Ali, founder of the Gala for non-cisgender group.
Kidnapping	Noun	1	Members of the non-cisgender community are already "exposed to various types of violence, such as murder, rape, <i>kidnapping</i> , and extortion", said Ali, founder of the Gala for non-cisgender group.
Extortion	Noun	1	Members of the non-cisgender community are already "exposed to various types of violence, such as murder, rape, kidnapping, and <i>extortion</i> ", said Ali, founder of the Gala for non-cisgender group.
Capital Punishment	Noun	1	A previous draft had proposed <i>capital punishment</i> for same-sex relations.

Persecution	Noun	1	Gala for non-cisgender listed steps "to reduce the risk" of <i>persecution</i> , including unfollowing non-cisgender accounts, avoiding dating apps and "reducing the expression of your non-cisgender identity".
Cyclical Violence	Noun	1	"The law adds insult to injury for Iraqi non-cisgender people already facing <i>cyclical violence</i> and threats to their lives by armed groups".
Extremists	Noun	1	The move was in line with a ruling by Russia's Supreme Court last November that non-cisgender activists should be designated as <i>extremists</i> .
Decadent Western Attitudes	Noun	1	As part of a shift under President Vladimir Putin towards what he portrays as family values that contrast with <i>decadent Western attitudes</i> , Russia has tightened restrictions over the past decade on expressions of sexual orientation and gender identity.
Vulnerable	Adjective	1	The justices said that this interpretation of the law does not cause disadvantage to non-cisgender people, who were described as a "potentially <i>vulnerable</i> group".
Derogatory	Adjective	3	Says <i>derogatory</i> language used towards non-cisgender people needs to be tackled.
Homophobic	Adjective	1	78% of primary school children and 80% of secondary school students in the UK have heard <i>homophobic</i> language used at school.
Excluded	Adjective	2	According to the complaint, the non-cisgender community felt <i>excluded</i> when completing the 2021 census.
Demeaned	Adjective	1	Signing a joint letter to the prime minister to reverse the decision with the non-cisgender community left "feeling excluded, <i>demeaned</i> and angry".
Angry	Adjective	1	Signing a joint letter to the prime minister to reverse the decision with the non-cisgender community left "feeling excluded, demeaned and <i>angry</i> ".
Invisible	Adjective	1	Non-cisgender people to be 'rendered <i>invisible</i> ' in 2026 census.
Illegal	Adjective	1	The Istanbul Governor's Office labelled the organizations calling for the Pride March as <i>illegal</i> .
Abusive	Adjective	1	The Equality Network said the practice is " <i>abusive</i> " and does not work.

Appendices

Wrong	Adjective	1	“They also perpetuate the notion that to be non-cisgender is something that is <i>wrong</i> and that must be fixed.
Mentally Ill	Adjective	3	Non-cisgender people are officially classified as ' <i>mentally ill</i> ' in Peru, sparking fury among non-cisgender groups.
Extremist	Adjective	1	Russia adds 'non-cisgender movement' to list of <i>extremist</i> and terrorist organizations.
Terrorist	Adjective	1	Russia adds 'non-cisgender movement' to list of extremist and <i>terrorist</i> organizations.

