London 2012 Games Media Impact Study

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Executive Summary

This study has explored very large collections of news reportage and general English in order to discover whether hosting the Games had any reputational implications for the UK. We studied approximately 13 billion words of general English from 2008 and 2012, 93 million words of UK National Newspaper reporting and 35 million words of Global Press reporting. In addition, we also explored in depth news reports about England, London and the UK in 2012 in the Chinese media.

We were able to study such a large volume of text by using specialised computer software that allowed us to account for patterns of meaning in many millions, indeed billions, of words. That, combined with linguistically informed investigations of the patterns revealed, allowed us an unprecedented insight into what it means for a country, in terms of reputation and other socio-cultural impact, to host the Games. In summary, the questions and major findings are:

Research Question 1: What impact did the Games have on the reporting and representation of disability?

- In the UK press, there is now an increased use of preferred ways of referring to disabled people, while the use of dispreferred ways of referring to such people, e.g. *cripple*, is in sharp decline.
- In UK press reporting around the Games, differently abled people were represented as leading a more active part in society.
- British English, when compared to American English, seems to be 'leading the way' in the progressive discussion of disability.

Research Question 2: What impact did the Games have upon the reputation of the UK and London both in the UK and beyond?

- London has experienced both a sustained and positive association with the Games over the period from 2005, with the association intensifying in 2012.
- The Games helped present London as a city which is transforming itself in a wholly positive way.
- There is a markedly increased salience of reporting of East London in general and Stratford in particular in the context of regeneration.
- In general English, the positive associations the Games have brought to London have been strengthened by a link being formed between the Olympics and the Diamond Jubilee.

Research Question 3: Did the Games alter perceptions of East London as a place to live, work and invest in?

- There is little doubt that in the UK Press that the Games shifted discussion of East London away from what seemed to be an almost exclusively negative discussion focussed upon poverty and welfare dependence towards a more positive discussion focussed upon regeneration and investment.
- In the Global Press, the Games imbue East End with an overall positive set of associations.
- The host boroughs gain positive associations via their identification with East London, just as the UK gains a reputational boost, we would argue, by the positive associations that London attracted through hosting the Games.
- In the case of Newham in particular, more negatively loaded associations of the borough relating to welfare fell away after the Games and a more positive set of associations became evident.
- Greenwich became closely associated with commercial activities in East London, and was discussed in relation to investment and regeneration.
- In the Global Press, East London is represented as a regeneration zone within which investment and construction, particularly of homes, is occurring.
- In the Global Press the host boroughs generally attract positive associations relating to regeneration and investment through the Games.

<u>Additional Research Question</u>: What impact did the Games have on reporting of the UK in the Chinese Media?

- In the Chinese language press, the Games seem to switch the discussion of the UK away from a wholly negative discussion focussed upon a faltering economy and difficult military engagements overseas to a more positive discussion of positive economic activity, the Games and tourism.

Overall, our conclusion is that the effect of hosting the Games was very positive for the UK in terms of how it is perceived both at home and abroad.

1.) Introduction

In this report, we will look at three broad Research Questions (RQs):

- RQ1 is split into a number of parts: (a) to what extent are issues of **disability** covered in the media? (b) how, if at all, has the representation of disability changed in recent years (in terms of volume of coverage, tone and attitudes/perceptions/article content)? (c) to what extent is there evidence that the construction has shifted, e.g. from one in which disability is central to one in which disability is co-incidental to an individual's identity? (d) to what extent may the Paralympics have contributed to a general shift of representations and constructions of disability?
- RQ2: how did hosting the Olympics and Paralympics impact upon the **reputation** of the UK and London in the UK and beyond, focussing on the UK's reputation as a place to visit, invest in and do business with?
- RQ3: to what extent did the Olympics and Paralympics alter perceptions of **East London** as a place to live, work and invest in?

In addition, we pursued the question of the representation of the UK in the Chinese Media.

The report focusses upon RQ1 in section 5, RQ2 in section 6 and RQ3 in section 7. The Chinese Media is explored in section 8. In the following sections we will introduce key terminology used in the report (section 2), the notation used in this study (section 3) and the data we have gathered for use in this report (section 4). The report concludes with an overview of the findings of the report and some suggestions for future research in this area.

2.) Terminology

This report uses concepts from corpus linguistics (McEnery and Hardie, 2012) in order to explore what shifts may have occurred in the meaning of a number of words in English between 2005 and the end of 2012. Where such shifts occur, they may be positive or negative. However, the basis of any claims for such changes will be a study of a very large body of language data – millions and at times billions of words. Such an approach to the analysis of language allows much more comprehensive analyses to be undertaken, but it also clearly requires computational analysis. Searching billions of words using the hand and eye alone would be infeasible. Accordingly, the study presented here uses techniques from corpus linguistics which combine computational and linguistic analyses. In order to achieve this, in this report we will use 5 important procedures from corpus linguistics, 3 of which will be described in this section, namely collocation, keyword analysis and semantic analysis. In the subsections below we introduce those techniques for readers unfamiliar with them. The descriptions given are adapted from Baker, Hardie and McEnery (2006). Two further techniques, word sketches and the determination of consistent collocation, are introduced in the context of the discussion of RQ1 and RQ2 respectively. Readers familiar with the procedures described in this section may choose to skip this section.

2.1) Collocation

Described by Firth (1957: 14) as 'actual words in habitual company', collocation arises from the fact that certain words are more likely to occur in combination with other words in certain contexts. A collocate is therefore a word which occurs within the neighbourhood of another word, usually in a span of five words to the left and five to the right. For example, in AntConc (Anthony, 2005), the program used to determine collocates in this report, users can specify a window within which collocational frequencies can be calculated. The strength or otherwise of a collocation is usually determined by using statistical methods such as Mutual Information, the Z-score (Berry-Rogghe 1973), MI3 (Oakes 1998: 171-72), log-log (Kilgarriff and Tugwell 2001) or log-likelihood (Dunning 1993) scores. In this report the log-likelihood score is used for this purpose. We look for collocates in a + or – 5 word window around the word or phrase under investigation.

Why use collocation? Importantly for this report, collocates can be useful for demonstrating the existence of bias or connotation in words. For example, the strongest collocate in the 100,000,000-word British National Corpus (BNC) of the word *bystander* is *innocent*, suggesting that even in cases where *bystander* occurs without this collocate, the concept of innocence could still be implied. By studying collocates in this report we gain a window into meaning, and by looking at their change over time we are able to approach the issue of change in meaning over time.

2.2) Keywords

For the purposes of this report, a keyword appears in a text or corpus significantly more frequently than would be expected by chance when compared to a corpus which is larger or of equal size. Using the software AntConc, a statistical measure called the log-likelihood test is used to compare two word lists in order to derive keywords. Keywords can show changes over time where texts from two different periods are compared with one another. For example, in studying RQ3, by contrasting texts from the first six months of 2012 with texts from the final six months of that year, we are able to determine words which are key before and words which are key after/during the Games. This gives us a way of approaching meaning/association change which may have been caused by the Games.

2.3) Semantic Analysis

This refers to the process of assigning words to a semantic field – for example, *apple*, *banana* and *orange* all belong to the semantic field of Fruit. The process is undertaken manually in this report, as happens in RQ1 and RQ3.

2.4) Our Confidence in Our Findings

Our aim in this report was to produce robust and reliable findings that would allow us to make claims with a high degree of confidence based on a very large base of evidence. Our measures, introduced in this section, allow that. With collocation, we ensure rigour in our findings by looking for collocates which occur a minimum of 10 times in the data and which occur with a high degree of statistical significance – well beyond the 99.9% confidence level. This helps to strengthen our confidence in the findings we produce – they are highly unlikely to be due either to chance or to distorting effects produced by a handful of atypical examples.

With respect to keywords, in our keyword analyses we focus on the most 'key' keywords in the data, those which have been shown to be markedly key (i.e. exceptionally more frequent) in the texts. As with the use of statistical significance measure when studying collocation, our goal in doing this is to add weight to our results – the keyword effects we are looking at are derived from very large datasets and the keywords we focus on are the most key of the keywords that we observe. Again, as with collocation, the keywords we are looking at are significant well beyond the 99.9% confidence level, meaning that the results presented are highly unlikely to be the result of random chance.

3.) Notation

Words and search terms when mentioned will be italicised. Case will be discarded for the purpose of the analysis of words (e.g. we refer to *London* as *london*), though where the case is productive (e.g. it indicates a proper noun) the distinction will be made clear in the text. Semantic fields will be given with an initial capital, e.g. Finance will denote the semantic field of finance. In the text, we will identify a finding of significance by setting it out in a paragraph of its own with the word Finding emboldened at the beginning of the paragraph.

4.) Data

For this study we both collected new data and reused existing datasets. With regard to existing datasets, three datasets were used in our study:

- The enTenTen08 corpus – a corpus of general English from the year 2008. This is a very large dataset amounting to 2,759,340,513 words of data.
- The enTenTen12 corpus – a corpus of general English from the year 2012. Another very large dataset amounting to 11,191,860,036 words.
- Materials archived for 2012 at the most important news hub in China, People's Net (people.com.cn: this includes the People's Daily and many other influential newspapers in China). This includes Renmin Ribao (People's Daily), Jinghua Shibao (Jinghua Times), Jiangnan Shibao (Jiangnan Times), Huadong Xinwen (East China News), Huanan Xinwen (South China News), Guoji Jinrong Bao (International Finance News), and Shichang Bao (Market News).

We also needed to construct a number of corpora of newspaper stories which would allow us to investigate all three research questions. We collected the materials from *Nexis*, an online news aggregator search engine. In the following subsections we describe the different corpora we developed for each research question.

4.1) RQ1 - UK National Newspaper Disability Corpus (UKDC)

To allow for contrastive analysis of the tone and attitudes conveyed in the texts, we have devised a search term covering a range of naming strategies, including those that are preferred in documents by disability organisations, media outlets, and other agencies[2] (e.g. *disabled*) and those which are dispreferred (e.g. *crippled*). We have additionally included in our search term two alternative 'politically correct' terms—*differently able* and *handicapable*—to test uptake on these emerging naming strategies. The full set of terms we searched for were: *person with a disability*, *disabled*, *wheelchair user*, *wheelchair-user*, *uses a wheelchair*, *handicapped*, *cripple*, *crippled*, *wheelchair bound*, *wheelchair-bound*, *confined to a wheelchair*, *differently able* and *handicapable*.

The search was carried out on *Nexis* with articles from each month being gathered into separate files to allow for comparison across time. We collected articles in each month from 1/1/05 to 31/12/12. A collection of 70,667 articles containing 52,771,606 words resulted.

4.2) RQ1 – the Global Media Disability Corpus (GMDC)

A companion corpus for the UKDC was also constructed. This consists of major world news publications, including: Business Day (South Africa); Herald (Australia); Hobart Mercury (Tasmania); International Herald Tribune; Korea Herald; Korea Times; Los Angeles Times; New Straits Times (Malaysia); Northern Territory News (Australia); South China Morning Post (Hong Kong); Sunday Times (South Africa); Tendencias Daily (Brazil); The Advertiser (Australia); The Age (Australia); The Australian; The Business Times (Singapore); The Canberra Times; The Daily Yomiuri (Japan); The Dominion Post (New Zealand); The Globe and Mail (Canada); The Irish Times; The Japan Times; The Moscow News; The Nation (Thailand); The New York Times; The New Zealand Herald; The Philadelphia Inquirer; The Press (New Zealand); The Straits Times (Singapore); The Sydney Morning Herald; The Toronto Star; The Washington Post; The West Australian; USA Today; The Times of India; and The Telegraph (India). For each month from 1/1/05 to 31/12/12, 100 random articles containing the same search terms governing collection of the UKDC were collected, resulting in a corpus of 6,009,854 words.

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[2] See, for instance, the document compiled by Equality Link Consultancy Ltd. at:
http://www.equalitylink.co.uk/downloads/ELC%20Mind%20Your%20Language.pdf

4.3) RQ2 - UK National News mentions of England, London and the UK

To explore this research question we constructed a corpus of newspaper articles focussed upon the topics of the economy, trade and investment. Articles mentioning *England*, *London* or the *UK* were gathered from the UK national press from 1/1/05 to 31/12/12. Our aim in doing so was to explore how, if at all, that representation had changed over time. If it has, we will reflect upon what that means for the UK as a tourist destination or investment target.

In gathering our data we were not interested in passing mentions of the terms, such as in bylines or other such header material. Consequently we only gathered articles in which there were 5 or more mentions of any one of our search terms. This both ensured a rich dataset for us to explore the terms in and gave some reassurance that we were gathering articles in which these terms were reasonably central, rather than peripheral, to the report being presented. While we originally planned to sample up to a maximum of 100 articles a month for this dataset, we collected either all of the articles we could find or 500 articles in each month where the total number of articles exceeded 500. This gave us a very large dataset – 40,393,577 words. This dataset gives rise to (per million) 1173, 2828 and 4,025 mentions of *England*, *London* and the *UK* respectively.

4.4) RQ2 – The Global Media mentions of England, London and the UK

This corpus was a counterpart for the corpus described in 4.3. It was sampled using the same terms as that corpus. It gathered data from the same newspapers as the GMDC. The dataset thus gathered is 26,845,865 words in size. This gives rise to (per million words) 536, 1,821 and 188 mentions of *England*, *London* and *UK* respectively.

4.5) RQ3 – The UK National News Mentions of the East End, East London and the Host Boroughs

We gathered newspaper reports in which any of the terms *barking and dagenham*, *greenwich*, *hackney*, *newham*, *tower hamlets*, *waltham forest*, *east end* or *east london* were mentioned linked to four broad topics: the economy, economic indicators, trade and development trade and investment. Given that we wished to explore the impact of the holding of the Games, we further divided each dataset into two periods – the first half of 2012 which is the months before the Games (January through June) and the second half of 2012, the months during/after the Games (July through December). For the UK newspapers, this generated a corpus of 1,265,991 words (657,142 words for the first half of 2012, and 608,849 for the second half of 2012).

4.6) RQ3 – The Global Media Mentions of the East End, East London and the Host Boroughs

This is a Global Press counterpart to the corpus described in section 4.5 and was gathered using the same search terms and time parameters as that corpus. The corpus was gathered from the same newspapers listed in section 4.2. For the Global Press, this generated a corpus of 2,432,318 words (the first half of 2012: 1,284,511 words, the second half of 2012: 1,147,807 words).

5.) RQ1 Representation of Disability and Impact of the Paralympics in the UK Media

Summary

RQ1 is split into a number of parts: (a) to what extent are issues of **disability** covered in the media? (b) how, if at all, has the representation of disability changed in recent years (in terms of volume of coverage, tone and attitudes/perceptions/article content)? (c) to what extent is there evidence that the construction has shifted, e.g. from one in which disability is central to one in which disability is co-incidental to an individual's identity? (d) to what extent may the Paralympics have contributed to a general shift of representations and constructions of disability?

Main Findings:

In the UK press, there is now an increased use of preferred ways of referring to disabled people, while the use of dispreferred ways of referring to such people, e.g. *cripple*, is in sharp decline.

In UK press reporting around the Games, differently abled people were represented as leading a more active part of society.

British English, when compared to American English, seems to be 'leading the way' in the progressive discussion of disability.

The UKDC (UK National Newspaper Disability Corpus) was investigated to begin to explore RQ1. In the detailed analyses below, individual naming strategies will often be grouped together for ease of discussion. We looked at currently preferred terms used to refer to disabled people as well as currently dispreferred and so-called politically correct terms used to refer to disabled people. These are as follows:

- **PREFERRED terms**: *person with a disability, disabled, wheelchair user, wheelchair-user, uses a wheelchair*[3]
- **DISPREFERRED terms**: *handicapped, cripple, crippled, wheelchair bound, wheelchair-bound, confined to a wheelchair*
- **POLITICALLY CORRECT terms**: *differently able, handicapable*

Let us begin by considering frequency of mentions over time. When investigating the frequency of individual terms over time, it is important to note that raw hits per year (or the actual frequency) do not paint a precise picture of volume. This is because each year of data in the corpus contains a different number of total words. Therefore, frequency of our search terms must be considered as a proportion of the whole, or a standardised figure; here, we have standardised numbers to frequency per million.

Looking at individual naming strategies is a bit too fine-grained for this type of analysis. While some search terms —*handicapped* and *wheelchair bound/wheelchair-bound*—showed a constant state of decline, no search terms experienced constant increase between 2005-2012, though some did trend in that direction. The patterns seem to be quite clearly linked to the current preference for preferred terminology surrounding disability.

The appearance of naming strategies under the PREFERRED category is expressed in frequency per million, in Table 1 below. However, the low frequency of this naming strategy could be due to its specificity. By a large margin, *disabled* is the most frequent in this category (and indeed in all categories overall). This is followed distantly by *wheelchair user/wheelchair-user* and *uses a wheelchair*, and finally by *person*

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[3] Noting the Office for Disability guidance on communicating disability (http://odi.dwp.gov.uk/inclusive-communications/representation/language.php), we will discuss dispreferred constructions including the word *disabled*, specifically the essentialising construction *the disabled*, in section 5.1 of this report where the decline in this dispreferred use of *disabled* is noted.

with a disability. However, if *Nexis* allowed for more dynamic search terms, such as ANY NOUN + "with a disability", the last naming strategy could have been more frequent in reporting in the given timespan.

