

Editorial Introduction: International news, social media and soft power: The London and Sochi Olympics as global media events

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This special section investigates the dynamics of national and cosmopolitan imagination among audiences in their engagements with television and new media during the London Olympics 2012. The paradoxes of universalism and nationalism are nowhere played out with more ambivalence than during an Olympic Games. The Olympic Games not only provide a link to trans-historical cultural symbols associated with universal values but they also dramatize historical consciousness, providing old and new frames for (re-)imagining national and cosmopolitan histories and practices. Around the Olympic Games, television and new media play a vital role in providing imaginative and corporeal engagement with other people, places and events. Televised Opening and Closing Ceremonies, in particular, also function as tools of soft power and public diplomacy – aiming to project positive and attractive images abroad and instill a sense of pride and belonging at home. Danny Boyle's London 2012 ceremonies may have been met with surprise and bewilderment overseas but they made a powerful statement about Britain's place in the world and its cultural heritage.

As a global spectacular television sporting event, the Olympics evoke 'structures of feeling' in which xenophobic and cosmopolitan sensibilities co-exist in agonistic tension. The embodied, visceral and deeply emotional nature of responses to Olympic sporting events, arguably, smudge the habitual contours of televisual sports spectatorship and its relationship to the politics of national belonging and loyalty and, as this special section will demonstrate, social media intensify emotional responses to Olympic sporting events. And the London Olympics 2012 were the first social media Games where audience responses featured widely, sometimes overshadowing traditional forms of reportage (Miah 2012).

The London Eye symbolized the significance of Twitter even prior to the 2012 Games. The lights on the giant wheel were connected to Twitter and they changed colour to reflect the modulating moods of tweets responding to victory and defeat, to winners and losers. The role of Twitter hashtags arguably helped shape responses to the Games (McGowan 2012). The Opening Ceremony alone elicited more tweets than the entire 2008 Games, while Facebook's 900 million users -- more than the total population of Europe and the United States -- shared photos and comments about the event (Steel 2012). Many of the world's top athletes were communicating via official Facebook pages and verified Twitter accounts as a way of interacting with their fans. Journalists and commentators tweeted the Olympics with uneven results.

The global image of London was very much at stake during the 2012 Olympics. The successful bid for the Olympics was premised on London as the world's most culturally diverse and cosmopolitan city. And yet hours after the announcement in 2005 that London would host in 2012, the horror of the London Bombings of 7/7 was unleashed, as commuters were killed regardless of background. The world was watching London then as the bombings drew attention to the unforeseeable nature of contemporary security threats and risks, but also to forms of social resilience and cosmopolitan sensibility based on the UK's history of benevolent hospitality – a point poignantly underlined in Danny Boyle's Opening ceremony. International news frequently has to make a sudden adjustment between reporting a planned media event celebrating international harmony like the Olympics and the shock of a terrorist attack (Munich 1972) or a geopolitical crisis (Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014). With the advent of social media the dissonance and disjuncture between official and demotic discourses become more visible, legible and palpable.

This special section will examine how international news organisations like the BBC World Service (BBCWS) are adapting to social media and integrating it into their journalistic practices during Olympic events. In particular, it evaluates the Twitter strategy adopted by the BBCWS during the London Olympic Games – and the extent to which it achieved its aim of actively engaging audiences overseas and enabling cosmopolitan conversations to take place around Olympic events. It is based on interdisciplinary comparative research on the BBC's Arabic, English, Persian and Russian Services which involved a quantitative 'Big data' analysis as well as qualitative discourse analysis of a carefully selected sample of approximately 10,000 tweets harvested from the BBC's Arabic, English, Persian and Russian Services. This research is both experimental and *diagnostic* (cf. Price 2015): there was no existing template to follow about how to study what we define below as a global media event and how it is followed and debated and engaged with via Twitter and television.

Our particular concern was to get at the nature, scope and scale of 'the global conversation.' This is a term used to refer to BBC World Service's remit, as defined in its Operating Agreement with the BBC Trust, to foster an intercultural dialogue that transcends national, religious and ethnic boundaries and contributes to sustaining informed citizenship around the world (BBC Trust 2007). The BBCWS was at that time funded by the UK's Foreign

and Commonwealth Office as one of its public diplomacy partners in order to project Britain and British interests abroad. These aims may therefore appear to be somewhat contradictory. But are they?

The Themed Section assesses the extent to which the promotion of a participatory journalistic culture that fosters cosmopolitan conversations across national borders is at odds with and/or whether it contributes to the soft power and public diplomacy remit of the BBCWS. This study 'Tweeting the Olympics' started with London 2012 and BBCWS followed up with a subsequent study of Sochi 2014 comparing and contrasting how BBC World News and Russia Today – or RT as it is now known – interacted with their audiences via social media. During the research we developed and refined our theoretical framework and methodological design as we proceeded. The case studies represented in this special section all shared the same analytical framework. They add up to more than the sum of their parts and because of this we are able to use them to reflect on wider theoretical and methodological issues: the problems of methodological nationalism and the promises of cosmopolitan theory; the value and the difficulties of cross-cultural, comparative, collaborative research and interdisciplinary enquiry; and whether such case studies suggest new pathways of shifting the analytical frame for researching ethnicity, race and nationalism.

Our research provides significant findings. First, the adaptations and adoptions of social media by international broadcasters reflect the trajectories and values of their particular institutional development. The BBCWS seeks to capture emotion while maintaining a degree of professional objectivity, while RT differentiates itself from other global news broadcasters by seeking to undermine the 'apolitical' coverage provided by (mainly Western) rivals like the BBC (Hutchings et al., this issue; Yablokov 2015). This leads them to develop distinctive approaches to using social media content and providing platforms for specific styles and types of conversation. Second, our analysis begins to establish a new analytical model for researching global media events, capturing and theorising the flows and temporalities of these events to explain the repertoires and tactics that broadcasters, journalists and user-audiences employ at different stages – enabling us to track trajectories of engagement from cool-headed information-sharing to the peaks and troughs of emotional intensity around triumphs and tragedies in a sporting world assembled simultaneously in one place.