Table 5

Complete List of Pronouns in The Guardian

<p style="text-align: center;">Us In-Group</p> <p>Non-cisgender community, Pro-non-cisgender, Rights Groups, Protesters, International Allies, Advocators</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">They Out-Group</p> <p>Anti-non-cisgender Government, State Institutions, Critics</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Let’s collectively prevent them from leading us down the Putin road and depriving us of our freedom,” it said. - “We are here because we need to act fast to get ahead and stop it.” - Jacqui Morrissey “we know the full picture is incomplete.” - “Urgent action is needed across healthcare to tackle the barriers that non-cisgender people face to getting the support they really need. Government can no longer drag its feet; lives depend on getting this right.” - Department of Health and Social Care spokesperson said the government was committed to tackling suicide: “We are taking action to address risk factors, preventing suicide and saving lives. - ‘We won’t be deterred or scared’ - “We will be on the streets in some form on June 28 [the day Pride would have been held],” Jojo Majercsik, the spokesperson for Budapest Pride, said. “The government wants to silence our voice and deny our existence,” “This new law has shown how vulnerable our rights are,” said Krisztián Marton, 35, a non-cisgender writer. - “Within me, there’s sadness, fear and rage.” - What we are talking about here is conversion practices, which are saying ‘you are bad, you are wrong, you need to change’. - “This is a flagship policy at a time when we know that non-cisgender rights are being attacked on a global basis. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It codifies the government’s recent ban on Pride events, paving the way for authorities to use facial recognition software to identify attendees and potentially fine them. - “Let’s collectively prevent them from leading us down the Putin road and depriving us of our freedom,” it said. - Orbán and his government have said their aim is to protect children from what they describe as “sexual propaganda” - The age-standardised rate of intentional self-harm for adults identifying as non-cisgender was 1,508.9 per 100,000 people, compared with 598.4 per 100,000 for those saying they were straight or heterosexual. - They were asking simply for the right to be able to take part in a Pride parade. - “They will not succeed.” - They can expect a fine of between £12 and £415, which they will be able to appeal against. - They can do whatever they want. - They’re in control of information, they’re in control of what people think, and that is what we’re now facing.” - Our society finds ways to “other” people for being different, and looks for reasons to vilify them. - What we want to do is challenge that concept and see if we can get to Obergefell, - I think that’s kind of what we’re pushing at all the way around the board with a bill like this.

- **We** were carrying on doing work for all members of the non-cisgender community.

- “**We** need to see the UK take its place back at the top of the global leader board for non-cisgender rights and a government committed to this.”

- **We** have only made progress and will only make progress through endless conversations with people who may share none or some of the same views.

- “I want conversations where **we** are willing to listen to each other, seek to understand each other’s views and find ways for everyone to live side by side with dignity and respect.”

- “If they give me a chance, I seem to do well.”

- “I feel like a wave of anger, and violence, and resentment is heading towards **us** on a vast scale,” he said, and I think **we**’re in the greatest danger I have ever seen.”

- “And that is exactly the year that rumours and whispers of a strange new virus came along, which came to haunt our community and to test **us** in so many ways.”

- “**We** demanded the science. **We** demanded the access.”

- “**We**’ve had bad prime ministers and **we**’ve had bad presidents before. What **we**’ve never had is a billionaire tech baron [openly hating his non-cisgender daughter](#),” he added.

- “**We** have never had this in the history of the world,”

- What **we** always do in times of peril, **we** gather at night”.

- “What **we** will do in Elon Musk’s world, that **we**’re heading towards, is what artists have always done,”

- “If **we** have to be those rebels in basements yet again,” he added, “When art thrives, then that’s what **we**’ll become”.

- “The tone against us is getting harsher, and liberal democracy is under pressure.”

- They poured on to street across Germany by thousands, waving rainbow flags and signs that read “Choose Love”.

“Welcome to a country where non-cisgenders cannot participate in artificial insemination programmes, cannot adopt children, and if they already have children, only one of **them** can exercise parental rights.”

- “The reality is **we** have to push back on Obergefell,” Bullard added.

- This is a biological necessity to preserve and grow **our** human race,”

- Even if **they** would despise and betray him, and even let him be murdered, if **they** really knew who he was.

- Hundreds of thousand of people were killed and Islamist guerrillas massacred as many “miscreants” as **they** could, including homosexuals.

- “Judges applied **their** own homophobic and sexist interpretations of child protection guidelines.”

- While our friends chanted around us, the Capitol police pulled us upright and dragged us on to the sidewalk, where **they** ripped away our green bandannas...

- Because straight couples don’t just hold hands in public. **They** kiss, **they** cuddle, **they** pat each other’s bums

