...

...*, ..., and ...

# Reducing standard-language-ideology conflicts through participatory research in historical sociolinguistics

...

https://doi.org/..., Received ...; accepted ...

**Abstract:** This paper presents participatory research as a strategy for achieving a publicly engaged historical sociolinguistics, using a case study of collaboration between academic and community partners focused on Cockney in East London. Participatory research methods emphasise involvement by traditional "subjects" of research in research design, collection, interpretation, and dissemination. Because historical sociolinguists often work with datasets from language users and speech communities from the past, participatory research may not seem like a viable methodology for an engaged historical sociolinguistics. We challenge the extent to which power and control are shared by academic researchers with communities under prominent models of participatory research, and propose the Complementary Roles Participatory Research Model as an expansion of continua of participatory research that places academics in a support role to researched communities. Through this model, we suggest that fields like historical sociolinguistics which may not have an obvious set of "participants" can nevertheless engage in participatory research. We share our experience of collaboration over several years to support community-led initiatives on Cockney with historical sociolinguistically informed research. We argue that CRPRM enables scholars in disciplines where pathways to participatory research are not immediately obvious to nevertheless engage in participatory methods.

**Keywords:** participatory research, standard language ideology, co-production, power, collaboration

**PACS:** ...

***Corresponding author: ..., ...,** ...
**...,** ...

**Communicated by:** …
**Dedicated to** …

# 1 Introduction

This paper explores participatory research as a pathway to public engagement in historical sociolinguistics. "Participatory research" is "an umbrella term for research designs, methods, and frameworks that use systematic inquiry in direct collaboration with those affected by the issue being studied for the purpose of action and change" (Vaughn and Jacquez, 2020b, 1). Participatory research emphasises a "'bottom-up' approach with a focus on locally defined priorities and local perspectives" (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995, 1667). Vaughn and Jacquez (2020b, 2)'s introduction to the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Participatory Research Methods* suggests that "increasingly, [participatory research] is used and valued across disciplines as a way to solve complex problems", and links participatory research to researchers' commitments to democracy (Vaughn and Jacquez, 2020b, 5). Brown (2021, 201) (also citing Selener (1997)) extends this link to democracy to position participatory research as "political and activist" because "its primary purpose is not to provide scholarly enlightenment, but practical outcomes and actions."

The appeal of participatory research is easy to see. If the traditional "subjects" of academic research can engage with research projects genuinely and meaningfully, then knowledge created through that research has potential to yield insights and to benefit subjects and their communities in ways that traditional models of research could not achieve. As an approach to public engagement, participatory methods clearly align with ideals of sharing academic knowledge with public audiences—and indeed move beyond those ideals in the direction of sharing the process of knowledge creation.

However, participatory research at least superficially poses a problem for historical sociolinguists. As the articles in this special issue demonstrate, historical sociolinguists who are committed to using their research to benefit people and language communities can identify ways to use the knowledge they create to achieve such benefits. But for participatory research more narrowly, pathways for engagement by historical sociolinguists are less straightforward. How does a scholar, for instance, who studies the language of people who are no longer alive or speech communities that no longer exist collaborate "with those affected by the issue being studied for the purpose of action and change"? So while historical sociolinguists do not need to do participatory research to achieve a publicly engaged

historical sociolinguistics, there is at least a question of the extent to which historical sociolinguists can do participatory research.

This paper describes a collaboration among the coauthors that emerged and grew over several years. BLINDED is a university-affiliated academic. BLINDED and BLINDED are not employed fulltime by any university (though both have worked casually with universities in projects and teaching). BLINDED initiated a series of projects centred on exploring, celebrating, and supporting "Cockney" as a set of cultural and identity practices. BLINDED advised their activities from perspectives of his academic knowledge in linguistics broadly and historical sociolinguistics more narrowly as part of an active public engagement agenda. At face value, this collaboration seems fairly banal.

Viewed specifically through a lens of participatory research, however, our collaboration led us to reflect extensively on the nature of academic public engagement and to reconceptualise what it means to do public engagement through participatory research. We process the experiences of our collaboration as pointing toward possibilities for revising established models of participatory research. The revised model of participatory research we advocate offers to deepen and extend participatory research's ability to shift power, agency, and ownership over research from academics to the people and communities being researched.

As such, we believe the work we present offers a useful model for historical sociolinguists and other scholars to follow in their own work if they wish to engage with participatory research. More broadly, we advocate changes to models of participatory research itself, which entail rethinking some aspects of the ways academics and academia conceptualise the roles, objectives, and evaluations of academic researchers and their outputs in participatory research. As such, we show not only that participatory research is a viable pathway to achieve a publicly engaged historical sociolinguistics, but also that a publicly engaged historical sociolinguistics offers new insights into the ways that participatory research is done.

Moreover, in the context of this special issue, our collaboration is grounded in reducing and responding to conflict. Our activities are broadly situated in the social conflict created by standard language ideologies, where some varieties of language and some language features are understood as socially correct, desirable, or unmarked, and others (along with the language users associated with the language varieties) are deemed as deficient and are denigrated. More narrowly, BLINDED's activities were in part a response to popular discourses centred on the death of Cockney as a variety of English and as a cultural identity. As we will note in our conclusion, in some cases these discourses were likely exploited by university press offices as part of their academic public engagement, leading us also to consider academic public engagement itself as a site of conflict, and participatory research as a strategy for challenging academic complicity in perpetuating language conflict.

In the paper that follows, we briefly explore models of participatory research, focusing especially on conceptualisations among practitioners of participatory research existing on continua of control, from projects and processes controlled by "academics" to projects controlled by "participants." We will argue that the "participant-controlled" side of many participatory research continua disproportionately retains control for academics. We briefly review the place of participatory research in sociolinguistics, and note a handful of projects that demonstrate that—as with the case of participatory research in general—participatory sociolinguistic projects also often retain control for researchers. In doing so, we do not intend to critique these projects, but rather to highlight the space available to extend continua of participatory research toward greater "participant" (i.e., community) control. We then propose a revised model of participatory research, which we refer to as the "Complementary Roles Participatory Research Model." We embed our collaboration in this model and in commitments to historical sociolinguistics and modern-day conflict reduction. Finally, we reflect on the benefits of our expanded view of participatory research from perspectives of community members engaging in participatory research, for scholars in fields such as historical sociolinguistics, and for the scholarship of participatory research and public engagement.

## 2 Continua of participatory research

Vaughn and Jacquez (2020b, 3-4) provide a non-exhaustive list of 27 terms that describe participatory research frameworks, orientations, and approaches. These include discipline-specific labels, such as Action Anthropology, Participatory Rural Appraisal, and Popular Epidemiology, as well as more general labels such as Action Learning, Citizen Science, and Community-Engaged Research. Vaughn and Jacquez (2020b) associate further variations with each of these terms, for example differentiating Action Research into arts-based, critical, feminist, first person, and systematic subtypes. Citing Reason and Torbert (2001), Vaughn and Jacquez (2020b, 2) say the terms "share in common a value in doing research *with* those who are typically the subject of research, rather than *on* them" (emphasis in original).

The multiplicity of participatory approaches is made even more complex by a multiplicity of approaches to doing research with subjects. Rather than being "conceptualised as a dichotomous distinction"—i.e., research is either participatory or not—Vaughn and Jacquez (2020b, 2) summarise that participatory research should be conceptualised as "a continuum ranging from academic-driven research to equitable shared decision making between academic and community partners." This follows a long tradition of modelling participatory approaches as continua,

dating back to at least Arnstein (1969) weighing in on contemporary controversies around "citizen participation" in government-funded community development initiatives, which modelled citizen participation as an eight-rung ladder, ranging from "manipulation" to "citizen control." While Arnstein's paper flaunted a cynicism that likely passed much better in academic writing of the 1960s than it would today (the first five rungs were forms of "nonparticipation" and "degrees of tokenism"), its recognition of the continuous nature of community participation guided subsequent theorists' conceptualizing of participatory research as a field. It also provided an admirable endpoint for participatory continua where "participants or residents can govern a program or an institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects, and be able to negotiate the conditions under which 'outsiders' may change them" (Arnstein, 1969, 223).

