#SharedEurope – so that they know we're still here

Communications campaign for a network of European cultural institutions in London

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Taide ja kulttuuri ovat tärkeitä pehmeän vaikuttamisen työkaluja, jotka tutkitusti lisäävät sosiaalista koheesiota ja kulttuurienvälistä ymmärrystä. Luova sektori muodostaa lähes 5,5 prosenttia Euroopan Unionin kokonaisbruttokansantuotteesta ja unioni rahoittaa taide- ja kulttuurivaihtoa Euroopassa. Riippuvuus unionin myöntämästä rahoituksesta altistaa luovan sektorin kuitenkin poliittisille muutoksille.

Britannian EU-ero varjostaa saarivaltiossa harjoitettavaa kulttuuridiplomatiaa. EU-organisaatiot ovat huolissaan toimintansa jatkumisesta Britanniassa brexitin jälkeen. Yksi näistä organisaatioista on EUNIC London -verkosto, joka muodostuu Lontoossa vaikuttavista EU-maiden kulttuuritoimijoista. Osallistuin keväällä 2019 verkoston toimintaan ja ymmärsin, että kulttuuritoiminnan jatkumisen turvaamiseksi EUNIC Londonin viestinnän tulisi olla tehokkaampaa, jotta verkoston tunnettuus lisääntyisi ja se tavoittaisi kaikki potentiaaliset kohderyhmät.

Tutkimukseni tavoitteeksi muodostui selvittää keinoja, joilla EUNIC Londonin sosiaalisen median kanavat saisivat lisää seuraajia. Verkostolla oli käytössään aihetunniste #SharedEurope, jota päätettiin hyödyntää viestinnän kehitysprojektissa. Verkoston jäsenillä oli käytössään eriävät resurssit, jonka takia tutkimusmetodiksi muodostui työpajojen sarja, joka johtaisi Eurooppa -teemaiseen viestintäkampanjaan. Näin voisimme huomioida jokaisen jäsenen näkemykset ja tukea eurooppalaista taidetta. Juholinin (2009) ohjeiden mukaan selvitimme EUNIC Londonin keskeiset viestit, kohderyhmät ja viestintäkanavat, joilla heidät voisi tavoittaa. Analysoin aineiston vertaamalla EUNIC Londonin kanavien tilastotietoja aikaan ennen ja jälkeen kampanjan.

Tutkimus osoitti, että rajoitetuillakin resursseilla on mahdollista toteuttaa viestintäkampanja tinkimättä sen teemasta. Kanavasta riippuen EUNIC Londonin seuraajamäärät kasvoivat ja täten voi olettaa, että yhä useammat ovat tietoisia verkoston toiminnasta ja tapahtumista. Mikä tärkeintä, tämä lisää verkoston yhteistyömahdollisuuksia tulevaisuuden Britanniassa, jossa kansainvälisen luovan sektorin tulevaisuus on vielä tuntematon.

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Muita tietoja – Additional information

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1. INTRODUCTION

Cultural exchange refers to being exposed to a new culture and all its constituents. Cultural exchange providers are for example exchange programmes, language schools, and cultural institutions and organisations. It is widely understood that cultural exchanges offer an explorer a new outlook on their beliefs, ideals and traditions. In addition to exciting adventures, these exchanges may provide people with a deeper understanding and respect towards other cultures. Be it in the form of newly acquired language skills or a growing admiration of arts, cultural exchanges are socially created, which means they have an impact on a person, group of people or a nation. According to Munaf (2017: 308), these effects result in soft power that acts as a bridge in between nations where hard power and politics have failed. Thus, cultural exchange takes the form of cultural diplomacy.

Langer (1966) suggests that a culture is developed through art and that art embodies human life as "the truest record of insight and feeling" (p. 5). A framework by McCarthy et al. (2004: 4) further demonstrates how access and exposure to arts creates "social bonds" and enables "cognitive growth" both in individuals and the public. Yet, despite their role as builders of social and intercultural cohesion, and for example in Europe the creative economy of the European Union making up to 5.3 percent of its total GDP ("Modernising Cultural and Creative Industries", 2019), cultural institutions and organisations rely heavily on public funding from the Union. Therefore, organisations dependent of public funding are affected by remarkable political changes taking place in the Union.

The need for this study stemmed from the EU referendum that took place in the United Kingdom in 2016, which resulted in Britain leaving the European Union. Soon after, a withdrawal date was set for March 2019 (Edgington 2020). Although the Brexit separation process would take years to finalise, it was obvious that the EU-dependant creative industries and cultural institutions operating in the United Kingdom would suffer economically from reduced funding opportunities.

1.1 Research Aim and Questions

For this study, I had the pleasure of working with one of the cultural operators affected by Brexit, EUNIC London. It is a London-based network of more than 30 European cultural institutes that runs regular arts exhibitions, theatre, literature and dance events as well as language courses, to mention a few of its activities. Like other cultural exchange providers operating in a politically challenging climate, EUNIC London faces an even more important role as a bridge builder between cultures and countries. To avoid alienation between local and international audiences and projects, it was considered important for EUNIC London to gain more online visibility and to highlight the message of openness and inclusiveness of European arts and culture. Taking this into account, it was evident that the communicative efforts of the network would have to be adjusted to the situation at hand. My goal was to create a communications campaign that is both uncomplicated to execute and helps EUNIC London grow their community on their online platforms. It would also seek to heighten awareness of the European cultural offerings the members of the network continue to provide, disregarding any political changes. Therefore, the present study aims to answer the following questions:

1. How can EUNIC London develop a communications campaign that is beneficial and uncomplicated for each member of the network to execute?
2. What needs to be taken into account in order for the campaign to both raise awareness of the activities of EUNIC London and to boost the number of followers it has online?

I interned for the Finnish Institute in London during the first half of 2019, and actively took part in EUNIC meetings as our institute is a member of the network. The need for answers to these research questions became evident when March 2019 was drawing near. With the first question, I seek to find ways for EUNIC London to actively involve members to its social media platforms as there were concerns that although EUNIC London is non-political, the network and its European member institutions would lose audiences due to the withdrawal of the United Kingdom. With question number two I address the practicalities of running a communications campaign for a network with differing resources between the members. In order to include the opinions of every person in charge of the communicative tasks of the network as well as their varying resources, the Finnish Institute invited everyone to join a series of workshops to bring

all this knowledge together and plan the communications campaign in cooperation. Thus, the method of data collection of this study became a workshop series, and the data was analysed by comparing social media statistics as well as the experiences of the workshop group.

1.2   Context of the Current Study

Although the academia is yet to thoroughly acknowledge the topic of European cultural institutions in the United Kingdom after Brexit, the concerns expressed in the previous section are in keeping with fears presented by several other arts and culture professionals in the United Kingdom. For example, an article in The New York Times listed the reactions of professionals in the creative industry facing uncertainty and funding deficit (Sulcas 2016). On the other hand, in an article written by Hudson and Callihan (2017), Hudson as the director of the Middlesbrough Institute of Modern Art suggested that cultural institutes should seek to connect with the world in a new way in order for them to remain inclusive places of learning in the post-Brexit era (p. 20). Moreover, a study conducted by MacDonald (2017: 7) highlights that the end of free movement of professionals in the creative industries could have a deteriorating effect on the economy and reputation of the United Kingdom.

However, in terms of the first research question, the withdrawal process is on-going, and the effects on the creative industries and cultural collaboration remain largely unknown. On the other hand, regarding the second question, it was apparent that with relatively small numbers of followers (see page 7 below for Instagram statistics) on the digital communications platforms of the network, EUNIC London was not reaching its full potential in terms of large following and maximised visibility during a time when visibility was of high importance. There was a growing need for the network to maintain and engage audiences to their informative channels, such as the EUNIC London website and social media sites, and communicate with them about the positives European culture still had to offer.

A few weeks ahead of my own participation in curating the communications campaign, the network had already decided on a EUNIC London Social Media Takeover 2019, which meant that each member would be given the opportunity to take over the social media accounts of the network for a few weeks or a month and thus, gain an opportunity to promote any event of their choice. In the beginning of 2019, the network had voted on a hashtag that would be used during the takeovers by the network and its member institutions alike. The hashtag came to be

#SharedEurope, alternatively spelled #sharedeurope. This social media takeover began with a firm focus on Instagram. However, as EUNIC London had less than 400 followers on the platform (A. Mina, personal communication, February 2019), it became evident that the network was not able to reach every potential audience. After all, arts and culture are for everyone, not only those within reach of Instagram. Moreover, the largest group to use Instagram in 2020 were males aged between 25 and 34 by 17,2 percent, followed by females of similar ages by 16,6 percent (Statista 2020a). Assuming the balance was more or less the same during the takeover in 2019, it is relatively obvious that many potential groups with an interest in European arts and culture were excluded by narrowing the takeover down to Instagram.

Therefore, my mission became to find out ways to create a communications campaign that would cover more platforms and thus reach more audiences. Moreover, having already decided on a hashtag that would serve as a symbol of the network and the communications campaign, it seemed beneficial to use it on more platforms than one. We were looking to create a campaign that celebrated European arts and inclusivity and that could be applied for a long period of time. With this framework considered, my thesis draws inspiration from the studies of cultural diplomacy, intercultural networking and organisational communication.

In section number 2, I will explain the history and development of cultural diplomacy in the European Union, as well as some funding schemes, because the Union plays an important part in this study. This section will end in the introduction of EUNIC Global and EUNIC London, as both the main network and its clusters receive funding from the European Union, and operate towards larger acknowledgement of European arts, culture and languages. In the third section, I will describe the principles behind soft power, as it lies at the heart of all intercultural activities. The fourth section is dedicated to the studies of intercultural networks and organisational communication, since the members of EUNIC London represent different cultures but share the same communicational goals and challenges as a network. Fifth, the methodological framework introduces the current study. This section includes an overview of the social media channels of EUNIC London, the first two workshop meetings as well as reasoning for the method of study. Finally, the sixth section includes the last workshop meeting. In this section, I will discuss and summarise the findings from the workshop meetings and the impact it had on the social media channels of the network. Understanding that it is still unknown how Brexit will affect the creative industry and cultural organisations operating in the United Kingdom, I conclude this thesis with suggestions for further studies on supporting cultural exchange networks.

2   CULTURAL DIPLOMACY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union has a motto, "united in diversity", which refers to the way European countries work together to support peace and success whilst celebrating the Union's diverse languages, cultures and traditions ("The EU motto", n.d.). Indeed, what makes cultural diplomacy within the European Union (hereafter referred to as the EU and the Union) unique is that it is aimed at international audiences to promote an entity, a nation, while the same nation and the audience form part of a larger, diverse union (Kouri 2014: 220-221). In this section, I aim to describe the history of cultural diplomacy in the European Union. I will also present the basis, agenda and framework behind some of the Union's key initiatives, institutes, bodies and programmes operating in the fields of Foreign Policy and Cultural Diplomacy and open the discussion around them.

2.1   The Development of Cultural Diplomacy and European identity in the European Union

Due to the continent's history and the shared roots of European countries, the role of culture in the operations and functions of the European Union (EU) and its predecessors was secured at an early stage. In fact, a conference partly organised by the Council of Europe and attended by six notable European academics in 1953 presented the pertinent question: "does the background of European history, literature and thought in fact provide a framework for some form of European political union?" (Haigh 1974: 201). According to Lähdesmäki (2016), the prospect of a shared, European culture has been a topic of negotiations for decades. Thus, having been discussed since the 1950's it took a long time before the Union's first cultural policy programmes and initiatives were launched.

However, the idea of a multinational "European identity" as a means of strengthening the area's politics has existed for decades (Barnett 2001: 405-406, Shore 1993: 779-780). In 1974, the European Community, which preceded the European Union and will hereinafter be referred to as the Community, gathered in Paris to discuss the involvement of citizens in the policy-making processes of the Community. It was regarded important to increasingly involve civilians in the processes in order to strengthen their faith and trust in the Community's institutions, and thus,

to create a stronger union that would be a base for free movement of capital and work force (Shore 1993: 786-787, "A "People's Europe" On The Eve", 1986: 2). With the Community growing and becoming more inclusive, in 1984 a special committee was ordered to establish ways in which the Community could better serve its citizens and answer to their wishes and needs. It was thought that this would also improve the Union's image outside of Europe ("A "People's Europe" on the eve", 1986: 1).

One could say that cultural diplomacy in the EU is for both the internal and external audiences of the Union. For example, since 2016 the European Commission's initial 2-year programme, Cultural Diplomacy Platform, has supported the Union's external relations by setting up people-to-people activities and encouraging cultural exchange between audiences in third countries and the Union ("New European cultural", 2016). Currently in the European Union, there are several cultural constituents in many policies in both internal and external relations, that aim to support creativity in Europe whilst making culture accessible for everyone. There are different initiatives and programmes developed specifically to encourage cultural cooperation and implementation of common cultural policies between peoples and nations both within and outside of the EU ("Celebrating Europe's cultural heritage and diversity", n.d.).

2.1.1 People's Europe – Vanguard of the Union's Symbolic Development

In 1985, two reports were submitted by Pietro Adonnino. Adonnino chaired the committee of People's Europe, a campaign which aimed at simplifying and improving bureaucracy within the Community so that it would appeal more attractive in the eyes of Europeans and meet its goals ("A "People's Europe" on the eve", 1986: 1). Suggestions in the first report included for example simplified border control at land frontiers between Member States, thus making it easier for civilians and goods to move within the Community (i.e. single market). Moreover, it was suggested that an unvaried European passport would help with the simplifying process. It was also stated that academic diplomas should be recognised throughout the Community, with specific focus on university cooperation, and the mobility of teachers and students (Adonnino 1985: 7). The aforementioned suggestions were meant to make the Community more appealing to a civilian with the lack of bureaucracy, while some were designed for "identity-construction", to turn the Community into a "humanistic enterprise" (Shore 1993: 779, 785).

The campaign also covered the creative industries, as the second report was largely dedicated to arts, culture and communication. These are all considered soft power tools and typical of cultural diplomacy. According to Adonnino (1985: 19, 21), "it is also through action in the areas of culture and communication, which are essential to European identity and the Community's image in the minds of its people, that support for the advancement of Europe can and must be sought.". While encouraging initiatives such as The European Capital of Culture and programmes for student exchange, it noted that European cultural heritage is not limited to the member states of the Community or the Council of Europe, and that it would be important to seek cooperation with all of Europe (Adonnino 1985: 21). Thus, like cultural diplomacy, the goals of the People's Europe campaign were to enhance the image of Europe and its diverse culture while improving its economy.

2.1.2   Integrated Europe - Threatening the Nation-State?

The People's Europe campaign has shaped the current Union's cultural policies as the idea of a shared, 'attractive' and integrated Europe remains in the core of many EU initiatives. Besides providing the youth with study and work opportunities abroad, these initiatives aim at celebrating the Union's cultural diversity, much like cultural diplomacy in general. In other words, the campaign brought about programmes that have positively affected the lives of many people living in the Union. For example, the Erasmus and Erasmus+ programmes have been encouraging inclusiveness and cultural exchange for over 30 years, and provide participants from disadvantaged backgrounds with grants to help them overcome economic challenges ("From Erasmus to Erasmus+", 2017). However, the European Community's attempts at identity construction during the campaign and in present-day Europe have and continue to provoke criticism. According to Shore (1993), there remains an urgent need for anthropological research dedicated to the effects these unification attempts inevitably have on a nation-state, minor communities, and sub-cultures in the peripheries (p. 780).

From an anthropological point of view, the idea of building a European community by using cultural diplomacy is challenging. Firstly, due to the creation of a 'homogenous idea of Europe' (Shore 1993, as cited in Shore and Abélès 2004: 12), secondly, due to the lack of common symbolism and customs (Abélès 1996, as cited in Shore and Abélès 2004: 12) and lastly, due to "the permanent quest for a harmonization which could be concretized in the production of common notions and concepts" (Shore and Abélès 2004: 12). Furthermore, from a cultural heritage point of view, different EU policies fail to explain in depth their popular and repeated

concepts of "common cultural heritage, values, history, and memory" (Lähdesmäki 2016), which then leaves these concepts unrelatable to a civilian. Thus, the Community's idea of a shared, European identity contradicts the principle of cultural diplomacy that aims at promoting and celebrating cultural diversity.

The last few decades have seen a growing number of migrants and refugees move to and within Europe, while some countries in the EU have been more affected by this than others (BBC 2018). According to Shore (1993), these unequally dispersed effects lead to the formation of new identities in the Union and a new division between 'us' and 'them'. This, in turn, has provoked racism and ethnonationalism (p. 780). According to Delanty (2002), as the EU policies focus on shared, unifying history and roots, it would be wise to look for other unifying elements in present-day Europe, which are in fact "multicultural conflicts over cultural rights and anti-globalisation conflicts" (p. 353-354). For example, shocking decisions such as Brexit derive from a desire to gain back control over state borders, while an EU membership equals freedom of movement (Bulman 2017). The situation is further challenged by economic uncertainty in Europe. During the 21st century, the European economy has been characterised by deep lows, recession and slowing growth, while the years of gradual recovery from the first decade's euro crisis seem to have come to an end (Hartwell 2020: 6-7). According to Kouri (2014), the economic imbalance and crisis have a negative effect on the EU's soft power, and it puts the Union's integration policies to a test. In other words, the relationship between national identities and a 'European' identity is conflicted for many reasons (p. 218, 219).

Therefore, instead of encouraging closer cooperation, these big impacts on Europe as a continent may cause a significant division within the Union. According to McLaren (2012: 200), "public divisions over immigration affect trust in politicians and political institutions" which then invites people to reconsider how political power is being dispersed and used. McLaren (2002) also argues that the European Union is, by some, perceived as a "realistic threat" (p. 557) to national resources or degrading to national integrity because it is instrumental in changing the concepts of 'nation' and 'nation-state' (p. 554). Furthermore, those who fear for the nation-state assume that the EU's integration attempts mean homogenisation of the member states, which would then pose a "symbolic threat" to unique cultures, traditions and ways of life (McLaren 2002: 554, 557-558). Kouri (2014) suggests that "in order to preserve Europe's rich cultural diversity against homogenizing cultural hegemonies, ideally European member-states would deserve equal opportunities to promote their cultural distinctiveness." (p.

223). Furthermore, economically challenging times are when soft power should be promoted through cultural diplomacy. (Kouri 2014: 223).

Similarly, according to Shore (1993: 781), the problem with the People's Europe campaign lay with the European Community's definition of Europeanness and non-Europeanness, which in their exclusiveness left no space for any conflicting interests or identities and were politically and structurally biased. By claiming there to be only one definition of Europeanness, the Community also failed to acknowledge any input and efforts by non-European citizens or Europeans from outside the Union (p. 792). Contrarily, by highlighting the diversity of minority languages spoken by its citizens, the Community ignored the role of a shared language in any process of successful cultural integration (Shore 1993: 782). Thus, one could argue that after all, the campaign did not pave way for cultural diplomacy in the Community, although it did bring about initiatives and programmes that supported the creative industries in the Community.