Third, our research demonstrates that the interplay of broadcasters and users is an arena for the contestation of national and cosmopolitan imaginaries. We might have expected to find such contestation, but our research takes it a step forward in illuminating how it works. This raises questions of academic praxis and ethics: can academics' analytical models and knowledge be utilized by broadcasters or states to exercise or extend their power to shape the political framing of events and to manage or steer reactions to those events? Or do uses of social media mean that the filters provided by traditional news media are fast evaporating? As academics we may wish to understand how transnational or national imaginaries are sustained or re-imposed, but does our collaborative research –

conducted with an international broadcaster in the case of London 2012 – contribute to shaping how communication around global media events functions? Or are such collaborations between broadcasters and academic researchers necessary in a world of big data? Clearly, the research is based on a great deal of thinking and meetings to keep lines of enquiry open and to reconcile the differing demands of editors and the scholarly community. It would not have been possible without a prior study of diasporas at the BBCWS which developed trust between the Open University's Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change and the BBC.¹ This allowed us unprecedented access and BBC staff were very open and cooperative but inevitably there were tensions to be resolved (Dennis et al., this issue).

In this introductory article we situate our research in the context of the evolving relationship between audiences and international news organisations. We examine the challenges facing international broadcasters seeking to stage or harness audience engagement around global media events in order to understand how audiences responded on social media – Twitter especially. We then return to provide details of our research and, finally, we summarise the articles in the special issue.

International Broadcasting and Global Media Events

The history of international broadcasting can be traced through successive Olympic Games as moments where technological developments and new heights of collective viewership collide with the motivations of national governments and transnational actors. These historical moments are mutually constitutive of broadcasting's role in modern political and social life. Hutchins and Rowe link broadcasting to the very process of globalization, pointing to the 'critical elements of flow and fluidity' of information, news and live events, alongside other global cultural flows of migration, finance and technology (Hutchins and Rowe 2014:7; cf. Appadurai 1990). Broadcasting also affords political actors to bypass national governments and engage in public diplomacy directly to global populations, fomenting a context where public opinion and, thus, public diplomacy carries a significant weight in policy planning (Rivenburgh 2010:187).

The very articulation of globalisation processes in a post-Cold War era echoes the affordances of contemporary media technologies, an increasing networking of flows intersecting and challenging the integrity of bounded communities and nations. Both in broadcasting and networked iterations of interpersonal communication, 'space and time compression' can serve to both integrate and divide (Hutchins and Rowe 2014:8). International broadcasting and public diplomacy become implicated in a post-Cold War, post-9/11 and post-Arab Spring world, while facing challenges posed by new forms of audience and social engagement such as micro-blogging, social networking and internet-ready mobile phone platforms.

Dayan and Katz's (1992) classic *Media Events* provided a neo-Durkheimian analysis to propose that pre-planned televised events are mechanisms through which social solidarity is forged or celebrated. Royal weddings, major sporting events, pioneering

diplomatic missions by heads of state; such events interrupt the routines of social life and provide moments for individuals in a social order orientate their attention, through mass media, to the institutions at the imagined 'sacred center' of that order (Dayan and Katz 1992:8). For Durkheim (2001), it is through social practices, for instance religious practices, that a society comes to share a vision of how society should be, and finds elements of that ideal within itself. Olympic Games and other global sporting events allow the international community to assemble itself around a moral or social centre, a set of values and shared histories that anchor that community's sense of self (Anstead and O'Loughlin 2011a). This necessarily involves media to connect the event and audiences. In this special issue we are interested in how values are expressed and contested by different language communities and how broadcasters tried to manage this.

Audiences increasingly use multiple media platforms simultaneously (Anstead and O'Loughlin 2015; Trilling 2015). In Britain by 2011 just one year before the 2012 Games, 43 percent of internet users over the age of 18 used computers or mobile phones to comment while watching television shows (Allen 2011). This practice of dual screening overturns earlier assumptions in audience studies that traditional television viewership would be replaced by online iterations (Lee, Han, Kim and Kim:251). Dual screening and other multi-platform audience practices provide broadcasters with new ways to manage audiences. Traditional actors can prosper in this changed environment (Junghher 2014). Everyday use of interpersonal networked technologies draw spectators to a live televised 'appointment' (Hutchins and Rowe 2014:12), rather than replace or reduce viewing time (Tang and Cooper 2011:15).

The mediatisation of sport refers to processes through which diverse sphere of social, political, and commercial life are transformed by, reoriented towards and operate through media practices (Couldry 2012:134). Rowe (2004, 2011) refers to a sustained 'media sports cultural complex' that adjusts to changing opportunities for media consumption as viewers extend and migrate across numerous platforms. Sports media, marketing, advertising and organizers are intent on understanding and following the habits of their user-viewers (Lee et al.:251). Hutchins and Rowe remind us that 'sports audiences' -- to this we should extend the discussion towards wider cultural mass appeal of the Olympic Games -- 'have never been constituted only around the time of the event' (Hutchins and Rowe 2014:9). Research must also consider the fan cultures and imagined communities that extend from and are drawn to, as well infiltrate and exploit, the adjacent media cultures of sports. Hence, there is a need to explore the modulation of the event-time and the broader, ongoing 'complex' Rowe describes (Anstead and O'Loughlin 2011a).

Olympic Games are 'mega-events', exceptional in nature and scale; Roche describes them as 'large-scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance', which extend far beyond sporting audiences or weekly appointment programming (Roche 2000:1). These events are valuable objects for research because they disrupt everyday forms of media consumption and social engagement. Dayan and Katz's (1992) seminal framework for

understanding national media events provides a theoretical basis for the study of the Olympic Games as a *global* media event. Public diplomacy and soft power are enacted through the organization and hosting of the Olympics as it engages potential global audiences through broadcasting and online media and multiple national, non-governmental and media actors compete for control of Olympic media narratives (Couldry and Hepp 2009). Below we reconsider the global media event specifically as a vehicle for the concentration of media power (Couldry 2003), the role of technology and social media in the media event as a 'platform' for diverse and competing interests (Price 2011), and through this susceptibility for "hijacking" the increasing importance of controlling media and event spaces (Dayan 2010).

The Olympic Games in their entirety and the Olympic Opening Ceremonies in particular provide a clear sense of a media event within Dayan and Katz' original framework for its integrative function within *national* settings: how audience participation enabled the 'constitution or maintenance of whole cultures', specifically national cultures (Hoover 2010:284). Media events involved symbolic and ritualistic performance, an assumed fidelity to, and enchantment by, the event's own narrative, and wide public access to the shared live viewing experience afforded by broadcasting and other media (Dayan 2010:25). Each Olympics media event is different as host nations and cities attempt to communicate and rebrand their cultural identity. The Opening Ceremonies offer a consistent 'pedagogical' demonstration of nations, flags and athletes within the Olympic setting, while asserting – through ritualistic opening and closing – the Games as 'a separation from ordinary life' (Panagiotopoulou 2010:235). Through cooperation with broadcasters, host states and cities attempt to manage their identities through 'elaborately staged and commercialized narrative of a nation' but they are constrained by compulsory elements set out by Olympic Charter for the demonstration of the international sense of Olympism (Hogan 2003:102).