The general themes of Arnstein's ladder metaphor have continued to appear in subsequent continuum-based models of participatory approaches. For instance, Biggs (1989) described four levels of participation in agricultural research (*contractual*, *consultative*, *collaborative*, and *collegiate*); Godrie (2017) described a six-step continuum of participation in mental health research from *ignoring communities* to *communities taking ownership*; and Key et al. (2019) framed Community Engaged Research as a seven-step continuum from no community involvement to community driven/community led. Different disciplines engaging with participatory research show differences in the extent to which such continuous conceptualizations are embedded in approaches. Brown (2021, 200) suggests that participatory research has become so deeply engrained in arts-based, creative research that each approach is equated with the other. However, Brown nevertheless perceives the need to introduce the idea to arts-based, creative researchers that "participatory research needs to be seen as a continuum from being minimally participatory to fully egalitarian, whereby realistically most participatory designs are situated somewhere in between the two" (Brown, 2021, 201).

The International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) has adopted a five-step "Spectrum of Public Participation", which we reproduce as Figure 1. Aligning with other models we have described, AP2's Spectrum organises steps according to participants' impact on decision-making in research projects, ranging from *inform* (i.e., projects are conducted by academic researchers with a public participation goal "To provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions") through *consult*, *involve*, and *collaborate* to *empower* (i.e., "To place final decision making in the hands of the public"). The IAP2 Spectrum, in addition to serving as the "official" model of an international organization centred on promoting and advancing public participation, was replicated by Vaughn and Jacquez (2020b,

6) for their model of "participation choice points" in their introductory article to the *Journal of Participatory Research Methods*. We reprint it as Figure 2.

## IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation

IAP2's Spectrum of Public Participation was designed to assist with the selection of the level of participation that defines the public's role in any public participation process. The Spectrum is used internationally, and it is found in public participation plans around the world.

INCREASING IMPACT ON THE DECISION

| | INFORM | CONSULT | INVOLVE | COLLABORATE | EMPOWER |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PUBLIC PARTICIPATION GOAL | To provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions. | To obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decisions. | To work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered. | To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution. | To place final decision making in the hands of the public. |
| PROMISE TO THE PUBLIC | We will keep you informed. | We will keep you informed, listen to and acknowledge concerns and aspirations, and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision. | We will work with you to ensure that your concerns and aspirations are directly reflected in the alternatives developed and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision. | We will look to you for advice and innovation in formulating solutions and incorporate your advice and recommendations into the decisions to the maximum extent possible. | We will implement what you decide. |

© IAP2 International Federation 2018. All rights reserved. 20181112_v1

**Fig. 1:** IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation

While these models undoubtedly depict a transition in the amount of control researchers exercise over projects, close reading of descriptors of participant and researcher roles in each reveals that researchers retain control across continua. This is transparent at the *inform* level, which is positioned as near-total researcher control and passive participation by community members. But while the *empower* level explicitly gives communities a decision-making role, descriptors such as IAP2's "To place final decision making in the hands of the public" still imply a great deal of control for researchers who are, presumably, the selectors of the set of decisions to be offered to communities to choose from. Indeed, even the verb *empower* chosen as the label for this side of participation continua reinforces the differential nature of research-participant relationships, with researchers taking the semantic role of agents who do the empowering and participants being themes who are empowered.

The retention of control in participatory research has been a common thread of many reviews of participatory research. Describing Biggs (1989)'s continuum of

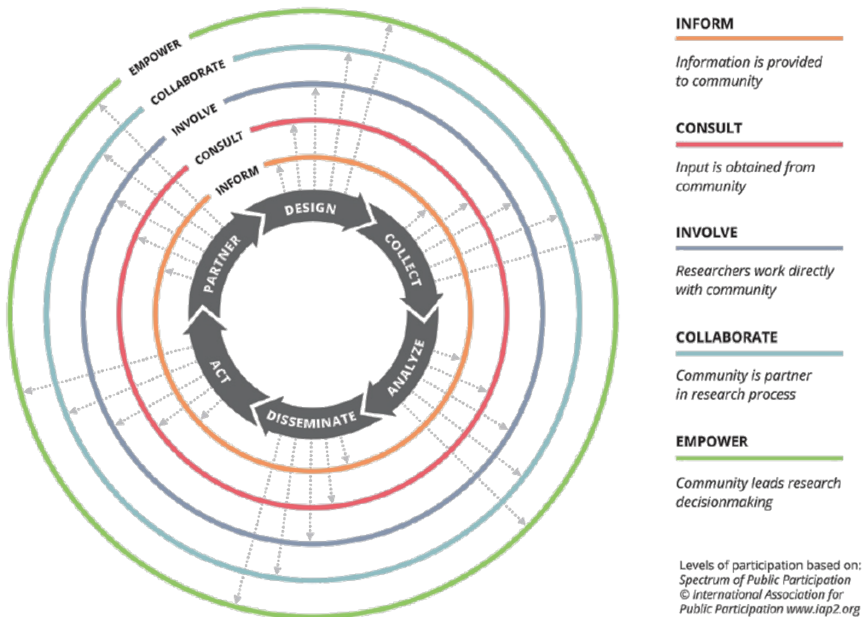


**Fig. 2:** Participation choice points in the research process (reprinted from Vaughn and Jacquez (2020b, 6))

participatory research in agriculture, which extends from *contractual* ("people are contracted into the projects of researchers") to *collegiate* ("researchers and local people work together as colleagues with different skills to offer"), Cornwall and Jewkes (1995, 1669) critique that the *collegiate* level "is rarely, if ever, achieved." Cornwall and Jewkes continue, "In many cases, people are 'participated' in a process which lies outside their ultimate control. Researchers continue to set the agendas and take responsibility for analysis and representation of outcomes." Similarly, summarizing Tandon (1988)'s criteria for "true and full participation", Brown (2021, 202) warns that the criteria "are unfortunately often not considered or met, with most participatory research designs masking as participation what in reality and all honesty is involvement in order to tokenistically fulfil the demands of stakeholders or funders." Kankaria and Chakrabort (2024, 7)'s note that the majority of science communication models practiced in Global North contexts, including participatory models, "still inherit and reproduce the epistemic hierarchies, power structures and implicit assumptions embedded within a science/public binary that views them as inherently unequal." These critiques harken to Arnstein (1969)'s early typology of participation and its framing of most forms of research as, at best, tokenistic.

Naturally, models of greater community control have been posited. Arnstein (1969) juxtaposed many examples of tokenistic participation against a small number of experiments that met her criteria for genuine "citizen control" (Arnstein, 1969, 223). Godrie (2017) as summarized in Osinski (2021, 3) describes a *control* level of participation where "research is both initiated and led by the stakeholders independently or in collaboration with researchers." Key et al. (2019)'s version of a continuum of community engagement in research posits a *community driven/led* level where the "community leads and owns the research" and the "researcher supports community-identified research efforts or serves no role." Powerful alternatives also exist beyond the narrow focus of the Global North. Kankaria and Chakrabort (2024), for instance, historicise "Scientific Temper" in India, which was originally theorised by the future Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and "conceptualises citizens as scientifically conscious and empowered agents capable of making informed choices and solving societal problems" (Kankaria and Chakrabort, 2024, 3). Scientific Temper is enshrined in the Indian constitution, reflecting its role in fostering "active citizen participation in knowledge-building, which can then lead to the output of an independent, postcolonial state that is freed from the shackles of dogmatic views, superstitions and pseudoscience" (Kankaria and Chakrabort, 2024, 4).