2.2   Cultural Diplomacy in the European Union: Framework, Agenda and Work Plan

Cultural Diplomacy in the European Union is a multilateral and multilevel process that is carried out through carefully drafted frameworks, agendas and plans that every member state is expected to follow. Regarding the creative and cultural fields, among the key institutions and decision makers of the Union are the European Commission, European Committee of the Regions, European Parliament, and the Council of Ministers (Konopka 2015: 7), which spread awareness of culture through education, for example. In this section, I present the framework, agenda, and work plan behind the process.

As the institution influencing different policies, the European Commission has an important role in developing and protecting the continent's cultural and creative sectors (Konopka 2015: 7). In 2018, the Commission published its New European Agenda for Culture (the New Agenda), with which it aims "to do more, through culture and education, to build cohesive societies" and "harness the full potential of culture to help build a more inclusive and fairer Union, supporting innovation, creativity and sustainable jobs and growth." (European Commission 2018a: 1). As the current study focuses on cooperation within the Union and took place in the spring of 2019, the New Agenda is impactful and relevant to acknowledge. Responding to the culture and identity-related challenges and threats presented in the previous section, the New European Agenda for Culture highlights the importance of bringing peoples

together and narrowing down the divide between people who believe the member states share the same cultural heritage, and those who disagree (European Commission 2018a: 1-2). According to the New Agenda, "Europe faces growing social inequalities, diverse populations, populism, radicalisation, and terrorist threats." (European Commission 2018a: 1). It also states that "new technologies and digital communication are transforming societies, changing lifestyles, consumption patterns and power relationships" and that insufficient funding and uncertainty hinders access to culture and impacts the motivation of creative professionals trying to adjust to these shifts (p. 1-2).

Focusing on cultural cooperation, the New Agenda has "three objectives" with an economic, social and external focus (European Commission 2018a: 2). The economic dimension supports the inclusion of creativity and arts in education, while promoting fairer pay and funding opportunities for creative professionals in the Union (European Commission 2018a: 4). This is done for example by prioritising music and the arts as the main theme in the Erasmus+ programme, and carrying out "a pilot project fostering stronger partnerships between cultural and creative sectors, local authorities, social partners and education" (European Commission 2018a: 6). After all, economic competitivity on a global level does not merely depend on trade and goods: it also needs the nation to be able to develop and attract creative people. (Florida and Tinagli 2004: 5). In 2013, Europe was considered "the world leader in exports of creative industry products" (European Commission 2013: 1), but the creative sectors need to be invested in for Europe to maintain its position.

The social dimension of the New Agenda aims at social welfare and cohesion through culture and diversity by supporting the mobility of creative professionals. It also provides opportunities for anyone to take part in cultural activities and following in the footsteps of the People's Europe programme, promotes Europe's shared cultural heritage and values as a resource for empowerment and inclusion (European Commission 2018a: 2). These goals are reached through specific social inclusion -focused actions under the Erasmus+ and Creative Europe programmes. To enforce cultural participation, the Commission also promises to launch a project on creative urban spaces and areas (European Commission 2018a: 3). Similarly, the external dimension aims to strengthen intercultural and peaceful relations by highlighting Europe's shared heritage. This is done by cooperating with partner countries outside the Union and strengthening cultural dialogue with China, Japan, and the Western Balkans. The New Agenda also seeks to launch new programmes and initiatives to help war-affected zones to rebuild jobs and affected cultural heritage (European Commission 2018a: 6-8). Finally, the

activities on digital and cultural heritage areas cover all of the three objectives presented above. The two areas meet in one of the New Agenda's proposals, Europeana, which is a "digital platform for cultural heritage" (European Commission 2018a: 8). The New Agenda pays specific attention to digital transformation as it provides a "more democratic access to culture and heritage" (European Commission 2018a: 8). It presents a new strategy, #Digital4Culture, that looks for innovative digital solutions to connect different creative and cultural sectors. (Daley 2019).

The New European Agenda for Culture is executed through the Union's Work Plan for Culture (European Commission 2018a: 9). According to the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union (2018: 2-4), the Work Plan defines concrete actions that were developed following previous, positive achievements, and which will be carried out during a four-year period. According to the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union (2018: 4), the Work Plan has "five priorities: sustainability in cultural heritage, cohesion and well-being, an ecosystem supporting artists, cultural and creative professionals and European content, gender equality and international cultural relations". These priorities are met through several different working methods, such as gathering expert-groups, facilitating peer-learning possibilities and joint, international initiatives.

2.2.1 Funding Through Programmes

In order for the plans presented above to be put into practice and the actions to be realised, sufficient funding is needed. A cultural organisation, group and sometimes individuals can find funding through programmes provided by the European Union and the Council of Europe. In this section, I will introduce some grants and programmes run by both the European Union and the Council of Europe that supported the Union's cultural diplomacy goals in 2019. Moreover, this section will shed light on the application processes, eligibility criteria and budgets granted to each programme. However, as the focus of this study is on EUNIC London, I will thoroughly present only a few funding programmes from the Council and the Union. These programmes were chosen because it is likely that the current and past partners of EUNIC London have participated in them.

Eurimages is one of the funds run by the Council of Europe that support culture, specialising in independent film-making in Europe. With an annual budget of approximately 27.5 million

euros, the support fund is divided between five schemes: co-production, distribution, exhibition, promotion and gender equality in the industry ("Eurimages – What We Do", n.d.). Depending on the scheme, projects eligible for funds must either include a representative from at least one of the fund's member states, or be ineligible for financial support from the Creative Europe programmes. Another fund run by the Council of Europe is the European Youth Foundation (EYF), which with its annual budget of approximately 3.7 million euros supports the participation, education and the promotion of peace and respect among the European youth through international or regional NGOs from the Council's member states or the European Cultural Convention Signatories. ("The European Youth Foundation at a glance", n.d.).

One of the most famous programmes for cultural exchange by the European Union is Erasmus+, which supports "education, training, youth and sport in Europe." ("What is Erasmus+?", n.d.). The current programme, which runs for seven years between 2014 and 2020 with a budget of 16.45 billion euros, is mostly aimed at students, young professionals and trainees, as well as volunteers and teachers (European Commission 2018b: 2). Many cultural institutions, such as the Finnish cultural and academic institutes, offer internship opportunities for Erasmus+ students and graduates, and thus, the programme supports the Union's cultural diplomacy efforts ("Harjoitteluun", n.d.). By creating internship, study, and other international mobility opportunities for applicants of different backgrounds and countries, the Erasmus+ programme represents the Union's values of cultural cooperation and equality. It also encourages active participation in the Union (European Commission 2018b: 2-4).

Lastly, one of the most remarkable funding programmes in Europe and the European Union is the Commission's Creative Europe. It has a budget of 1.46 billion euros with which it supports culture, audio-visual projects and cross-sectoral initiatives ("About Creative Europe", n.d.). As with many other programmes, the budget for the scheme was granted for the period of seven years from 2014 to 2020. Creative Europe combines two previous programmes MEDIA and Culture. The MEDIA sub-programme gives financial support to European audio-visual and film industries to help with distribution and creation. The Culture sub-programme, in turn, supports visual and performing arts, for example. The Cross-sectoral strand facilitates transnational networking and addresses social issues (European Commission 2020: 6). Thus, the programme draws attention to the creative and cultural sectors in Europe and encourages Europeans to take part. According to the 2019 Monitoring Report, "the Creative Europe programme aims to enhance the economic, social and international dimensions of the European Culture and Creative Sectors, promote its diversity and boost its competitiveness" (European Commission

2020: 5). According to the European Commission (2020: 11), in principle, all member states can apply for funding from the Creative Europe programme, if they fulfil certain qualifications. The programme is also open to 13 non-EU countries (European Commission 2020: 11). Although thousands of creative professionals benefit from the Creative Europe programme, funding can only be applied for by cultural organisations and for specific projects. (about, n.d.).

In 2019, when the current study took place, several cultural organisations in the United Kingdom received funding from the Creative Europe programme and it is likely that some of those either have cooperated or are planning to do so with EUNIC London. The awarded organisations included for example the Scottish Culture Workshop, acta community theatre and ArtReach, a cultural development agency. The United Kingdom was also one of the most popular countries for joint cross-border projects. This could be the result of politically uncertain times, as partner countries across Europe were looking to maintain active cultural ties with the United Kingdom despite the country's withdrawal from the European Union (Creative Europe Desk UK 2019).

EUNIC London is related to each of these funding programmes and initiatives, as it often supports and participates in projects that receive funding from either the European Union or the Council of Europe. However, the umbrella organisation itself, EUNIC Global or EUNIC, is funded differently. According to the website of EUNIC ("European Union National Institutes for Culture", n.d.), the organisation (together with its local clusters like EUNIC London) is one of the networks that, for several years, has received support from the Creative Europe programme. Yet, the organisation is funded by membership fees and contributions from partners and the members of the organisation. The principal financing instrument behind many activities is the organisation's Cluster Fund, which consists of voluntary donations by EUNIC members and has an annual budget of around 200.000 euros ("European Union National Institutes for Culture", n.d.). In the next chapter I will introduce both EUNIC Global and EUNIC London in more detail, as this study was conducted to benefit EUNIC London.

2.3   European Union National Institutes for Culture – EUNIC

There is relatively little background information available on both EUNIC Global and EUNIC London. However, during this project I gained a remarkable amount of knowledge on these networks of cultural institutes. Therefore, this section is mainly based on the description of the

network by itself and my personal communication. EUNIC Global, hereinafter referred to as "EUNIC" or "EUNIC Global" to separate it from EUNIC London, is an international, non-profit association (EUNIC Statutes English 2016: 1-2). EUNIC, which stands for European Union National Institutes for Culture, was created in 2006 by six European Union cultural institutes and became a non-profit organisation in 2011 with headquarters in Brussels ("European Union National Institutes for Culture", n.d.). The association is a network of national cultural institutes in Europe, and it consists of over 120 local clusters in all European Union member states and beyond ("European Union National Institutes for Culture", n.d.). Every member represents a cultural institute or a national body in charge of cultural activities abroad, such as cultural sections of embassies. Some countries have several operators in EUNIC as their cultural efforts are divided among many ("European Union National Institutes for Culture", n.d).

The members of EUNIC, such as the Finnish Cultural and Academic Institutes, work in the arts, youth and education, languages, society and science, and seek to improve intercultural dialogue ("About us", n.d.). The members of the network often offer language courses, thus encouraging extensive language learning. It is estimated that over two million people learn European languages with EUNIC members in different countries (Anna Lindh Foundation, n.d.). In addition to local activities and projects, EUNIC recognises the potential of digital diplomacy, and as many of the network's projects and campaigns are educative and often aimed at young people, EUNIC is actively present on social media. These online platforms include Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and video platform Vimeo. ("EUNIC", n.d.). These platforms are used by EUNIC Global and EUNIC members alike to engage with large audiences, and to promote and inform them about projects. The network also publishes a monthly newsletter and regularly organises webinars which aim at supporting EUNIC members in carrying out their tasks ("EUNIC", n.d.).

Locally, EUNIC members form clusters in cities or regions to work jointly on shared projects and programmes promoting the role of culture in both external and internal relations of the EU ("Network worldwide", n.d., "European Union National Institutes for Culture", n.d.). These clusters are formed by at least three EUNIC members, and they represent the whole of the EUNIC network (EUNIC Cluster Guidelines 2019: 7-8). For example, EUNIC London is a locally formed cluster of EUNIC Global. The membership of a cluster can be divided into four types: full membership, associate membership, strategic partners and other partners (EUNIC Cluster Guidelines 2019: 11). For example, EU delegations are often a partner of a cluster, as

EUNIC and the European Union have signed an administrative agreement to promote cultural and intercultural dialogue for peaceful relations and to highlight culture as a tool for economic development ("Administrative Arrangement Signed", 2017). With their efforts, the network and organisation advocate better understanding and awareness of the diversity of cultures in Europe, working "with and for people, regardless of their culture, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, political affiliation or socio-economic status" ("EUNIC", n.d.). EUNIC Global also operates in several countries outside of Europe and the European Union, but due to Brexit being a driving force behind this study, this study is limited to Europe.

2.3.1 EUNIC Initiatives and Challenges

EUNIC aims at becoming "the delivery, research and training partner of choice for cultural diplomacy and cultural relations at European and international level by 2025." (Future Learn, n.d.). However, EUNIC members have faced criticism for lacking a shared vision on cultural relations and diplomacy, meaning that national interests and European diplomatic goals are not always in balance (Daubeuf, Kern, Smits 2016: 11-12). Nevertheless, EUNIC as an organisation is young and still developing. A study conducted in 2016 for the CULT Committee on European cultural institutes abroad listed ways in which EUNIC member institutions could improve their services: technical training for staff, more accessible online platforms and making culture services virtual were named as few, remarkable improvements (Daubeuf, Kern, Smits 2016: 51). The network had also acknowledged its weaknesses earlier by launching a three-year project "Crossroads for Culture", for which it was awarded funding in 2014 from the European Commission Creative Europe Support to Networks Programme (Daubeuf, Kern, Smits 2016: 54, IFACCA 2014). According to IFACCA (2014), the aim of the project was to further improve EU member states' transnational and international cooperation, with a firm focus on supporting EUNIC to become a partner of the EU in the field of European cultural relations. Thus, it also focused on contributing to the EU Agenda and Strategy on Culture.

In addition to Crossroads for Culture, tools and projects like Cultural Diplomacy Platform, Cluster Development Program, Knowledge Sharing Workshops and Cluster Projects are key instruments in EUNIC's efforts to build trust and intercultural understanding between peoples ("EUNIC", n.d.). According to a virtual story map produced by Esri, all of the above promote cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, arts diplomacy and support the use of soft power

resources ("EUNIC", n.d.). However, the inclusive approach to culture abroad is likely to be challenged during the next few years. Roberto Vellano from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs embarked on his EUNIC presidency in June 2019 and stated that the consequences and results of Brexit will undoubtedly affect each European body and institution and that "EUNIC is no exception" ("Make culture count in foreign relations", 2019). The British Council is an important member of EUNIC and while it decisively works towards strengthening "the UK's links with other cultural relations organisations across the continent" (Sheffield 2017), it is important to remember that the Brexit negotiations are still ongoing (in November 2020). It is crucial that the creative sector of the United Kingdom is included in the negotiations to protect the creative economy and the continuation of cooperation with European cultural institutes (Sheffield 2017).

2.4   EUNIC London

Although Brexit will affect any EU party operating with British institutions in the fields of cultural exchange and collaboration, some EUNIC clusters may be more affected than others. According to the three-year EUNIC London Strategic Development Plan (hereinafter referred to as "the Plan") published on Monday 11th July 2016, the post-EU referendum phase will bring about challenges and opportunities for the network (personal communication, February 2019). Since the Plan is not public information, I have been granted a permission by Anastasia Mina, the Executive Secretary of EUNIC London to shortly cite it when needed.

2.4.1   Strategy, Initiatives and Challenges

In 2019 one of the key messages of EUNIC London was "there's more to Europe than the EU" (EUNIC London 2019e). According to the Plan, the London-based network, which was formed in 2007, "operates within a unique social, cultural and political context which inevitably influences the strategic framework and objectives of the cluster" (the Plan 2016: 2). For example, according to World Population Review (2020) the population of Greater London in 2016 was estimated to be approximately 8,7 million. The city is densely populated and multicultural, and engages people of different ethnicities and backgrounds in a cultural dialogue

(the Plan 2016: 2). This means that the city's cultural scene is already unique and rich, and EUNIC member institutes work both on their own agenda, as well as on EUNIC's objective to "reinforce the idea of cultural transfers and common heritage" (the Plan 2016: 2). It is also explained that EUNIC London is active and dynamic with a diverse group of participating institutions and partners, and thus, it is shaped by cross-institutional, transnational, and interdisciplinary viewpoints (the Plan 2016: 2).

The cluster represents the cultural institutes and embassies of the European Union member states that operate in London ("What We Do", n.d.). In September 2019, EUNIC London had 31 members and functioned in close partnership with The European Commission Representation in the UK, which has "observer status" in the network ("Members", n.d.). Members of EUNIC London's presidency team include heads of departments of cultural institutes and embassies. In 2019 they included Vice Presidents Jaakko Nousiainen, head of the Arts & Culture programme at the Finnish Institute in London, Lucie Campos from the French Institute and Embassy, and Magda Stroe from the Romanian Cultural Institute ("Presidency Team", n.d.).

The aim of EUNIC London for the years 2016-2019 was to "expand its partnerships with the UK cultural institutions and showcase the benefits of collaborative projects in arts" (the Plan 2016: 3). In order to reach its goals, the network has worked on obtaining a legal status, and becoming more inclusive and attractive to potential new members. London's rich cultural scene means that the network faces more competition in claiming ground and winning audiences and funding (the Plan 2016: 7). Thus, obtaining an official and legal status is crucial, as the lack of legal entity can prove to be a difficulty with funders as well as partners (the Plan 2016: 7). For example, for an organisation to be eligible to apply for funding from the Creative Europe Culture Sub-programme, a legal status of two years from the application deadline is required ("Creative Europe Culture Sub-programme", n.d.). After all, it is stated in the Plan (2016) that a lack of financial and human resources leads to smaller activities with limited scope (p. 7).

The network organises creative projects that call attention to the diversity of Europe in culture, arts and languages ("What We Do", n.d.). However, these are challenged by Brexit, as the EU is a "sensitive issue" in the UK (the Plan 2016: 7). At present, EUNIC London cooperates with several arts and culture organisations in the UK. These include for example the British Library, which has collaborated with the network on an annual literary showcase called European Literature Night (since 2016 known as European Literature Festival, hereafter referred to as

"ELF"). ELF has brought the best of European writers to several locations across the nation ("European Literature Night", n.d.). Other partners include the Barbican and The Royal Society of Literature ("Partners", n.d.). In June 2019, EUNIC London collaborated with the British Arts Festival Association (BAFA) to create an event for networking and encouraging contacts between cultural institutes and operators in literature, music and arts. The event was held at the Goethe-Institut, which is a member of the cluster (BAFA 2019).

Like EUNIC Global, EUNIC London is not a funding body and therefore does not financially support projects or initiatives ("What we do", n.d.). However, despite not providing funds, it takes part in different projects and events by sharing premises and information, and acts as a link between public and private cultural institutions (Culture Diary Coordinator, n.d.). Thus, the network's strengths lie in being recognised as a "relevant partner for local cultural partners", its "strong links to civil society" and "willingness and motivation to work together" (the Plan 2016: 6). In the organisation's three-year plan, it is stated that EUNIC London could answer to the growing "demand for European Culture" outside of London by "resource pooling" and looking for more partnerships outside of the city (the Plan 2016: 6). The need for extended operative field became evident during cluster meetings in spring 2019, as the members discussed their experiences from visits to other regions. Interest towards European culture is not limited to big cities like London or areas that mainly voted to remain (personal communication, March 2019). There are EUNIC clusters elsewhere in the UK as well, such as EUNIC Scotland, and joint projects with them could improve knowledge sharing and help in forming ties outside of London (the Plan 2016: 6-7).