An Olympic Games is a longer and more diffuse event than, say, a state funeral, even if there is some convergence of attention and anticipation prior to, and engagement during, the media event (Dayan 2010:27). Dayan and Katz originally wrote of an enchantment of audiences by the media event. Cottle suggests that mediated rituals serve to 'sustain and/or mobilize collective sentiments and solidarities' and we might expect Olympic Games to offer platforms for inter- and transnational conversations about political and social issues (Cottle 2006:415). However, engagement with the media event is not universal and we would expect to find differences in reception and interpretation of a media event as it crosses contexts and populations within and beyond national borders (Rothenbuhler 1989). Dayan even suggests we may find audience disenchantment now: the live participatory media event format that has migrated to entertainment genres, while news organisations search for controversies and criticisms (Panagiotopoulou 2010:238). Audiences may find this 'semantics of conflictualization' unappealing (Dayan 2010:26). Olympic Games offer an opportunity to investigate what is received and what is contested among global audiences (Hoover 2010), how those conversations proceed, and how states and broadcasters try to manage them.

In short, our research of global media events must ask: what do media events enable? Did the 2012 or 2014 Olympics provide a focal point for a few big news stories and disputes or for a range of overlapping events and issues? Gary Whannel labels 'vortexuality' the manner in which, during the Games, 'it becomes hard for social commentators to avoid addressing the event' (Whannel 2005:174). Despite the fragmented, highly competitive field of international broadcasting, major stories across outlets remain the same. This process extends into social media practices (Chouliaraki 2013), so we must ask: do audiences simply follow issue agendas set by broadcasters or athletes or do more diffuse narratives emerge? In fact, the dynamics are more nuanced than that. Audiences' social media conversations and content become a source international broadcasters can weave into their mainstream coverage. Meanwhile, the sheer accumulation of "'almost" media events' within a prolonged Games period may contribute to a 'banalization of the format' (Dayan 2010:29). The spectrum of debate represented by broadcasters may begin to pivot around the dichotomy of 'consensus/deviance' in terms of views about and internal to the media event (Dayan 2010:29). Through such processes we can begin to see how media can serve public diplomacy goals (see Burchall et al. 2015).

Olympic Games stimulate a range of additional questions about what *effects* such global media events generate (Anstead and O'Loughlin 2011). Is soft power cultivated? Are host nations' management of the games legitimated and their authority enhanced? Do audiences spontaneously form productive cross-cultural conversations and come to share understandings? Does the ability of international broadcasters reporting the Games allow them such a primary role in constructing the 'myth of the mediated centre', as per neo-Durkheimian media event analysis (Couldry 2003), that broadcasters establish their own centrality to world events?

Global media events offer a nexus of attention sought after by the political and economic actors through which they can gain credibility, prestige and authority. The organization and sponsorship of the event though television turns it into a platform (Price 2011:x). Broadcasting and other traditional media have historically been the platforms by which access to and influence over populations is gained for a specific period (van Loon 2010). From the perspective of states and broadcasters, can engagement during that period allow the cultivation of more lasting relationships? And yet, the degree of indeterminacy in media events as a platform presents particular challenges for them. The context of international broadcasting is defined by outward reach but also by the 'ongoing cultural potency of the nation' in which they are situated (Hutchins and Rowe 2014:11). In the eyes of audiences, 'the origins, intentions, loyalties, and circulations' of state broadcasters are fairly transparent (Hoover 2010:287). The broadcaster's engagement with the Games is influenced by their home nation's relationship to the host nation as well as the processes of domestication that occur when translating events into the terms of local, cultural and ideological assumptions (Rivenburgh 2010:195). For international broadcasters, this is not simply a process of domestication of content for local and national audiences. It involves the domestication of the editorial identity of the broadcaster as a representation of national

values and identity.

Academic scholarship has extended research using the media events framework to include the unexpected live coverage of crisis events such as war, terror attacks and natural disasters, in addition to the pre-planned and often celebratory classic media event, demonstrates its continued utility for investigating contemporary broadcasting culture (Katz and Liebes 2010). International broadcasters' coverage of the Sochi Olympics had to adapt as the Games overlapped with a developing security crisis in Ukraine, foreshadowing Russia's eventual annexation of Crimea. However, scheduled moments continue to be significant. Despite not having much to do with sport – or perhaps because of this -- Olympic Opening Ceremonies have become a pivotal moment for defining the event and the national narrative (Panagiotopoulou 2010:233). News media outlets may announce the success or failure of the event from its very outset (Katz 1984 as cited in Rivenburgh 2010). In the weeks of anticipatory media build-up, stories highlight political controversies, infrastructure and security issues, and dissect the particularities of 'daily logistics' leading up to Opening Ceremonies and during each of the first few days (Rivenburgh 2010:195). However, it is the Opening Ceremonies that remain seminal broadcasting moments and constitute points of 'high-risk/high-reward' for the host's public diplomacy strategy (Rivenburgh 2010:200).

Social Media Spaces: Real-Time Participation and Collaborative Interpretation

Successive Olympics consistently boast new thresholds and forms of audience engagement:

- Amsterdam 1928 incorporated the use of telephone and telegraph systems for reporting (Humphreys and Finlay 2008:288).
- Los Angeles 1932 introduced engagement through radio (Humphreys and Finlay 2008:288).
- Berlin 1939 extended such witnessing to local television transmissions (Senn 1990 as cited in Humphreys and Finlay 2008:288).
- London 1948 relied on a mix of live radio coverage and telegraph alongside television for global reporting (Humphreys and Finlay 2008:289).
- Tokyo 1964 was used to showcase an American communication satellite (Cull 2011:125).
- Sydney 2000 heralded the rise of bloggers (Miah et al. 2008:326).
- Torino 2006 became the first social media Olympics with online streaming and events podcasts (Miah et al. 2008:328).
- Beijing stood out for mobile viewership and an unprecedented global television viewership nearing 15% of the world population (Goldsmith 2008).