Year	disabled		wheelchair user/wheelchair-user		uses a wheelchair		person with a disability	
	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.
2005	3,500	1,187.18	38	12.89	13	4.41	5	1.70
2006	6,610	1,132.02	64	10.96	32	5.48	3	0.51
2007	6,934	1,225.65	94	16.62	39	6.89	7	1.24
2008	6,849	1,214.70	77	13.66	47	8.34	5	0.89
2009	6,917	1,101.83	61	9.72	44	7.01	5	0.80
2010	7,559	1,172.14	88	13.65	55	8.53	1	0.16
2011	9,494	1,250.49	84	11.06	51	6.72	3	0.40
2012	18,422	1,489.29	214	17.30	112	9.05	14	1.13
Average	8,285.63	1,221.66	90.00	13.23	49.13	7.05	5.38	0.85

Table 1: Frequency of <u>PREFERRED</u> naming strategies by year, expressed by raw frequency and frequency per million words in each category.

It would be of interest in the context of the data provided in Table 1, to break into 2012 and explore the extent to which the Paralympics impacted upon the usage of preferred naming strategies. Table 2 below looks at 2012 on a month by month basis.

2012	disabled		wheelchair user/wheelchair-user		uses a wheelchair		person with a disability	
Month	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.
January	1,140	1363.48	12	14.35	4	4.78	0	0.00
Feb.	812	1080.12	5	6.65	3	3.99	0	0.00
Mar.	1,386	1363.73	5	4.92	8	7.87	0	0.00
Apr.	1,189	1261.36	11	11.67	6	6.37	0	0.00
May	1,523	1376.82	14	12.66	4	3.62	2	1.81
Jun.	978	933.62	10	9.55	8	7.64	1	0.95
Jul.	1,460	1690.88	21	24.32	15	17.37	3	3.47
Aug.	3,166	2194.59	60	41.59	19	13.17	4	2.77
Sep.	2,989	1927.28	40	25.79	24	15.48	3	1.93
Oct.	1,483	1354.25	22	20.09	9	8.22	0	0.00
Nov.	767	1131.44	6	8.85	6	8.85	0	0.00
Dec.	1,529	1471.33	8	7.70	6	5.77	1	0.96
Average	1,535.17	1,429.08	17.83	15.68	9.33	8.59	1.17	0.99

Table 2: Frequency of <u>PREFERRED</u> naming strategies by month in eight months of 2012, expressed by raw frequency and frequency per million words.

Finding: Overall, the frequency of the PREFERRED group (expressions such as *person with a disability*, *disabled*, and *wheelchair user*) tends to be increasing, with a minor dip in frequency in 2009, followed by a major spike in 2012.

Finding: The 2012 data has the largest overall frequency of PREFERRED terms by a margin of approximately 240 instances per million words over the average frequency of all naming strategies. This indicates a major shift in the discourse surrounding disability in the year of the Paralympics.

Looking at the normalised frequencies shows that the Games months represent a peak of the use of these terms. This is important – these were also the months in which the media had most cause to mention disabled people. Consequently these months are crucial in terms of measuring change in usage of the words relating to disabled people – when the media has most cause to refer to disabled people, what words do they choose? This cannot be answered fully until an exploration of the dispreferred words has been undertaken.

Year	crippled		handicapped		cripple		wheelchair bound/wheelchair-bound		confined to a wheelchair	
	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.
2005	687	233.03	544	184.52	230	78.01	221	71.57	87	29.51
2006	1,186	203.11	1,067	182.73	444	76.04	409	70.04	173	29.63
2007	1,206	213.17	891	157.49	411	72.65	368	65.05	194	34.29
2008	1,384	245.46	842	149.33	467	82.82	331	58.70	167	29.62
2009	1,599	254.71	871	138.74	447	71.20	365	58.14	183	29.15
2010	1,590	246.55	892	138.32	482	74.74	371	57.53	172	26.67
2011	1,748	230.24	995	131.06	575	75.74	439	57.82	160	21.07
2012	1,998	161.52	1,155	93.37	558	45.11	698	56.43	300	24.25
Average	1424.75	223.47	907.13	146.95	451.75	72.04	399.00	61.91	179.50	28.02

Table 3: Frequency of <u>DISPREFERRED</u> naming strategies by year, expressed by frequency/million words in category.

Conversely, the DISPREFERRED group shows a rather steady (but very gradual) rate of decline interrupted by an unusual drop in 2007. Despite decreasing, terms from this group always accounted for 516-597 instances per million words in the corpus until 2012, when the frequency dropped dramatically to 381 per million.

Finding: The decline of the DISPREFERRED group indicates a greater awareness in usage of terminology about disability (particularly in regards to avoidance of dispreferred terminology) in the year of the Paralympics.

It is now possible to return to the question of the relative use of the preferred and dispreferred terms around the Olympics months in 2012, the exploration of which was begun with Table 2. Table 4 looks at the use of dispreferred terms in the same months of 2012 covered in Table 2.

2012	crippled		handicapped		cripple		wheelchair bound/wheelchair-bound		confined to a wheelchair	
Month	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.	Freq.	Freq./Mil.
January	157	187.78	96	114.82	59	70.57	34	40.67	13	15.55
Feb.	179	238.11	72	95.77	52	69.17	31	41.24	10	13.30
Mar.	177	174.16	124	122.01	38	37.39	68	66.91	18	17.71
Apr.	170	180.35	110	116.69	72	76.38	60	63.65	51	54.10
May	205	185.32	90	81.36	49	44.30	90	81.36	21	18.98
Jun.	198	189.02	100	95.46	50	47.73	44	42.00	14	13.36
Jul.	180	208.47	78	90.33	32	37.06	68	78.75	21	24.32
Aug.	144	99.82	118	81.79	35	24.26	120	83.18	43	29.81
Sep.	156	100.59	87	56.10	39	25.15	64	41.27	48	30.95
Oct.	181	165.29	106	96.80	63	57.53	34	31.05	18	16.44
Nov.	111	163.74	75	110.64	31	45.73	25	36.88	20	29.50
Dec.	140	134.72	99	95.27	38	36.57	60	57.74	23	22.13
Average	166.50	168.95	96.25	96.42	46.50	47.65	58.17	55.39	25.00	23.85

Table 4: Frequency of <u>DISPREFERRED</u> naming strategies by month in eight months of 2012, expressed by raw frequency and frequency per million words.

Comparing Table 2 and Table 4 presents a clear picture – there is now a marked tendency to select preferred words over dispreferred words when writing about disabled people in the media. The Games months are a key test of this. When given the opportunity to mention disabled people frequently in the context of the Games, preferred naming strategies soared while dispreferred strategies actually declined in the Games months. Given that August/September, the months of the Paralympics, are the months in which the most frequent preferred naming strategy, *disabled*, peaks (e.g. at 2194.59 and 1927.28 per million words) and dispreferred strategies generally reach their lowest point (e.g. both *crippled* and *cripple* reach their lowest usage per million words in August) the positive impact of the Paralympics seems undeniable. In terms of long-term trends, the preferred peak declines, but it does so in a context in which the opportunity to mention disability frequently, i.e. the reporting of the Paralympics, also passes, so a decline in mention should be expected. What is more interesting is what happens to dispreferred terms; they do not recover in terms of uses per million words to the levels they experienced before the Paralympics. In short, there is some evidence that the Paralympics may be responsible for a general suppressing effect on the frequency of use of dispreferred terms for referring to disability in the media. Conversely, the Paralympics coincided with a greatly increased mention of disability all of which appear to be realised through preferred terms, i.e. the use of preferred terms rose dramatically in the Games months while dispreferred mentions either declined or did not rise noticeably.

Finding: The Paralympics promote mentions of disability that select preferred naming strategies in the media.

Finding: The Paralympics suppressed use of dispreferred naming strategies in the media both during and after the Games.
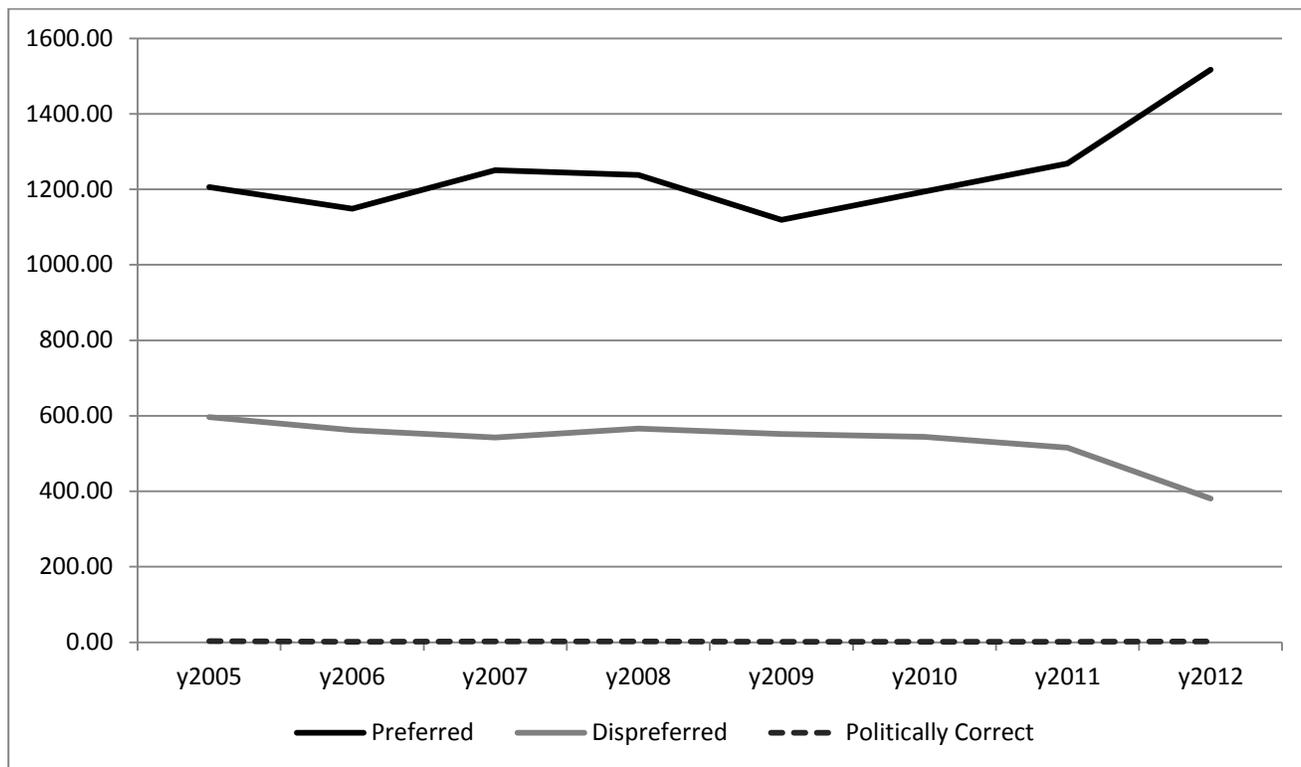
Figure 1: Yearly frequency of naming strategies indicating disability, expressed in frequency per million words in that year. PREFERRED includes *person with a disability*, *disabled*, *wheelchair user*, *wheelchair-user*, and *uses a wheelchair*. DISPREFERRED includes *handicapped*, *cripple*, *crippled*, *wheelchair bound*, *wheelchair-bound*, and *confined to a wheelchair*. POLITICALLY CORRECT includes *differently able* and *handicapable*.

The POLITICALLY CORRECT category of search terms includes *differently able* and *handicapable*. Items from this group were extremely rare in the entirety of the corpus; *differently able* has an average frequency of 1.77/million, and *handicapable* never occurred. However, it is noteworthy that in early instances of *differently able*, the term was problematised or distanced from the voice of the reporters or newspapers through the use of scare quotes or critically evaluative words. Later in the corpus, particularly in 2012, we see far less use of these distancing devices, indicating wider unproblematised adoption of the term.

Finding: The term *differently able* becomes more uncritically accepted in 2012.

How does the UK Media differ from the Global media, if at all, in terms of how disability is represented? To explore this, the UKDC was contrasted with the GMDC using the keyword method. However, comparison between these two particular corpora is limited in its scope. As shown below in Table 5, the GMDC keywords are largely dominated by (American) sports teams, and both corpora show a side effect of comparing texts from different regions, which is that locations are obviously key. Notably, the UKDC has more mentions of social identities framing people within their families (e.g. *children* and *mum*). However, the results were insufficient, and a more focussed exploration via collocation was necessitated.

Category	Keywords: GMDC (Global media)	Keywords:UKDC (UK media)
Sport	*mets, yankees, sports, game, inning, season, inning, jays, girardi, sox, bullpen, reyes, pitching, rbi, lineup, rodriguez, pitcher, list, baseball, rotation, yankee, jeter, torre, pettitte, yanks, runs, posada, beltran*	*sport*
Location	*toronto, canada, york, national, ontario*	*london, uk, england, britain, scotland*
People	*canadian*	*british, cameron, children, mum, people, royal, sir*
Business	*program, center*	*code*
Finance	*financial*	*pounds, cent*
Media	*dateline*	*bbc*
Society		*nhs*
Language	*said*	

Table 5: Keywords of the GMDC compared to the UKDC, and of the UKDC compared to the GMDC, categorised by semantic category.

Finding: The development and maintenance of equal access is seen to be of critical importance in the UK national media, compared against the global media.

Table 6 illustrates collocates of the word *disabled* (the most frequent naming strategy in both corpora), grouped by semantic category. As we can see, *disability* in the British media is more frequently constructed around individual identity, particularly in the frame of familial relationships (*son, daughter*) and position in the workforce (*workers, athletes*). This pattern does not appear in the GMDC, where simple humanity and gender are marked in three cases, and the only indication of career is actually in the past tense (*veterans*). The GMDC construction of the disabled also prefers more detailed descriptions of the disability (*mentally, developmentally, intellectually, physically*) and shows a high frequency of sports-related *disability* markers, including *day, stint, strained, list, placed,* and *landed,* all of which refer to athletes being temporarily placed on short-term disability lists while healing from sporting injuries. The UKDC, on the other hand, constructs *disability* as a permanent aspect of a person's identity, and includes the preferred foil for this, *non*, as the terminology for those without disabilities. Collocates describing points of access and facilities are also more frequent in the UKDC, indicating that *disabled* in the British context is equally likely to refer to facilities for disabled people as it is for those people themselves.

Though the findings from the news corpora above are quite interesting, it seemed advantageous to take advantage of very large corpora to exploit a greater variety of data in exploring the construction of *disabled* people. Results in Table 5, where American sports team names predominate in the keyword analysis of the GMDC, suggest that American news reportage is dominant in that corpus. Accordingly it would be interesting to see if what has been shown so far in British and American news reportage could be extended to general British and American English. To explore this contrast question, two subcorpora of the enTenTen12 corpus have been made in SketchEngine (Kilgarriff et al 2004), a corpus tool containing various 'reference corpora', or large collections of texts that can be used to measure trends across time periods and regions. The American English component contains 8.7 billion words of contemporary English, and the British English contains over 2 billion.

Semantic Category	*disabled* collocates in the GMDC (Global media)	*disabled* collocates in the UKDC (UK media)
People	*people, person, man, veterans*	*people, son, person, daughter, workers, athletes, man, ivan, woman*
Age indicators	*elderly, children*	*children, elderly, child, adults, older, old*
Extent of disability	*severely*	*severely, profoundly*
Description of disability	*mentally, developmentally, intellectually, physically*	*mentally, physically*
Duration of disability	*day, stint, permanently*	*permanently*
Descriptions of ill health	*strained*	*sick, ill*
Markers of non-disability		*non*
Access/Facilities	*parking, access*	*parking, access, bays, badge, riding, bay*
Administration	*list, placed, landed*	
Language		*words*

Table 6: Collocates of the word *disabled* in the world news corpus and the national news corpus, grouped by semantic category.

The SketchEngine allows users to create a 'word sketch', or a grammatical and collocational summary of a word's behaviour in large samples of real language. As noted, collocates of a word say something about the word itself, and how it is constructed and perceived by readers. Word sketches of *disabled* in British English and American English appear in Table 7 below. These are grouped by grammatical patterns (use of an *and/or* construction, and position as either modifying or being modified by other words) in the SketchEngine, and have additionally been categorised by: 1) Semantic analysis of the collocates, and 2) Word preference to collocate only in American English, British English, or as equal preference.