In practice, though, at least in Global North scientific traditions, researchers with strong commitments to participatory approaches rarely reach these highest levels of community control. Reflecting on their own management of a teaching project informed by participatory approaches, Brown (2021, 208) says, "Although I had been keen to enable empowerment and to create a participatory environment on the part of students, the control over the project was still mine" (emphasis in original). Osinski (2021), in summarizing Godrie (2017)'s fully liberatory model of participant control, aligns Godrie's level of control with the impact descriptor, "Community ownership: democratic participation and equity through community-driven decision-making is fostered." To our reading, fostering community-driven decision-making still bespeaks researchers offering choices to communities to select from—i.e., aligning with IAP2's *empower* level—but falls short of the genuine ownership that Godrie (2017), Key et al. (2019), and Kankaria and Chakrabort (2024) envision, where community members initiate and lead research.

## Participatory research in sociolinguistics

As described in the introduction to this special issue, a strong thread of public engagement has run through the fabric of sociolinguistics from its foundations as

a subdiscipline in the 1960s. In fact, Wolfram (2016, 88) connects this outward orientation to sociolinguistics' *raison d'être*, as a "reaction to the developing abstract formalism of Chomskyan generative linguistics which gave primacy to intuitively based linguist 'competence' vis-à-vis the 'performance' of language in everyday life." This commitment to engagement has been disciplinarily codified in the principle of error correction and principle of debt incurred (Labov, 1982) and the principle of linguistic gratuity (Wolfram, 1993, 1998).

To varying extents, this publicly engaged sociolinguistic tradition has aligned with models of participatory research. For instance, Cameron et al. (1992, 24) characterise three types of research according to the relationship each type entails between researchers and people they research:

- Ethical research: Cause minimal inconvenience and acknowledge participants.
- Advocacy research: Conduct research *on* and *for* subjects.
- Empowering research: Conduct research *on*, *for*, and *with* subjects, recognising "subjects have their own agendas and research should try to address them" (emphasis in original).

The perpetual violence, suppression, and exclusion experienced by Black people in the United States (and by non-White, non-straight, non-male people in Western discourses more generally) have more recently highlighted the urgency of doing sociolinguistic research proactively for social justice. Hudley (2016, 388) includes public engagement outputs like those produced by Wolfram and colleagues as part of a "fourth wave" of sociolinguistic research, which "emphasises the differences between what you learn about a language and/or racial group by studying it and what you learn by living the experience" (see also Hudley (2023, 214). Under this conceptualisation, "the emphasis is on what the individual, group, race, and/or culture value and see as crucial to the investigation of language, as well as linguistic social justice" (Hudley, 2016, 388). These emphases are foundational to an approach Hudley et al. (2020) refer to a "liberatory linguistics."

In pointing sociolinguists to an emphasis on what communities value, Hudley (2016) evokes the underpinnings of participatory research models, suggesting at least (in the language of the IAP2 model) a level of *consult*. Wolfram (2023, 9) explicitly connects the work of liberatory linguistic (and raciolinguistic) research to participatory research, suggesting "future directions for socially relevant, community-based, *participatory* research on language, culture, and education" (emphasis ours). Hudley (2023, 222) further evokes participatory research themes as the first two goals of a linguistics awareness model: "partner with community members, particularly in underserved areas where universities may not already have such partnerships, including K-12 schools and others who provide for the educational, social, and health welfare of the community" and "communicate sociolinguistic information

about language variation to community members in ways that are effectively tailored to their skills and their needs" (see also Mallinson and Hudley (2010)). In the language of the IAP2 spectrum, these goals are suggestive of *collaborate* (or *involve*) and *inform*, respectively.

Clearly, the values of participatory research sit well with sociolinguistics. Sociolinguists aligned with linguistic anthropology and social-justice-oriented models of "applied linguistics" have been especially vocal in advocating for participatory approaches that challenge sociolinguists to recentre work around researched communities, to meaningfully incorporate participants into research, and to critically consider research positionalities in research (e.g., papers in Avineri and Martinez (2021); Bucholtz et al. (2023), Bodó et al. (2025)). A cursory search of a database like Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts reveals many projects that align themselves with both sociolinguistic and participatory research methodologies. These include projects in participatory approaches such as citizen science (Rymes and Leone, 2014; Svendsen, 2018, e.g.,), participatory action research (Ortega et al., 2022; Vallejo Rubenstein and Tonioli, 2023, e.g.,), and participatory design research (Tian, 2022), as well as novel labels such as participatory orthography development (Page, 2013) and other projects with extensive participatory commitments (Weidl et al., 2023, e.g.,).

While projects show deep commitments to positive outcomes for communities and achieve fascinating results, across this literature we note the same point about control that we observed in most models of continua of participatory research—that participants are often given a great deal of agency, authority, and autonomy, but fundamentally research is initiated by linguists, and research methodologies, questions, and outputs are delimited by linguists. We illustrate this point with an example of a methodological statement from Ortega et al. (2022, 58):

> Following these principles [of participatory action research] we designed a project where participants completed transformative actions—their own activation as Basque speakers—while they worked conjointly with fellow participants and senior researchers to reflect on the process and produce knowledge.

We do not intend with this citation to highlight Ortega et al. (2022) as in any way problematic. But the differential agency is apparent in the phrases "we designed a project," "participants completed transformative actions," and "they worked conjointly with fellow participants and senior researchers." These descriptions of roles conveniently illustrate the ways that researchers committed to liberatory sociolinguistic practices nevertheless retain control over research and the ways community members remain subjected to this control, just as happens more broadly in prominent models of public participation.

Among the strongest counterpoints to this summary are projects such as described in Avineri and Martinez (2021), Rodríguez Louro and Collard (2021), Bucholtz et al. (2023), or Bodó et al. (2025), where members of communities being researched are project team members and are deeply involved in driving research questions, methods, and analysis. As Rodríguez Louro and Collard (2021) note, such approaches respond to calls in language documentation for community engagement in linguistic fieldwork and collaborative methods as a decolonising strategy (citing Czaykowska-Higgins (2009); Hermes (2012)), as well as calls in sociolinguistics for collaboration with cultural-insiders of indigenous communities (citing Meyerhoff and Stanford (2015); Mansfield and Stanford (2017)).

Using sociolinguistics' extensive commitment to a social justice-oriented engagement and incorporation of participatory research methods into this commitment as a jumping off point, combined with the observation that in practice most participatory research methods retain a degree of control for researchers over participants across spectra of participation, we will now advocate for revisions to models of participatory research that integrate greater degrees of community control into their design. In doing so, we believe we offer a stronger foundation for public engagement via participatory research, especially in fields such as historical sociolinguistics where academic research does not necessarily focus directly on the communities where engagement might take place.

## 3 Increasing participant power in public participation continua

Our acknowledgement of the differential access to power in models of participatory research (particularly the IAP2 model and its derivatives) and in participatory research projects generally leads us to advocate expansion of participatory research models to continue to make explicit space for shifting power from academic researchers to the communities where research takes place. Such expansions align with participatory research as envisioned in Godrie (2017) and Key et al. (2019) (as well as Arnstein (1969) and Kankaria and Chakrabort (2024)) where, in some projects, the balance of power genuinely shifts from academics to community members.

We conceptualise this in Figure 3, where we have modified the diagram of "participation choice points" from Vaughn and Jacquez (2020b), which is in turn based on the IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation. We have added two levels that we see as natural progressions beyond the levels in the existing model: *assist* and *learn*. Both these are framed, as in Vaughn and Jacquez (2020b) and IAP2,

from the researcher's perspective of their role, while descriptors reflect community roles.