Each iteration of the modern Olympics offers new forms of connectivity and intimacy with the actual sporting events to spectators who are not physically present (Humphreys and

Finlay 2008:289). Digital media extend the forms and types of interactions with the event. Paradoxically, van Loon argues, 'in order to engender authentic experiences, mediation requires more, not fewer, mediators' (van Loon 2010:110). Grusin, in conversation with Jenkins, refers to this normalization of multiple forms and types of experiential engagement as the 'hypermediacy' which is now the new 'mark of the real' (Jenkins and Grusin 2011). This became the standard threshold for audience participation in contemporary global media events.

Host nations and broadcasters have adapted to this environment with varying success. The 2008 Beijing Games saw the International Olympic Committee (IOC) partition transmission rights. Sale of television rights was separated from Internet and mobile broadcasting rights. This represented an attempt to reach new audiences and extend to greater mediated spaces of spectatorship while developing a greater diversity of corporate partners (Miah et al. 2008:335; Hutchins and Rowe 2014:11). There was also an official Beijing Olympic YouTube channel (Hutchins and Mikosza 2010:280). Not all broadcasters adapted with success. In the US, NBC's delay of online viewing options to ensure commercial exclusivity of their television broadcasts failed to attract the substantial viewing audiences that live online viewing opportunities did in the UK, Europe, Latin America and China (Marshall, Walker and Russo 2010:269). This 'post-broadcast' online environment points to both dual screen viewing contexts and wholly online viewing contexts, where presence and interpersonal engagement through online blogs and platforms such as Twitter provide the wider social cultural context to viewing (Marshall et al. 2010:269).

Athletes have also explored and established multi-platform presence. They face the same dilemmas as broadcasters regarding widening engagement and interaction, and the challenges of narrative coordination and control. For sporting stars and their fans, Twitter offers a space for interaction at a personal, even mundane level, bringing audiences a glimpse of athletes' unadulterated thoughts and reactions outside of the sanitized contexts of press conferences and network television interviews. Twitter is also a space of constant scrutiny, as journalists and bloggers trawl through tweets for salacious details, hints of scandal, or any tenuous comment to be attached to one story or another (Hutchins 2011:243). Such platforms bring a new visibility and public-ness to the conflicts between athletes, media and sporting organizations. Sanderson and Kassing (Sanderson and Kassing 2011:120) suggest that athletes use twitter for three functions: to transform and reframe existing news about them, to contest or refute news reporting, or to integrate sports news into their personal updates and online conversations. Less famous athletes can use Twitter to bypass traditional media's gatekeeping function and connect with audiences (Hutchins 2011:243). Equally, broadcasters may wish to (re)integrate these smaller networks into their wider event coverage or platform. Billing suggests only nine percent of Americans are active on twitter, yet a clear majority, over two-thirds, of professional athletes in team sports are active on the platform. For journalists, Twitter provides a connection to these communities and to the wider youth demographic that traditional broadcasters are desperate to claim and cultivate as audiences (Armstrong and Gao 2010:223; Billings 2014:110; Billings

2014:110). Do athletes and broadcasters have a mutual interest in the latter using the former's fan communities to maximise connectivity to diverse audiences?

The IOC seeks to reinstate a gatekeeping function through a number of strict social networking restrictions on athletes' online personal expression (Hutchins 2011: 243). The marketization and mediatization of sports broadcasting by IOC partners into online streams faces the unfettered production of mobile and online footage, commentary and narratives by athletes, citizen journalists and fans. This can interrupt and also subvert the meticulously crafted and controlled Olympic-branded narratives (Hutchins and Mikosza 2010:284). The IOC granted athletes a very tentative and controlled right to blog prior to the Beijing 2008 Games (Hutchins and Mikosza 2010:286). In a statement released prior to the London 2012 Games, 'Participants and other accredited persons' were permitted to post online but faced restrictions and penalties for any infractions of the guidelines; commentary on the ongoing athletic performance of others was prohibited (Hutchins and Rowe 2014:15). The IOC specified:

... any such postings, blogs or tweets must be in a first-person, diary-type format and should not be in the role of a journalist – i.e. they must not report on competition or comment on the activities of other participants or accredited persons, or disclose any information which is confidential or private in relation to any other person or organisation. (International Olympic Committee 2011:2)

Does this restrict online commentary to peripheral and celebratory emotional expression or self-reflection? The IOC guide also stipulated conforming to a general notion of the 'Olympic Spirit and the fundamental principles of Olympism' (IOC 2011). This can be employed by the IOC to censor any commentary by Olympic participants that may obstruct their commercial or political objectives. In our study of the 2012 and 2014 Games, would any athlete, citizen journalist or fan 'cut through' this control of communication and with what effect? What did BBC research reveal?

A BBCW in-house research report² that was shared with the research team indicated that the London Olympics saw record breaking traffic levels for Global News (The umbrella under which BBCWS sits within the BBC). This was driven by BBC.com/sport/olympics and standout performances across a number of the language sites. In particular, BBC Afrique, Great Lakes, Indonesia, Pashto, Persian, UK China, Vietnamese, Turkish, Hindi, Swahili and Ukrainian increased numbers and levels of engagement. BBC.com/ sport /Olympics traffic levels doubled compared with figures achieved during the Beijing Olympics and the World Cup 2010. The report stated that audiences praised the BBCWS's online coverage during the Olympics. This was particularly strong among US audiences at the start of the Olympics, precipitated by dissatisfaction with NBC's coverage, and during the closing weekend, where users reflected in very warm tones over the event. The report states that live text and medals/ results pages performed particularly well for BBCWS and BBC.com, as did journalism which focussed on athletes, controversies and the more quirky aspects of the

Olympics. It seemed that these were the areas in which users were most interested and BBCWS tapped into this trend. Locally relevant content also performed well for international sports audiences.

BBCWS research suggested that there was however scope to improve BBCWS performance across social media and across most Language Service sites where little uplift was seen in terms of social media referrals. The one exception to this was the 'My Athlete Body Match' story on BBC.com which went viral and bucked this trend. Curiosities, controversies, the inspiration of athletes and stories which captured the atmosphere of the Olympics got most attention on social media – there was strong desire for news providers to foster this and the expectation that this was as important as the news coverage itself. In the many meetings that we attended at the BBCWS during the course of the study the main questions revolved around whether enough was done to understand and meet user needs – we found much evidence of a deep care and concern for public service values even if framed by a strong awareness of the intense market competition that BBCWS now faces around the world from local broadcasters who can deliver local content.