2.4.2   Communications Strategy

Another solution to growing the networking area is a customised communications plan. According to the Strategic Development Plan, drafting a feasible plan for communicating via the network's existing channels such as the EUNIC London website, Facebook, Instagram and newsletter is an essential tool for spreading the network's message of cultural diversity and dialogue (the Plan 2016: 4). Anastasia Mina provided me with access to the EUNIC London Communication, Social Media and Website strategy, hereinafter referred to as "the Strategy". Brexit is only briefly mentioned in the Strategy, making it likely that the Strategy dates back to 2016 or early 2017 when the negotiations and transition had not yet begun. In this section, I

will present the key points stated in the Strategy. Since my social media campaign for EUNIC London had no predecessor, this study will concentrate on the new campaign and therefore the introduction to the existing communications strategy will be brief. The Strategy will not be listed in the references list, as it is considered personal communication by Anastasia Mina.

While the Strategy offers practical guidelines for everyday communications, it does not thoroughly cover significant political changes in the operational field such as Brexit, and therefore my study and the communications campaign is important in terms of efficient communication in uncertain times. In fact, it is stated in the Strategy that a social media plan must be developed (p. 6). The social media channels of EUNIC London are listed as direct channels of communication of the network among their website and newsletter (p. 1). Indirect channels of communication include the websites and social media channels of the members of the network, as they are often used for cross-promotion purposes (p. 1). The general tasks listed in the Strategy include "increase the visibility of EUNIC London, its projects and members whenever possible" and "develop cross promotion opportunities with existing and new partners" (p. 2), and in more depth, the communications correspondents are expected to "engage new and returning users" with "unique/exclusive content such as interviews and articles" (p. 3).

Since EUNIC London has a responsibility of promoting its activities as well as those of its member institutions, the Strategy states that each event relevant to EUNIC London should be uploaded onto the website of the network. Special attention should be paid to grammar, correct information, picture and SEO keywords (p. 4). These events can then be shared on social media, which will lead more visitors onto the website as well as the social media of the network. The strategy encourages active use of social media at all times, with a focus on the activities by EUNIC London over others. The posts should reflect the non-political principles of the network but maintain a diverse feed by posting about different genres, cultures and countries (p. 6-7). Any interesting and UK and Europe-related content is welcome, such as European or British artists claiming ground elsewhere on the continent as well as job opportunities. According to the Strategy, the most important aspect is to remain active and diverse so that the goals of the network are met (p. 7-8). In my opinion, it is also crucial to follow the statistics behind each communications channel in order to curate content that suits each target group. This is one of the focuses of the communications campaign: How to curate content that appeals to different groups and thus, utilises attraction and soft power resources? In the next chapter I will thoroughly unfold the concept of soft power, the force behind cultural diplomacy.

3   DEFINING SOFT POWER

In the heart of all goal-oriented intercultural collaboration, cultural diplomacy and cultural exchange initiatives, excluding war and other uses of armed force, there is an underlying wish to attract and understand, and thus influence the other. In the 90's, to explain this phenomenon in relation to the decline in America's popularity in the world, Professor Joseph Nye coined a term 'soft power'. Later, Nye (2004) further developed the concept, stating that soft power "is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments" (p. x). In other words, soft power can be used to get the wanted results without using hard power resources that could potentially harm nations' international relations for a long time. The term is often confused with public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, but the three are not interchangeable: according to Singh and MacDonald (2017: 4, 12), soft power is a resource that is used in public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy to fascinate and communicate to other nations. Thus, the concepts are more or less interdependent, but soft power is a resource while the two are practices. In this section I will look more closely into the definitions of soft power and the ways it is being used in the cultural field, while also shedding light on the critical discourse surrounding it.

3.1   Soft Power and Attraction

Attraction in the case of soft power refers to a nation's culture and ideals, and soft power means the ability to make others want and accept them. This could mean languages and arts or basic, societal values for example. To illustrate, The United States, has been considered a country with remarkable soft power resources due to its liberal values. At the same time, it is famous for using its hard power resources abroad. During and after the cold war, the country's international promotion of democracy and its unchallenged entertainment industry combined with opportunities for personal success have attracted and inspired many, while its military actions, which represent hard power, have been heavily criticised. (Li 2018: 1- 4.). Similarly, in a shaken post-war Europe, the European Union's message of unity and togetherness had strong soft power value to them, while the continent's stance on climate change and equality among peoples add to its current credibility (Nye 2004: 77, 80). Furthermore, in relation to politics, possessing soft power means being able to convince another nation or a group of the

legitimacy of a nation's policies and actions (p. x). Summarising the concept, Hayden (2012: 37) defines soft power as "a means to get others to want what you want rather than to make them do what you want".

Nye (2004: 2-5) explains that he sees power as the ability to affect the actions of others to get the outcome one wants, and that it can be by force, for example by threat or financial sanctions. However, in the case of soft power, the size or other strength of a nation or country does not play an important role. While attraction is not automatically paired with bigger size, it "often leads to acquiescence" (Nye 2004: 6). Therefore, according to Nye (2004: 5), soft power is not straightforwardly the same as influence nor does it exist due to persuasion. It is leading others by setting an example of success and prosperity that others, on their own initiative, want to follow. One could say that a country that possesses soft power in the world has marketed itself well, or that it has been able to create a 'need' or desire for others that they did not have before. When a nation manages to make others want what they want, "there is far less conflict of interests in the process of soft power", according to Gallarotti (2011: 11). Therefore, according to Nye (2004: 5), using soft power is considered an indirect way to affect people: "the ability to shape the preferences of others" and thus, it is regarded "the second face of power.".

Much research has focused on the soft power of nations and countries. However, it is important to acknowledge that due to the digital revolution, more and more information is now available to a growing amount of people. Information and knowledge are equivalent to power that breaks boundaries that existed before. This, according to Singh and MacDonald (2017: 22-23), enables the growth of intercultural networks independent of religions, national borders, politics, and governments. These communities and networks, in turn, grow to have their own soft power. Furthermore, these communities attract their own, different publics. Therefore, it is important to consider and research the ways soft power is used within and by smaller networks such as EUNIC London, which emphasises the impartiality of the arts and thus attracts different audiences.

3.2   Soft Power and Europe

According to Nye (2004: 11), a country's soft power is formed of three constituents: political values adhered to both home and abroad, culture, and foreign policies. Cultural features add to the attractiveness of a country, while successfully delivered political promises and morally

legitimate foreign policies gain trust from abroad as well as home. Hayden (2012: 6) points out that the audiences of these cultural and political actions are in fact targets of soft power, whom these values and ideals are being marketed to. Nye (2014: 61) adds that the more overlap there is between the values of two countries, the stronger is the soft power between the two. Thus, any double standards or for example violation of human rights by a nation may have a detrimental effect on its soft power.

Soft power can be seen as both means and a method. However, because hard power sources such as the strength of a country's armed forces are more easily computable and their effects on others are immediate, soft power is sometimes not regarded important. Nevertheless, Gallarotti (2011: 39) notes that one of the key features that separate soft power from other forms of power is that its results are not immediate but based on long-term relationships and collaboration. Thus, soft power is a challenge to understand for a world that is very fast-paced and pragmatic (Gallarotti 2011: 39; Singh and MacDonald 2017: 4). For example, exchange programmes which see thousands of students and professionals learn to appreciate other cultures have a long-term impact on how they perceive the receiving country. It may lead this target group to career paths and positions that may positively affect the country they studied in (Nye 2004: 44-45).

Because the outcomes of these experiences are hard to measure, they are easily ignored. To further exemplify, Nye (2004: 75) explains that European art, music and literature have a long history of drawing people to the continent. He states that even during politically uncertain times where hard power such as sanctions and coercion have been used to drastically influence other nations, nongovernmental institutions such as NGOs, museums and performing arts companies have maintained their soft power (p. 45). Furthermore, Nye (2004) explains that the lack of political involvement may in fact be attractive to those with liberal values or hopes. He states that according to general liberal values, a government should not be too involved in decision-making on culture (p. 17), and as "the currency of soft power is attraction based on shared values" (p. 64), the role of arts and culture as remarkable and independent sources of soft power should not be overlooked.

Moreover, as the current study focuses on intercultural work in Europe, it is crucial to remember that many of the world's most widely spoken languages are strong in Europe, and realising the potential, many European countries continue to finance their creative sectors and spread their culture. For example, Britain and France actively take their culture abroad with help from the

British Council and French Institutes. Moreover, in a study conducted in 2017 it was found that democratic countries draw in more international students and foreign investors than non-democratic states (Singh and MacDonald 2017: 40). As the majority of European countries are democracies and many of their cultural institutes have a strong foothold in the world, one could say that democracy adds to the credibility of cultural organisations as operators independent of state governance.

3.3   Soft Power and Cultural Institutions

As EUNIC London is a network of national institutes for culture, it is crucial for this study to explore the ways cultural institutions and organisations can grow and imply soft power and how it can affect a nation's appeal in the eyes of the world. However, like mentioned before, soft power is difficult to assess and turn into numerical data. In 2004, Nye explained that "institutions can enhance a country's soft power" (p. 10). According to him, cultural institutions represent the sending country's ideology and values, and if they are attractive to the target nation, one can expect good results for the sending country. However, Nye (2004) did not represent numbers to support these findings, which means they remain obscure and difficult to compare to other findings. Nevertheless, in a study conducted for the British Council, Singh and MacDonald (2017) assessed the global appeal of a nation by taking into account the number of foreign students, political influence and foreign investments compared with the forms of soft power of the country. According to an article outlining the aforementioned study ("Soft Power Can Bring", 2017), the researchers found that for example international aid adds to the appeal of a nation, while the number of cultural institutes abroad positively affects the sending country's foreign direct investment (FDI) flows. Thus, it could be said that an increase in FDI speaks of the country's international reliability and appeal. Moreover, the study found that soft power not only increases the influx of foreign professionals, but the country's exports too (Singh and MacDonald 2017: 8). These results are important as the study was the first attempting to statistically assess soft power.

One of the forms of soft power observed by Singh and MacDonald (2017: 5) was cultural institutions. Their study found that even a percent increase in the number of cultural institutions a country has abroad grows the number of incoming foreign students by 0.73 percent, and as mentioned before, foreign students and professionals are likely to have a positive effect on the

receiving country's political objectives. Another important finding by Singh and Macdonald (2017: 35) was that the more people can access the Internet, the bigger the number of incoming tourists, students and FDI. The current generations of students and future professionals build relationships and regularly interact with each other online and through social media. This interactivity on social media creates opportunities for trust and dialogue without any influence from governments or political actors (Wu 2015, as cited in Singh and MacDonald 2017: 22). Thus, this gives space to new networks with their own soft power (Nye 2004: 17).

3.3.1   Soft Power and Cultural Institutions: The Current Study

According to Singh and MacDonald (2017), social media networking in the information age is "the basis of contemporary diplomacy" (p. 22). It is also something that EUNIC London as a network needs to adapt to. As mentioned before, dialogue is important and fruitful public diplomacy "is a two-way street" (Nye 2004: 111) which means talking but also listening. Nye (2004: 111) further adds that it is more effective to exchange ideas through dialogue rather than to "broadcast". After all, soft power calls for shared values which cannot be found without communication and exchange. Therefore, it is crucial for cultural institutions to recognise their audiences and practice "narrowcasting" (Nye 2004: 111), in order to communicate to those new, intercultural networks developed through the Internet and not ignore their soft power.

However, in regards to the current study, the challenge of the communications project was to broadcast to as large an audience as possible, while remaining inclusive and free of political influence. Although Brexit is naturally a political agreement, EUNIC London's aim was to make sure all culture-enthusiasts and possible publics to the activities of the network knew that those activities would continue to take place in London and elsewhere in the United Kingdom even after Brexit. In terms of execution, the project had to be realistically manageable regardless of the size and available work hours of a member institution, which differ in size depending on the sending country, for example. After all, it would seem that while the member institutions work together under EUNIC London, they also sometimes compete for the same audiences for their cultural activities. Thus, the project had to aim for continued visibility of all members, and an equal workload for each member in charge of communications at their respective institutions. That is to say, the core message and the focus of the network's communications in spring 2019 was that arts and culture are for everyone and remain independent of political opinions, and that

no one is going to be excluded by EUNIC London because of their political belief. At the same time, EUNIC is a non-profit association ("European Union National Institutes for Culture", n.d.), which possibly adds to its soft power because it may be easier for audiences to engage with networks that are not seeking profit. It also supports EUNIC London's message that culture and arts truly are for everyone.

3.4   Soft Power – Multidimensional yet Undefined and Obscure?

It is relatively easy to count the number of soldiers and weapons of a country, or to see the impacts of economic sanctions imposed on another. Military and economic power bring immediate effects, while soft power is hard to measure. Soft power is a recognised academic topic, but soft power activities remain unstudied (Pamment 2014, as cited in Singh and MacDonald 2017: 25). For example, credibility and trust are central to soft power, but as the only focuses of soft power research they may be misleading and exclude other important factors (Singh and MacDonald 2017: 25). In this section, I will present some of the most common criticism aimed at the concept of soft power and give examples of how the concept could and is expected to be studied and developed further.

Singh and MacDonald (2017: 30) recognised several causes of unclarity that soft power is criticised for. Firstly, there is no unanimous way to assess the value of soft power. This means that it remains unclear where the power stems from. Secondly, the digital world has changed power dynamics and made it harder to recognise what the current soft power assets are now that information is available everywhere and communication is unlimited and unrestricted. After all, soft power is "power over opinion" (Nye 2004: 8), and the more information there is available, the more opinions there will be. Thirdly, soft power assets are context-dependent, and their influence varies from one country to another. This variation means that there is no approach to soft power that could be applied everywhere in the world as "regional considerations shape priorities and soft power strategies" as they follow foreign policy principles (Singh and MacDonald 2017: 84). The researchers explain that because soft power is slow by nature and the modern society is fast-paced, an advanced and precise tool for analysis and methodology is needed to be able to develop functional soft power strategies (Singh and MacDonald 2017: 4).

Another reason why not everyone recognises soft power as an actual form of power is that it is more context dependent than other recognised forms of power. Nye (2004) explains that soft power depends on "willing interpreters and receivers" (p. 16), while hard power does not. Anyone who wishes to use soft power needs to be able to adapt to changing environments and recognise "who relates to whom under what circumstances" (Nye 2004: 16). Nye adds that this, in turn, requires intercultural awareness, sensitivity and understanding towards other countries, policies and cultures (p. 111). For example, conceptions of trust vary between cultures and can therefore cause misinterpretations (Singh and MacDonald 2017: 25). Additionally, cultures change with time. In other words, culture is not a "uniform soft power resource" (Nye 2004: 52) and the use of soft power requires more additional knowledge and context-awareness than other forms of power. In terms of the current study, Brexit caused significant changes in the context wherein EUNIC London operates.

According to Singh and MacDonald (2017: 8, 20), the 21st century migrant crisis has shown the European Union in a different light and its soft power being questioned. While soft power is a way for different groups with similar values to form international connections, the Union has not been able to commit to its human rights values regarding the recent migrant flows and is presented a new challenge to integrate people with different values and cultures. This is an example of how a country may erode its own soft power, if its foreign policy goals are not met, or they are in dissonance with the soft power of nongovernmental groups (Nye 2004: 17). It is also an example of how the use of hard power may weaken the soft power of a state or a nation.

According to Li (2018), democracy and liberal politics are often seen as basic Western values that are closely connected to soft power (see e.g. Nye 2004). However, as mentioned above, it is wrong to assume that the same values will add to soft power everywhere in the world. In his article Li (2018) exemplifies the West-centred thinking by noting how President George W. Bush pushed forward an idea that American morals and values applied to all countries at all times. This generalisation is incompatible with the idea of soft power working through attraction. Li (2018) further adds that Western, liberal democracies make corrosive decisions by censoring and limiting information online, as it does not correlate with the value of freedom of speech. He suggests that the focus of soft power should be taken away from creating a universal interest and one model that suits all. Instead, attraction-based international and intercultural collaboration and networking should be encouraged and supported without any participant having to lose parts of their culture or having to go against their values. Li (2018) states that this could bring about a more conflict-free future.

3.5   Soft Power and Hard Power

Nye (2004: 8) describes soft power as seduction. While cultural values do play an important role, it would be wrong to assume that seductive cultural features visible in the media are the only sources of soft power (Fraser 2003, as cited in Gallarotti 2011: 32). The power mainly derives both from domestic and foreign policies, and according to Gallarotti (2011: 25), not enough attention has been paid to how political changes in the world affect soft power or how decision makers could successfully use it. As a solution, Singh and MacDonald (2017: 26-27) suggest that data from social media should be thoroughly studied to learn how fast-paced and interactive communication affects feelings and builds trust communities.

Although recognised as an academic discourse, soft power remains theoretical and relatively unstudied, and this often conceals the co-dependency of different forms of power. According to Nye (2004: 9), soft power is not dependent of hard power. In fact, he explains that for example religious groups and communities have global soft power and are influential without exercising hard power. However, at present it is a common argument that soft power cannot exist unaccompanied (Gallarotti 2011: 25-26). The relationship between different forms of power is multiplex and they are sometimes hard to tell apart, while at the same time, they "can actually reinforce one another" (Gallarotti 2011: 33).

Personally, it seems that hard power and soft power do not exclude one another. For example, the world is becoming more aware of the effects excessive travelling has on the environment. Climate-awareness and friendliness are seen as important, soft values. However, the decrease in travelling affects the small businesses at popular travelling destinations that depend on foreign customers. Thus, exercising soft power and following environmental values may in fact have hard, economic impacts on the service sector in countries with lower income, for example. Similarly, in a negative outcome, I fear that by valuing neutral inclusivity and not taking a stance on Brexit, cultural institutes in London may lose possible connections or future collaboration possibilities. Thus, soft power actions will not be universally accepted as respectful or good.

In his article, Gallarotti (2011) summarises the co-dependency of different forms of power by explaining that even proven criminal dictators of the past are likely to have had soft power due to attraction and respect, but whether it is regarded soft power depends on the perceiver and on the power resources used. Even the developer of the soft power concept, Nye (2004) clarifies

that in a modern society both are needed: military and soft power (p. 30). Thus, one could agree with the argument of Li (2018), that in order to further understand soft power and to apply it to public diplomacy, the focus must remain on the receiver of soft power activities. It is a mistake to automatically assume that the values of group A directly apply to group B, even if they aim at the global good and equality. Thus, it seems logical that in times of political turmoil such as Brexit, the communications of a network of cultural institutions remain neutral.

In summary, the importance of independent soft power of cultural institutes and organisations discussed in this section was highlighted in the current study, as Brexit can potentially harm the appeal of foreign cultures in the eyes of Britain as well as the image of the United Kingdom as an open society in the eyes of the world (MacDonald 2016, as cited in Singh and MacDonald 2017: 31). In order to clarify how these institutes and organisations operate, the next chapter will further introduce the theories and history behind intercultural networks and organisational communication.