In Table 7 below, we can see items collocating with *disabled* in an *and/or* phrase (e.g. *disabled and elderly*), either equally in American English and British English, or with a strong preference in one or the either. When two qualities, social groups, or actions are linked together by a word like *and*, this may convey that they are similar or interchangeable on some level or that some equivalence is being forced; in other words, readers can 'map' relationships between the two of them, and the qualities of one may be assumed by the other. In those collocates with neutral preference for American English and British English, only one specific type of disability (*deaf*) occurs. The category with the greatest number of collocates is descriptions of ill health (*infirm, sick, frail, ill*), which link *disabled* people with general bad health or sickliness, and age indicators (*elderly*), which contribute to an idea of vulnerability or reliance on others. These are contrasted with the presence of antonyms of *disabled*, *able-bodied* and *non-disabled*, the latter of which is a PREFFERED term according to disability groups. No items in this group collocate solely with British English, but the unique American English collocates are largely very negative. These include DISPREFERRED terms like *handicapped* and offensive ones like *retarded*. Descriptions of ill health are more hyperbolic and emotive (*injured, wounded, diseased*), and an additional category of low income contains two collocates (*homeless, low-income*) linking the identity of *disabled* people with additional 'out-group' identities. American English also relates the word *disabled* to veteran military servicemen and servicewomen, which can have either positive connotations (having served one's country) or negative (having been involved in conflict).

A very similar pattern appears in the next grammatical category of the word sketch, collocates that are underlined modified by *disabled* (see Table 8). Items shared across both American English and British English tend to be very general, categorising disabled people broadly on the basis of the extent of their disability (*profoundly, severely*), a description of their being either *intellectually* or *physically* disabled, or a statement of the duration of disability: *chronically*. No items collocate with British English alone, and again, those collocating only with American English tend to be much more emotive. The extent of disability in American English is described, for instance, as *gravely* or *catastrophically*. In a reverse of the pattern seen above, American English still seems accepting of the term *emotionally disabled,* in addition to giving a much broader medicalised list of possible types of disability.

Finding: There is a tendency in American English to categorise disability to a much finer degree than in British English, and to construe perceived ability on this basis (see, for instance, *functionally disabled*).

Category	Items collocating with *disabled* in American English and British English equally	Items collocating more strongly in American English	Items collocating more strongly in British English
Types of disabilities	*deaf*	*handicapped, blind, retarded*	-
Descriptions of ill health	*infirm, sick, frail, ill*	*injured, wounded, diseased, homebound, deceased*	-
Markers of non-disability	*able-bodied, non-disabled*	*nondisabled*	-
Age indicators	*elderly*	-	-
Low income	-	*homeless, low-income*	-
Military	-	*service-connected, veteran, veteran-owned*	-

Table 7: Groups linked to disability (appearing as collocates of *disabled and/or*) in the enTenTen12 corpus

Category	Items collocating with **disabled** in American English and British English equally	Items collocating more strongly in American English	Items collocating more strongly in British English
Extent of disability	*profoundly, severely*	*partially, totally, catastrophically, functionally, gravely*	-
Description of disability	*intellectually, physically*	*visually, mentally, neurologically, educationally, emotionally, psychologically, psychiatrically, medically, developmentally, cognitively*	-
Duration of disability	*chronically*	*permanently, temporarily, residually, lastingly*	-

Table 8: Collocates that *disabled* is modified by in the enTenTen12 corpus

Finding: For those collocates which *disabled* modifies (see Table 9), British English is much more empowering than American English.

There are a number of 'active' identities associated with *disabled* in British English, where *disabled* people are additionally construed as being *travellers, campaigners, pupils,* and *learners,* rather than being defined completely by their disability (as seen above with examples like 'the disabled'). There are no active identities associated with American English uniquely; the only active identity collocating in this variety is the shared collocate *athlete*.

Category	Items collocating with *disabled* in American English and British English equally	Items collocating more strongly in American English	Items collocating more strongly in British English
Human (active)	*athlete*	-	*traveller, campaigner, pupil, learner*
Human (neutral)	*people, child, person*	*adult, individual, single*	*londoner*
Human (passive)	*passenger*	*widow, retiree, vet, beneficiary, veteran*	-
Non-human	*parking*	*list, placard*	*bay, toilet*

Table 9: Collocates that *disabled* modifies in the enTenTen12 corpus

A variety of neutral collocates are shared across both American English and British English, including *people, child,* and *person,* all of which show a changing preference for use of *disabled* as an adjective to describe one attribute of a person rather than their entire identity. American English has an additional selection of unique descriptors in the neutral category, including one marking age (*adult*) and one describing marital status (*single*). The only neutral collocate in the British English category is *londoner*, which describes the *disabled* person on the basis of where they are living, rather than their simple existence or their lack of a partner.

Perhaps the most striking difference in the collocates of this category is the discrepancy in the passive identities. *Passenger* (which describes *travellers* in a less empowered way) is shared between British English and American English, but British English has no other passive identities. American English, on the other hand, has a long list of identities constructed around past relationships (*widow, beneficiary*) and past jobs (*retiree, vet, veteran*).

Finding: There is a negative association of loneliness and futility with disabled people in American English that is not salient in British English.

Finally, *disabled* modifies several non-human terms. Both American English and British English are concerned with arrangements for disabled transport users—*parking* is shared between both varieties, whereas *placard* (a special car badge to allow handicapped access) collocates with American English alone, and *bay* collocates with British English alone. British English does seem to have a slight edge in preference for services, with the final collocate being *toilet*.

Of course, frequency figures and collocates alone do not tell us the whole story about the naming strategies under investigation. In order to gain a better understanding of these words in use, two case studies have been undertaken. In the two case studies below, we perform a close qualitative analysis of the two most frequently occurring naming strategies from the PREFERRED and DISPREFERRED groups—*disabled* and *crippled*. Both of these words could potentially be any of a number of grammatical forms: an attributive adjective, a participle verb, or a noun. As such, we must go through each cited instance (or concordance

line) of these naming strategies, and discover which type of use it is. This gives a much better insight into the nature of their use, and allows us to measure change over time.

5.1) Use of the word *disabled*

A random sample of 300 concordance lines was taken from the UKDC in each year. Instances were analysed for the type of use of *disabled* in context, and categorised as one of three main types, or three 'other' cases. The DESCRIBING type is the use of *disabled* as one aspect of a person, though not the only—or even most important—feature of them. This can occur as a so-called attributive adjective, e.g. "her disabled daughter". ESSENTIALISING uses of *disabled* construe that person as defined by their disability, and nothing else. In these cases, *disabled* is a noun, e.g. "Bruno hated the disabled". DEFINITIONS include cases where *disabled* does not refer to people, but is being problematised or discussed as metalanguage, e.g. "its narrow definition of 'disabled'". Other cases—NON-HUMAN (e.g. "disabled toilets", VERB ("she was disabled by the operation"), and N/A ("the plane was disabled")—are either not referring to humans, or are so infrequent as not to be relevant here. The frequency of *disabled* in each of these categories is shown in Table 10 below. In each case the table gives: i.) the number of examples per category in each year and ii.) the percentage of all examples in that year represented by that category.

Year	Describing	Essentialising	Definitions	Non-human	Verb	N/A
2005	203 (67.67%)	37 (12.33%)	4 (1.33%)	38 (12.67%)	11 (3.67%)	7 (2.33%)
2006	216 (72.00%)	35 (11.67%)	1 (0.33%)	29 (9.67%)	1 (0.33%)	18 (6.00%)
2007	226 (75.33%)	29 (9.67%)	3 (1.00%)	26 (8.67%)	5 (1.67%)	11 (3.67%)
2008	193 (64.33%)	44 (14.67%)	3 (1.00%)	39 (13.00%)	8 (2.67%)	13 (4.33%)
2009	242 (80.67%)	25 (8.33%)	2 (0.67%)	16 (5.33%)	4 (1.33%)	11 (3.67%)
2010	207 (69.00%)	36 (12.00%)	1 (0.33%)	31 (10.33%)	11 (3.67%)	14 (4.67%)
2011	228 (76.00%)	38 12.67%)	2 (0.67%)	22 (7.33%)	3 (1.00%)	7 (2.33%)
2012	251 (83.67%)	15 (5.00%)	10 (3.33%)	22 (7.33%)	1 (0.33%)	1 (0.33%)
Average	220.74 (73.58%)	32.37 (10.79%)	3.24 (1.08%)	27.87 (9.29%)	5.49 (1.83%)	9.72 (3.24%)

Table 10: Types of use of the word *disabled*, expressed by frequency of a random 300-instance sample per year.

Finding: Over time, there has been a general tendency towards increasing DESCRIBING uses of the word *disabled*. This language is more empowering and democratic, construing disabled people as having many different traits, of which their disability is only one. The highest peak of this type of use occurs in 2012, coinciding with the language of empowerment utilised in Paralympic reporting.

The pattern in ESSENTIALISING uses of *disabled* is more difficult to interpret. From 2005 to 2011, 8.33-14.67% of all instances in the sample belonged to this category, with no absolute pattern linking them all. However, a clear drop in 2012 does coincide with the pattern established in the point above.

Finding: In the year of the Paralympics, ESSENTIALISING uses of *disabled* which define people solely on their disability (e.g. "Bruno hated the disabled") dropped markedly in the UK media, indicating a UK media consensus that such use is disempowering.

Finding: Corresponding to both patterns above, an increase in DEFINITIONS in 2012 saw a dialogue about the meaning of *disabled*, and an interest in the terminology adopted by the media and the public.

Note that the reduction in the essentialising use of *disabled* reinforces the findings from Tables 2 and 3 – the peak of the word *disabled* in the Games month is undoubtedly caused by preferred constructions using the word, not the dispreferred essentialising constructions it may participate in.

5.2) Use of the word _cripple_

This is a small diachronic case study of the most frequent DISPREFERRED term—_cripple_ in the UKDC. _Cripple_ is unlike _disabled_ in that it is much more frequently used as a verb. While _disabled_ can be a verb, it was much more commonly an adjective or noun. _Cripple_ occurred frequently as both a noun and a verb. Therefore, it became salient to group concordances in this way. This search term is less frequent than _disabled_, and therefore a thinned sample was not necessary. The following results represent the entire dataset. Each instance was coded as a NOUN, VERB, or N/A.

- NOUN contains the subcategories:
    - <u>HUMAN PHYSICAL</u> (e.g. "One of them, a cripple, lay slumped on the floor")
    - <u>HUMAN EMOTIONAL/SOCIAL</u> (e.g. "The emotional cripple who was nearly expelled from Cambridge…")
    - NON-HUMAN (e.g. "a cripple of a horse")
- VERB contains the following subcategories:
    - <u>HUMAN PHYSICAL</u> (e.g. "jogging might cripple pensioners with arthritis and orthopaedic injuries")
    - NON-HUMAN PHYSICAL (e.g. "cruel snares which catch and cripple the animal")
    - <u>NON-HUMAN METAPHORICAL</u> (e.g. "the extra cost could cripple firms just when they are trying to survive the recession")
- N/A contains items such as proper names "Cripple Creek" and "Cripple Crow".

The relevant (human and metaphorical) items are shown as frequencies in Table 11.

It is apparent by looking at the percentage change over time (between 2005 and 2012) that NOUNS are on the decrease, as is the VERB used to describe humans. The only increased use here is the VERB: Non-human Metaphorical. This indicates a change in the accepted use of the word.

Finding: British journalists are less and less likely to use the word _cripple_ to describe people, or the actions that happen to seriously injure them.

	NOUN: Human physical		NOUN: Human emotional/social		VERB: Human physical		VERB: non-human metaphorical	
Year	Freq.	% of all	Freq.	% of all	Freq.	% of all	Freq.	% of all
2005	39	16.96%	7	3.04%	12	5.22%	124	53.91%
2006	104	23.42%	4	0.90%	25	5.63%	277	62.39%
2007	74	18.00%	9	2.19%	23	5.60%	287	69.83%
2008	51	10.92%	5	1.07%	21	4.50%	351	75.16%
2009	53	11.86%	5	1.12%	31	6.94%	339	75.84%
2010	76	15.77%	4	0.83%	25	5.19%	365	75.73%
2011	49	8.54%	11	1.92%	22	3.83%	447	77.87%
2012	66	11.76%	6	1.07%	24	4.28%	404	72.01%
%change		-5.19%		-1.97%		-0.94%		+18.10%

Table 11: Types of use of the word 'cripple', expressed by frequency of that year.

Instead, abstract concepts are crippled (see Figure 2) —most often financially. Similar items have been grouped for ease of analysis as follows:

- PHYSICAL includes NOUN: Human Physical and VERB: Human Physical.

- METAPHORICAL includes NOUN: Human Emotional/Social and VERB: Non-Human Metaphorical.
- ANIMALS & N/A includes the other items.

It is easy to see that the PHYSICAL group, which refers to humans as bodily *crippled*, is showing some peaks and troughs, though over time, it is steadily tending toward decline. There seems to be decreased tolerance for this word, even in the past seven years. The METAPHORICAL group, on the other hand, shows a steady increase, demonstrating that this has become the preferred semantic use of this word.

Finding: Sensitivity around the Paralympics might be changing the acceptability of the word *cripple*, even metaphorical uses like *the extra cost could cripple firms*.

Figure 2: Yearly frequency of different uses of *cripple*, expressed by percentage of overall use.

There is not much in the way of a clear pattern in the ANIMALS & N/A set; this category is very closely linked to the relative popularity of proper names including *cripple* in any given year.

The most important proportions in Figure 2 above are the METAPHORICAL frequencies. Over every time period this was always the preferred category of use for the word *cripple*; its lowest point was 57% of all instances in 2005, which was still over double the second-most frequent PHYSICAL category.

However, by 2011, this use accounted for nearly 80% of all occurrences, and seems only to have slowed down in correspondence with the Paralympics dates.

Finding: It appears that use of *cripple* to refer to physical disability will soon be relegated to the history books in British English.

5.3) Alternative naming strategies

In addition to the established preferred and dispreferred naming strategies explored above, we carried out searches for two emerging alternative naming strategies: *handicapable* and *differently able*. *Handicapable* never occurred in the UK Disability Corpus, indicating that the uptake on this word is extremely slow to non-existent, although *differently abled* did occur (see Table 12).

		differently abled		*handicapable*
Year	**Word count**	**Raw frequency**	**Frequency/Million**	**Raw frequency**
2005	2,948,157	10	3.39	0
2006	5,839,133	8	1.37	0
2007	5,657,402	10	1.77	0
2008	5,638,410	12	2.13	0
2009	6,277,756	9	1.43	0
2010	6,448,870	6	0.93	0
2011	7,592,211	8	1.05	0
2012	11,225,962	26	2.32	0

Table 12: Mentions of *differently abled* and *handicapable*, expressed by frequency of that year.

Finding: *Differently abled* experienced an increase in media usage, corresponding with the year of the Paralympics, more than doubling its 2011 frequency.

What the frequency counts do not reveal is what the use of this word has become. Only six out of 24 instances of *differently abled* appear in distancing quotations in 2012, which indicates acceptance of the naming strategy by the author or user of the term. This is in contrast to five out of eight appearing in distancing quotations in 2006, wherein the term is criticised, for being overly politically correct, or one of many "examples of where this becomes ostentatious 'courtesy' backed up by silly phraseology (e.g. 'differently abled' instead of 'disabled')" (*The Observer*, 15 January 2006). By 2012, it seems that the term *differently abled* is being embraced because the phraseology typifies a social group that is considered *abled* in a positive way, for instance: "A man running on blades gives meaning to the phrase 'differently abled'. People now want to see the Paralympics, not out of worthiness but because they will be so exciting" (*The Guardian*, 9 August 2012).

This concludes the exploration of UKDC and GMDC (a summary of our main findings is presented at the end of this report). Let us now move to consider RQ2.

6.) RQ2 Impact of the 2012 Olympics and Paralympics on the UK's reputation

Summary

RQ2: How did hosting the Olympics and Paralympics impact upon the **reputation** of the UK and London in the UK and beyond, focussing on the UK's reputation as a place to visit, invest in and do business with?

Main Findings:

London has experienced both a sustained and positive association with the Games over the period from 2005, with the association intensifying in 2012.

The Games helped present London as a city which is transforming itself in a wholly positive way.

There is a markedly increased salience of reporting of East London in general and Stratford in particular in the context of regeneration.

In general English, the positive associations the Games have brought to London have been strengthened by a link being formed between the Olympics and the Diamond Jubilee.

The corpora gathered for this research question (see sections 4.3 and 4.4 above for a description of the UK and Global media data used) show that while mentions of the terms *England*, *London* and the *UK* greatly increased in the UK Press from 2011 onwards, the mentions of the terms in the Global Press generally mirror, in terms of frequency, those in the UK Press. However, as noted, the UK Press experiences a very noticeable increase in the frequency of use of these terms from mid 2011 onwards. This trend is not reflected in the Global Press, though a brief spike is visible for the Global Press coverage in the month of the opening of the Olympics. Figure 3 shows the number of articles in which any one of the words in question is mentioned at least five times in the time period covered.