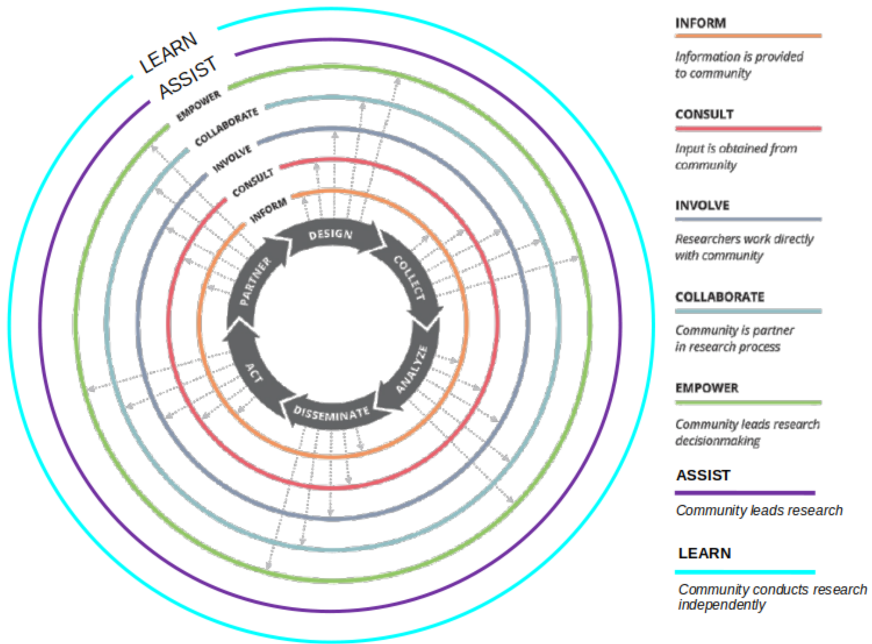


**Fig. 3:** Expanded participation choice points (modified from Vaughn and Jacquez (2020a, 6))

We propose the level of *assist* as an appropriate indicator of a shift in academic researcher agency from exercising control over initiating a project, defining the role community members might play, and delimiting the sets of decisions that community members might make to one of choosing to offer expert support to projects initiated and designed by community members. This ethos is reflected in the descriptor for this level which progresses from "community leads research decision-making" at the *empower* level to "community leads research." In the IAP2 model (cf. Figure 1), the public participation goal at the assist level would be something like "To support the public to complete projects," and the promise to the public would be, "We will help you do what you want to do."

We have also suggested a further level of *learn* to incorporate an expressly passive role for academic researchers into models of public participation. The descriptor indicates that the community is working independently at this stage. In

terms of the IAP2 model, the public participation goal at the *learn* level would be, roughly, "To grow intellectually from what the public discovers," and the promise to the public would be, "We will learn from your research."

We find this model to be an appealing extension of current participatory research models. The additional levels expand participation continua to go all the way from entirely active academic and passive community participation at the *inform* level to entirely passive academic and active community participation at the *learn* level. Moreover, in our model, collaborate lands at the middle of the continuum, suggestive of truly equal sharing of control between academic researchers and community members.

We see further appeal in the expanded model because the labels for levels, which are presented from the perspective of academic researchers in Vaughn and Jacquez (2020b) and the IAP2 Spectrum, can be inverted to reflect the agentivity of community members at each step in the continuum. In this view, when academic researchers *inform* community members, community members *learn* from academic researchers. When academic researchers *consult*, community members *assist*. Most transformatively, this perspective acknowledges that when academic researchers *involve* community members, the community members *empower* academic researchers.

The complementarity of actions across the continuum of public participation gives rise to the possibility in the scholarship of public engagement of a community-centric spectrum of public participation. Rather than participatory research being framed from the perspective of how much control over their research agendas academic researchers give to community members, public participation could be centred on the perspectives and decisions of community members to give control to academic researchers. Community members could be acknowledged as exercising maximal control by doing their own research and choosing to engage academic researchers at an *inform* stage (so that academics could *learn*). If community members decided their projects would benefit from academic researcher involvement, then community members could choose to *consult* (and academics would *assist*), and so on.

We depict these complementary roles, relationships, and degrees of control in Figure 4, which aligns the levels of the participatory models of IAP2 and Vaughn and Jacquez (2020b) with their inverse community-centred roles. These complementary relationships are transparently labelled as academic and community activities, and control in each activity is depicted in complementary colours from darker blue corresponding to full control and darker orange corresponding to passive participation. We offer the name "Complementary Roles Participatory Research Model" (CRPRM) for this revised continuum.

 

| Academic participation activity | INFORM | CONSULT | INVOLVE | COLLABORATE | EMPOWER | ASSIST | LEARN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Community participation activity | LEARN | ASSIST | EMPOWER | | INVOLVE | CONSULT | INFORM |

**Fig. 4:** Complementary Roles Participatory Research Model

Revising models of participatory research is not a trivial activity. It creates a theoretical rationale for conceptualising a high degree of community control as a legitimate form of participatory research and establishes a foundation for academic researchers to engage in genuinely community-led participatory research where academics are not the initiators and drivers as a legitimate intellectual activity. This is profoundly different from existing models of engagement, which value engagement as an offshoot of academic research rather than academic research as an offshoot of engagement. The current perspective is evident, for example, in the "Statement of Broader Impacts" statement of United States National Science Foundation grant applications or "Pathways to Impact" statements of the United Kingdom Research Excellence Framework (REF) and research council grants. In these cases, engagement is framed as a secondary consequence of serious academic research (as Wolfram (2016, 87) puts it in the context of NSF grants, "To be honest, this section is typically viewed as a boilerplate sidebar rather than an opportunity for genuine reflection on the social, educational, and political implications of the proposed research"). Research is expected to precede and lead to engagement, so that an academic researcher's agenda is the starting point of a project and engagement opportunities are identified as derivative of those academic activities. Naturally, the universities that employ academic researchers adopt the values of funders, dis-incentivising academics from handing control over research to participants, and indeed casting doubt over the scholarly legitimacy of such decentralising work. This imposes a significant obstacle in the pathway to maximal community participation in research where community members initiate, conduct, and lead research activities and involve academic researchers to the extent that community members view the academics' contributions as helpful.

We believe an expanded model of participatory research such as CRPRM can serve as a foundation for recognising academic support to genuinely community-led research as a legitimate research activity. In the context of this special issue, such recognition is especially valuable for fields like historical sociolinguistics, where scholars may be committed to the values of public participation and to disciplinary principles of public engagement, but where scholars may not deal directly with the communities where their data originates. Indeed, we see value in CRPRM for creating pathways for public engagement through participatory research for many

scholars who work in fields that are seen as abstract, inapplicable, or uninteresting to many public engagement contexts. In particular, we see this value in the assist stage, which suggests academic researchers may do participatory research by finding answers to community-initiated questions, rather than by finding questions in their research that they want communities to answer.

We now turn to our work in a long-term project in East London, which led us to advocate the expanded model of participatory research that we share as the CRPRM. Our partnership was characterised by an *assist* level of participatory research from an academic researcher perspective and a *consult* level from the community perspective. As it continues to evolve, we look forward to its continued transition toward an academic *learn*/community *inform* level.

## Cockney collaboration as a case study for CRPRM

The essential starting point of the activities described here—and indeed the foundation of our advocacy for an expanded model of participatory research—is that the academic partner in the project, BLINDED, is not a specialist in Cockney or other varieties of English associated with East London (Kerswill et al., 2008; Cheshire et al., 2011; Fox, 2015; Cole and Evans, 2021; Gerwin, 2023, e.g.,). Additionally, the community partners in Cockney Cultures, represented by BLINDED, did not set out to engage with historical sociolinguistics, but rather to address modern-day experience. The initially unconnected nature of the backgrounds and interests within our collaboration, for us, illustrates the value of the CRPRM as a tool for creating opportunities for historical sociolinguistic public engagement where they do not already (or even intuitively) exist.