4 ORGANISATIONAL COMMUNICATION AND INTERCULTURAL NETWORKS

The aim of the current study was to plan and conduct a communications campaign for an intercultural network of cultural institutes. Therefore, it is crucial to illustrate what communication within and by a network means. As always within communications studies, there are several concepts and theories related to the current study. The planning phase of the project involved internal teamwork within the network, and the outcome or communicative operation itself was a combination of *public relations* and *organisational communication* to an unlimited and external target audience. In this section, I aim to present the principal approaches and theories applied to organisational communication and networks that have been developed throughout time and remain relevant to this study.

4.1 Organisations, Communication and Networks

Organisational communication is a concept that can be approached from the point of view of several different fields of study. After all, all humans communicate (and this study is limited to human communication) regardless of who and where they are. In relation to this study, I understand *communication* as the exchange and expression of information by using words, either orally or in a written form. Both written and oral communication were applied when conducting this study, as the communications campaign was designed in workshops through discussion in teams, and the campaign itself was largely carried out on social media by resharing content and publishing short messages on the platforms of the network using a shared, identifiable hashtag. However, communication goes beyond words and even silence or hand gestures can have informative value. Regarding the current study, I focus on written and spoken words, and their use for the purposes of EUNIC London as a network.

All *networks* are *organisations*, which can be regarded as an umbrella term for functional units consisting of usually more than one person. Other types of organisations are for example governments, sports teams, or municipalities. What these ensembles have in common is that their members strive for shared goals, which requires communication (Juholin 2009: 21). Moreover, what combines them is "the existence of a social collectivity, organisational and

individual goals, coordinating activity, organisational structure, and the embedding of the organisation within an environment of other organisations" (Miller 1995, as cited in Miller 2014: 11). Each organisation is characterised by its context, such as its members, goals and the operational environment. With reference to this study, the communicative ensemble or organisation in question is an intercultural network, which has its own characteristics.

Herbert Simon, a Nobel economics prize winner who has greatly influenced the research on communication within organisations, wrote in 1997 about new communication networks developed as a result of the changing information systems. According to him, communication networks consist of "nodes, or processors, and links, or communications channels. The processors can be human beings or computers; usually there are both kinds in a network" (Simon 1997: 147). Miller (2014) adds that networks have their own arrangements of links, and that those links can be formed between people both within an organisation and between several organisations. Similarly, Juholin (2009: 20) names producers, transmitters, editors and receivers as examples of the different roles in communication. She further notes that in the current digital era anyone can produce, or encode, information and receive it (Juholin 2009: 20). According to Simon (1997), information and messages are passed on and exchanged by the nodes in a network, while their ability to process each message affects the result and the quality of the end product. Cacciattolo (2015: 81) calls this decoding, and explains how the ability to decode information is imperative to avoid misconceptions.

In terms of the current project, which mainly took place online on social media, one could say that the clarity and coherence of the instructions drafted together at workshops played an important role as they determined how well each node or link could perform their communicative task. With this in mind, one step that had been taken early on was to choose English as the operative language of the network. All communication, be it website, emails, newsletters or meetings, was conducted in English. Considering that the network operates in London, English as a *lingua franca* enables better communication and fewer misunderstandings with partners and members in the United Kingdom.

4.2 Organisational Communication: Influential Theories and Approaches

In her comprehensive book *Organizational communication: approaches and processes* (2014), Miller discusses the various and multidisciplinary approaches to organisational communication. The number of different approaches is remarkable because, as mentioned before, everyone communicates and on the other hand, organisations are a part of life for the majority of people, be it their workplace, hobby or other community. Communication as an essential part of any organisation has been acknowledged from early on, and many of the different approaches today trace back to the beginning of the 20th century and the development of organisational studies and theories. This section is largely based on Miller's work (2014) with references to the current study and alternative criticisms.

According to Miller (2014), the most classical approaches to organisational communication focus on organisations and work. The industrial revolution saw the birth of the *machine metaphor* (Miller 2014: 18-19), which referred to the way organisations should be organised in order to achieve full effectiveness and productivity. The machine approach was popular in the first decades of the 20th century but was frequently criticised due to its ignorance of variables within every organisation and its relatively inhumane approach to workers as replaceable parts of a machine.

In 1949, Henri Fayol developed his ground-breaking *management theory*, according to which effective management of an organisation requires planning, organising, commanding, coordinating and control (Miller 2014: 20). While communication is not mentioned as a key to effective management, Miller (2014: 20) notes that none of the five requirements could be met without appropriate communication as they are, in fact, communication themselves. Fayol's hierarchical management theory is influential in organisations today, as it explains how organisations should be assembled and managed, and how equally divided and disciplined labour brings good results. However, his idea of a centralised management and all authority residing with a single person or a small group can be questionable in the changing, more liberal society of today. In terms of the current study, Fayol's influence can be seen in the way the focus of our communications campaign was to share the tasks equally so that no member of the network would have larger responsibility than the other, and the results could be assessed and controlled in regular meetings.

Another influential theory from the same decade recognised by Miller (2014), is the *Theory of Bureaucracy* by Max Weber (see for example 1946, 1947). While the theory continues Fayol's ideas of a centralised management, authority and divided labour, it focuses on bureaucracies as a type of organisation. According to Weber's theory, a highly functioning bureaucracy must be excluded from any influence from the outside. Miller (2014) further states that clear rules are central to Weber's theory and authority can be inherited (for example in royal families), or won by an appealing personality or it can be created by a set of rules.

Miller (2014: 25) explains that according to Weber's theory, authority placed on knowledge and application of directives removes the focus from a single person or group. This theory encourages organisations to adopt objective authority, as it is less individualistic and "rationality is the guiding force" (Miller 2014: 25). Following this theory, it goes without saying that the communication rules and information relative to the organisation is of utmost importance. In the case of EUNIC London, some power (I personally consider it responsibility) lay on the Finnish Institute in London as our institute was one of the presidents of the network at the time of the current project and thus the conductor of the communications campaign, but the real authority lay on the rules and shared goals that all members of the network followed and strived for.

Miller (2014) lists Frederick Taylor's *Theory of Scientific Management* as the last of classical approaches to organisational communication, although his important work was published in 1911. Instead of focusing on the overall structure of management of organisations, Taylor analysed the relationships between the management and workforce, and workforce and their tasks. He criticised the way new workers were trained and how work was awarded in a way that prevented the organisation from making better results. According to Miller (2014), Taylor encouraged researching and finding out the most resource-efficient way to conduct each task in an organisation, and then carefully selecting the best workers who from thereon would be taught the working methods that had been found the most efficient. Miller (2014: 27) states that Taylor believed in hierarchies in the sense that there was a difference between the skills of the management and the workers. According to Taylor's theory, some were more suited for physical labour than others. Thus, he encouraged investing time and effort on finding the most competent person and the most effective way to carry out each role.

Although Taylor's theory has been criticised by workers, especially due to his calculative and rather cold attitude towards the value of work and a single worker, it influences the way work

is organised and managed to this day (Miller 2014). After all, regardless of the industry or company in question, new employees are chosen through carefully crafted processes. From the point of view of an employment seeker, the most important skill is communication. A carefully composed application convinces the employer of why the person in question is *suitable* and the *best option* for the position. This in turn calls for effective communication from the organisation so that the right applicants find them. With regard to the current study, the communications campaign was created in workshops. These workshops were attended by people who had been appointed responsible of communications by their sending cultural institute or organisation. Thus, the influence of Taylor's theory is obvious: the people who are trained and thus most able to carry out communicative tasks are given such tasks. Therefore, the network and its members can expect good results. According to Miller (2014: 30), these classical approaches all demand different types of communication, and the hierarchical systems in all the approaches mentioned before call for "downward", formal communication flows from the management down to the workers.

While the classical approaches remain influential in the discourse on organisational communication of the current era, Miller (2014) reminds that the *Hawthorne Studies* lead by Elton Mayo and conducted in the 1920s and 1930s added a brand new, human resources point of view to the discourse. The Hawthorne Studies, which represents human relations approaches to organisational communication, resulted in the realisation that improvements in the working environments and correct treatment of employees can positively enhance their work results. This new approach drew attention to the experience of an individual and did not see them as replaceable pieces of a mechanism. Miller (2014: 39) states that human relations theorists such as Abraham Maslow (see for example 1943, 1954) paid attention to social interaction and "social satisfaction" in the workplace. Maslow's *Hierarchy of Needs* maps out the five different need categories that are typical to humans and which have to be catered to by their provider of employment in order to feed their motivation, which in turn can bring better results for the organisation (Miller 2014: 41).

One could see these human relations theories as the birth of all measures taken towards the wellbeing of personnel at workplace in the current era. Some scholars would call it the study of organisational climates, as it was also reflected on the outside of the organisation (Juholin 2009). In terms of communication at workplace, Miller (2014) explains the concept of *maintenance communication*, which is dedicated to maintaining positive and constructive relationships within the organisation (p. 52). Moreover, compared to the vertical flow of

classical, hierarchical organisations, the human relations approach focuses on horizontal flows (Miller 2014: 52). This is because the human relations theorists see communication among workers as valuable as communication between workers and the management. This way, there is more room for all ideas and possible suggestions, which could then lead to higher employee satisfaction. This, in turn, supports our workshop series as a method of data collection. When an attendee feels heard, the results are likely to be positive.

However, although the different needs of an individual could be catered to, it is not automatic that the individual in question will be pleased and happy with their work and tasks. The human relations theories seem to ignore other variables in the picture. Kaufman (2020) argues that Maslow's pyramid model has been misunderstood and has led to an individualistic discourse on the five need categories, where in fact not everything depends on the fulfilment of needs of the individual, but how they are reflected on other people and the social context. Moreover, Kaufman (2020) explains that none of the basic needs seize to exist once fulfilled, but are more or less present throughout human life. In other words, the satisfaction of the needs of an employee does not guarantee improved performance at workplace (Miller 2014: 46), because the surrounding society conditions how well those needs can be met (Kaufman (2020).

Nevertheless, the current study is a strong example of a human relations approach to organisational communication, as the work (the project) was carried out in groups. Teamwork is an example of horizontal but also "multidirectional communication flow" (Miller 2014: 52). The communications campaign was mapped out according to suggestions and ideas presented by individuals, which logically refers to a free flow of ideas, and the opportunity for an individual to be heard. Thus, this manner of teamwork could be considered to satisfy the *esteem need* and need for *self-actualisation* of an employee, according to Maslow's theory. Moreover, it is undeniable that the work environment of our communications team was secure from threats such as violence or war, and thus, every attendee was able to focus on the project in hand rather than "the basic necessities of survival" (Kaufman 2020).

In the 1960s, the organisational communications discourse was inspired by biologists. One of them, von Bertalanffy (1968) saw organisations as living organisms where everyone forms an important part (Miller 2014). Like human relations approach, this approach highlighted the "interdependence" (Miller 2014: 62) of every role and criticised the idea of an organisation being closed from the outside world. According to Miller (2014), information to and from the outside world is necessary for the organisation to function (p. 62-63). In a similar manner, Karl

Weick (1979) argued that organisations are not separate from the surrounding "*information environment*" (Miller 2014: 69). Rather, members of the organisation create the environment or culture, and that it is highly context-dependent and within one organisation there can be several environments (Miller 2014: 69). All these environments understand information and communication in different ways, which likely leads to misunderstandings. Therefore, organisations should focus on eliminating unclarities and negative variability (Farace, Taylor and Stewart 1978, as cited in Kramer 2004: 33). Miller (2014) clarifies that due to the context-dependency of the decision-making of these different environments, certain routines and the flow, clarity and quality of communication are of utmost importance.

In addition to different communications environments, organisations often have a culture or several cultures. Deal and Kennedy (1982) wrote about organisational cultures arguing that organisations are complex and full of values and ideas (as cited in Miller 2014: 72). According to them, a strong organisational culture enhances productivity, but calls for a "communication system through which cultural values are instituted" (Miller 2014: 72) and that celebrating the values and successful examples of an organisation can positively affect the sense of culture the employees of the organisation have of their workplace.

However, instead of seeing organisational cultures objectively as static and manageable, Putnam (1983) argued that attempts to manage culture would be useless (Miller 2014). Putnam suggested that it would be beneficial for the organisation to attempt to understand its cultural constituents and how individuals make sense of the organisation (Miller 2014: 74). These cultural approaches to organisational communication are applicable to the current era, considering how rapidly organisations change and how storytelling is being applied to marketing and branding. It is undeniable that the stories and experiences of an individual affect their communication, which then affects the organisational culture. After all, culture is "constructed, negotiated and shaped in interaction" (Schnurr and Zayts 2017: 2).

Lastly, the second half of the 20th century saw more theories and approaches on organisational communication emerge and challenge the classical building blocks on which the discourse had been established for so long. According to these emerging theories, organisations were increasingly seen as social entities that could not be studied objectively but were examples of "construction created through communication" (Miller 2014: 83). Kramer (2004) explains that for example a new employee or member of an organisation may feel excluded at first because of lack of information on the organisation itself, or what can be perceived as humour and what

should not. The relationships and community are built through communication. This is called the communicative constitution of organisation (CCO) and it questions all earlier theories on authority and power. According to CCO scholars, authority and bureaucracy do not exist by themselves but are created through years of communication processes (Miller 2014: 83).

According to Belliger (2016), contrariwise to classical, hierarchical approaches, the CCO approaches organisational communication from foot to head. Members of organisations behave according to norms that have been adopted before, and thus develop a sense of role in the organisation. Belliger (2016) states that these roles are then maintained due to societal limits and with critical responses from others. Therefore, the CCO approach sees communication as an "organising force" (Putnam and McPhee 2009, as cited in Belliger 2016: 58) and that four different flows of communication listed by McPhee and Zaug (2009) tie the members to the organisation, to the environment where the organisation functions and the ability to adapt to different situations at work (Belliger 2016: 62).

Similarly, feminist and critical approaches to organisational communication consider organisations as sites of dominance built through communication (Miller 2014:). The feminist approach focused on the differences between men and women at workplace, while Tannen (1994) argued that the two genders had differing styles of communicating (Miller 2014: 111). From a traditional, bureaucratic point of view, some male attributes were seen suitable for a leader which then maintained the concept of glass ceiling invisible, unbreakable barriers that prevented more women from reaching positions of power and authority (Miller 2014). However, this theory has been criticised for being exclusive of other genders, and for heavily generalising the two genders. Considering the current study, the workshops were attended by men and women alike, and all attendees were equally responsible for carrying out the communications campaign. However, it is unknown how responsibilities and authority would have been divided outside of the creative, cultural field where the network operates.

4.3   Organisational Communication and Public Relations

According to Juholin (2009), the concept of organisational communications has broadened with time. As explained in the previous chapter, the study was established out of a need to understand how organisations are formed and developed, and what measures should be taken to guarantee effective results. Thus, the focus largely remains on the internal communications of an

organisation, both formal and informal (Juholin 2009: 22). According to Shapiro (2017), successful organisational communication can be influential in three areas: it engages employees, satisfies customers and improves public perceptions. Therefore, organisational approach to communication is often of interest to corporate professionals in the business world and the private sector because hierarchies within companies affect the forms of communication (Cacciattolo 2015).

However, especially in the Nordic countries, the concept of organisational communication is considered narrow. After all, there are not many organisations that would be able to function completely without influence from and communicating with the outside world. Therefore, to add an external dimension to the study and to go beyond corporate communication, the concept has been given the name *Organisational Communication and Public Relations* (Juholin 2009: 22-23). Public Relations (PR) refers to internal and external communications of an organisation. Although the study of PR is understood differently from one country to another, in this section, I aim to shed light on the development of the study how I understand it in relation to the current communications campaign of EUNIC London. After all, the communications campaign was directed at an undefined audience with the target of making the network known in its operational environment.

According to ProCom (2007), The Finnish Association of Communication, the study of PR includes marketing, brand management, engaging with the public and is usually the result of careful planning and execution (as cited in Juholin 2009: 22). It also takes into account the operational environment and maintains connections with stakeholders. Toth and Dozier (2018 as cited in Brunner 2019: 3) note that as a field of study and practice, PR does not have a universal definition that would be unanimously accepted. Rather, it is influenced by many and is dependent on the surrounding context. Harold Burson, a chief-executive in the business of public relations, summarises his field as being paid "to tell our client's side of the story" (Jones 1984). In an interview with The New York Times, Burson added that he would be failing his job "unless we move the needle, get people to do something. But we are also a client's conscience and we have to do what is in the public interest" (Jones 1984).

One of the founding fathers of PR is Ivy Lee. In 1902 Lee established a press bureau, followed by a 1906 publication of principles according to which the firm would operate (Juholin 2009, Zoch et al. 2014). The principles were openness, which meant the firm would operate as publicly as possible, sincerity and honesty, which meant that attention would be paid to factful

details and quality of information (Russell and Bishop 2009: 91-92, Zoch et al. 2014: 724). These principles are considered the beginning for public relations as a practice (Zoch et al. 2014). In other words, a public relations correspondent operates as a link between the different media of communication, organisations and the general public.

Furthermore, another remarkable figure in the establishment of public relations was Edward Bernays, who approached publicity from a marketing and business point of view. Heath (2001: 2) notes that a public relations approach to marketing is not necessarily to directly contact a potential customer, but to raise awareness of the offering of an organisation among the public and thus, to encourage the public to engage with the organisation in one way or another. Reflecting on propaganda that had been used in times of war, Bernays argued that the same logic could be used to modify the behaviour of the public for a corporate benefit (Siddiqui 2014). In 1923, Bernays released his book, *Crystalizing Public Opinion*, which came to be a classic in the field of "persuasive communication" (Juholin 2009: 26). A relative of Sigmund Freud, Bernays approached public relations from a psychological point of view and argued that "the conscious and intelligent manipulation" of the opinions of the general public is in fact necessary for a democratic society (Bernays 1928, as cited in Gunderman 2015). However, the propagandist approach has been criticised throughout the years as it can rather undeniably be considered unethical and thus conflicting of the core principles of public relations practice. Moreover, by narrowing down the scope of public relations to mere persuasive actions and search for publicity would also be acting against the principles of open discourse and sincerity (Manier 2007: 3).

According to Heath (2001), a public relations approach can be used to both "promote and protect the image or reputation of an organization" (p. 1). This is due to Lee's principles of openness and truthfulness which mean that maintaining public relations is more than trying to attract potential customers or members or partnerships. In fact, on their website, the *International Public Relations Association* ("A new definition of public relations", 2020) summarises the study as "a decision-making management practice tasked with building relationships and interests between organisations and their publics based on the delivery of information through trusted and ethical communication methods". As mentioned before, ethicality is one of the core principles of the practice and thus, it can be used to improve balance between different non-profit or profitable organisations and their publics (Heath 2001: 2). Regarding the current study, EUNIC London embraced openness and informativity when communicating to their public. The aim was to share information on European cultural offerings

by the network, its members and partners. Thus, EUNIC London aimed at raising awareness of the network itself and possibly increase the number of attendees at different events. Therefore, one could say this was a classic example of public relations in practice: it was very much like marketing, but without a clear target public or a proven increase in the number of visitors to cultural events.