Before exploring further the nature of the mentions of the terms in question, it is worth considering the possibility that the UK was being referred to by the Global Press in this period by a term other than those under study here. The most obvious candidate term which the Global Press could use other than *UK* is *Britain* or *GB*. Accordingly, we added *Britain* and *GB* to the terms. We looked at and explored the use of these terms in 2012. This produced a further dataset of 1,292,815 words. Figure 4 below plots out the number of articles per month in the Global Press in 2012 containing at least five mentions of either of these words.
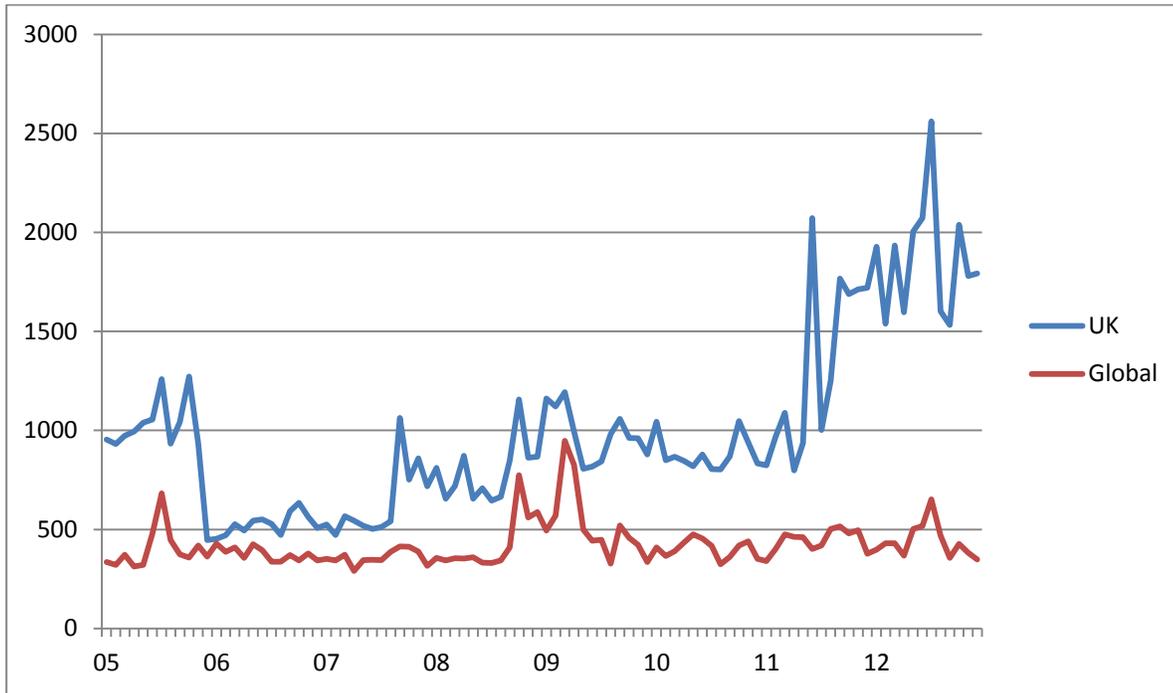
Figure 3: Articles per month from January 2005 through to December 2012 for the words *England*, *London* and *UK*.
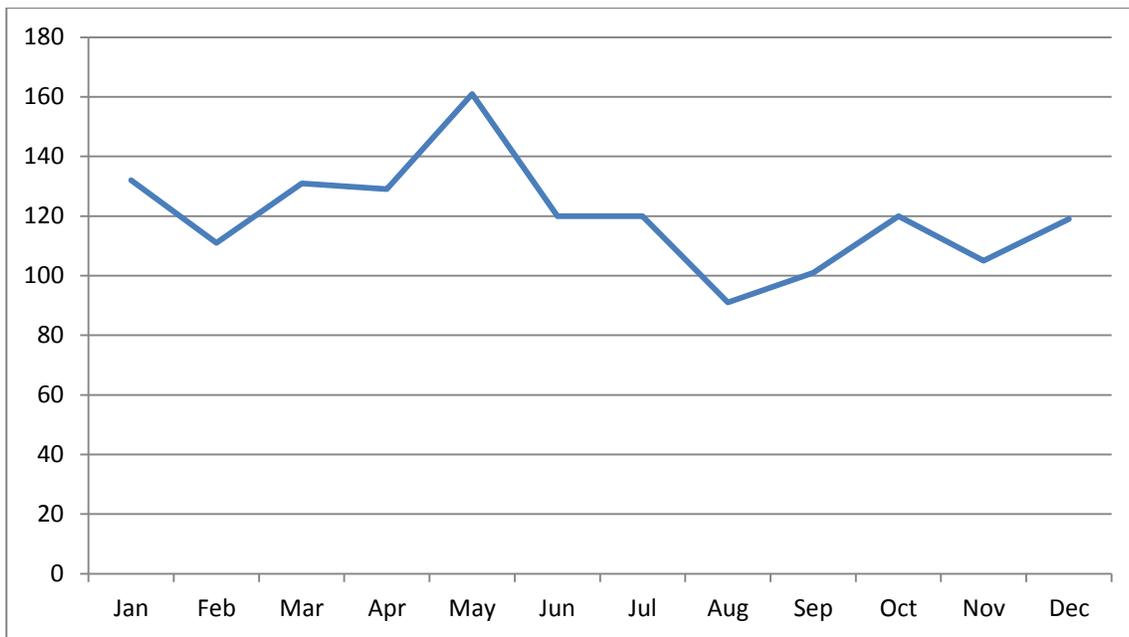

Figure 4: Articles per month from January 2012 through to December 2012 for the terms *Britain* and *GB* from the Global Press.

It is clearly not the case that either *Britain* or *GB* is the preferred way of referring to the host nation of the 2012 Games (as the numbers of articles cited in Figure 4 are much lower than those in Figure 3). We also considered the possibility that the term *United Kingdom* might be more common than *UK*. Accordingly, we tested this hypothesis by looking in the whole of 2012 for articles in both sets of news sources examined in which the term *United Kingdom* was used but *UK* was not. In neither case were any articles retrieved. While the term *United Kingdom* is sometimes used, it always appears in articles in which the shorter version, *UK*

appears. The reverse is not true, however. Some articles include *UK* but never spell it out fully as *United Kingdom*.

Reflecting back upon the search terms used and the patterns of mention revealed in Figures 3 and 4, it is apparent that the UK National Press mention the UK much more than the Global Press, and did so even more frequently in the year of the 2012 Olympics. Yet it is important to note that the trends shown in Figures 3 and 4 in themselves do not suggest that no change of quality in the use of the terms occurred. To explore whether the observable trends link to any noticeable shift in association, or otherwise, we must turn to corpus methods.

6.1) *England*, *London* and *UK* in the UK National Press

In order to explore how the representation of the terms have changed, if at all, over time we undertook a consistent collocate analysis (Baker et al, 2013). Consistent collocates are collocates which, over time, keep a stable relationship with the word they are associated with. This indicates, for example, that that collocate is part of what we may term the core meaning of a word. Collocates which start a period as consistent, but which lose their relationship with a word over time or words which become collocates and remain so in a time period are indicative of change in meaning. This may be a new meaning being formed around a word or, perhaps, a latent meaning either reasserting itself or fading out of view. We shall give some examples of different types of collocates in the data shortly. Finally, there may be collocates which indicate a transitory change – they become associated with a concept for a brief time, but then fade. Again, an example of such a collocate will be given shortly.

To calculate collocate consistency, the collocates of each term (*England*, *London*, *UK*) were derived for each year in which the data was gathered. Following that, the top 40 collocates for each term were examined. Grammatical words, such as prepositions (e.g. *of*, *for*, *in*) and articles (*a*, *an*, *the*), were discarded for the purpose of this analysis as they tell us little about semantic (meaning) associations. The remaining collocates were explored and the degree of consistency for each collocate was determined. In the tables below, for each term explored in the UK data, the collocates are ordered from the most consistent (collocating in all 8 years) to the least consistent (collocating in one year only). In the tables, appearing in 2012 are emboldened as they are particularly interesting for the purpose of the current study. Table 13 shows the collocates of *England*.

Collocates in	*England*
8 years	**bank, church, committee, cricket, governor, mervyn, monetary, wales**
7 years	**base**, *captain*, **southern**
6 years	*coach, cup,* **king**, **rugby**
5 years	*v, squad*
4 years	*independence, midlands,* **rural**, **fans**
3 years	**east**, **minutes**, **northern**, *policy*, **southeast**, *member*, **policymaker**
2 years	*mpc, north, scotland, south, team,* **protect**, *capello,* **easing**, **quantitative**, *trends, team, bean*
1 year	**agents**, *ashes, auction, bangladesh, croatia, defeat, deputy, elite, emergency, eriksson, fabio, facility, forests, gilt, inside, lent, mcclaren, media, middle, pietersen,* **players**, *powers,* **printing**, *protect,* **pump**, *qualified, qualify, quarterly, reverse, scope, shirts, slash, smoking, studying, supporters,* **tucker,** *twenty, umbro*

Table 13: Collocates of *England* in the UK National Press from 2005-2012.

Before analysing the data in this table in depth, let us use it to explore the different types of collocates introduced earlier. Firstly, consistent collocates – in the table, *bank* is shown to be a consistent collocate of

England throughout the period in question. This important association exists because the Bank of England was frequently mentioned throughout the period and the word *England* occurs with *Bank* frequently as a result. By contrast the collocate *tucker* only appears in 2012 – this is indicative of a new meaning relationship forming as Paul Tucker was being rumoured to be the new governor of the Bank of England towards the end of the period shown. Hence the collocates show us how the associations, and hence meaning, of the word in use may be formed, reflecting as it does the social and cultural context in which it is used. As well as examples of changes such as this, other shifts in collocation over time may indicate a shift of salience for a topic – *rugby* for example becomes a collocate of *England* following the success of the England team in getting to the Rugby World Cup final in 2007. It remains a collocate throughout the six year period from 2007-2012, hence showing that the success of the England rugby team brought reporting of it to the fore and the association between rugby and England was strengthened to the point where it became significant in the data. Thus the shifting patterns of collocation around a word may indicate a consistent association through the period – as with *bank* – or it may indicate positive change – as with *rugby* – or it may indicate change which is explicable in terms of newsworthiness, but may not necessarily be good or bad – as with *tucker*. Needless to say, some of the shifts which occur may be negative, as is apparent in some of the 1 year collocates – collocates such as *defeat* are clearly indicative of a reversal of fortune for a sporting team. It is in the exploration of this shifting pattern of collocation around the terms explored in this section that we may begin to see the positive, negative or neutral changes in the pattern of collocation around *England*, *London* and *UK* that are indicative of shifts in the reporting, and hence we could argue representation and reception, of these words.

Let us begin this analysis with *England*. As is evident from the collocates of *England*, the word is primarily associated with national institutions such as the Bank of England and the Church of England. The Bank of England, including its governor and its monetary policy committee in particular, generates most of the stable collocates for *England* – *bank*, *committee*, *governor*, *mervyn*, *monetary* (collocate in all 8 years), *base* (referring to base rate, collocates in 7 years) and *king* (the surname of bank governor Mervyn King, collocates in 6 years). Other stable collocates associate England strongly with sport, in particular *cricket* and *rugby* with collocates such as *cricket* (collocate in 8 years) *captain* (collocate in 7 years), *coach*, *cup* and *rugby* (collocate in 6 years) and *v* (short for *versus*) and *squad* (collocate in 5 years). In short, the linguistic evidence is that *England* is largely used to talk of national institutions or England sporting teams in the texts we have gathered – the stable collocates indicate this core meaning for the word in this type of press reporting in the UK.

The collocates appearing only in 2012 are those most likely to show the immediate impact of the Olympics and Paralympics. Yet the one year collocates in 2012 are all consistent with the core meaning of the word – *printing*, *pump* (used with reference to pumping money into the economy by printing new money) and *tucker* (the surname of the new governor of the Bank of England) relate to the Bank of England, while *agents* and *players* refer to the general domain of sport rather than the Olympics or Paralympics *per se*.

Finding: As such there is little evidence that *England* as a word has much been affected by the Games in the UK National Press corpus data. Hence the dominant representation of *England* in the texts studied seems unchanged by the Games.

The representation of London, on the other hand (see Table 14), is clearly impacted by the Games. Four collocates in particular serve to demonstrate that a strong association between London and the Games was created in the period: *olympics*, *paralympic*, *stratford* and *east*. It is interesting to note that the word *olympics* is associated with *London* intermittently throughout the period (being a collocate in 2005, 2007, 2010 and 2011). There is thus clear evidence for the long term association of *London* with the Olympics. The value of the Olympics is clear – in the 1,318,612,719 word UkWAC corpus of general British English, the top collocates of *olympics* include major world cities (e.g. *Sydney*, *Beijing*, *Atlanta*) and awards (e.g. *gold, silver, medal*), so a sustained association between London and the event is clearly a positive shift. While the word

paralympic only becomes strongly associated with *London* in 2012, its collocates in UkWAC are very similar to those of *olympics*, bringing further positive associations to the word *London* thereby.

Collocates in	*London*
8 years	**borough, boroughs, mayor, southeast, underground**
7 years	*kensington,* **organising**
6 years	**east,** *lloyd*
5 years	*boris*
4 years	*brent, olympics,* **southwest**
3 years	**gateway,** *livingstone, wharf*
2 years	*array, bombings, exchange, marsh,* **mayoral, national, interbank, stamford,** *stratford, tower*
1 year	*ag, bombs, bridge, canary, carte, central, circular, coe,* **college,** *derwent,* **ealing,** *embassy, fb, fulham, gallery, glasgow, hammersmith, headquarters,* **healthcare,** *imperial, ire, islington, kings,* **landmarks,** *libor, liffe, marathon, mayfair,* **metropolitan,** *monopoly,* **museum,** *occupy, olympic, organisers, outer,* **paralympic,** *protesters,* **prix,** *rankings, sandwich,* **sculpture,** *summit, swallow, telecom, theatre, towers, tube,* **welsh**

Table 14: Collocates of *London* in the UK National Press from 2005-2012.

Finding: There is evidence that London has experienced both a sustained and positive association with words linked to the Games over the period. This intensifies in 2012.

Revealingly, *east* collocates with *London* in 6 years, including 2005, 2011 and 2012. In short, the focus on East London is greatest in the wake of the awarding of the Games in 2005 and in the run up to and delivery of the Games in 2011 and 2012. The nature of the focus upon East London is discussed in RQ3.

In terms of the host boroughs, the collocates *east* and *stratford* indicate that there is benefit derived for these areas from the hosting of the Games also. *Stratford* comes to collocate with *London* in 2007 and 2008 during which time the intensity of the redevelopment of the area brings a focus on Stratford that can only be viewed as positive – if we look at the 2007 and 2008 articles in the UK data collected for the study of RQ2, it becomes evident that the discussion of Stratford in those years is positive. Collocates of *stratford* such as *construction* and *upgrading* speak to the investment and regeneration the area is receiving.

Finding: There is increased frequency of positive UK media reporting of East London in general and Stratford in particular which is to be welcomed.

This is especially welcome because the focus for East London is as positive as that which Stratford experienced in 2007/8, which focussed on its regeneration.

The term *UK* has a very clear dominant core meaning in the dataset explored – *UK* always collocates with *economy* and most of the reporting in the dataset relates to the varying fortunes of the UK economy (Table 15). As such, the role that the Games were able to play in influencing that representation was limited. So in 2012 it is obvious that the collocates unique to that year are strongly influenced by pressures on the UK economy. For example, *forecourt* and *motoring* relate to widely discussed issues of fuel pricing. Collocates such as *contracting, dragging, mired, slipping* and *shrunk* relate to the varying performance of the UK economy in that year. The possible collocate which may indicate positive economic news in the 2012 is *hitachi*. This relates to major investments in the nuclear power and manufacturing sectors in the UK by Hitachi. However, as none of the articles discussing Hitachi's investment in the UK links it directly to the Games, it is wrong to conclude that this positive collocate of *UK* in 2012 is linked to the Games, in any direct way at least.

Finding: There is no evidence that the Games had a significant impact upon the representation of the term *UK* in the UK National Press dataset studied.