- **They** got their rights on the backs of Palestinians.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I found it relatively easy to make a few contacts, who all insisted that <i>we</i> meet in a “neutral” restaurant in the embassy district of Hydra. - The more than one in 10 of 16-24 year-olds identifying as non-cisgender will be a crucial part of <i>our</i> workplaces, politics and lives. <i>They</i> will have colleagues, friends and families who support <i>them</i>, and <i>they</i> will deserve – and demand – equal rights and opportunities. - I think <i>we</i>’re just getting a real reflection because people finally feel comfortable to express that. - It gives <i>us</i> a reflection of those who have maybe really affirmed that part of their expression.” - When you are in a marginalized community, there is this sentiment that <i>we</i> deserve better.” - When <i>I</i> was 26, <i>I</i> was homosexual. And, you know, from a working-class family, these things weren’t discussed back then.” - The difference between the 1900s compared to now is if people found out <i>we</i> were non-cisgender then, <i>we</i>’d lose everything – family and friends.” <p><i>We</i> can be legally fired from religious schools or denied enrolment and in many states.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Former politician Linda Bellos struggled through tears to tell <i>us</i> how she lost custody of her children... - But the implication that <i>I</i>, because <i>I</i> was a non-cisgender, would in some way abuse my children, it still makes me sick.” - <i>We</i> shut down Constitution Avenue in Washington DC, demanding that Joe Biden publish the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). - That’s why <i>our</i> generation has taken up the 101-year-long struggle for constitutional sex equality. - <i>We</i> came to Washington to protest on 10 December. - <i>We</i> risked legal repercussions. - <i>We</i> now must mourn them. - <i>We</i> put our bodies on the line – because our bodies are on the line. 	
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- *We* were arrested by police for protesting for equality under the law.
 - *We* felt the weight of what was on the line: not only *our* rights, but the fate of democracy.
 - *We* should be studying for finals...*we* shouldn't have to put *our* bodies on the line for Biden to act.
- We* ran over to *our* co-organizers waiting for us in a minivan.
- *We* saw the thousands of young people springing to action to demand Biden put *us* in the constitution.
- We* are working around the clock to protect abortion and non-cisgender rights.
- The ERA can protect *our* lives, bodies and rights from one-party rule.
 - President Biden, fight for *us*.
 - There are many of *us* in parliament.
 - Not everyone has got used to *us*.
 - In European cities where *we* know *we* won't actually understand any impending words shouted at *us*.
 - Who'll spit at *us*? Is it the short-sleeved football fans, looking *us* up and down? who also get to clobber *us* with misogyny at the same time.
 - *We*'re not asking to skinny-dip... *We* just want to feel safe.
 - It is troubling to see reports that non-cisgender books are being removed from school libraries as *we* know that many students find great importance and reassurance in seeing themselves reflected in books and media.
 - Now, in this period when terrible death looms over all of *us*, I can't see the Pride flag any other way.
 - *We*'re willing to partake in the oppression of Palestinians so [the state] won't oppress *us*," he said.
 - Equally, no students or member of staff should be discriminated against because of who *they* are.
 - This is the blueprint for reform and *we* call on the federal government to adopt the recommendations in full.
 - *We* want to impress on the president not to assent to the bill.

Table 6

Complete List of Pronouns in The Daily Mail

<p style="text-align: center;">Us In-Group Non-cisgender opponents, Government, Conservative Voices...Protestors</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">They Out-Group Non-cisgender Community, Allies, Activists, Advocates, Proponents...</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “The court has given us the right answer: the protected characteristic of sex – male and female – refers to reality, not to paperwork.” - “The era of Keir Starmer telling us women can have penises has come to an end.” Kemi Badenoch. - “It took three extraordinary, tenacious Scottish women with an army behind them to get this case heard by the Supreme Court... I’m so proud to know you.” - “Just Like Us, the non-cisgender young people’s charity released the guide...” - “Every parent and carer has an important role to play in supporting our children to be happy, kind and optimistic about the future.” - “Stonewall helped us to become a more inclusive organization.” - “However, we are acutely aware that there is a risk in being affiliated with an organization that may speak on matters relating to the professional practice of our members, but over which the college has no direct control.” - "Everyone really wants to ensure that we are a government that includes people, that lifts people up, that counts people and makes people feel valued." - "But I also think that in government we can show strength and we can show courage," he said. - "They need to know how many of us there are out there," she said. - “This isn't just about numbers or data, it's about our basic human right to be counted, recognized and valued,” they said. - “It's about ensuring our census counts everyone.” - “Without meaningful inclusion in the 2026 Census, we don't have good, reliable data.” - “The department stands by the final Title IX regulations released in April 2024, and we will continue to fight for every student.” - "We never get tired of deceiving the police 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “You take away the young girls' dreams, so I am definitely with Navratilova.” “They’re still not changing their mind. But Trump is right on this.” – Navratilova. “Those bodies... just do not listen.” - “Even if they present as biological men, it is difficult to see how they can then justify refusing to provide those services also to biological men.” - “The justices said non-cisgender people are still protected from discrimination, and that they would be able to invoke the provisions on direct discrimination and harassment, and indirect discrimination if needed.” - 'To our non-cisgender community, I know that recent legislation has been difficult,' Cox said. 'Politics can be a bit of a blood sport at times and I know we’ve had our disagreements. - 'I want you to know that I love and appreciate you and I am grateful that you are part of our state. I know these words may ring hollow to many of you, but please know that I mean them sincerely.' - They Protest the flag each night. - “Many of the contributing risk factors for suicide are preventable, and often rooted in victimizing behaviors of others.” - "They need to know how many of us there are out there," she said. - "You have closed all the streets and squares” - “You have stopped the life of a whole city...” - “These harmful practices still happen across a variety of spaces and in many guises across Scotland and they cause significant mental and physical harm.” - “They also perpetuate the notion that to be non-cisgender is something that is wrong and that must be fixed.” - "Now they want us to remove all stickers on our badges." - "Instead of preaching the gospel, they've turned it into a church of woke." Sam