In fact, Juholin (2009: 49) explains that public relations practice and marketing complement each other in the sense that marketing focuses numerable results and the customer, while PR is the somewhat undefined framework within which marketing functions and which provides information about and for the public. Juholin (2009: 213) further notes that marketing communication (which includes PR as a natural component) of a public organisation mainly focuses on raising awareness of the organisation in question and aims at changing the behaviour of the target audience. On the other hand, marketing communication efforts of an enterprise focus on selling products or services. Therefore, EUNIC London applied cross-marketing as a tool to public relations activities with the aim of raising awareness of the network and its cultural offerings in London, but with a hope that more people would thereafter attend the events of its member institutions. There were no obvious products or services to sell, but raised awareness would likely bring more people to the events.

Moreover, public relations cover the tasks of maintaining a reputation and building an image of an organisation or enterprise. Time will tell whether the current communications campaign will have affected the image of EUNIC London as an open and welcoming network with a vast cultural offering. Furthermore, Juholin (2009: 199) explains that stakeholders, who are groups or individuals interacting with the organisation or enterprise, are vital for any of the aforementioned to thrive, partly due to financial dependency. However, Juholin (2009:199) argues that being a stakeholder does not always require financial dependency from the organisation or the stakeholder. Any parties with political power of influence over opinion are important as well. Therefore, in order to bring about change in the awareness of people, the working group had to analyse who the stakeholders and influential partners of EUNIC London are and apply that knowledge to the campaign. In the analysis section I aim to exemplify this in more detail.

5 THE PRESENT STUDY

5.1 Research Design

In this chapter, I will present the design of the current study. As described before in the first chapter, the study aims at creating a feasible communications campaign in order to help EUNIC London grow their online community, while raising awareness of European cultural activities in the United Kingdom. I aim to illustrate the need for the research questions listed in the first chapter, and situate the study among earlier research on the topics of cultural institutions, communication and Brexit. However, acknowledging that the effects of Brexit on the creative industries remain relatively unstudied, it is imperative to describe the context of the current study and exemplify the conditions affecting it. This means introducing the principal communications channels of EUNIC London, describing the data collection process and method of analysis, as well as paying attention to ethical issues surrounding research on networks. As the study focuses on the social media channels of EUNIC London, I will make use of social media statistics to support my findings. However, due to privacy and ethical questions, I will not name the attendees of our workshops. Instead, I will list their opinions and suggestions in several tables in an anonymous manner.

5.1.1 Facebook

For many, Facebook marked the beginning of a new era. The popular networking site and social media platform transformed the way people communicate and connect with each other online, and has undeniably influenced the way we view information, privacy and the grey area in between. According to Treadaway and Smith (2012: 27), Facebook connects friends, both old and new, as well as people with similar interests. Treadaway and Smith (2012: 27) note that networking sites like Facebook "collect, organize, and disseminate" information so that it is better suited for each user. For example, it can bring together people who are unknown to each other, but who share an interest in French cinema or are looking for language courses. That is why the social networking site can be immeasurably helpful for a small-scale network like EUNIC London: it offers a way to share articles, events, photos, and other information which

then may lead to more and more people finding the network, its members and everything they have to offer. In other words, Facebook was created to connect its users with people they care about and to provide the users with content relevant to them (Abram and Pearlman 2010: 1).

According to Abram and Pearlman (2010), Facebook can be considered an overview of the social lives of its users. Assuming that every user, or *profile*, is updated regularly and truthfully, it can help draw a map of a person's work and education history, their geographic history as well as changes in their relationships. The website encourages its users to share more and more information, in order to provide them with content better and more efficiently curated for their interests and needs. Any profile can publish their thoughts on their *wall*, and the post can be read by the accepted friends of the user or by anyone, if the publication is public. Messages can also be sent privately to groups or individuals on Facebook Messenger. In comparison to Twitter, for example, Facebook is more flexible in terms of length of messages (Abram and Pearlman 2010: 19). This is convenient for the likes of EUNIC London, who share varying types of content with their followers, their *community*.

When a new profile is created, the information provided will help the user to connect with people based on the site's suggestions. This could mean peer students at university or colleagues from old and new work environments. The user can then *like pages* that represent different communities, organisations, hobbies or artists for example. The same user can also join different groups, either private or public, such as the aforementioned cinema lovers or language fans. In these groups, information on language courses or cinema events spreads quickly, and may lead new people to following and liking the Facebook page of EUNIC London. From thereon, any information shared or published by EUNIC London will have a bigger audience. Moreover, the Facebook page of EUNIC London is public, which means anyone can access its content: photos, videos, events and contact information. This helps the page appear more inclusive and inviting.

In fact, Facebook was created to help college students connect with each other. From there, the site broadened to include students of all schools in the United States and finally, in 2004, it was opened to the world and people from all walks of life (Abram and Pearlman 2010: 19-21). CEO Zuckerberg saw the platform expand with millions of new users each year. According to Boyd (2019), the site had 12 million users or memberships in December 2006, whereas the first months of 2020 saw 2.6 billion users actively log onto the site (Statista 2020b). According to an article and graph by Clement (2020), the number of active users of the site and its worldwide

popularity make Facebook the biggest social networking service. Considering Facebook owns other services such as Instagram, and even though the networking site is banned in some densely populated countries such as China, the influence, popularity and power are easy to understand (Gupta 2019).

The popularity of the site has reached such levels, that, for example, many culture-oriented people take to Facebook to find information on art exhibitions, lectures, concerts and workshops. Like other social media platforms, hashtags are in use on Facebook as well. According to Barnhart (2020a), hashtags can be used to partake in current, trending conversations surrounding relevant topics or a new tag can be created to highlight a specific campaign, as seen in the case of the current study. Following the hashtags used by the target audience of a network or other group, it is easier for the said group to engage and curate interesting content for the audience. Moreover, using hashtags on Facebook can be surprisingly easy and cost-effective regarding the amount of time used, as the best results often stem from using a single hashtag per post (Barnhart 2020a). Thus, it would have been questionable for EUNIC London not to consider Facebook as one of the fields of operation in their communications campaign. After all, the criteria for the campaign were to ensure its simple and cost-effective execution.

5.1.2   Instagram

As mentioned before, Instagram is owned by Facebook which purchased the photo- and video-sharing application in 2012 (Shead 2019). Instagram was previously owned by its founders Systrom and Krieger who developed it from a 2010 location-focused networking application to an aesthetic photo-sharing platform, and its filtered visuals were inspired by photos taken abroad with a plastic camera (Mullen 2018, Garber 2014, Clifford 2018). The ability to edit and share photos and videos proved to be popular, and according to Statista (2019), by June 2018 Instagram had attracted one billion active users per month. The application, which is free to use, has created opportunities for personal as well as organisational success for many on social media. Therefore, it is only logical for EUNIC London to have an active presence on the platform.

Instagram functions as a content timeline and portfolio for the users. Each user creates a profile which can be named after the creator, an organisation behind the profile or even be given an

unidentifiable sobriquet. The mobile application enables the user to publish or post photos and videos, organise a live streaming event on their profile. All publications can be edited to create an aesthetically pleasing and consistent feed of photos and videos, be it singing or pictures of painting, for example. All publications can be commented on, as well as shared via private messages to another user, and it has proven to be an effective way for organisations to communicate with individuals as well. All profiles can be either public or private, which determines how openly those profiles can be interacted with. Public profiles can be followed by anyone, and private profiles by those who have been granted a permission. The number of followers determines the popularity and visibility of the account or profile. According to Russmann (2016: 1), the popularity of the platform draws in organisations that used to focus on information in written form, and now aim to communicate with visual content. Thus, it is highly recommended for organisations and networks like EUNIC London to have an active, public profile in order to attract and engage larger audiences.

Like many other social media platforms, Instagram is directed through algorithms and not every post from every account followed will appear in chronological order. Thus, it is crucial to understand some of the functions of the algorithms on Instagram in order to maintain visibility in the feeds of the target audience. According to Gotter (2019), there are three details that require attention from an organisation wanting to engage audiences on Instagram: firstly, repetition is key. More frequent interaction with other users makes it more likely for the content of the organisation to appear on their timelines. A person regularly visiting the profile of EUNIC London is more likely to be notified and aware of their new posts than someone with less frequent interaction with the account. Secondly, regularity is important. Newer posts are preferred by the algorithms over older posts. That is why EUNIC London decided on a regular posting pattern on their social media channels. Finally, similar interests connect Instagram users. In addition to the main, selected feed of followed accounts, Instagram has an option that consists of account suggestions gathered through the preferences, interests and activities of the user on Instagram. The algorithm is more likely to suggest and present accounts that match the interests shown by the user. Therefore, a user that follows for example art gallery accounts is more likely to come across EUNIC London and its members than a user who has not shown interest in the same topics.

Thus, the challenge for a network like EUNIC London is not only to find the right social media audience who would be interested in their activities and knowledge, but to maintain contact with them too. In the case of Instagram, for example, it is crucial to remain relevant. Relevance

requires frequency, interactivity and most importantly, interesting content. Moreover, Instagram is a visual platform where, according to Russmann (2016: 8), pictures have a "rhetorical" and "persuasive" impact on the receiver. Russmann (2016) further states that pictures play a part in creating meaning and can add depth to a written message (p. 9). Furthermore, Instagram enables its users to tag each other in posts. Thus, it is of high importance that the members of EUNIC London provide the communications group with photos of great quality, and that everyone involved in a given project is tagged in the photo or in the caption should they wish to attract more viewers on Instagram and gain a growing audience for their activities.

As with other social media channels, Instagram makes use of hashtags. On this platform they are especially important since any posts that appear less relevant may disappear from the timelines of followers. According to Gotter (2019), creating a consistent, recognisable hashtag helps followers connect projects to organisations and creators, but discovering and adding a hashtag that is trending and popular within a community may help to ensure that a post gains more visibility in the said community and the post remains visible to more people. In the case of EUNIC London and besides their campaign hashtag #SharedEurope, any additional hashtags could be related to the art scene in London or for example European literature. Alternatively, conducting research on whether the collaborators of the network have their own hashtags and whether they could be applied to posts is highly recommendable. This way, not only EUNIC London but also the collaborator may gain new following.

5.1.3   Twitter

According to the website of the networking service, "Twitter is what's happening in the world and what people are talking about right now." ("Twitter is", n.d.). Considering Twitter is a networking and social media platform used by persons ranging from politicians to musicians and restaurateurs, as well as media outlets, organisations and enterprises, it seems logical. The messaging service offers its registered users a way to communicate with each other in short tweets or private messages, either online or via an app on a mobile device. In short, Twitter enables its users to share their ideas and thoughts or details about their everyday lives with numerous people (Comm 2009: xix). With the number of characters limited to 280, any message should be "more to the point" and to require "only a little time to read" (BBC 2017, Fitton et

al. 2009: 1). Moreover, posts or tweets that are public can be read by anyone. Users of the networking platform can determine who is allowed to see their posts, and logically, whose publications they want to see in their feed of posts. Messages can also be sent privately to a selected receiver, tweeted a little more publicly to all followers of the user in question, or for the whole of Twitter to see (Fitton et al. 2009: 1). In 2019, 'the whole of Twitter' meant 145 million active daily users, whereas 330 million accounts were actively used in a month (Lin 2019).

According to Comm (2009: 18-19), Twitter was developed in 2006 by three programmers, who were blogging and podcasting professionals. Williams, Stone and Dorsey meant for the communication tool to be used internally among the employees of Odeo, the company the programmers worked for. However, the tool quickly became popular among different professionals in the Silicon Valley, and within a year it had become a company of its own (Fitton et al. 2009: 11, Comm 2009: 18-20). Since then, the Twitter community has gained remarkable members such as Barack Obama, who like many politicians and political parties used the platform to amass supporters and bring key topics to the attention of the world (Fitton et al. 2009: 13). The number of people employed by Twitter at the end of the year 2019 was 4,900, which is proof of how significant the platform has grown to be in the era of instant messaging and computer-mediated communication (Statista 2020c).

However, Twitter is used by smaller organisations, communities and non-profit networks too. As Comm (2009: 28) argues, "it can generate earnings for any business online or offline.". Every organisation is different, and their success in the world of social media cannot always be measured in money. In terms of the current study for example, the main benefit for EUNIC London of being active on twitter is definitely the possibility to connect and reach out to their stakeholders (Fitton et al. 2009: 13). While the network is not seeking income from active participation on social media, it is clear that the online visibility generated through planned, joint actions is of high value for every cultural operator and stakeholder in London who fear they may lose audiences over Brexit. After all, Twitter differs from other social media platforms due to its open nature. For example, Matthew Greeley (as cited in Fitton et al. 2009: 16), explains that Facebook consists of people the users already know, whereas Twitter connects people and groups who never knew of each other but could possibly benefit from being connected. By default, twitter is less private and thus more open to new, possibly fruitful connections.

Twitter enables organisations and networks like EUNIC London to share content from their websites. Inserting a link to a tweet does not affect the character count, which means that in addition to directing audiences to the website of the network, such as an event page or a news article, there remains an opportunity to shortly describe and market the event or article in question. Sharing some information and telling where the reader can find more is a good way to direct any traffic to the website of the network or organisation in question. After all, any information shared on Twitter "can quickly go viral" (Comm 2009: 95). In addition to links, Twitter enables its users to apply hashtags to every tweet. Hashtags function by connecting the tweet with all other tweets that include the same hashtag, which is why EUNIC London maximises the visibility of their communications campaign by encouraging every member institute to apply the hashtag #sharedeurope or #SharedEurope when tweeting about their events or articles that are relatable to the network (Olafson 2020). Online search engines can pick up the hashtag too, which then enables more people to take part in the conversation behind the tag.

Another reason for networks like EUNIC London to use Twitter is that the very basic version of the networking platform is free to use. Thus, it does not necessarily require budgeting beyond planning how much time and effort can be invested. Additional services, such as TweetDeck for tweet scheduling or Twitter analytic tools for closer analysis of audiences and tweets can be applied and helpful, but optional, and sometimes they require regular payments. If no additional services are purchased, it is evident that EUNIC London, to a large extent could benefit from decisive and planned action on its social media channels. This also means that the differing resources between the member institutions would not further challenge the communications campaign. Moreover, social media reaches larger age groups than before, and by applying a well-planned strategy, it is possible for the cultural network to reach bigger and more varying groups of people than expected.

5.2   Data Collection

The data collection processes and methods of analysis of the current study are closely intertwined. Considering EUNIC London is a network where every operator has a similar role, every member institution is responsible for sharing their knowledge and programming with the network in order for them to be seen by the public. Thus, the social media takeover that had

begun before the current study had guidelines that applied to all members. The guidelines included the following points: "aim at maintaining a good spread in terms of genres, disciplines, cultures and geography" and "EUNIC London is non-political and its social media should reflect this" (the Strategy, n.d.). The aim was to schedule the takeovers of every participator so that they would be coordinated with possible, important events of the member institutions.

Since the study is multiform and has both qualitative and quantitative features, I decided to pay attention to the nature and structure of the network, as well as the online presence of EUNIC London. There were certain characteristics to EUNIC London that had to be considered. First of all, the member institutions of the network were not similar in size. Depending on the sending country, some institutions were able to set up a communications department which would then cover all communicative tasks. Others, however, consisted of only a few people, who would then be in charge of managing several fields of responsibility. Therefore, they could not be expected to invest the same amount of time and effort in the campaign as others. The size of the institutions would also determine the financial resources available, and thus I aimed at finding a way to create a campaign that would be realistic for each member to execute without the campaign becoming a financial or temporal burden. Secondly, some member institutions of EUNIC London operate as part of an embassy from the same sending country. Thus, it was highly important to promote European arts and culture in the United Kingdom without taking a political stance, since many embassies are expected to refrain from expressing a political opinion.

I began by mapping out the structure of the network following guidelines presented by Anna-Maija Vesa (2017). According to Vesa (2017: 6), a network can be divided into three circles which represent three different groups affecting the network:

1. The actives
2. The followers and the sympathisers
3. The curious, potential future agents

The first group, 'the actives', are placed in the core of the network, within the smallest circle. Regarding the current study, in the core of EUNIC London are the people in charge of the communications of the network. The second group are 'the followers' of a network. They are placed between the actives and the potential future agents. In the case of EUNIC London, I believe this group is represented by the collaborators and partners of the network, who EUNIC

London regularly collaborates with in order to create interesting events and an ever-growing network. This group would also benefit from the network's success. The outer circle is the last group, 'the potential future agents'. This group I believe to be important in terms of the current study, as it represents all the target audiences that are yet to discover the offerings of EUNIC London. In this group there could be anyone who has an interest in European arts, cultures and languages. It could also be someone with an interest in only one specific field of arts, which then happens to lead this person towards the communicative channels of the network.

The last group on the outer circle is the biggest, and in this case the most important in terms of raising awareness and promoting European arts in London and the United Kingdom. At the same time, the group is the most difficult to reach as it is rather undefined and ambiguous. It became evident that especially two of the guidelines were important to follow: diversity of the activities promoted and the non-political tone of voice. After all, the group that has not yet found EUNIC London could represent people who had voted to leave the EU but at the same time share a passion for French literature, for example. Recognising the ambiguity of the last group is part of the reason the decision was made to move the focus of the campaign onto the hashtag. Moreover, it became clear that the network would most likely benefit from cooperation and planning together in order to recognise and find the possible target audiences and the best communicative channels, instead of every member institution working alone and not sharing their respective knowledge and connections.

5.2.1   Workshops: The Set-Up

Considering all members of the network had different connections to arts and culture professionals, and their activities in London varied from one institution to another, the decision was made to bring all this knowledge together and plan the communications campaign in cooperation. The communications group met early in January 2019 to set plans for the spring that would be largely determined by Brexit. The group agreed to search for ways in which the network could express that all collaboration and connections would continue to be valued even after Brexit. I firmly believe that by doing so we would be able to draft a campaign that would suit the needs and resources of everyone and would thus contribute to the success of the campaign.

To assemble all the information and ideas the members of the network had and to give everyone an opportunity to express their thoughts, the Finnish Institute suggested a series of workshops as working method. These would take place during the spring of 2019 and would be divided into three principal sections:

1. Mapping out the challenges affecting the Social Media Takeover.
2. Finding all possible target groups, where and how to reach them.
3. Putting the campaign into practice and discussing the results.

Dividing the campaign into these sections would help to determine whether it was successful, which features were good and beneficial, and which ones could be left out. It also offered a chance for me to gather numeric data to support my research aims and questions. As one of the presidents of EUNIC London in 2019, the Finnish Institute and its communications team were in charge of directing and facilitating the workshop (Brooks-Harris and Stock-Ward 1999: 103). According to Brooks-Harris and Stock-Ward (1999: 103), that means acting as a guide for the participants and planning different activities and proceedings that have a clear timeline, are coherent and support learning.