Collocates in	*UK*
8 years	**economy**
7 years	**employs**
6 years	across, competitiveness, imported, largest, rest
5 years	outside
4 years	**aaa**, **border**, entering, resident
3 years	globally, grocery, national, population, population, **rebate**, regions, **shrank**, throughout
2 years	aerospace, arriving, contribution, dependent, domiciled, exported, immigrants, lagging, manufactured, migrants, netherlands, presidency, ranked, reactors
1 year	agency, anywhere, **attending**, attractiveness, audience, automotive, aviva, belgium, benefiting, bilateral, **bookmakers**, brewer, bribery, **brogan**, bulgarians, **chip**, cigarette, cigars, committed, comparative, considerable, continent, contracted, **contracting**, contributing, **czech**, dairy, **delegation**, demonstrating, denmark, doctors, downgrading, **dragging**, enter, entered, exchequer, exited, extradition, film, fleet, **forecourts**, foreigners, generating, generator, glaxosmithkline, grown, **heading**, headwinds, heroin, highlighting, **hitachi**, illegally, immune, insurer, internationally, inward, ireland, liable, **mentions**, migration, minus, **mired**, monitoring, moody, motor, **motoring**, noting, nurses, **obligations**, oecd, offshore, **opt**, overvalued, **performed**, plurality, pose, presence, quarantine, reaffirmed, rebalance, **rebalancing**, **recapping**, register, registered, relative, reliant, renaissance, repeated, representing, **rigid**, roughly, settle, shire, shrink, shrinking, **shrunk**, sixth, **slipping**, sourced, specifically, spiralling, starbucks, **staying**, strongest, studying, sweden, taxed, ties, triple, turbine, unlike, veto, whereas, whole

Table 15: Collocates of *UK* in the UK National Press from 2005-2012.

6.2) England, London and the UK in the Global Press

Let us now turn to consider *England*, *London* and *UK* in the Global news dataset, using the same technique of analysis.

Collocates in	*England*
8 years	***bank***, ***france***, ***germany***, ***ireland***, ***university***
7 years	***canada***, ***japan***
6 years	*south*, ***against***, ***central***, ***governor***
5 years	*australia*, ***born***, ***italy***, ***king***, *scotland*, ***states***, ***united***
4 years	***european*** , ***former***, *from, interest, rates, team,*
3 years	***church***, ***federal***, ***monetary***, *northern*, ***policy***
2 years	*africa*, ***board***, *cameron, committee, cricket, india*, ***mervyn***, *rate, spain*
1 year	*ashes, back, based, before, cup, cut,* ***head***, *his, left, national, north, rugby, series,* ***sweden***, *swiss, test, today, zealand*

Table 16: Collocates of *England* in the Global Press from 2005-2012.

While some differences are observable when the Global Press representation is examined of the core meanings of *England* (Table 16) – notably that it is associated strongly with i.) its University system and ii.) a range of other countries – it is perhaps more notable to see the core meanings observed in the UK Press are also observable in Table 16. Discussion of the Bank of England's actions are a key component of the collocates of the word *England* and its association with sport is also clearly observable. However, there is little sign of any change in that representation across time – in fact in 2012, the collocates associated with *England* were noticeably stable. Only two of the collocates studied were unique to 2012. Of the two year collocates, only two straddle the period of 2011/12, a period in which we might expect an influence from the Games – *mervyn* and *board*. Both of these collocates, however, relate once again to the Bank of England (*mervyn*) and sport (*board* as part of a discussion of England's role in the board of the Rugby World Cup).

Finding: One cannot conclude that the representation of the word *England* in the Global Press was influenced noticeably by the UK hosting the Games.

Collocates in	*London*
8 years	**ftse**, *heathrow*, **interbank**, **metal**, **paris**
7 years	**libor**, **tokyo**
6 years	*brent*, **economics**, *exchange*, **offered**, *plc*
5 years	**olympics**, *overnight*, *rome*
4 years	*lloyd*, *madrid*, *rose*
3 years	*fell*, **frankfurt**, **listed**, *nasdaq*, *nikkei*, *ny*, *reports*
2 years	*amsterdam*, *angeles*, *average*, *barclays*, *based*, *berlin*, *bombings*, *gatwick*, *metals*, *milan*, *stock*, **strategist**, *underground*, *wembley*
1 year	*alternative*, *attacks*, *based*, *biscuits*, *blasts*, *bomb*, *bombing*, **boris**, *bruce*, **ceremony**, *christie*, **electro**, **embassy**, *fly*, *frankfurt*, **games**, *geneva*, **hennessy**, *homeowners*, **hyde**, *ice*, *incorporated*, *index*, *ken*, *livingstone*, **locomotive**, *los*, *meeting*, **moscow**, **motive**, **nomura**, *offered*, *offices*, *riots*, *stadium*, *stansted*, *summit*, *terrorist*, *thermal*, *tonne*, **trader**, **whale**, *York*

Table 17: Collocates of *London* in the Global Press from 2005-2012.

Once again, it is much clearer that London experiences a significant and positive association with the Games (Table 17). While the core meaning of *London* in the Global Press relates to its role as an international financial and commodity trading centre, as evidenced by the stable collocates *ftse*, *interbank* and *metal*, *olympics* collocates with *London* in five of the eight years under investigation in the Global Press. Again, given the positive associations already discussed for this word, this can be viewed as a positive shift in the representation of London. Importantly, as with *London* in the UK National Press, this association intensifies in 2012 – the collocates *games* and *ceremony* are collocates in 2012 only but tie London firmly to an important and prestigious event. If we look at the Global Press data in 2012 only, and investigate the collocates of *games* and *ceremony* in that year, the benefit of the association of these collocates with *London* becomes apparent. The top nine collocates for *games* in that data are: *paralympic*, *olympic*, *hosting*, *host*, *coverage*, *commonwealth*, *legacy*, *summer*, and *winter*. The most important collocates here in terms of a positive shift are *coverage* and *legacy*. Many collocates of *games* indicate a worldwide audience for the event, enhancing its significance. Salient in the data also is an association between London, the Games and the legacy activities associated with the Games. Consider the following quote, from an article focussed expressly on the legacy of the London Games in *The Courier Mail* (Australia, 7/12/12):

> "EAST London is not a pretty place. As one of the most deprived areas of this sprawling, millennia old city, it is a bleakly, almost Dickensian grey home to considerable hardship and neglect.

For decades it has been the ugly legacy of the industrial revolution with rusting, abandoned factories, stinking waterways, abandoned cars and machinery -vast tracts of industrial wasteland, in other words.

No more.

A new legacy has risen from the rubble of this once-squalid corner of one of the oldest cities on the planet."

A focus on transformation and regeneration also provides the focus for the beginning of this article in The Daily Yomiuri (Japan, 2/8/12):

"LONDON--The Olympics have transformed a polluted wasteland in east London into an expansive park that is home to eight sports venues.

Organizers of the London Olympics have aimed to make this year's Games an eco-friendly event by suffusing green features large and small into the facilities.

Passing through the security gates at the Olympic Park in Stratford, east London, puts one face-to-face with the Olympic Stadium, which is surrounded by green zones dotted with blooming marigolds and poppies."

The green theme noticeable here will be returned to in the exploration of RQ2, when the focus on London narrows to look expressly at East London.

The link between London and the Games is not surprising. The general English corpus enTenTen12 provides an insight into the lack of connection between the Games and *uk* and *england*. When we explore collocates of *olympics* in enTenTen12, host cities feature prominently in the top collocate list, but not host countries – so in the top fifty collocates we see the following host cities (in alphabetical order) *athens*, *beijing*, *london*, *sydney* and *vancouver*. No host countries appear as collocates. Accordingly the findings presented in this section are in line with the benefit experienced by other countries – a direct benefit for the host city, a benefit by association for the host nation.

Finding: In 2012, *London* is strongly associated with the word *games* in the Global Press. As the word *games* tends to be used positively, this helps to represent London as a city with positive associations – and as a city which is transforming itself in a wholly positive way. It is hard not to conclude that this is a positive shift which is important both for changing perceptions of London, and by association the UK, as a place in which to tour and invest.

Similarly positive is *ceremony* – the most salient collocate of the word is *opening*, referring to the opening ceremony of the Olympics. Exploring the data reveals that the opening ceremony was described in the Global Press as *dazzling*, *pitch-perfect*, *spectacular*, *stunning* and *amazingly complex*. The following extract, from the *South African Times* (12/8/12), shows how the opening ceremony not only reflects well on London – it also shows London providing a service to the world:

"Danny Boyle's pitch-perfect opening spectacular for the London Olympics allowed Britain to forget its austerity blues and gave the world an escape hatch from the global financial storm."

There was good news reported also from the opening of the Games for its sponsors, as the *South China Morning Post* reported on 13/8/12:

"But there is already good news for some of the Games' major sponsors. Samsung's shares rose 3.41 per cent, and Coca-Cola 1.39 per cent in trading on the Monday following the opening ceremony."

Finding: In 2012 the word *London* experienced a positive shift in meaning, being represented via a major global media event in a way which was advantageous for the image of London and for the financial fortunes of those investing in London.

As is fairly clear from the very few collocates shown in Table 18, and the very few examples of *UK* recovered in the data collection exercise, *UK* is a relatively infrequent term in the Global Press. When it is used it has a core meaning in which the UK is linked to and talked about in relation to other states via collocation, principally the US, but also Australia, Europe, Ireland, Japan, France and Germany. In that discussion it is the UK as an economy that is discussed, as is evident if one considers the collocates *cent*, *per*, *ftse*, *banks*, *business*, *company*, *financial*, *index*, *market*, and *markets*. So the global reporting of the UK, as with the national reporting of the UK, focuses on the UK as an economic entity.

Finding: As with *England*, there is no evidence with which to make any claim that hosting the Games altered the global media's representation of the term *UK*.

Collocates in	*UK*
8 years	**us**
7 years	**australia**, **based**, **cent**
6 years	
5 years	
4 years	
3 years	**per**
2 years	*bank, europe, ftse, government, group, ireland, japan,* **market**
1 year	*banks, business, company, financial, france, germany, index, market, markets, new*

Table 18: Collocates of *UK* in the Global Press from 2005-2012.

6.3) *England*, *London* and *UK* in General English

Turning from the representation of England, London and the UK in the National and Global media, is there any more general evidence that associations of these words were impacted by the hosting of the Games? To explore this, we consulted two datasets. The enTenTen08 corpus and the enTenTen12 corpus. The first is a corpus of general English from 2008, amounting to 3,268,798,627 words. The second is a corpus of general English from 2012, amounting to 12,968,375,937 words. We explored each of the terms in these two corpora, looking for any evidence of a shift in the collocations of these words between 2008 and 2012.

Finding: For *UK*, no difference is discernible in the way it is discussed in general English between 2008 and 2012.

England is very strongly associated in both years with place names in England, though the association of England with institutions and sport in general English is also apparent, with the Church of England, football and rugby forming collocations around *England*.

Finding: For *England*, there is no evidence of any impact from the Games in general English between 2008 and 2012.

As with the UK National and Global Press material explored in this section, however, there is a clear effect brought about by the Games when the word *London* is explored. Among the top twenty collocates for *London* in enTenTen12 are the words *east*, *olypmics*, *olympic* and *games*. *Olympic*, *olympics* and *games* bring a host

of associated positive collocates to *London*. For example, in general English, the third most salient collocate of *London* is the word *Jubilee*. The association between one positive event, the Olympics and another, the Jubilee, is evident in general English, though it is lacking in the economy/trade oriented press reportage considered earlier. As with that reportage, however, *stratford* in general English also collocates with *olympics*, strengthening the link between the Games and a site in East London.

Finding: The positive shifts of collocation for *London* are evident in general English as well as in the media.

Finding: In general English, a positive association between London, the Olympics and the Jubilee was formed in 2012.

The salience of *East* in the collocates of *London* is also another welcome change between 2008 and 2012, demonstrating that there has been a renewed focus on the East of the city in discourse both in reporting on the economy/trade and in English in general. It is the impact of the Games on the representation of that area that is to be explored in more detail in RQ3.

7.) RQ3 The effect of the Olympics and Paralympics on perceptions of East London

Summary

RQ3: To what extent did the Olympics and Paralympics alter perceptions of **East London** as a place to live, work and invest in?

Main Findings:

There is little doubt that in the UK Press the Games shifted discussion of East London away from what seemed to be an almost exclusively negative discussion focussed upon poverty and welfare dependence towards a more positive discussion focussed upon regeneration and investment.

In the Global Press, the Games imbue the East End with an overall positive set of associations.

The host boroughs gain positive associations via their identification with East London, just as the UK gains a reputational boost, we would argue, by the positive associations that London attracted through hosting the Games.

In the case of Newham in particular, more negatively loaded associations of the borough relating to welfare fell away after the Games and a more positive set of associations became evident.

Greenwich became closely associated with commercial activities in the East of London, and was discussed in relation to investment and regeneration.

In the Global Press, East London is represented as a regeneration zone within which investment and construction, particularly of homes, is occurring.

In the Global Press the host boroughs generally attract positive associations relating to regeneration and investment through the Games.

In this section, we will explore the impact of the Games (both Olympic and Paralympic games) on the representation of the boroughs involved. The investigation of *London* in RQ2 has already indicated that there does seem to be an 'East London effect'. In this section we will look at the East End and the host boroughs to determine exactly what that effect has been.

Returning to the two datasets focussed upon the economy and trade of relevance to RQ3 (see sections 2 4.5 and 4.6), the most obvious thing that can be said before analysis commences is that the run up to the Games saw a greater level of mention of the areas in question which then died down after the Games were

held. Figure 5 below shows the numbers of articles for the UK National and Global Press mentioning the terms of interest: *barking and dagenham*, *greenwich*, *hackney*, *newham*, *tower hamlets*, *waltham forest*, *east end* or *east london*
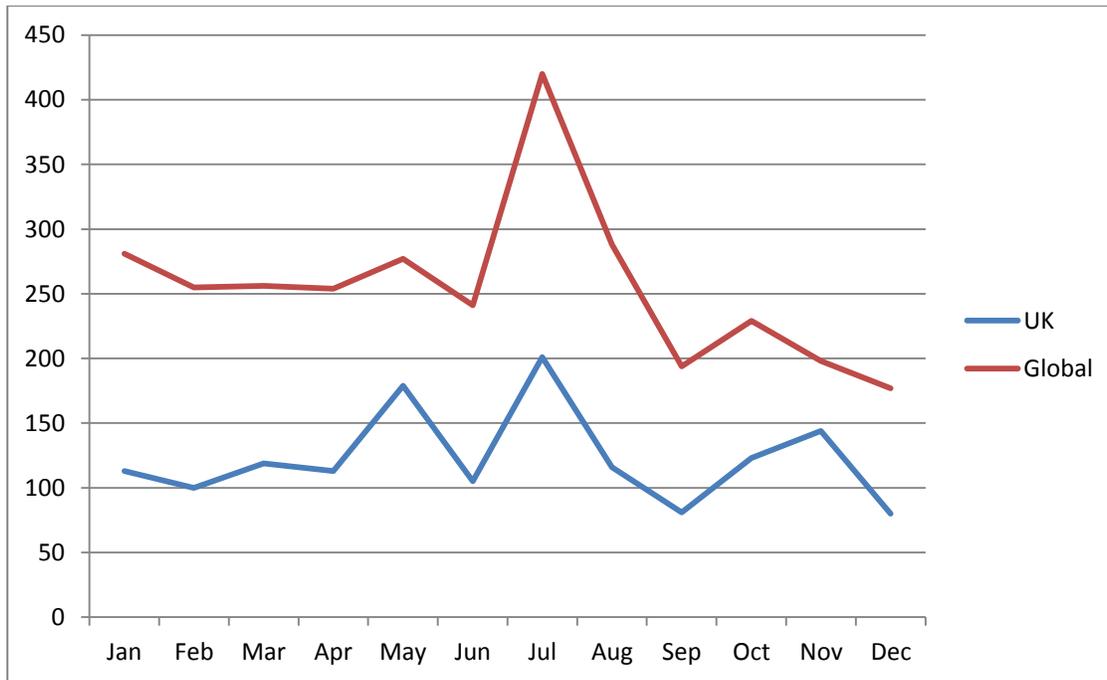

Figure 5: Articles relating to the economy, economic indicators, trade and development mentioning the search terms in 2012.

Finding: The overall trend of mentions of *barking and dagenham*, *greenwich*, *hackney*, *newham*, *tower hamlets*, *waltham forest*, *east end* or *east london* in the UK National and Global Press in 2012 is remarkably similar, peaking in July.

However, in itself such data, while demonstrating that the Games were important in generating press interest in the areas hosting the Games, does not show us what, if any, impact the coverage had on the representation of these areas. In order to explore this, we need to call upon the more sophisticated techniques of keyword analysis. Keyword analysis contrasts two corpora in order to ascertain whether, when one corpus is compared to the other, there are words in the first corpus which are significantly under, or over, used. Significance is tested in this report by use of the log-likelihood measure. The set of keywords generated from a text can be used to gist a corpus. Given that our corpora are focussed upon the Olympic host boroughs, by determining what the texts in which they are discussed are about, we have a way into analysing, on a very large scale, how those areas are talked about. If we then contrast the first half of 2012 with the second half, as well as contrasting UK and Global news, we are able to build up a picture of how those areas were represented both before and after the Games in both the UK and Global media. Thus we can explore what, if any, impact the Games have had upon the representation of these areas. In order to better permit this, the keywords, after they were extracted, were then explored and placed into broad semantic fields – conceptual categories which group together words in the same semantic domain, e.g. *car*, *bus*, *train* may go together in the field of Transport.