<p>and forcing them to deal with us."</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "You have forgotten that <i>we</i> will pierce the stone and find each other if necessary." "...but you have forgotten that <i>we</i> will pierce the stone and find each other if necessary." - "<i>Our</i> concern with people choosing to express themselves or protest the issues they want to protest is that it doesn't overshadow the issues facing the non-cisgender community. "Sandra Perez, NYC Pride Director - "<i>We</i> wanted to raise awareness of the harmful practices still being used today to suppress, change or inhibit who someone is, who they are and who they can love." Dr. Rebecca Don Kennedy. - "<i>We</i> need to see an end to conversion practices in Scotland and <i>we</i> need to see it as soon as possible." <i>Dr.</i> Rebecca Don Kennedy. - "<i>We</i> want to make that clear." - "In the end, <i>we</i> had a great crowd there tonight. <i>We</i> had our actives behind both ends, who were fantastic again. - "And <i>we</i>'ve provided that environment with <i>our</i> culture in and around the club. <i>Our</i> supporters always feel part of the club. - "It's taken <i>us</i> a while to get to this point and it's a credit to everyone that works at the club and all of <i>our</i> supporters that we're very inclusive and we're quite open with <i>our</i> communication." - "<i>I</i> believe the next period will be very dark," he said. - "Now <i>we</i> are being pushed more into the shadows." 	<p>Margrave</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "<i>I</i> don't want to leave Iraq 'just because <i>I</i> am a non-cisgender', but '<i>I</i> fear that <i>I</i> might be forced to.'" - By living <i>your</i> true self, <i>you</i> are now challenging the state," Obeidi said. - Now they want <i>us</i> to remove all stickers on our badges." - This act of remembrance mediates the solidarity of Christ with the suffering of those in <i>our</i> community." - Campaigners against the flag's had claimed '<i>our</i> altar table has been hijacked by political activists'. 	

Further Extracts from the Article

Lexis

- While this data being published for the first time is a hugely important step forward for *suicide prevention*.
- Urgent action is needed across healthcare to tackle the barriers that non-cisgender people face to getting the *support* they really need.
- Our analysis highlights groups within the non-cisgender community where the relative *risk* of intentional *self-harm* or *suicide* is particularly high compared with their straight or heterosexual counterparts.
- The public mood has been so depressing and hopeless for so long that we withdrew and resigned ourselves to being passive *victims*.
- The pair had never been physically assaulted, but they lived under “constant *pressure*”.
- Trump has ended policies giving non-cisgender Americans protection from *discrimination*.
- The US [would only recognize two sexes](#).
- I’m so *proud* of my non-cisgender daughter for coming out in this intolerant climate.
- It is an unsurprising consequence of the proliferation and normalization of *anti-non-cisgender* and *anti-non-cisgender sentiment* in politics and the media.
- This courageous, melancholy memoir, about the author’s *struggle* to reconcile his faith with his sexuality, argues that *homophobia* is a cultural phenomenon, not a religious edict.
- Who hated his son’s *effeminacy*.
- Which he founded in 2010 to provide a *haven* for non-cisgender people.
- Support the view that society is becoming more welcoming towards *diversity* in sexual identity.
- Non-cisgender *conversion practices* remain legal in Western Australia, Tasmania and the Northern Territory.