To emphasise the backgrounds of project partners that would have made us unlikely collaborators in traditional, academic-initiated models of participatory research, we briefly introduce our interests and focuses. For BLINDED, a substantial strand of his research is focused on finding the oldest available recordings of varieties of English and analysing acoustic features of the speech in the recordings in order to extend the time depth of knowledge about varieties and test hypotheses about the development of historical sound changes. BLINDED has argued that this approach, which has been used by a number of projects in the variationist sociolinguistic tradition (Gordon et al., 2004; Hickey, 2017, e.g.,), constitutes a distinct research method of *historical sociophonetics* (BLINDED, 2024a,?, e.g.,). BLINDED (2024) describe oral history collections as particularly rich sources of data for historical sociophonetic research.

BLINDED is academic staff at BLINDED. In the context of his university's position in BLINDED and his interest in oral histories as a historical sociophonetic dataset, BLINDED has done work with BLINDED museums and archives to find oral history collections among their holdings, and to digitise and transcribe these, both to support the institutions' preservation of these materials and to facilitate historical sociophonetic research into English in BLINDED. BLINDED presented small historical sociophonetic analyses in public engagement events at the BLINDED, and because of these events the press office at BLINDED were aware of him as a potential resource for public engagement on issues connected with language.

In 2019, BLINDED created a public relations campaign he called "Speak Cockney Day," aimed at creating a viral campaign to celebrate Cockney on 3 March. The date capitalised on the salience of replacing // with [f] in Cockney—i.e., pronouncing *the third of the third* as "[f]ird of the [f]ird." BLINDED's campaign responded to popular discourses perpetuated by media that Cockney was "dying" in London, with examples such as news coverage summarising Kerswill et al. (2008) and Cheshire et al. (2011) (e.g., "Cockney to disappear" 2011; Sinmaz (2011)) and (published after BLINDED started his campaign) of Cole and Strycharczuk (2024) (Chaudhari and Watson, 2023; Nash, 2023, e.g.,). Typical of such coverage is the leading hook of Nash (2023): "Cockney, the East End's archetypal working-class accent characterised by glottal stops, dropped H's and rhyming slang, will die with the next generation, research has found." To varying extents, these projects were brought to popular media attention by the press offices of the universities that the researchers were affiliated with, in line with universities' public engagement agenda.

BLINDED, who identifies as Cockney, hoped to challenge this Cockney death narrative. BLINDED's campaign attracted the attention of the BLINDED press team, who contacted BLINDED to seek academic input. BLINDED wrote a supportive public engagement article (BLINDED, 2019), which offered historical sociolinguistic perspectives on several socially salient phonetic features of Cockney.

Public interest in Speak Cockney Day and the discovery that various branches of linguistics existed which could offer scientific perspectives on Cockney and on human experiences of language and culture encouraged BLINDED to revisit the event in 2021, this time as a webinar. BLINDED presented at the event, along with BLINDED. The webinar succeeded in attracting a large audience of Londoners with interest in advocating East London communities. Particularly important, BLINDED, founder of the Bengali East End Heritage Society, attended and raised observations to the presenters, which spurred a meeting between him and BLINDED that subsequently led to the partnership of Cockney Cultures.

BLINDED formed Cockney Cultures as a non-party political, pioneering living heritage and cultural identity project, based on inclusive values. They envisioned prompting conversations and celebrations among people who identify as “Cockney” or identify with the values of Cockney and other “traditional” and “working-class” cultures. They saw Cockney Cultures as a platform for celebrating and promoting a positive sense of “who we are” to break barriers, build social capital, increase interaction, and share commonality across the multidimensional “Cockneydom”—in London and throughout the global Cockney Diaspora.

With the stronger network that had been facilitated by the 2021 public engagement events, in 2022 Cockney Cultures expanded from Speak Cockney Day to a series of webinars and in-person events spread across the whole month of March. BLINDED again presented at an event (with BLINDED). The further exploration of sociolinguistic and historical sociolinguistic perspectives on Cockney and on language and culture more generally during this event inspired Cockney Cultures to seek to conduct their own research project.

BLINDED agreed to help BLINDED design a project to explore their interests in collecting experiences and perspectives of Cockney. BLINDED secured a small grant for participatory research from Research England for the project. Based on his work with oral histories in the context of his historical sociophonetic work, BLINDED supported Cockney Cultures to design interview protocols consistent with building an oral history, secured recording equipment, and printed all materials for the interviews.

BLINDED designed a discussion facilitation process they called “Cockney Chat” to generate authentic, specific experiences of Cockney identity. They curated a set of Cockney Chat cards designed to be used as conversation prompters. These featured five cards to evoke positive meanings of Cockney and five cards featuring negative social stereotypes. The Cockney Chat cards are shown in Figure 5.

Cockney Cultures then also identified and invited participants for the oral history interviews, selected the interview site, designed and led focus group conversations with participants before individual interviews, and conducted the majority of interviews. BLINDED oversaw recording of all interviews, hired and trained two student research assistants (BLINDED) to conduct further interviews, and trained and oversaw the research assistants in processing and transcribing the recorded interviews. In short, BLINDED enabled and enhanced Cockney Cultures’ activities, but these activities were initiated, designed, and led by Cockney Cultures.

The Cockney Chats project further grew and deepened Cockney Cultures’ network as the group continued to work with many of the Londoners who had participated, and the experiences Cockney Cultures collected from participants encouraged them to further extend their activities. In 2023, they repositioned their month of activities as an inaugural “Modern Cockney Festival” of webinars and

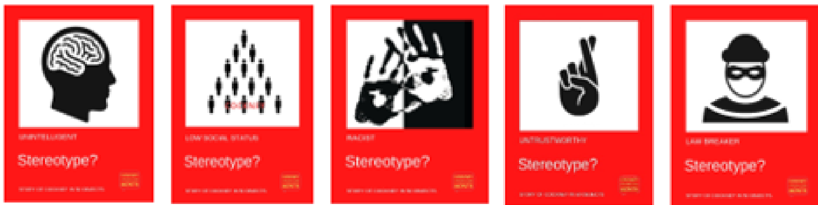


**Fig. 5:** Cockney Cultures' Cockney Chat cards

in-person events (BLINDED presented again). In conjunction with the 2023 festival, Cockney Cultures led a campaign to petition the Council of Tower Hamlets—a borough at the traditional heart of East London—to formally recognise Cockney as a "community language" within the Council's planned community languages programme. They successfully presented their petition on 22 March 2023 (Elgueta, 2023).

Tower Hamlets' Community Languages Programme was envisioned to provide language education in non-English languages spoken within Tower Hamlets to increase self-esteem among Tower Hamlets children. It was intended that children's increased self-esteem would translate to increased participation in mainstream education.

At the request of Cockney Cultures and Tower Hamlets Council, BLINDED met members of both groups in April 2023 to provide advice on how Cockney could be included as part of the Community Languages Programme. Initial conversations suggested that the Council envisioned teaching Tower Hamlets children rhyming

slang and other stereotypical and antiquated features popularly associated with Cockney. BLINDED recognised parallels to the situation in Tower Hamlets and the "Ebonics" controversy in the United States in the 1990s, and that the initial plans being bandied were simultaneously sociolinguistically unmotivated and certain to bring classist and racist aspersion and derision based on language ideologies on Tower Hamlets and Tower Hamlets residents (cf. Perry and Delpit (1998); Rickford (1999)).

BLINDED advised the Council and Cockney Cultures on an alternative approach, centred on creating an educational curriculum that used Cockney as a lens for revealing language prejudice and language ideologies that denigrate speakers of socially non-standard varieties of English. He committed to supporting Cockney Cultures to produce a report for Tower Hamlets Council on using Cockney's recognition as a community language to implement a linguistically and sociolinguistically informed pro-social-justice, anti-language prejudice curriculum within the Tower Hamlets Community Languages Programme.