7.1) Keywords

The keywords in the first and second half of 2012 for both the UK and Global Press were examined. For each, the fifty most statistically significant keywords were then categorised into semantic fields. Excluded

from the analysis were words which i.) showed differences in style between reporting practices in the UK and Global Press and ii.) represented mentions of the names of months (January is key in period A because period A covers reporting in January while period B does not). Neither of these features are of interest to the current study.

Table 19 gives the occurrence of the semantic fields in each period and for UK/Global media. Where a semantic field is followed by a number in parentheses, this shows the number of keywords which fall into that semantic field in this study. This permits us to make a number of statements about the perception of the areas hosting the Games both prior to and following the Games. We will deal with the UK Press first, then the Global Press. Following that the UK and Global Press will be contrasted.

With regards to the UK Press, prior to the Games a recurring theme in the representation of these areas was the close association with the business activities of the City of London and the area around Canary Wharf in particular. The keywords which best characterise the first half of 2012 when contrasted with the latter half of 2012 are dominated by words linked to activities of 'the City' by the semantic fields of Business meeting, Business organisation, Business role, Commerce and Money. To that extent the districts of the East End are not salient, with the discourse mainly being oriented towards a discussion of the main finance districts of London. However, where the East End beyond Canary Wharf comes more sharply into focus are around a series of negative semantic fields associated with the area – the Benefits, NHS and Problem semantic fields. These combine to create an overall negative representation of the area in the first half of 2012. The first field relates to reporting of poverty in the East End which is viewed as problematic. The second relates to planned changes to the NHS which concerned many medical staff. It becomes associated with the East End as a large number of medics from that area put their names to a document, printed in the national press, criticising the changes. Finally, the Problem field identifies problems which are mentioned in connection with the area – when contrasting UK Press articles from the first and second halves of 2012, the two keywords in that semantic field are *hope* and *repossessions*. *Hope* is a keyword due to stories about Alex Hope, a city 'whizz kid' who spent an exorbitant amount on a bar bill. This is represented as problematic in the press and is the first of a number of problems associated with the City specifically but with the East End more generally. The keyword *repossession* arises in a context which is negative, and which talks about increasing levels of house *repossession* in the East End of London.

Finding: The representation of East London in the first half of 2012 is split between reference to the City and what we might term the East End proper. The City is characterised as a place of big business but also being home to some degree of wrong-doing. The East End itself, on the other hand, is represented as being associated with welfare and economic problems – overall then, the East End is represented fairly negatively.

Finding: The Games do not feature significantly in relation to articles about the East End of London in the first half of 2012 compared to the latter half.

Where the Games are mentioned in the first half of 2012, the stories tend to be quite specific – for example, the word *Princess* is a Games keyword in the first half of 2012 because of reporting of the work of the Princess Royal and her visit to sites in the East End.

Contrasted with →	UK Jan-Jun	UK Jul-Dec	Global Jan-Jun	Global Jul-Dec
UK Jan-Jun	X	Benefits (3), Business meeting,Business organisation (21), Business role (4), Commerce, Government (2), Money (2), NHS (4), Olympics (3), Problem (2)	Benefits, Child, City (2), Country (2), Dwelling, Family, IT (2), Legislation, Money (6), Organisation (6), People, Political party, Politician (2), Business role (2), Vehicle (3), Welfare (5)	X
UK Jul-Dec	Education (2), Banker, Borough, Business organisation, Businessman (2), Commerce, Demography, Film, Honours (4), Investment (3), Money, Olympian (2), Olympic location, Olympic tickets, Games (7), Olympic event, Politician, Problem (9), Regeneration, Transport	X	X	Banker, Borough, Business organisation (6), Country (2), Honours (7), Institutions (2), Investment (2), Money (2), Nationality, NHS (3), Political party, Problem (8), Property (3), Regeneration
Global Jan-Jun	Australian Honours (5), City (7), Country (2), Investment, Location (8), Money (13), Nationality, Organisation (2), Project	X	X	Australian honours (10), Business organisation (18), Business role (3), Investment, Location (7), Money (2), Newswire, Non-Profit organisation , Trademark
Global Jul-Dec	X	Arts (2), Business organisation (4), Country, Investment, Location, Money (4), Games (4), problem (2), Regeneration (6), Reporting	Education, Arts (8), Awards, Businessman (2), Commerce, Honours (2), Investment, Location (3), Nationality, Olympian, Games (10), Politician, Problem (6), Quantification, Technology	X

Table 19: Pairwise analyses of keywords arranged into semantic fields in the first and last six months of 2012 in the UK National Press and the Global media. Each field mentioned either contains one keyword or, where the number of keywords in the field is greater than one, the field contains the number of keywords given in parentheses after the semantic field.

How, if at all does this change in the second half of 2012? It both changes and does not change. There is a change, though there remains a general City/East End split in the keywords. However, as is apparent from even a cursory glance at the data, the City overshadows the East End less in the second half of 2012 – the number of keywords in the business semantic fields - Business organisation, Businessman, Commerce, Money – are very few by comparison to the first half of 2012 as discussed above, demonstrating that this association for East London is reduced in the second half of 2012. The presence of Games related keywords, while predictable, is interesting to note, especially because the representation of the keywords is positive, particularly in terms of how the East End and the Games feature heavily in the New Year's

honours to the extent that Honours becomes a notable semantic field attached to the East End in the second half of 2012. In terms of the East End itself, however, the associations linked with it are not as overwhelmingly negative as in the first half of 2012. While there are eight Problem keywords associated with the East End in the second half of 2012, two of them link to the City rather than the East End itself in the form of stories relating to Azil Nadir and Mr. Adoboli, a rogue UBS trader. Of the remainder i.)four of the keywords link to stories about Seán Dunne, a controversial businessman being pursued by US authorities; i.)two are Games related – *G4S* is a keyword and appears because of widespread reporting of problems with the provision of security at the Games by this company and *Ham*, as part of the name West Ham, appears courtesy of an on-going discussion relating to the planned future use of the Olympic Stadium, finally iii.) the word *Heathrow* appears in connection with the East End and the Games as part of a discussion of a planned investment in Heathrow designed to add another runway. *Heathrow* is interesting as a keyword because it is double edged – it is also, arguably, a more positive keyword as it is linked to the proposed major investment arising from the Games. Other such words are apparent in the second half of 2012. There is an association with realised investments, Film and Transport and keywords linked to the semantic fields of Regeneration of and Investment in the area. The Regeneration was seen as a positive in the foreign media – indeed in articles such as the one below from *The Nation* (Thailand, 27/7/12) it was represented as a clear benefit of the Games acknowledged even by those who did not find the Games exciting:

> "Not everyone in London is looking forward to the Olympics.
>
> Bob Geldof, the former Boomtown Rats frontman and "Live Aid" charity fund-raiser, confirmed his contrarian reputation when asked at a reception for boxing legend Muhammad Ali if he was excited about the games.
>
> 'Nope.'
>
> No sport he was excited about?
>
> 'The egg and spoon race.'
>
> But, Geldof conceded, the games have at least brought much-needed regeneration to a post-industrial swath of east London transformed from gritty to green by the 200-hectare Olympic Park.
>
> 'That was a pretty crap part of town, no matter what anyone says,' Geldof said.
>
> 'Now it's nice.'"

Finding: In the latter half of 2012, East London is more positively represented, being written about in terms of regeneration and investment and less in terms of poverty and welfare dependence.

With regard to discussion of the East End of London in the Global Press in the first half of 2012 there is much discussion of Australian Honours. Some of these are awarded to people originally from the East End, increasing the salience of mention of the East End in the international press in this period. Beyond this observation, what is very striking about the keywords in the first half of 2012 is that discussion of the City and Canary Wharf area is even more pronounced in the foreign press than it is in the UK press.

Finding: In the first half of 2012 in the Global Press, East London is seen as a place where one trades and invests through, rather than one trades and invests in. Generally in the Global Press during this period, the focus is on the City rather than the Games or the East End proper.

The Global Press in the second half of 2012 undergoes a change with regards to its reporting of the East End every bit as profound as that which occurred in the UK Press. The positive association with the

Games emerges as a notable focus for reporting, as do Honours awarded to those linked with the Games and the East End.

Finding: The same change of emphasis, away from a discussion of the City towards a discussion of investments in the East End is as apparent in the Global as National press in the latter half of 2012 – the positive associations with investment and technology in the second half of 2012 are a token of this.

For example, Technology has the keyword *green* in it – this both indexes the green dimension of the London Games but also, more importantly, investments being made in green technology in the East End. This was evident in the *Daily Yoimuri* article quoted in RQ2. A further example of this positive 'green' representation of the East End comes from *The Australian* (18/7/12):

> "ATHLETES unpacking their bags and finding their way around the Olympic village in east London could be forgiven for suffering some colour confusion.
>
> Everywhere they look there is almost as much emphasis on 'going green' as there is on going gold, silver or bronze.
>
> Whenever the athletes visit the plaza at the centre of their village they will be encouraged to go on a tour of the Olympic Park highlighting the enormous work that has been done to turn a derelict part of the Lea Valley into a wildlife-friendly and climate-aware nature park.
>
> If they buy a sandwich or a soft drink it will come in a container that is colour-coded to match recycling bins dotted around the Olympic Park so they know exactly which bin to use."

So, overall, the Games appear to have made the world focus more on East London, rather than the City of London, and appear also to have highlighted investment with regard to the area. But it also makes the world and tourists focus more on the East End rather than the West End - interestingly in the latter half of 2012 the Global Press links the arts to the East End, leading to a set of keywords in the Arts sematic field. A close inspection of the field, however, finds that the association is caused by widespread reporting of people choosing to stay in the East End for the Games, leaving West End Theatres empty. It could be argued that this is good news for the East End – tourists would usually be in the West End, not the East. Accordingly, while arguably a problem, this is probably not from the perspective of the East End. An undoubtedly less welcome difference between the two halves of 2012 for the Global Press, however, is the emergence of a clear Problem semantic field. Unlike the UK Press, however, this field in the Global Press is focussed exclusively on the City rather than the East End as such – keywords such as *Adoboboli*, *Nadir* and *USB* index problems reported widely in the UK Press also in the latter half of 2012, as discussed above. The tribulations of Bob Diamond at Barclays, questions about Google paying tax in the UK and the Libor scandal also generated the Problem keywords *Diamond*, *Google* and *Libor* in this period in the foreign press.

Finding: In focussing on East London in the latter half of 2012, the Global Press imbue the East End with an overall positive representation, though some negative representations are still associated around the City.

7.2) The Host Boroughs

Moving away from the type of press coverage revealed by keywords, is there any further evidence that specific boroughs, or the area in general, have experienced the shift in perceptions that the analysis above indicates? By using collocation, we can begin to explore whether the nuances of meaning associated with the host boroughs and the general terms *East End* and *East London* have changed at all after the Games. In Table 20 boroughs marked with an asterisk denote boroughs with a statistically significant difference in

mention between the two periods at the 99.9% or above confidence level as measured by the log-likelihood score. Note the differences are typically not statistically significant and in the one case where they are, the overall difference does not seem great i.e. 30 mentions versus 3.

Borough	Freq. Jan-Jun	Freq. Jul-Dec
Barking and Dagenham*	30	3
Greenwich	115	118
Hackney	128	121
Newham	106	81
Tower Hamlets	54	40
Waltham Forest	22	6

Table 20: Mentions of the host boroughs in the UK Press.

Let us begin by exploring the UK Press in the first half of 2012. A problem here is frequency – some of the boroughs are not mentioned very frequently at all (see Table 20). When they are, the only words they collocate with are words such as 'borough' and the names of other host boroughs. They are not rich in meaning beyond that. This applies to *Barking and Dagenham*, *Tower Hamlets* and *Waltham Forest*. Of the remaining boroughs, collocates and their semantic fields are sparse, which are listed as follows:

- *Greenwich*: Education (collocate: *university*).
- *Hackney*: Venue (collocate: *empire*), Medics (collocates: *gp*, *dr*), Politicians (collocate: *mp*).
- *Newham*: Welfare (collocates: *social*, *housing*), Education (*university*), Games (*olympic*).

Finding: In general, in the UK Press in the first half of 2012, the host boroughs were mentioned relatively infrequently.

Few boroughs carried strong associations evidenced through collocation and of those that did, not all were positive. For example, the collocation of *Hackney* with words relating to Medics derives from a large number of Hackney GPs signing a published letter opposing NHS changes and then discussing them in the media. The reason that the boroughs have such few collocates is, we believe, that they are referred to generically as *East London*. While we looked at *East End*, there were few mentions of it and very few collocates – *London* is one of the few collocates of *East End*. This is unsurprising and becomes more so when we note that the use of the term *East London* as a catch all term to refer to the boroughs of East London is frequent in the UK Press and its collocates relatively many:

- Boroughs (example collocates: *bow, walthamstow, stratford, shoreditch, hackney, newham*)
- Commerce (example collocates: *store, centre*)
- Education (collocate: *university*)
- Games (collocate: *olympic*)
- NHS (example collocate: *hospital*)
- Problem (example collocates: *wasteland, industrial*)
- Regeneration (example collocates: *regeneration, development*)
- The City (example collocates: *wharf, canary*)
- Venue (collocate: *stadium*)

East London gives an overall representation, via collocation, that is harmonious with the keyword analysis undertaken. The public sector seems salient in discussions of the area (NHS) though the area is linked to the City through Canary Wharf.

Finding: In the UK Press in the first half of 2012 East London is seen negatively as an area containing problems, yet there is also a positive focus on regeneration in advance of the Games.

In the second half of 2012, *Barking and Dagenham*, *Tower Hamlets* and *Waltham Forest* once again have no significant collocates because they are so infrequently mentioned. The collocates for the remaining boroughs, however, do show positive change:

- *Greenwich*: Education (collocate: *university*), Games (collocate: *equestrian*), Government (collocate: c*ouncil*).
- *Hackney*: Location (collocate: *wick*), Origin (collocate: *born*), Transport (collocate: *station*).
- *Newham*: Government (collocate: *council*), Education (collocate: *school*).

Finding: While the changes in the UK Press between the two halves of 2012 are not profound, it is interesting to see in the case of Newham in particular the more negatively loaded collocates relating to welfare falling away and a more positive set of associations is evident.

Once again, however, it is the term *East London* that provides the dominant characterisation of the East End:

- Associations (*club*)
- Business (*operations*)
- Education (*academy*)
- Games (*park*)
- Regeneration (*regeneration*, *tech*[4], *tech*, *site*[5], *area*)
- The City (*wharf*)

In the latter half of 2012, the negative associations of the area with problems fade as collocates. Similarly, the discussion of the area in relation to hospitals and the NHS fades also. A new set of collocates linked to regeneration appears in the data instead. A similarly positive collocate is added in the form of *club*. This is linked to a reporting of sport in association with the East End, including volunteer sporting activities. No boroughs experience a statistically significant change in mention between the two periods at the 99.9% or above confidence level as measured by the log-likelihood score.

What of the Global Press? As with the UK Press, mentions of the boroughs seems to dip in the second half of 2012 (see Table 21). Unlike the UK press, none of these apparent declines are statistically significant at the 99.9% or above confidence level.

In period one *Barking and Dagenham* and *Waltham Forest* once again have no significant collocates.

Tower Hamlets does have two collocates of note – one in the field of education (*college*) and one representing a problem (*planning*). The second is interesting as it relates to a story of planning prohibitions in the borough costing jobs. The other three boroughs attract collocates as follows:

- *Greenwich*: Business (example collocates: *bancorp*, *fbn*, *csl*, *peninsula*[6], *stockbrokers*, *associates*, *maritime*, *peninsula*, *securities*, *quintain*, *regeneration*[7], *consultant*, *capital*, *asset*), Investment (example collocates: *emirates*[8], *joint*), Locations (*docks*, *wembley*, *based*) and Regeneration (*regeneration*)

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[4] London Tech City development.
[5] Discussion of various investment sites – same for *area*.
[6] Refers to a company looking at the regeneration of the Greenwich peninsula.
[7] Appears in some company names but also in terms of the discussion of regeneration, hence it appears in both categories.
[8] Arena and stadium sponsored by Emirates.

- *Hackney*: Transport (*taxis, carriage, driven*), Importance (*iconic*), Prohibition (*prevent*), Medics (*GP, Dr*), Government (*council*), Venue (*empire*).
- *Newham*: Government (*council*), Welfare (*hospital, social, housing, NHS*), Subsidies (*aid, illegal, loan, state*), Education (*university*), Games (*olympic*)

Finding: In the first six months of 2012, Greenwich had a broadly positive set of associations. As well as being closely associated with commercial activities in the East of London, the borough also has collocates relating to investment and regeneration.

By contrast, the collocates associated with Hackney and Newham indicate a negative set of associations linked to prohibition, welfare and subsidies.

Borough	Freq. Jan-Jun	Freq. Jul-Dec
Barking and Dagenham	23	8
Greenwich	448	365
Hackney	210	175
Newham	168	132
Tower Hamlets	126	78
Waltham Forest	34	13

Table 21: Mentions of the host boroughs in the Global Press.