Furthermore, attention was paid to the space where the workshop meetings took place. Allen (1977) and Zipf (1949) argued that "geographical proximity tends to facilitate network formation; it increases the likelihood for social encounter, the exchange of information, and the creation of social relations" (as cited in Glückler et al. 2017: 7). Therefore, the participants from each member institution were invited to the Finnish Institute where each had a seat around one big table, in front of which I stood with a screen showing the agenda of the meeting and a flip chart for note-taking. Thus, everyone had the chance to be heard and to see what took place at the front. I believe these measures taken were important as they ensured equal access to part-taking. Furthermore, being seated in rows one behind another with a speaker or authority standing on a separate platform at the front easily creates an atmosphere that does not encourage participation and interaction with others (Brooks-Harris and Stock-Ward 1999: 105).

Although the network gathers together on a regular basis, sharing a physical space during the workshops was important for team-building. After all, EUNIC London has more than 30 member institutions and the exchange of information is not always straightforward due to changes in every institution and their personnel. Glückler (2005) further notes that "the creation of new ties in a network is an important strategy for bridging physical separation and enable

communication and exchange over large distance" (as cited in Glückler et al. 2017: 7). In addition to sharing a learning space, every member was given tools for note-taking. The purpose was to give each member the opportunity to write down thoughts both for themselves as well as to share with the whole working group. After all, "communication includes both the message that is sent and the message that is received" (Brooks-Harris and Stock-Ward 1999: 62). Following further advice from Brooks-Harris and Stock-Ward (1999: 63), only one theme per day were included in the agenda. This is due to the fact that the workshop only gathered together for a maximum of two hours at a time. Moreover, by downsizing the number of topics, the aims of each workshop would remain clear for both the working group and the facilitator (Koskinen et al. 2018: 144-135). The theme or focus was introduced at the beginning of each workshop.

5.2.2   Workshop 1: Getting Started

The first workshop took place in February 2019, some weeks before the United Kingdom was expected to leave the European Union. Having realised that the reach of the network's Instagram page was very limited and excluded potential target groups, our team of directors of the campaign suggested focusing on the #SharedEurope hashtag instead. We explained to the group that considering the events taking place that spring, the hashtag was very current with a lot of potential to gain awareness. The suggestion was accepted by everyone and we started working on the campaign itself. This section is largely based on my personal communication from the first six months of 2019, with support and inspiration drawn from diverse research.

In January, based on the chosen hashtag, the working group had decided on a video project. The video would consist of EUNIC London members sharing their thoughts on Europe, what it means to them and how it contributes to the world. The video was inspired by a campaign created by the Mayor of London Sadiq Khan. Khan's message "London is open" expressed inclusivity and support for EU citizens in London (Mayors Office London 2016). The group felt the message was relatable and suited the communicative aims of EUNIC London. During the first workshop it was noted that all participants should follow the same pattern while filming their parts for the video in order to maintain coherence and a clear message.

Following advice from Koskinen et al. (2018: 74), the communications team started working on a key message for EUNIC London's communications campaign, as a clear key message would then help all communicative efforts later on in the process. Questions such as what, how

and who were central to the first workshop. The working group were each asked to write down answers to the following questions: what is the key message of the #SharedEurope campaign? Who are the target groups of this campaign and why is EUNIC London of interest to this group? The aim of these questions was to find as many target groups as possible, so that the team would be able to reform their key message to better suit each group. Below in table 1 are the answers provided by the working group.

Table 1. Answers from the first meeting of the working group (Personal workshop notes 2019)

TARGET GROUPS	WHAT INTERESTS THEM IN EUNIC LONDON?	CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION
Artists	Opportunities for funding and networking, inspiration	Instagram, Twitter
International students in the United Kingdom	Community, sense of belonging, internships, networking	Instagram, Facebook groups
British ex-expats	Networking, maintaining contact and language skills	Guardian, The Times, newsletters
UK-based students of foreign languages	Language courses, information on languages, networking	Facebook events
British partners/potential partner organisations	Funding, collaborations, networking	Twitter, LinkedIn, newsletters
the British who voted 'leave'	Cultural events, art	Facebook events, Facebook groups, Twitter, Daily Mail, The Sun, local newspapers
the British who voted 'remain'	Community, sense of still belonging to Europe	Twitter, The Guardian, Facebook events

As it can be seen from the suggested channels of communication, focusing on a hashtag could cover and reach the vast majority of all target groups. It was also suggested that the target groups who were most likely to subscribe to newsletters such as The Times and The Guardian could be reached through an op-ed article drafted together by the leaders of a few EUNIC London

member institutes. In this case, however, the key message would have to be very clear since it would have to appeal to the interest group in order to encourage action (Koskinen et al. 2018: 74). Koskinen et al. (2018) further state that when communicating about research or in this case, a campaign, it is important not to exclude those who may be opposed to it or are not yet interested in what is being offered (p. 51, 53). Thus, I found it important that the working group looked for ways to reach out to those who had voted to leave the EU. By highlighting the impartiality and inclusivity of European arts and culture, those groups could find the events of EUNIC London more inviting.

Another important argument arose during the first workshop. It seemed that none of the target groups found were necessarily interested in the members or the network itself. In fact, each group had an interest in something the network had to offer: language courses, connections, funding, or cultural events. Thus, it became evident that the priority of the communications campaign would have to lie with "interesting and relevant programming" and raising awareness of the activities provided, first and foremost. Since many of the member institutions of EUNIC London offer language courses or services, the idea arose to create shareable videos or infographics with a clear message: you can study all these European languages in EUNIC language schools. However, this would call for extra resources as none of the member institutions would necessarily have the time or personnel to carry out this task. The video would most likely have to be produced by a third party.

Thereafter, in order to keep activities and projects in the focus, a suggestion was made to gather three events per member institution per month. From these, everyone could choose one of their interest, which would then be promoted on their social media. Every institution would have to consider which of the events would suit their audiences and how they wanted their audiences to react (Koskinen et al. 2018: 77). However, it was not decided how this would happen or who would be in charge of circulating the list of events. Therefore, the working group decided to put the idea on hold until the next meeting. It was agreed, however, that a shared, annual calendar of all #SharedEurope-related events of the member institutions would be helpful. It would bring clarity to the planning and promotion of collaborations and projects, especially for the coordinator of the network.

In terms of promoting events, Koskinen et al. (2018) note that any digital content should be planned so that it is easy to forward and reshare (p. 79). Therefore, it seemed obvious that events with clear photos or graphics, and a short but clear message should be shared to others. Thus,

it would be easier for others to share the event and have a desired impact on their target audiences. Moreover, any content designed for marketing purposes should be produced with the event in mind. For example, performing arts events or photography exhibitions call for good visual marketing material.

As it was thought that the target audiences of the network would be more interested in relevant programming than EUNIC itself, the working group suggested that power should be given to the artists that collaborate with the network. For example, an artist invited to perform in the United Kingdom by the members of EUNIC London could be asked, as a part of their contract, to take over the social media channels of the network and promote and highlight their own work during their stay. That would cover two principles mapped out in the social media takeover initiative; promoting European arts and culture while staying strictly non-political. Artist takeovers were accepted as a good resource-saving idea. Firstly, producing content for social media would be the responsibility of the artist, it could be included in their contract and that would mean the communications correspondents would be free to focus on other aspects. Secondly, these takeovers would centre on arts and artists rather than the network. This, however, does not by any means suggest that the network does not play an important role in facilitating these artist visits and art exchange. Thirdly, if the visiting creative professional produced content for the channels during several days, that would bring continuity to the feeds, which could then possibly engage people to the channels for a longer period. It was agreed that a draft of a contract including the social media takeover should be composed to see whether it would be accepted by visiting artists.

During the discussion it became evident to me that even when merely resharing promotional content, the communicator should have a clear understanding of the key message they are aiming to express. For example, Koskinen et al. (2018) argue that tweets that are easy to react and reply to, or include hashtags relevant to the field or subject, perform the best in terms of engagement and reactions (p. 82-83). Especially with a network which such vast, interdisciplinary field of events and projects, every person in charge of communications would have to have the same mental image of the project in order to maintain coherence within the communications of the network. Therefore, below in table 2 are the suggestions presented by the working group on what should be the key message of the #SharedEurope campaign.

Table 2a. Key message suggestions from the first meeting of the working group (Personal workshop notes 2019)

WHAT IS THE KEY MESSAGE OF THE #SHAREDEUROPE CAMPAIGN?
1. We are here, we are active! Join our events!
2. There is more to Europe than the EU.
3. You can still enjoy European culture in the United Kingdom after any Brexit outcome.
4. EUNIC members are here to work with you and help you.
5. EUNIC works together with local organisations in local communities.
6. Even if you disagree with the EU you can still enjoy European culture.
7. In a country divided by Europe, European culture can bring people together.

The first key message focuses on raising awareness of both the network and the events. Not every arts and culture enthusiast or even a professional in London knows about the network and the opportunities it brings. After all, competition is high as there are many cultural operators in London. This message also aims at inclusiveness by saying that everyone is welcome to join the events provided by the members of the network. It is in line with the third key message, with a promise of perseverance: EUNIC London is here now and will continue to be, despite changes in the political climate.

The fourth and the fifth message highlight the network as an active partner that reaches out to everyone. They state that everything the network does is with the audience in mind and that all activities are crafted to suit their interests. Furthermore, especially during a time when international collaboration is more important than ever, it is important to clarify that the network operates with local groups and institutions too, and gives a voice and a platform to artists based in the United Kingdom. I believe that this can act as a bridge between European arts and artists and those who have negative expectations or experiences of Europe due to the rules and regulations imposed by the European Union, for example.

The second, sixth and the seventh message help the network distance themselves from any political opinion. After all, the guidelines given for the Social Media Takeover of the network clearly state that both EUNIC Global and EUNIC London are non-political (A. Mina, personal communication 2019). Following the instructions by Koskinen et al. (2018: 76), these messages tie the campaign into a larger discussion about Europe and the European Union, but highlight that arts, science and creativity do not depend on the Union and that they will continue to exist

for anyone who is interested. Furthermore, the second message in particular gives the artists and collaborators an opportunity to distance themselves from the union. Hart et al. (2005) encourage engaging with audiences on an "emotional level", in order for the message to speak "directly to their hearts" (p. 115). In this case, that could mean highlighting the inclusiveness of European arts and culture: there is more to Europe than the EU but on the other hand, culture can bring together people who would otherwise disagree on matters such as Brexit.

To conclude the meeting, I will now go through the results from the first workshop. The working group decided to focus on the hashtag #SharedEurope instead of a single social media platform. Moreover, the group gathered a list of existing and potential future target groups and audiences, as well as the channels through which these groups could be reached. The group also listed potential key messages that would be in line with the aims and principles of the network. The key messages were discussed in terms of pairing a message with one of the target audiences and then discussing the communication channels the group is likely to use, as exemplified in Table 2b below:

Table 2b. Key messages paired with target groups (Personal workshop notes 2019)

Target groups	What interests them in EUNIC member's work?	Key message	Channels
Artists	Opportunities for funding and networking, inspiration	We're here, we're active! Join our events. EUNIC members are here to work with you and help you. EUNIC works together with local organisations in local communities.	Instagram, Twitter
International students in the UK	Community, sense of belonging, internships, networking	We're here, we're active! Join our events.	Instagram, Facebook groups
British ex-expats	Networking, maintaining contact and language skills	We're here, we're active! join our events. There's more to Europe than the EU.	Guardian, The Times, newletters
UK-based students of foreign languages	Language courses, information on languages, networking	We're here, we're active! Join our events. You can still enjoy European culture	Facebook events, Instagram

		after any Brexit outcome.	
British partners/potential partner organisations	Funding, collaborations, networking	EUNIC members are here to work with you and help you. EUNIC works together with local organisations in local communities.	Twitter, LinkedIn, newsletters
British brexiteers	Cultural events, art	Even if you disagree with the EU you can still enjoy European culture.	Facebook events and groups, Twitter, Daily Mail, The Sun, local newspapers
British remainers	Community, sense of still belonging to Europe	In a country divided by Europe, European culture can bring people together.	Twitter, The Guardian, Facebook events

After mapping out target groups, key messages and channels, the working group drafted a list of actions that could be taken to boost their communicative channels and gain more attention for their projects and events. The member institutions would also continue with the Instagram Takeover project that had started in the beginning of the year, as it was deemed a good way to shift attention from the network to its activities and possibly engage more followers to the channels. In the following sections I will give some examples of the takeover posts published on the social media channels. Some of them will be shown in screenshots, while others are named as examples and they can all be found in the list of references.

It was decided that the next meeting would focus on the results and ideas from the first session and the group would discuss how to put them into practice. In the meanwhile, the group were asked to contribute to the Europe-video. The video carried the name What Europe means to me? (see Post example 1) and all 30-second clips were to be submitted by the 15th of March. Furthermore, the group would continue to publish and promote their events, while sharing (e.g.

retweeting and reposting) those of others in the network. Especially language courses, for which the member institutions were asked to create Facebook events or adverts.

When sharing material on any channel, the working group were encouraged to tag each other and their sending institution, as well as applying the hashtag #SharedEurope and any other hashtag they deemed suitable. Thus, the campaign hashtag would be circulated more, and the institutions would gain more attention among their networks. Lastly, due to the prevailing uncertainty affecting all EU-based activities in 2019, the workshops could not aim at a concrete and complete communications action plan. With all activities and funding being subjected to change, we thought it best to create a rolling action plan (see e.g. Juholin 2009: 119) that could be modified according to the changing circumstances. Putting the ideas of the group into practice would, with time, show what works and what is missing.

5.2.3   Workshop 2: The Campaign in Practice

In the previous section, I presented a task wherein the working group worked together to find target audiences and key messages. After the first workshop, the group had carried on with their social media takeovers, while paying attention to the newfound key messages and looked for ways to reach larger audiences. From February onwards, Romanian Cultural Institute and the French Institute took over the EUNIC London channels with a literature theme (see e.g. EUNIC London 2019a). In March, with the Brexit day approaching, the EUNIC London social media accounts were taken over by the Goethe Institute and their posts carried an EU theme (see e.g. EUNIC London 2019b). To further highlight the theme, the Institute named their takeover as the #EuropeActually series. This gained the support of the working group, as the hashtag followed the style of the #SharedEurope hashtag, and thus took part "in an ongoing conversation" on the topic of Europe and the United Kingdom (Koskinen et al. 2018: 59).

The aim was to promote as many Europe-related events by the network and its partners as possible, but I believe it is important to know that the posts on the Facebook, Twitter and Instagram channels were not identical. Often, the same events and articles were shared on all three platforms. For example, Europe Day was notified widely. However, on some occasions posts were left out from other channels and only published on one (see Post examples 1, 2 and 3 for more information). This is due to the campaign instructions of sharing and resharing as much as possible: some posts were more suitable for resharing, whereas less visual and more verbal content such as articles were challenging to post on Instagram where the account does not provide an option for sharing links directly under a related photo. Thus, it was left for each communicator to decide where and how to promote an event or article, provided that the hashtag #SharedEurope was used and each party involved was tagged in the publication.

Since the second workshop took place towards the end of March, the member institutions had also submitted their clips for the video *What Europe means to me?* (see Post example 1 below). This was to ensure that the video would be ready for sharing by May 9th, which is Europe Day. Europe Day marks the Schuman declaration from 1950 that aimed at lasting peace and cooperation in Europe ("Europe Day" 2020), and since European cooperation is at the heart of EUNIC London, the network and its members celebrate and mark the day with annual social media posts and publications on the topic (see e.g. EUNIC London 2019c).

The team agreed that the video would be a great example of not only celebrating European achievements, but also informative, Europe-related content.

Post example 1. What Europe means to me? -video (euniclondon 2019)

Moreover, it was agreed that the most suitable tone of voice for the social media channels of EUNIC London was achieved by putting "information first and opinions second" (Personal workshop notes 2019). That meant that all content published on the channels should provide the follower with some type of information. For example, following advice from Koskinen et al. (2018: 168), event adverts should always answer questions such as why and how to attend (see e.g. EUNIC London 2019a) to seem inviting and encouraging.

The second meeting of the working group concentrated on sharing these experiences of the campaign so far and suggesting possible changes or additions to what had been agreed on before. Below in Table 3 I have listed all the comments and experiences presented by the group. As suggested by Ninni Lehtniemi, Head of Society and Culture Programme at the Finnish Institute, we applied a three-step technique called Keep/Stop/Start ("Improve Your Teamwork with "Keep/Stop/Start"", 2020). According to Lehtniemi's experience, this technique is useful in workshops where the team has limited resources. The group agreed it was suitable for us as we wanted to gain a clear vision of what to do in the campaign, why, and how it would work. The team also needed help narrowing down any activities that were too complicated or time-consuming. Following the technique, we divided the experiences and observations into three categories:

1. **Keep** – the actions that were deemed positive and realistic to execute by the group and seemed to perform well on the communicative channels. The purpose of this category was to map out what the team was already doing well, as well as to thank them for good effort thus far ("Improve Your Teamwork with "Keep/Stop/Start"", 2020).

2. **Stop** – the actions that the team regarded "counterproductive" and less effective, as well as too challenging to carry out ("Improve Your Teamwork with "Keep/Stop/Start"" 2020).

3. **Start** – what to add to the action plan. This is the most important category and a way to find out what could be done to be more productive and efficient ("Improve Your Teamwork with "Keep/Stop/Start"", 2020). This category often calls for more creativity, discussion, and teamwork. I believe that is why it was especially important for the second meeting of the working group.

Table 3. Keep/Stop/Start exercise findings (Personal workshop notes 2019)

	KEEP	**STOP**	**START**
1.	Using the hashtag: smart and simple.	Overcrowding the hashtag. Only use when appropriate.	More efficient monitoring of the hashtag!
2.	Sharing the hashtags.	Being conscious about target audiences when using the hashtag: More experimenting with large audiences.	Active sharing and reposting of others' content! Hashtag easy to follow for more events. Approaching with similar audiences/interests/events for cross-promotion.
3.	The takeovers - save in Insta Highlights?		Focus on Instagram stories/live; more popular. Tagging EUNIC.
4.	Tagging		Keep others updated. Discuss our plans for the next 6 months.
5.	Continue using Facebook, large audience.		More live coverage of members' events.
6.	Insta stories. Good for resharing and tagging.		Targeted posts for audiences yet to be reached?
7.	Members' posts on the EUNIC account.		Simple introduction of Institutes' members and EUNIC? PROBLEMATIC
8.			Newsletters: footer linked to EUNIC? Linking to the EUNIC events page?