We co-authored a successful application for a small Economic and Social Sciences Research Council Impact Accelerator Award to support the project. The application included funds to hire BLINDED on short-term contracts to conduct a series of focus groups and community surveys in Tower Hamlets to gather perspectives and experiences of working-class culture and to collect images of Tower Hamlets. As in the Cockney Chats oral history project, BLINDED offered advice on focus group design, supplied recording equipment, and managed recording during focus groups. He provided brief overviews of the project and the sociolinguistic principles motivating it to participants based on talking points he and BLINDED agreed upon. BLINDED also processed recordings and transcribed them via automatic speech recognition. As with the Cockney Chats, though, BLINDED designed the community surveys and focus groups, recruited participants through the Cockney Cultures network, selected sites in Tower Hamlets for imagery and informal community survey interviews, arranged focus groups, conducted community survey interviews and focus groups, and extracted quotations and insights from transcripts to underpin the report that would be furnished to Tower Hamlets. Again, BLINDED enabled and enhanced Cockney Cultures' research, but Cockney Cultures led and conducted the research.

Working with other members of the growing Cockney Cultures network, we collaboratively outlined a structure for the project's report. The report was organised to 1) provide accessible linguistic descriptions of socially salient features of Cockney; 2) introduce concepts of language ideologies and language prejudice; 3) offer a historical sociolinguistic account of the emergence of modern-day ideologies about Cockney; and 4) examine the role of culture and experience in shaping personal

and community identities. We also planned for the report to include exemplar teaching activities.

BLINDED led the majority of writing, synthesising research by sociolinguists and other scholars into a series short overviews of lexical, phonetic, and morphosyntactic features of Cockney (drawn on, e.g., Lillo (2000); Fox (2015); Cole and Strycharczuk (2022)); evolving attitudes toward Cockney (e.g., (Giles, 1970; Purnell et al., 1999; Ranzato, 2019; Cole and Evans, 2021)); and language prejudice as a cause of consequential harm to language users generally and in the United Kingdom specifically (e.g., Dixon et al. (2002); Bishop et al. (2005); Levon et al. (2021)). Of particular relevance to this special issue's focus on historical sociolinguistics, much of BLINDED's work focused on revealing the recency of many modern-day ideologies and beliefs about Cockney. For instance, BLINDED drew heavily on Gerwin (2023)'s historical sociolinguistic exploration of the enregisterment of Cockney, aligning her history with sociolinguistic principles that linguistic changes-from-below in cities tend to be led by working-class communities and spread by socially mobile language users from these communities, e.g., Labov (2001). From these threads, he argued that the variety carved out as "Cockney" would for many centuries simply have been the leading edge of linguistic innovation in London English, rather than a variety that emerged within East London due to social and economic isolation from the rest of the city. In all these explorations, BLINDED attempted to use Cockney as a lens for recognising the denigration and harm that speakers of nonstandard Englishes experience at the hands of hegemonic standard language ideologies. In other words, he articulated that the popular understanding of Cockney as a nonstandard English associated with low educational attainment, criminality, and other antisocial behaviours is based on anti-working-class ideologies rather than linguistic facts; and likewise negative social evaluations of any other nonstandard English are based on ideological social evaluations of language users rather than facts about language.

Members of Cockney Cultures, BLINDED in particular, also wrote substantial sections for the project while BLINDED collected imagery. Their contributions focused on conceptualising a Cockney identity and describing the ways that Cockney identity shaped worldview, self-concept, and interactions within communities. BLINDED also conceptualised a "formula of modern Cockney identity" based on his synthesis of comments and perspectives shared in Cockney Cultures events and collected during Cockney Cultures' fieldwork over its two projects. The formula used a creativity technique BLINDED had previously developed for public relations professionals BLINDED to harness mathematical language to create new insights through thinking that differed from verbal reasoning. BLINDED's Cockney formula explored the creation of Cockney identity from cultural reference points, economic factors, and orientations to and away from London. The formula was conceived as

serving both as a tool for providing heuristics explaining Cockney identity and its many complexities and contradictions, with BLINDED believing it could provide a foundation for a more academically rigorous framework for scoping investigation into the complexities of social identities. In the context of genuinely participant-led research, these formulations authentically represented Cockney Cultures members' processing of their own experiences and the experiences they had collected through their fieldwork.

BLINDED and members of Cockney Cultures collaboratively developed three lesson plans to demonstrate teaching activities that used Cockney as a frame to teach language and linguistics, to challenge standard language ideologies, and to foster positive outcomes for participants in the Tower Hamlets Community Languages Programme. Each included an introduction to a linguistic concept, a set of discussion questions for teachers or facilitators to use with students or participants, and practical learning activities. BLINDED was the primary developer of one lesson plan (on linguistic landscaping) and members of Cockney Cultures developed the other two (on Cockney rhyming slang and the role of nursery rhymes in perpetuating culture). BLINDED revised these for consistency in format and for consistency with the claims of the report—for instance, the lesson plan on Cockney rhyming slang initially referred to the myth (which the report had earlier debunked) that rhyming slang was developed to obscure criminal activity; BLINDED amended this to a discussion question on why people found it so easy to believe that Cockney rhyming slang would be used to talk about criminal activities and what this revealed about expectations around the behaviours of people who speak nonstandard Englishes.

Cockney Cultures added text of an ongoing campaign it called the Modern Cockney Charter, conceptualised as a seven-point framework for engaging local governments and other public bodies to challenge discrimination based on negative stereotypes, ideologies, and misconceptions, and to advocate positive investment in language, heritage, and education to celebrate Cockney and other working-class identities.

Cockney Cultures sourced creative, striking photos and images from its network, such as what Cockney Cultures calls the "Pearly Burka"—a Cockney Cultures member's Islamic dress being fused with the practice of the iconic Cockney Pearly Kings and Queens wearing beads fashioned into designs and words. This image appears as Figure 6.

Draft text of the report was shared with members of the Cockney Cultures network. Their feedback was incorporated into revisions. Finally, quotes from community members gathered during the surveys and focus groups that Cockney Cultures led were interspersed throughout the report. These were selected by BLINDED and gave voice to the lived experiences of Tower Hamlets residents of

**Fig. 6:** Cockney Cultures' community-generated "Pearly Burka" (design by BLINDED)

being discriminated against for their language variety and the value they ascribed to working-class culture and identity.

The report was finalised as a 35-page "Cockney blueprint for Tower Hamlets: A guide for including Cockney in the Tower Hamlets Community Languages Programme" (BLINDED, 2023). The *Blueprint* was presented to Tower Hamlets Council leadership at meetings in October and December 2023. It is a foundational document for the Community Languages Programme, offering a pathway for a one-of-a-kind celebration of non-standard English as an instrument to greater educational, economic, and social-justice outcomes. Cockney Cultures' activities received positive media coverage on the BBC World Service, BBC News, BBC Radio 4, Sky News, ITV, and regional outlets across the United Kingdom, and BLINDED wrote a public engagement article about it for *The Conversation* (BLINDED, 2024b).

At the time of writing, the start of the Tower Hamlets Community Languages Programme itself has been delayed, so the impacts of the *Blueprint* on the actual implementation of the Community Languages Programme are not yet observable. However, Cockney Cultures is working with Tower Hamlets Council to pursue the vision the Blueprint articulates, and to expand activities in line with that vision. Pathways that are being pursued by Cockney Cultures include securing funding to build a full Cockney-framed pro-social-justice curriculum, as well as engaging other East London borough councils to establish parallel advocacy for nonstandard Englishes.