With reference to Newham, the complaint lodged by Tottenham Hotspur and Leyton Orient claiming that Newham Council had provided illegal state aid by loaning West Ham £40 million to move to the Olympic Stadium garnered negative publicity, attracting the collocates in the subsidies category to Newham.

As with the UK Press, the Global Press use the term *East London* rather than *East End* to refer to the Eastern boroughs of London. As with the UK Press, it is this term which provides the richest set of collocates relating to the area under investigation:

- Business (*telford*[9], *housebuilder, westfield, homes*)
- Investment (*main*[10])
- Problems (*industrial*[11])
- Regeneration (*tech, transform, terminal, river*[12], *industrial*[13], *site, regeneration*)
- Transport (*terminal, railway, river*)

More notably than in the UK Press, the representation of East London in the Global Press is focussed upon positives, with the principal problem identified being industrial wastelands. However, their mention is far from negative because of the discussion of them with reference to regeneration.

Finding: There is some evidence to suggest that, even prior to the Games, the non-UK view of East London was seen as a regeneration zone within which investment and construction, particularly of homes, was occurring. The set of associations was broadly positive.

In the Global Press in the second half of 2012, mentions of *Barking and Dagenham* and *Waltham Forest* again are insufficient to generate significant collocates. Indeed, it is of interest to note that mentions of *Barking*

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[9] Telford Homes house builders.
[10] Occurs in the multi-word expression *main investors*.
[11] In the context of discussions of industrial wastelands.
[12] In the context of a discussion of an investment in a new river crossing, *river* becomes an investment and transport word.
[13] In the context of a discussion of industrial development zones.

and Dagenham actually decline in the second half of 2012 (from 23 in the first half of 2012 to 8 in the second half of 2012), as do mentions of the other host boroughs. Perhaps positively, *Tower Hamlets* also loses its collocates of note, with mentions of planning problems in the borough declining to the extent that *planning* is no longer a collocate of *Tower Hamlets*. Of the remaining boroughs:

- *Greenwich*: Business (*peninsula, associates, quintain, securities, firm, capital*), Investment (*mercure, arena*), Locations (*peninsula, arena, wembley, boroughs, park, north*[14], *based*), Games (*equestrian, north*), Education (*student, university*).
- *Hackney*: Locations (*farm*), Transport (*hire*[15]),Origin (*born, living*)
- *Newham*: Subsidies (*loan, million*[16]), Education (*school*), Demography (*cent*[17])

Finding: The discussion of the areas of East London narrows in the latter half of 2012 in the Global Press. However, in doing so the Global Press largely drop some of the negative collocates associated with the boroughs while adding some positive associations, notably in the area of education.

So, while the focus of the discussion in the latter half of 2012 in the Global Press does not turn to economic regeneration in the host boroughs, as happened in the UK Press, the overall effect in the second half of 2012 for the Global Press is that the range of collocates of the frequently mentioned host boroughs narrows largely at the expense of negative collocates.

East London in the Global Press in the latter half of 2012 attracts some different collocates than the first half of that year:

- business (*housebuilder, telford, headquarters, homes*)
- education (*academy*)
- games (*park*)
- investment (*plant, flats*)
- problems (*schoolboy*[18], *depressed*)
- regeneration (*tech, supporting, regeneration, silicon*)
- The City (*canary, wharf*)

Finding: In the Global Press in the latter half of 2012, East London generally continues to attract a positive set of collocates relating to regeneration and investment.

However, collocates of *East London* do emerge in the Global Press in the latter half of 2012 identifying social problems in the area (*depressed*) and linking the area once again to a rogue trader. The collocate *depressed* is, however, similar to the word *wastelands* in the Global Press in the first half of 2012 – it is discussed in the context of regeneration as in this example from the *International Herald Tribune* (31/7/12):

> "The ultimate and mutual goal was to regenerate one of the most economically depressed sections of London. The East London district of Stratford - which is not to be confused with Shakespeare's hometown, Stratford-upon-Avon - sits in a borough called Newham, which has an unemployment rate of 14 percent, about twice the London average."

While negative in itself, this representation of the East End occurs in an article which focuses upon the regeneration of the area and developments such as the Westfield Shopping Mall. In short, the article does,

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[14] North Greenwich Arena.
[15] Specifically private hire vehicles, i.e. taxis.
[16] Referring to a purportedly illegal multimillion pound loan given by Newham Council.
[17] Specifically of percentages of people of different ethnicities living in the boroughs.
[18] Reference to a rogue trader who was once a public schoolboy.

as suggested, highlight problems in the area in order to provide a suitable narrative backdrop for a discussion of regeneration activity in the area.

Finding: In the latter half of 2012 in the Global Press, there is a clear discussion of wasteland in East London being regenerated. The set of associations for East London in the Global Press in the second half of 2012 is positive.

7.3) The East End in General English

What of the host boroughs, the East End and East London in general English? Using the enTenTen08 and the enTenTen12 corpora and exploring the collocates of the search terms in question, the following can be claimed:

- For the terms *Barking and Dagenham*, *Greenwich*, *Hackney*, *Newham*, *Tower Hamlets* and *Waltham Forrest*, no discernible shift of association seems to have occurred.
- For the term *East End*, *regeneration* has become a collocate between 2008 and 2012. However, this is not simply because of the East End of London – other East Ends, in particular Glasgow's are also regenerating. Hence this collocate is not a true collocate of the East End of London *per se*.
- For *East London*, some of the shifts in the media coverage reported in this section are visible also. In particular, the associations that developed between the Games semantic field and East London is evident in the enTenTen12 data. Also, the collocate *regeneration* becomes significant for East London in 2012 while it did not feature strongly in the 2008 data.

Finding: In general English, the Games and Regeneration associations for London are visible in general English in 2012.

8.) Foreign Media Reaction: Chinese News Reports

Summary

In the Chinese language press, the Games seem to switch the discussion of the UK away from a wholly negative discussion focussing upon a faltering economy and difficult military engagements overseas to a more positive discussion of positive economic activity, the Games and tourism.

The intensity of the association between the UK and tourism in the Chinese press in the second half of 2012 is very marked indeed.

Equally marked is an intensified association between the UK and economic activity in the context of discussions of tourism.

What of reporting in languages other than English? While the focus of this study is upon i.) reporting in English and ii.) the English language in general, we did briefly explore reporting in Chinese, Portuguese and Russian. Of those three we decided to explore Chinese in some depth as not only was there a very good source of Chinese news reporting available for 2012 (see section 4 for details) our studies also showed that in Chinese some quite significant shifts in perception of the UK had occurred also. In addition, i.) China featured prominently in responses to British Tourism's 2012 Legacy Strategy Consultation document[19]; ii.) China is one focus of Visit Britain's 2020 Marketing Plan;[20] iii.) it is the BRIC country with the highest potential to deliver major economic benefits to the UK economy through tourism (with an estimated growth potential of £328 million pounds) as identified in Visit Britain's *Delivering a*

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[19] See http://www.visitbritain.org/Images/Summary%20of%20Responses%20-%20Final%20Version_tcm29-36103.pdf
[20] See http://www.visitbritain.org/Images/Summary%20of%20Responses%20-%20Final%20Version_tcm29-36103.pdf

Golden Legacy plan;[21] and iv.) in terms of impact, Chinese has huge potential – there are an estimated 1.213 billion speakers of Chinese worldwide. By contrast, it is estimated that Portuguese has 178 million speakers and Russian 144 million speakers.[22]

For the purposes of our study, we once again split the material available between the two halves of 2012. Turning to an exploration of RQ2 and RQ3 in the context of the Chinese media, while mentions of the host boroughs were negligible, as might be expected from the study presented so far, the mentions of England, London, and the UK were abundant. The results for the first half of 2012 are shown below, with collocates organised into semantic fields. For ease of reading, the words in question are shown in Romanised Pinyin glosses with no tone marks. Within each semantic field, the collocates are listed in descending order of strength of association.

Collocates of *Yingguo* (the UK) in the first half of 2012:

- Countries: *afuhan* (Afghanistan), *yilake* (Iraq);
- Economic activity: *zhaiwu* (debts), *shuaitui* (recession), *chongji* (impact), *yanghang* (central bank), *tingzhi* (stagnation), *jianshao* (reduction), *fusu* (recover), *shiye* (unemployment), *shiyelü* (unemployment rate), *ju'e* (huge amount), *caizheng chizi* (fiscal deficit), *yusuan* (budget), *weiruo* (weak), *zhufang shichang* (property market), *ehua* (deterioration);
- Media: *guangbo gongsi* (i.e. BBC), *duli bao* (Independent), *meiri dianxun bao* (Daily Mail), *jinrong shibao* (Financial Times), *wei bao* (Guardian);
- Military: *junfang* (the military), *haijun* (navy);
- Politics: *oumeng* (EU), *shouxiang* (prime minister), *zhengfu* (government), *neizhengbu* (Home Office), *caizhengbu* (Treasury), *jianpai* (emission reduction), *kameilun* (Cameron), *gedeng bulang* (Gordon Brown), *gongdang* (Labour Party), *ziyou minzhu dang* (Liberal Democratic Party), *waijiaobu* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs);
- Sports: *dui* (team), *aoyunhui* (Olympics Games), *daibiaotuan* (delegation)[23];
- Tourism: *qianzheng* (visa).

Finding: In the first half of 2012 discussion of the UK in the Chinese press is largely negative, focussing upon a faltering economy and difficult military engagements overseas.

Collocates of *Lundun* (London) in first half of 2012:

- Economic activity: *touzi ju* (i.e. London Investment Office), *gongyin* (Industrial and Commercial Bank of China, which opened a branch in London), *touzi xiangmu* (investment project), *jinrong cheng* (financial city), *zhengjiaosuo* (London Stock Exchange);
- Location: *dongbu* (east), *shoudu* (capital);
- Olympics: *aoyun* (Olympics), *aozuwei* (Olympics Organising Committee), *can'aohui* (Paralympics);
- Police: *jingfang* (police);
- Politics: *shizhang* (mayor), *dangju* (the authority);
- Tourism: *yan* (eye, i.e. London Eye), *lüyou shengdi* (tourist resort);
- Transport: *ditie* (underground tube), *jiaotong* (public transport), *yunshu* (transportation), *xisiluo jichang* (Heathrow Airport).

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[21] See http://www.visitbritain.org/Images/9752%20VisitBritain%20Strategy%20Consultation%20Final_tcm29-35127.pdf
[22] See http://www.ethnologue.com/ethno_docs/distribution.asp?by=size
[23] Examination shows these collocates are mainly related to the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

Finding: In the first half of 2012 in the Chinese media, the set of associations linked with London is clearly more positive than that associated with the UK. East London is a focus of discussion, and London is discussed as a tourist destination.

Collocates of *Yinggelan* (England) in the first half of 2012:

- Economic activity: *yinhang* (bank, i.e. Bank of England);
- Sports: *dui* (team), *zhujiaolian* (principal coach), *qiudui* (football team), *qiumi* (football fan), *zhichi* (support), *huosheng* (win), *duishou* (opponent), *runi* (Rooney), *qianfeng* (lineman), *juesai* (final), *bisai* (competition, match), *zhushuai* (main player), *duiyuan* (team member), *qiuyuan* (player), *chengji* (result).

It is of note that the association of *England* in English with institutions and sport is apparent in Chinese also.

Collocates of *Yingguo* (the UK) in the second half of 2012:

- Economic activity: *jingji* (economics), *jinrong* (finance), *gongsi* (company), *yanghang* (central bank), *qiye* (businesses);
- Games: *jinpai* (gold medal), *daibiaotuan* (delegation), *dui* (team), *can'aodui* (Paralympic team);
- Media-related: *meiti* (media), *guangbo gongsi* (i.e. BBC), *wei bao* (Guardian), *jinrong shibao* (Financial Times), *taiwushi bao* (Times), *duli bao* (Independent);
- Poilice: *jingfang* (police);
- Politics: *fangwen* (visit), *shouxiang* (prime minister), *kameilun* (Cameron), *shehui* (society), *bianjingju/bianjingshu* (border agency), *oumeng* (EU), *zhengfu* (government), *wangshi* (royal family), *gongdang* (Labour Party);
- Research: *kexuejia* (scientist).

Finding: The set of associations in the second half of 2012 might be viewed as positive: the association of *Yingguo* with Economic activity, the Games and Research is undoubtedly positive.

There is little doubt, based on these findings, that the Games had a very positive impact upon the set of associations of *Yingguo* in Chinese. From a very negative focus on war and a failing economy, the set of associations changes sharply to be very noticeably more positive. In terms of representing the UK as a good place to visit, invest in and to live in, the transformation in Chinese reportage between the first half of 2012 and the second half of 2012 is wholly beneficial for the UK.

Collocates of *Lundun* (London) in the second half of 2012:

- Economic activity: *jinrongcheng* (financial city);
- Games: *aoyunhui* (Olympic Games), *aozuwei* (Olympics Organisation Committee), *aolinpike yuanqu* (Olympic Park), *can'aohui* (Paralympics);
- Location: *wan* (bowl, i.e. London Bowl), *zhoubian* (vicinity), *tangrenjie* (China town), *jietou* (street);
- Politics: *shizhang* (mayor);
- Tourism: *youke* (tourist);
- Transport: *ditie* (underground tube).

Finding: As with *Yingguo* (the UK), *Lundun* (London) seems to have a broadly positive set of associations. The associations with Economic activity, Games and Tourism are to be welcomed.

Collocates of *Yinggelan* (England) in the second half of 2012:

- Football: *runi* (Rooney), *qiumi* (football fan), *dui* (team), *zuqiudui* (football team), *saiji* (season), *liansai* (league match), *qiuxing* (football star), *beikehanmu* (*Beckham*)
- *Bank: yinhang* (bank, i.e. Bank of England)

The association of *England* with institutions and sport is apparent in the second half of 2012 as it is in the first half of 2012.

Returning to the question of the possible impact on tourism generated in Chinese by the Games, we conducted an additional study to look at collocates by using the same data sources to compare the collocates in tourism texts in the first and second halves of 2012. We first used *lüyou* (tourism) as the search word in the two periods and searched for *yingguo* (the UK) in the result of the first search to identify the target news texts. Below are the results of the collocates of the UK in the tourism texts in the Chinese news sources.

1st half of 2012:

- Economic activity: *chanye* (industry), *xiaofeizhe* (consumer), *shangji* (business opportunity), *xiaofei* (consume), *shouru* (income);
- Education: *liuxue* (study abroad), *jianqiao* (Cambridge);
- Event: *qingdian* (celebration, i.e. of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee);
- Games: *aoyunhui* (Olympics);
- Media-related: *meiti* (media);
- Tourism: *youke* (tourist), *qianzheng* (visa), *wenhua* (culture), *jian'ai* (Jane Eyre), *chujing* (exit the border, i.e. go abroad), *lundun* (London), *jiari* (holidays), *guxiang* (hometown);
- Transport: *hangkong* (airline, i.e. British Air).

2nd half of 2012 (new collocates emboldened):

- Economic activity: **jingji (economic)**, *shouru* (income), **lüyouye (tourism industry)**, **ladong (drive, i.e. drive economic growth)**;
- Games: *aoyunhui* (Olympics);
- Nationality: **guoren (Chinese nationals)**;
- Politics: **neizhengbu (Home Office)**;
- Tourism: **fuYing (go to the UK)**, *jiaqi* (holidays), *wenhua* (culture), *qianzheng* (visa), *youke* (tourist), **chujingyou (overseas tourism)**, **redian (hot spot, i.e. popular tourist attractions)**, **ziran (natural, i.e. natural scenery)**, **youwan (sightseeing)**, **jingdian (tourist attraction)**, **lüyoutuan (tourist group)**, **chuantong (heritage, i.e. cultural heritage)**, **fazhan (development)**, **fuwu (service)**;
- Transport: **lüxingshe (travel agency)**.

Finding: The intensity of the association between the UK and tourism in the Chinese press in the second half of 2012 is very marked indeed.

Finding: Equally marked is an intensified association between the UK and economic activity in the context of discussions of tourism.

These results strongly reinforce the findings above – that the Games appear to have had a significant beneficial impact upon the representation of the UK in the Chinese press, with the UK being represented as a tourist destination associated with strong economic activity. Interestingly, Chinese tourism is also linked strongly to issues of gaining visas to visit the UK. Collocates relating to this are visible in the

collocates of *yingguo* 'the UK', but come into sharper focus when collocates of *lüyou* 'tourism' are considered. The association of the Home Office with tourism in the Chinese press is tied to this issue of tourist visas. That association then links through to economic matters in turn – the Chinese press is aware of the link between economy and tourism, as the following article from *The People's Daily* (5/12/12) shows clearly:

> UK Prime Minster Cameron is pressuring the Home Secretary Theresa May, urging the Home Office to simplify visa processing for Chinese tourists so as to attract more tourists from China to consume in the UK.