As it can be seen from observations in the category Keep (see numbers 1 and 2 in Table 3.), using the campaign hashtag #SharedEurope and other, related hashtags such as

#EUNICLondon and #Europeanliterature was widely considered efficient and straightforward. According to Lehtonen (2019), active use of hashtags increases the organic visibility of a post and thus, has a positive impact on the sending account. That means that the visibility increases without extra payments. This is important for a network like EUNIC London where the members have significantly varying resources between them. Furthermore, the posts can be found if a social media user (for example on Instagram) searches for one of its hashtags, for example #EuropeanLiterature (Lua, n.d.). It means that the post has the possibility to reach audiences that were not familiar with the network before. Moreover, numbers 4 and 6 in the same category suggest that tagging all parties involved is a good way to engage larger audiences. For example, when coming across an interesting account on Instagram, it is possible to see all posts where that account has been tagged ("Tagging and Mentions", n.d.). Taking into account the target groups in Table 1., this feature could help both EUNIC London and its partner organisations find other groups with similar interests, and thus broaden their networks.

In the category Stop (see numbers 1 and 2), however, it can be seen that an active use of the campaign hashtag does not come without challenges. The communications working group feared that due to an increased use, the campaign hashtag #SharedEurope was becoming overcrowded. That means the posts are lost in a crowd of several others using the same hashtag (Marks 2018). That way, some events and information could be missed as there is too much content available. After all, hashtags are used to target and enhance posts, not to hide them. To avoid this, Marks (2018) suggests finding a tag that is unique enough and not trending on social media. This helps highlighting a campaign or brand, as social media users are more likely to follow customed, specific tags (Marks 2018). Moreover, Koskinen et al. (2018) recommend mapping out the most important hashtags related to the topic, especially the shortest and most informative ones (p. 83). The group researched different hashtag options before voting for #SharedEurope, therefore we believe it is unique and new enough. However, #SharedEurope is a content hashtag, which means it is applied to posts related to the hashtag (Marks 2018). It is not to be applied to every post by the members of EUNIC London. Therefore, the group agreed to pay more attention to their posts: if it is not related to Europe or European arts as such, the hashtag should not be applied. In terms of number 2, being conscious of appropriately applying the hashtag goes with keeping different target audiences in mind. This combined with tagging affiliate organisations exposes the posts to larger audiences with an interest in European arts and culture.

Lastly, we were delighted to achieve such a large number of suggestions for the future in the category Start. After all, the categories Stop and Start are the most effective in terms of improvement and change ("Improve Your Teamwork with "Keep/Stop/Start"", 2020). As mentioned above, the group was concerned about the excessive use of the campaign hashtag, and in the future were looking to better monitor its use (see number 1). Better monitoring with the help of tracking tools would also mean following the performance of the hashtag on different media. After all, that is one way to measure the success of a communications campaign (Influencer Marketing Hub 2020).

Taking away the attention from the hashtag and the accounts of EUNIC London, it was suggested that each member organisation should make more use of posts by affiliates. In short, the members should actively repost content by each other and thus cross-promote one another. This would, again, maximise visibility online and take the pressure of the person or group controlling the EUNIC London accounts. To make this easier, the group should share their plans for the near future so that certain types of content could be expected and communications activities planned in advance (see number 4). Moreover, it was thought that the group should approach others with similar programming and events, follow those accounts whose attention the network wanted to achieve, according to instructions by Koskinen et al. (2018: 82).

Numbers 3, 5 and 7 presented a new idea as well as a challenge. The group agreed their different events should be posted live on Instagram stories (see numbers 3 and 5). Simultaneously, as this would happen on the member accounts, it would be important to tag EUNIC London so that the Stories could then be shared by the main account (EUNIC London). The main account is likely to have a different audience from the members, so this would bring their events to the attention of potential new target groups. This would also bring continuity and coherence to the channels, as the Stories would cover those events that had been promoted before. Suggestion number 7, however, would take the attention away from the events and informative, Europe-related content. As EUNIC London remains relatively unknown to many, it was thought that maybe their social media audiences would like to know who the network consists of and what they do. However, it was decided that the aim of the #ShareEurope campaign should, for the time being, remain on European arts and contributions to the world.

The second workshop saw the group share their ideas and experiences with one another, and draft the next set of guidelines for the spring. The three-step exercise (Keep/Stop/Start) revealed what had worked so far, what had not, and what should be added to ensure the progress of the

#SharedEurope communications campaign. The campaign hashtag was well received by all, and it was deemed easy to use. However, the group agreed to be more selective about the content to which the hashtag was applied in order to avoid overcrowding it. Similarly, the group decided to make use of cross-promotion among the network members and affiliates. This would maximise the visibility of their posts, as well as attract potential new audiences. In the next section, I will present some statistics and the results from the third and final meeting of the working group.

6   THE FINAL WORKSHOP

In this section, I will discuss the results from the #SharedEurope communications campaign thus far (January 2019 to June 2019). The results consist of a Social Media Report, which includes figures such as profile visits before and after the start of the campaign, shares, follows and the number of clicks on posts. A crucial part of the results is also the third and final discussion among the working group in the last meeting in June 2019, as it helped them plan their future communications activities and guidelines. The results from this discussion will conclude this study, and therefore they will be presented in the last section.

6.1   The Results

Anastasia Mina, the Executive Secretary of EUNIC London had gathered data from all social media channels of the network: Facebook, Twitter and Instagram (A. Mina, personal communication 2019). The results on Facebook and Twitter activities cover a longer period of time, January to May 2019, and this period will be analysed as a whole. In the case of Instagram, the platform does not store details from further than one month, in this case May 2019. Those details are divided into two-week-sections. However, the May results in 2019 derive from decision made in two separate workshops, and therefore I find the results from that month a good example of how a communications campaign can affect the popularity and attention received by an Instagram account. Moreover, the last workshop took place in June and therefore the May results gave a good opportunity to analyse recent activities. In tables 4 and 5 I will list the results from the analysis by starting with Facebook and Twitter and then moving on to Instagram in Table 6.

Table 4. Social Media Report 2019: Facebook and Twitter (as shared in workshop by Anastasia Mina 2019)

	SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORM ACTIVITY	FACEBOOK JAN 2019	FACEBOOK MAY 2019	TWITTER JAN 2019	TWITTER MAY 2019
1.	FANS	2.1 K	2.1 K	2.2 K	2.3 K
2.	POSTS	35	24	22	41
3.	ENGAGEMENTS	100	136	68	122
4.	CLICKS	61	72	9	94
5.	REACTIONS	60	94	38	80
6.	SHARES	39	42	29	41

Table 5. Social Media Report 2109: Facebook and Twitter since the social media takeover started, January 2019 to May 2019 (as shared in workshop by Anastasia Mina 2019)

	POSTS	ENGAGE-MENTS	CLICKS	REACTIONS	SHARES	FOLLOWS
FACE-BOOK	+144	+567	+255	+376	+185	+55
TWIT-TER	+132	+389	+167	+251	+131	+243

The results in Table 4 tell of systematic and more active use of the social media channels of EUNIC London. For example, the number of posts on Twitter (see number 2 in Table 4) in May 2019 was nearly double the number of January 2019. Moreover, the posts on the Facebook account of the network drew more reactions from followers in May 2019 than in January 2019 (see number 5 in Table 4). Both Facebook and Twitter posts were also clicked on more often than in January 2019 (see number 4 in Table 4). One could assume this derives from planned, event-centric content and regular use of proper hashtags. It could also be an example of maximised visibility due to the increased sharing of posts by followers (see number 6 in Table 4).

However, it can be seen from Table 4 that the number of followers on Facebook had not changed remarkably between January 2019 and May 2019 (see number 1 in Table 4). The numbers given in the table are rounded to the nearest hundred, which means that it seems as though the number of followers was not affected by the communications campaign. However, from Table 5 it can be seen that the number of followers on Facebook increased by 55 during the campaign. The group thought this figure could have been higher, but it was suggested that maybe, after all, the Facebook page of the network was not the number one source of information for their audiences. In terms of Twitter, Table 5 shows that the number of followers increased by 243, which is a remarkable amount. It is likely that this was achieved by active sharing and resharing of events, as well as the campaign hashtag. Similarly, Table 5 shows that during the campaign Twitter posts became more engaging. This could be due to active tagging of all parties included. After all, having few followers that actively engage with the account is better than having a large number of followers who do not, according to Barnhart (2020b). Lastly, I will present the results from Instagram in May 2019. The Social Media Takeover started in January, after which the EUNIC London account grew increasingly active.

Table 6. The Social Media Report 2019: Instagram 21. May – 27. May (as shared in workshop by Anastasia Mina 2019)

INSTAGRAM	ACTIVITY	MAY 14. - 20.	MAY 21. - 27.
1.	PROFILE VISITS	52	233
2.	WEBSITE CLICKS	0	14
3.	ACCOUNTS REACHED	1579	1279
4.	IMPRESSIONS	3798	5156

Because the results from Instagram only cover a seven-day period at a time and only from the past month, and since the last workshop took place mid-June 2019, I decided to compare the results from the last two weeks of May 2019. As it can be seen from number 1 in Table 6, the number of profile visits towards the end of the month multiplied. In order to understand what caused such increase in profile visits and impressions, it is important to study the posts published on the Instagram account of EUNIC London during that time, as well as see if there were any collaborations taking place during that month that could be behind the increased popularity. To further analyse the change in numbers, I will present some of the posts published on the account of EUNIC London during that time.

From the Instagram feed of the network (@euniclondon) it is noticeable that two social media takeovers by two member institutions took place in May. Firstly, the Embassy of Portugal (@embassyofportugalinuk) took over from May 15th until the 19th, as seen below in Post example 4:

Post example 4. Embassy of Portugal (euniclondon 2019)

Secondly, the European section of the British Council (@britishcouncileurope) was in charge from May 20th until the 26th, as seen in Post example 5 below:

Post example 5. The British Council (euniclondon 2019)

The Embassy of Portugal published several posts during their short takeover. There were two to four posts per day, but in some cases, it remains unknown whether a post published during the takeover was from EUNIC London or the Embassy of Portugal, as they were not marked clearly. For example, in Post example 6 below, it can be seen that the event is related to a Portuguese gallery, and the takeover hashtags are given at the bottom of the caption.

However, for a person quickly scrolling through the Instagram feed the takeover could be left unnoticed:

Post example 6. The Portuguese Embassy (euniclondon 2019)
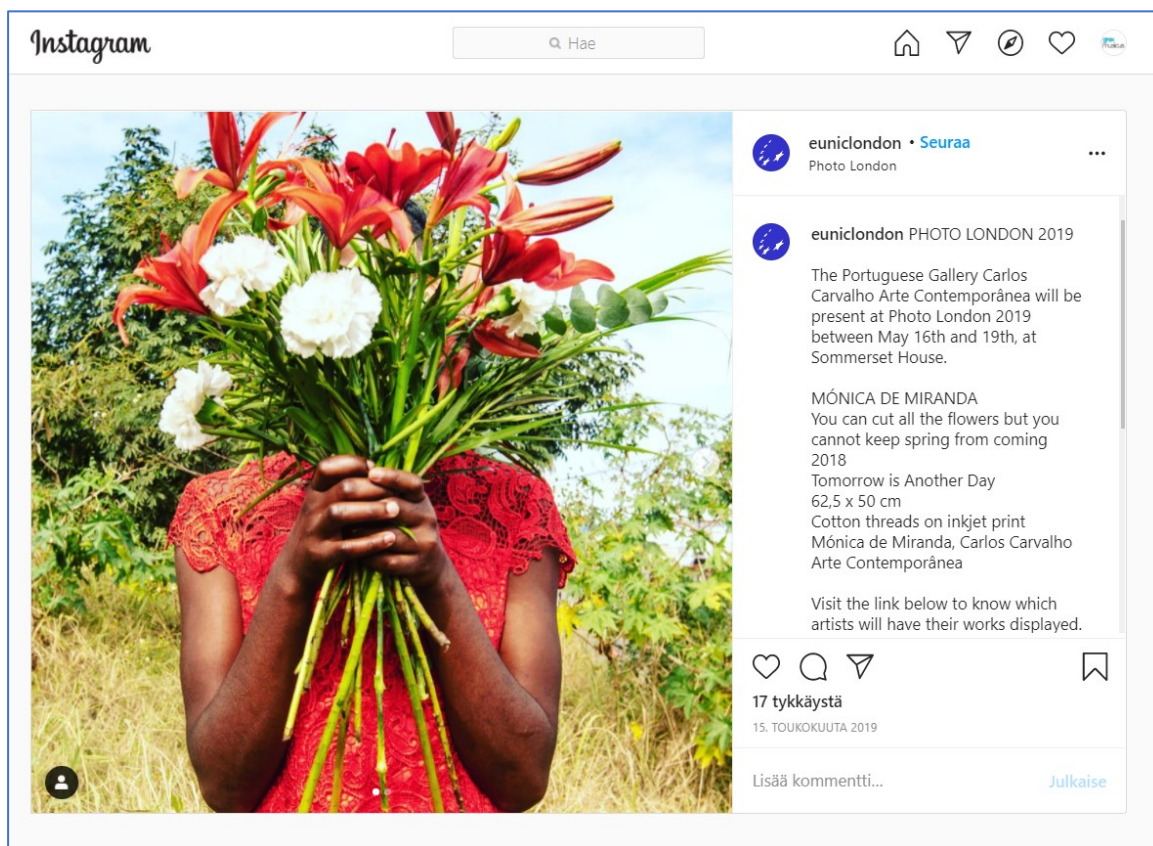
In comparison, the takeover of the British Council lasted longer, but there were not more than three posts per day. Instead, every takeover post was marked in the caption with a greeting (as seen in EUNIC London 2019d). In addition, the British Council notified their followers of the takeover in their own Instagram channel and tagged EUNIC London, as seen in Post example 7 below:

Post example 7. The British Council (britishcouncileurope 2019)
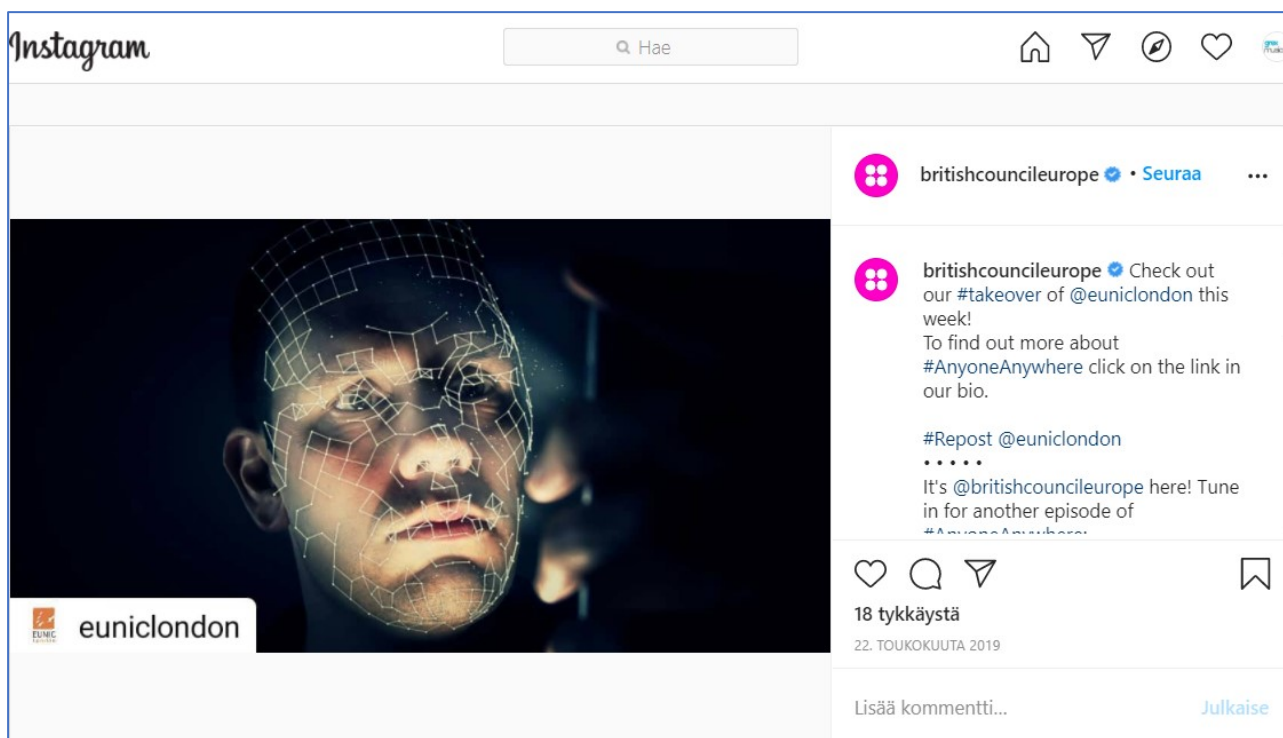
I believe, that by announcing the takeover in their channel, the British Council succeeded in inviting their followers to familiarise themselves with the account of EUNIC London. That would explain the remarkable increase in the number of profile visits between May 14th and May 27th (see number 1 in Table 6).

The number of impressions on Instagram refers to how many times a story or a post has been seen, although the number does not define whether it has been seen multiple times by the same person or once by several viewers (Hitz 2020). Therefore, the posts published during the British council takeover gained more viewers or more views per person than the posts published before the takeover. I believe there are two reasons behind this: firstly, the takeover was announced in every post published by the British Council, which created a series of posts and brought consistency to the feed. Secondly, in average, the British Council published two to three posts per day. It is possible that this was an ideal amount of content in order to remain interesting to the audience, while at the same time avoiding overcrowding the feed. I also believe that the British Council being a British institution is likely to have an active and large audience in London, which could then positively affect all the members in its networks.

However, the results in Table 6 (see number 3) suggest that more accounts were reached during the takeover by the Embassy of Portugal. This could be due to the large number of posts published during some days of the takeover. However, this is a suggestion that would require

more analytical efforts to prove, as the accounts reached could be of any kind: private persons, cultural institutions or schools. Thus, it is difficult to prove whether the accounts reached were from within the network itself, or third parties and possible new followers. Altogether, it can be seen from the results in this section, that paid-for tools for social media analysis can bring information that otherwise would be missed. I assume that those tools can provide answers to some questions that in this study, remain unanswered. In the last section, I will conclude my study and present the thoughts of the working group concerning the communications of EUNIC London in the future, as well as provide alternative ways to continue the #SharedEurope communications campaign.

6.2   Discussion

In the beginning of the communications campaign, EUNIC London listed a few ideal outcomes that the campaign could bring. The ideal outcomes listed were increased visibility online, awareness among different audiences of the activities of the network and, hopefully, continued support of the members of the network. In addition, the network hoped to raise awareness of European arts and culture in the United Kingdom as a positively influencing, largely non-political industry. Taking into account the differing resources between the members of the network, as well as their differing audiences, together we decided to conduct a communications campaign through a series of workshops. Thus, every voice would be heard and as a group, we would be exposed to a larger number of ideas and suggestions.

According to workshop notes from the first meeting in February (Personal workshop notes 2019), the ideal outcomes of the campaign were divided into two categories: benefits for the member institutions and benefits for EUNIC London. The working group believed that an increased visibility and an active, more strategic presence online would help a single member institution by encouraging more people to attend their events and visit the institution itself. It could also help raise awareness of the countless, different communities in London and the surrounding areas that could be affected by Brexit, and promote their culture and arts.