## Reflections on the Cockney case study as participatory historical sociolinguistics and response to modern-day conflict

As we suggested at the start of the previous section, our collaboration would not have occurred in traditional, academic-initiated models of public engagement or in models of participatory research where control remains largely centred on academic researchers. BLINDED's "historical sociophonetic" research would not have targeted outcomes to reduce the harms of modern-day conflict emerging from standard language ideologies in London. However, valuing an *assist* role for academic researchers in the CRPRM vision of participatory research leads to a different view of the place and possibilities of academic knowledge. Valuing the role of academic researchers to *assist* (or *learn* from) community researchers facilitates a change in the questions an academic researcher might ask when seeking public engagement—from "How do I create public outcomes in a community via scholarly knowledge?" to "How do I find a way to use scholarly knowledge to support public outcomes a community is achieving?" The revised perspective on the role of academic research and researchers which is facilitated by the CRPRM's revision to participatory research roles enables academic researchers to do public engagement in places where their research might not normally or obviously take them.

From Cockney Cultures' perspective, its partnership with BLINDED has been an exemplar of community engagement, achieving real social impact, creating a model for tackling social division, polarisation, and social prejudice, which has established the foundations for innovative public policy. By providing advice informed by historical sociolinguistics to Cockney Cultures, BLINDED substantiated and legitimised the lived experiences of members of Cockney Cultures that their language varieties, cultural experiences, and personal identities were punished by social ideologies rather than empirical facts about their quality. This work helped Cockney Cultures move from folk wisdom of language, culture, and identity to understandings informed by linguistic scholarship and has further created capacity for members of Cockney Cultures to engage in their own knowledge creation through research informed by practices in academia. All of this has helped move Cockney social identity into the "Overton Window" (e.g., Lehman (2010)) as a legitimate subject of debate, and move issues of social identities and social prejudice further up the public policy agenda in East London. The empowering quality of the activities completed through this CRPRM work is attested by Kim Bennett, Pearly Queen of Woolwich: "This is the first time in my life I feel like I've been given permission to explore who I am, and what my identity is."

Moreover, by actively leading research activities, Cockney Cultures has achieved discoveries that we believe are unlikely to have been made by academic researchers working in traditional public engagement and participatory research models. In particular, their field interviews and focus groups have found that, while predictably few Londoners embody the caricaturised versions of Cockney depicted in *Mary Poppins or Only Fools and Horses*, Cockney remains a valued point of reference for Londoners' identities, including among many young people who value Cockney as part of their cultural heritage as Londoners even if not part of their own identities. Cockney Cultures have also encountered identity labels such as Bengali Cockney, Black Cockney, and Jewish Cockney. Cockney Cultures continues to explore these identities as potential directions for focused, community-led research. Findings that emerge from their work will create an exigence for academic researchers to *learn*.

Indeed, germane to this special issue's focus, Cockney Cultures' identification of the relevance of Cockney as an identity leads us to a reconsideration of what academic researchers can learn from their findings about conflict in the context of public engagement. Throughout this article, we have taken a straightforward view that standard language ideologies create conflict between those varieties that are socially acceptable, prestigious, correct, etc. and those that are not.

However, we recognise a further layer of conflict in the origins of our collaboration. Recall that Cockney Cultures' activities were initially spurred by (and have continued to respond to) media discourses around the death of Cockney. As we noted above, popular media stories that tied into the theme of Cockney dying appeared as coverage of academic research by, e.g., (Cheshire et al., 2011, 2011) and (Cole and Strycharczuk, 2024, 2024). The academic research projects that these stories were based on did not herald the death of Cockney. Rather, they were projects solidly in the vein of variationist sociolinguistic research describing language change driven in part by sociolinguistic factors including migration, contact, and evolution of identity.

Our experiences with university press offices, however, lead us to suspect that pitches of these research projects to media outlets by university press teams likely drew on the salience of Cockney's death. Repeating themes that a language variety or culture is dead or dying is unproblematic if it is really the case that there are no members of the community left who identify with use of the variety or expression of the culture. But when Cockney Cultures reveals that "Cockney" is relevant as part of some people's identities, media narratives of Cockney's death foster public discourses that "other" those people as outmoded, antiquated, and being replaced. Cockney Cultures members and participants in the field interviews Cockney Cultures have conducted attest to these feelings among at least some Londoners. To the extent that university press offices are capitalising on the "Cockney is dying" trope—an idea which draws on and reinforces the caricature of "Cockneys" as old, White,

working-class East Londoners comically using rhyming slang to obscure criminal and antisocial behaviours—in order to draw media attention to sociolinguistic research on language variation and change in and around London, university press offices are complicit in perpetuating those othering and essentialising discourses.

Attracting press coverage of academic research is a core public engagement activity. As such, the activities of Cockney Cultures' research under the CRPRM demand that academic researchers who seek to do public engagement reflect on ways that university public engagement strategies might draw upon, participate in, or perpetuate salient ideologies, which in turn might foment conflict rather than reducing it. Certainly, this provides a greater impetus for academic researchers to consider participatory research at the levels of *assist* and *learn*, so that their research can respond to, support, and be informed by the work of community members.

We have tried to make a case in this paper that the CRPRM that we advocate created a pathway for us to achieve a publicly engaged historical sociolinguistics through participatory research in a context and direction that would not have been available in academic researcher-initiated work. We hope that the value created by our genuinely community-initiated and community-led collaboration justifies a revision to models of participatory research to recognise the intellectual merit of research that academics support and foster rather than initiate and direct. We further hope that this facilitates making participatory research a viable pathway for public engagement for academic researchers in fields such as historical sociolinguistics where the communities that might benefit directly from academic research may be obscure, distant, or non-present. To the extent that it does, the Complementary Roles Participatory Research Model will be a useful contribution not only within such disciplines but also more broadly to the scholarship of public engagement and participatory research.

**Acknowledgment:** The engagement activities described in the project were supported by funding from Research England Participatory Research Fund and the Economic and Social Sciences Research Council Impact Accelerator Award, both administered by the BLINDED.

# References

Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 35(4):216–224.
Avineri, N. and Martinez, D. C. (2021). Applied linguistics.

Biggs, S. (1989). Resource-poor farmer participation in research: A synthesis of experiences from nine national agricultural research stations. Technical Report OFCOR Comparative Study Paper No. 3, International Service for National Agricultural Research.

Bishop, H., Coupland, N., and Garrett, P. (2005). Conceptual accent evaluation: Thirty years of accent prejudice in the uk. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, 37(1):131–154.

BLINDED (BLINDED). *BLINDED*. BLINDED.

BLINDED (BLINDED). BLINDED. *BLINDED*.

BLINDED (BLINDEDa). BLINDED. In BLINDED, editor, *BLINDED*, pages BLINDED. BLINDED.

BLINDED (BLINDEDb). BLINDED. *BLINDED*.

BLINDED (BLINDED). BLINDED. Technical report, BLINDED.

Bodó, C., Barabás, B., Botezatu, I., Fazakas, N., Gáspár, J., Heltai, J. I., Laihonen, P., Lajos, V., and and, G. S. (2025). Participatory sociolinguistics across researchers' and participants' language ideologies. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 22(2):109–127.

Brown, N. (2021). Scope and continuum of participatory research. *International Journal of Research and Method in Education*, 45(2):200–211.

Bucholtz, M., Campbell, E. W., Cevallos, T., Cruz, V., Fawcett, A. Z., Guerrero, B., Lydon, K., Mendoza, I. G., Peters, S. L., and Basurto, G. R. (2023). Researcher positionality in linguistics: Lessons from undergraduate experiences in community-centered collaborative research. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 17(4):e12495.

Cameron, D., Fraser, E., Harvey, P., Rampton, M. B. H., and Richardson, K. (1992). *Researching language: Issues of power and method*. Routledge.

Chaudhari, S. and Watson, S. (2023). Cockney and king's english becoming less common, researchers find. *BBC News Essex*.

Cheshire, J., Kerswill, P., Fox, S., and Torgersen, E. (2011). Contact, the feature pool and the speech community: The emergence of multicultural london english. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 15(2):151–196.

Cole, A. and Evans, B. G. (2021). Phonetic variation and change in the cockney diaspora: The role of place, gender, and identity. *Language in Society*, 50(5):641–665.