In summary, a changing media environment and the unique characteristics of Olympic Games present international broadcasters with opportunities to extend the range and quality of audience engagement and provide platforms for dialogue about contested issues such as race, gender and nationalism. However, broadcasters are just one of many actors trying to manage and steer communication around the Games to realise certain goals. The IOC, athletes, sponsors, rival news organisations, activist and protest groups, and citizen-users all have particular motives and interpretations that contribute to the overall Games 'ecology'. Twitter, Facebook, the online platforms of the BBC or BBCWS or RT – they are all spaces of 'controlled interactivity' (Stromer-Galley 2012). However, across the media ecology as a whole, control is variable.

Next, we describe how we designed and executed a collaborative research project and processes to build an understanding of how communication unfolded during the 2012 and 2014 Games.

Tweeting the London 2012 and Sochi 2014 Olympics: An Overview of the Research

This Themed Section presents and synthesizes a collaborative project which brought into dialogue diverse techniques of social media analysis: from content and discourse to sentiment to social network analysis (for accounts of our methodological approach see, in this issue, Procter et al.; Dennis et al.; Willis et al.). We used the London and Sochi Olympics respectively as a prism through which to analyse international broadcasting and social media activity, Twitter especially. Findings from the London 2012 study informed our choice of what to focus on in the Sochi 2014 study.

In the London 2012 study we sought a common point of reference across the case studies in the Opening and Closing ceremonies; we focused more on the role of BBC

hashtags and pundits, and we experimented with a range of social media analysis techniques. For Sochi 2014 we extended our analysis beyond the BBCWS to understand how Russia's state funded international broadcaster (RT) dealt with soft power and geopolitical issues and how audiences responded. We also went beyond analysis of hashtags and pundits in order to study the intersections between Twitter conversations and broadcasts in a more systematic manner than we had been able to do in the London Olympics study. This is in line with our overall analytical approach that stresses the importance of studying the international media ecology relationally and comparatively. However, methodological choices often come down to what are pragmatic decisions rather than textbook techniques. Our choices about what to study in 2014 were also determined by funding and access. In 2012 we conducted a detailed social media study with BBCWS that was relatively well-resourced, while in 2014 we carried out a study from the outside comparing BBCWS and RT on a shoestring budget.

This research builds on relationships and trajectories of research that the editors had built over the preceding decade. Gillespie had developed a longstanding research partnership with BBCWS since 2001 when she began working on 'critical events' and the media security nexus after the 11 September 2001 attacks (Gillespie and Cheesman 2002; Gillespie and O'Loughlin 2015). There followed a series of case studies that integrated audience ethnography, discourse analysis, production and policy research (see endnote 1). O'Loughlin had been carrying out Twitter audience research since 2009, whether on events like the Haiti earthquake, Sony Playstation hack, responses to the swine flu vaccine³ or dual screening during TV programmes including BBC's *Question Time* and the 2010 UK General Election leaders debates (Anstead and O'Loughlin 2011b, 2015).

Our notion of participatory engagement, which lies at the heart of this research, emerges from research reflecting on ways media provide resources for participating in practices of democracy and citizenship (Gillespie 2006, 2007, 2013; Gillespie and O'Loughlin 2009; O'Loughlin and Gillespie 2012; see also Carpentier et al. 2013). We sought to explore a number of contradictions and trade-offs. We wanted to challenge dichotomous thinking about engagement, for example, that traditional broadcasting offers 'lean back' engagement while digital media and active practices of searching, sharing and commenting lead to 'lean forward' engagement. This is clearly a problematic distinction as the audience researchers who read this journal will know. Social media do offer unprecedented opportunity for citizen-users to actively engage in dialogue with people from across the world and/or to collaborate in storytelling by taking part in it. More and more people can *do* media (Merrin 2014). Broadcasters such as BBCWS find this intrinsically valuable as manifestations of a growing 'global conversation', as discussed earlier. However, news is also a business and the BBCWS must justify and rationalize its activities in terms of sheer numbers – audience reach, hits, tweets, likes, downloads, views or whatever the measurement currency happens to be. Hence, our research reveals a series of trade-offs between, for example, the manufacture of controversy to extend reach (Aslan et al., this

issue) and the efforts to foster conversations across languages or cultures (Shreim, this issue). Policy, cultural and public value may clash (Gillespie et al. 2014).

Our study brings into dialogue three analytical frameworks: (i) a conception of international broadcasting and global encounters that drew on prior research on ‘corporate cosmopolitanism’, social media and participatory journalism at the BBCWS (Gillespie and Webb 2012; Gillespie 2013); (ii) research on social media and global media events (Anstead and O’Loughlin 2011b, 2015); and (iii) current debates, research, policy and practice in the field of public and cultural diplomacy and soft power (Burchill et al., this issue). Each of the articles presents a case study within this shared framework that was flexibly and creatively adapted by each researcher.

Our research team individually and collectively (via dozens of face to face meetings and Skype conference calls) worked with three intersecting strands of work to address the following questions:

(i) Broadcasting adaptations to maximize engagement

Did the BBCWS in 2012 and RT in 2014 use social media effectively to create participatory engagement among their audiences? What kind of affective and cognitive engagement did they generate? How were social media outpourings of emotion around victories and defeats channelled by broadcasters? What difference can be discerned between the rhetoric and reality of social media as a tool of audience empowerment?

(ii) National identities and cosmopolitan sensibilities

How do broadcast and social media contribute to the projection and negotiation of national and cosmopolitan identifications during the Olympics? How are national histories and identities constructed, compared, contrasted and debated on Twitter? Does loyalty to one’s national teams inevitably trump the universalism of the ‘Olympic spirit’? How are ethnicity, race and racism, religion and gender politics played out in the dynamic interplay of national and transnational identifications?

(iii) Soft power and geopolitics

Do states and their national broadcasters address overseas audiences as the targets of soft power and do audiences show awareness of such? Do they project national cultures and identities in an explicitly positive or negative light in order influence overseas publics? How do user-audiences discuss, contest or affirm representations of their own or other nations on social media? What happens when unexpected political events intervene in the carefully managed rituals involved in staging the Olympics?

International News, Social Media and Soft Power: Overview of the Articles

This section offers an overview of articles and pulls together some of the key arguments that traverse the case studies in this special section.