- And anyone who considers themselves any sort of *ally*.
- For all of non-cisgender people’s increased *visibility*, not everyone has got used to us.
- There are plenty of single people with no one holding their hands who bend expectations of gender and face *homophobia* and *transphobia* as a result.
- non-cisgender activists, however, argue that it is *homophobia* that is foreign.
- Ugandan society has always lived ... with non-cisgender persons ... The *homophobia*, the *transphobia* we are seeing ... is from the west.
- Last year [the pope](#) and the [archbishop of Canterbury](#) denounced the *criminalization* of homosexuality.
- Given the attempts to portray non-cisgender *rights* as a foreign imposition.

Extracts from the Articles Modality

- *Would* result in restrictions on the right of peaceful assembly and the freedom of expression.
- *Would* only apply to Hungarians who hold citizenship of another country...
- Government *can* no longer drag its feet; lives depend on getting this right.”
- The spokesperson added that policy *would* continue to be reviewed.
- We *will* be on the streets in some form on June 28.
- Those who organize it and those who participate *will* be held liable for a misdemeanor.
- They *can* expect a fine of between £12 and £415.
- Which they *will* be able to appeal against.
- I *could* be banned from writing.
- It *would* be horrible for me, but the real victims *would* be the non-cisgender youth, who [*couldn't access books*](#) in which they *could* see their stories and find solace.
- We believed we *would* catch up to the west.
- Where it *will* face Respect and Freedom.
- They *would* like to have children.
- This means that they *can* do whatever they want.
- Our youth was at least full of hope that things *would* get better.
- Stonewall *will* fight to ban all non-cisgender conversion practices.
- Stonewall *would have* to “really work” around the parliamentary process to ensure initial commitments were not lost.
- Who expects opponents *will* play down the prevalence of conversion practices.
- Campaigners hope that drawing them together under a blanket ban on conversion practices *would* strengthen recourse for victims as well as acting as a deterrent.
- Have said it *may* impact on medical professionals’ capacity to advocate for a more cautious approach to transition.
- Of course parents *will* ask their children exploratory questions.
- Those who oppose non-cisgender rights *will* use the opportunity to spread misinformation and perpetuate divisive arguments.

- We have only made progress and *will* only make progress through endless conversations with people who may share none or some of the same views.
- Maybe if you weren't so open about your lifestyle, it *would* have."
- I'll never know what people say.
- But you *have to* get the part.
- It *would* be lovely to get to play a juicy, serious supporting role in some film.
- Had he been asked to imagine then what life for non-cisgender people *would* be like in 2025.
- But Davies said the non-cisgender community *would* do "what we always do in times of peril, we gather at night", and *would* once again come together, and fight against this latest wave of hostility and oppression.
- What we *will* do in Elon Musk's world, that we're heading towards, is what artists have always done.
- I too had my fears about how hard life *would* be for her.
- So it *would* be one of those situations.
- We'd be one of those situations [where] we're eliminated from the grant process.
- David Bullard, introduced a similar bill that *would* offer a \$2,000 child tax credit per child.
- Stripping away marriage rights for non-cisgender couples *will* not lower food prices,
- I *would* ask you to substitute any other issue and ask yourself.
- So that's not happening, despite what these politicians *might* be trying to say.
- But, when you decide that you *can* open a business and you *can* keep it open to the public
- *Could* leave the non-cisgender community grappling with an intensified challenge as polls suggest support for the AfD is set to double.
- Yielding a result that *would* be unprecedented in the country's postwar history.
- [Polls suggest](#) the conservative CDU-CSU bloc *could* emerge as the most-voted party.
- I *would* say Alice Weidel serves as a kind of fig leaf.
- You *can* say.
- But I *would* say that while she has this sexual orientation.
- Welcome to a country where non-cisgenderers *cannot* participate in artificial insemination programmes.
- *Cannot* adopt children, and if they already have children, only one of them *can* exercise parental rights.
- *Will* no doubt discreetly excuse you for being a non-cisgender.
- Orbán *will* certainly not lecture you that you are unfit to bring up children and that you are corrupting your children.
- You *will* discreetly not think of your partner and two children.
- even if they *would* despise and betray him.
- Islamic scholars *will* debate this.
- Where his sexual desires and political activity *would* be impossible.
- That a return to these values *should* be the way forward.
- She *can* remember hearing about a boy.
- Mainly she *can* remember the isolation.
- ~~At a time when people who were out *could* lose their jobs.~~