The working group suggested that the ideal outcomes for EUNIC London as a network could be somewhat similar to those of a single member institution. For example, a successful communications campaign or strategy would bring more visitors to the events of the network, which would then assist in finding support and funding for future projects and collaborations.

This would be achieved through spreading information about the events to audiences that have not yet found the network. Secondly, the goal of the network is to "promote culture and arts" (the Strategy, n.d.). Therefore, by focusing the communications campaign on arts, culture and creativity and thus advancing their recognition in the United Kingdom, this goal would be met. Finally, the last ideal outcome in the list is increased visibility of the hashtag. The network strived to find a hashtag that would be unique and relatively unused in order to create a brand and engage audiences in conversation while at the same time remaining the focus of attention (Gotter 2015).

To measure the impact and effectiveness of the #SharedEurope communications campaign, one could take two approaches: a quantitative approach using numbers derived from the social media accounts of the network (as seen in the previous section), or a qualitative one that considers the experiences of the working group and seeks ways to improve the campaign strategy in the future. After all, any performance, workshop or competition needs to be evaluated from different perspectives with different methods in order to make sure that the results are useful and of help in the future (Brooks-Harris and Stock-Ward 1999: 143-145).

Starting with a quantitative point of view, it is visible from the results listed in the previous section that the network succeeded in their aim of promoting arts and culture to larger audiences. Firstly, the numbers of followers of each social media channel of the network grew significantly, and the posts published on those channels engaged more people (see Tables 4, 5 and 6). The biggest growth took place on Twitter and Instagram. In terms of visual arts for example, this is logical because in the age of social media, art is being brought to where the audience is: platforms such as Instagram (Dege 2019). Although the number of likes on a publication does not necessarily correlate with the number of people visiting an upcoming exhibition, it is likely that more people are at least aware of the event taking place. Secondly, as shown in Table 5, the posts on the social media channels of EUNIC London were shared in an increasing amount during the spring of 2019. Assuming that at least some of those shares were carried out by non-members of the network, the figures would suggest that the shared posts have reached people who may be interested in the activities of the network, although not yet familiar with the network itself. This, again, is positive in terms of the goal of finding new target audiences.

Thirdly, when the first workshop meeting took place in February 2019, the number of Instagram followers of EUNIC London was 378 (A. Mina, personal communication 2019). In June, when

the last workshop meeting took place, the same figure was 745 (A. Mina, personal communication 2019). Thus, within five months the number of followers had nearly doubled. Since the first photo published on the account of EUNIC London dates back to 2016 (EUNIC London 2016), one can assume that the account had existed for approximately three years when the #SharedEurope campaign took place. Therefore, to nearly double the number of followers within five months is a remarkable change for any network, as it is likely that EUNIC London now reaches a larger number of people than ever before, and most of all on a platform that is growing and becoming increasingly popular among people of all ages and backgrounds. Although it is yet impossible to tell whether this growing audience has attended any events of the network before or after the communications campaign, one could say that any information shared on these social media channels is being received by more people than before, which in turn promotes awareness of Europe, arts and culture.

Approaching the results form a qualitative point of view, however, I concentrated on the experiences the working group had of the campaign and the workshops leading to it. During the final discussion of the last workshop, together with the working group I gathered a list of thoughts that came up in our discussions. The thoughts were listed under three categories: sharing posts and following accounts, Social Media Takeovers and the use of the hashtag #SharedEurope. All these are drawn from workshop notes gathered and sent to all workshop attendees by Anastasia Mina in 2019. Starting with how the group had found following new accounts and sharing posts, it was suggested that henceforth, each member institution should aim to follow high-follow accounts in order to reach newer, larger audiences. Secondly, the team was encouraged to post and share posts about bigger, popular events taking place in London and elsewhere. After all, audiences with similar interests to EUNIC London could find the events of the network appealing. Thirdly, the last suggestion was about planning and cooperation. We discussed the possibility of planning each post beforehand so that they could be targeted more efficiently, and coordinate the resharing process among other member institutions. The group felt this would be efficient and logistic, although time-consuming.

Discussing the Social Media Takeovers that had taken place throughout the spring, the group agreed that all takeover post should be published on the accounts of the member institution too. Thus, the audience could follow the takeover on both EUNIC London and member institution accounts. Moreover, EUNIC London should be tagged on the posts of the institution and likewise. This would guarantee increased visibility for both parties but would not require extra efforts as the content could be exactly the same on both accounts. Another suggestion from the

group was to introduce each takeover in a separate post to raise awareness of them happening (see e.g. Post example 5), and to make them seem inviting and interesting. I encouraged the group to plan their takeover posts ahead and share their plans with others in order to operate in a synchronised way. The group had noted that as they gathered only a few times per year, it would be important to share plans and ideas with one another so that the other members could join in and support. That, however, would require an internal communications tool. The group suggested Google Drive folders or co-working tools such as Slack, but decisions were not made at that point.

Lastly, the campaign hashtag #SharedEurope was received well by the group. However, the experiences of its use varied between the members working group. On the one hand, the group thought the hashtag should not be overused. On the other hand, it was argued that the guidelines concerning the hashtag were too narrow and called for more experimenting with different audiences and types of posts. We agreed that this is something that could be discussed in further research: what are the most beneficial ways to apply a newly created hashtag? How to experiment with a hashtag without overcrowding it? An idea arose during the last meeting that cross-institutional interactions with the hashtag applied could be fruitful in terms of increased visibility online. This brought about more questions for the future. How could EUNIC London effectively combine the campaign hashtag to cross-institutional interaction online? What benefits or disadvantages could this bring?

To conclude the last session, following guidelines from Brooks-Harris and Stock-Ward (1999: 147-148), I asked the team to write down feedback on how they found the method of working together in workshops and focusing on a hashtag, and then we discussed their experiences. Since the workshop itself provided the team with both qualitative and quantitative data on their communications efforts, as described above, I believe we finished the sessions better equipped for the future. In summary, the group felt regular and more frequent meetings and discussions were better than strict guidelines shared via email. They also felt that an annual plan or calendar of all activities of the member institutions could help coordinating all communications. Through this informal method of evaluation (Brooks-Harris and Stock-Ward 1999: 148) not only did I receive information on how to conduct workshops in the future, but the group were left with more tools to work on their communications campaign. We discovered ways to create a communications campaign that suits many needs and is possible for everyone to execute, and found the benefits and challenges to take into consideration in the future.

7 CONCLUSION

In this study, we have learnt about cultural diplomacy in the European Union, its challenges and opportunities. We have also studied the concept of soft power in order to understand how cultural diplomacy functions, and then discussed organisational communication and networks in order to understand EUNIC Global and EUNIC London. It is important to acknowledge the circumstances of the member institutions of EUNIC London in 2019: how every institution is and was different in terms of resources and principles. Thus, it is fair to say that the current study answers my first research question by showing that it is possible to successfully run a communications campaign that raises awareness and increases the number of followers in all communications channels, while remaining cost-effective, culture-centric and true to the value of inclusivity.

As seen in the previous chapter, we were able to find ways that made the campaign possible to execute in a short period of time. According to Pelsmacker, Geuens and Bergh (2013: 318), PR is a communications tool, that can be used to "promote goodwill towards the firm as a whole". In the case of EUNIC London, this means maintaining a diverse feed and an active presence online so that as many people as possible can find an activity that speaks to them. Therefore, all communications activities should be planned (Pelsmacker et al. 2013: 318). I believe that with our campaign, we were able to maintain a more or less regular feed of information with diversity and good promotion of European arts. More importantly, through regular contact and meetings we were able to have all ideas, suggestions and critique on board, which meant that the group was satisfied with our campaign. As stated before, if EUNIC London benefits from the campaign, its member institutions are likely to benefit too.

However, Pelsmacker et al. (2013: 73) note that numerous factors will define how a consumer or a potential customer reacts to marketing or promotion communications. Their reaction will depend on what they look for in a product (in this case, we offer art and cultural activities), the time and place where the customer receives the message or even their psychological state. I can imagine that someone struggling with the bureaucracy of the European Union systems might not be interested in anything European. On the other hand, an exchange student feeling homesick abroad may find comfort in literature nights or art exhibitions. Thus, in terms of research question 2, our approach of trial and error through workshops seems like a good choice. Our method left room for changes, and took into account differing opinions and most

importantly, resources. After all, Juholin (2009: 94-95) notes that no matter how many knowledgeable people work for an organisation, careful communications call for resources, often time and money. In our case, the time was running out with Brexit drawing near and the organisation did not have extra funds to spare. Thus, we operated with what we had: co-operative professionals and experts in their own fields sharing and exchanging ideas, trying new things and giving up tactics that did not work.

In terms of future research on cultural institutes and communication, more attention could be paid on the type of content the network publishes, what its audiences react to and what does not receive remarkable attention. It would be interesting to see how Brexit affects the communications of foreign cultural institutes operating in the United Kingdom. What type of content speaks to people? What should one avoid? Furthermore, a deeper analysis of the network's target groups could prove to be interesting when compared to the results from our workshops as presented in table 2b. After all, communications "do not always have positive effects" (Pelsmacker et al. 2013: 107), which is why it is crucial to find the right channel, message and target group for each campaign.

Anastasia Mina (personal communication 2020) has notified me that EUNIC London had more than 930 followers on Instagram in November 2020. Taking into account that this number was less than 400 at the beginning of the social media takeovers in 2019, one could say that the campaign combined with a signature hashtag served well. According to Mina (personal communication 2020), the takeovers continued for several months after my internship ended in June 2020. However, the campaign hashtag #SaredEurope has been less frequently used by the network in 2020, which raises questions whether EUNIC London is looking for a new social media strategy and approach.

Comparing the advice from Theaker and Yaxley (2013: 105), our campaign did not have a perfected strategy, as our goals were somewhat abstract. In hindsight, this is an answer to research question two: have a clear strategy with clear, easily measurable targets. Thus, it will be easier to evaluate the success of the campaign. However, the group had numerous tactics which were applied and resulted in a growing online following of the network, which is what we looked for. Thinking of others conducting research on similar topics, I am afraid I cannot, based on my study, provide a ready-made material package and instructions on how to run a campaign, but I believe and hope that it inspires others and provides food for thought. In the future, with perhaps different resources, the focus could be on how to support the creative

industries in a post-Brexit Britain through a communications campaign. Reviving the industry in both Britain and the European Union after challenges brought on by Brexit in 2019 and the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 will certainly call for effective communications strategies with EUNIC Global and EUNIC London in a crucial role as the big networks operating in both Europe and the United Kingdom.

REFERENCES

The primary sources referred to in this study are posts from the Instagram, Twitter and Facebook channels of EUNIC London and its member institutions. Some of the sources are shown as screenshots in the text, while others are named as references. They will be listed in this section with a number or a letter to identify each source. The secondary sources listed are background literature and earlier research which I have applied to support my research choices.

Primary sources

EUNIC London 2019a

EUNIC London [euniclondon]. (2019, March 12). "Celebrated authors Ioana Pârvulescu and Claudiu Florian, winners of the EUPL Prize, will be reflecting on writing in a new Europe and the borderless imagination in the company of revered British author Paul Bailey, a refined connoisseur of Romanian literature and culture at large.". Talk starts at 7PM! More info at the link in our bio. #SharedEurope#londonevent #londonlecture #romanianliterature #romanianinlondon #londonromanian #booklaunch #booktalk [Instagram photograph]. Retrieved from: https://www.instagram.com/p/Bu6L9EGArxM/ (1.7.2019)

EUNIC London 2019b

EUNIC London [euniclondon]. (2019, March 14). Today is the start of @goetheinstitut_london's #EuropeActually series! Stay tuned for concerts, towel art conventions, a starry night and more. Link in bio! #SharedEurope #londonevents #brexit #brexitevents #germanevents #germanlondon [Instagram photograph]. Retrieved from: https://www.instagram.com/p/Bu_OpJGggZg/ (1.7.2019)

EUNIC London 2019c

EUNIC London [euniclondon]. (2019, May 9). Why a Europe Day ?

Europe Day, held on 9 May every year, celebrates peace and unity in Europe. The date marks the anniversary of the historical 'Schuman declaration'. At a speech in Paris in 1950, Robert Schuman, the then French foreign minister, set out his idea for a new form of political cooperation in Europe, which would make war between Europe's nations unthinkable. His vision was to create a European institution that would pool and manage coal and steel production. A treaty creating such a body was signed just under a year later. Schuman's proposal is considered to be the beginning of what is now the European Union. Find out more: https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/europe-day_en #Europeday #EU #europe #celebration #peace #unit #culturalorganisation #EUNIC [Instagram photograph]. Retrieved from: https://www.instagram.com/p/BxOCJ9pgZA4/ (1.7.2019)

EUNIC London 2019d

EUNIC London [euniclondon]. (2019, May 22). It's @britishcouncileurope here! Tune in for another episode of #AnyoneAnywhere: #AnyoneAnywhere is a global season which was launched to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the birth of the web, looking at the impact of this world-changing invention on every aspect of our lives, and raising questions about its future. In this Anyone//Anywhere and @barbicancentre #LifeRewired essay, artist and author James Bridle explains how the capacities of our own technologies threaten to supersede us. Read this article and many more by visiting the link in our bio.

📷 © sp3n / Adobe

#BritishCouncil #AnyoneAnywhere #ManVsMachine #ArtificialIntelligence #britishcouncil #takeover #sharedeurope [Instagram photograph]. Retrieved from: https://www.instagram.com/p/BxwlDhOA18_/ (1.7.2019)

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EUNIC London. (2019, May 8). *What Europe means to me*. [Video]. YouTube. Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pOXooTStzmU . (15.5.2019)

EUNIC London 2016

EUNIC London [euniclondon]. (2016, August 18). Exploring our body from it's hidden micro bacteria to it's digital incarnations, The Games Europe Plays - BODY <> TECH takes a playful look at how digital technologies are helping us to heal but can aldo disturb our wellbeing. The exhibition is open til 26 August Tues-Fri: 11am-5pm Sat: 11am-4pm 👗[Instagram photograph]. Retrieved from: https://www.instagram.com/p/BJPzHdzB2js/ (1.7.2019)

Post example 1

The Finnish Institute [FinInstLondon]. (2019, May 9). Europe to us means everything from diversity to music. @EUNICLONDON celebrates all of that and more, see the video for our friends' thoughts on Europe! #EuropeDay2019 #SharedEurope #euniclondon
https://youtube.com/watch?v=pOXooTStzmU&feature=youtu.be[tweet].
Retrieved from:
https://twitter.com/FinInstLondon/status/1126530372702015489 (1.7.2019)

Post example 2

EUNIC London [euniclondon]. (2019, May 9). There's more to Europe than the EU. We, EUNIC London (European Union National Institutes for Culture), are here to continue to work with you on joint cultural projects. At this crucial moment, we asked fellow British and European citizens what Europe means to them. What do YOU think about Europe? OUR main message is: we're here, we're active, join our events at: http://europe.org.uk #SharedEurope #EUNICLondon #EuropeDay [Instagram video]. Retrieved
from:https://www.instagram.com/tv/BxP0sjQgXtw/?igshid=vpjm3rcao859
(1.7.2019)

Post example 3

EUNIC London [EUNICLondon]. (2019, 9 May). 9 May – Europe Day #SharedEurope Europe Day held on 9 May every year celebrates peace and unity in Europe. The date marks the anniversary of the historical 'Schuman declaration'. At a speech in Paris in 1950, Robert Schuman, the then French foreign minister, set out his idea for a new form of political cooperation in Europe, which would make war

between Europe's nations unthinkable. To celebrate Europe Day at a crucial moment in history, we, EUNIC London (European Union National Institutes for Culture), have asked fellow British and European citizens in UK what Europe means to them. What do YOU think about Europe? Our main message is: we're here, we're active, join our events at: http://europe.org.uk

#SharedEurope #EUNICLondon EUNIC London (European Union National Institutes for Culture) is the network of the cultural institutes and embassies from the Member States of the European Union in London. We are here to continue to work with you on joint cultural projects.

https://youtu.be/pOXooTStzmU [Facebook update]. Retrieved from: https://www.facebook.com/EUNICLondon/posts/9-may-europe-day-sharedeurope-europe-day-held-on-9-may-every-year-celebrates-pea/2536191209738872/ (1.7.2019)

Post example 4

EUNIC London [euniclondon]. (2019, 15 May). ***Social Media Takeover*** With the Camões Institute and EUNIC London 15th to 19th of May 2019 on Instagram! #takeover #culturalorganisation [Instagram photograph]. Retreived from: https://www.instagram.com/p/BxecDQ4A66z/ (1.7.2019)

Post example 5

EUNIC London [euniclondon]. (2019, 20 May). ***Social Media Takeover*** @britishcouncileurope is taking over our account @euniclondon this week. Watch this space! #BritishCouncil #EunicLondon #Takeover #SharedEurope [Instagram photograph]. Retrieved from: https://www.instagram.com/p/BxrOoDHnBb-/ (1.7.2019)

Post example 6

EUNIC London [euniclondon]. (2019, 15 May). PHOTO LONDON 2019 The Portuguese Gallery Carlos Carvalho Arte Contemporânea will be present at Photo London 2019 between May 16th and 19th, at Sommerset House. MÓNICA DE MIRANDA You can cut all the flowers but you cannot keep spring from 2018 Tomorrow is Another Day 62,5 x 50 cm Cotton threads on inkjet print Mónica de Miranda, Carlos Carvalho Arte Contemporânea Visit the link below

to know which artists will have their works displayed.
https://www.carloscarvalhoac.com/public/uploads/noticias/PHOTO%20LO
NDON%202019_preview.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1rbmP11LF49ssDnXWXCGweoX
wAADD_ShIEk5l-E3DWFJklEyRnJqrlx3g   #culturaldiplomacy   #embassy
#portugalinuk #diplomacy #portugueseartistsinuk #SharedEurope
#EUNICLondonTakeover   #EUNICLondon   [Instagram   photograph].
Retrieved from:
https://www.instagram.com/p/BxffgRogLPA/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link
(1.7.2019)

Post example 7

The British Council [britishcouncileurope]. (2019, 22 May). Check out
our #takeover of @euniclondon this week! To find out more
about #AnyoneAnywhere click on the link in our bio. #Repost   @euniclondon
• • • • • It's @britishcouncileurope here! Tune in for another episode
of #AnyoneAnywhere: #AnyoneAnywhere is a global season which was
launched to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the birth of the web, looking at
the impact of this world-changing invention on every aspect of our lives, and
raising questions about its future.   In   this   Anyone//Anywhere   and
@barbicancentre #LifeRewired essay, artist and author James Bridle explains
how the capacities of our own technologies threaten to supersede us. Read this
article and many more by visiting the link in our bio. 📷©   sp3n   /   Adobe
#BritishCouncil #AnyoneAnywhere #ManVsMachine #ArtificialIntelligence
#britishcouncil #takeover [Instagram photograph]. Retrieved from:
https://www.instagram.com/p/BxwrH7XnBEl/(1.7.2019)

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