Cole, A. and Strycharczuk, P. (2022). Dialect levelling and cockney diphthong shift reversal in south east england: The case of the debden estate. *English Language and Linguistics*, 26(4):621–643.

Cole, A. and Strycharczuk, P. (2024). The search for linguistically coherent accents: Unsupervised clustering of diphthong variation in southeast england. *English World-Wide*, 45(1):1–29.

Cornwall, A. and Jewkes, R. (1995). What is participatory research? *Social Science and Medicine*, 41(12):1667–1676.

Czaykowska-Higgins, E. (2009). Research models, community engagement, and linguistic fieldwork: Reflections on working within canadian indigenous communities. *Language Documentation and Conservation*, 3(1):15–50.

Dixon, J. A., Mahoney, B., and Cocks, R. (2002). Accents of guilt? effects of regional accent, race, and crime type on attributions of guilt. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 21(2):162–168.

Elgueta, A. (2023). Do you need to be from london to be a cockney? *BBC News London*.

Fox, S. (2015). *The new Cockney: New ethnicities and adolescent speech in the traditional East End of London*. Palgrave.

Gerwin, J. (2023). Between nottin'ill gate and bleckfriars—the enregisterment of cockney in the 19th century. *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics*, 9(1):31–67.

Giles, H. (1970). Evaluative reactions to accents. *Educational Review*, 22:211–227.

Godrie, B. (2017). Rapports égalitaires dans la production des savoirs scientifiques: L'exemple des recherches participatives en santé mentale. *Vie Sociale*, 4(20):101–116.

Gordon, E., Campbell, L., Hay, J., Maclagan, M., Sudbury, A., and Trudgill, P. (2004). *New Zealand English: Its origins and evolution*. Cambridge University Press.

Hermes, M. (2012). Indigenous language revitalization and documentation in the united states: Collaboration despite colonialism. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 6(3):131–142.

Hickey, R. (2017). *Listening to the past: Audio records of accents of English*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hudley, A. H. C. (2016). Language and racialization. In Garciá, O., Flores, N., and Spotti, M., editors, *The Oxford handbook of language and society*, pages 381–402. Oxford University Press.

Hudley, A. H. C. (2023). Liberatory linguistics. *Daedalus*, 152(3):212–226.

Hudley, A. H. C., Mallinson, C., and Bucholtz, M. (2020). Toward racial justice in linguistics: Interdisciplinary insights into theorizing race in the discipline and diversifying the profession. *Language*, 96(4):e292–e306.

Kankaria, S. and Chakrabort, A. (2024). Scientific temper: Towards an alternate model of science-society relationships. *Journal of Science Communication*, 23(04):Y03.

Kerswill, P., Cheshire, J., Fox, S., and Torgersen, E. (2008). Linguistic innovators: The english of adolescents in london. Technical report, Final report submitted to the Economic and Social Research Council.

Key, K. D., Furr-Holden, D., Lewis, E. Y., Cunningham, R., Zimmerman, M. A., Johnson-Lawrence, V., and Selig, S. (2019). The continuum of community engagement in research: A roadmap for understanding and assessing progress. *Progress in Community Health Partnerships: Research, Education, and Action*, 13(4):427–434.

Labov, W. (1982). Objectivity and commitment in linguistic science. *Language in Society*, 11(2):165–201.

Labov, W. (2001). *Principles of linguistic change, vol. 2, Social factors*. Blackwell.

Lehman, J. G. (2010). An introduction to the overton window of political possibility. *Mackinac Center for Public Policy*.

Levon, E., Sharma, D., Watt, D. J. L., Cardoso, A., and Ye, Y. (2021). Accent bias and perceptions of professional competence in england. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 49(4):355–388.

Lillo, A. (2000). Bees, nelsons, and sterling denominations: A brief look at cockney slang and coinage. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 28(2):145–172.

Mallinson, C. and Hudley, A. H. C. (2010). Communicating about communication: Multidisciplinary approaches to educating educators about language variation. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 4(4):245–257.

Mansfield, J. and Stanford, J. (2017). Documenting sociolinguistic variation in lesser-studied indigenous communities: Challenges and practical solutions. *Language Documentation and Conservation*, 13:116–136.

Meyerhoff, M. and Stanford, J. (2015). Tings change, all tings change: The changing face of sociolinguistics with a global perspective. In Smakman, D. and Heinrich, P., editors, *Globalising sociolinguistics: Challenging and expanding theory*, pages 1–13. Routledge.

Nash, P. (2023). Is cockney disappearing in the east end? *Roman Road London*.
Ortega, A., Goirigolzarri, J., and Amorrortu, E. (2022). Participatory action research to promote linguistic mudas among new speakers of basque: Design and benefits. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 43(1):55–67.
Osinski, A. (2021). From consultation to coproduction: A comparison of participation in poverty research. *Journal of Participatory Research Methods*, 2(1).
Page, C. J. (2013). A new orthography in an unfamiliar script: A case study in participatory engagement strategies. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 34(5):459–474.
Perry, T. and Delpit, L. (1998). The real ebonics debate: Power, language, and the education of african-american children. *Rethinking Schools*, 12(4):1–7.
Purnell, T., Idsardi, W., and Baugh, J. (1999). Perceptual and phonetic experiments on american english dialect identification. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 18(1):10–30.
Ranzato, I. (2019). The cockney persona: The london accent in characterisation and translation. *Perspectives*, 27(2):235–251.
Reason, P. and Torbert, W. (2001). The action turn: Toward a transformational social science. *Concepts and transformation*, 6(1):1–37.
Rickford, J. R. (1999). Sociolinguistic and ideological dynamics of the ebonics controversy. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 3(2):267–275.
Rodríguez Louro, C. and Collard, G. (2021). Working together: Sociolinguistic research in urban aboriginal australia. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 25(5):785–807.
Rymes, B. and Leone, A. R. (2014). Citizen sociolinguistics: A new media methodology for understanding language and social life. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, 29:25–43.
Selener, D. (1997). *Participatory Action Research and social change*. Cornell Participatory Action Research Network, Cornell University, 2nd edition.
Sinmaz, E. (2011). Is this the end of cockney? hybrid dialect dubbed 'multicultural london english' sweeps across the country. *The Daily Mail*.
Svendsen, B. A. (2018). The dynamics of citizen sociolinguistics. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 22(2):137–160.
Tandon, R. (1988). Social transformation and participatory research. *Convergence*, 21(2):5–18.
Tian, Z. (2022). Translanguaging design in a third grade chinese language arts class. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 13(3):327–343.
Vallejo Rubenstein, C. and Tonioli, V. (2023). Exploring the linguistic and cultural identities of transnational background children in catalonia, spain. *Societies*, 13:221.
Vaughn, L. M. and Jacquez, F. (2020a). Participatory research methods – choice points in the research process. *Journal of Participatory Research Methods*, 1(1).
Vaughn, L. M. and Jacquez, F. (2020b). Participatory research methods—choice points in the research process. *Journal of Participatory Research Methods*, 1(1):1–13.
Weidl, M., Lüpke, F., Mané, A. N., and Fahed Sagna, J. (2023). Liliema: A sustainable educational programme promoting african languages and multilingualism according to the social realities of speakers and writers. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 44(9):827–845.
Wolfram, W. (1993). Ethical considerations in language awareness programs. *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, 4(2):225–255.

Wolfram, W. (1998). Scrutinizing linguistic gratuity: A view from the field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 2(2):271–279.

Wolfram, W. (2016). Public sociolinguistic education in the united states: A proactive, comprehensive program. In Lawson, R. and Sayers, D., editors, *Sociolinguistic research: Application and impact*, pages 87–107. Routledge.

Wolfram, W. (2023). The potential of sociolinguistic impact: Lessons from the first 50 years. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 17(4):e12487.