- We'd lose everything – family and friends.
- Now the young ones *can* have these things.
- We *can* be legally fired from religious schools or denied enrolment and in many states.
- The call started a journey that *would* end in a radio documentary.
- How differently her son's life *could* have turned out had she been allowed to raise him.
- She *must* “undertake at no time to allow the children to come into contact with non-cisgender associates”.
- She'll also be worried about her children because courts are biased against non-cisgender mothers”.
- *May* have done wonders for the women's movement.
- *Could* apply for parental rights.
- So that now female couples *can* be legal parents of their children.
- So they too *can* deal with rising childcare costs.
- I'd hope the whole non-cisgender community.
- The ERA *would* put an end to legalized sex discrimination.
- The ERA *could* have protected these women and numerous others whose names and stories haven't yet been heard.
- The ERA *will* protect abortion access, gender-affirming healthcare, and equal pay by explicitly prohibiting sex-based discrimination.
- We *should* be studying for finals, hanging with friends, and applying to internships.
- But how *can* we live out our youth when our rights are at risk?
- Carrying a torch lit more than 100 years ago by women who *could* only dream of seeing just how close we are to finishing the fight.
- An amendment *will* outlive and transcend the whims of partisan politics.
- And with a single stroke of a pen, it *could* become law.
- We *can* be seen everywhere on TV, film and runways.
- We *can* be heard all across the music industry.
- It *could* be assumed that if we regularly manifest the first half of that popular Pride slogan.
- Those outside our delightful social bubbles *will* do their bit and “get used to it.
- We *will* be affectionate in some ways.
- Because why *would* this community gladly report any sort of crime against the person to police forces that have been found to [harbor homophobic views](#)?
- *Will* it be the bored teenage boys loitering near the bus stop.
- Who'll spit at us?
- [Women](#) *will* of course know the terror of aggressive men.
- *Could* be built upon to improve life for the whole group.
- Librarians *might* be told that the library *can* have a book, but it *should* not be on display.
- There *could* also be a level of self-censorship.
- It *might* be the case that certain books are not being bought in the first place to avoid complaints being made.
- The SLA suggests that school libraries have collection development policies laying out the kinds of

complaints that *will* be acted on.

- The types of books that *will* be stocked, and the aim of the school library.
- There are often conflicting opinions from different parties about what *should* be done.
- Censorship issues “*can* turn into a very big discussion quite quickly.
- This has an “emotional impact” on librarians and *can* be “very isolating”.
- I *would* much rather they went to their school library and explored the resources there.
- *Can* often make them feel ashamed and feel the need to hide who they are.
- For me now, the Palestinian flag *should* be raised.
- How *can* you boast of your democracy for non-cisgenders that then oppresses millions of Palestinians?”
- Blanket exemptions allowing religious schools to discriminate against staff and students on the basis of sexuality and gender identity *should* be repealed.
- Says the institutions *should* be allowed to preference staff in line with their beliefs.
- The commission said the changes it proposed *should* be replicated for any future religious discrimination laws.
- Mark Dreyfus, said on Thursday the government *would* seek to “enhance protections” against discrimination in an effort to bring the country together.
- No one *should* be discriminated against because of their faith.
- “Equally, no students or member of staff *should* be discriminated against because of who they are.
- Religious schools *must* continue to be able to build and maintain communities of faith.”
- One bill *would* amend the Sex Discrimination Act while the other *would* introduce protections against religious discrimination.
- Tephpen Bates, said the federal government *should* work with the minor party and progressive crossbenchers rather than shelve the changes entirely.
- The National Catholic Education Commission’s executive director, said the recommendations *would* “severely limit” how religious schools operate and teach if adopted by the government.
- Rauf said a woman wearing a hijab, for example, could not be discriminated against on the basis of her ethnicity or gender, but *could* legally face discrimination as a result of her religious identity.
- *Could* legally face discrimination as a result of her religious identity.
- Equality Australia’s legal director, Ghassan Kassisieh, said the proposals *should* be quickly adopted.
- Warning that it *could* cost the country \$3.8bn (£3bn) in World Bank funding.
- There is particular concern that Kenya, which has previously given asylum to non-cisgender people forced to flee other countries, [*could* toughen laws.](#)
- Has continued to enact legislation to protect non-cisgender rights, though *homophobic crime* persists.
- Under the provisions of the bill, same-sex relations *could* be punished with imprisonment ranging from six months to three years.
- Consensual same-sex conduct *should* never be criminalized.”
- "I *can't* get myself to do it," she said.
- We *cannot* comment on the Chancellor's decision as the Chancellor is entirely independent of the Bishop and the Diocesan Advisory Committee structures.