In *Soft Power and its Audiences*, Burchell, O'Loughlin, Gillespie and McAvoy put into historical perspective efforts by states, broadcasters, athletes and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to manage audience responses to London 2012 and Sochi 2014. Olympic Games are episodes that interrupt world affairs to offer moments to enhance relations between societies, but also moments through which host states seek to direct attention to their attractive qualities and cultivate their soft power. But how do policymakers and event planners who seek to generate soft power imagine their audiences? And how do they, along with broadcasters, use social media to promote certain forms of dialogue between home and overseas audiences? This article points to tensions between communicating for domestic and international publics and difficulties states and broadcasters face in managing engagement with targets of soft power or what was formerly known as 'the audience'. Consequently, the contested nature of the Olympic Games calls into question established theories of soft power, cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy.

The media ecology is changing week by week, with new apps, software and platforms being used by audiences and broadcasters alike. In this context it is impossible to apply a static research design over any period longer than a few months, as the services, platforms, tools and terms of engagement that comprise 'media' will have expanded and so too the units of analysis (Karpf 2012). What is required is a methodological approach that is agile, mobile and open to adding and bringing together new sources of data to conduct comparative analyses in an experimental way. Paradoxically, an approach that is agile and fluid gives us the surest grip.

In their article *Audience Research and Social Media Data*, Procter, Voss and Lvov argue that social media can 'reinvigorate audience research'. They offer an overview of how the research presented in this special section is a composite of different methods and data sources employed at different times to answer different questions. These data fragments give us as good an impression of the whole as is realistic in current social science. They give us slices of the event, chosen because they are relevant to our research questions, but which defy 'systemicity' or 'comprehensiveness' because such standards are not possible because media keep changing.

We also live in a world where academic researchers are expected to research with those institutions they are studying. The research presented here capitalizes on this, but as a result the pathways of research are partly framed by the imperatives of the broadcasters and funders we work with. This involves compromises. Social media allow new kinds of instantaneous insights into how audiences react to global media events but such research also raises new kinds of ethical issues. These questions are addressed in *Towards a Methodological Framework for Analysing Social Media Engagement during Global Media Events* by Dennis, Gillespie and O'Loughlin. We present the design of our study, the numerous workflows employed, and how they allowed us to answer specific questions. The article eschews any notion of a perfect design and instead argues for transparency about what we did, what succeeded and what failed. We argue that we can learn just as much if

not more from our failures. We propose a framework that we hope can be flexibly adapted and creatively adopted by other researchers.

Our methodological experiments were about testing methods and techniques as much as answering questions. The ageing factor analysis was tested using Sentistrength. Computer scientists were trying to build a new platform COSMOS. Only the multi-lingual social media monitoring tool Sysomos, which the BBCWS had licence to use, was 'finished', but its problems, particularly its lack of transparency, meant we had to build alternatives into our research design. This exemplifies the situation in social science more generally. *Mapping Networks of Influence* by Alistair Willis, Ali Fisher and Ilia Lvov assesses the relative influence of global news media organisations such as the BBCWS in the Twittersphere during the London Olympics. The increasing use of social media around global news events such as the London Olympics in 2012 raises questions for traditional international broadcasters about how to handle social media conversations among social media users. Twitter conversations are analysed as multi-directional interactions between individual users, political and cultural actors, and a range of media professionals as well as organisations. In so doing, users form networks of influence via their interactions in and across various social media, affecting the ways that information is shared about specific global events.

The article considers a range of modes of social media analysis and associated measures which might be used to model how networks of influence are formed among Twitter users, with a particular focus on how conversations vary depending on the nature of the accounts involved in the conversation. It describes how the team analysed how users respond at different speeds to tweets from different types of users and how they assessed the influence of individual tweets. To assess the influence of individual tweets, Willis, Fisher and Lvov investigated their ageing factor, which measures how long users continue to interact with a particular tweet. Finally they consider what the profile of particular tweets from corporate and athlete's accounts can tell us about how networks of influence are forged and maintained.

Tweeting in Arabic, Russian, Persian and English

The articles range across the BBCWS' Language Services and across methods to build a narrative that develops across the special section while maintaining the integrity of the case studies. As will soon become apparent to the reader, the articles cross-reference one another to form a bricolage that cumulatively develops a number of threads of arguments around the following shared themes. Here we touch on a few highlights and connections between the articles.

1. *Broadcasting adaptations to maximize engagement*

Tweeting the Olympics in Arabic highlights the effectiveness and efficacy of a social media strategy depends on many factors including resources, training and firm resolve among

senior management to make it work. Shreim's article shows how one of the main factors that affected the limited response of BBC Arabic tweeters was a lack of staff deployed to work on social media and encourage interaction. This negatively affected the BBC Arabic's success with Twitter and indeed other social media. The London Olympics coincided with Ramadan, a time when many BBC Arabic staff take annual leave. Ethnographic observations derived from our prior research allowed us to contextualize our findings (Abdel Sattar et al. 2012). Lack of training and knowledge of social media among senior staff was another factor impeding the effective integration of social media into the newsroom – a finding that was confirmed by previous research on BBC Arabic and new modes of political participation (Gillespie, Abdel-Sattar and Lami 2015). Despite this, Shreim's qualitative analysis of Arabic tweets showed an intensity of social media engagement and excitement around Olympic events that could have been harnessed to much greater effect. It is important to remember that the findings apply to 2012 and not to the present day. Our CRESC/OU research provided detailed recommendations to BBCWS about how to improve the quality of debate and the numbers of people engaging, many of which were taken up, and this was a very positive outcome of the project.

Aslanyan and Gillespie's article *The Russian-Language Twittersphere* showed that the BBC Russian Service had a very low presence in the Russian Twittersphere. In fact the accounts that the BBCWS chose to contribute to the BBC's Twitter Module (the BBCWS's tool designed to maximize audience engagement via Twitter) appeared, paradoxically, to push audiences to non-BBC content and alternative Russian news and sports media sources. It was also noteworthy that the Twitter conversations generated by BBC Russian were very sanitized compared with the disinhibited nature of the Twittersphere in general. Whether this was mainly a reflection of the kind of people participating or whether obscene and insulting tweets were removed (which does happen depending on staff resources available to work on this) was unclear.