> The Cabinet of the UK is dissatisfied with the long-term non-action on the issue of simplifying visas for Chinese tourists. According to the information from the Office of the Prime Minister, simplifying visa processing for Chinese tourists is one of the top priorities of the Cabinet. As the UK is not part of the Schengen Agreement, many Chinese tourists who visit Europe and want to enter the UK for sightseeing have to give up their trip to the UK and visit France instead because of the UK's troublesome procedure for applying for the extra visa. It is reported that France, which allows tourists with Schengen visas to enter, attract 25% more of Chinese tourists than the UK, which loses an annual income up to 1.2 billion pounds sterling.

This is not negative, however. In a context in which UK tourism is being reported positively, articles like this serve to demonstrate that the UK government is doing something about a major concern that Chinese tourists planning to visit the UK have. In Appendix A we present two Chinese news stories and their translation into English which give an overall impression of the reporting of UK tourism in the Chinese press.

Finding: The focus of the Chinese press on Britain easing issues related to tourist visas is very much in line with Visit Britain's strategy of 'helping to get tourists here'; this focus in the Chinese press not only works to allay fears about visa problems that tourists may have, it is also in line with British Tourism Strategy as developed by Visit Britain.[24]

9.) Conclusions

In this concluding section of this report, we will revisit, based on the substantial body of evidence from data analysis, the research questions set in the introduction, and then suggest possible directions for future work.

9.1) Research questions revisited

In this section, we will draw together our findings to make a series of conclusions for each research question. The questions are restated below for easy reference:

- RQ1 is split into a number of parts: (a) to what extent are issues of **disability** covered in the media? (b) how, if at all, has the representation of disability changed in recent years (in terms of volume of coverage, tone and attitudes/perceptions/article content)? (c) to what extent is there evidence that the construction has shifted, e.g. from one in which disability is central to one in which disability is co-incidental to an individual's identity? (d) to what extent may the Paralympics have contributed to a general shift of representations and constructions of disability?

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[24] See http://www.visitbritain.org/tourism_2012_legacy/britain_tourism_strategy/index.aspx

- RQ2: how did hosting the Olympics and Paralympics impact upon the **reputation** of the UK and London in the UK and beyond, focussing on the UK's reputation as a place to visit, invest in and do business with?
- RQ3: to what extent did the Olympics and Paralympics alter perceptions of **East London** as a place to live, work and invest in?

RQ1 - Overall, we conclude that the 2012 London Paralympics <u>has</u> had an effect on the construction of disability in the British press. Each point of analysis has supported this in a variety of ways, as illustrated in section 5.

Firstly, the frequency of known PREFERRED terms such as *disabled* has been shown to steadily increase, while DISPREFERRED terms such as *cripple* have been decreasing. Interestingly, the alternative naming strategy *differently abled*—while still relatively low-frequency in the data—has gained cultural currency, and we believe it shows signs of being accepted by both journalists and the public. Other naming strategies which are not used to refer to people with disabilities but which are amenable to this community, e.g. *nondisabled*, are also prevalent in the British news corpus, particularly in late 2012. This indicates an acceptance of this term, and a growing ideological rejection of conceiving *nondisabled* people as 'normal' and *disabled* people as somehow other-ed.

In comparison to world news texts, and to a large corpus of American English, Britain seems to be 'leading the way' in progressive discussion of disability. British English uses less hyperbolic, emotive language around disability, and there is a notable absence of collocate 'slurs' (e.g. *retarded*) found in American English. While the Global Press material investigated displayed a focus on temporary 'disability' of athletes and sporting professionals, the UK Press material examined constructed disability as a lasting attribute, but one that was not entirely restrictive on a person's lifestyle. Disabled people in the UK Press were more active parts of society, and the UK Press used *disabled* more frequently in discussion of *disabled access* and social services offered to this group.

Finally, constructions appear to have been in a slow but steady state of shift between 2005 and 2011, experiencing extreme changes in 2012 to coincide with the Paralympics. The use of terms such as *disabled* and *crippled* to construct disability as <u>central</u> to identity (e.g. *the disabled*) has declined rapidly. This dovetails with an increasing frequency of attributive use (e.g. *disabled people*), which constructs disability as one characteristic of a much larger identity—a much more empowering discourse. Even the attributive use, however, shows decline corresponding to the Paralympics. Instead, metaphorical verb phrases (particularly technological and financial) seem to be the current preferred contexts in which we still find terms such as *disabled* and *crippled*. Due to increased awareness of the journalistic community and the general public, we hypothesise that even the metaphorical use of these terms in the future may fall out of fashion due to perceived insensitivity to those with disabilities.

RQ2 – There is evidence to show that hosting the Olympics and Paralympics has impacted positively upon the reputation of the UK and London both in the UK and beyond both in terms of the UK as a place to visit and in terms of the UK as a place to invest in and/or do business with. This impact has largely been achieved by the impact that these events have had upon London. This is not a particular surprise – as was shown when exploring collocates of *olympics* in general English, it is the host city that generally forms and keeps and association with the Games. Given that *London* is the capital of the UK, however, it seems reasonable to conclude that benefits for London are benefits for the country as a whole. What were those benefits? Firstly, London has experienced both a sustained and positive association with these words over the period which intensifies in 2012. As shown, the collocate *games*, with its host of positive associations, is a major positive collocate associating itself with London in 2012. It represents London as a city with a positive set of associations – it is a city which is transforming itself in a wholly positive way. It is hard not to conclude that this is a positive shift which is important both for changing perceptions of London, and

by association the UK, as a place in which to tour and invest. This conclusion can only be strengthened by noting that the increased salience of reporting of East London in general and Stratford in particular in the context of regeneration.

London has experienced a positive shift in meaning, being represented via a major global media event in a way which was advantageous for the image of London and for the financial fortunes of those investing in London. Not only has the set of associations linked with London shifted positively, this has been evidenced worldwide by massive media attention. It is unsurprising, though nonetheless welcome, therefore, to note that the positive shifts of collocation for London are evident in general English as well as in the media. In general English, that positive set of associations is strengthened by a link being formed between the Olympics and the Diamond Jubilee.

RQ3 – we believe that the Olympics and Paralympics have altered perceptions of **East London** as a place to live, work and invest in. This shift is positive. The East End in the first half of 2012 was represented as being associated with welfare and economic problems – overall the East End had a negative set of associations. There is little doubt that in the UK Press the Games shifted the associations of East London away from what seemed to be an almost exclusively negative set of associations focussed upon poverty and welfare dependence. In the second half of 2012, East London has a much more positive set of associations, with associations of Regeneration and Investment replacing more negative associations.

In the first half of 2012 in the Global Press, East London is seen as a place one trades and invests through, rather than trades and invests in. The same change of emphasis, towards a discussion of investments in the East End is as apparent in the Global as National Press in the second half of 2012 – the association with Investment and Technology keywords in the second half of 2012 are a token of this. In focussing on East London in this period, the Global Press imbue the East End with an overall positive set of associations, though more negative associations link themselves with the City of London.

With reference to the host boroughs, however, they largely gain the positives via the term East London, just as the UK gains a reputational boost we would argue by the positive set of associations London attracts after the Games. While the changes in the UK Press before and after the Games are not profound for the host boroughs directly, it is interesting to see in the case of Newham in particular the more negatively loaded collocates relating to welfare fell away and a more positive set of associations became evident. Greenwich had a broadly positive set of associations throughout 2012. As well as being closely associated with commercial activities in the East of London, the borough also has collocates relating to investment and regeneration. By contrast, the collocates associated with Hackney and Newham indicate a negative set of associations linked to prohibition, welfare and subsidies.

For the host boroughs, there is some evidence to suggest that, even prior to the Games, the non-UK view of East London was as a regeneration zone within which investment and construction, particularly of homes, was occurring. The set of associations was broadly positive. The discussion of the areas narrows after the Games in the Global Press. However, in doing so the Global Press largely drop some of the negative collocates associated with the boroughs while adding some positive associations, notably in the area of education. After the Games, the host boroughs generally continue to attract a positive set of collocates relating to regeneration and investment in the Global Press.

Our findings against RQ3 were immeasurably strengthened by an exploration of Chinese language newspaper material. This showed, for the UK as a whole, that just before the Games in the Chinese press the set of associations linked with the UK was largely negative, focussing upon a faltering economy and difficult military engagements overseas. Just after the Games the set of associations here might be viewed as positive: the association of *Yingguo* 'the UK' with Economic activity, the Games and Research is undoubtedly positive. It seems quite reasonable to suggest that the Games had a major – in fact perhaps the only – role to play in bringing this change about. The economic problems and the wars that the

Chinese wrote about did not go away with the Games. What did happen, we would argue, is that the Games altered Chinese perceptions of the UK, with collocates indicating that they did, after the Games, think the UK was a better place to visit, live in and invest in.

9.2) Further Work

The points below give an indication of how the work presented in this report might be followed up in the future. We would propose three primary actions in descending order of importance. We view the first proposal to be that with the highest worth.

1. Expand the range of languages studied. This report looked at i.) English language reporting and ii.) Chinese language reporting. The focus is well justified – *Delivering a Golden Legacy* (page 7) identifies a potential growth of over £2 billion in tourist income to the UK from English speaking countries and a further £374 million from China. Yet in order to strengthen the alignment of the findings of a study like this against documents such as *Delivering a Golden Legacy*, it would be useful to replicate this study in a range of languages associated with the identified major sources of growth. If such a study was limited to countries where English is not the main language and there is a potential for growth in tourism income to the UK from that country in excess of £200 million, the study would look at Arabic, German, Polish, Russian and Spanish. A report on media reception of the Games in these languages could contribute usefully to identifying critical market intelligence regarding the impact the Games have had on a market worth up to £1.619 billion (see page 7 of *Delivering a Golden Legacy*).
2. Follow up the study one year on. While the studies presented here typically run over several years, some of the immediate impacts of the Games have had little time to demonstrate that they are either transitory or enduring. It would be of worth knowing how long the Games effect lasts. If the benefit is fleeting then basing long term strategy on a fleeting reputational boost may seem ill founded.
3. Expand the range of news media studied. This report has focussed very much upon the written word. It would be of value to undertake a small scale study of the broadcast media to see to what extent the broadcast media mirrored the trends observable in the printed media.

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英国向中国游客招手

冯立然 李蓓蓓

在伦敦广场上，来自中国的"大熊猫"表演太极。

　　英国伦敦奥运会开幕之际，中国游客赴英热情也随之增高。英国旅游局驻北京办事处负责人介绍说，今年夏季7至9月，英国预计将迎接来自中国内陆及港澳台逾12万名游客。

　　各大旅行社面向赴英中国游客推出了一批旅游线路。携程旗下高端旅游品牌鸿鹄逸游推出顶级伦敦贵族体验+体育盛会7天产品，游客将入座"伦敦碗"贵宾席，近距离观看中国飞人刘翔和美国、古巴跨栏高手的尖峰对决。而作为2012伦敦奥运票务中国区独家代理机构，凯撒旅游目前已推出有奥运观赛、观光、助威

团、夏令营等多种不同组合的奥运旅游产品。由于赴英旅游资源紧缺，加上旅行团费受酒店价格和机票价格影响较大，费用稍有上涨。

英国本地签证的问题一直是中国游客考虑的重要因素。从今年4月起，英国为中国市场增招了150名签证官员，以应对不断增长的签证需求。同时开通了新的在线申请系统，通过互联网在线预约，可以减少申请签证排队等候的时间。英国移民部表示，伦敦奥运会期间英国政府对中国公民签发签证数量将不设上限。

针对奥运会带来的日益增长的中国游客，英国很多景点及商家提供了中文服务，以便于中国游客了解英国深厚的文化及文化遗产，认识英国不为人知的另一面—美丽迷人的自然风光、最具活力的音乐场所以及流连忘返的购物天堂。

由于奥运期间英国当地城市交通拥堵、酒店和机票价格高、当地接待能力有限等因素，除开通在奥运期间赴英的"奥运旅游专线"之外，不少精明的旅行社纷纷将目光投向"后奥运旅游"。众信旅行社目前已计划开发为期8至10天的"后奥运旅游"线路，包括参观奥运会期间比赛场馆、著名学府、博物馆等独具英国特色的景点。该产品将于今年9月推出，"十一"国庆黄金周期间游客即可登陆英国境内。携程则推出了"后奥运英国全景＋自由伦敦10日舒适团"等产品，游客有两天自由时间体验盛会后的伦敦。相对于奥运期间的价格，奥运后英国游报价明显下调，从1.5万元到2万元不等。

英国旅游局同样对"后奥运旅游"市场充满信心。在奥运之后，英国旅游局将继续在中国市场进行一系列的宣传推广活动，提升英国的品牌形象，增强对中国游客的吸引力。

The UK beckons to Chinese tourists

FENG Liran, LI Peipei

People's Daily Overseas Edition 28th July 2012 Page 07

"Giant Pandas" from China performing *Taiji* on London Square

With the opening of the London Olympic Games, Chinese tourists are demonstrating growing enthusiasm for visiting the UK. According to the head of the Beijing Office of the British Tourist Board, during July-September this summer, the UK is expecting to welcome over 120,000 tourists from mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau.

Travel agencies have introduced a range of tourist routes for Chinese tourists. HHTravel, Ctrip's high-end tourism brand, has presented its 7-day top-grade product for an aristocratic experience in London and for grand sports event. Tourists will be entitled to VIP seats in the London Bowl to watch at close range the contest between China's flying man Liu Xiang and the Cuban hurdler. As the exclusive agent for Olympics ticketing in the Chinese region, CAISSA Touristic (Group) AG has introduced a variety of Olympics-related tourism products that combine watching Olympics competitions, support groups, and summer camps. The costs have been slightly pushed up by the lack of tourism resources for visiting the UK as well as increasing hotel prices and airfares.

The problem of UK local visas has always been an important factor Chinese tourists have to take into account. Since April this year, the UK has recruited 150 additional visa officers for the Chinese market to cope with the increasing demand for UK visas. In the meantime an online visa application system has been set up to allow applicants to make appointments online so as to reduce their waiting time for visa applications on site. The UK immigration authority has stated that during the Olympics, the British government will not impose quotas on the number of visas to be issued to Chinese nationals.

To accommodate the increasing number of tourists from China arising from the Olympics, many tourist destinations and businesses in the UK have also introduced Chinese language services to help tourists from China to develop a better appreciation of the UK's deeply rooted culture and cultural heritages, and to learn the unknown aspects of Britain – her charming natural scenery, most active musical venues, and the fascinating paradise of shopping.

Because of local traffic congestion in the UK, high hotel prices, airfares and limited local reception capacity during the Games, many shrewd travel agents have cast their eye on "post-Olympics tourism", in addition to their offer of "Olympics specials" aimed at tourists visiting the UK during the Games. UTOURWORLD has now planned an 8-10-day "post-Olympics tourism" route, including visiting Olympics venues, renowned universities and museums, among other unique British attractions. This product will be introduced in September this year, which will enable tourists to visit the UK during the golden week of October holidays. Ctrip has also introduced products including a "post-Olympics full view of the UK + 10-day Freedom in London group tour", which allows tourists two days to experience post-Olympics London. Compared with the prices during the Games, post-Olympics tourism quotations are clearly reduced, ranging from 15,000-20,000 yuan.

The British Tourist Board also has full confidence in the "post-Olympics tourism" market. After the Games, the British Tourist Board will continue with a range of promotional activities in the Chinese market to promote the UK's brand image and enhance her attractiveness to Chinese tourists.

英国首相敦促简化中国游客签证

本报伦敦12月5日电（记者李文云）英国首相卡梅伦4日向内政大臣特雷莎·梅施压，敦促内政部尽快简化中国游客签证相关程序，吸引更多中国游客来英国消费。

英国内阁对内政部在简化中国游客签证问题上的长期无作为感到不满。据英国首相府人士表示，简化中国游客手续是内阁的首要任务之一。由于英国没有加入申根协定，许多到欧洲旅游的中国游客想入境英国还需额外申请英国繁琐的签证手续，因此很多中国游客不得不放弃英国而转道法国。据报道，持申根签证即可入境的法国每年吸引的中国游客比英国高25%，而英国每年损失的收入高达12亿英镑。

UK Prime Minister urging to simplify visa processing for Chinese tourists

The People's Net – People's Daily

08:39, 6th December 2012

People's Daily, London 5th December (Correspondent LI Wenyun) UK Prime Minster Cameron is pressuring the Home Secretary Theresa May, urging the Home Office to simplify visa processing for Chinese tourists so as to attract more tourists from China to consume in the UK.

The Cabinet of the UK is dissatisfied with the long-term non-action on the issue of simplifying visas for Chinese tourists. According to the information from the Office of the Prime Minister, simplifying visa processing for Chinese tourists is one of the top priorities of the Cabinet. As the UK is not part of the Schengen Agreement, many Chinese tourists who visit Europe and want to enter the UK for sightseeing have to give up their trip to the UK and visit France instead because of the UK's troublesome procedure for applying for the extra visa. It is reported that France, which allows tourists with Schengen visas to enter, attract 25% more of Chinese tourists than the UK, which loses an annual income up to 1.2 billion pounds sterling.