- The Istanbul Governor's Office said earlier on Sunday that the Pride March *would not* be permitted.
- She hoped the issue of the war *would not* "silence other members of the community."
- The organization has not taken a position on the war in Gaza and *would not* do so at the march on Sunday.
- The impact on sport *could* be seismic, as non-cisgender women with a gender recognition certificate (GRC) *can* be excluded from single-sex spaces if 'proportionate'.
- Whether someone with a gender recognition certificate (GRC) recognizing their gender as female *should* be treated as a woman under anti-discrimination legislation.
- It is difficult to see how they *can* then justify refusing to provide those services also to biological men and who also look like biological men."
- Which permit what *would* usually be seen as gender reassignment discrimination.
- "Relationships, sex, and health education (RSHE), *can* play an important role in equipping young people with the knowledge and skills to recognize and reject harmful content, build empathy, and promote respect for all.
- We are currently reviewing the content and *will* ensure it continues to do this effectively."
- The justices said that if sex had its "biological meaning" then service providers *could* separate male and female users into different groups, such as separate hostels for homeless people.
- If sex means biological sex, then provided it is proportionate, the female only nature of the service ... *would* permit the exclusion of all males including males living in the female gender regardless of GRC status."
- Scotland's First Minister said the Scottish Government accepts the ruling, adding that "protecting the rights of all" *will* inform its response.
- "We *will* now engage on the implications of the ruling."
- It's important to be reminded the court strongly and clearly reaffirmed the Equality Act protects all non-cisgender people against discrimination, based on gender reassignment, and *will* continue to do so.
- "They *would* be able to invoke the provisions on direct discrimination and harassment, and indirect discrimination" if needed.
- The use of unsanctioned flags *will* no longer be permitted under the new law.
- Any state or local government building found in violation of the ban *will* be fined \$500 every day that the unauthorized flag remains up.
- Only the United States flag, Utah state flag and other military and official flags singled out by lawmakers *will* be permitted under the law.
- Political slogan's such as President Trump's 'Make America Great Again' *will* also be prohibited.
- He said he declined to veto the measure as he believed it *would* have been overturned.
- Politics *can* be a bit of a blood sport at times and I know we've had our disagreements.
- The new law *could* stoke conflict between the state and its largest city.
- Their attorneys are evaluating the law and the capital city does not yet have information on what it *will* do once the law takes effect.
- Lee later backpedaled in an interview with The Salt Lake Tribune, attempting to deny that his bill *would* allow for Nazi flags to be displayed.

- The flag bill created eleventh-hour tensions as some residents worried it *would* push the nation's premier independent film festival out of state.
- They hope the guide *will* provide parents with the correct language on how to support their children.
- It *will* help those who don't necessarily have children that are non-cisgender, but it *will* help them understand it a little bit more.
- No young person *should* have to fear that they *will* be rejected by their family for being who they are.
- "It *can* change the language to be more positive.
- So every child *can* achieve and thrive no matter their background.
- We *will* always support our hard-working and dedicated teachers to ensure classrooms are safe and inclusive for all pupils.
- Orban *will* face a strong opposition challenger, seen by some recent opinion polls as pulling ahead.
- "They *would* like to express themselves, which is very harmful. Only I *should* be allowed to express myself, no one else."
- It is unclear if it *can* build enough support to get into parliament next year.
- The survey didn't go into details on what political developments these young people *could* be referring to.
- Others bills mandate that those who seek gender reassignment surgery reach the age of majority before they *can* do so.
- College chiefs say they *will* not renew its membership with the controversial charity when it expires in December.
- Said his party *should* reconsider its choice not to include questions about non-cisgender identities in the 2026 census.
- "We *should* be asking questions to reflect the depth and breadth of the Australian community".
- "But I also think that in government we *can* show strength and we *can* show courage," he said.
- Saying it *would* "strengthen the voices of discrimination and division that seek to disrupt the nation's social cohesion".
- Dr Cody said better data *would* lead to more informed policy decisions.
- "This government *should* and *must* govern for all Australians and in order to do that, they need to know how many of us there are out there".
- Labor MP Graham Perrett said while he had not seen any proposed questions, the opposition leader *would* politicize the issue.
- Australia's non-cisgender communities say they *will* be 'rendered invisible' in the next snapshot of the population.
- Assistant Minister Andrew Leigh confirmed on Sunday there *would* be no change.
- It is the decision of the government that there *will* be no change to the topics in the next Census, which *will* be held in 2026," he said in a statement.
- The Australian Labor Party's [2023 national platform](#) argued non-cisgender Australians *should* be counted in the census and committed to ensuring the 2026 count gathers relevant data on this population.
- "The federal government has betrayed non-cisgender people around Australia who *will* again be rendered invisible in 2026," she said.