By contrast, as we see in *The Inescapable History and Politics of Anglo-Iranian Relations*, the BBC Persian Service was relatively successful in its deployment of Twitter during the Olympics in terms of numbers of people and levels of engagement when compared with other BBC Language Services that we researched. This is as much a reflection of the how the Persian Service is resourced and managed as it is of the deft encouragement of their social media savvy staff. The Persian Service (which is one of the best resourced Language Services, like the BBC Arabic Service, for obvious strategic reasons) is available on radio, online and via satellite television, and is aimed at the 100 million Persian speakers in Iran, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and at audiences living in diaspora. The Service has always heavily relied on social media to engage audiences to circumvent interference by the Iranian authorities. BBC Persian Service journalists frequently come into conflict with the Iranian authorities and have experienced surveillance, censorship and bans. Many of its audiences are diasporic and early adopters of social media so their success in adopting and adapting to social media is in large part for these reasons. However as Voss and Asgari-Targhi point out in their article, the imperatives of impartiality at the BBC conspired against

a close engagement with audiences during the Olympics, particularly when controversial referee decisions intervene. Persian audiences expected BBC Persian journalists to empathise and express outrage at such perceived unfairness against Iranian athletes and when they fail to do so they are seen as puppets of the British state.

Controversy is also central to the article by Aslan, Dennis and O'Loughlin. Their study of BBC.com English in *Balding Goes Trolling?* shows that presenters and pundits can create more engagement than athletes or BBC corporate accounts by making statements that audiences – and athletes themselves – find controversial. This is supported by the varying decay time of tweets posted by pundits, athletes and journalists discovered by Willis, Fisher and Lvov (this issue). In the global media event time, journalists at the Olympics or anywhere with internet access can re-mediate and seek to either amplify or contain the controversy. When a popular presenter such as Balding triggers this kind of episode, the broadcaster has to manage their own reputation. The balance to be found between legitimate engagement and unwarranted trolling depends on knowing the form and degree of controversy audiences are comfortable with. Here, again, audience research can help broadcasters identify this sweet spot.

2. National identities and cosmopolitan sensibilities

Shreim's article *Tweeting the Olympics in Arabic* demonstrates that close transnational identification with other Arab nations was a remarkable feature of Twitter conversations generated by the BBC Arabic Service. There was an aspiration to transcend national, ethnic and religious divisions and embrace the Olympic spirit of cosmopolitanism among some that was fiercely contested by others. A good deal of positive empathy was shown towards fellow Arabic-speaking countries and their victories and defeats. Support for female participation was patchy with some deeply opposing the participation of Muslim women in sport for religious reasons. The article offers insights into the co-construction of national, gender and religious identities during globally mediated events, such as the Olympic Games.

Aslanyan and Gillespie in their article on *The Russian-Language Twittersphere* argue that Russian Tweeters were more preoccupied by Russian domestic politics in their discussions of the London Olympics than in expressing any cosmopolitan attitudes. They also stressed their worries about the Sochi Olympics in 2014 – the potential failures in planning, the widespread corruption, abuses of human rights and the deteriorating situation for Russian citizens. They seized the opportunity to reflect on what makes a successful nation and what makes for a successful Olympics, and these were seen to coincide. Persian audiences also used the Olympics as a metaphor for society – as a lens through which they debated and negotiated Iranian society, its historical relations with the UK, as well as the BBC's role in Iran. Users supported Iran as well as Persians in Afghanistan, and showed very little or no negativity to other nations. On BBC.com English tweeters displayed a benign patriotism, celebrating British successes but not denigrating or downplaying the efforts of other countries' athletes; this was not a zero-sum patriotism of winners against losers.

3. *Soft power and geopolitics*

Across our case studies of the Language Services, the Opening and Closing Ceremonies were most salient in terms of analysing the soft power effects and geopolitical dimensions of the London Games. Arabic Tweeters, like their Russian and Persian counterparts, commented extensively on the attractiveness of London as a city to visit and debated the values that Britain purports to represent – the rule of law, freedom of speech, fair play. In line with the findings of our previous case studies (Abdel-Sattar 2012), audiences were drawn to debate forums on BBC Arabic partly because of its reputation and the historical role of the BBC in the Middle East, and partly because it provides an alternative platform and style of debate to that prevalent on Arab TV political talk shows. But, as with BBC Persian audiences, the relationship with the BBC is a love-hate relationship – admired and criticized in equal measure. Therefore the soft power effect on Persian and Arabic speaking audiences are always adumbrated by the history and politics of these relations. This was of course less the case with Russian tweeters. For them the Opening and Closing Ceremonies provoked consideration of whether Sochi would enhance Russian soft power and whether Putin's visit to the London Olympics would be welcomed. English Tweeters spent a good time debating whether the rest of the world 'get' the NHS in the Opening Ceremony and the idiosyncratic nature of Danny Boyle's Opening Ceremony. This may reflect awareness that an ambiguous and equally idiosyncratic British national identity did not have to be taken absolutely seriously, which itself was perhaps a source of pride and soft power relative to more 'hard power' nations like the US, China and Russia.

Some geopolitical controversies illustrated the existence and functioning of an Anglosphere – an English-language space of communication traversing national borders. In *Balding Goes Trolling?*, Aslan, Dennis and O'Loughlin explore how controversial statements by BBC television presenter Clare Balding about Chinese teenage swimming sensation Ye Shiwen generated a trajectory of engagement that drew in mainstream media and audiences in an expanding conversation that ebbed and flowed as journalists and audiences intervened over a period of five days. This was made possible by the affordances and logics of the different mediums but it also proceeded largely in English. Users immediately detected Cold War overtones in the insinuations about a Chinese athlete while the BBC said nothing when US athletes achieved similar record times in the Olympic pool. This indicates how audiences' imaginaries are enduring; that user-audiences see the international through lenses that are perhaps more cosmopolitan than the more nationalist broadcasters. It is also notable that Balding may have assumed she was addressing a UK national audience, but her comments were picked up in China and provoked hostility; was Balding being deliberately provocative – and therefore trolling the Anglosphere to get a response – or simply insensitive? This response beyond borders shows soft power is always-on: that what is said or done in public is visible and there for interpretation by overseas audiences.