- If the next census is the same as the last, it *will* collect data that is meaningless."
- This lack of non-cisgender inclusion *will* hurt health outcomes for those in the community, according to Intersex Human Rights Australia chief executive Morgan Carpenter.
- Georgia's parliament *will* shortly begin debating a wide-ranging "family values" bill that *will* include bans on "non-cisgender propaganda" and gender reassignment surgery, the speaker of parliament was quoted as saying on Tuesday.
- The first of three required readings of the bill *would* take place in the current spring session of parliament.
- The debate on it *will* take place at a moment of high political tension in the South Caucasus country after weeks of huge protests against a bill on "foreign agents" that was finally signed into law this week.
- You have forgotten that we *will* pierce the stone and find each other if necessary."
- The complex legal landscape means that the U.S. Education Department *can* enforce the rule, announced in April, in 24 of the 50 states.
- The department stands by the final Title IX regulations released in April 2024, and we *will* continue to fight for every student."
- The court *will* hear the case in its next term, which begins in October.
- In New York, members of the Israeli consulate say they *will* march this year despite several other participating groups, and at least two of the parade's four grand marshals, accusing the country of committing genocide against Palestinians.
- Their usual float, festooned in rainbow-colored flowers and a Star of David, *will* be flanked by an added layer of private security when the march begins this Sunday.
- "Unfortunately there's a lot of people in the non-cisgender community that *would* rather stand with the enemies, with the side that is homophobic, and not with Israel".
- "We're aware of that sentiment but we *will* not be scared away."
- They *will* seek to "center Palestine" during the march, hoisting Palestinian flags as they chant, "No pride in genocide."
- Jewish groups expressed outrage after Pride organizers announced that there *would* be no Israeli float at this Sunday's parade.
- A non-cisgender writer who *will* serve as one of the grand marshals of the NYC Pride Parade.
- But this year, after organizers announced the march's theme *would* include those facing "war and genocide," as well as youths of color, Housing Works declined to get on board.
- "After much deliberation, we have decided that Housing Works *should* join the march under the banner of only the first theme.
- Some have raised concerns about the Government's conversion therapy plans and how they *could* impact parenting and the pastoral care offered by religious leaders.
- The Equalities Network says its campaign *will* be shown across billboards in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen.
- There *will* also be a van spreading the message driving around Edinburgh, it said.
- This Valentine's Day we wanted to raise awareness of the harmful practices still being used today to

suppress, change or inhibit who someone is, who they are and who they *can* love.

- Everyone in Scotland *should* be free to express their love on Valentine's Day, and every other day.
- Peru's government argues the decree *will* make 'psychological treatment' freely available to those affected.
- "I believe the next period *will* be very dark," he said.
- Workers at Woolworths *will* no longer be permitted to wear Indigenous or non-cisgender stickers on their badges.
- Earlier team members *could* wear stickers on their badges showing the flag of Indigenous or non-cisgender Australians.
- Team members *must* wear a black polo, either a Woolworths polo or their own, and avoid wearing brand logos.
- An upcoming Senate inquiry *will* also test whether Woolworths has engaged in price gouging practices and consumer sentiment about the legendary brand has plummeted as cost-of-living pressures bite at the checkout.
- [Amanda Bardwell, the former head of WooliesX](#), *will* replace Mr Banducci as CEO in September.
- 'Whether or not we *can* use a piece of cloth in a certain way is not the centre of what the congregation is about.
- The federal government confirmed it *won't* include questions on sexual orientation or intersex variations in the next census.
- 'You *can't* ignore the context that this is happening in a super-conservative society, where the non-cisgender community has no rights and where labelling them as mentally ill opens the door to conversion therapy.'
- Chairwoman Baroness Kishwer Falkner told BBC Radio 4 that non-cisgender women *would not* be able to participate in women's sport.