The Sochi 2014 Studies

The two Sochi articles presented in this issue (Hutchings et al., and Burchell) were part of one research project that was modelled on our London Olympic study but developed it in new directions. Our methodological choices were shaped by foci that had been particularly fruitful for us in the London Olympics study – or where we had experienced problems. For example, as a result of the importance of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies for soft power, we focused more on how the Russian nation and national identities were being framed on RT and BBC World News. In our Sochi study we managed to interlink our analysis of broadcast TV and social media much more closely than in the London Olympics study, to positive effect. This led to some surprises. For example, RT proved to be well ahead of the game when compared to BBC World News in its uses of social media. RT displayed confidence in dealing with the chaos wreaked by the sudden annexation of Crimea. It proved resilient in exploiting trending topics and absorbing viral critiques, playing along with them, displaying an ease and comfort with online culture. In stark contrast, BBC World News proved to be more risk averse, fearful of reputation damage, and more fearful of losing control of the agenda to social media. BBC World News, for example, tried to impose the three negative Russian nation frames before the Opening Ceremony, but once the ceremony unfolded and the sport began to be covered, BBC World News became more positive. The Olympic spirit, at least for a short while, apparently conquered a prior political framing. But the main focus of BBC World News was constructing Russia as corrupt (games are too expensive), insecure (focus on security at Sochi) and illiberal (LGBT issues). RT coverage spent more time rebutting critiques of Russia and bolstering a primordial Russian national myth. Both BBC World News and RT seek to address ‘global’ or ‘one world’ audiences but in different ways and with very different tones. There is a game of projecting and counter-projecting narratives of the Russian nation. Of course, the annexation of Crimea was an act of hard power that disrupted the Twitter conversations around Sochi and complicated the cultivation of soft power.

In the final article in the issue, *Infiltrating the Space, Hijacking the Platform: Pussy Riot, Sochi Protests*, Kenzie Burchell explores the alarming parallels between the militarized media strategy employed at the Sochi Olympics and the ‘information war’ that surrounded the unfolding crisis in Ukraine and the Russia’s annexation of Crimea. Returning to our reflections earlier in this article on the collective affective dimensions of global media events, during the Sochi Olympics journalists and producers had to make a sudden shift from celebratory Olympic event to geopolitical catastrophe. This provoked powerful emotions among audiences and across the Twittersphere. Who could have predicted the unfolding of such a major historic event during the Sochi Olympics? Media and military strategy in this context were never far apart but, as Burchell argues, what occurred in the gulf between the real, hard power war and the soft power information war was far more complex, ambiguous, muddled and contradictory. The orchestrated censorship or contestation of any narrative contrary to Russia’s interests clearly contributed to the mobilization of collective sentiment against Russia.

Implications for Future Research

When we began this research in 2012, social media analysis was a ‘wild west’ and its integration with broadcast analysis was embryonic. The digital presented social sciences with a ‘crisis’ (Savage and Burrows 2007) and ‘black box’ software packages were being peddled; one communications consultant told us, ‘it’s become snake oil, to be honest’ (unpublished correspondence). And yet for such research, the stakes are high. Global media events are platforms for audiences to gather and interact around events through which identities and values are communicated and contested. These conversations are woven into longstanding discourses of nationalism and cosmopolitanism (and variations thereof such as patriotic cosmopolitanism) as well as geopolitical imaginaries. This special issue presents our first steps towards grasping and diagnosing such ‘global conversations’. Experimentation with a range of techniques and approaches generated different kinds of results and findings. Some concern specific language communities, others transcend linguistic, national, religious and ethnic boundaries – or at least seek to. Not all our methods, techniques and experiments meet pre-digital standards of systematicity or comprehensiveness, and findings demonstrate varying degrees of conclusiveness. Nevertheless, through transparent detailing of these research processes we are forging an alternative approach that sidesteps the snake oil and shows any social science crisis must be met with imagination, flexibility and collaboration.

We have shown it is possible to design and produce comparative research across languages, mediums (television and Twitter, primarily) and events. We have produced findings used by BBCWS in their editorial strategy for global events and that have relevance for scholars in numerous disciplines. We have nurtured a team of early career and established researchers who are ready for future event analysis, whether scheduled events like Olympic Games or unexpected conflicts, humanitarian crises and corporate meltdowns. Through this research, the team has developed new platforms like the Collaborative Online Social Media Observatory (COSMOS) and strengthened relationships with journalists and editors. What such collaborative, multi-disciplinary research allows above all is the development not of methods but of a methodological framework, in this case for the analysis of future global media events.

Finally, at the heart of our research is a shared concern with what it means to be an active, informed, reflective citizen who engages with international news and participates in transnational public sphere. Emerging participatory digital cultures enable cosmopolitan conversations across national borders but they are not inevitable. They must be nurtured and their quality monitored by news organisations. But the quality of intercultural dialogue is not something that international news organisations research. Furthermore at the very moment that digital technologies make intercultural dialogue more possible, nation states step in and seek to instrumentalise these conversations to attract and influence overseas publics, to project a glowing national identity to enhance soft power, while news organisations seek to engage audiences on social media to increase ratings and extend their markets in order to remain competitive. Olympic Games illustrate both processes at work.

Neither goal is necessarily undesirable. However, it is essential for academics to work with these organisations to keep their practices open to thinking in more expansive ways. As we have demonstrated, this creates opportunities as well as tensions. But at a time when the quality of engagement counts less than desperately sought soft power effects or the hypothetical ratings produced by number crunchers, academic researchers need to remain alert to the dangers of the growing pervasiveness of parochialism in news consumption. For without a healthy diet of international news, human empathy and international understanding may diminish.

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Notes:

¹ The 'Tweeting the Olympics' project presented in this special section was a follow up study to an AHRC-funded project on the BBC World Service 'Tuning In: Diasporic Contact Zones at BBCWS'. See: <http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/diasporas/> [visited 17/05/15], Award Ref.: AH/ES58693/1. It also formed part of two further studies that examined issues of national and transnational media cultures: 'The Art of Intercultural Dialogue. AHRC Public Policy Fellowship. AHRC Translating Cultures Programme' (2011-12). www8.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/diasporas/news/public-policy-fellowship-at-the-bbc-world-service [visited 17/05/15] and 'Understanding the Changing Cultural Value of the BBC World Service and British Council' (2013-14). AHRC Research Programme on Cultural Value. www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/diasporas/cvp [visited 17/05/15].

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² Global News: Olympics Round Up. Unpublished in-house audience research report. 21 August 2012.

³ 'Monitoring of Complex Information Infrastructure by Mining External Signals', Technology Strategy Board, Award Reference TP: BK067C: David Milward (Linguamatics Ltd) and Ben O'Loughlin (Royal Holloway, University of London).